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Modern Philology

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STUDIES IN CERVANTES

I. “PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA”

I. INTRODUCTION

When, on September 9, 1616, but a few months after the death of Cervantes, el Maestro Josef de Valdiviesso[1] penned the necessary *aprobacion* prefixed to the first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda*, he perhaps unconsciously gave to his opinion of the work a personal note which lends it a charm and value seldom or never found in the usually perfunctory official approval. The cheerful and buoyant spirit of the aged romancer was now no more, but he had left to posterity works which were destined to become thenceforward a part of the national life of Spain. Addressing his official approval to the king, Valdiviesso says:

> Por mandado de Vuessa Alteza, he visto el libro de los trabajos de Persiles de Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, illustre hijo de nuestra nacion, y padre illustre de tantos buenos hijos, con que dichosamente la enobleziò; no hallo en el cosa côtra nuestra Santa Fè Catolica, y buenas costumbres, antes muchas de honesta, y apazible recreacion, y por el se podria dezir, lo que san Geronimo de Origines por el comentario sobre los Cantares: Cum in omnibus omnes, in hoc se ipsum superauit Origenes; pues de quantos nos dexò escritos, ninguno es mas ingenioso,

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[1] Also written Valdivielso; an account of his life and writings may be found in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (London, 1863), Vol. II, p. 331; the single volume which contains his dramatic works is very rare, but the Imperial Library at Vienna has a copy. The title reads: *Doce actos sacramentales y dos comedias divinas* por el Maestro Joseph de Valdivielso (Toledo, 1622). Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, pp. 491, 497, 651, and *Obras de Francisco de Quevedo Villegas*, edited by Don A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (Madrid, 1876), Vol. II, p. 467.

mas culto, ni mas entretenido, en fin cisne de su buena vegez: casi entr los aprietos de la muerte cantò este parto de su venera(n)do ingenio.

To us, no doubt, this exaggerated appreciation has little value beyond that of a friendly tribute; after a lapse of three hundred years its praise finds no echo, for no work by Cervantes has been so thoroughly consigned to an oblivion which, according to most critics, would appear to be well deserved. Yet the verdict of the *aprobacion* was justified, for a time at least, by an unusual demand for the book immediately after its publication.[1] Within the same year of the first edition (1617) six others appeared,[2] and by 1629 ten editions had seen the light. Thus the *Persiles* saw almost as many issues within twelve years of its first appearance as Part I of *Don Quixote*, which was printed eleven times from 1605 to 1617. Master Valdiviesso had unquestionably diagnosed his times well, recognizing the taste then in vogue among readers of romance; and the public, for its part, could do nothing but accept into the body of current literature a novel so thoroughly in keeping with it as the fanciful experiences of Persiles and Sigismunda. For in its imaginative and frequently irrational character this remarkable "Story of the North" was either on a par with, or far superior to, most of the tales which could have been found on the shelves of the *aficionados.* To realize that this is the truth, we need but examine not only such romances of a purely irrational type as the Pastoral novels, but also such tales as were meant ostensibly to reproduce the everyday life in the peninsula, namely the *Peregrino en su patria* or the *Novelas* by Lope, or the tales of Montalban incorporated in his *Para Todos.* That even the latter class are frequently a tissue of extravagances and impossibilities would be difficult to deny. As regards the popularity of the *Persiles*, however—whether justified or not will be seen later—there is some evidence, at least, that it was still a favorite book about the middle of the eighteenth century. There exists a valuable list of entertaining stories (made up by one Alonso de Padilla), of which a reprint was considered opportune. The *Persiles* stands among the first, and it is certain that a bookseller who knew his market would issue only books of which a profitable sale seemed assured.[1] Now, in 1728 an edition of the *Persiles* had already been printed by Alonso de (*sic*) Padilla in Madrid, which would indicate that the prospectus of forthcoming books had been compiled but a few years previous. The large demand for the romance must have justified still another edition, for in 1734 the *Persiles* was published again in Barcelona. Moreover, in the important edition of *Don Quixote* published in London in 1738 (4 vols. printed by J. & R. Tonson), to which was prefixed the first scholarly life of Cervantes (dated 1737), by D. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, the latter does not hesitate to give *Persiles y Sigismunda* the preference over *Don Quixote.* This is an eloquent testimony to the high position which the former held at the time.[1] As late as

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[1] A complete list of all the editions of the *Persiles* may be found in the *Bibliografía Crítica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, por D. Leopoldo Rius (Madrid, 1895–1905; 3 vols.); cf. Vol. I, pp. 160 ff. The first edition was printed by Juan de la Cuesta, who had issued the *Don Quixote*. After that of 1629 there was no other until the eighteenth century, when eight new issues appeared. The romance, however, had been used by Francisco de Roxas Zorrilla in his comedia *Persiles y Sigismunda*, of which the earliest printed copy known is dated 1636 (cf. Barrera's catalogue, p. 685). In the nineteenth century there were twelve editions, of which one saw the light in New York (1827), and one in Paris (1835). Translations of the story were made almost immediately after its appearance (cf. Vol. I, p. 363, of Rius); two in French appeared in Paris, 1618, the first by François de Rosset, and the second by le Sieur D'Audiguier; and one in English, in London, 1619, by an unknown person. The title is of interest: "The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A northern history: Wherein amongst the variable Fortunes of the Prince of Thule, and this Princesse of Frisland, are interlaced many witty discourses, morall, politicall, and delightfull. The first copie was written in Spanish; translated afterward into French; and now last into English. London. Printed by H. L. for M. L., etc., 1619." Upon this English version John Fletcher based his play, *The Custom of the Country*, one of the vilest ever put upon the stage. When Alex. Dyce edited it (Vol. IV, p. 385) in the *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (11 vols., London, 1844), he was unaware that Cervantes' *Persiles* was the source, though the fact had been pointed out as early as 1818 by F. W. V. Schmidt, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie* (Berlin), p. 180 (cf. p. 5, n. 3). Ticknor, Vol. II, p. 133, n. 2 (cf. p. 9, n. 2) mentions some of the ideas and episodes which were taken from Cervantes by Fletcher, making it clear, at the same time, that the indecency is all Fletcher's own. I am not aware that any thoroughgoing comparison of the romance with the play has yet been made. Leo Bahlsen, "Spanische Quellen der dramatischen Litteratur, besonders Englands zu Shakespeares Zeit" (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* [Berlin, 1893], Vol. VI, p. 155), repeats the gist of Ticknor's comparison. Cf. also Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtung*, pp. 278, 493, 511; also *Englische Studien*, Vol. IX, p. 24, No. 37, "On the Chronology of the Plays of Fletcher and Massinger" (Fleay), and A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), Vol. II, p. 722. Here Ward says that the actual origin of the play was first pointed out in 1875! Cf. also *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 592; Koeppel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, etc.* (Erlangen und Leipzig, 1895), p. 65; *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Variorum edition (London, 1904), Vol. I, p. 480.

A translation of the *Persiles* into Italian appeared in Venice in 1626. Various translations have followed since. The first edition of the *Persiles y Sigismunda* may be consulted in the Ticknor library in Boston and in Mr. Huntington's library in New York. The first English version is in the British Museum. In referring hereafter to the romance, I shall give the page according to the edition of Rivadeneyra, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. I, *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes.*

[2] No. 346 of Rius' catalogue is considered a counterfeit; cf. also the catalogue of Ticknor's library, that of the British Museum, and that of Salvá, No. 1755.

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[1] My copy of the list is printed in a volume entitled *Historias peregrinas y exemplares*, etc., por Don Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses (Madrid, 1733), and occupies two introductory leaves. The list is called: "Indice de libros entretenidos de Novelas, Patrañas, Cuentos, Historias, y Casos tragicos, para divertir la ociosidad, hecho por Don Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, Librero de Camara de su Magestad, quien desea dar noticia a los Aficionados, y con el tiempo los irà reimprimiendo muchos de los que aqui van anotados, que no los ay, y muchos no tienen noticia de ellos por el transcurso de el tiempo." Then follows the list which was probably prefixed to all the books issued from Alonso y Padilla's press at about this time. Cf. also the prologue *al lector* of Lope de Vega's *Romacero Espiritual* (Madrid, 1720) (written by Alonso y Padilla); printed in Barrera's *Nueva Biografia de Lope de Vega*, p. 392.

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[1] Cf. p. 101 of the *Vida de Cervantes;* seeing that this first important judgment passed upon the romance is inaccessible to most students, I quote from it the following, much of which has been so frequently repeated, but without any reference to the source: "Cervantes dijo, que su *Persiles y Sigismunda* se atrevia a competir con Heliodoro. La mayor alabanza que podemos darle, es decir, que es cierto. Los amores que refiere son castisimos, la fecundidad de la invencion maravillosa; en tanto grado, que pródigo su ingenio, excediò en la multitud de Episodios. Los sucesos son muchos i mui varios. En unos se descubre la imitacion de Heliodoro, i de otros, mui mejorada; en los demàs campea la novedad. Todos estàn dispuestos con arte, i bien explicados, con circunstancias casi siempre verosimiles. Quanto mas se interna el Letor en esta Obra, tanto es mayor el gusto de leerla, siendo el Tercero i Quarto Libro mucho mejores que el Primero i Segundo. Los continuos trabajos llevados en paciencia acaban en descanso, sin máquina alguna: porque un hombre como Cervantes, seria milagro que acabasse con algun milagro, para manifestar la felicidad de su raro ingenio. En las descripciones excediò a Heliodoro. Las deste suelen ser sobrado frequentes, i mui pomposas. Las de Cervantes a su tiempo, i mui naturales. Aventajóle tambien en el estilo; porque aunque el de Heliodoro es elegantisimo, es algo afectado, demasiamente figurado, i mas Poetico de lo que permite la Prosa . . . . Pero el de Cervantes es propio, proporcionadamente sublime, modestamente figurado, i templadamente Poetico en tal qual descripcion. En suma, esta Obra es de mayor invencion, artificio, i de estilo mas sublime que la de *Don Quijote de la Mancha.* Pero no ha tenido igual acetacion: porque la invencion de la Historia de Don Quijote es mas popular, i contiene Personas mas graciosas; i como son menos en numero, el Letor retiene mejor la memoria de las costumbres, hechos i caracteres de cada una. Fuera de esso el estilo es mas natural, i tanto mas descansado, quanto menos sublime." Cf. also Clemencin's edition of *Don Quixote* (Madrid, 1894), Vol. I, p. liv. The favorable opinion of Mayans y Siscar probably became known in England chiefly through *The Life and Exploits of* . . . . *Don Quixote* . . . . translated . . . . by Charles Jarvis (London, 1742). Vol. I contains the life of Cervantes by Mayans y Siscar, translated by Ozell. Subsequent editions of Jarvis' translation, however, substituted another biography of Cervantes. The testimony of this upon the standing of the *Persiles* during the latter half of the eighteenth century is of interest. "[The *Persiles*] is a romance of the grave sort written after the manner of Heliodorus' Ethiopics with which Cervantes says it dared to vie. It is in such esteem with the Spaniards, that they generally prefer it to *Don Quixote*, which can only be owing to their not being sufficiently cured of their fondness for romance." (From ed. London, 1821, Vol. I, p. xlviii.) Smollett, in his translation, 1755 (cf. prefatory life of Cervantes), merely copies from the Spanish biography of Mayans y Siscar, when he speaks of the elegance of diction, entertaining incidents, and fecundity of invention to be noted in the *Persiles* (p. xxvi of *Life of Cervantes*, Vol. I, 2d ed., London, 1761). J. G. Lockhart, in the biography of Cervantes which he prefixed to his edition of Motteux's translation of *Don Quixote*, 1822, stands at the parting of the ways. What he says of the *Persiles* combines the appreciation of the eighteenth century with the indifference of the nineteenth. He says: "This performance [the *Persiles*] is an elegant and elaborate imitation of the style and manner of Heliodorus. It displays felicity of invention and power of description, and has always been considered as one of the purest specimens of Castilian writing; nevertheless, it has not preserved any very distinguished popularity nor been classed (except in regard to style) by any intelligent critic of more recent times with the best of Cervantes' works." (P. xxx of *Life*, Edin., 1879.) Coleridge, in a

1811 Sismondi felt justified in telling hearers of the lectures which he delivered at Geneva, that the Spaniards rated the story of *Persiles* as the equal of *Don Quixote.*[1] He unfortunately does not say from what evidence he reaches this conclusion, but it is not likely that the large number of the editions of the *Persiles* which were published during the eighteenth century was sufficient to account for such a view; Sismondi, no doubt, was familiar with the high regard in which the *Persiles* was held by several contemporary Spanish writers.[2] On the other hand, a search among German men of letters, especially such as were under the influence of the Romantic movement at the time, reveals an enthusiasm for the last work of Cervantes which, while limited to those in sympathy with the peculiar tenets of a school of fiction, was apparently unqualified.[3]

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lecture on *Don Quixote* and Cervantes, says the latter "was the inventor of novels for the Spaniards, and in his *Persiles and Sigismunda* the English may find the germ of their *Robinson Crusoe*" (p. 274, Vol. IV, of Complete Works [New York, 1871]). It is too bad that Coleridge did not enlarge upon this rather vague assertion.

[1] "Le jugement des Espagnols place en effet ce roman à côté de *Don Quichotte*, au dessus de tout le reste de ce qu'a écrit Cervantes." (Printed in Vol. III, p. 419, of *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi [Paris, 1813]).

[2] D. Vicente de los Rios (1780) and D. Juan A. Pellicer (1797) say nothing worthy of note in the introductory matter to their respective editions of *Don Quixote.* In the prologue to Sancha's excellent edition of the *Persiles*, however (Madrid, 1802), may be found an expression of the opinion then current in Spain: "No son pocos los sabios, que, no obstante el notorio mérito de todas las obras del famoso Español Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, y sin embargo de los repetidos elogios prodigados principalmente á la Vida y Hechos de Don Quixote de la Mancha, que ha corrido siempre con la primera estimacion, dan la preferencia sobre todas ellas á los *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*," etc. Then the editor goes on to praise, as others had done, the excellence in style and plan of the work ("Prologo del Editor"). Sismondi must have known this edition. Only a few years later Navarrete, in his *Vida de Cervantes* which was prefixed to the Spanish Academy's fourth edition of *Don Quixote* (1819), says of the *Persiles:* "El [estilo] de este [Cervantes] es siempre propio con igualdad, y sublime con templanza y proporcion . . . . De aqui resulta que esta obra de Cervantes sea de mayor invencion y artificio, y de estilo mas igual y elevado que el Quixote, pues corrigió en ella las faltas de lenguaje y construccion," etc. (p. 190). Thus it may be seen how writers who came after Mayans y Siscar did little more than adopt his view (cf. p. 4, n. 1), and even his words.

[3] As an excellent example, the words of so noted a Spanish scholar as Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt may be cited; they might have been written by Aug. Wilh. or Fried. Schlegel: "Das letzte Werk des grossen Cervantes, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, scheint überall ungebürlich wenig bekannt. Und dennoch kennen wir keinen geistlichen Roman, der sich mit diesem vergleichen dürfte. Die himmlische Liebe, vermählt mit der zartesten irdischen, durch tausendfache Noth geläutert, immer wie der Karfunkel strahlend durch die Nacht der gemeinen Umgebung, endlich zum Schauen des langersehnten gelangend, das ist die Axe um welche herum die verschiedensten Erscheinungen des Lebens, Bestrebungen und Gesinnungen sich schwingen." Cf. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der romantischen Poesie.* (Berlin, 1818; [small] 8vo), p. 179. The interest which August W. Schlegel took in the *Persiles* was apparently limited chiefly to the romantic or poetic features of the novel, as

In the face of this highly commendatory attitude toward the *Persiles* in the past, what adequate, or even tentative, appreciation can we turn to in our own times? Could this creation by Cervantes have been treated with greater indifference if it had been turned out by some unremembered literary drudge? What correspondingly important productions by the world's truly great writers—even though they be classed among their "minor works" —have been so consistently laid upon the shelf by either literary critic and historian, or by the modern analytic scholar? In this connection it will be necessary to summarize the verdicts passed on *Persiles y Sigismunda* during the nineteenth century, inadequate and repetitional though they be.

The first criticism worthy of consideration is naturally that of the German scholar, Friedrich Bouterwek, whose history of Spanish literature[1] is the earliest systematic presentation of the subject in German.[2] Bouterwek's judgment is of interest because

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can be inferred from the three translations which he made of two sonnets and an ode to be found therein (pp. 665, 633, 583 of the *Persiles*, which is the order in which Schlegel's translations are printed, p. 189, Vol. IV, of *Aug. Wilh. Schlegel's Sämmtliche Werke* [Leipzig, 1846]). An unimportant work by Edmund Dorer, entitled *Cervantes und seine Werke nach deutschen Urtheilen* (Leipzig, 1881), contains a collection of opinions expressed by German novelists, poets, and philosophers, whose verdicts are, for the most part, imbued with the spirit of the Romantic School of Germany, and are consequently highly appreciative of all of the writings of Cervantes. For, in accordance with the theories proclaimed by the school, he had become one of their standards of excellence in fiction. Many of the opinions have rather the interest of a novel point of view than the value of critical discrimination. But Dorer's book deserves to be cited, if only because it adduces further evidence that the *Persiles* was one of the hobbies of almost every one of the noted writers of the Romantic School. Among the most important opinions is that of Ludwig Tieck (p. 45), taken from his introduction to Dorothea Tieck's translation of the *Persiles* (Leipzig, 1837). He says: "Dieses bunte, seltsame Werk, Reiseabenteuer zweier Liebenden, ist wie eine Abzweigung jener prosaischen Ritterpoesie, oder jener steifen und unwahrscheinlichen Heldenromane anzusehen. Cervantes führt die wunderbare Geschichte in die vertrauliche Nähe seiner Leser; Spanien, das Vaterland, wird geschildert, berühmte Namen werden genannt und merkwürdige Begebenheiten angedeutet . . . . Die Erfindung ist oft so seltsam, ... dass es der launige Cervantes nicht unterlassen kann, sein Gedicht selbst ironisch zu betrachten und über die Unmöglichkeit der Begebenheit zu scherzen . . . . Ton und Sprache sind höchst mannigfaltig, etc." From the pen of A. W. Schlegel there is a sonnet (p. 55) extolling the excellence of the *Persiles*, while the opinion of Friedr. Schlegel might be taken to voice the enthusiasm of the whole school (p. 60): "Es ist die späteste, fast zu reife, aber doch noch frisch und gewürzhaft duftende Frucht dieses liebenswürdigen Geistes [i. e. Cervantes] der noch im letzten Hauch Poesie und ewige Jugend athmete."

[1] *Geschichte der schönen Wissenschaften* (with subtitle), "Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit." Von Fried. Bouterwek (1804). Being Vol. III of a work entitled: *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1801-19).

[2] Cf. Ferd. Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen National-Litteratur* (Berlin, 1859), p. 1.

it contains in a nutshell practically all that has been said of the romance since his day. He regards the *Persiles* as "ein interessanter Nachtrag zu seinen [i. e., Cervantes'] übrigen Werken;" and he adds:

> Sprache und Darstellung haben in diesem Roman besonders, bei der reinsten Simplicität, eine seltene Präcision und Politur. Aber die Idee eines solchen Romans war keiner neuen Ausführung werth. Cervantes wollte am Ende seiner glorreichen Laufbahn noch den Heliodor nachahmen.[1]

Bouterwek sums up the work as a romantic description of fearful adventures with a sustained interest in the situations, but an absurd mixture of the real and fabulous, while the last half, where the scene is Spain and Italy, does not harmonize with the spirit of the first.

To what extent Bouterwek was influenced by Mayans y Siscar and subsequent critics of the eighteenth century, when he commends especially the simplicity of composition as well as the excellence in style of the *Persiles*, cannot be determined, and is unimportant. But this criticism, such as it is, has constituted the chief, if not the only, praise which the work has met with since his day. In stating his opinion, however, that the idea of the romance was old and did not deserve to be reproduced in a new manner, that Cervantes had taken it into his head to imitate Heliodorus, Bouterwek made a most insufficient and misleading statement. He has become responsible for the sweeping generalities patterned after his own by other writers, by not making it clear that the *Persiles*, though it is but an old theme in a new form, has none the less the merits of an original creation, just as does a new play though it be based upon an old plot. As regards the imitation of Heliodorus, what follows later will show how few are the reminiscences of the Greek romance, especially in substance, when compared with the rest of the material gleaned from the storehouse of Cervantes' reading. The remainder of Bouterwek's judgment is fair and to the point, but, being unfavorable to the *Persiles*, it could not have made the book attractive to the ordinary reader.

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[1] Bouterwek, p. 359; cf. also the English translation of Thomasina Ross, *History of Spanish Literature*, by Frederick Bouterwek (London, 1847), p. 252.

When in 1814 John C. Dunlop published his *History of Prose Fiction*,[1] he appears to have been unaware of any relation between Heliodorus and Cervantes. The omission is, however, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, who translated Dunlop's work into German with the addition of numerous valuable notes.[2] The former saw fit, nevertheless, to repeat merely the unqualified statement that the *Persiles* is an imitation of Heliodorus, which he took, perhaps, as much from Ticknor as from Bouterwek. In 1822 the same idea had emanated from the pen of the noted Calderon scholar, Friederich W. V. Schmidt, which is all the more remarkable since he was an enthusiastic admirer of the *Persiles*, and must have recognized in it something more than a mere imitation of Heliodorus. Whereas we have extravagant praise in his *Beiträge* referred to above (p. 5, n. 3), we are now told merely that "die berühmteste Nachahmung [des Heliodor] bei den Spaniern ist die nordische Geschichte *Persiles und Sigismunda* von Cervantes."[3] In 1857 Schmidt's early studies on Calderon's plays were incorporated in his important work on that poet, so we have the same idea unchanged, after a lapse of thirty-five years.[4]

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[1] This work, of the utmost importance for a study of the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, was entitled: *The History of Fiction: Being a Critical Account of the Most Celebrated Prose Works of Fiction from the Earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1814; 3 vols., 8vo; 4th Engl. ed., 2 vols., London, 1888, from which I shall quote from time to time).

[2] The title reads: *J. Dunlop's Geschichte der Prosadichtungen oder Geschichte der Romane, Novellen, Märchen . . . . aus dem Englischen übertragen . . . . vermehrt . . . . mit Anmerkungen versehen* (Berlin, 1851; cf. pp. 458 and 511). Liebrecht's notes were incorporated into the fourth English edition. The remark referred to is on p. 404, Vol. II, n. 3, of latter work. Erwin Rohde, in his excellent work, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1900), cites Liebrecht's note without comment (p. 472, n. 1). In the English edition of Dunlop's work the *Persiles* is called by the peculiar title of *The Sorrows of Persiles and Sigismunda*, and in German *Die Leidensgeschichte des Persiles und der Sigismunda*, a title which Liebrecht may have taken from Dorothea Tieck's translation called *Die Leiden des Persiles und der Sigismunda* (cf. p. 5, n. 3). A better rendition of *Trabajos* would be "Wanderings," since the plural *Trabajos* is used in this connection to signify the *hardships of adventure.*

[3] *Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur*, Vol. XVIII, 1822. Cf. *Anzeige-Blatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, No. XVIII, p. 8.

[4] *Die Schauspiele Calderon's dargestellt und erläutert von Fried. Wilh. Val. Schmidt* (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 290. Even Gervinus, in his *Geschichte der poetischen National-Litteratur der Deutschen* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1840), left the opinion of his predecessors unchallenged. He says (Vol. I, p. 263): "Es ist aber zu vermuthen, dass, wie später Tasso den Heliodor benutzte, wie den italienischen und spanischen Schäferdichtern Longus vorschwebt, wie Cervantes' ernster Roman [i. e., *Persiles y Sigismunda*] den ganzen Zuschnitt der griechischen Romane trägt, so auch in früherer Zeit vielerlei Griechisches in die neue romanische Poesie Eingang gefunden haben mag." This view was modified in the fifth edition, entitled

I have dwelt thus far only upon the appreciation which the *Persiles* met in Germany, where scientific research and scholarly criticism in the field of Spanish made practically the only progress achieved during the first half of the nineteenth century.[1] We come now to the judgment passed upon the *Persiles* by George Ticknor, which is the most important of all, inasmuch as it has been unhesitatingly accepted and repeated up to the present time.[2] Ticknor's criticism is, as usual, a thoroughly independent one, and will to a large extent—at least, where common-sense or what is rational forms the only criterion—remain irrefutable. But while, generally speaking, it is impossible for a historian who covers a nation's whole literature to do justice to every important work, it will also be admitted, in the particular case of Ticknor, that, great as is his history as a whole, he was temperamentally less fitted to judge some works than he was others. Among those which suffered in his clear, unemotional treatment we must place the *Persiles*; whose importance lies in the fact that it is a characteristic production of its epoch, a creation not only typical of Spanish temperament, but one indispensable in any final word on the genius of Cervantes. This neither Ticknor nor any critic who followed him has duly recognized.

Ticknor begins by saying that the purpose of Cervantes seems to have been to write a serious novel when he undertook the *Per-*

Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1872), p. 206: "In *Persiles und Sigismunda* ging er [Cervantes] bis auf die Quelle der ernsten Ritterdichtungen zurück, auf den alexandrinischen Roman, schildert uns gleichsam zur Erkenntniss den Typus dieser ganzen Litteratur, in dem er uns ein liebendes Paar, das durch ein stetiges Gefühl aneinander geknüpft ist, von dem wunderlichsten Wechsel der Dinge ergriffen und als Spielball einer günstigen Göttin, *Fortuna*, zeigt." The latter idea is important and will be considered in connection with Cervantes' theory of fiction. O. L. B. Wolff, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans* (Jena; 2d ed. 1850, p. 119), adds nothing to our knowledge. J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des spanischen Dramas* (Vol. IX of *Geschichte des Dramas*; Leipzig, 1872; p. 274), sees no saving qualities whatsoever in the *Persiles*.

[1] To be convinced of the interest and activity in behalf of Spanish literature in Germany at this time, one need but consult the notes in Ferd. Wolf's work on Spanish and Portuguese literature (1859), or such works as Schack's history of the Spanish drama, or Lemcke's *Handbuch der spanischen Litteratur*; and as regards the interest taken in Cervantes alone, the long list of translations as well as of editions in the original Spanish printed in Germany (given by Rius, *Bibliografía*, Vol. I) is an ample testimony.

[2] *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor (3 vols.; London, 1863), Vol. II, pp. 133 ff. The edition from which I quote differs but little from the German version of Julius, or the Spanish edition by Gayangos. Ticknor himself said, referring to all the scholars who completed his work: "From the results of their labors, carefully prosecuted . . . . I have taken . . . . everything that, as it has seemed to me, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition." (Preface, p. x.)

siles, and then he casts about to see what models Cervantes could have found for serious romantic fiction. All that the latter says, however, is that he hopes to produce an excellent *libro de entretenimiento*,[1] and nothing could have been farther from his thoughts than Ticknor's "serious"—that is, "modern"—conception of fiction. What Cervantes meant to produce was simply a tale of adventure extended beyond the ordinary length of the current *novela*. That this is all he implied can be seen from the common meaning of *entretenimiento* in his day. Near the beginning of the *novela*,[2] *Las fortunas de Diana*, written shortly after the death of Cervantes, Lope de Vega tells of his hesitancy in undertaking this genre in literature, which he had left untried up to that time, and which seemed to him more at home in Italy and France than in Spain. He admits the success of Cervantes in this field, and then adds:

> Confieso que son libros de grande entretenimiento, y que podrian ser ejemplares, como algunas de las historias de Bandelo. . . . . Y habiendo hallado tantas invenciones para mil comedias . . . . servirè a vuestra merced con esta.

This, however, was addressed to his mistress, who was probably not expecting any serious psychological treatment in a tale written for her pleasure and entertainment. Moreover, the large majority of the reading public, especially the women, considered a book of fiction as a pleasant means of passing an hour of leisure, and not even a limited circle of the educated classes was trained to look upon a *novela* or a *comedia* as an accurate reproduction of society and its environment. All that the public demanded of a *libro de entretenimiento* is voiced in the desire so often expressed, namely, that the events described therein be *verosimiles* or credible. Characters and sentiments were not subjected to scrutiny, provided they were pleasing or amusing. Therefore, even such productions in Spanish literature as may be said to give a good picture of contemporary life must be carefully examined, if definite results regarding the customs and culture of the times are to be reached. This is especially true in the case of the theater of Cervantes' day. To be sure, the *comedia* is one of the most important sources that we have for the study of Spanish culture, but its value is frequently vitiated by the playwright's failure to differentiate sufficiently the spirit of fiction in comedy from that of the *novela*. In the latter, absence of psychological truthfulness and an excess of romantic or imaginative elements are pardonable and even logical; but the farther a *comedia* gets from that which is simply natural and actually representative, the less it can be used as a reliable document on contemporary life. The power of appreciating the distinctions between fact and fiction, however, is a matter of training, and playwrights were indifferent to them even when they were ostensibly walking upon the solid ground of history. Not infrequently do we find the claim of a *historia verdadera*[1] made for a *comedia* which, though drawn from a germ of truth lodged in some chronicle or popular ballad, is in its ultimate form, for the most part, an imaginary creation. Such being the spirit of every kind of fiction, a novelist would not feel tempted to look for "serious" models for his work; he would be guided by the spirit and practice of contemporary writers. It is therefore plain that Cervantes was merely in need of some framework which would enable him to draw out indefinitely the manner of the *novela*, and thereby create a book for general entertainment,[2] longer than the ordinary tale. That was all he could have intended to do. But Ticknor is troubled to find a guide for the *Persiles*, and all that he can hit upon is "the imaginary travels of Lucian, three or four Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry." I have been able to discover no evidence from the *Persiles* itself that Cervantes ever saw Lucian's *True History.* Moreover, it would be a difficult task to prove either from his life or his writings that he could read Greek—or had the time to do it. I hope to show in what follows later that the knowledge which he had of Latin authors could have been obtained through the medium of translations; and I see no reason to believe that he could read French. On the other hand, both his long sojourn in Italy as well as the testimony derived from his works justify the conclusion that he was thoroughly acquainted with Italian.[1] I have been unable to find any mention of a complete Spanish translation of Lucian[2] printed within the lifetime of Cervantes, but at least seven editions in Italian appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century.[3] One of the latter he could therefore have seen during his sojourn in Italy. But the idea of Ticknor is at bottom somewhat illogical. The *True History* of Lucian is a wild extravaganza,[4] a satire on previous books of travel; and, notwithstanding this fact, Cervantes, who had planned a "serious romance," according to Ticknor, is supposed to have had it among the few books which served as a guide for the *Persiles.* Lucian may therefore be dismissed without further thought.

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[1] Cf. "Dedicatoria al Conde de Lemos," *Don Quixote*, Part II. "Con esto me despido, ofreciendo a V. Ex. *los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, libro a quien daré fin dentro de quatro meses, *Deo volente;* el qual ha de ser, o el mas malo, o el mejor que en nuestra lengua se haya compuesto: quiero dezir *de los de entretenimiento;* y digo que me arrepiento de auer dicho el mas malo, porque segun la opinion de mis amigos, ha de llegar al estremo de bondad possible."

[2] Printed in *La Filemena, con otras diversas Rimas, Prosas y Versos*, de Lope de Vega Carpio (Madrid, 1621); accessible in "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles" (Rivadeneyra), *obras no dramaticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1872), p. 1.

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[1] For a full discussion of the term *historia verdadera* in connection with the *comedia* cf. Max Krenkel, *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 21 ff.

[2] The term *libro de entretenimiento* or *libros entretenidos* (cf. p. 3, n. 1) had come to include all prose creations of fiction, just as the term *comedia* included both tragedy and comedy. It was applied to trifles like *patrañas*, and *diálogos* (cf. those *de apacible entretenimiento*, by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo), as well as to a long history like that of *Persiles* (the *aprobacion* of the Spanish version of Tatius [cf. p. 14, n. 1] says it was worthy of being printed "para apacible entretenimiento y exemplo de artificiosas y utiles ficciones"). Or we find it replaced by *pasatiempo and recreo* (cf. *El Patrañuelo*, by Timoneda, *epistola al amantisimo lector*), or by *apacible recreacion*, as in Valdiviesso's *aprobacion*, cited above.

The influence "of three or four Greek romances," as Ticknor rather vaguely puts it, is, on the other hand, worthy of the most careful consideration. In the absence of any specific names, we may take it for granted that Ticknor meant Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and possibly Longus, or whoever was the author of the pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloë.* The atmosphere as well as the entire make-up of the last, however, are so different from those of the other two that it can more easily be disposed of first.[1] Whatever influence it exerted upon Spanish literature was most likely through the channel of the Italian pastoral, and then in an attenuated form; for, owing to the similarity of its nature to that of the eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, its influence must at an early date have become indistinguishably fused with theirs. The *Daphnis and Chloë* has consequently nothing to do with the genre to which the *Persiles* belongs, and though it will be clear later that some influence was exerted upon the latter by the pastoral novel, such influence will be found to be only in the mannerism which distinguishes the Spanish prose pastoral of the Renaissance epoch. This leaves the works of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius to be dealt with. I shall treat the question of Heliodorus at length in my next article, and shall consequently speak of Tatius first.

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[1] It is possible that Cervantes knew the works of Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), which may have suggested to him the origin of Don Quixote's madness. The first impulse to write his great work would thus have come from Italy. Cf. B. Zumbini, *Studi di Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1894), p. 165.

[2] Salvá's catalogue No. 1879 mentions a *Historia verdadera de Luziano traduzida de Griego en lengua Castellana* (Argentina, 1551); but this contains only Book I. Lucian's *Dialogues*, however, appeared in Spanish in 1550 (anonymously), and again in 1621, translated by Franc. de Herrera Maldonado. Both are mentioned by Salvá (Nos. 3934, 3935 of his catalogue), and by Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* (Dresden, 1863; under *Lucian*, Vol. IV, p. 277). Lucian's works were first translated into French in 1583 (Paris); cf. Graesse; another edition, 1634 (Paris), is mentioned in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. III, p. 507 (Hamburg, 1726).

[3] Cf. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux.*

[4] It will be remembered that among the various experiences through which Lucian and his companions go in their travels, are shipwrecks upon islands where the rivers are of wine and the trees women from the waist upward; a trip to the moon, where they meet men carried by great vultures; a battle between the hosts of the Sun and the Moon, in which the soldiers from the Great Bear are mounted on fleas as large as elephants; a sojourn in the belly of a whale large enough to hold forests and great cities, etc. Cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman, op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.

If the romance of the faithful loves of *Klitophon and Leucippe*, by Tatius, had been favored by fortune with a great translator like Amyot, as was the case with the *Theagenes and Chariklea* of Heliodorus, its influence upon literature during the Renaissance might have been as great as that of the latter novel. Two translations[2] of Tatius into French appeared within a few decades of the publication of Amyot's Heliodorus;[3] but they must have made comparatively far less impression, for I cannot find a record of any translation into Spanish[1] earlier than the seventeenth century. But Cervantes could have seen some Italian version, for during the latter half of the sixteenth century no less than six editions of Tatius appeared in that language.[2] The character of the latter tale, however, is so similar to that of Heliodorus that the influence of both becomes more or less identical in those elements of the *Persiles* where it may be noted, namely in the bare outline or framework of a story of adventure. In a few unimportant details it is possible that the history of *Klitophon and Leucippe* lurked in the memory of Cervantes, as will appear in another paper, but it cannot be definitely proven, that such was the case.

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[1] The romance of *Daphnis and Chloë* was first translated into French in 1559 by Amyot, but it was not printed in Italian before 1643, according to numerous catalogues which I have consulted. It first appeared in a Spanish garb anonymously in our own times (1880), in a translation made by Juan Valera. It is not likely that Cervantes ever read the story. Noted Greek romances which were unknown in the seventeenth century are the romance of *Chaereas and Kallirrhoë*, by Chariton, first printed at Amsterdam in 1750; and that of *Habrokomes and Antheia*, by Xenophon the Ephesian, published in 1726 at London, following a translation into Italian also published there, 1723. (Cf. Dunlop, Vol. I, pp. 58 and 61; Graesse, *Trésor;* British Museum catalogue; and Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 517 ff., 409 ff. I have found no reason for touching upon the Byzantine imitations, such as the story of *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathius, Rohde, pp. 556 ff.

[2] Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. VI, p. 797) gives them the dates of 1568, 1575 (Paris).

[3] The first edition of Amyot's Heliodorus, with the title *Histoire Aethiopique d'Heliodorus traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Théagènes et de Chariclée* appeared in 1547 (Paris; fol.).

As regards the *Theagenes and Chariklea*, we have the statement of Cervantes himself that he was competing with Heliodorus when he wrote the *Persiles* and he had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the former romance in his own tongue, for up to the time of his death there is a record of at least four editions in Spanish.[3] But in order that the nature and substance of the influence of Heliodorus on Cervantes may be perfectly clear when we are ready to take it up, it will be necessary to dwell at length on the latter's statement just mentioned. What did he mean, when in the prologue to his *Novelas exemplares*, he characterizes the *Persiles* as a *libro que se atreve á competir con Heliodoro?* Cervantes would undoubtedly have admitted that he had imitated the Greek writer, but what would he have meant by "imitation," and how does the term, when baldly applied to a story nowadays, differ in meaning from that given it in the lifetime of Cervantes? Upon this difference hinges my objection to the unqualified dicta uttered all through the nineteenth century, of which I have given specimens above.

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[1] The list of Alonso de Padilla cited above (p. 3, n. 1) includes a novel, called *Los mas fieles amantes Leucipe y Clitofonte.* I cannot find any mention of it in the catalogues of rare books, but the prologue to Fernando de Mena's translation of Heliodorus (1787, Madrid) cites it in a footnote: "*Los mas fieles amantes, Leucipe y Clitophonte:* historia Griega por Achiles Tacio Alexandrino: Traducida, censurada y parte compuesta por D. Diego Agreda y Vargas, vecino y natural de la villa de Madrid, etc., En Madrid por Juan de la Cuesta, Año de 1617." The romance, which appeared in Venice 1552, with the title of *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*, by Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, has one or two episodes reminiscent of Tatius (cf. p. 17, n. 1); printed in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* (Rivadeneyra), Vol. III, p. 431, "Novelistas anteriores á Cervantes," edited by D. Buenaventura C. Aribau (3d ed., Madrid, 1858).

[2] Graesse (cf. *supra*), Vol. I, p. 13, gives the dates 1546, 1550, 1598 for Italian versions, while the British Museum catalogue mentions four with the dates 1560, 1563, 1598, 1608.

[3] The original romance Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικῆς ἱστορίας βιβλία δέκα was first printed in 1534 (4to Basileae, Hervag.), and translated into French in 1547, by Amyot (cf. p. 13, n. 3); then into Latin, 1552 (fol. Bas.). A Spanish version appeared at Antwerp in 1554; one in Italian at Venice in 1556; and one in English at London in 1587. Only the Spanish version concerns us here. Its title reads: "*Historia Ethiopica de Heliodoro trasladada de frances en vulgar Castellano por un segreto amigo de su patria y corregido segun el Griego por el mismo*, en 1554 Anvers 1554. En casa de Martin Nucio (12mo British Museum) (8vo Salvá)." It is an anonymous translation and not by F. de Mena, as is well proven by the *aprobacion* and *prologo* of a new translation which followed in 1587 with the title: "*La historia de los dos leales amantes Theagenes y Chariclea, trasladada agora de nuevo de Latin en romance* por Fer- 1587 nando de Mena Vezino de Toledo, Alcalá de Henares (Juan Gracian) 1587, 8vo." The *aprobacion* speaks of a previous translation by another author, while the prologue by Mena says that a translation of Heliodorus made from a French version had come into his hands, and that the numerous errors and suppressions to be noted therein justified the new version which was made from the Latin and then compared with the Greek. In spite of this testimony, the British Museum catalogue attributes the edition of 1554 to Mena, and Graesse (cf. his *Trésor* under "Heliod.") makes the same mistake. Nicolas Antonio confuses the

imitation

There can be no doubt that the admission quoted from the prologue to the *novelas* has been the first and chief cause of all the generalities and vague opinions uttered about the *Persiles*, and yet Cervantes cannot be blamed for confessing to a *competition* or imitation in the sense in which he would have used the word. In the first place, it was employed by novelists to contrast with the term "to translate" (*romanzar* or *romancear*), though the latter did not, generally speaking, mean a close and faithful rendering of the original. Thus in the first *dedicatoria* to his *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea y de los trabajos de Isea*,[1] Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso says that, having found in a certain bookstore a fragment of a Greek story, he was greatly taken with its lively and pleasing invention. "Por lo cual," he adds "acordè de, *imitando* y *no romanzando*, escrebir esta mi obra;" that is, his intention was to be original and not to copy his model; and as a further testimony to the fact that he is standing on his own feet he says, "no uso mas que de la *invencion*, y algunas palabras de aquellos razonamientos" (i. e., of the fragmentary book he had

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two translations (*Biblioteca*, Nov., 1783, Vol. I, p. 380), saying that Mena's version was made from the French and not from the Latin or the Greek. Owing to the growing demand for romantic novels of adventure, Mena's version was reprinted (1) Barcelona (Ger. Margarit), 1614 (Colophon 1615), 8vo; (2) Madrid (Alonso Martin), 1615, 8vo; and (3) Paris ("Vista y corregia por Cesar Oudin"), 1616, 12mo. In 1722 F. M. de Castillejo published a new translation (Madrid, 4to); and (4) in 1787 Mena's version was reprinted by A. de Sotos (Madrid, 2 vols., small 8vo). Of these versions, the last two are in the Ticknor library. The prologue to the edition of 1787 speaks of an anonymous translation published at Salamanca in 1581, 8vo, of which I have not seen mention elsewhere.

[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 3.

found). Consequently, such imitation, since it followed merely the *invencion* or framework of some other fiction, could in no way be considered open to censure. If, however, anyone should be unreasonable enough to blame such a procedure, the common practice of the age, as he goes on to say, would be found sufficient to justify it:

> Cuanto en esta mi obra en prosa haber imitado à Ovidio en los libros *de Tristibus*, à Seneca en las tragedias, à aquellos razonamientos amorosos y à otros autores latinos, no tengo pena; porque no tuvieron mas privilegio los que hicieron lo mismo de lo que yo tengo, siendo ellos todos harto mas sabios e ingeniosos de lo que yo soy.[1]

And just as Nuñez de Reinoso applies the word *invencion* in a very broad way to the skeleton or framework of a romance, so also does Lope[2] use it to designate the plot or outline of any one of the thousand *comedias* which he has invented. In the second place, in a more general sense, the word *imitar* as well as *invencion*, would imply merely an effort on the part of the novelist to produce another *libro de entretenimiento* for the idle reader, one similar in genre to its model. Thus, as the *Theagenes and Charikléa* belongs to the class of the *roman d'aventure*, so also does the *Persiles.* And the latter conception of imitation explains Cervantes' substitution of the word *competir* for *imitar*, since he was not imitating Heliodorus so much in substance as he was competing with him in popularity among the lovers of romance.[3]

The plea of originality would therefore be based largely upon the way in which the framework had been filled out with original material, with episodes and adventures newly imagined; at least, borrowed elements would have to assume a new garb — or some kind of effective disguise — before they could be placed to the credit of the man who reinvented them. Naturally enough, in most cases the reading public was not acquainted with the innumerable sources open to a writer of romances, and so the tendency to call that which was not exactly a translation an original story was no doubt frequently abused. But it is hazardous to apply our word "imitation" to these novels in too general and off-hand a way, lest the implied imitation be taken to mean a copy of its model throughout. Close study reveals the absorption of numerous ideas or episodes from various unacknowledged sources, and the inclination which critics have had in the past to hit upon some one writer, who represents the limit of their vision, and must therefore be made entirely responsible for the invention of the story, leads to woefully inadequate results, notably in the case of such a genre as that to which the *Persiles* belongs.[1] To say, therefore, that Cervantes imitated Heliodorus is to say little or nothing of significance. Besides, it must be remembered in this connection that the mention of Heliodorus was, in part at least, prompted by a certain literary affectation common in those times. It was the fashion to mention the source of your inspiration in the form of some worthy and popular writer, who, if he were an ancient one, would be a further testimony to your erudition.[2] But another and more urgent reason for "daring to compete with Heliodorus" will be given in my next paper. Before going further afield in this matter, it will be necessary to complete the study of Ticknor's appreciation, and that of some of those who came after him.

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[1] Second *dedicatoria*, p. 432.

[2] Cf. the passage in his *novela*, *Las fortunas de Diana*, cited above, p. 10, n. 2.

[3] Pellicer, it seems to me, misunderstands the meaning of Cervantes entirely, when he calls *competir* a stronger word than *imitar;* he thinks of both in a modern sense, when he says: "ni el mismo Cervantes creyò desayrar su ingenio original, proponiendose en su *Persiles* no solo imitar, sino competir con Heliodoro" (p. xxx of "discurso preliminar" to his edition of *Don Quixote* [Madrid, 1797]).

homage

It may be remembered that, in planning his *Persiles*, Cervantes had, according to Ticknor, only Lucian, some Greek romances, and the romances of chivalry to guide him. The influence of the latter type remains to be considered, so that it may be clear with what qualifications the words of Ticknor can be accepted. If we look upon the romances of chivalry as a "serious" part of the genre of adventure, as models capable of suggesting possible events in a world supposedly contemporary with the reader, and believe that they were taken seriously by Cervantes, we may follow Ticknor's suggestion and put them into the same type with the *Persiles.* But it is not likely that Cervantes would have been pleased to see his *libro de entretenimiento* classed with books which were almost wholly a tissue of extravagant and impossible adventures. For, whatever modicum of truth there may be in the criticism made in some quarters,[1] that *Persiles* vies with *Amadis* in strange and fantastical experiences, it may, nevertheless, be said that Cervantes generally strove to remain within the bounds of what to him seemed perfectly possible. Occasionally, where he has accepted a legend or incorporated a miraculous event,[2] he does so apologetically. Much of what to us seems so impossible in his *Persiles* can be accounted for if we take into consideration the absolute ignorance of the times in matters of climate, geography, plant and animal distribution, and finally of the customs which prevailed among distant and scarcely heard-of peoples. The age of discovery was now in full swing, and Europe was constantly thrilled by the unsubstantiated reports on the one hand, or by extended printed narratives on the other, of wonderful events which had come to pass in some unknown parts of the world. Even among the sober historians their narrative has at whiles the style of romance.[3] Unscrupulous travelers who returned home after years of wandering no doubt found willing ears for their biggest tales, and so Cervantes must unquestionably have taken the accounts about the northern countries which he describes in the *Persiles* from possible eyewitnesses without the necessary grain of salt.[4] In what, then, could Cervantes' story of adventure have been influenced by the romances of chivalry? Perhaps here and there his way of stringing together adventures was prompted by his remembrance of the many tales which he had read years before. While, therefore, the mannerism of the latter may have left a trace, nevertheless of the spirit and principles of the age of chivalry there is nowhere the slightest sign. The chaste love and lofty ideals which characterize Cervantes' hero and heroine are part of the *invencion* taken over from the Greek romance; inasmuch as they form the principles upon which the *Persiles* was founded, they could not be greatly modified, no matter how far the romance deviated from the prototype which inspired it. But in spite of the wide breach which separates the romances of chivalry from the *Persiles*, we must not lose sight of the continuity which characterizes the transmission of the *roman d'aventure* from ancient times through the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The *Persiles* is a descendant—in a greatly modified form—of a type which flourished intermittently in Byzantine literature (inspired by the Greek romances), in mediæval French literature (where we find the loves and adventures of devoted couples described, as in *Floire et Blanchefleur*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Parténopeus de Blois*, etc.),[1] and in the offspring of the latter class, the romance of chivalry, which flourished notably in Spain. While, then, it is logical to place the *Persiles* in the genre of adventure after the stories of *Amadis*, nevertheless it must be remembered, in the first place, that Cervantes' novel stands without the pale of any direct influence from the romances of chivalry, as these were no longer in keeping with the spirit of the Renaissance; second, that it was subject to the influence of the contemporary love-story, affected in its turn by the Italian *novella* and the revived Greek romance; and, third, to the correcting influence of contemporary realism reflected from the rogue-story. If, therefore, a comparison between the romances

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[1] Thus Dunlop (*supra*, Vol. II, p. 404) calls the above-mentioned romance of *Florizel* (*sic*) *Clareo and the Unfortunate Ysea* (p. 14, n. 1) a *close* imitation (in its first part) of the story by Tatius. This characterization will hardly hold, for the story is patterned after the novels of chivalry. In the same off-hand manner Ticknor (Vol. II, p. 134, n. 5) quotes Sainte-Beuve in part: "des naufrages, des déserts, des descentes par mer, et des ravissements, c'est donc toujours plus ou moins l'ancien roman d'Heliodore [celui de d'Urfé, le genre romanesque espagnol, celui des nouvelles de Cervantes]" (*Critiques et portraits littéraires* [Paris, 1839], p. 173); and then unjustly adds, "these words describe *more than half* of the *Persiles and Sigismunda.*"

[2] This affectation, once common upon the title pages of many of the romances of chivalry, was hard to eradicate. Braunfels says of it: "Die Romanschreiber wollten durch das Vorgeben ausländischer und meistens entlegener Quellen, ihren Dichtungen einen grösseren Anschein der Wahrheit und mehr Autorität verleihen" (*Kritischer Versuch über den Roman Amadis von Gallien* [Leipzig, 1876], p. 83). (Cf. also "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles," *Libros de Caballerias*, edited by Gayangos [Madrid, 1857], "Catálogo," pp. lxiii ff.)

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[1] Cf. Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. II, p. 29.

[2] Cf. the *werwolf* incident, chap. 8 of Book I, pp. 571 ff., and chap. 18, pp. 583 ff. and the episode of the capsized boat, chap. 2 of Book II, pp. 591 ff. I shall speak of Cervantes' apparent amusement over the extravagant possibilities of his romance, when I treat of his conception of fiction.

[3] Cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Historia de la Florida* (1605), which is a history of the conquest of Florida written in the spirit of a romance of chivalry, or a story of Moorish conquest.

[4] The increase in commercial relations between southern Europe and the countries of the far North was a steady one after the rise of the mercantile class in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in addition to the information brought home by merchants, how-

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ever, other sources of knowledge were the foreign pilgrims who visited Spanish shrines, or the soldiers who returned from campaigns in distant lands. Cf. Gabriel Marcel, "Les origines de la carte d'Espagne," *Revue hispanique*, Vol. VI, p. 164; Konrad Häbler, *Die wirthschaftliche Blüthe Spaniens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall* (Berlin, 1888), chap. 4, "Industrie und Handel;" H. F. Helmolt, *History of the World*, Vol. VII, Part I, Western Europe, chap. 1 (New York, 1902).

[1] Cf. Gaston Paris, "Le roman d'aventure," *Cosmopolis*, September, 1898, pp. 760 ff.; as well as, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81 ff.

of chivalry and the *Persiles* is admissible, it is so only because both are loosely constructed stories of adventure; and even then the comparison holds only with the first half of the *Persiles*, which has an imaginary world as a background, while the second part moves entirely among known customs and peoples. As regards occasional episodes, an examination of all the books of chivalry known to Cervantes would probably bring to light more resemblances than I have been able to find hitherto. But the tendency to detect these with frequency must be guarded against until substantiated by a more thorough investigation.

But there were other serious works which Ticknor overlooked, and with which Cervantes was acquainted as one is with all standard creations which form part of one's education and blood. First, there were the Greek and Latin classics; and if we examine the *Persiles*, we shall detect an occasional reminiscence from them, and among the first from the great Latin *roman d'aventure*, the *Æneid*. Herein also we have as the main theme manifold experience of travel by land and sea, a machinery of adventure in the germ, which had come down from Homer and which, by growing with the succeeding ages, had been incorporated in various guises into many a literary creation before the epoch of Cervantes.[1] The influence of the machinery of adventure, specifically emanating from the *Æneid*, had therefore grown to be a potent, even though frequently a rather indirect, factor in the long career of the *roman d'aventure*. In the case of the *Persiles*, however, the influence of the *Æneid* is marked, and quite direct, and will therefore be treated in a separate chapter. It is, of course, not likely that the theme of adventure would be exhausted by a writer of the Renaissance without ample reminiscences from other ancient works, and this will be shown to be the fact in a treatment of some of Cervantes' classical sources.

Apart from the classics, however, Cervantes could have found further suggestions for the make-up of a *libro de entretenimiento* of the adventure type, among the novelists of his own people and century. There was, for instance, the *Peregrino en su patria*,[1] by Lope de Vega, published only some ten years before the *Persiles*, and belonging to the same kind of story, though of a lower degree in the quality of imagination betrayed. For it is also the history of a young couple who reach their goal only after numerous shipwrecks, miraculous escapes, and strange chance reunions. Indeed, Lope may have taken his theme from Heliodorus as well as Cervantes; only he did not say so, and consequently any possible similarity has been overlooked. In addition to the serious vein of the *Peregrino*, there was the lighter and more realistic rogue-story, notably the various parts of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the *Guzman de Alfarache*, which represent a type of adventure story the spirit of which is reflected in no small part of the works of Cervantes. To what extent the adventure genre in Spanish was influenced by Moorish tales—which Cervantes must have known better than anyone else, owing to his long and forced sojourn in an oriental environment—is more difficult to determine; yet the Moors, not only of Africa, but those of Andalusia also, probably narrated stories of travel and adventure after the manner of "Sinbad's Voyages," and other tales incorporated into the *Arabian Nights*.[2] Moreover, the numerous contemporary histories about the various voyages of discovery are of value in a

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[1] In these earliest stories of adventure, such as the *Odyssey*, "Sinbad the Sailor" (probably of ancient Indian or Persian origin; cf. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, pp. 191 ff.), and the *Æneid*, the theme of love plays only an insignificant rôle compared with the action of the whole, into which it only enters from time to time. In the case of the *Æneid*, however, it is noteworthy that the occasional episodes in which love plays an important part leave the strongest impression, and they certainly affected the writers of the Renaissance most.

source?

Moorish tales

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[1] Cf. Groeber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1897), chapter by Baist, on *Spanish Literature*, p. 461, par. 62.

[2] That the close contact of oriental and Christian civilizations in Spain during many centuries was of enormous influence upon the latter, must be evident to everyone acquainted with Spain and her history. It is manifest even today, in many peculiarities of her social and family life that such was the case. In the field of fiction, however, the residue of Moorish influence is most difficult to determine, because of the complete lack of satisfactory documentary evidence. Most writers of authority are consequently agreed in believing in the communication of a large number of oriental stories through oral transmission, from earliest times through the Renaissance. Cf. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (London, 1871), Vol. II, p. 108; Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber* (Stuttgart, 1877), Vol. II, chaps. 13 and 14; Aug. Müller, "Die Märchen 1001 Nacht," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. LII (1887), p. 92; Gast. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 81, 111; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de critica literaria*, 2*a* serie (Madrid, 1895), "Influencias semíticas," pp. 381 ff; Joseph Bédier, *Les fabliaux, étude de littérature populaire*, etc. (Paris, 1893), Introduction; on the versions of a single tale carried by Arabs into Spain and thence into France, Gaston Paris, *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, p. 325. The main difficulty, however, lies not only in establishing the character of the original germs of stories, but in finding the time as well as the channels of their transmission from one people to another. The ways by which oriental tales and bits of folklore could penetrate into Europe were many. Take, for example, the story of "Sinbad the Sailor." If we are to adopt Rohde's view (p. 20, n. 1), here is a tale which might have come from India through a Persian intermediary into

study of Cervantes' learning, and appear to have formed a part, small though it be, of the source which inspired the *Persiles*. Thus much then may be said in behalf of some additional guides, especially for the outline of the *Persiles*. As regards the large body of material which Cervantes gleaned from everywhere to fill out the framework of his story of adventure, its numerous sources will be discussed in due time.

Finally, the verdict of Ticknor can be summed up in a general disapprobation, qualified by a measure of praise for the astonishing imagination displayed by Cervantes in this romance of his old age, for an occasional graceful story, "amidst the multitude with which this wild work is crowded," and finally, as usual, for the careful finish of the style. When all is said and done, therefore, Ticknor hardly advances the study of the *Persiles* much beyond the position in which it was left by his predecessors. He mentions, with his customary sobriety, some of the apparent characteristics of the romance, but he fails to see that the *Persiles* is an inexhaustible source from which may be derived valuable biographical details, hints about the nature of Cervantes' travel experiences, his manifold reading, his final attitude on various subjects, either of a literary, political, or social nature—all of which is so indispensable in the study of his peculiar type of genius.

Since Ticknor's day nothing has been done which makes for a worthier appreciation of the *Persiles*.[1] If we were to select, among latter-day books on Cervantes, one read with some frequency, in the hope that it, at least, might present something

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Greece, whence it would be easy to believe that the whole or a part could have been carried into Europe at various periods of the Middle Ages. It was also adopted into Arabic literature, and might have been communicated by the Arabs to their neighbors in southern Italy and Sicily, or to the Spaniards in the Peninsula. No early Spanish version, however, of either the *Arabian Nights* or Sinbad's travels has yet been discovered, while such works as I have been able to consult (mentioned in V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des œuvres arabes* [Liège, 1903], Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.) say nothing satisfactory on this interesting question of Sinbad's travels and their influence in European literature. Cf. also Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 568, 578.

[1] To give an example of the persistence with which his opinions are copied by those who know nothing of Spanish at first hand, mention may be made of a study by Michael Oeftering, printed in Vol. XVIII of the *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, herausg. von Schick und Waldberg (Berlin, 1901). In this uncritical work, entitled "Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur," a few pages are devoted to the Spanish side of the question (pp. 101 ff.), but without any originality whatsoever, for all that is said of the *Persiles* is taken almost verbatim from Ticknor and Bouterwek, or Wolff's *Geschichte des Romans*. H. Koerting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Oppeln und Leipzig, 1891), Vol. I, p. 25, says practically what Bouterwek had said. In the latest edition of his history

worthy of so important an effort as the *Persiles*, the biography of Cervantes by Henry Edward Watts would perhaps suggest itself first; for it is a work written by one who has devotedly given many years to the study and translation of the Spanish novelist. How does Watts view the *Persiles* after a lapse of three hundred years, in whose long perspective the romance has had the time to find its proper place? The biographer of Cervantes[1] begins with the uncritical statement that "of the works about which in his last days Cervantes showed so much anxiety, all but one have perished, probably without any great loss to the author's reputation." Without discussing the difference between reputation, or popularity—in which sense the word is used here—and ultimate position in literature, which is but the measure of immortality granted to the children of fame, one may ask how the latter can be duly meted out, and the true place of a great man be established, if we are willing to overlook such works of his as have had no sustained popularity. Watts continues: "written in Cervantes' old age, [the *Persiles*] bears on its face but too palpable traces of its birth. The only interest it has is a pathetic one, rather personal than literary." And yet no work of Cervantes shows a more vigorous gift of imagination; none, according to all critics, including Watts himself, displays a greater finish in style, and only the *Don Quixote* has an interest, specifically literary, of greater value than the *Persiles*. Or are we, indeed, to look upon it as the last "pathetic" performance of a doddering old man? We hear, furthermore, that "the story is in professed imitation of the *Theagenes and Chariklea*," and that "it is only just to say that it is equal to its model—quite as dull and tedious." We are told also that the book is a return to the style of artificial romance which Cervantes had exploded in the *Don Quixote*, since it deals

Persiles

Heliodorus

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of Spanish literature in French (*Littérature espagnole*, par J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly; traduction de H-D. Davray; Paris, 1904) Mr. F.-K. says, speaking of the *Galatea:* "sauf peut-être dans le *Persiles y Sigismunda* Cervantes n'écrivit jamais avec un plus conscient effort vers la perfection" (p. 228); and of the *Persiles* he says: "cette œuvre de manière et de visées ambitieuses n'a pas reussi à intéresser malgré ses aventures et ses boutades," etc. (p. 249). Cf. also English edition (New York, 1898), pp. 219, 240.

[1] *Miguel de Cervantes: His Life and Works*, by Henry Edward Watts; a new edition, revised and enlarged (London: Ad. and Ch. Black, 1895), pp. 221 ff. The review of the book in the *Revue hispanique* for the same year is by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and, while just, is somewhat severe.

with a life that was never led, by people who could not exist,[1] and several other sweeping generalities, the modicum of the truth of which is concealed or distorted by a failure to see the virtues or the shortcomings of the *Persiles* in their proper relations with the age, as well as the genre of romance in the midst of which it grew. Watts closes by expressing his astonishment that this most insipid of Cervantes' works should have come from the same hand which wrote *Don Quixote*—a circumstance almost incredible, "had we not ample proof of the extraordinary range and diversity of his powers."

In view of the monotonous repetitions of the criticisms already given, it would be of no value to add to their generalities the opinions of various Spanish writers[2] whose uncritical enthusiasm for *Don Quixote* has left no room for any scholarly consideration of the literary importance of the *Persiles*. A résumé of what has been said and done to further an adequate appreciation of the last long work of Cervantes, tells us hardly more, therefore, than that it is at best an imitation of Heliodorus written in a polished style, while the most unfavorable verdict would seem to call it a gratuitous contribution to a type of romance which had long before seen its day. Consequently, to one who realizes the innumerable elements which must have contributed to the make-up of the mind of a Cervantes, it cannot but appear unusually strange that any knowledge whatsoever, which can aid us to understand the genius of the foremost of Spaniards, should have been so persistently disregarded.

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[1] Watts, for example, laughs at Cervantes for giving the name "Mauricio" (Maurice) to a family sprung "from an island in the neighborhood of Ibernia" (p. 577 of the *Persiles*). If we make due allowance, however, for a wholly fictitious romance, in which all characters go under an absurd nomenclature, Spanish as well as foreign, the name "Mauricio" is not bad for an Irishman. Cervantes, no doubt, had heard of James Fitzmaurice, among others of that name, Count Desmond's nephew, who perished (1579) in the Irish Rebellion in which Philip II of Spain played an important part. Cf. Hume, *Españoles é Ingleses en el siglo xvi* (Madrid and London, 1903), pp. 235 ff. Cf. also *Dictionary of National Biography* under "James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald;" incidentally it will become evident from this article how common the name "Maurice" was in that family.

[2] The latest life of Cervantes, the monstrous tome of D. Ramón L. Maínez, *Cervantes y su época* (Jérez y Madrid, 1901–3; huge 4to), is a specimen of the more unfortunate type. This ponderous work is an *indigesta moles*, of little scientific value, in which authentic documents alternate with uncontrolled bursts of extravagant praise. Especially from Vol. III of the *Bibliografía crítica, op. cit.*, by Rius may be gathered how few and how unimportant are the criticisms and opinions which have been expressed on the *Persiles* during several centuries. Cf. especially pp. 64, 46, 59, 107, 140, 307, 382, 395.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF "SIR GYLES GOOSECAPPE"

Sir Gyles Goosecappe was entered on the Stationers' Registers on January 10, 1605/6 to Edward Blount with the proviso that it "be printed acording to the copy whereat Master Wilson's hand is at," an entry that strongly suggests a revision of the acted play before it was licensed for publication.[1] It was published anonymously by Blount later in 1606, and was reprinted in 1636 by Hugh Perry. Perry prefixed to this second edition an elaborate dedication to "the Worshipfull Richard Young of Wooleyfarme in the County of Berks, Esq.," in which he declared that the author, whose name he did not mention, and perhaps did not know, was no longer living. The play does not seem to have been particularly well known, and apparently was never reprinted from 1636 until 1884, when it appeared in the third volume of *A Collection of Old English Plays*, edited by A. H. Bullen. In his introduction to *Sir Gyles* Mr Bullen suggested that the unknown author was probably a student of Chapman, and pointed out the close similarity of a passage in *Sir Gyles*, III, ii (p. 53) to one occurring in Strozza's speech to his wife in *The Gentleman Usher* (IV, i; p. 100, Shepherd's edition). Mr. Bullen held that the anonymous author had either seen *The Gentleman Usher* (first printed in 1606) in MS or had inserted the passage in question in a revision of *Sir Gyles*, which an evident allusion to Queen Elizabeth (I, i; p. 12) shows to have been composed before her death in 1603. In either case Mr. Bullen assumes that the phrase appeared for the first time in *The Gentleman Usher.*

The proof-sheets of Mr. Bullen's *Collection* were seen by Mr. Fleay before the book was published, and in a letter to the *Athenæum* under the date of June 9, 1883, the latter suggested that *Sir Gyles* was the work of Chapman himself, and not of an imitator. The substance of this letter was reprinted by Mr. Bullen in a note appended to his edition of *Sir Gyles* (Vol. III; pp. 93, 94). He admits the resemblance to Chapman's style in certain parts of the play, but holds that the likeness is stronger in the serious than in the comic scenes, and thinks it "curious that, if Chapman was the author, his name did not appear on the title-page of the second edition." If, as I have already suggested, the publisher were ignorant of the author's name, this omission is, of course, accounted for.

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[1] *Vide* Fleay, *English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 322.

In his *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891 (Vol. II, pp. 322, 323), Mr. Fleay repeated his assertion that the play was by Chapman, and fixed the date in 1601 after Biron's visit to England early in September in that year. He goes on, however, to admit that the allusion in III, i (pp. 42, 43) by which he fixes this date may be to a later visit of "French gallants" mentioned by Chamberlain, April 26, 1602. When making this admission, Mr. Fleay apparently forgot that in the first volume of this work (*Biographical Chronicle*, Vol. I, p. 58) he had stated that *The Gentleman Usher*, "probably acted in the Christmas season of 1601–2," was certainly later than *Sir Gyles*. The certainty rests upon the fact, unmentioned, though probably noticed, by Mr. Fleay, that in *The Gentleman Usher* (II, i; p. 85) Bassiolo calls a stupid servant "Sir Giles Goosecap," with evident reference to the foolish hero of the like-named play. "Goosecap" was a not uncommon Elizabethan term for a fool,[1] but the alliterative combination "Sir Gyles Goosecap" occurs, so far as I am aware, only in the play of that name and in this passage in *The Gentleman Usher*.

Mr. Fleay goes on to say that *The Gentleman Usher* was "as certainly before Marston's *Malcontent*." But since he himself in his treatment of Marston fixes the date of this play between October, 1600, and October, 1601 (Vol. II, p. 78), it is plain that if *The Gentleman Usher* were earlier than the *Malcontent*, it cannot have been acted for the first time in the Christmas season of 1601–2. As a matter of fact, there is no connection between the two plays; for Mr. Fleay's attempt to establish such a connection by pointing out a similarity of names, Bilioso in *The Malcontent* and Bassiolo in Chapman's play, and by calling attention to the fact that the former character remarks (III, i) that a gentleman usher called him a coxcomb, whereas the latter, a gentleman usher, *is* called a coxcomb (*Gentleman Usher*, III, i, p. 95 and IV, i, p. 104), carries no conviction whatever.

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[1] See Nash, *Martin's Month's Mind*, p. 45; Dekker, *Gull's Horn-book* ("Temple Classics," p. 26); Ford, *Fancies Chaste and Noble*, IV, i.

All that we can affirm, then, of *The Gentleman Usher* is that it is later than *Sir Gyles;* i. e., after September, 1601, and before its entry in the Stationers' Registers under the title of *Vincentio and Margaret*, November 26, 1605. It is there entered by Valentine Syms, the V. S. who, as the title-page declares, printed *The Gentleman Usher* for Thomas Thorppe.

To return to the authorship of *Sir Gyles:* Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 412, n. 1) notices the statements of Bullen and Fleay without giving his own opinion, and Professor Kittredge (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, p. 10, note) accepts without discussion the ascription of the play to Chapman. So far as I know, this exhausts the literature existing upon this subject.

Sir Gyles Goosecappe is by no means a comedy of remarkable merit, and the student of Elizabethan drama might, perhaps, content himself with the more or less positive ascriptions of this play to Chapman, were it not for the bearing that it has, in case its authorship is demonstrably his, upon that poet's life and development as a dramatist. If the play can be shown to belong to Chapman, as I believe it can, it will connect him with a company of actors for whom he is not so far known to have written, i. e., the Children of the Chapel (see title-page of *Sir Gyles*); it will assign at least one piece of dramatic composition to a period (1599 to 1605) when he is generally supposed to have been wholly occupied with his work on Homer,[1] and it will furnish a rather curious first sketch of certain scenes in one of his finest romantic comedies, *The Gentleman Usher.* Moreover, it will serve to link Chapman's early work for Henslowe with his later dramas, and will exhibit him as a student of the dramatic methods of Lyly and Ben Jonson. It seems to me, therefore, that *Sir Gyles*, if not on its own account, yet for Chapman's sake, deserves a closer study than it has so far received.

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[1] See article in *Dictionary of National Biography* by Bullen, and Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 410.

The external evidence for Chapman's authorship has been summed up by Mr. Fleay in his letter to the *Athenæum* and in his *Chronicle of the English Drama.* He points out that, since *Sir Gyles* was produced by the Children of the Chapel, it must date between 1599 and 1601,[1] probably as its allusion to Biron's visit shows, late in 1601. Now, the only known authors writing for this company in 1601, and dead before 1636, are Marston, Middleton, and Chapman, and of these Chapman is the only possible author of the play, since the evidence of style is clearly against either of the other two. The play shows marked traces of Jonson's influence, and Chapman, as we know, worked on a plot of Benjamin's for Henslowe, and[2] collaborated with him in the composition of *Eastward Hoe.*

This evidence seems to me rather suggestive than conclusive; but the internal evidence is much stronger. Since the play is little known, and Bullen's *Collection*, in which it appears, a comparatively rare book, it may be worth while to preface an examination of this evidence by a brief account of the play.

It opens with a dialogue between three waggish pages of the type that Lyly had fixed, especially in plays written for boy-actors. The purpose of the dialogue is to give a description of some of the chief characters in the play. This preliminary introduction is a well-known device of Jonson's, and had been used by him before the date of *Sir Gyles* in *Cynthia's Revels*, II, i.[3] The second scene is a dialogue between three knights whose "humors" in speech and manner mark the play as a drama of social satire —a form which Jonson was already exploiting. In the third scene the pages trick the knights into a fool's errand to meet the ladies early next day at Barnet. The fourth scene introduces the main action, a romantic love-comedy, which as Professor Kittredge has shown, is largely an adaptation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseide* to the Elizabethan stage.

The second act consists of but one scene, which treats first of

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[1] This should be 1603, I think, when this company was succeeded at Blackfriars by the Children of Her Majesty's Revels.

[2] Marston was also a collaborator in this play, but there is not a trace of his peculiar and strongly marked style in *Sir Gyles.*

[3] Acted by the Chapel Children in 1600.

Momford's appeal to his niece, Eugenia, in behalf of Clarence—a passage closely modeled after Chaucer's account of the first visit of Pandarus to Cryseide—and then of a dialogue between Eugenia and her ladies on the one side, and some fresh visitors on the other, in which the talents of Sir Gyles, a suitor for one of the ladies, are humorously extolled.

The first scene of the third act opens at Barnet, where the deluded knights talk much "besides the matter," especially Sir Gyles, who speaks "as backward still as if a crabfish had bitten him by the tongue." The pages meet them, persuade them that their disappointment was planned by the ladies as a test of their love and patience, and tell them of a great supper at Lord Furnifall's house to which the ladies are invited. The knights resolve to attend, not only to see the ladies, but to divert themselves with the "drinking humor" of Lady Furnifall, who "is never in any sociable veine till she be typsie." It is worth noting that Lady Furnifall does not appear in the list of characters, and that no such scene as we are here led to expect occurs in the play. Possibly it may have had a personal reference which led to its omission when the play was revised for publication. In the second scene Clarence composes, with the aid of music, a letter to his lady, and discusses with Momford the nature and influence of woman. The scene is written in stately blank verse, marred here and there by a touch of pedantry, but rising at times to a dignity of both thought and expression that is eminently characteristic of Chapman. Mr. Fleay holds, indeed, that it is quite impossible to doubt the authorship of such a passage as the first speech of Clarence in this scene.

The fourth act opens at Eugenia's house, where, after a bit of easy, though not particularly witty, dialogue, Momford appears bearing Clarence's letter. In a scene of considerable comic power he inveigles Eugenia into writing an answer in which she promises to marry Clarence, and then, like Pandarus in Chaucer's poem, invites her to stop at his house. To the objection that he may be plotting to bring her together with Clarence he answers by assuring her that his friend is "extreame sick and cannot come abroade." The second scene, at Lord Furnifall's house, is strikingly deficient in action; I take it that the scene of Lady Furnifall's drinking humor occurred here and has been struck out. The third scene is a dialogue between Clarence and Momford, remarkable only for the former's paradoxical defense of ladies' painting. At the close of the scene Momford informs his friend that Eugenia is coming to supper, and begs him to feign sickness, and then, while apparently unaware of her presence, to "speak that which may make her flie into his opened armes."

The first scene of the fifth act is laid at Momford's house. Sir Gyles displays his skill in needlework and his folly in speech before his mistress, and Momford praises Clarence in a speech of "eloquent but somewhat strained language," in which even at first reading Mr. Bullen saw a likeness to Chapman's style. The long second scene concludes the play. Clarence tells the doctor of his love and reverence for Eugenia; she overhears him and takes an opportunity, without Momford's knowledge, to confess to Clarence that she returns his love and to betroth herself to him. In the midst of an outburst of Momford's on the levity of women Eugenia reveals herself and receives his blessing and his announcement that Clarence is the heir to his earldom. The play ends with the bestowal of Eugenia's ladies upon Sir Gyles and one of his friends, while the other, Captain Foulweather, is crowned with a willow garland.

Every student of Chapman is familiar with his repetitions, not merely of words and phrases, but of similes, incidents, and situations. If, therefore, in a play whose authorship may be assigned to him on external grounds, we find a remarkable number of such coincidences, the possibility becomes a probability—as strong a probability as we can attain in matters of this sort where mathematical certainty is, by the nature of things, impossible. Even in my brief sketch of *Sir Gyles* some of the analogies to Chapman's known plays have been pointed out. It remains to make an investigation of the play on this basis. I quote, referring to pages in Bullen's *Collection* and in Shepherd's *Works of Chapman—Plays.*

Bullen, p. 21: Jack says, after playing a trick on the knights: "Here's a most sweet gudgeon swallowed."

Chapman, p. 62: Rinaldo says, when proposing to play a trick on Marc Antonio: "Do you think he'll swallow down the gudgeon?"

Bullen, p. 28: With Momford and Wynnifred's joke, "hose about your heeles," cf. Poggio's dream in *The Gentleman Usher*, p. 78.

Bullen, p. 29: With the stage direction, "*Enter Wynnifred, Anabell with their sewing workes and sing*," cf. the directions in *All Fooles*, p. 58, "*Enter Gazetta sewing*," and below, "*Gazetta sits and sings sewing*."[1]

The word "Eternesse," apparently a coinage of Chapman's (see *New English Dictionary*), appears Bullen, p. 29, and in *Byron's Tragedy*, p. 269.

Bullen, pp. 30 and 32: The ejaculations, "*God's pity*" and "*God's precious*," unknown to Shakespeare, are of repeated occurrence in *The Gentleman Usher* (pp. 98, 103, 105 (*bis*), 106, 108).

Bullen, p. 30: The rare word "mankindelie" = "cruelly," of which this instance alone is given in the *N. E. D.*, may be compared with Chapman's use of "mankinde" (*All Fools*, p. 69, where Shepherd quite unwarrantably alters to "unkind;" *Gentleman Usher*, p. 96, also altered by Shepherd). The use of "mankinde" as an adjective meaning "cruel" is not unknown in the Elizabethan English; *N. E. D.* gives instances from *Ralph Royster Doyster*, *The Scourge of Villany*, and *The City Madam*. But it is infrequent enough to attract our attention, and its repeated use in *All Fools* and *The Gentleman Usher* is analogous, at least, to the use of the corresponding "mankindelie" in *Sir Gyles*.

Bullen, p. 31: The stage direction, *He daunceth speaking*, reminds one of a somewhat similar direction, *He untrusses and capers*, in *All Fools*, p. 60. The situations, to be sure, are by no means the same. It may be, however, that the same actor took the parts of Momford and Valerio at the Blackfriars, and that this direction was inserted to give him a chance to do a "dancing turn." There seems to be no particular reason in *Sir Gyles* why Momford should dance in this particular scene.

Bullen, p. 39: Lord Tales's remark on Sir Gyles, "He has an excellent skill in all manners of perfumes, and if you will bring him gloves frõ forty pence, to forty shillings a paire, he will tell you the price of them to two pence," has an exact parallel in *All Fools*, p. 72:

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[1] Cf. also a direction in *Eastward Hoe* (Shepherd, p. 453).

> [Dariotto] can tell ye . . . .
> That there is not in the whole Rialto
> . . . . One pair of gloves pretty or well perfumed,
> And from a pair of gloves of half-a-crown
> To twenty crowns, will to a very scute
> Smell out the price.

Bullen, p. 51:

> Ill power my poor soule forth
> In floods of ink:

Cf. *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad VI, ll. 139, 140:

> In floods of ink
> Must droun thy graces.

Bullen, p. 53: Momford's speech in defense of women has certain resemblances, though not very close, in diction to Valerio's defense of love (*All Fools*, p. 100). The striking similarity between Momford's phrase "sweete apes of humaine soules" and Strozza's "in all things his [man's] sweet ape" (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 100) was pointed out by Mr. Bullen. Even apart from this I believe no student of Chapman can read this speech of Momford's without feeling that it is in the same vein and by the same hand as Strozza's speech.

Bullen, pp. 71, 72: Clarence's defense of women's practice of painting their faces is a paradox very much in Chapman's manner. No Elizabethan dramatist took such delight in expressing opinions which ran counter to the conventions of his day. He represented the hated Duke of Guise as a hero in *The Revenge for Bussy*, and put a defense of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew into the mouth of the main hero of that play. He defends the practice of dueling in *Bussy D'Ambois* (pp. 148, 149), of pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, and of hanging votive offerings at their shrines in the *Gentleman Usher* (p. 10). The involved and labored style of Clarence's speech is quite as markedly in Chapman's manner as is its paradoxical turn of thought.

Bullen, p. 78: Hippolita's speech beginning, "Respect, my Lord," expresses an idea, common enough in Chapman, that the man who is sufficient unto himself is greater than a king. This conception of the stoical hero is worked out in detail in the figure of Clermont in *The Revenge for Bussy*. Bullen has noted the likeness to Chapman in Momford's speech at the foot of this page. The last lines of this speech,

> Then wood my friend be something, but till then
> A cipher, nothing or the worst of men,

bear a distinct likeness to the first speech of Monsieur in *Bussy* (p. 141):

> There is no second place in numerous state
> That holds more than a cipher.

The use of the word "cipher," i. e., "zero," to denote a man of no importance is alike in both passages.

Enough has been said, I believe, to show the striking likeness between *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* and undoubted plays of Chapman. There remains, however, a special likeness between *Sir Gyles* and *The Gentleman Usher*. Mr. Bullen holds that the likeness of *Sir Gyles* to Chapman's work is stronger in the serious than in the comic scenes. More easily discernible, perhaps, for Chapman seems, to me at least, more individual in his elevated but somewhat cumbrous verse than in the racy and fluent prose which he shares with so many of his contemporary dramatists. But I have pointed out two distinct parallels to Chapman's work in the comic scenes of *Sir Gyles;* and I would further call attention to the close similarity in humor, if so it may be called, between the character of Sir Gyles himself and that of Poggio in *The Gentleman Usher*. Both are foolish, prattling busybodies; but the mark they have in common—a mark which distinguishes them from the ordinary run of Elizabethan clowns—is an ingenious faculty of putting the cart before the horse in speech. Compare, for example, Poggio's account of the attempted murder of Vincentio (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 107), with Sir Gyles's talk about horses (Bullen, pp. 41, 42). A single instance of this sort is, of course, of little value in itself, but ridiculous talk of this peculiar kind is put in the mouth of these two characters steadily and consistently in each play. And, what is more important, their fellow-characters in each case notice and comment on it. Strozza calls Poggio "cousin Hysteron Proteron" (*Gentleman Usher*, p. 78), and Rudesby says to Sir Gyles: "I lay my life some crabfish has bitten thee by the tongue, thou speakest so backward still" (Bullen, p. 42).

Possibly, if we possessed *Sir Gyles* in its original and unrevised form, a still more striking similarity to *The Gentleman Usher* might be pointed out. I have already spoken of the apparent fact that a scene containing the "drinking humor" of Lady Furnifall was struck out in the copy of the former play which was licensed for publication. Every reader of Chapman will remember the grotesque scenes in *The Gentleman Usher* in which Corteza's "humor of the cup" is portrayed. They constitute an unhappy blot upon Chapman's most poetic and romantic comedy, and serve no purpose whatever save to tickle the groundlings. Is it not a fair supposition that a scene in *Sir Gyles* which had proved its value as a laugh-raiser, but which had been struck out on account of its personal satire, real or alleged, was later incorporated in *The Gentleman Usher*, and assigned then to a character in whom not even the sharpest censor's eye could discover a personal allusion? It is further worth noting, I think, that Lady Furnifall is described (Bullen, p. 47) as "never in any sociable veine till she be typsie, for in her sobriety she is mad," i. e., bad-tempered. Corteza in *The Gentleman Usher* is in her sober moments a malignant shrew; in her intoxication she is most affable, not to say amorous. Again, Lord Furnifall is said to "make his wife drunk and then dote on her humour," exactly as Poggio (p. 92) makes Corteza drunk, and calls her behavior "the best sport." The jest does not strike us as in particularly good taste, but Chapman, as his earliest play, *The Blind Beggar*, shows, was by no means scrupulous in his devices for raising a laugh, and drunkenness has been a favorite theme of the comic writer from the days of Aristophanes to those of Dickens.

In the higher comedy, as opposed to the farcical scenes of *Sir Gyles*, there is, as Mr. Fleay has pointed out, a striking similarity between the scene in which Momford brings a love-letter to

Eugenia and writes an answer at her dictation (*Sir Gyles*, IV, i), and the scene in which Bassiolo performs the same offices for Margaret (*Gentleman Usher*, III, i). The similarity might perhaps be called a likeness in difference. In the one Momford overrules the lady, and alters and enlarges the letter at his pleasure; in the other the deluded Bassiolo is made the veriest butt of his sharp-witted mistress. Yet it is impossible to read the two scenes in connection without feeling that the second is a variation of, and in comic force an immense improvement upon, the first. Here, as elsewhere, I believe, Chapman worked over a bit of *Sir Gyles* for his later play. It is worth noting that another comic scene in which the dictation of a love-letter (in this case a practical joke) plays a main part is found in another of Chapman's plays, *Monsieur D'Olive*, IV, i.

The testimony, it seems to me, is fairly convincing that *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* is a play of Chapman's, and when in due time we obtain a critical and definitive edition of this neglected dramatist, it might well be included among his plays, even if it should oust such more than doubtful compositions as *Alphonsus* or *Revenge for Honour*.

Assuming, then, the fact of Chapman's authorship of *Sir Gyles*, we find him, about two years after his last recorded connection with Henslowe, writing for the Chapel Children. His connection with this company is the more likely since his friend Jonson was at this time their leading playwright, composing for them, among other comedies, the *Poetaster*, in which Chapman was lauded under the transparent disguise of Virgil.[1] It was probably for this company also that Chapman wrote *May-Day*, which, although not printed till 1611, must have been composed early in the century, as is shown by its parody of a passage in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, acted *ca.* 1600. Such a parody would be effective only so long as the original passage was fresh in the minds of the audience. If *May-Day* was acted at Blackfriars, as the title-page tells us, and before 1603, it must have been acted by the Chapel Children. It was by the successors of this company, the

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[1] In spite of Mr. Lee's attempt to identify Virgil with Shakespeare (*Life of Shakespeare* p. 218, note), I hold this to be fairly well established.

Children of Her Majesty's Revels, that *All Fools* was acted at the same theater and at court on January 1, 1605.[1] *Monsieur D'Olive* and *Eastward Hoe* were acted by the same company, and it is a fair guess that *The Gentleman Usher*, in regard to whose production we know nothing, was also brought out by them. It is plain, I think, if *Sir Gyles*, *May-Day*, and *Eastward Hoe* were written, and *All Fools* revised for the Blackfriars companies between 1599 and 1605, that we must reject the notion of Chapman's having withdrawn from the stage at this time to devote himself to the translation of Homer. And, in fact, there is not the slightest ground for this assertion. Chapman's work on Homer began to appear at a time when he was busily engaged with Henslowe; the *First Seven Books of Homer's Iliad* and *Achilles' Shield* were published in 1598.[2] His next fragment of Homeric translation, the first twelve books, was not published till 1609–10, when he was under the patronage of Prince Henry —a patronage which probably relieved him from the necessity of writing for the stage, and allowed him to devote himself wholly to his studies. That Chapman, when once engaged upon this work, translated at almost an incredible speed, we know from his own statement, "that less than fifteen weeks was the time in which all the last twelve books were entirely new translated." ("Preface to the Reader" in *The Iliads of Homer*, 1611). It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to suppose him plunged in Homeric studies between 1599 and 1605, without producing any results of these until 1610.

Finally, *Sir Gyles* shows Chapman's first attempt at a form of mingled farce and romantic comedy in which he was to achieve such notable results as the *Gentleman Usher* and *Monsieur D' Olive.* His earliest work for Henslowe, was, if we may judge from the two plays of this period which are preserved, *The Blind Beggar* and *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, crude enough. It was lively and vigorous, but lacked almost entirely the breath of poetry and the note of romance that marks the three comedies just mentioned. And if *Sir Gyles* is weak in construction and notably deficient in action, this is no argument against Chapman's authorship.[1] His best-constructed plays are *All Fools* and *May-Day*, adaptations from Latin and Italian comedy, and *Eastward Hoe*, in which he was assisted by that master of dramatic architecture, Ben Jonson. And the lack of action in *Sir Gyles* may well be due to Chapman's uncertainty as to what would please the more refined and critical audience of the private theater for whom he had deserted the mob that packed Henslowe's theater to applaud such boisterous farce as *The Blind Beggar*. *Sir Gyles* is not Chapman's first play, but it is his first work in a style of composition in which he later gained distinguished success. I am inclined to believe, moreover, that the romantic comedy of Chapman's exercised an influence upon a later dramatist which has not yet been recognized. The question of Chapman's influence upon Fletcher deserves, in my opinion, to be carefully investigated. There are, at any rate, several interesting parallels in situation and tone between both *Sir Gyles* and *The Gentleman Usher*, on the one hand, and two of Fletcher's characteristic comedies on the other.

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[1] This latter fact we owe to an entry in the Revels Accounts, published by Cunningham for the Shakespeare Society. The entry, indeed, is a forgery, but it is supposed to be based upon a genuine document used by Malone.

[2] Fleay holds that this work on Homer was done before Chapman began to write plays (*English Drama*, Vol. I, p. 52).

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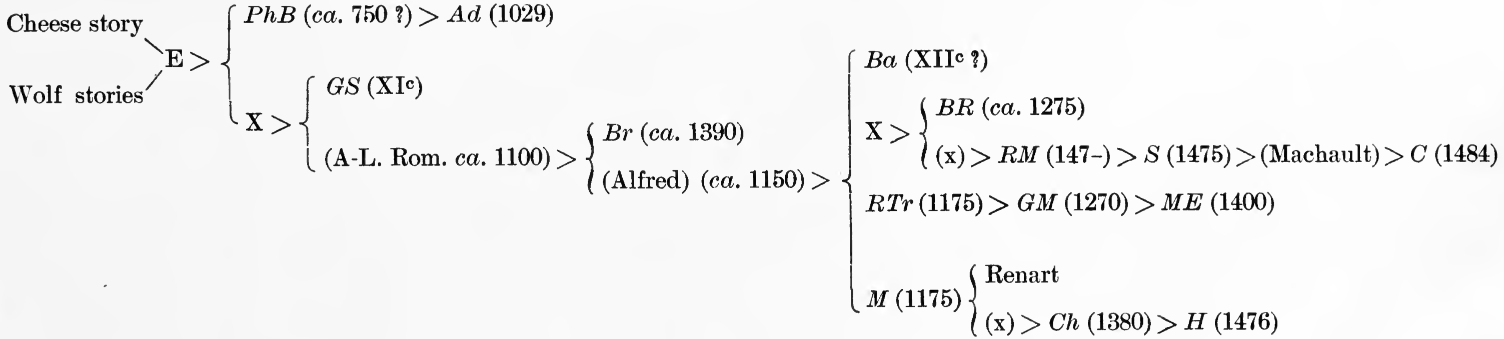
[1] Chapman's tragedies, modeled upon the Senecan drama, are fuller of words than action, but his comedies are crowded with action and incident.

GENEALOGY OF THE FABLE


Cheese story
Wolf stories
E >
PhB (*ca.* 750 ?) > *Ad* (1029)
X >
GS (XI^c)
(A-L. Rom. *ca.* 1100) >
Br (*ca.* 1390)
(Alfred) (*ca.* 1150) >
Ba (XII^c ?)
X >
BR (*ca.* 1275)
(x) > *RM* (147–) > *S* (1475) > (Machault) > *C* (1484)
RTr (1175) > *GM* (1270) > *ME* (1400)
M (1175)
Renart
(x) > *Ch* (1380) > *H* (1476)

COCK AND FOX

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE HISTORY AND SOURCES OF THE MEDIÆVAL FABLE

The story of the Cock and the Fox has long had a wide range and popularity. It is known, in one form or another, as extending from oriental antiquity down to our own days. It is known in the different genres of animal epic, clerkly fable, and folklore tale. It is known and celebrated in the varying versions of Chaucer, the *Roman de Renart*, Marie de France—and Uncle Remus.

The fable proper seems in its entirety a special mediæval growth. Its oriental[1] forms are too remote for purposes of derivation or of discussion. It has not been discovered in Greek antiquity or in classical Latinity. A kindred form, however, is found in Apuleius, and there seems, as will be noted, even some reason to suppose that it may have constituted part of the original *Phœdrus* collection which has not come down to us.

The known and accessible mediæval versions, strictly of this fable, are about fifteen in number, and they extend apparently from the Rheims MS of the Appendix to Phædrus (*ca.* 750) down to the publication of Caxton in 1484. In the following list these orthodox versions alone are enumerated. There are in addition some twelve allied stories and fables which will be reserved for later treatment.[2]

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[1] See Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, 610; Vartan, 12, 13; Jacobs is mistaken in his reference to the *Katha-Sarit-Sagara;* but see especially Benfey, I, 310, with which cf. Miss Petersen, *Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (Boston, 1898, pp. 40–42). This is the story of the "kiss" theme, which is closely related to the "decree" theme of the Fox and Dove (Warnke's *Marie*, LXI). There are also the jackal story and the sparrow story (references in Miss Petersen, pp. 16, 27, 37). These may possibly be allowed an influence of the oral tradition sort. But until the Fox and Cock fable is found entire in some collection—oriental, classical, or pre-mediæval—the *a priori* hypothesis later advocated may be considered as tenable.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. A. Marshall Elliott, head of the Romance seminary of Johns Hopkins University; to Dr. George C. Keidel, associate in the department, for much assistance in arranging the material; and to various members of the seminary—especially to Mr. D. B. Easter—for help in collecting versions. The paper, in so far as concerns the main method of *motifs*, proceeds along the regular lines followed in this seminary. It may

I. LIST OF VERSIONS

(These are arranged chronologically.)

1. "Appendix Fabularum Æsopiarum, ex MS Divionensi, Rimicio, Romulo et aliis," part of *Phaedri Aug. Liberti, Fabularum Æsopiarum, etc., curante Petro Burmanno* (*editio quarta*) (Lugduni Batavorum, 1778), Fab. XIII, p. 382. Rheims MS(?) Date *ca.* 750(?) Phaedr. Burm. App. = PhB.[1]

2. "B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini, Abbatis, etc., Opera Omnia, Tomus Secundus," part of Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CI (Lutetia Parisiorum, 1863), Carmen CCLXXVIII, col. 805. Date *ca.* 800. Alcuin = Al.[1]

3. Grimm and Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jh.* (Göttingen, 1838),[2] pp. 345–54. Date probably eleventh century. = GS.[1]

4. Ademar de Chabannes, "Fabulae Antiquae," in Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1893), Vol. II, second ed., Fab. XXX, p. 142. Date before 1029. = Ad.

5. "(Alter) Æsopus de Baldo," in Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* (Paris, 1854), Fab. XXIII, p. 253. Date not known—probably twelfth century.[3] = Ba.

6. Warnke, *Fabeln der Marie de France* (Halle, 1898), Fab. LX p. 198. Date *ca.* 1175. = M. (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Vol. II, Fab. LI, p. 240, has variants which affect only the subordinate *motifs*.)

7. "Romulus Trevirensis," Hervieux, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Fab. L, p. 598. Date *ca.* 1175. = RTr. ("L. B. G." is a misnomer for this collection.)

8. Leitzmann, *Gerhard von Minden* (Halle, 1898), Fab. 112, p. 165. Date *ca.* 1270. = GM.

9. "Romulus Bernensis," Hervieux, Vol. II, Fab. XXI, p. 308. Date *ca.* 1275. = BR.

10. Bromiardus, *Summa Praedicantium* (Nuremberg, 1518), h. XIII, 28. Date *ca.* 1390. = Br.

11. *Magdebürger Æsop*, also known as *Gerhard von Minden* (Seelmann, Bremen, 1878; *Niederdeutsche Denkmäler*, Book II), Fab. XLVI, p. 65. Date *ca.* 1400. = ME.

12. "Romulus Monacensis," Hervieux, Vol. II, Fab. XXVIII, p. 274. Date *ca.* 147–. = RM. (Misnomer *Fabulae Extravagantes.*)

13. *Stainhöwels Æsop* (Oesterley, Tübingen, 1873), Book V, Fab. LXXXIII (*Fab. Extr.*, III), p. 196. Date 1475. = S.

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interest fable specialists to know that some fifty fables have been in such fashion worked out, from Marie de France as a basis; and that the quantity of material thus accumulated probably surpasses any similar collection in the country.

[1] Abbreviations used in the tables.

[2] Courtesy of the library of Columbia University.

[3] See Du Méril, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 216.

14. *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson* (D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1865), "Tail of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe," pp. 118–26. Date 1476. =H.

15. *The Fables of Æsop as First Printed by William Caxton* (Jacobs, London, 1889), Vol. II, Book V, Fab. III, p. 132. Date 1484. =C.

II. PLOT OF THE FABLE

I will give the oldest and one of the baldest versions, which is that of the Appendix to Phædrus; then one of the latest and best, which is that of Marie. Attention is called to the principal divergences:

PhB—*Perdix et Vulpis*

A partridge once sat in a high tree. A fox came up. Then he began to talk thus: "Oh, how great is the beauty of your face, partridge! Your beak surpasses coral, your legs the splendor of purple. But if you would sleep, how much prettier you would be!" So the foolish thing shut her eyes; the fox immediately carried off the credulous creature. She uttered supplicatingly these words mingled with grievous weeping: "By the dignity [*decus*] of your arts, fox, I beg you to speak my name first, [and] then you will eat." When the fox wanted to talk, he opened his mouth; but the partridge slipped away from the fool. The deluded fox [says]: "What use [was there] in my talking?" Replies the partridge: "And what use in my sleeping? Was it necessary for one to whom sleep came not?" This is for those people who talk when there is no need, and who sleep when they ought to watch.

MARIE, *De Vulpe et Gallo*

I tell of a *cock* who stood on a dung-hill and *sang*. Near him came a fox and addressed him in very fine words. "Sir," he says, "I see you are very beautiful; I never saw such a nice bird. Your *voice* is clear beyond everything: except your *father*, whom I saw,[1] never did a bird sing better; but he did better, because he shut his eyes." "So can I," said the cock. He flapped his wings, he shut his eyes; he thought he would sing more clearly. The fox jumps forward and takes him; and withal away he goes toward the forest. All the *shepherds ran after*, through a field where he passed; the *dogs* bark at him all around. "See the fox who holds the cock. In an evil hour he deceived him, if he comes this way!" "Come," says the cock, "cry to them that *I am yours* and do not let me go!" The fox wants to talk aloud, and the cock leaps out of his mouth; he mounted on a high tree. When the fox came to his senses, he considered himself very much fooled, since the cock tricked him so. With indignation and with full anger he commences to curse his *mouth*, which talks when it ought to keep quiet. The cock replies: "So ought I to do: [I ought] to curse my eye which wants to close, when it ought to watch and ward lest evil come to its master."

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[1] *Conui* (Roquefort).

Fools do this: a great many people talk when they ought to stop, and keep quiet when they ought to talk.

The additions and improvements are readily seen. In Marie, the cock is singing; the fox flatters his voice and stimulates him to surpass his father; there is a pursuit of shepherds and dogs; the cock escapes by telling the fox to cry, "I am yours;" and the fox abuses his mouth.

III. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Such is the story. It is now our task to trace this story from its earliest to its latest appearance in mediæval fable literature, and to discover what are the relations of the versions among themselves.

In order to do this, we must have resort to one or more of the three methods usually allowed for determining such data: i. e., (1) by external evidence; (2) by external-internal evidence; (3) by internal evidence. Of these three, the first will concern us only for verification or refutation;[1] the second will be of but slight service; while the third is the standard adopted in this paper, because of its far-reaching applications, as well as of the accurate and unimpeachable character of its inferences when deduced with care. The procedure within this class is usually that of the tabulation of *motifs;* and an exhaustive list of the words and ideas in each fable, with their repetitions, imitations, parallels, or substitutions in other fables, is held to furnish a sufficiently plausible basis for the erection of a genealogical tree.

The justness of the method needs in general no defense. But in practical application, when one has a hundred or more *motifs* to consider, when each *motif* has a given number, and each is numerically equal to any other, the bewildering cloud of details tends to obscure the main facts and figures in the story, and we find it difficult to see the wood for the trees—or the underbrush. It has occurred to me, therefore, that it might be well to distinguish between the importance of *motifs*. To illustrate: It is evidently of more consequence in the two versions just given whether the bird closes his eyes, than whether or not he is said to have a beautiful beak; the fact that there is a pursuit is of more consequence than the circumstance that the bird flaps his wings; the escape of the bird helps us more than the details of that escape. It is true that some significant or peculiar circumstance, not of a conventional character, will, if repeated, aid greatly in establishing relations. But, as a rule, it is manifestly the chief outlines of the story that call for primary consideration.

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[1] There is little enough in this class concentrating on the individual fable—though data for whole collections are more abundant. We will include here general opinions of authorities (see Division VIII).

Granting then a different value in *motifs*, the question arises how to mark that value. It would be possible in one voluminous table to include all major and minor *motifs*, according to each a numerical value proportionate to the degree of its significance. But I have abandoned this plan as at once too mechanical, too confusing, and too elaborate; for a *motif* that is important for a group may lose its importance within the group; and again the ranking would lead to infinite subtleties and would be largely subject to *a posteriori* considerations. Accordingly, I have made three distinct classes of *motifs*. The first are those three or four essential points which really make the story—and these I have called *themes*. The second are the subdivisions and the striking incidents or circumstances (some forty in number) which are least to be ignored and which constitute the development of the story—and these I have called *Leitmotiven*. The third class includes the two or three hundred details—often minutiæ—which will help where the others prove insufficient. These we may style *motifs* simply. The themes and *Leitmotiven* I have exhibited in Analytical Table I, which forms the basis of the first part of the paper. The second table[1] will confirm what this only tentatively establishes, will correct it, and will furnish minute clues where such are needed.

The statement that the themes are essential does not mean that they are to be found in every version of the actual fable;

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[1] Too bulky to print. It is merely an extension of Table I, about six times its size. It has been made over four times and should be reasonably complete and accurate (see Division V).

ANALYTICAL TABLE I

	(*Leitmotiven* Marked with Greek Letters)	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	(Ch)	H	(Apuleius)	(Bozon)
	(Century)	XI	VIII	? *Ca.* 750	*Ca.* 1029	*Ca.* 1390	? XII	*Ca.* 1275	*Ca.* 147-	1475	1484	*Ca.* 1175	1270	*Ca.* 1400	*Ca.* 1175	*Ca.* 1380	1476	II	1325
	I. INTRODUCTION	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	a. Title	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
α	Partridge and Fox	..	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
β	Crow and { Cheese / Fox }	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	Bo
γ	*b.* Moral	..	..	..	..	(Br)	..	..	RM	S	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	..
	c. Description of Beast	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	d. Description of Bird	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	e. Proverb	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	f. Circumstances	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
δ	*g.* *Concours*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	..
ε	II. RUSE OF BEAST	GS	..	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo
ζ	Wolf	..	Al	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	a. Approach	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
η	*b.* Appeal to vanity	GS	..	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo
θ	1. Of Person	..	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	..	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo
ι	2. Of Voice	GS	..	..	..	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	Bo
κ	3. Of Race	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	..
λ	*c.* Father	GS	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	..	Bo
μ	*d.* "Sing"	..	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	..	..	..	..	H	Ap	Bo
ν	*e.* "Sleep"	..	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ξ	*f.* "Close eyes"	GS	..	..	..	Br	..	..	..	..	..	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	..	..	..
ο	*g.* "Open mouth"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	Bo
π	*h.* Bird leaps	GS	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ρ	*i.* Titbit	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ap	Bo
	III. BIRD TRICKED	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	a. Motives	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	b. Actions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
σ	*c.* Is taken	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	Br	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	..	..
	d. Regrets	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	e. Attendant circumstance	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
τ	IV. PURSUIT	(GS)	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	..	..
	a. Personages	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
υ	1. Shepards and dogs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	RTr	GM	ME	M	..	..	..	..
φ	2. Town-people	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	RM	S	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	b. Manner	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
χ	*c.* Speech	GS	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	..	..	..	M	..	..	..	..
	d. Circumstances	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
ψ	V. RUSE OF BIRD	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	..	..
ω	*a.* "they say"	GS	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
α′	*b.* "tell them"	GS	..	..	..	..	Ba	BR	..	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	..	..	..
β′	*c.* "my name"	..	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
γ′	*d.* "your voice"	..	Al	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	VI. ESCAPE OF BIRD	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
δ′	*a.* Beast opens mouth	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	..	..
ε′	*b.* Bird flies away	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	..	Ba	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	H	Ap	..
ζ′	*c.* Bird's speech "thou liest"	..	..	..	..	..	..	BR	RM	S	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
η′	*d.* Beast's disgust beats himself	..	..	..	..	..	..	BR	RM	S	C	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
	VII. MORAL	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
θ′	*a.* From beast	GS	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	BR	RM	S	C	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	..	..	..
ι′	*b.* From bird	GS	Al	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	..	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	..	..	..
κ′	*c.* Reciprocal	GS	..	PhB	Ad	..	..	..	..	..	(C)	RTr	GM	ME	M	Ch	..	Ap	..
λ′	*d.* From author Church influence	GS	Al	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ch	..	..	..
35		18	8	13	13	6	13	16	17	18	19	17	16	16	17	16	11	13	9

but they are the principal points of departure, and every version is incomplete without them. The themes are:

1. The RUSE OF THE BEAST, with its accomplishment.
2. The PURSUIT.
3. The RUSE OF THE BIRD—its escape.

(With the RECIPROCAL MORAL as a doubtful fourth.)

IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF A TREE BY LEITMOTIVEN

The Marie version has been given as representing very closely the orthodox or complete form of the fable. Let us then examine the other versions, having this standard in mind.

The earliest is that of the Burmanus Phædrus Appendix (PhB), which I take in this instance to derive from the Rheims MS,[1] and which is distinguished in the following particulars: The bird is a partridge; there is no appeal to the vanity of voice, nor mention of a father, nor request to sing; the bird is asked to sleep; there is no pursuit; the fox, foolishly enough, is beguiled into pronouncing the bird's name. There are three of these *Leitmotiven* which are found only in PhB and Ademar (Ad). PhB and Ad have each 13 *motifs*,[2] and they are identical. Therefore PhB > Ad[3] probably as a direct source.

Let us turn to the other two early versions, Grimm and Schmeller (GS) and Alcuin (Al).

It had as well be stated here that this fable, since it is not found in our text of Phædrus, nor in the principal Romulus versions, since it is one of the *Fabulae Extravagantes*, must have had, as to its main outlines, and some time before the tenth or eleventh century, a source unconnected with the central streams of fable literature. Where is this source to be found? Very likely in ecclesiastical circles; for the church influence is strong both in GS and in Al.

To consider Al first, this version is extremely remote from our standard. We have only one theme—the Ruse and Escape of bird—no pursuit, and no ruse of beast, who is here a wolf. Al agrees in but five *motifs* with PhB and Ad. Therefore it can hardly itself be a source, and its common origin with the partridge story must be very remote indeed.

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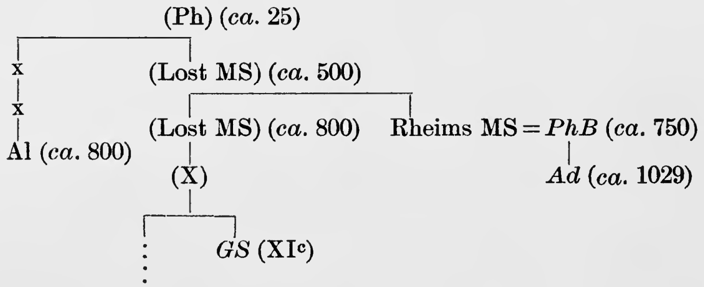
[1] Since it gives Ad. See Hervieux, Vol. I, pp. 68, 80, for a discussion of this lost MS.

[2] Throughout this first part *motif* = *Leitmotif*.

[3] See G. Paris, review of Hervieux in *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 684, 685.

GS is much nearer the norm. It is, parenthetically, the longest of the versions, and contains a great deal of extraneous matter. But when boiled down it is seen to contain, at least in germ, nearly all the later material. It is true that the pursuit is only suggested. There is no flattery of person. Yet it agrees with Marie, for instance, in 14 *motifs*, which leaves it only 3 unaccounted for. One of these (π) is peculiar to itself, while another (ω) is found in subsequent collections, though not in the Marie branch. The "church influence" (λ'), while a possible quality of the source, cannot be expected invariably to persist. The inference is that GS is close to the source (i. e., the secondary mediæval source) from which the bulk of our versions derive. The relation of GS to PhB and Ad is not so close. They agree in 9 *motifs*.

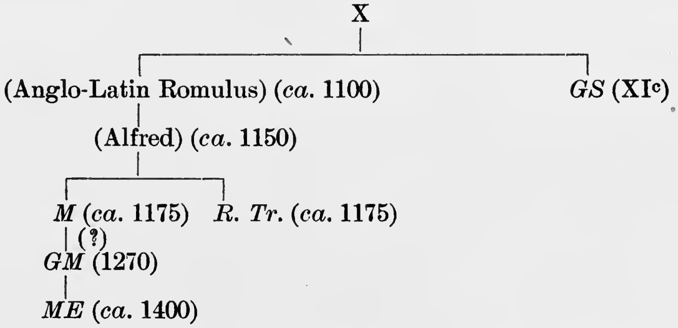
One would then be tempted to conclude that the fable was probably in the lost portion of the original Phædrus; that through several intermediaries it gave on the one hand PhB and Ad, on the other the common source (designated as X) of GS and the later versions; while in a mutilated form, and through a mixture with some wolf story, it may have contributed to Alcuin's hexameters. This suggests the following scheme (lost versions in parentheses):



This table, as will be seen, is extremely constructive. We shall find reason later to examine its reliability. But for the present the source question may be left here.

The Baldo I must leave for later discussion. It has not a single distinctive *Leitmotif.*

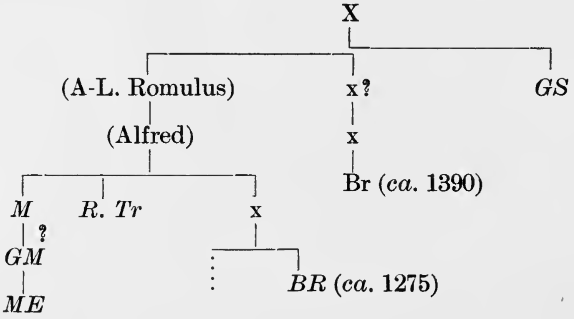
The next in order is the Marie branch. It has been seen that M agrees with GS in 14 *motifs*. The differences are in the flattery of person (θ) and the developed form of the pursuit, which indicates several intervening versions. M further agrees with RTr, GM, ME, in 15 *motifs*, 3 of them distinctive—note especially the important (υ) *motif* of the shepherds and dogs. These also share with GS and Br the (ξ) *motif* "close eyes." Therefore there is no doubt of the intimate relation of these first four. RTr is distinguished from the other three in that it contains the suggestion to "sing" (μ). Its date also makes it contemporary with M. The descent of the other three would then seem direct: M > GM > ME (?). Their differentiations are too slight at present for such inference. But the relationship to the main stem is clearly



As to Br and BR the question is more complicated. The Berne Romulus offers particular difficulties. There are two collections of this name, the one deriving from the Romulus Vulgaris in two parts, while the other is more directly out of Romulus Primitivus. Our fable is in that part of the first collection which is supposed to come out of the Romulus Vulgaris directly. But our fable is not in the Romulus Vulgaris, and therefore cannot be in its true descendants. The same holds good for Br, S, H, all of which usually derive from the Romulus Vulgaris. Hence these versions, BR, Br, S, H, are from a branch independent of Romulus Vulgaris and even of Romulus Primitivus. This is natural enough when we remember that the fable is one of the *Extravagantes.* They are all near enough our X to derive therefrom. That is to say they have the same general relationship to GS which we have found in the others.

BR and GS have 12 *motifs* in common, though none distinctive to the two. BR shares four distinctive *motifs* with the S group, and none with the M group. It may therefore be considered as out of a common source with the S group, more remotely with the M group, since they agree in ten general *motifs;* also the "speech" *motif* (χ), which is already in GS, forms a further point of agreement between M alone, BR, and the S group, indicating that all three are fairly near the source.

The form of Br is so truncated that any inferences are likely to be unwarranted. It develops only one theme—the Ruse of the Beast—and has but 6 *motifs.* Yet of these 6, γ (doubtful) is shared distinctively with the S group, and ξ with GS and the M group. Otherwise he follows GS. He might accordingly be assigned to the common source, one or two removes off. It should likewise be remembered that Bromiardus was a churchman. The table will now stand:



There remains the S division. S,[1] which corresponds with *Fab. Ext.*, III, is practically identical with the RM (which Jacobs and Hervieux label *Fab. Ext.*, XXVIII). This identity holds good for all but a few words and one sentence (a'). Therefore RM (= FE) will form a connecting link between S and its source. This source can hardly be farther back than Alfred, since S agrees less than M with GS—13 and 15 *motifs* respectively. The loss of the bird's moral and of the reciprocal moral (ι', κ') is an important distinction for the S group. As we have seen, the fact that this is a *Fab. Ext.* does away with the usual S *provenance.*

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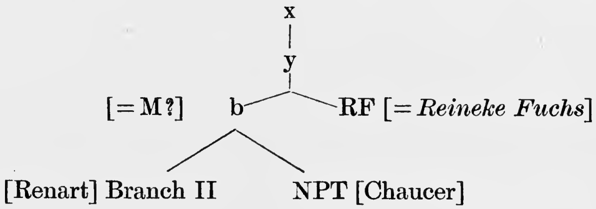
[1] Latin translation. The others offer no variants worthy of notice.

S and C are identical in 18 *motifs*, and C adds but one more, which is doubtful. Therefore $S > C$.

As to H, he is not for the bulk of his story a fabulist at all. He is held to derive from Chaucer,[1] and Chaucer undoubtedly belongs to the epic cycle.[2] But Morris[3] suggests that the fabular portion of Ch (as well as of the *Roman de Renart*) descends from Marie. Neither Skeat[4] nor Miss Petersen contravenes this view. The language of the first seems to hint at the *Renart* as a possible intermediary. Miss Petersen, while constantly admitting a connection, comes to no definite conclusion regarding Marie. I transcribe her diagram:[5]



Branch II is that portion of the *Renart* which contains the "Chanticleer episode." Hence *Renart* and Ch are, according to her, somewhat parallel derivatives from *b*, which she qualifies only as "an (epic) version of the epic story, very similar to the original of R. F."[6] But it is held to give *Renart* "through one or more elaborations."[7] However, we may tentatively assume that *b* = M, waiting for further light from Analytical Table II. As matters now stand, Ch and M agree in 14 *motifs*, 3 of them distinctive to the M branch. Henryson omits several of these and adds one or two more. The agreement as a whole between Ch and H is marked; while the agreement for the "Chanticleer episode" may be sustained for all three.

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[1] Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] Chaucer: *Prologue, Knightes Tale, Nonne Prestes Tale* (Oxford, 1893), Introduction, p. xxviii; cf. (Skeat) pp. liii, liv.

[4] As above, and in *Complete Works*, below.

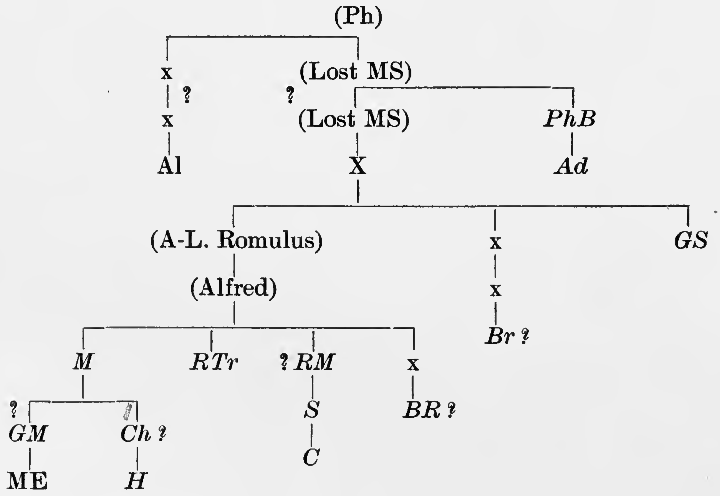
[5] P. 88

[6] Pp. 87, 90.

[7] P. 88.

Therefore M > Ch > H.

The table, complete but for Baldo, will be:



V. TREE TESTED BY COMPLETE TABLE OF MOTIFS. CORRECTIONS.

Having advanced in the first part several unproven theories, it now remains to consider these in the light of an exhaustive tabulation of all *motifs;* and to discuss what views have been advocated by others concerning the history of the fable.

The doubtful points may be thus summarized: The source is not definitely placed; the exact *provenance* of Br, BR, and Ch is still to be determined; the claim of Alcuin's fable to enter here must be questioned; the exact relationship of M to GM and ME must be established; the immediate source of RM determined; and Ba is still untouched.

In this Table II the aim has been to give place to every idea and almost to every word which has had a share in the development of the fable proper; also to record such distinctive individual variations as may not be fairly considered extraneous. It has been necessary to draw the line somewhere, and I have accordingly excluded (1) verbal modifications which are without significance—as "said" for "told," "desiring" for "wishing," etc.; (2) voluminous amplifications and interpolations, which, as a rule, need only to be indicated in brief, and which, if inserted, would serve but to swell the list of *motifs* distinctive to each fable —as in the cases of Al and GS; (3) epic material as found in Ch and H. But I have tried to list every *motif* occurring in more than one version; to include every word of the more regular collections; and to assign to individual variations an amount of space proportionate to their importance. As the sum-total of *motifs* amounts to 361, I think the tabulation may be held fairly complete.

As a rule it takes between 50 and 150 words—i. e., between 40 and 70 *motifs*—to tell this story. We may accordingly expect that the versions below 40 will be truncated in important particulars, and that those above 70 will be unnecessarily amplified. GS, with its 112, would seem the longest of all; but if all of the *Nonne Prestes Tale* or even all of Henryson were included, either would much exceed this. On the other hand, we found that Bromiardus had but one theme and 6 *Leitmotiven;* and he had only 23 *motifs.*

Let us examine this new evidence. Our four earliest versions, Al, GS, PhB, Ad. First as to Alcuin. Has Al, after all, a right to be considered a regular member of this family? I doubt it. For he contains, it will be recalled, only one theme, and but 4 other *Leitmotiven* which are found later. In the new table he is credited altogether with only 37 *motifs*, of which about 20 (twice this number, if all were listed) are distinctive, peculiar to himself. Seventeen is not a large number of common motifs, Furthermore, Al agrees with GS in only 9; with PhB and Ad minus GS in none; with all three in 6. Therefore Al is either to be thrown still further off; or he is to be thrown out; or his connection with the Cock and Fox is to be sought through the intermediary of some other fable.

The intimate connection of PhB and Ad is still further evidenced. They have 49 and 48 *motifs* respectively; they have 6 and 3 distinctive to each respectively. But they have 43 out of the 49 in common, and 16 of these are peculiar to the two. It is the clearest case we have. PhB remains the parent of Ad. The relationship of Ad to GS continues about where it was. They have 16 *motifs* in common, one peculiar to them, plus Al. This ("your fine") is an interesting point. It is under that of the "counter-flattery of the bird," who, wishing to escape, praises the fox. It makes a good point in the story, and it is strange that we do not find it later than GS. If it be objected that this paucity of agreement calls for a further *éloignement* between GS and PhB, the reply is that they are already at a comfortable distance—since X is not here the common source and several lost MSS are supposed to intervene.

Thus the interrelationship of the first group remains as it was, except that Al had a somewhat larger title to be held an interloper.

Our main divisions after that cannot well be shaken. The two large branches of the M and S groups may be expected to hold firm, and it is a question of hanging the others around these.

As to the comparative closeness of the M and S groups to GS: all three have 29 motifs in common; GS plus S group minus M group have 3; GS plus M group minus S group, 5. The 3 are less important than the 5—or 9, if agreement with the M group individually be counted in. Several of these are quite significant. Especially so is the reciprocal or antithetical moral *Leitmotif* with its subordinate *motifs*. In GS the fox cries:

(33) "Incurrat lingua pustulas,
Quam possidet loquacitas,
Cum est dampnosum proloqui
Neque sic valet comprimi."
"Has incurrunt et oculi."
Gallus e contra reddidit, etc.

Compare with this the Marie version and Gerhart:

"we spreket, wan he swigen sal
dat is sin egen ungeval."
de hane sprak: "du redest recht.
we dan ok to winkene plecht,
wan he van rechte sulde sen,
darvan mach em wal lede schen. . . .

In the S group we have nothing like this; the moral comes only from the side of the beast. Another interesting resemblance is that only in GS and M does the bird when told what his father did call out, "so can I." This leaves us with the M group closer GS and the source than the S group; which seems to require an intermediary x between the S group and Alfred.

Br has only 23 *motifs*, 9 distinctive. Of the remaining 14, 9 are in GS, 1 in the S and M groups, 1 in the M group plus GS. Four of the distinctive form a moral which serves as introduction. Two more finish off the moral with a "haec fabula docet," agreeing here with the S group. But this phrase is too much of a commonplace to furnish good grounds for inference. More significant is the accord with the M group. Since Br is a churchman, it seems reasonable to seperate him from the later versions, where he has but one or two resemblances for each case, and to bring him nearer to GS and the supposedly clerical source. Yet, unless he derive directly therefrom, this analogy fails, and since in point of time (*ca.* 1390) he is far after X, it may be better to connect him with the Anglo-Latin Romulus, a regular collection, and as such a likely place for a preacher to find his *exempla.* This seems to satisfy the requirements of comparative proximity both to GS and to M; while with reference to date it is at any rate more plausible than a *provenance* from X. There is really too little of Br to go on. The striking feature about him is that he has the "close eyes" *Leitmotif* which is found in GS and the M group, but not in the S group. We can suppose that this *motif* was still in Alfred and was lost only in the x version between him and the S group. Hence another reason for assuming this intermediary x.

Turning to Ba which so far has been left untouched, we see that he represents a fairly full form of the fable. He has 63 *motifs*, 22 of them distinctive. Several of the latter may be owing to the exigencies of the verse. As to *Leitmotiven* first, he follows GS, with four exceptions: he has the developed form of the pursuit (τ), the suggestion to "sing" (μ), is without the "close eyes" (ξ), and the reciprocal moral (κ'). Now, all three points are characteristic of the S group. Do we find further help in the ordinary *motifs?* Of his 41 common *motifs*, he has 26 with GS, 4 distinctive. The value of these 4 must be examined. They consist in the statements that the bird and the beast each seeks a trick or arts; that the pursuit is swift; and that the beast is called a ravisher. But on close inspection none of these is found to be identical. The resemblance with GS is therefore not marked. Ba's kinship to the S group is much closer. They share 4 distinctive *motifs*, 3 of which are significant. With the M group it agrees in 3 peculiarities, rather unimportant. But what we especially note is that Ba further removed from GS by the introduction of new material found either in the M group, the S group, or both. Such are the fact that the cock is already singing; the fox is told to hear; the fox runs to a grove; also 7 others, making 10 *motifs* in all which are not in GS. Therefore Ba is nearer Alfred than GS; and since he bears the specific marks of the S group, we are tempted to conclude him out of the common source with RM, which has been called x. But here external considerations must give us pause. The difference in date between Ba and S is over three hundred years. A common source for them, without intermediaries, seems improbable. Accordingly, since some distinctive resemblance with M has been remarked, we may assign him hesitatingly to Al.[1]

For BR the same internal arguments hold with even greater force, and the claims of date are less imperious. He has 44 *motifs*, only 4 distinctive. Of the 40, only 22 derive from GS, and BR would therefore seem even more remote from X than either Ba or the M group. One distinctive *motif* with GS counts for but little. With the M group he has also one distinctive. But with the S group he has more than Ba—no less than 12 in all distinctive. When we consider that among these are numbered the cock's words, "thou liest, I am not thine, but theirs (or mine)," and the circumstance of the fox beating his mouth, I think it is clear enough, since neither of these peculiarities proceeds from GS and neither is found in the M group, that the association of BR with the S group is of the closest. The x which has been held to intervene between each and Alfred may now be supposed identical. Our table, revised according to secondary *motifs*, will stand thus far:

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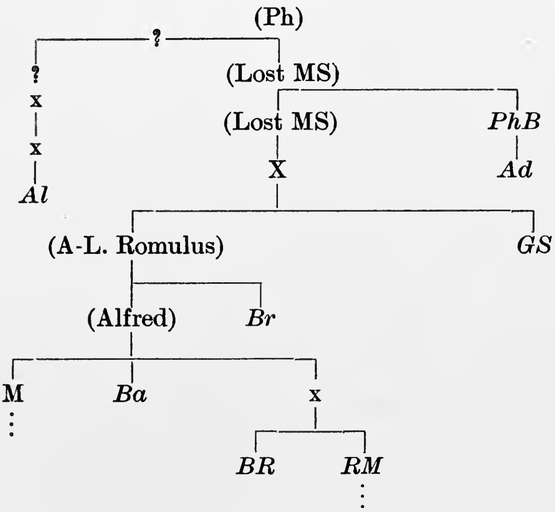
[1] Baldo has always been a puzzle. He generally derives from *Kalilah and Dimnah*, which, however, has not this fable.



There remain the interrelationships within the S and the M groups. The S group offers little to detain us. These three (RM, S, and C) have 39 *motifs* in common, of which 11 as distinguished from the M group. RM and S further share alone 12, and 11 more as distinguished from C. Of C's 57, 9 are distinctive, and 2 more are not found in S. He repeats S in 44 altogether, and omits 21 of S. Accordingly we recognize the necessity of a connecting link; and this group stands: RM > S > Machault > C.

As to the M group, M and RTr have 39 *motifs* in common, 2 distinctive to themselves, 16 peculiar to the group, while RTr has 16 not in M. This is sufficient to indicate their common *provenance* from Alfred. The inference was made above that M > GM > ME. This provisional grouping is now discounted by the fact that GM has 4 *motifs* in common with RTr not in M, while the two distinctive with M are of little consequence. Therefore:

$$\text{Alfred} > \begin{cases} \text{M} \\ \text{RTr} > \text{GM} > \text{ME} \end{cases}$$

It is now necessary to consider the Chaucer question, with his relation to Henryson and Marie. As the first two are epic versions, only that portion of their stories has been entered in the table which corresponds to the story of the fable proper. Henryson undoubtedly derives from Chaucer, as he follows him in 42 *motifs*, 15 distinctive, 1 more distinctive to the two plus M. Ch and H also agree in several epic details omitted from the table. It is known that Henryson imitated Chaucer in another poem. Therefore Ch > H, almost certainly, as a direct source.

But what is their relation to Marie? She has nothing distinctive with H. With Ch she has 36 in common, 3 peculiar to the two. On general principles it is highly probable that Chaucer was indebted here to some French source, as he often was. The French form of the words, the proper names, the manner of telling, all point to the same conclusion. Is this source Marie or another? Is it the *Roman de Renart*, and if so, what is Marie's connection with the *Renart?*

It is impossible here to go thoroughly into this matter, which would involve us with the whole epic cycle of the fox, including the *Renart*, *Reineke Fuchs*, *Ysengrimus*, etc. Grimm, Warnke, Voretsch, Miss Petersen, *et al.*, have handled the subject exhaustively, and some of their conclusions will be reserved for later comment. Suffice it now to say that, judging from *motifs* as we are doing, the *Renart* is much nearer Chaucer than is any other version. Here is the *Renart* story in brief:[1]

Constant Desnoes has an excellent garden, orchard, and poultry-yard. Reynard enters this last to see what he can get. The cock, Chanticler, has had a dream which he recounts to Pintain his wife, who interprets it as foretelling his death at the hands—or teeth—of Reynard. Chanticler scoffs at this idea, and goes to sun himself in the dust-heap, stretching himself out and closing his eyes. Up rushes Reynard; but the cock escapes him to take refuge on a dung-heap. Reynard flatters him in regard to his voice, and says that Chanticlin, the father of Chanticler, used to sing gloriously with his eyes closed. In emulation, Chanticler does the same thing, and is at once seized by Reynard, who rushes off with the cock in his mouth, pursued by Constant and his farm-hands. Chanticler tells Reynard to cry out to the pursuers that, in spite of them, he is taking off the cock. The idea tickles Reynard's fancy, and he opens his mouth so to do, when forth leaps the cock and speedily seeks a place of safety; whence he preaches a sermon to Reynard from the text that he does wrong who sleeps when he should watch. Reynard goes away hungry and sad, leaving the cock rejoicing at his unexpected escape.

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[1] Abstract by Mr. Easter. *Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin, Branch II, ll. 25–468.

The points where this agrees distinctively with Chaucer are (1) the poultry-yard, (2) Chanticler, (3) the dream, (4) the cock's wife, (5) the fox is incited to cry that he will carry off his prey anyhow. Marie has this last in a modified form, and she has also among others, the two distinctive *motifs* of the dung-heap and the word "watch" in the moral. It would seem, then, that Marie is the connecting-link between the epic and the fabular versions (which is at any rate an important point gained); and that Renart—or his supposititious putative brother—is the connecting link between Marie and Chaucer. Therefore we may suppose either (1) that *Renart* as to this episode is an amplification of Marie; hence

$$\text{M} > \text{Renart} > \text{Chaucer} > \text{H}$$

Or else (2)

$$\text{M}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Renart}\\ \text{x} > \text{Ch} > \text{H}\end{array}\right.$$

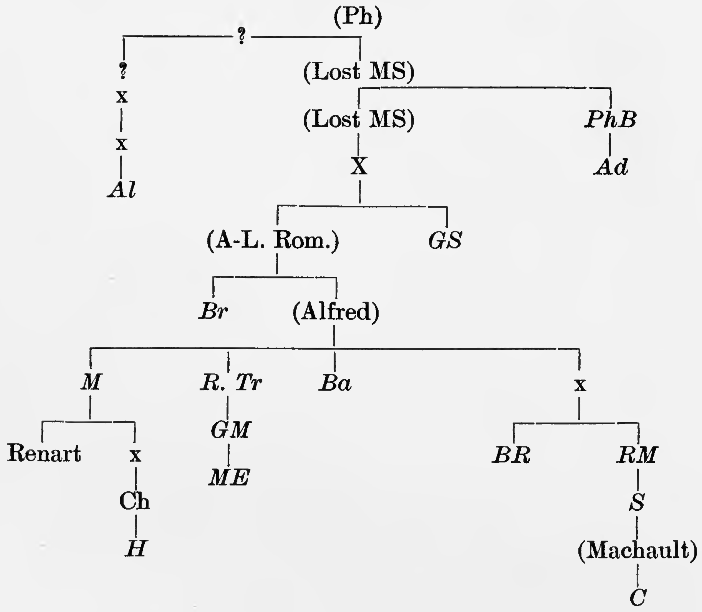
The latter is perhaps the safer hypothesis. An intermediary version or two between Marie and the *Renart* may be allowed.

The circle of the versions has again been completed. All the results deducible from the internal evidence in the forms of the regular fable have been obtained. Their examination has led to the inferences summed up in the tree appearing at the top of the next page—which is not yet definitive.

VI. RELATED FABLES

But this is not all. There are, besides the regular versions, several stories more or less like the Cock and Fox, some of which may very well have had influence upon our fable. Among these are:

1. Juan Manuel, *Conde Lucanor*, ed. Kunst and Birsch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig, 1900), p. 53. The only visible connection with our story is that the fox tries to get the cock out of a tree. He finally scares the bird out by gnawing the bark, and thus, making him fly from tree to tree, tires him out in the end.



2. Four passages are found in Odo of Sherrington, two of which (*Parabolae*, XCIX, and *Fabulae*, XLIX) are mere allusions to the fable of the fox feigning death. It is worth noting, however, that the fox is compared to the devil, as in GS and others.

3. The other two are properly fables. The one (L) is of the fox who persuades the fowls to open the poultry-house from pity, and the other (XXV) is of the fox confessing to the cock.

4. In John of Sheppey, we have (Fab. XX) the same poultry-house story.

All these concern us only in so far as they illustrate the wiliness of the fox. But there is a group of others which may prove to have a more direct connection with the fable.

5. Phaedrus, I, 15; Apuleius, *Liber de Deo Socratis*, *Prologus*, ed. Hildebrandt, pp. 107–10; John of Sheppey, VII; Odo of Sherrington, LXX; Nicole de Bozon, II, p. 257; Marie XIII; etc.

This is the fable of the Crow and Fox. As a whole, it should be considered a separate story with a separate history, and therefore has not been placed among the regular versions. However, it greatly resembles in many particulars the Cock and Fox, and it is a plausible hypothesis that the two became at some point interwoven or confused. A symposium of the Crow and Fox stories will show how likely this is. First the Phædrus version;

> When a crow had stolen cheese from a window and wanted to eat [it], he flew up into a high tree. A fox, who had seen it, began thus to speak: "How great is the strength [*vigor*] of your feathers, O crow. Had you a farther-reaching voice, no bird would be before you." This one, wishing to show his farther-reaching voice, let fall the cheese; which swiftly and eagerly the crafty fox carried off with his teeth. Then indeed the crow lamented, because, like a fool, he had been deceived by a trick.

Apuleius adds the following points: That in the first place both the fox and the crow saw the morsel (not cheese) and made for it, the one running, the other flying. The crow consequently outstrips the fox, siezes the morsel, and flies rejoicing into the top of an oak. The fox announces the Dark Plots *motif.* He stops under the tree and begins his flattery: "You have a beautiful, well-proportioned body, soft feathers, silvery head, strong beak. You excel in your color as the swan does in his. Could you but sing as the swan!" There is flattery of race also. And the suggestion of an antithetical moral—"what [the crow] had gained by flight he lost by song; but what the fox had lost in running he regained by craft."

Marie and other versions have practically this content. But Odo and Nicole de Bozon add the father *motif*—"how well your father sang!"—and they preach against vainglory. The *vigor* of the feathers is changed to *nitor*, in which form we know it. The moral in Marie is against "false losenge."

It will be seen that the *ensemble* of these stories contains the whole of one of our themes—the Ruse of the Beast. This is most significant and at once suggests an intimate relationship. Nearly all the *Leitmotiven* are there—the appeal to vanity of person, of voice, of race, the allusion to a father, the request to sing. The "close eyes" is not there—but neither is it in the S group. The main difference is that the fox wishes to eat the cheese instead of the bird himself. But the Beast's Ruse to acquire the desired thing is practically identical with our norm.

Where shall we go for the other two themes—the Pursuit and the Ruse of the Bird? Among other extra versions are:

6. *Recueil de Fabliaux*, Barbazon-Meon, III, 53ff., "Dou lou et de l'ove," of which an abstract follows:

Famine forces a wolf to leave the woods in search of food. He sees a flock of geese feeding near by, and, catching one that is somewhat apart from the rest, makes away with her in his mouth. The goose begins to lament that she is to die without the accompaniment of sauce and song . . . . To oblige her the wolf says: "Nous chanterons, puisqu'il vous siet," and, sitting down on his haunches, opens his mouth to howl—when out wriggles the goose and flies into an oak tree. The wolf is disgusted; but, returning to the flock, catches another goose, which he takes good care to eat before he does any singing.

This is evidently near to the Alcuin story. The details of the ruse are different from our norm, but the vital point—that the beast is tricked into opening his mouth—is identical in all three, as likewise in the next:

7. *Dialogus Creaturarum*, Book I, No. 8512, p. 50 (quoted in Du Méril, p. 253, n. 4):

Aesopus tells that a wolf took a very tender kid from among the goats. To this one the kid said: "Rejoice and be exceeding glad that you have such a kid in your power; but before you eat me, I beg of you to sing, and while you sing I will leap." Then the wolf began to sing and the kid to leap, hearing which the dogs made an attack against the wolf, and pursuing him they compelled him to leave the kid and the kid fled."

Here is the theme of the Pursuit; as also the *motif* of the dogs, to which some commentators[1] on the Cock and Fox are inclined to attach much importance.

VII. HYPOTHESIS OF A SOURCE

These various tales, widely dissimilar among themselves, have been adduced for the purpose of setting forth an hypothesis which, though it does not bring with it absolute conviction, seems to me a quantity to be reckoned with. I make the suggestion that, since the ultimate source of our Cock and Fox is still unknown, since we have found nothing satisfactory earlier than GS and his assumed relative X, since the fable is not in Phædrus or his first imitators and copyists—it may have had its origin in a composite presentation and *rifaccimento* of these stories. That is, cannot the *ensemble* of the wolf tales and of the crow tales have united to constitute our Cock and Fox? It should be remembered that most of these stories, as given above, antedate GS; and to those which do not earlier forms may be attributed.

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[1] Notably Sudre, *Sources du Roman de Renart* (Paris, 1893), pp. 273 ff. Cf. comment by Miss Petersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–21.

If it can be shown (1) that this *ensemble* (which we will label E) contains most of the material of the Cock and Fox story, and (2) that it contains *motifs* not in GS, but found in later branches, the presumption will be strong in favor of the hypothesis. For (1) E need not contain *all* the material, as each author subsequently may be allowed individual variations. And (2) the omission in GS, and by inference in our assumed source X, of certain material which is found later sends us directly for an ultimate source to where this material actually is found. If it is found in Alcuin or Odo or the *Dialogus Creaturarum*, they or their origins count in so far as sources for us. It is certainly more reasonable to go where we know the material is, than to proceed on the assumption that it was in a lost Phædrus or in X—both unknown quantities.

First, then, how much of the Cock and Fox story is in this E= the Alcuin story plus the Kid story plus the Goose story, combined with the Cheese story? Having read these stories, one cannot hesitate for an answer. Nearly all the Cock and Fox is there. We have in E all the themes and fifteen of the *Leitmotiven* afterward used. The exceptions are (*a*) the "close eyes," which is only in Br and the M group anyhow; (*b*) the town-people as pursuers, which is not in GS either; (*c*) speech of the pursuers; (*d*) "they say;" (*e*) "tell them"—which are good exceptions; (*f*) the moral from the beast—not very significant. There are accordingly only three good exceptions; surely we may allow to X the credit of originating these. In E both the bird and the beast are tricked into singing. The later substitution, where the beast is induced to speak instead, may have arisen from a process of dissimilation. This would happen after the introduction of pursuers, and would be a natural sequence thereof as well as a good point in the story. Hence (*c*) above > (*d*) and (*e*). There is therefore little of moment to account for, apart from E, in the later course of the fable.

Second, does E throw any light where GS has failed? It evidently does. The Crow and Fox contributes these important *Leitmotiven*, otherwise unaccounted for: (1) the flattery of person —occuring in much the same words in Ad, PhB, and the M group; (2) the suggestion to sing, which, though an inartistic detail, characterizes BR, Ba, and the S group. As to the Pursuit theme, that is certainly elaborated in GS, but we must turn to something akin to the *Dialogus Creaturarum* for the *motif* of the dogs. Al furnishes no *Leitmotiven*, but it may be noted that he describes the bird as credulous and mentions his position in a high tree—both of which *motifs* find continuations, though not in GS. Yet the Cheese story gives this last, and among others, the address as "lord," and "I should like to hear your voice."

I conclude then:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Wolf and Cock}\\ \text{Wolf and Goose}\\ \text{Wolf and Kid}\\ \text{Crow and Fox, etc.}\end{array}\right\} > \text{Cock and Fox}$$

This necessitates readjustment of the table. We may discard the highly constructive Phædrus derivation, and we may allow more intermediary versions where imperatively demanded by discrepancy in dates. The tree will finally stand as facing the initial page of this paper.

VIII. AUTHORITIES

Some of the views expressed by various writers on the Cock and Fox may be cited for comment or confirmation.

1. Warnke, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*,[1] pp. 206–8, makes the following points: He declares that "Greek and Latin antiquity offers nothing analogous" to this fable. This seems correct for the Greek. But the Crow and Fox, which we have found to present considerable analogy, occurs in Phædrus and Apuleius. He says also that the first part of the fable (i. e., the Ruse of the Beast) does not occur alone, and he believes the second part, the Alcuin version, to be the originative form. The Crow and Fox is not only presumably the older part, but gives

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[1] In *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für Suchier* (Halle, 1900).

the first theme isolated in its every version. Our conclusions accord better with his further statements. He asserts that the *Fabulae Extravagantes* text = (S) of Cock and Fox agrees completely in essentials with Ba and BR; which supports our derivation of these from a common source. He thinks that Ad cannot go back to antiquity; and our hypothesis sends it back to antiquity only for its first part. He considers M the best and most natural version. Finally he holds that the version known to M was that which served the need of the composers of *Renart* and the other epics, including Chaucer. This is going a remove farther back than we had gone: the one supposition seems quite as tenable as the other.

2. Voretsch, "Der Reinhart Fuchs und der Roman de Renart," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XV, pp. 136–47. He considers the Wolf stories as constituting one division of the fable. He believes that Chaucer comes out of *Renart*, Branch II, directly, but claims that it is widely different from the original. He observes that in the Renart as in GS the cock closes first one eye, then both. This cannot be the invention of a *trouvère;* therefore it is probably an addition to a reworking of *Reinike Fuchs.* For us, this shows still more clearly the relation between fable and epic.

3. Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, pp. 215, 216, has some conjectures concerning Baldo, whose versification he considers too elaborate for the eleventh century, and not sufficiently developed for the thirteenth—the latter point being also supported by external evidence.

> It would be a very precious fact for literary history, if one could succeed in establishing it by proofs of a more precise date: for most of these fables are imitated from *Calilah and Dimnah*, and it would result therefrom that the influence of the Orient upon the literary ideas of the Romance peoples had made itself felt earlier than is supposed.

The last reflection does not concern the Cock and Fox.

4. G. Paris, "*Les fabulistes latins, par Hervieux*," in *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 684, 685, supports Warnke in assigning Ademar's fable to a mediæval source. "The question [of Ad's origin in Phædrus] is much more doubtful for *Perdix et*

Vulpes,[1] where the ideas and the style of the Middle Ages seem to rule."

5. Skeat, *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* "The House of Fame, etc. . . . . Account of the Sources of the Canterbury Tales," second ed. (Oxford, 1900), pp. 431, 432, says of the *Nonne Prestes Tale:*

> An early version of the tale occurs in a short fable by Marie de France, afterwards amplified in the old French Roman de Renart. The corresponding portion of the Roman de Renart contains the account of the Cock's dream about a strange beast, and other particulars of which Chaucer makes some use.

According to him, again, M > Renart > Ch.

6. Miss Petersen, *Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale, passim.* We fall back on this excellent monograph, as giving perhaps the most elaborate discussion of the Chaucer question, and as raising incidentally, several points bearing on the fable. Miss Petersen contributes these suggestions:

a) Chaucer is "unmistakably epic," as evinced by the features of the dream, the proper names, the description of the cock's owner and of the yard, the dialogue between cock and hen, the lament of the hens—all peculiar to the epic versions. Chaucer's immediate source is "some epic tale belonging to the Renart cycle." (P. 9.)

b) She cites the opinion of Sudre that "the intervention of the dogs . . . . is a survival of the original *cadre* of the story. This *cadre*, he thinks, is to be found in the Æsopic fable of the Dog and Cock." She admits that "in the Æsopic account, the part of the dog is of great consequence . . . . his *rôle* as protector is really the turning-point of the story." But she holds that in the Chanticleer episode the pursuit by the dogs is merely an "accessory theme," and adds with apparent justice, that it may have been "formulated from the observation of real life." Yet she grants the similarity of our Æsopic Wolf and Kid story as to the Pursuit theme. (Pp. 10–16.)

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[1] It may be noted that in the figures around the Bayeux tapestry—which some suppose to derive from Ad—our fable occurs more frequently than any other. See Bruce, *The Bayeux Tapestry Elucidated* (London 1856), Plates I, II, VI, XIII. It occurs as the Cheese story twice, as Fox and Partridge once, as Cock and Fox perhaps once or twice. This serves well to illustrate the great popularity of the fable.

c) She mentions also the story of the Cat with One Trick, in which the dogs appear, and believes that from some such mediæval "floating tale" the theme of the pursuit by the dogs was drawn and appended to the Cock and Fox Story." (Pp. 18–21.)

d) She follows Warnke in considering Al the originative form; but she wisely differentiates the *oculis clausis* trick from the first theme, and is right in declaring that this trick itself is not found alone. (P. 46.)

It would take us too far afield to discuss all of Miss Petersen's views. Suffice it to say that she does not actually confute our E hypothesis, and that her Chaucer descent agrees with our table—except that she leans to the belief that the folklore story of Cock and Fox, rather than any special fabular version of it, as M, contributed to the Renart cycle. (For her conclusions see pp. 46, 118.)

7. Furnivall, *Origin and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, p. 115, claims an English origin for the fable. This view is unsupported by others, but seems to me quite tenable, when we remember that the bulk of our versions are more or less directly English—that all save four or five derive directly from Alfred.

IX. CONCLUSION

We see thus that the Cock and Fox fable has been variously oriented as Æsopic or Phædric, popular, clerical, English. Our composite hypothesis admits all of these influences. That is to say, we refer the fable for one part to Phædrus, and for the other to the folk-tale (?) of the wolf. It is possible that in this latter we are to see an English clerical presentation, transmitting its marks to E, which gave on the one hand the partridge story, on the other GS and X. This X remains the secondary source out of which proceed all later versions. The story loses then its clerical character, but maintains its English dominance, becomes finally a regular fable, deviates into the epic, but persists in the end as a crystallized *exemplum* with a definite history, having evolved out of a mass of chaotic and apparently uncoördinated tales.

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A VALUABLE MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT

In my search for Old and Middle English versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* I recently came upon a very interesting MS in the Worcester Cathedral Library. And it is a MS which has not thus far attracted the attention of students of English literature and history.[1] There are at least two reasons why the volume has remained unknown: (1) there is no complete and reliable catalogue of the Worcester collection; (2) the MS, being comparatively late (last quarter of the fifteenth century), and of unattractive appearance generally, would hardly appeal to the average "skimmer" of libraries and seeker after antique treasures. The MS is full of important historical and literary documents, but it is nevertheless entirely ignored in the Historical Commission's report on the Worcester libraries.[2] Nor have I been able to find anything about MS fol. 172 in any of the archæological histories of the city of Worcester.

The MS originally contained at least 226 paper leaves (probably more), of which 16 have been lost from the beginning. So there remain 210 leaves and 6 fly-leaves, 3 at the beginning and 3 at the end, and f. 4 of the modern pagination agrees with f. XVII of the earlier. The MS is bound together in quires of 12 leaves each—except the first quire which has only 6 (and the 3 fly-leaves)—the ends of the quires always being indicated by catch-words. The leaves measure 11x8 inches and more than half of them have been considerably injured—perhaps by moisture or heat. So it is difficult to make out the reading of the upper part of the first few pages. The MS is generally without ornamentation, except the original rubrics and capitals in red. The Psalter, however, contains red and blue script in great profusion. One scribe seems to have been responsible for the copying of the entire volume, and it is not improbable that he was the translator of several of the pieces, such as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Statutes of Blac Rogier*, and Peter Alfons' *Disciplina Clericalis*. All the pieces of the MS are in English prose, except the last, which is a fragment of the Psalter in Latin and English. The "Table of Contents," which is in a much later hand than that of the MS, is imperfect and conveys no proper conception of the real importance of this volume. On the inside of the first cover and on the first fly-leaf the same hand that wrote the brief table of contents has scribbled a considerable bibliography of the works of Richard Rolle of Hampole—which was, however, evidently copied from the well-known catalogues of Leland, Bernard, and Bale. The items of the table of contents are as follows:

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[1] Professor A. S. Napier kindly called my attention to this version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* some years ago.

[2] Cf. *Report of Historical Commission* for the year 1895. H. Schenkl has not yet published an account of the Worcester Cathedral Library in his series of articles on the patristic literature in English libraries. Cf. *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* since about the year 1890.

P. 29. explicit Passio Nichodemi.

P. 30. The libel of Richard Hermit of Hampol, of the rule of good living in 12 chapters.

P. 46. A treatise against ghostly temptations. The twelve degrees of humility.

P. 61. The deeds or Acts of the Apostles.

P. 85*b*. Of Life contemplative *and* of the works thereof; it endeth p. 129.

P. 181*b*. Part of the Psalter, Latin *and* English.

The most interesting and valuable documents preserved in this MS are not mentioned in this table of contents. It will therefore be necessary to call attention to these productions before attempting to give a complete list of the contents of the volume.

For the student of literature the most valuable piece in the MS is the version of Peter Alfons' well-known collection of oriental tales, which bears the Latin title of *Disciplina Clericalis*.[1] There were apparently from twenty-five to thirty-five tales in the original collection from which this version was translated; and the whole was written by a Jew named Moses, who was converted to Christianity and baptized under the name "Petrus Alfonsi" (Peter Alfons) in Aragon in July, 1106, by Stephen, bishop of

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[1] Known in Old French Poetry as *Le chastoiement d'un père à son fils*. There are several MSS of this poem, as well as of the Latin prose version, in the British Museum. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. II, pp. 235 ff. The "Castoiement" was edited from the Maihingen MS by M. Roesle (Munich, 1899).

Huesca, King Alfonso I of Aragon (VII of Castille and Leon) standing as his god-father. The tales are told by a dying Arab father to his youthful son for his admonition and instruction. The version of the Worcester Cathedral MS 172 is the only one that has as yet been discovered in Middle English literature.[1] It contains the usual (according to the Latin) prologue, and twenty-four or twenty-five tales, evidently translated directly from the Latin. But the order in which the tales are reproduced differs materially from that of any of the MSS described by Ward.

I am not able to say whether or not the "Libel of Richard hermyte of hampol" is a genuine work of Richard Rolle of Hampole. It is at any rate ascribed to the famous "Yorkshire Writer" both at the beginning and close of the piece, and the presumption is strongly in favor of its genuineness. Moreover, it has never been noticed by Horstmann, or any other modern student of the life and works of Richard Rolle—that is, Horstmann does not record this piece in the list of "Works bearing his name," though the title of the first work given in this list (*The form of living*—an epistle to Margaret Kirkly, in 12 chapters and 2 parts) does bear some resemblance to it.[2]

It is possible that another piece of our MS, *A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns* (ff. 33*b* ff.), is the work of Hampole. Horstmann prints[3] a piece with a similar title (*A tretyse of gostly batayle*), but judging from a comparison of the first few sentences of the two works, they are in no sense identical.

Still another piece of a similar character which seems to have been very popular during the latter years of the Middle Ages begins (f. 72*b*) with the indefinite heading "That the inner havyng of a man Shuld be like to the vtter." This extensive moral-religious treatise exists in several MSS[1] in the British Museum under the title, *The Diuyne Clowde of Unknowynge; or A Boke of Contemplacion.* It has been at different times ascribed to William Exmeuse, Maurice Chawney, and Walter FitzHerbert.

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[1] That this Collection was by no means unknown in ME. literature is shown by the fact that a large number of the tales are included (in abbreviated form) in the ME. version of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* (cf. Mrs. Mary M. Banks, *An Alphabet of Tales: An English Fifteenth Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum*, etc.; ed. for the E. E. T. S. from Brit. Mus. MS Addit. 25, 719; Part II [London, 1905]. An Old Norse version of the *Disciplina* was edited by H. Gering, *Islendzk Æventyri; Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen* (2 vols., Halle, 1882-83), Vol. I, pp. 163-98.

[2] Cf. C. Horstmann, "Richard Rolle of Hampole" (*Yorkshire Writers*, Vol. II, Introd., pp. XL f.).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 420 ff. Horstmann did not know about the Worcester Cathedral MS, when he published his work.

"The statutes of the blissed Lord and Bisshop, blac Rogier" (ff. 155–63) is of especial interest to students of English history. The document is composed of thirty-three "statutes" concerning the episcopal government of the city of London, issued in Latin by Roger Niger, who was bishop of London during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[2] The regulations touch upon many of the most interesting social questions with which the church had to deal during the Middle Ages. The English version of this MS, which is the only one known,[3] was probably made in the fifteenth century.

For the sake of convenience to those students of literature and history who may be interested in any of the pieces contained in MS 172, I give the following complete list of the contents, together with the rubric and first few words of most of the pieces:

Ff. 4–12 (*olim* "XVII–XXV"[4]): A fragmentary version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* embracing chaps. 12–27 (according to Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocr.*)

Ff. 12–12*b:* A short account of the discovery of Joseph of Arimathea in a prison at Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian and of the death of Pilate—a sort of *Paradosis Pilati.*[5]

Ff. 13–16, *The Legend of the Holy Rood,* at the close of which the copyist incorrectly placed the colophon, "explicit Passio Nichodemi."

Ff. 16–16*b:* A short homiletic treatise beginning: "It was wont to be doubted of sum whi Tithes bien yevon to holichirche."

Ff. 17–32*b:* Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Libel of the Amendement of mannes lif.* Rubric, or prologue: "This is the libel of Richard hermyte of hampol of the Amendement of mannes lif, other ellis of the

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[1] Cf. especially Reg. 17 G. XXVII and XXVIII, Reg. 17 D V; Harl. 674, 91c; 959 f. 41; 2373.

[2] Roger, surnamed *Niger*, succeeded Eustachius de Fauconberge as bishop of London and he was consecrated in 1229 (?). He died at Stepney, near London, in 1241 (cf. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, Vol. I, pp. 13 and 58).

[3] A Latin version of the Statutes is preserved in the Cambridge University Library MS Gg. IV, 32 (ff. 108–16), beginning: *Statuta inter rectores, Archidiacon. London per dominum Rogerum bone memorie nigrum*, etc.

[4] The older pagination may always be arrived at by adding 13 to the later numbering of the leaves which is followed here.

[5] This piece and the next following one are virtually merged with the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in this MS.

Rule of goode livyng; and it is departed in .xij. chapters. The first is how a man conu*er*të hym to god. The secunde is how he shal disport hym vnto the world. The .iij. is of poverte. The .iiij. is of thordynaunce of goode livyng. The .v. is of tribulacioun. The .vj. is of pacience. The .vij. is of praier. The .viij. is of meditacioun. The .ix. is of Redyng. The .x. of clennesse of mynde. The .xj. of the love of god. The .xij. of the contemplacioun, other the biholdyng of god. Of thiese matiers eu*er*iche after other as god yevith hem we shuln folowe."[1]

Then the first chapter begins: "Tarie the noght, man, to be conu*er*ted vnto the lord god, nother delay the noght from day to day," etc.

The twelfth chapter ends with the colophon: "Explicit Ricardus de Ampull."

Ff. 33–33*b:* A short homily on the "office of a Bisshop."

Ff. 33*b*–44: *A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns*, beginning: "Ure merciful lord god, Ihesu, chasticith his children and suffrith hem to be tempted for many profitable skillis and to their profite."

Ff. 44–46*b:* A homiletic piece with the rubric, "Hic incipiunt duodecim gradus humilitatis," and beginning: "Seynt Gregory, the doct*our*, saith that without mekenes it is vnlieful of truste on foryevenes of thi synne." The colophon runs: "Expliciunt .xij. gradus humilitatis."

Ff. 46*b*–47*b:* A series of four short tales or narratives: (*a*) Rubric, "Narracio de p*er*iculo differendi penitenciam." Begins: "Ther was a worthi man and a Riche whos name was Crisaurius, and as plentivous as he was of worldly goodis, also ful he was of synne and vice in pride, in lechery, in covetise," etc. (*b*) "Alia narracio," beginning: "Ther was .ij. scoole felawes, of the whiche oon entred into Religion," etc. (*c*) "Narracio *contra* confessos de pecc*a*tis sed non contritos," beginning: "Cesarius[2] the grete clerk telleth that ther was a man in Parice, a young man that yaf al to lechery," etc. (*d*) "Narracio de p*e*ccatore penitente *et* Saluate" (*sic*), beginning: "Ther was a Thief in a grete desert, leeder maister of many," etc.

Ff. 48–72: The *dedis of Apostels*, having the heading: "The prolog on the dedis of Apostels." The "prolog" begins: "Luke of Antioche, of the nacioun Sirie, whos praiseng is told in the gospel. At Antioche he was a worthy man of lechecraft, and afterwards a disciple of Cristes apostels," etc.[3]

Ff. 72*b*–116: *The Booke of Contemplacion; or, The Diuyne Clowde of Vnknowynge*, a long moral-theological treatise in ninety-three chapters with the heading: "That the inner havyng of a man Shuld be like to the vtter," and beginning: "Gostly brother in Ihesu Crist, I praie the that in þe callyng whiche our lord hath callid the to," etc.

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[1] I have retained the reading of the MS in all cases, though the punctuation is generally my own, and capitals have usually been introduced at the beginning of the sentences.

[2] Caesarius von Heisterbach († 1240), the well-known German monastical writer and historian, whose *Dialogus magnus visionum et miraculorum* is also a store-house of mediæval tales and fables. Cf. Mary Banks, *op. cit.*

[3] A comparison of the "prolog" with those printed by Forshall and Madden (*Wycliffite Bible*) shows that this version of the *Dedis of the Apostels* is a copy of Purvey's translation.

Ff. 116*b*–117: A short theological or religious piece which has been crossed out, beginning "Ihesus be oure spede, Amen." The words: "Pater Noster" in large red letters occur frequently on the page.

Ff. 117–117*b:* "Ui (i. e. six) v*er*tuous questiouns, and answers of .vj. holy doctours, of tribulacioun paciently taken in this world."

Ff. 117*b*–118 seem to contain a few "Masses" by Popes Gregory and Innocent, which have been crossed out.

Ff. 118*b*–138: *The Disciplina Clericalis* by Peter Alfons, the prologue to which begins: "Peter Alfons s*er*uant of Ih*es*u Crist, maker of this booke, with Thankynges I do to god, the whiche is first and without bigynnyng; to whom is the bigynnyng and the end of al goodenes, the fulfillyng," etc. The tales proper have the following beginning: "Therfor Enoch the philosophre, whiche in Arabik tung is named Edriche, saide to his sone: 'The dreede of god be thy busynes, and lucre and wynnyng shal come to the without any labour.'"

Ff. 138–148: A version of the *Epistle of Alexander to Aristotle*, having the rubric: "Incipit epistola Alexandri magni Regis macedonu*m* ad Magistru*m* suum Aristotilem," and beginning: "Alwey I am myndeful of the also among the p*r*eeks and doubtes of our batels, most diere comandour, and, after my Moder and sisters, most acceptable," etc. The piece ends with an *Epitaphum* in Latin verses, the first two lines of which are:

Primus Alexander, pillea natus in vrbe
Quem comes Antipater, confecto melle veneno.

Ff. 148*b*–155: A theological treatise on the power and authority of the Pope.

Ff. 155–163: The *Statutes of Roger Niger*, bishop of London (1229–41), which piece has the heading, "The statutes of the blissed Lord and Bisshop blac Rogier." Begins: "To the Bisshop of London of the comfort of the lord Petir, Archedeken of London, made and direct to al the Persons, vicars and parassh praestes in the Citee of London constitute."

Ff. 163*b*–165*b:* A deed or charter of William de Courtney[1] (from 1381), beginning: "Will*iam* bi divyne suffraunce Archebisshop of Caunterbury, of al Inglond Prymat, and of the Apostels seete legate, to our wel beloved sone, Thomas Bekaton,[2] doctour of lawe, Archedeken of London, and Deane in the chirche of our lady at the Bowe of London," etc. Ends: yeven in our Manor at Lamblith the .xj. Kalendis of Decemb*er*, the yeere of our lord MCCCLxxxvij, and of our translacioun the .vij."

Ff. 165*b*–166: Another short archiepiscopal document, having the rubric: "The tenour folowith of constitucionns memoratief." A rubric

[1] Cf. Newcourt, Vol. I, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 61, n. *c*.

on the next page seems to refer to the same document: "Thiese bien the constituciouns provincial of the Archebisshop of Caunterbury, Robart of Wynchelsey."[1] It ends: "Writen Anno d*omi*ni Milesimo CCCCXLvij."

Ff. 166–213*b:* An interlinear (Latin-English) version of the Psalter, with a prologue beginning: "Here bigynneth a prolog vpon the psautier," and extending to the bottom of f. 168. At the top of the following page there is a lengthy rubric which serves as a sort of introduction to the Psalter: "Here bigynneth the psautier, the whiche is comunely vsed to be rad [in] holichirche s*er*vice; for it is a booke of grete deuocioun and of high gostly conceivyng. In whiche booke men fynden ful moche wetnesse and parfite vndirstondyng of gostly comfort. Also þis booke sheweth the meedis of iust men and the of uniust men, the Reward of everyman after his travaile." The MS breaks off after vs. 19 of chap. Lxxij, the last verse of the fragment running: "How bien thei made into desolacioun; the faileden sodainly; thei perisshiden for their wickidnes."[2]

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FREIBURG I. B.
Germany

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[1] Archbishop of Canterbury, 1436–46 (Newcourt, Vol. I, pp. 22, 23).

[2] This version of the Psalter is probably a copy of the translation made by Purvey.

ROMEO AND JULIETTE[1]

At the present time the only recognized sources of Shakspere's *Romeo and Juliet* are Arthur Brooke's long poem, *Romeus and Juliet*, published in 1562, and William Painter's novel, contained in his *Palace of Pleasure*, 1566–67, both of these works being based directly on a French novel by Boaistuau, written in 1559. Painter's story is merely a close prose translation, whereas the poem shows a much freer handling of its original; of the two productions it was chiefly from the poem that Shakspere drew his material.

But, in addition to these two sources, there seems to have existed once in England a pre-Shaksperian play on this subject. Brief mention of it is made in the address to the reader which Brooke prefixed to his poem. He says: "Though I saw the same argument lately set forth on stage with more commendation than I can look for (being there much better set forth than I have or can do) yet the same matter penned as it is, may serve the like good effect." Unfortunately, this play seems to have been short-lived in England, for no other explicit reference to it has been found, and, so far as we are aware, it is no longer extant. The important part, therefore, which it may have played in the history of the drama, and the influence which it may have exerted on Shakspere have remained hitherto matters of profitless speculation.

But though this play in its original form be irrevocably lost, we shall find, I think, that it has been fairly well preserved in a foreign adaptation; namely, in the *Romeo en Juliette*, a Dutch play in Alexandrine couplets by Jacob Struijs, written about 1630.

At first glance, to be sure, one might easily suppose this drama to be, like the well-known German *Romio und Julietta*, nothing more than a poor remodeling of Shakspere. But closer study reveals the fact that Shakspere, if a source of the play at all, was certainly not the only source. To be more explicit, we are confronted by the following important situation: (1) Large portions of the Dutch play clearly go back to Boaistuau, or to some translation of Boaistuau. (2) One significant incident finds its counterpart only in Brooke's version of the story. (3) Numerous agreements between the *Romeo en Juliette* and Shakspere's drama cannot be accounted for by any known form of Boaistuau or by Brooke's poem. With the Dutch play thus agreeing in turn exclusively with Boaistuau, with Brooke, and with Shakspere, one is forced to admit that Struijs made use of all these three other works, or drew upon some other document which was also used by Shakspere—perhaps indeed the play referred to by Brooke. The first supposition is on the face of it unlikely; the second I shall now try to illustrate and confirm.

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[1] To Professor Kittredge and Professor Baker, of Harvard University, I must here acknowledge indebtedness; for although they have not seen my paper in its present form, yet, when I first approached this question some time ago, they offered most helpful suggestions.

But to convert this latter supposition into a justifiable conclusion will require at least two stages of proof: a thorough demonstration, in the first place, that the agreements between D (if this letter may stand for the Dutch play) and each of the other three works have in reality the exclusive nature which I have ascribed to them; and, in the second place, ample proof—reached by a careful analysis of certain agreements between D and Shakspere—that Shakspere was influenced in these cases by some original of D, instead of, *vice versa*, being here drawn upon by Struijs.

In considering the first stage of our reasoning, we may pass by hurriedly the agreements between D and Boaistuau. They really demand no proof; so close are they and so numerous that critics have always supposed the play to be founded chiefly upon the novel. Thus the names of certain characters—Montesches, Capellets, Thibout, Lord van der Schale, Anselmus—have evidently been suggested by forms similar to those which we find in Painter's translation of Boaistuau: Montesches, Capellet, Thibault, Bartholomew of Escala, Anselme. In Shakspere these names have been changed, in accordance with Brooke's initiative, respectively to Montague, Capulet, Tybalt, Escalus, and John. Likewise great blocks of dialogue have much closer correspondences in Boaistuau than in Brooke or Shakspere—so, for example, the conversation between Romeo and Thibout just preceding the fight; Juliette's comments on Thibout's death and Romeo's deed; Capellets' angry words to Juliette at her refusal to accept Paris; and a considerable portion of Juliette's reflections before taking the sleeping-potion. Critics were probably led into such a hasty conclusion as to Struijs' chief indebtedness by the known existence, certainly as early as 1618, of a literal Dutch translation of Boaistuau.[1] The conclusion is manifestly false; but the agreements upon which it is based are perfectly genuine. Here is a convincing example. The words exchanged by Romeo and Thibout just before the fatal encounter read, according to Boaistuau, as follows:

> Thibault tu peux cognoistre par la patience que j'ai euë jusques à l'heure present, que je ne suis point venu icy pour combatre ou toy & les tiens, mais pour moyenner la paix entre nous: & si tu pensois que par deffault de courage, j'eusse failly à mon devoir, tu ferois grād tort à ma reputation, mais je te prie de croire qu'il y a quelque autre particulier respect, qui m'a si bien commandé jusques icy, que je me suis contenu comme tu vois: duquel je te prie n'abuser, ains sois content de tant de sang respandu, & de tant de meurtres commis le passé, sans que tu me contraignes de passer les bornes de ma volonté. Ha traistre, dist Thibault, tu te penses sauver par le plat de ta lāgue, mais entends à te defendre, car je te feray maintenant sentir quelle ne te pourra si bien garantir ou servir de bouclier que je ne t'oste la vie.[2]

Next I quote from D:

> O Thibout, thou canst see from my patience that I have not come here to fight with thee; my only intention is sincerely to make peace between thy party and mine. And so if thou dost think that I did not take part for lack of courage, thou dost wrong mine honor. Therefore I beg thee, believe me—I swear it—that there was no desire on my part to do injury to thy faction, but it was rather a very particular affair. Be content, then, with the blood which has been shed and with the lives which have thus far been lost, without persistently forcing me to act contrary to my desire.

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[1] The only extant form of this translation of Boaistuau's stories is that which came out in 1650; but this now appears to be the second edition. For information concerning the first edition see J. de Witte van Citters, *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1873, No. 18, pp. 140 ff. The same article furnishes a comparison of the Dutch translation with Struijs' play; on this latter subject see also H. E. Moltzer, *Shakspere's Invloed* (Groningen, 1874), p. 49.

[2] *Histoires Tragiques, extraictes des oeuvres Italiennes de Bandel, & mises en nostre langue Françoise par Pierre Boaistuau surnommé Launay, natif de Bretaigne* (Paris, 1559), Vol. I, p. 55, V'.

Thibout. Ha, ha! traitor! thou thinkst by thy idle talk to escape me. No, no, look that thou defend thyself, and be ready for my strokes, for thou shalt not leave this place alive.[1]

Here is Brooke's version:

> Thou doest me wrong (quoth he) for I but part the fraye;
> Not dread, but other waighty cause my hasty hand doth stay.
> Thou art the cheefe of thine, the noblest eke thou art,
> Wherefore leave of thy malice now, and helpe these folke to parte.
> Many are hurt, some slayne, and some are like to dye:
> No, coward traytor boy (qd he) straight way I mynde to trye,
> Whether thy sugred talke, and tong so smootely fylde
> Against the force of this my swerd shall serve thee for a shylde.[2]

Shakspere's phrasing at this point is so different that it need not be quoted. Certainly everyone will here recognize Boaistuau and not Brooke as the ultimate source of D. And what applies to this instance is true of the other instances which I have enumerated above.

We come now to the one important incident in D which in a certain sense is exactly reproduced only in Brooke's poem; for in Shakspere it has been significantly altered. Everyone remembers the familiar scene (III, v, 213 ff.) in which Juliet, after having antagonized her father and mother, at length turns for help to the nurse:

> What say'st thou? hast thou not a word of joy?
> Some comfort, nurse.
> *Nurse.* Faith, here it is.
> Romeo is banish'd, and all the world to nothing,
> That he dares ne'er come back to challenge you;
> Or, if he do, it needs must be by stealth.
> Then, since the case so stands as now it doth,
> I think it best you married with the county.
> O, he's a lovely gentleman!
> Romeo's a dishclout to him: an eagle, madam,
> Hath not so green, so quick, so fair an eye

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[1] *Romeo en Juliette*, door Jacob Struijs (Amsterdam, 1634), D 2 r°. Struijs died two or three years before the publication of his play. For help in translating Struijs' play I owe much to Professor Kalff, of Leyden, who showed at all times the utmost patience and kindness in correcting my blunders. To him and to my other friends in Netherland my heartiest thanks are due for their cordial appreciation of my work in Netherlandish literature; particularly to Professor Logeman, of Ghent; Professor Verdam and Dr. S. G. de Vries, of Leyden; Dr. A. J. Barnouw, of The Hague; and Dr. J. A. Worp, of Groningen.

[2] *Romeus and Juliet*, reprinted in *Shakespeare's Library*, second edition enlarged by Hazlitt (London, 1875), Vol. I, p. 134.

As Paris hath. Beshrew my very heart,
I think you are happy in this second match,
For it excels your first: or if it did not,
Your first is dead; or 't were as good he were,
As living here and you no use of him.
Jul. Speakest thou from thy heart?
Nurse. And from my soul too;
Or else beshrew them both.
Jul. Amen!
Nurse. What?
Jul. Well, thou hast comforted me marvellous much.
Go in; and tell my lady I am gone,
Having displeas'd my father, to Laurence' cell,
To make confession and to be absolv'd.
Nurse. Marry, I will; and this is wisely done. [*Exit.*]
Jul. Ancient damnation! O most wicked fiend!
Is it more sin to wish me thus forsworn,
Or to dispraise my lord with that same tongue
Which she hath prais'd him with above compare
So many thousand times?—Go, counsellor;
Thou and my bosom henceforth shall be twain,—
I'll to the friar, to know his remedy;
If all else fail, myself have power to die. [*Exit.*]

Now, in both D and Brooke this deceiving of the nurse occupies a place later in the story. It comes after Juliet's visit to the friar, by whose good counsel Juliet's change of cheer is supposed to have been effected. The scene in D, which serves as a touching prologue to Juliette's ponderings over the possible fatal effects of the sleeping-potion, is as follows:

Juliette. Don't you see, nurse, how nicely all things are turning out? Who could have augured for me so soon this happiness? I certainly should not have believed I could forget my Romeo so soon; but what else is it? I must lookout for my own welfare, and yield to my father's wishes. Therefore, no longer perforce, but joyfully I am prepared to marry with Count Paris tomorrow. Shall Romeo hold me for untrue? What think you, nurse?

Nurse. No, my mistress, not at all. He well understands that he shall not possess you again; therefore he shall be content.

Juliette. Let us cease this talk, for I am sleepy. Since we must rise up early in the morning, let us go to bed; my bed, I suppose, is ready?

Nurse. Yes, quite ready.

Juliette. Well, then, you may go.

Nurse. I go. Good night. God give you sweet sleep, my mistress.
Juliette. The like to you.
[*Exit Nurse.*]

Oh, indeed! Well, you leave me just in time; for I could not have restrained my wretched grief any longer, with my husband so fixed in my thoughts.[1]

I quote now from Brooke:

> But Juliet the whilst her thoughts within her brest did locke;
> Even from the trusty nurce, whose secretnes was tryde.
> The secret counsell of her hart the nurce childe seeks to hide.
> Forsith to mocke her dame she dyd not sticke to lye,
> She thought no sinne with shew of truth, to bleare her nurces eye.
> In chamber secretly the tale she gan renew,
> That at the doore she tolde her dame as though it had been trew.
> The flattring nurce dyd prayse the fryer for his skill,
> And said that she had done right well by wit to order will.
> She setteth foorth at large the fathers furious rage,
> And eke she prayseth much to her, the second mariage,
> And County Paris now she praiseth ten times more,
> By wrong, then she her selfe by right, had Romeus praysde before.
> Paris shall dwell there still, Romeus shall not retourne,
> What shall it boote her life, to languish still and mourne.
>
> . . . .
>
> These wordes and like, the nurce did speake, in hope to please,
> But greatly did these wicked wordes the ladies mynde disease;
> But ay she hid her wrath, and seemed well content,
> When dayly dyd the naughty nurce new arguments invent.[2]

In Boaistuau, and hence also in Painter, there is not the slightest suggestion of any such conversation between Juliet and the nurse.

With these facts before us, the situation becomes very significant. We find the incident in D and Brooke coming at the same point in the story, and Juliet's attitude given reasonableness by the same preceding event, namely, the friar's counsel. In Shakspere, on the other hand, the conversation has been shifted so as to lead up to Juliet's visit to the friar:

> Go in; and tell my lady I am gone,
> Having displeas'd my father, to Laurence' cell,
> To make confession and to be absolv'd.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, G 3 V°.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 174, 175.

We must admit, therefore, that there is contact at this point between D and Brooke; or make the most unlikely supposition that Struijs, though taking this incident from Shakspere, chose for some uncalled-for reason to restore it to its original position in the poem.[1]

It remains now to consider in detail the matter occurring exclusively in D and Shakspere. All of this need not be cited, but only those passages where the resemblance is very striking. Romeo in D, recounting to his boon companion, Phebidas, his experiences at the masquerade, rhapsodizes as follows:

> There for the first time I beheld my love, who like a silver moon shone down upon her mates. Next other jewels a brilliant diamond she appeared. Her two eyes I saw sparkle as gleam Castor and Polux on high.[2]

In S (that is, Shakspere's drama), I, v, 46 ff.:

> *Romeo.* O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!
> It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
> Like a rich jewel in an Ethiope's ear;
> Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear!
> So shows a snowy dove trooping with crows,
> As yonder lady o'er her fellow shows.

And II, ii, 15 ff.

> Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,
> Having some business, do entreat her eyes
> To twinkle in their spheres till they return.

Again in D, Romeo is waiting below Juliette's window, hoping to get a chance to speak to her. He says:

> Oh that the blessed window would once open behind which my goddess lies in sweetest slumber! Through its opening streaming, my bright sun could requicken this half-dead soul of mine. O my dear love, knowest thou not my passion? Doth thy heart's blood not violently keep time with mine? Methinks that, were my lady in such plight, I should a witness of it have within me. O heavens! what do I see? A light in my lady's rooms begins to burn; my heart thrills and bounds

---

[1] Attention is also called to the fact that in these extracts Shakspere in one case shows closer correspondence with Brooke than with D—in the nurse's praise of Paris; in another, with D as opposed to Brooke—in Juliet's expression of her impatience, and of her relief that the nurse has withdrawn. This looks as if some original of D had once served as a pre-Shaksperian link in the Romeo and Juliet story.

[2] *Op. cit.* A 4 r°.

from fear and joy. Oh, might I once accost my goddess on this spot, then were the burden lifted from my heart. Soft! let me listen to what she says.

[*Juliette leans out her window.*]

Jul. What troubled voice laments below me here? Who is it here goes prowling alone in the darkness and breaks my light sleep? Ah, by the moon's light I now see Romeo sheltered, 'neath my window standing.[1]

In S (II, ii, 2 ff.):

> *Romeo.* But soft! what light thro' yonder window breaks?
> It is the east, and Juliet is the sun.
> Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon,
>
> . . . .
>
> It is my lady, O, it is my love!
> O, that she knew she were!
>
> . . . .
>
> *Jul.* Ay me!
>
> . . . .
>
> *Romeo* [*Aside*]. Shall I hear more, or shall I speak at this?
>
> . . . .
>
> *Jul.* What man art thou that thus bescreened in night
> So stumblest on my counsel?

In neither Painter nor Brooke does the language at this point of the story bear any close resemblance to the passages which I have just quoted. Painter says merely:

> And after he had bene there many times, missing the chiefest cause of his comming, Julietta, impacient of hir evill, one night repaired to hir window and perceived through the brightnesse of the moone hir friend Rhomeo hard under hir window, no lesse attended for, than he himself was waighting. Then she secretly with teares in hir eyes, and with voyce interrupted by sighes, sayd: "Signor Rhomeo, methinke that you hazarde your persone too much," etc.[2]

And the conversation then corresponds to dialogue in D and S immediately following that which I have quoted. Brooke gives much the same account as Painter:

> And Juliet that now doth lacke her hearts releefe;
> Her Romeus pleasant eyen (I mean) is almost dead for greefe.
>
> . . . .

---

[1] *Op. cit.*, B 1 r°.

[2] *Rhomeo and Julietta. The goodly Historie of the true and constant Loue betwene Rhomeo and Julietta, the one of whom died of poison, and the other of sorow and heuinesse: wherin be comprised many aduentures of loue, and other deuises touching the same. The XXV. Nouel.* Contained in Vol. II of the *Palace of Pleasure* (London, 1567), p. 224.

> Impacient of her woe, she hapt to leane one night
> Within her windowe, and anone the moone did shine so bright,
> That she espyde her love; her hart revived sprang
> And now for joy she clappes her hands, which erst for wo she wrang
>
> . . . .
>
> "O Romeus (of your life) too lavas sure you are,
> That in this place, and at thys tyme, to hazard it you dare," etc.[1]

After taking leave of Juliette at the break of day, Romeo, in D, departs with the resolve to put his affair before Friar Lourens. And the friar, discovered in front of his cell, opens the next scene with the following words:

> The black curtains of heaven's dome fall down towards the west, letting the eastern sky grow pleasant with light. The messenger of the sun begins to color the horizon a fiery glow. Each bird draws out its head from under its wing and hops from branch to branch, and with its sweet voice sings the praise of God. But man lies still in his soft and senseless bed, dumb with restless slumber. He looks not toward the day, nor thinks but once of God; but dotes on idleness and sloth, etc.
>
> [*He reads to himself from a little book.*]
>
> *Romeo.* Soft! is it not he? Yes, there he goes muttering along, seeming to converse with the pages of the book. I will go to him and lay my affair before him. Good morning, father.
>
> *Friar Lourens. Deo gratias*, my son. What brings thee here so early? This strikes me as most strange.[2]

In S the arrangement of scenes is exactly the same. Bidding Juliet adieu, Romeo determines to visit Friar Laurence and exit. The friar opens the next scene thus (II, iii, 1 ff.):

> The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night,
> Chequering the eastern clouds with streaks of light,
> And flecked darkness like a drunkard reels
> From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels:
> Now, ere the sun advance his burning eye,
>
> . . . .
>
> I must fill up this osier cage of ours
> With baleful weeds and precious-juiced flowers.
>
> . . . .
>
> [*Enter Romeo.*]
>
> *Romeo.* Good morning, father.
> *Fr. L.* Benedicite!
> What early tongue so sweet saluteth me?
> Young son, it argues a distempered head, etc.

---

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96.

[2] *Op. cit.*, B 2vo.

Another one of these exclusive resemblances is brought out by the following: In D, Romeo, in recounting to Phebidas what happened at the banquet, explains that when he was recognized, all of the Capellets restrained their ire and feigned the utmost courtesy. So far this is in complete accord with all the versions of the story except Shakspere's, where Tybalt is with difficulty silenced by a stern rebuke from his uncle. A little later in D, however, there occurs something not at all unlike this Shaksperian situation. In a scene involving Capellets, Thibout, and Paris, Thibout, commenting on Romeo's conduct in appearing at the house of his enemy, starts a discussion by exclaiming:

> Alas! friend Paris, it was the greatest agony for me not to chastise his impudence on the spot; my blood boiled from top to toe. And if it had not been for dishonoring the company I would have split his head in two before the eyes of all.
>
> *Capellets.* It is better that you did not so.
>
> *Paris.* There would have been little honor in it, too.
>
> *Thibout.* Be it shame or honor, I say it here, and I swear it, that I shall be Romeo's undoing the very next time I meet him; or, if not, then he shall make me greet the dust.
>
> *Capellets.* Pardon his youth.
>
> *Paris.* He hath done little that is wrong.
>
> *Thibout.* No my friend, not you nor anyone shall talk me out of this.
>
> *Capellets.* Be better advised.[1]

The well-known passage in S reads as follows (I, v, 56 ff.):

Tyb. This, by his voice, should be a Montague.
Fetch me my rapier, boy. What dares the slave
Come hither, cover'd with an antic face,
To fleer and scorn at our solemnity?
Now, by the stock and honor of my kin,
To strike him dead I hold it not a sin.
Cap. Why, how now, kinsman! Wherefore storm you so?
Tyb. Uncle, this is a Montague, our foe,
A villain that is hither come in spite,
To scorn at our solemnity this night.
Cap. Young Romeo is it?
Tyb. 'Tis he, that villain Romeo.
Cap. Content thee, gentle coz, let him alone;
He bears him like a portly gentleman;

---

[1] *Op. cit.*, B 3 Vo.

And, to say truth, Verona brags of him
To be a virtuous and well govern'd youth:
I would not for the wealth of all the town
Here in my house do him disparagement;
Therefore be patient, take no note of him:
It is my will, the which if thou respect,
Show a fair presence and put off these frowns,
An ill-seeming semblance for a feast.
Tyb. It fits, when such a villain is a guest;
I'll not endure him.
Cap. He shall be endured.

. . . .

Tyb. Patience perforce with wilful choler meeting
Makes my flesh tremble in their different greeting.
I will withdraw: but this intrusion shall
Now seeming sweet convert to bitter gall.

It has always been said that Shakspere's was the only version of the story in which Mercutio was killed in the fray between the two hostile houses, and in which therefore Romeo was given an almost righteous motive for attacking Tybalt. But observe the following passage from D, remembering that Mercutio is here impersonated by Phebidas:

Thibout, Count Paris, Marco, Bastro: Capellets, enter. Phebidas, Carlo, Paulo, Jacomo: Montessches, skirmishing with one another.

Thibout. Allons! friends, step up to them; each one look to his blade. The rogues stand, and draw their swords.

Paris. What! so courageous?

Marco. Can we endure this impudence?

Bastro. Come, then! why do we hold back? 'tis time to chastise them.

Thibout. You night-lopers! how comes it that you let not good folk sleep? What madness is this, that you bawl about the streets? Home with you at once! unless you are looking for hides striped with blows. Well!

Phebidas. To sling abuse is no art. What right have you so grossly to dub us night-lopers? Would you dare answer me this, point for point?

Thibout. What say you, naught but villain? Have you the courage to brandish a dagger's point? I think not. Come, then! I will teach you—have you a heart?—to become the fencing-master of the other world.

Paulo. Impudent fool!

Marco. Come on!

Jacomo. You see that we are not retreating very much, you blustering wind-bags!

Thibout. You shall soon pay for that. Now stand, stand! give way not a step.

Phebidas. I step back only to get my wind. There! your mantle just saved you from a deadly wound.

Marco. Give way! give way!—you have no chance—before I stab you through the heart.

Carlo. Step up! you begin to brag too soon.

Paris. There, then!

Paulo. That missed.

Bastro. Oh, that came too near. Expect the same from me.

Jacomo. Behold! you put your life at stake.

[*Romeo comes out and speaks while they fight.*]

Romeo. Make haste, my feet!—why do you fearfully hold back?—that I may soon be with my soul's delight. What may it mean that I feel in my heart the shadow of a sad misfortune?

Thibout. How is that for a touch?

Phebidas. *I'm done for.*

Jacomo. *That shall be avenged.*

Romeo. What do I hear? They are really in earnest. Oh! they are my friends. I must manage to stop this fighting.

[*Romeo tries to separate them, but Thibout then proceeds to thrust at him.*][1]

Then follows a scene in which Romeo, despite himself, is forced to encounter Thibout. The encounter in S is too well known to require quoting in full; a few lines will suffice (III, i, 86 ff.):

> *Tybalt.* I am for you. [*Drawing.*]
> *Romeo.* Gentle Mercutio, put thy rapier up.
> *Merc.* Come, sir, your passado. [*They fight.*]
> *Romeo.* Draw, Benvolio; beat down their weapons.
> Gentlemen, for shame, forbear this outrage!
> Tybalt, Mercutio, the prince expressly hath
> Forbidden bandying in Verona streets:
> Hold, Tybalt! Good Mercutio!
> [*Tybalt under Romeo's arm stabs Mercutio and flies with his followers.*]
> *Merc.* *I am hurt.*

The situation in neither Painter nor Brooke contains any hint of Mercutio's death.

---

[1] *Op. cit.* D 1 V°.

Shortly after this point in the story, Shakspere shows us Romeo at the friar's cell desperately bewailing his fate. It is worth while to compare this scene with the corresponding scene in D, both in respect to arrangement of material and to dialogue. In S the scene is occupied for some time with Romeo's ravings, which are kept somewhat in restraint by the comforting friar. Then knocking is heard, and the friar is naturally alarmed for Romeo's safety; needlessly, however, for the visitor proves to be the trusty nurse. She enters, and from her Romeo learns of Juliet's desperate plight. It is arranged that Romeo shall visit his mistress the same night, and exit nurse. The conversation between Romeo and the friar is then resumed for a short time, before the scene culminates.

In part the scene reads as follows:

> *Fr. L.* O, then I see that madmen have no ears.
> . . . .
> Arise; one knocks; good Romeo, hide thyself.
> . . . .
> *Nurse* [*within*]. Let me come in and you shall know my errand;
> I come from Lady Juliet.
> *Fr. L.* Welcome then.
> [*Enter Nurse.*]
> *Nurse.* O holy friar, O tell me, holy friar,
> Where is my lady's lord, where's Romeo?
> . . . .
> O, he is even in my mistress' case,
> Just in her case! O woful sympathy!
> Piteous predicament! Even so lies she,
> Blubbering and weeping, weeping and blubbering.
> . . . .
> *Romeo.* Spakest thou of Juliet? how is it with her?
> . . . .
> *Nurse.* O, she says nothing, sir, but weeps and weeps;
> And now falls on her bed; and then starts up,
> And Tybalt calls; and then on Romeo cries,
> And then downfalls again.

Exactly the same plan is followed in D, the dialogue, too, is very similar. I quote from the middle of the scene:

Fr. L. My son, keep to thy senses . . . . Truly, thy grief exceeds all bounds. Methinks I hear some one. Still! I will go first and see who it is, that thou mayst not be betrayed; and so it be not a trusty friend, he shall remain outside. Ha! 'tis the nurse. Now I may open the door.

[*Enter Nurse.*]

Romeo. My heart is comforted. What may she bring? Welcome, nurse; how is it with my Juliette? What tidings bringest thou me?

Nurse. Alas! Romeo, my mistress lies for thy sake in extreme grief; she sighs the whole day long, and cannot sleep an hour of the night — so presses her her sorrow. My heart breaks to hear her moan and sob in the bitterest of the night. Thy absence, my lord, makes her often call for death.[1]

There is a total lack of such dialogue in Painter and Brooke. Painter simply states that the nurse came to the friar, who agreed to send Romeo to his mistress that evening. Brooke gives the nurse exactly the same rôle:

By this, unto his cell, the nurce with spedy pace,
Was comme the nerest way; she sought no ydel resting place.
The fryer sent home the newes of Romeus certain helth,
And promesse made (what so befell) he should that night by stelth
Comme to his wonted place, that they in nedefull wise
Of theyr affayres in time to comme, might thorowly devyse.
Those joyfull newes, the nurce brought home with merry joy, etc.[2]

One more citation will perhaps be sufficient to clinch for the reader the reality of this exclusive agreement between D and S. The lines which I shall now quote all have to do with Romeo's leave-takings of Juliet. In S there are two: one the first evening in the orchard, the other just before Romeo sets out for Verona. In D there is one additional farewell, as indeed in the narrative versions; namely, on the night when Romeo visits Juliette under most propitious circumstances. This visit Shakspere has naturally omitted, inserting some of its details, perhaps, in the second of his two scenes. The first evening that Romeo is in the orchard Juliette in D exclaims:

I love thee, it is true, and am wholly thine; but ah! my love, too horribly I fear that our passion shall come to naught, all for the deadly hatred which my kin have sworn to thine.[3]

At the corresponding point in S Juliet expresses the same sentiment (II, ii, 116 ff.):

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[1] *Op. cit.*, E 2 r°.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131.

[3] *Op. cit.*, B, 1 v°.

. . . . although I joy in thee,
I have no joy of this contract tonight:
It is too rash, too unadvis'd, too sudden.

Some features of the second and third leave-takings in D also remind one of the familiar last farewell in S. The trusty nurse becomes anxious because of the length of Romeo's stay. She says:

Good people, hurry! I see Aurora rising up red in the east:

. . . .

[*Romeo proceeds to climb down.*]

Juliette. Farewell, with this kiss, my love. God keep you safe.[2]

Then in the third leave-taking:

Romeo. Alas! how time flies! the clock already says four. My dearest wife, I must depart at once.

Juliette. Is it already so late? this night has seemed to me much shorter than the half hour I waited for thee.

. . . .

Romeo. My time approaches.

Juliette. Alas!

Romeo. Do not give way to sadness.

Juliette. Thy going makes my heart most heavy, as if we never more should meet together.

Romeo. Put away this idle fancy, which lays a heavy doubt upon thy heart. Think not upon the darkest path, but picture a sun-lit future. Well then, soul of my soul, with this one kiss I needs must take my leave; it is high time.

Juliette. O bitter parting! it breaks my heart in two. I shall die, my love, of grief.

Romeo. Be patient yet, I bid thee, and put this sorrow from thy heart; like sorrow presses me, and yet I needs must go. Farewell, my wife.

. . . .

Juliette. O sweet mouth, let me kiss thee for the last. O my soul!

Romeo. I must be gone with haste; I must descend. Be content, my love, and trust that fortune will soon change our sorrow and grief to joy. For the last, farewell.

[*He climbs down.*]

Juliette. Farewell, my only lord and master. Alas! my grief has made me giddy—I fear lest I fall. [*Exit.*][2]

This should be compared carefully with the following from Shakspere (III, v, 1 ff.):

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[1] *Op. cit.*, C 5 vo.

[2] *Op. cit.*, F 1 ro.

Juliet. Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day.
. . . .
Nurse. The day is broke; be wary; look about. [*Exit.*]
. . . .
Romeo. Farewell, farewell! one kiss and I'll descend.
[*He goeth down.*]
Juliet. Art thou gone so? love, lord, ay, husband, friend!
. . . .
O, think'st thou we shall ever meet again?
Romeo. I doubt it not; and all these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in our time to come.
Juliet. O God, I have an ill-divining soul!
Methinks I see thee, now thou art below,
As one dead in the bottom of a tomb:
Either my eyesight fails, or thou look'st pale.
Romeo. And trust me, love, in my eye so do you.
Dry sorrow drinks our blood. Adieu, adieu! [*Exit.*]

Painter and Brooke, at this point of the story, could have furnished Shakspere with next to nothing. In regard to the last two leave-takings, it is stated by both authorities, though not in direct discourse, that the lovers, disturbed by the approach of Phœbus, make their adieus, Romeo on the first occasion kissing his mistress good-by, and on the second swearing eternal constancy, amid much lamenting by both.

So much for the passages in which D agrees exclusively with one or another of the three works. Surely sufficient citation of these has been made to confirm my original hypothesis—that Struijs either made use of Boaistuau, Brooke, and Shakspere—all three; or drew his material from some once extant document which contributed largely to the growth of the Romeo and Juliet story in England, before it reached Shakspere's hands. The former supposition, as was indicated at the outset, seems most unlikely. But in the next stage of our reasoning it will, I hope, appear not only unlikely but quite untenable.

II

To establish this point beyond doubt will require some psychological study of certain other matter occurring only in D and S; for the discussion now resolves itself into a question of mental reaction. We shall find, I think, parallel passages which, if judged impartially and quite apart from any thought of their time or place of composition, will seem to imply that lines in D stimulated Shakspere; and not, *vice versa*, that the Shaksperian lines reacted upon Struijs. If real traces of such mental reaction exist, then the inference will be inevitable that Shakspere was influenced in reality by some lost source of D, since D itself was not composed until after his death.

Now, there are, indeed, lines in D which in every case look like the starting-points of Shakspere's subtler, more compact creations. For it will never do to infer that we here have in D Shakspere's drama unaccountably garbled and degenerate. On the other hand, as everybody knows, Shakspere's mind was always widely reactive: a line, a word, the barest hint in whatever source he was using stirred for a moment his imagination, and then became practically transformed. The following quotations will, I hope, bring out the point I am trying to establish. When Romeo, in S, receives from his man the false news of Juliet's death, he says (V, i, 24):

> Is it even so? Then I defy you, stars!

Meaning, probably, that he defies fate to do him any further harm, since this news has already killed him. But in D there is at this point a much more elaborate passage. It reads as follows:

> *Is my mistress dead? is it true?* How comes it then that Phœbus still shines on? Or can he still without flickering cast his gaze upon the earth? Away day! away day! depart and leave me in my grief; and draw the black hag, Night, before your eyes . . . . *Fade, wretched stars*, and lead Diana from this place; let hell's deep darkness settle on me here.[1]

Here is a typical Senecan wail which Shakspere has apparently condensed to a poignant exclamation.

To continue: Romeo, in D, while he is waiting below Juliette's window, thus invokes night:

> Come, thou dark shroud, as is thy wont, and cover with thy shadow the half of this world's orb; *while I in lonely gloom make echo rewail my own lament, in the innermost of Venus' temple, where my Juliette is.*[2]

In S (II, ii, 159 ff.) Juliet, thinking that Romeo has withdrawn from the orchard, cries:

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[1] *Op. cit.*, H 2 vo.

[2] *Op. cit.*, B 1 ro.

Hist! Romeo, hist! O, for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again!
Bondage is hoarse, and may not speak aloud;
Else would I tear the cave where echo lies,
And make her airy tongue more hoarse than mine
With repetition of my Romeo's name.

The essential similarity of these two conceits is of course apparent. And since they appear at practically the same point of the story, there can be little doubt that one was dependent upon the other, with the chances greatly in favor of Shakspere's having been the borrower, for there is exactly the sort of transformation that one would expect at his hands.

The next instance of this kind is found in the orchard scene. A part of Romeo's love-making, in D, is the following:

> Thou, O Goddess, art the sole beacon towards which I sail. Wilt thou unpityingly withhold thy light from mine eye, then must my ship, to my ruin, perish; for unless some haven be at hand, its freight will sink it to the depths.[1]

Compare with this Romeo's similar love-making in S (II, ii, 82 ff.):

I am no pilot; yet, wert thou as far
As that vast shore wash'd with the farthest sea,
I would adventure for such merchandise.

Again, when Romeo in D is leaving Verona for Mantua, the thought of his love brings to his lips this sad lament:

> When I think that I am banished from that divine being whose sweetest nectar I may no more taste; whose dear mouth I may no more reach unto; whose godlike voice my ears, as if unworthy, shall hear no more—I fall o'erwhelmed in tears.[2]

At the friar's cell Romeo in S expresses similar grief (III, iii, 29 ff.):

'Tis torture, and not mercy: heaven is here,
Where Juliet lives; and every cat and dog
And little mouse, every unworthy thing,
Live here in heaven and may look on her;
But Romeo may not: more validity,
More honorable state, more courtship lives
In carrion-flies than Romeo: they may seize
On the white wonder of dear Juliet's hand
And steal immortal blessing from her lips.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, B 1 vo.

[2] *Op. cit.*, F 2 ro.

Who, even in pure and vestal modesty,
Still blush, as thinking their own kisses sin;
But Romeo may not; he banished.

Certainly this idea in D might easily be construed as the barest embryo of the Shaksperian lines; it could never have resulted from a slovenly adaptation of these.

A very few more examples of this sort will perhaps be sufficient. After Romeo, in D, has learned from his man of Juliette's supposed death, he says, among other things:

> O death, O cruel death! thee will I curse to all eternity. Must thou needs have reft that dear life, so before her time? Must thou needs have hastened to banish from the light of day that sweet mistress whose dear eyes rejoiced the earth? Didst thou think her gain thy triumph? . . . . No, 'tis to thy shame that thou dost root from the earth the fairest flower, and sparest the rankest weed. Thou dost the greatest injury to the world that thou robbest her of her choicest, and leavest the halt, the blind, the deaf. . . . . O archer, void of reason, or else uncertain of thy aim! thou hast envied the earth the fostering of her, and thou grudgest me the joyful embraces of such a wife.[1]

The corresponding passage in S comes a little later in the story; namely, when Romeo is at Juliet's tomb. He says (V, iii, 45, 46):

Thou detestable maw, thou womb of death,
Gorg'd with the sweetest morsel of the earth;

and ll. 91 ff.:

. . . . O my love! my wife!
Death, that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath,
Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty.

. . . .

. . . . Ah, dear Juliet,
Why art thou yet so fair? Shall I believe
That unsubstantial death is amorous,
And that the lean abhorred monster keeps
Thee here in dark to be his paramour?

In D, after Pedro has helped Romeo to effect an entrance to the tomb, he becomes thoroughly frightened:

> From fear I seem to see a troupe of ghosts prowling about me, and to hear groans and loathsome crackling sounds. . . . . I will sit down here to sleep a while, to rid my brain of this dread fantasy.[2]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, H 3 V°.

[2] *Op. cit.*, H 4 V°.

In S, it will be remembered, there are two servants at the tomb: the page of Paris and Romeo's man, Balthazar, it being generally admitted that Paris' visit to Juliet's tomb was added to the story by Shakspere himself. When the page is bidden to withdraw, he says (V, iii, 10 ff.):

> I am almost afraid to stand alone
> Here in the churchyard; yet I will adventure.

A little later Balthazar confides to the friar (l. 137):

> As I did sleep under this yew-tree here, etc.

It is perhaps not without the bounds of coincidence that in both D and S a servant should be afraid of spooks in the churchyard; but that in each Romeo's man should go to sleep, while his master is engaged in such precarious business, is good proof of borrowing. Suppose, therefore, that in an old English play Shakspere found this incident much the same as I have described it in D. How natural, then, for him, in adjusting it to his newly created situation, to distribute these two states, fear and drowsiness, respectively, to the tender young page and to Romeo's man!

To test this explanation one may revert for a moment to a contrary supposition—that Struijs was here pilfering Shakspere. If this was the case, why did he choose to obliterate the important feature of Paris' visit to the tomb, and to conform thereby to the older versions? Here is a case, then, of peculiar significance, for it brings out the similarity in D both to S and to the earlier form of the story. What better proof could there be that an English source of D served as a link somewhere between Boaistuau and S! Nor is this the only instance of this sort; there are at least two others. In the first orchard scene Juliet, in D, is able to recognize Romeo because of the moonlight, just as in Boaistuau and Brooke; Romeo does not need, as in Shakspere, to speak to disclose himself. And yet the "business" in both dramas at this point is surprisingly close. He stands, in D, singing Juliette's praises beneath her window, out of which she then leans. "Soft!" he whispers, "let me listen to what she says." In this design, however, he is thwarted because she has become aware of someone's presence. "What troubled voice," she asks, "laments below me here? Who is it here goes prowling alone in the darkness, and breaks my light sleep? Ah, by the moonlight I now see Romeo sheltered, 'neath my window standing." In this complicated instance, what really happened seems to have been this: The source of D followed Boaistuau in having Juliette recognize Romeo in the moonlight, but added the conversation which here corresponds with S, as also Romeo's expressed wish that he might secretly overhear Juliette's words—a wish, however, that was not gratified—not at least until it fell under Shakspere's notice, who at once saw the dramatic and poetic power to be gained by working out this hint.

The other similar case can be described more briefly. Romeo, in D, takes leave of Juliette three times—the first night in the orchard, on the marriage-night, and finally when he departs from Verona. This agrees well enough with Boaistuau and Brooke, both of which authorities account for the first and last leave-takings, and say in addition that after the marriage Romeo frequently visited Juliet in her chamber. The second of the three scenes in D is naturally not to be found in S; in place of it there is Juliet's well-known soliloquy, beginning, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds." The phrasing in all these three scenes in D, however, shows marked correspondence with lines in S, rather than with Boaistuau or Brooke. What does this mean? Again that the source of D was a pre-Shaksperian link in the story.

The argument thus far may be summarized as follows: The first part tended to prove that D was indebted either to all three of the works, Boaistuau, Brooke, and S, or to some English document, anterior to Shakspere, but now lost, which once added to the growth of the Romeo and Juliet fable. The second part of the argument made the latter of these suppositions alone seem tenable, by establishing indebtedness on Shakspere's part to this assumed English prototype.[1]

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[1] The objection may possibly be raised that Struijs may have based his play upon Shakspere's first, 1591 (?) version, and that therefore the cases cited in this section of my paper are only, after all, examples of Shakspere making over his earlier self. This objection, however, seems to me hardly valid. For in these revisions there are the distinctive features of Shakspere's genius, which were not lacking to him even in the early period of his career.

III

Hitherto I have taken it for granted that the lost source of D was a play. And, indeed, this seems hardly to require proof, since it would have been far easier for this type of literature to stray from England over to Holland, through the agency of traveling troupes of English actors, than for an obscure prose romance or poem. To assume off-hand, however, that this source was the play referred to by Arthur Brooke might appear a little hasty, since a popular story of this sort might well enough have been dramatized in England two or three times before, say 1590. But other things than Brooke's mere reference urge one to place the play at an early date.

Thus we shall find it instructive to make some comparison of D and the poem; especially of those points of contact in the case of which Boaistuau, and therefore Painter, furnish no correspondences. These are two in number—the scenes containing Romeo's ravings at the friar's cell, and the nurse's attempt to reconcile Juliet to the marriage with Paris. In the former case, resemblances in phrasing being rather vague, no inference can be drawn other than that, as far as the mere incident is concerned, the English play and the poem were certainly interdependent. A study of the latter case, however, will prove to be more illuminating. In D the nurse makes no attempt whatsoever to praise Paris above Romeo. Her only comment on the situation is her reply to Juliette's question: "Shall Romeo hold me for untrue, what think you, nurse?" She says: "No, my mistress, not at all. He well understands that he shall not possess you again; therefore he shall be content." In Brooke's poem the matter is managed differently. Here the nurse

. . . . prayseth much to her, the second mariage,
And County Paris now she prayseth ten times more,
By wrong, then she her selfe by right, had Romeus praysde before.
Paris shall dwell there still, Romeus shall not retourne.
What shall it boote her life, to languish still and mourne.[1]

If the English source of D had drawn this incident from Brooke, would there not still remain in D more of this dramatic irony? For to have the nurse praise Romeo above Paris, when Juliet is in such desperate straits, furnishes an emotional situation which even the crudest dramatist, if once acquainted with it, could hardly have disregarded.[1]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 174, 175.

To place the play in point of time before the poem also explains other peculiarities. One sees, for example, why there is in D no following of Brooke's initiative in making the nurse a comic character. Brooke had mapped out at least rough outlines for the Shaksperian scenes in which the nurse, to the great amusement of any audience, visits Romeo, and then brings back a message—haltingly given—to Juliet. Certainly no one dramatizing this story, and knowing the poem, would have ignored all of the following lines, which were so easily convertible into dramatic form:[2]

> To Romeus she goes of him she doth desyre,
> To know the meane of mariage, by councell of the fryre.
> On Saterday quod he, if Juliet come to shrift,
> She shalbe shrived and maried, how lyke you noorse this drift?
> Now by my truth (quod she) God's blessing have your hart,
> For yet in all my life I have not heard of such a part.
> Lord how you yong men can such crafty wiles devise,
> If that you love the daughter well, to bleare the mother's eyes.
> An easy thing it is, with cloke of holines,
> To mocke the sely mother that suspecteth nothing lesse.
> But that it pleased you to tell me of the case,
> For all my many yeres perhaps, I should have found it scarse.
> Now for the rest let me and Juliet alone;
> To get her leave, some feate excuse I will devise anone;
>
> . . . .
>
> And then she sweares to him, the mother loves her well;
> And how she gave her sucke in youth, she leaveth not to tell.
> A pretty babe (quod she) it was when it was yong;
> Lord how it could full pretely have prated with its tong!
>
> . . . .
>
> And thus of Juliets youth began this prating noorse,
> And of her present state to make a tedious long discoorse.
> For though he pleasure tooke in hearing of his love,
> The message aunswer seemed him to be of more behove.
>
> . . . .

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[1] Even the young Cambridge student (see Appendix II), in his hasty Latin dramatization of Brooke, used this passage extensively.

[2] Here again the Cambridge student took his cue adequately from Brooke.

Then he vj crownes of gold out of his pocket drew,
And gave them her; a slight reward (quod he) and so adiew.
In seven yeres twise tolde she had not bowd so lowe,
Her crooked knees, as now they bowe. . . . .

. . . .

She takes her leave, and home she hyes with spedy pace;
The chaumber doore she shuts, and then she saith with smyling face:
Good newes for thee my gyrle, good tidings I thee bring.
Leave off thy woonted song of care, and now of pleasure sing.
For thou mayst hold thy selfe the happiest under sonne,
That in so little while, so well so worthy a knight hast woone.
The best yshapde is he, and hath the fayrest face,
Of all this towne, and there is none hath halfe so good a grace:
So gentle of his speche, and of his counsel wise:
And still with many prayses more she heaved him to the skies.
Tell me els what (quod she) thus evermore I thought;
But of our mariage say at once, what aunswer have you brought?
Nay soft, quoth she, I feare your hurt by sodain joye;
I list not play, quoth Juliet, although thou list to toye.

. . . .

Nothing was done or said that she hath left untolde,
Save only one, that she forgot the taking of the golde.[1]

Here was a gratuity for any dramatist. And, once in the English play, the scenes would never have been dropped out by a Dutch translator or remodeler; for if there is one thing in broad comedy which causes the Dutch the greatest merriment, even to this day, it is the garrulity of a housemaid.

Assumed priority on the part of the English play would likewise explain why its author made such extensive use of Boaistuau instead of turning to the much more elaborate account in Brooke. From the Frenchman he apparently got the proper names and great blocks of dialogue. Whereas a comparison of D with the poem reveals but the two points of contact which have just been commented upon.

Of course, it is fair at this point to put the question: Why did Brooke, except in two instances, entirely ignore the play? The answer is not far to seek. The play, judging by D, added to the growth of this fable, it is true, a good deal of figurative language and many suggestions for the arrangement of scenes; but, on the other hand, introduced but one important new incident—the death of Mercutio. And this latter is brought in so by the way that its purpose might easily have escaped detection. A narrative poet, therefore, like Brooke, would have found little to glean from the play; for him the more kindred *novella*-writer, Boaistuau, would have been a sufficient guide. Further, Brooke probably had the text of Boaistuau directly at hand, whereas he undoubtedly had to trust to his memory for the play.[1] Hence it seems safe to conclude that the English source of D antedated the poem.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 102–5.

With this much determined, the date of composition of the play falls within very narrow limits—between 1562 and 1559, the years in which the English poem and the French *novella*, respectively, first appeared.

IV

The mere knowledge that an English play on this subject existed as early perhaps as 1560, and that Shakspere used it extensively, does not, however, entirely satisfy one's curiosity. One wonders about the nature of this tragedy. Did it share with its contemporaries, *Gorboduc*, *Cambyses*, *Appius and Virginia*, and *Tancred and Gismunda*, in all the Senecan characteristics which were clogging the drama at that time? Or did it depend for its tragedy solely on the tremendous situation inherent in the plot? These are questions which one can answer only by referring to D.

Fortunately, the play seems not to have been greatly changed at the hands of the Dutch redactor. In only one instance, indeed, is there positive evidence of interpolation. This is where the nurse, apropos of Romeo's visit to Juliette's chamber, grossly compares feminine temperaments, Italian and Dutch. In other instances the author probably adhered pretty closely to his original.

Two things, at least, make this seem likely. For, in the first place, as I pointed out before, considerable portions of D are nothing more than slavish paraphrases of Boaistuau, indicating that its author's method was certainly no more original than that of his English predecessor. And, in the second place, many lines in D, as we have amply seen, still have a close similarity to their counterparts in S. The force of this testimony will at once become apparent if one but reflect what Shakspere's method of adaptation habitually was. He seldom paraphrased, he transformed. Take the following for example:

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[1] For reminding me of the cumulative value as testimony of this literary condition I must thank Professor Neilson, of Columbia University

Brooke:

> Art thou quoth he [the friar to Romeo] a man? thy shape
> saith so thou art;
> Thy crying and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's hart.
> . . . .
> So that I stood in doute this howre (at the least)
> If thou a man, or woman wert, or else a brutish beast.

Shakspere (III, iii, 109–11):

> *Fr. L.* Art thou a man? thy form cries out thou art;
> Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
> The unreasonable fury of a beast.

Here one, surely, observes a tightening up of clauses and a deepening of the imagination sufficient to transform Brooke's lines from doggerel to poetry of venerable poise, quite suited to the sternest mood of the genial friar. Now, if the Dutch author, too, had remodeled to any great extent his English source, it is to be seriously doubted whether the parallelisms already cited in D and S would still be so numerous and comparatively close. Let the unconvinced but place side by side the *Romeo and Juliet* of Shakspere and Lope de Vega's dramatization of this fable. The absolute dissimilarity of the two plays is proof of what results when playwrights of imagination attack the same story. On these grounds, therefore, it seems highly probable that Struijs did not bother to make many changes.

V

If this inference be just, a description of D will serve well enough to characterize the English original. Perhaps, first of all, since D is so generally inaccessible, a brief analysis should be given of each scene. Preceding the play there is, as in Shakspere, a prologue outlining the action that is to follow. In the opening scene of the play, Romeo, besought by Phebidas—who corresponds to Mercutio—to reveal the cause of his depression and solitary wanderings, at length owns to being involved in a love affair the hopelessness of which makes him mad. Phebidas, however, is most encouraging; he informs Romeo in a lyric stanza of six lines that the mind of woman changes like the wind; he must therefore persist and not despair. Whereupon Romeo is induced to recount the circumstances of his first meeting with Juliette, which occurred at a banquet at Capellets' house, to which Romeo went from a sheer love of danger. After he had taken off his masque, as he tells Phebidas, the Capellets, though surprised at this evident effrontery, still concealed their anger. Juliette, he continues, every portion of whose fair body he proceeds in a lyric stanza to eulogize, sat next to him once during the evening, and pressed his hand with amorous sighs. Romeo, though admitting perforce the impossibility of intermarriage between the two families, is yet quite beside himself with passion. He has been passing by Juliette's house, he says, in the day time, exchanging glances with her; but, realizing the danger to which this exposed her, he now approaches her house only by night, hoping sometime to get a chance to address her. Phebidas, alarmed at this state of affairs, yet seeing that any attempt at dissuasion would be futile, wishes his friend all success, and exit.

In scene ii Romeo is discovered beneath Juliette's window, invoking the shroud of night to shelter him. While he stands rapturously singing her praises, he sees a light suddenly flash in her window. Then Juliette appears, and though startled at first by this intrusion, soon perceives by means of the moonlight that it is Romeo. At once she fears for his safety, but is reassured, and at length responds to his ardent love-making, being first convinced that marriage is his intention. It is arranged that he shall disclose their affair to Friar Lourens and shall urge him to appoint a time for the marriage. As the dawn is beginning to appear, Romeo sadly takes his leave, resolving to visit the friar as soon as possible.

At the beginning of scene iii Friar Lourens is discovered in soliloquy, which reaches the extent of some twenty lines before Romeo appears and sets forth his desperate case. The friar's objections are only overruled when he hears that Romeo, rather than forego this union with Juliette, will take his life. Finally a plan for the marriage is devised: Romeo is to be concealed in the cell the following day and to wait for Juliette to come to confession.

Scene iv finds Capellets, Thibout, and Paris in conversation concerning the fierce feud between the two families. Thibout, insisting that his self-restraint at the feast which Romeo had the impudence to visit made him swallow much gall, fiercely denounces Romeo and swears revenge, being, however, rebuked in turn by Paris and Capellets. Juliette enters for a moment to obtain permission from her father to attend confession. After her withdrawal Paris pays her a high compliment, whereupon old Capellets defends the proposition that parents are apt to be happier in the possession of a daughter than of a son, enumerating the scrapes which a son is likely to get into. Thibout, at once piqued by this, takes of course the other side. Then Paris steps in as peacemaker, agreeing in general with each, but in particular with Capellets, since, as he says, "You have a paragon, pleasing to both God and man; I do not believe that the earth can boast of her equal." Further self-felicitations by Capellets follow, in which the author has mingled dramatic irony almost too plenteously. Exeunt all three. The audience then sees Romeo and Juliette in the act of being married; this, however, is effected by pantomime.

Act II. The first scene of this act is devoted to a long monologue in which Paris professes love for Juliette and displays some fear that she may not accept him. From a scrap of dialogue between Romeo and Pedro at the outset of scene ii we learn that the ladder has been procured, and that Juliette awaits her lover, it now being toward midnight. Before he enters her window, Romeo, half-delirious, rejoices at the smiles with which Fortune is at present regarding him. Then he goes within, leaving the nurse in an outer room to soliloquize at some length, and with great indecency, on a subject which in Shakspere is found beautifully refined in Juliet's monologue (III, ii, 1 ff.) beginning, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds."

Scene iii is occupied with a discussion by several members of Capellets' faction, arising from some information imparted by Thibout. He has heard that a party of the Montesches are to spend the evening at Madame Masor's—apparently a notorious inn—and is determined to attack the party on the way home. Paris at once objects, fearing that blood may be spilt and a great strife caused, but is at length entirely overruled.

In the fourth scene Phebidas and his associates appear on the stage, half drunk as a result of their gay evening. Phebidas, to the great delight of his companions, retails a flirtation which he has just had with Margrita. Soon they are joined by Jacomo, who has avoided Madam Masor's and who, by professing a single-hearted love, serves as a good foil to the gay, dashing, fickle Phebidas, who finds something lovable in every girl, "provided she be pretty and accessible." At this juncture they are set upon by the Capellets. A lively scene ensues, in which there is blustering on each side. Then Romeo comes upon the stage, mumbling praises of his love, just in time to see Thibout kill Phebidas. At once he tries to interfere, saying that his heart is inclined rather to friendship than to hatred; but finally, inflamed by Thibout's mockery, he pursues and kills this assailant.

Act III. "Curtains open; the Capellets in mourning with the body of Thibout. The Montesches on the other side, prepared to exculpate Romeo. The Lord of the Council of Verona." Capellets proceeds to charge Romeo with murder, but is answered by Montesches, who defends his son's action by relating how the affair took place. The lord of the council banishes Romeo forever from Verona.

The second scene opens with a long lament uttered by Juliette alone in her bedroom. At first upbraiding Romeo, she in turn falls to chiding her tongue for such uncharitable words, and sinks upon her bed in utter exhaustion, just as the nurse enters. At length, however, being aroused and somewhat cheered, she forces the nurse, by herself bewailing Thibout's death, to utter generous sentiments in Romeo's defense. Her attendant finally volunteers to get word from Romeo, whom she believes to be in hiding at the friar's cell.

The third scene finds Romeo at the friar's. He complains of fickle fortune, which has turned his bliss to banishment, much preferring death to living out of Juliette's presence. Not at all encouraged by the friar's suggestion that the judgment which has been passed upon him will probably soon be lightened, he goes almost out of his senses from despair. At this point knocking is heard, and the friar, looking out cautiously that Romeo may not be betrayed, is relieved to find that it is the nurse. Inquiring of her how her mistress fares, Romeo learns that Juliette does nothing but weep and long for death; whereupon he promises to go to her chamber that evening before quitting Verona. Although this plan is vigorously opposed by the friar, who considers it dangerous, Romeo insists that he would not omit the visit, even though he knew that the streets through which he must pass were paved with nickers.

Act IV. Juliette is seen leaning on her window, awaiting Romeo. Though in despair at her unhappy lot, she intends to help Romeo endure his trials. Her lover soon appears, entering by means of the ladder, and exclaiming: "Ah, my love!" Juliette cries passionately: "Oh, might I swoon to death in these arms of thine!" She is determined, as in Brooke and Painter, to accompany him to Mantua, if not as his wife, at least as his page. From this, however, she is at length dissuaded when Romeo shows her the inevitable misfortune which this course would occasion. He promises to return to Verona in three months, if in that time his sentence is not remitted, and by force of arms to carry her off as his wife. Seeing that the dawn is breaking, he takes affectionate leave of Juliette, who is all the more distressed at letting him go because she has a premonition that she shall never again see him. Exit Juliette. At the foot of the ladder Romeo bids a tender farewell to the house which has been the scene of his greatest happiness.

The second scene is devoted to a monologue by Paris, from which we gather the information that Juliette has been promised to him by Capellets, who means, however, to give the count a chance to woo her, not wishing to force his daughter to the marriage, unless this be absolutely necessary.

Following this scene, Romeo, with his servant, Pedro, is discovered bidding farewell to Verona. He compares himself to a rudderless ship tossed on relentless waves, and becomes desperate as he reflects that he is banished forever from Juliette's sight. In dismissing Pedro he enjoins on him the duty of bringing frequent news of Juliette, and then resumes his sorrowful way to Mantua.

In scene iv Paris informs the audience that he has failed to get a favorable reply from Juliette, but that he is still hopeful. Capellets, appearing at this juncture, is astounded to hear of his daughter's attitude, and swears angrily that she shall obey him; nor is he diverted from this decision by Paris' dislike of any such compulsion. Exit Paris, and enter Juliette, who protests that she would gladly die to avoid this marriage. In a frenzy, however, her father reminds her, as in Brooke and Boaistuau, of the supreme authority which their ancestors, the Romans, had over their children, urging her thus to reconsider. He swears that if she does not make herself ready for the wedding on the following Sunday, he shall disinherit her and make her curse the day that she was born. Left alone, Juliette ponders mournfully over her sad predicament. Finally she concludes that it would be better for her to take her life than to be untrue to her husband.

In scene v Friar Lourens is discovered before his cell. He is greatly surprised at the rumor that Juliette is about to enter into a second marriage, and comments on her fickleness. To him enter Juliette and the nurse. Bidding the latter to step aside, Juliette informs the friar that, unless he can find her some escape from the marriage, she intends to kill herself, so that her soul in heaven and her blood on earth may both testify to her unstained constancy. The sleeping-potion is then hit upon, the effect of which is to last forty hours. Exit friar. Juliette decides to feign willingness to marry Paris, and exit.

In scene vi Capellets is sputtering to his servants, as in Shakspere, about the need of wonderful preparations for the approaching wedding, but at length finds time to dispatch to Count Paris the news of Juliette's fortunate change of mind. The latter almost immediately appears, delighted at this information.

Act V. Juliette is in her bedroom with the nurse. Asked whether Romeo is likely to think his mistress untrue, the nurse replies that Romeo shall be well content, knowing that he can never again hope to possess his love. Then the nurse is dismissed, and Juliette gives way to her impatience at this hollow conversation. After she has poured the sleeping-potion into a glass, she is overcome by various fears. She sees the ghost of Thibout, and immediately falls back in fright onto her bed. The ghost—for he actually appears on the stage—remonstrates with her for having married his deadly enemy, and promises her that she shall soon rot in the grave with her accursed husband. Juliette now fancies that thousands of spirits are plucking at her. So, calling upon Romeo, as in Shakspere, she drinks the potion and sinks away into her unnatural sleep.

In the next scene the nurse enters to wake Juliette. But, finding her cold, she raises a cry of alarm, which causes the hasty entrance of Capellets and others. A doctor is summoned, and pronounces Juliette's death to be the probable result of melancholy. This diagnosis naturally causes Capellets great remorse; likewise Paris, who now enters and delivers a tender lament for Juliette.

The third scene is very short, being devoted to a conversation between Friar Lourens and Anselmus. The latter receives a letter which he is to deliver to Romeo at Mantua.

At the beginning of scene iv Romeo learns from Pedro that Juliette is dead. Almost out of his senses, he wails his grief to heaven, calling upon the sun, the moon, the stars to disappear and to leave earth in utter darkness, now that his love is dead. He complains of death's injustice, by which the loveliest flower is plucked and the ugliest weed allowed to blossom on. Finally, telling Pedro to make ready for their return to Verona, he departs in search of poison.

In the short fifth scene Anselmus informs the audience that he was so delayed on the way that he has missed Romeo.

Then, in the final scene, we see Romeo in the act of forcing an entrance to Juliette's tomb. Pedro, meanwhile, afraid of seeing spooks, has withdrawn a little way, in hopes of falling asleep and of thereby dispelling his fears. In the tomb Romeo addresses tender words to Juliette, and, after kissing her many times, and after begging forgiveness of Thibout's body, he drinks the poison, commends his soul to God, and dies. Juliette then awakes, but, finding her lord dead, she stabs herself with his sword. At this point Friar Lourens enters; he wakes up Pedro and from him learns of Romeo's mistake. In utter despair he bids Pedro tell the parents of the lovers what a dreadful misfortune this feud has led to; expresses the wish that peace may now reign between the two families; and resolves herewith to retire to some solitary place, because he feels partially guilty for this tragedy.

So much for the general outline of this old play. Looked at more critically, the play shows several interesting aspects. Perhaps its most striking, distinctive feature is the absence of any great conformity to the Senecan type of tragedy. In the relic of an English tragedy, dating from about 1560, one would naturally expect to find most of the Senecan ear-marks—a continual harping on fate and fortune, periodic moralizing, inflated rhetoric, and needless blood and gore.[1] Now, of course, the breath of fortune is constantly blowing across this play, veering around more and more into a headwind—a thing to be expected in any dramatization of the career of star-crossed lovers. And if this is the case with the Dutch play, so is it also with Shakspere's. In D, Romeo's "O fickle fortune! how easily canst thou change!" is answered in S by Juliet's "O fortune, fortune! all men call thee fickle." On the other hand, as we might expect, the references to fortune are in D more elaborate and less potent; Shakspere, by a terse intensity of words, has succeeded more subtly in keeping this vexing, contrary breath always in our faces. And yet, even in D, the cruder emphasis on fortune does not, as in many early plays, force this element to serve as the entire dramatic atmosphere.

Other Senecan characteristics in D are truly insignificant. Thus there are, I believe, only two cases of moralizing. The first is perpetrated by the friar. After he is approached by Romeo, he mutters, "Blessed are those who shun the world, for by the love of woman man's flesh is perverted from a love of God, and led into much trouble; God's love, only, gives happiness." This harmless bit, however, is thoroughly in character. The other case occurs in the scene in which Thibout and Capellets are discussing the satisfaction given to a father by a son, compared to that afforded by a daughter. Although carried to some length, the conversation is prompted, not by a love of moralizing for moralizing's sake, as in the typical Senecan play—in *Gorboduc*, *Tancred and Gismunda*, etc.—being rather the author's device to bring out dramatic irony; for immediately after the scene the audience beholds Romeo and Juliette in the act of being married. These two cases are quite different from the insistent accumulation of ethical doctrines found in other English tragedies composed in the fifteen sixties, and even later.

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[1] Let no one suggest that these Senecan peculiarities may have been sloughed off by the Dutch redactor, for it was eminently on the Dutch stage that Seneca was most pilfered. Certainly in his other plays Struijs found it impossible to dispense with such matters.

In the matter of inflated rhetoric this drama sins also but two or three times. The biggest blot in this respect results from Romeo's ravings upon getting the false information about Juliette. Here he goes out of his head and rants, invoking everything in the universe, including the furniture of heaven and hell.

As for the "horrors," so amply precedented by Seneca, the play shows here, too, more fastidiousness than was usual. There is no needless flaunting of blood. Take, for example, the fatal encounter between the two hostile factions. In Boaistuau it becomes so fierce that arms and legs are severed, and the street runs blood—a spectacle fairly hard to represent on the stage, I admit. Still, here was a good chance for your true lover of Seneca to start his hacking. Yet in D, as in S, when the fight is ended, only Romeo's boon-companion and Thibout are discovered to be dead. Even the ghost of Thibout who appears to Juliette just before she takes the potion, is not a dripping apparition from Acheron, provided with power to sway her destiny, being rather a symbolized embodiment of Juliette's own imaginings. No, assuredly, D is far from being a typical Senecan play; its flavor of romance is left almost unpolluted.

Nor is this exceptional freedom from such fashionable sensationalism to be ascribed to any recondite cause. The reason lies rather, it seems to me, in the sheer dramatic feeling found in the original story. What other pre-Shaksperian romantic tragedy is based upon a story of similar possibilities? Let us glance at a few notable examples. *Gorboduc* emerged from a congeries of unromantic fable. *Tancred and Gismunda* was damned at the outset in a hideous plot; so, too, the early *Titus Andronicus* plays. Even *The Spanish Tragedy*, excellent as it is, has, mixed up in the fabric of its plot, a deal of curious psychological jugglery. Quite different the story of Romeo and Juliet. Once arrived in western Europe, it served as a choice morsel for such talented men as Luigi da Porto, Bandello, and Boaistuau. Owing to repeated remolding at their hands it at length became easily convertible into excellent dramatic form.

But though differing so much from the usual tragedy of about 1560, the play affords almost equal contrast to Shakspere's drama. It is, for example, a thoroughly "bewept" play. Juliette says at one place: "Oh, might I shed so many tears that my heart would break!" In Shakspere, on the contrary, the love of the two is a flame by which their tears are drunk dry; grief leaves the lovers parched and panting, incapable of the relief which tears are wont to offer. Not when they are together on that last night, in the rare, pure atmosphere of their passion, do tears come—love like theirs creates an almost silencing awe—but only upon descending from this elevated realm to a denser, stupider, and more irritating plane. Then Lady Capulet may well say: "Evermore weeping for your cousin's death?"

Similarly Shakspere has employed an exaggeration for purposes of art which one fails to discover in D. The world in which these Shaksperian lovers live and adore is almost infinitely removed from the sphere of those who would check them. Likewise the world of Juliet's father is made over petty and selfish. With the contrast thus sharpened, the principal scenes in the play seem adequately motivated. Our sympathy is so strongly with Juliet, both because her love exceeds that of any other girl in the world, and because her father becomes so childish in his conduct toward her that even the nurse is justified in reproving him. The older play, on the contrary, tends far more toward realism, or perhaps better *literalness*, and therefore affords no such supreme motives for action. We are certain that Juliette's love is tremendous, though not all-surpassing, because we have seen her much with her lover, yet always displaying a more terrestrial, a more usual, passion than Shakspere's heroine. Like this latter character, she, too, to be sure, loves tenderly, unsordidly, and even poetically. Awaiting her lover the night before his departure, she soliloquizes thus:

> Diana, thou light divine! withdraw but for a little, and cover thy beams with black clouds, that my dear husband may fearless come to me this night. Hinder not by thy bright rays our final meeting, nor pile yet higher our heap of woes.

Then comes a very human touch. Overcome by the terror of the situation, she wishes for the moment that she had never seen Romeo; but instantly her love for him returns with a rush, and she exclaims:

> Where can my dear love be? My heart begins to fear that something has happened to him on the way, for grief follows hard upon grief. What do I hear? Oh, if it were only my dearest! 'Tis he! I hear his voice.

Romeo enters by the ladder with the greeting, "O my love!" to which Juliette replies "Oh, might I swoon to death in these arms of thine!" Here, no doubt, is real earthly passion, alternately thrilling and despairing. The delirium of Juliette's "'Tis he!" and of her last remark is not to be denied. But where Shakspere by the use of contrast, heightened by exquisite poetry, has created two imperishable lovers, the other author, in intensifying the original story, has been content to describe more nearly what he saw about him—a pair of pure but mundane lovers, whose most exalted utterances go lowly, by the ground, compared to the raptures of those other two.

Art suffers also for the sake of literalness in the case of one other character in D—Paris. In Shakspere's drama he serves primarily as a dramatic device—as a gentlemanly and unobjectionable cause of Juliet's desperate extremes. A few swift strokes succeed in giving him flesh and blood, owing to the great emotional value of the pitiable situation into which he is forced by the story. In D, on the other hand, he is needlessly elaborated. His frequent monologues bring out insistently what the audience readily ascribes to him in Shakspere—a gentle, conciliatory disposition, colored by a stanch friendship for the Capellets; and also partially divert the absorbing interest of the central theme by overemphasis on his passion for Juliette. Credence on the audience's part in the genuineness of his love is, to be sure, clinched by this method. Thus, for example, when Juliette is discovered on the morning of the wedding supposedly dead, and it is believed that her death was occasioned by her aversion to the marriage, Paris' penitence and remorse ring true and tender, because his frequent appearances on the stage have given ample proof of his great love for her. Shakspere, however, chose the much more artistic and dramatic method in postponing any great display of feeling on Paris' part until the end of the tragedy, when, by inserting a new incident into the story, he has him bear flowers by night to Juliet's tomb, and then lay down his life beside her.

In other cases, however, where a literal characterization was in no way prevented by reasons of art, Shakspere has, of course, beaten the older author at his own game. Indeed, we find in D only two characters, besides those already mentioned, who are given any color above that which they possessed already in Boaistuau. These are Phebidas and Jacomo, who correspond to Mercutio and Benvolio. Although not coming to within hailing distance of Shakspere's character, Phebidas is, to be sure, given a truly heightened personality. He is gay, dashing, fickle in matters of love, and recklessly brave. Like Mercutio, he fights the Capellets conscientiously, until he is killed. Jacomo is done with fewer strokes, though he is brought out with sufficient clearness to serve as a perfect contrast to Phebidas. Other characters, in D, as I have just indicated, can scarcely be distinguished from their prototypes in Boaistuau.

My remaining study of D can perhaps be conveniently blended with an attempt to bring out Shakspere's chief indebtedness to the other play; first for certain general effects, and second for numerous details. At the outset it should be stated that for the management of his central theme Shakspere owes but little; particularly if this be judged by degree and not by amount. For although the real problem in both plays is that imposed essentially by the story—a study of elemental passion—the success with which this is worked out varies tremendously. Shakspere, by supreme adequacy of imagination, presents a conspicuous development even in this limited, unintellectual sort of love. Particularly noticeable is this in the character of Juliet. At the start it is the superficial thrills of love at first sight; in the orchard scene, the pure lyric of a singing heart; later, where she is pondering expectantly over the marriage-night—the first stirrings of complete womanhood; in her farewell to Romeo—her "faint alarms" have become dark presentiments; and finally, when she drinks the sleeping-potion, there is absolute realization of the power of love. In other words, there grows in Juliet's heart a gradual deepening, even sophistication, of feeling, though reinforced but by very little conscious thought. In D, as one might expect, such a beautiful progress in pure instinct is not to be found. But there is nevertheless a great superiority in this respect to the achievements of Boaistuau and Brooke. New situations are added, or new suggestions for old situations are roughly sketched. Thus in the orchard scene there is some attempt at lyric utterance; likewise, when Juliette is awaiting Romeo in her chamber, her feeling is shown at least to be extremely intense. Similarly, too, she is possessed by dire presentiments when she says good-by to Romeo. Even in the sleeping-potion scene, where in general there is a close following of Boaistuau, Juliette gives a supreme touch to the force of her love, when her imaginings become too dreadful, by calling upon the name of Romeo, even as in Shakspere, and by drinking the potion to him. Certainly we here observe the central theme of the story sufficiently revised to show that the author of the older play had for his time no little psychological penetration; enough, indeed, to attract the attention of Shakspere, and to stimulate his analytical faculty.

Another element of Shakspere's artistry may perhaps also be somewhat indebted to the older play—the atmosphere of the tragedy. In any case, it will not be uninstructive to compare the two plays from this point of view. In the story itself, as it is found in Boaistuau, and also in Brooke, there is, to be sure, an inherent inevitability which, on the face of it, makes for tragedy.

But this in D is naturally heightened, first by dint of the dramatic form, and second by conscious devices inserted to this end. Thus the feud between the two families is emphasized by vivid scenes showing the intense feeling of both factions. The day after Romeo's reckless appearance at the house of his enemy, Capellets, Thibout, and Count Paris are discovered discussing this bit of effrontery. The anger of Thibout in particular is not to be restrained; despite the rebukes of his uncle, he solemnly vows to repay this insult. Similarly before the fatal encounter, a scene is furnished to reveal the plot in the making with which Capellets' faction are to be revenged upon their enemies. Then follows, before the actual meeting of the two sides, a swaggering scene in which the Montesches, some of them half drunk, are defiantly parading the streets. With the emphasis so prominently put upon the discord between these families, no reader of the play can for a moment look forward to a happy, peaceful union of the two lovers. Shakspere, realizing the need of such emphasis, for the purpose particularly of atmosphere, as usual outdid the older play by placing one of these factious scenes at the very beginning of his drama.

But, though given some few hints for certain elements of the atmosphere, Shakspere managed the dominant element *almost* independently. I mean the lyric aroma which exhales from the poetry. It is undoubtedly this which has often made the *Romeo and Juliet* seem essentially a poem rather than a play. At all events, it elevates the love of these two, though, strangely enough, without taking them out of character, into a unique atmosphere, so far above the realm of the usual that one seems here to have the apotheosis of love rather than love itself. That, on the other hand, D wholly lacks poetic buoyancy is not true; for I have already pointed out numerous conceits from which in their original English form Shakspere apparently got potent suggestions. More than this, however, cannot be said. The difference of poetic atmosphere in the two dramas is that of heaven and earth.

As to more specific, more tangible suggestions taken by Shakspere from the older play, a few words may be said by way of summary. From it he got not only hints for frequent, detached conceits; he elaborated consecutive speeches and dramatic devices.

Thus he drew on it for Romeo's impression of Juliet. "O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright!" etc. (I, v, 46 ff.); for much of the orchard scene (II, ii); for Tybalt's anger and Capulet's restraining words (I, v, 56 ff.); for the arrangement and some of the phrasing of the scene in which Romeo first interviews the friar (II, iii); for the special scene at the cell devoted to compassing the marriage (II, vi); for the management of the fatal encounter in which Mercutio and Tybalt are killed (III, i); for the first part of III, ii, where Juliet is impatiently waiting for night and for Romeo; for Romeo's dismal time at the friar's cell (III, iii); for a large portion of the scene in which he says farewell to Juliet (III, v); for the spirited ending of III, v—Juliet's conversation with the nurse; and finally for Romeo's apostrophe to death at Juliet's tomb (V, iii). No inconsiderable indebtedness.

In conclusion, some mention should, I suppose, be made of the bearing of D on the 1591(?), 1597, and 1599 forms of Shakspere's play. Unfortunately, the consideration of this matter yields nothing very illuminating. One may say, to be sure, that those lines and scenes in S which show indebtedness to D were undoubtedly among the earliest features of the play. Yet this inference still leaves the 1591(?) version practically undiscovered. It casts, however, a faint ray of light on the nature of the first two quartos; enough, indeed, to confirm the now prevalent opinion that the First Quarto was surely based on a cut-down, acting copy, since some of the additional matter in the Second Quarto proves, in the light of D, to have been previously composed.

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APPENDIX

I

Various attempts have been made to establish borrowing by Shakspere from Luigi Groto's *Hadriana*, a play based chiefly on Da Porto's novel. The resemblance upon which this case really hangs is the part played by the nightingale. In Shakspere (III, v, 1–3) Juliet says:

Wilt thou be gone? it is not yet near day:
It was the nightingale, and not the lark,
That pierc'd the fearful hollow of thine ear.

The corresponding scene in the Italian play offers an only vaguely similar reference. Latinus, the hero, upon leaving Hadriana observes that the nightingale is singing plaintive notes in sympathy with their woes:

> S'io non erro, è presso il far del giorne.
> Udite il rossignuol, che con noi desto,
> Con noi geme fra i spini.[1]

But that these lines probably exerted no direct influence on Shakspere is brought out by a like allusion to the nightingale in D. Here, standing below Juliette's window on the marriage night, Romeo rhapsodizes as follows (E 2 r°):

> O blessed night! thou hast more joy in store for me than ever the sun did grant. The moon looks down and shimmers through the air; and with her stars she seems to smile in gladness at my approaching bliss. The nightingale, rejoicing more than is her wont, sings deliriously of my happy lot; and a sweet breeze comes to greet me, to be a sharer of my joys.

To this instance in D the lines in the Italian play bear a closer resemblance than to Shakspere's use of the nightingale. Hence, if there be any need at this point of ascribing indebtedness, one may say that the author of the English original of D got his suggestion for the nightingale from Groto, and in turn passed it on to Shakspere.

II

In the British Museum Library, included in folios 242–49, 251, 252 of the Sloane MSS No. 1775, there is an unpublished fragment of a Romeo and Juliet play in Latin. No descriptive account of this fragment, so far as I know, has ever been given; and it is little wonder, for the handwriting of the author is such an illegible, crossed-out scrawl that one is likely to think more than twice before attempting to decipher it. Mr. Hazlitt mentions the play very briefly:

> Mr. Halliwell's "Dictionary of Old Plays," 8°, 1860, takes no notice of the Latin play on this favourite story anterior to Shakspere's, and also in all probability to Brooke's novel, of which a fragment is in Sloane MS, 1775. It is not likely, however, to have served Shakspere.[2]

Mr. Gollancz, too, devotes about four lines to it, in which he says that it is "evidently the exercise of a Cambridge student, but the MS belongs, I think, to the beginning of the seventeenth century."[3] Since there seems to be divergence of opinion concerning the fragment, perhaps I may be permitted to describe it at some length.[4]

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[1] See J. C. Walker, *Memoir on Italian Tragedy* (London, 1799), pp. 50 ff. I have reviewed Walker's list of resemblances, and find only this point about the nightingale at all striking.

[2] *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. I, p. 58.

[3] Larger Temple edition (London, 1900), Vol. IX, introduction to *Romeo and Juliet.*

[4] Through the courtesy and expert ability of Mr. A. Hughes-Hughes, of the British Museum Library, I was able to get a transcript of this play.

Composed in iambic verses of six feet, with choruses, the play narrates, usually with the utmost baldness, the fortunes of the lovers from the time of the banquet to the scene in which Romeo flees to the friar's cell. Although the order of the folios is badly confused—in one case a folio is inverted—the sequence of events is not difficult to determine. In a scene between Philophilus (Mercutio) and Romeus, the setting of which is uncertain, the charms of Juliett are highly extolled, and Romeus is advised by his friend to press the suit. Hereupon the object of their talk enters, and Romeus declares that he should be the happiest of mortals if he could win her love. A gratulatory chorus follows. Puer, also called Servus, discloses to his master Juliett's identity. Romeus is of course horrified.

In the next scene comes Juliett's turn for enlightenment, where she learns of her lover's parentage from Nutrix; she expresses her despair in about forty lines, comparing herself in turn to Dido, Phyllis, and Medea. Then follows the dialogue between Romeus and Juliett in the orchard, at the end of which Romeus volunteers to seek assistance from Sacerdos. A chorus ensues, invoking the gods to aid this mission. After due persuasion by Romeus the priest agrees to marry the lovers, believing that the union may possibly settle amicably the feud between the Montagus and Capilets. Juliett, so as to have a go-between for herself and Romeus, makes the nurse her confidante, who, though horrified at first, at length agrees to help on the marriage. She is at once sent to fetch a message from Romeus. Another scene discloses her in the lover's presence, where, after learning his pleasure, she proceeds to babble of Juliett's youth, until she is cut short and dismissed with a generous tip. Returned home, she keeps Juliett in uncertainty as to the message, while she at some length sings the lover's praises. The chorus expounds the wisdom of a lover's being lavish with his gold, if he wishes to shape fortune to his liking, and adds the information that the priest is this day to perform the wedding ceremony.

Then comes dialogue between Servus and Nutrix, in which the rope ladder is arranged for and the hope expressed that nothing may interfere with the joys of the marriage-night. Philophilus congratulates Romeus upon his good fortune, for Juliett is at length his. Romeus enjoins secrecy. Enter Nuntius, announcing that hostilities have been renewed between the two families, and that Tybalt is thirsting for Romeus' blood. Hereupon Romeus is urged to come to the support of the Montagus. The duel follows, and Tybalt dies, declaring that he has deserved his fate. Two of the Capilets call for vengeance on Romeus. The grief of Tybalt's uncle. Two of the Montagus attempt to excuse Romeus; Princeps, however, sentences him to banishment. The chorus bewails the fortune of the young lovers.

Juliett, upon hearing of Tybalt's death, at first upbraids Romeus in her own mind, and then excuses him. Nutrix, desiring to cheer her, volunteers to get word of Romeus from Sacerdos. The final scene of the fragment is laid at the cell, where Romeus first hears of the judgment pronounced upon him. The comforting priest succeeds only partially in holding in restraint Romeus' ravings.

As to the date of this Latin play, Mr. Gollancz is apparently justified in placing it as late as the seventeenth century. At all events, the state of the case is as follows: The many corrections and alternative readings in the fragment seem to indicate that it was written down by the author himself, and not merely copied, subsequent to its composition, by some clerk. Of this, I think, there can be little doubt. Now, it so happens that in certain adjacent fragments, which—to judge from the handwriting—were certainly composed by the same person, there are references to seventeenth-century characters. They occur in two poems which occupy the folios 249–250b. The first poem, which is imperfect at the beginning, ends with these lines:

For there is coming out a booke
Will spoile Joseph Barnesius
I th' sale of Rex Platonicus.

And in the second poem, which is entitled "A Cambridge Madrigall Confuting the Oxford ballade that was sung to the tune of Bonny Nell," we find equally significant lines:

And at his speech he snarles
Because he forg'd a word and cal'd
The Prince most Jacobd Charles.

Singularly enough, these two references supplement each other beautifully. For Joseph Barnes, as is well known, was a printer to the University of Oxford, who published from 1585 to 1618. And in the British Museum Library there is a Latin treatise called *Rex Platonicus*, which was written by Sir Isaac Wake; the title-page of the third edition, 1615, reads as follows:

> Rex Platonicus; sive, De Potentissimi principis Jacobi Britanniarum Regis, ad illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem, *adventu*, Aug. 27, An. 1605. Narratio ab Isaaco Wake, Publico Academiae ejusdem Oratore, tunc temporis Conscripta, nunc iterum in lucem edita, multis in locis auctior & emendatior. Editio tertia, Oxoniae. Excudebat Josephus Barnesius, Academiae Typographus, 1615.

Here, then, we have a reference to an oration which was delivered August 27, 1605, and published shortly afterward. Of course, it would be hazardous to say that the Latin play was written the same year in which these other two fragments were composed. But it seems pretty certain that it was a student's exercise, and that, therefore, even though allowance be made for the student's residence at Cambridge, it was written subsequently to Shakspere's play.

The direct source of this Latin play is a matter which can also, I think, be determined with a fair amount of certainty. Apparently Hazlitt had not examined the play when he stated that it possibly antedated Brooke's poem. Let the reader observe the following parallelisms, taken from these two versions of the story:

Sacerdos. Mortis timorem principis sententia
Expulsit omnem; recipe laetitiam, precor:
Concessa vita est, exul at patria tua
Carebis.

Thy hope, quoth he, [Friar to Romeus] is good, daunger of death is none,
But thou shalt live, and doe full well, in spite of spitefull fone.
This onely payne for thee was erst proclaymde aloude,
A banished man, thou mayst thee not within Verona shroude.[1]

Romeus. Utinam antequam me mater in lucem edidit
Aluitque, saevae nostra lacerassent ferae
Viscera, sive ulla caede periissem innocens!

The time and place of byrth he fiercely did reprove,
. . . .
He wished that he had before this time been borne,
Or that as soon as he wan light, his life he had forlorne.[2]

Then, in the scene in which the nurse visits Romeus to learn the plans which he has made for the marriage, after getting his instructions, she exclaims:

Caput facetum. Prosperum dent exitum
Superi. Quid unquam posset inventum pejus (?)[3]
Callidius omnis nota fraus amantibus,
Excogitare tale praetextu pio!
Pietatis umbra facile nostis providam
Fallere parentem suspicantem nil minus.
Si muta (?) placeat reliqua committas mihi,
Ut venia detur ipsa commentum dabo:
Quod aureas reliquit incomptas comas,
Lasciva vel quod somniavit somnium,
Vel temere amoribus otium sumpsit suum;
Ad templa mater facilis accessum dabit
Die statuto. Chara—(?) semper fuit:
O quam juvaret illud aetatis meae
Meminisse tempus, quo mea infans ubera
Tenella suxit: ———(?) audivi brevi
Lallare linguam saepe ventiliquos sonos.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

[3] A question mark indicates that the MS reading is either illegible or extremely doubtful; the number of these question marks will perhaps serve as well as anything to show the provoking condition of the MS.

Quoties tenella posteras partes manu
Irata tetigi, et occisum taetis dedi,
Laetata potius (?) quam ore lascivi senis.

Now by my truth (quoth she) God's blessing have your hart,
For yet in all my life I have not heard of such a part.
Lord how you yong men can such crafty wiles devise,
If that you love the daughter well, to bleare the mothers eyes.
An easy thing it is, with cloke of holines,
To mocke the sely mother that suspecteth nothing lesse.
But that it pleased you to tell me of the case,
For all my many yeres perhaps, I should have found it scarse.
Now for the rest let me and Juliet alone;
To get her leave, some feate excuse I will devise anone;
For that her golden lockes by sloth have been unkempt,
Or for unwares some wanton dreame the youthfull damsell drempt,
Or for in thoughts of love her ydel time she spent,
Or otherwise within her hart deserved to be shent.
I know her mother will in no case say her nay;
I warrant you she shall not fayle to come on Saterday.
And then she sweares to him, the mother loves her well;
And how she gave her sucke in youth, she leaveth not to tell.
A prety babe (quod she) it was when it was yong;
Lord how it could full pretely have prated with its tong!
A thousand times and more I laid her on my lappe,
And clapt her on the buttocke soft, and kist where I did clappe.
And gladder then was I of such a kisse forsooth,
Than I had been to have a kisse of some old lechers mouth.[1]

When the nurse comes back to Juliett we have the following:

Jul. Altrix, profare quid feras, quonam in loco est.
Nutrix. Beata vivas—conjugem talem tibi
Non ipsa sospes Troja non Priamus daret,
Virtute clarum, genere nobilem suo:
Amplum merentur candidi mores decus.
Jul. Nota haec statutum nuptiis tempus refert (?).
Nutrix. Subitum doloris gaudium causa est novi.
Jul. Omitte nugas; perage mandatum cito.

Good newes for thee, my gyrle, good tidings I thee bring.
Leave off thy woonted song of care, and now of pleasure sing.
For thou mayst hold thy selfe the happiest under sonne,
That in so little while, so well so worthy a knight hast woone.
The best yshapde is he, and hast the fayrest face,
Of all this town, and there is none hath halfe so good a grace:
So gentle of his speche, and of his counsell wise.

. . . .

Tell me els what (quod she [Juliet]) this evermore I thought;

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.

But of our mariage say at once, what aunswer have you brought?
Nay soft, quoth she, I feare your hurt by sodain joye;
I list not play quoth Juliet, although thou list to toye.[1]

Although the text of the above Latin quotations is doubtful in places, still I think the reader will readily admit that the author has done little more than paraphrase the corresponding lines in Brooke's poem. Certain it is that neither Painter nor Boaistuau gives any hint for such sentiments; and, so far as I have been able to judge, the student also composed his play without betraying any knowledge whatsoever of Skakspere.[2]

Only as a curiosity, therefore, can this youthful performance still excite the interest of the student of the drama. Nevertheless, I have thought it worth while to discuss at some length the question of its date and provenience, so as to clear away, if possible, the vague doubts as to these matters which have hitherto beset every commentator of *Romeo and Juliet.*

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

[2] On the margin of folio 251b is written "descriptio Romei p. 172." This reference might perhaps be employed to confirm my statement that the direct source of the play was Brooke's poem. Unfortunately, the first edition of this poem has not been accessible to me; and even that edition might not decide this matter, since the student may have had recourse to Brooke in some collection of poems which is no longer extant.

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART I

INTRODUCTION

Of the numerous poems erroneously attributed to Chaucer, probably the best-known, and certainly one of the best, is *The Flower and the Leaf.*[1] It first appeared in Speght's folio of 1598, and was regularly reprinted with Chaucer's *Works* until 1878. During this period, owing partly, no doubt, to the modernization by Dryden,[2] the poem was usually regarded as one of Chaucer's most characteristic and charming pieces. Keats wrote a sonnet about it; Scott, Campbell, Irving, Mrs. Browning, were all fond of it; the editors of selections from Chaucer reprinted it; Taine quoted from it to illustrate Chaucer's most notable merits.[3] Now, however, the question of Chaucerian authorship must be regarded as settled adversely,[4] for reasons which need not be repeated here. In this investigation it is taken for granted that the author was an imitator of Chaucer, writing during the first half-century or so after his master's death.[1]

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[1] Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 361–79. References will be to this edition.

[2] *Fables*, 1700.

[3] It may be of interest to indicate the vogue of the poem by the following specific references: Warton, *History of English Poetry* (1774–81); see Index in Hazlitt ed. (1871). Godwin, *Life of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1804), Vol. III, pp. 249 ff. Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), pp. 275 ff. Scott, *Rokeby* (1813), Canto VI, xxvi. Keats, *Sonnet* Written on a Blank Space at the End of Chaucer's Tale of "The Floure and the Lefe" (1817). T. Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 70 ff.; Vol. II, p. 17. Irving, *Sketch Book* (1819), "Rural Life in England." S. W. Singer, "Life of Chaucer," in *The British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), Vol. I, pp. xvi, xvii, xxi. Hazlitt, *Select Poets of Great Britain* (1825), p. ix; *Farewell to Essay Writing* (1828). Clarke, *The Riches of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1835), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff. E. B. Browning, *The Book of the Poets* (1842). H. Reed, *Lectures on English Literature* (1855), p. 136. Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pp. 95 ff. G. P. Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language* (1862), p. 414. Taine, *History of English Literature* (1864–65), Book I, chap. iii, 3. Minto, *Characteristics of the English Poets* (1874), p. 15. Ward, *Chaucer*, in "English Men of Letters" series (1879), chaps. i, iii. Engel, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 74. Bierbaum, *History of the English Language and Literature* (1895), p. 34. Filon, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (2d ed., 1896), p. 54. Palgrave, *Landscape in Poetry* (1897), p. 122. Gosse, *Modern English Literature* (1898), p. 44. Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature* (1898), pp. 119, 120. There are also nineteenth century modernizations by Lord Thurlow and Powell, and a French translation by Chatelain.

[4] By ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien* (1870), pp. 156 ff.; Skeat, Introduction to Bell's Chaucer (1878), and *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxii ff.; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer* (1892), Vol. I, pp. 489 ff. As is well known, Tyrwhitt first expressed doubt of Chaucer's authorship (1775), but his suggestion was hardly taken seriously for nearly a century.

The plan of treatment adopted for study of the sources and analogues of the poem is as follows:

1. The central allegory of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.
2. The accessories of the central allegory: the significance of the white and green costumes, and the chaplets of leaves and flowers; the choice of the nightingale and the goldfinch as singers for the Leaf and the Flower respectively; the cult of the daisy, and so forth.
3. The general setting and machinery of the poem; its relations to other vision poems with the springtime setting.
4. Conclusion as to the most influential sources.

SYNOPSIS OF THE POEM

The following summary of the action of *F. L.*[2] will be useful:

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[1] I say *his* because, although the poem purports to be by a woman, there is no adequate reason for assuming that it is by a woman. I hope to show in a later article that Professor Skeat's theory of common authorship of *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies* is untenable, and that various striking resemblances of the former to the work of Lydgate suggest that he may have been the author.

[2] In the course of this article abbreviations will be used as follows:

A. G. = *Assembly of Gods*, attributed to Lydgate, E. E. T. S.
A. L. = *Assembly of Ladies*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
A. Y. L. I. = *As You Like It*.
B. D. = Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.
B. K. = Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*.
C. A. = Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.
C. B. = Lydgate's *Chorl and the Bird*.
C. L. = *The Court of Love*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
C. N. = *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
C. O. = *Debat du Coer et de l'Oeil*.
C. T. = Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.
Chansons = *Chansons du XVme siècle*, Société des Anciens Textes Français.
E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.
F. L. = *The Flower and the Leaf*.
Fablel = *Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours*.
L. G. W. = Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*.
M. M. = *Measure for Measure*.
M. P. = Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Society.
Night. = Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems*, E. E. T. S.
P. F. = Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*.
R. R. = *Roman de la Rose*.
R. S. = Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, E. E. T. S.
S. T. S. = Scottish Text Society.
T. C. = Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.
T. G. = Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S.
Thebes = Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*.
Venus = *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*.

Very early on a May morning, when the spring growth is at its height, the poet, represented as a woman to whom sleep is "ful unmete," goes forth to a pleasant grove of oaks set out at regular intervals. With joy she hears the birds sing, and listens especially, though at first in vain, for the nightingale. Soon she finds a narrow path, overgrown with grass and weeds, which leads to a pleasant "herber," terraced with fresh grass and surrounded by a hedge of sycamore and sweet-scented eglantine. This hedge is so thick that anyone outside cannot see in, though one inside can see out. Beside the arbor is a beautiful medlar tree, in which a goldfinch leaps from bough to bough, eating buds and blossoms and singing merrily. Opposite this is a laurel tree, which gives out healing odors like the eglantine, and within whose branches a nightingale sings even more ravishingly than the goldfinch. The poet is delighted with the spot, which seems like an earthly paradise, and sits down on the grass to listen to the birds.

Soon she hears voices like those of angels, and in a moment a "world of ladies" come out of a grove near by, singing sweetly and dancing, under the leadership of the most beautiful member of the company. All are brilliantly arrayed in surcoats of white velvet set with precious stones. They are soon followed by a "rout" of men at arms, also clad in white, with decorations of cloth of gold. Both men and women wear chaplets of leaves—laurel, woodbine, hawthorn, *agnus castus*. After the knights have jousted with one another, they join the ladies in doing obeisance before the laurel tree. Then come from an adjacent field the adherents of the Flower—knights and ladies hand in hand, clad in green and wearing chaplets of flowers. This company go dancing into a mead, where they kneel before a tuft of blossoms while one of their number sings a "bargaret" in praise of the daisy. Soon, however, the heat of noon withers the flowers and burns the ladies and their knights; a wind blows down the flowers; and hail and rain bedraggle the company. Meanwhile those in white beneath the laurel tree are unharmed by the elements, and, when they perceive the plight of the others, go to their aid and kindly entertain them. Then the nightingale flies from the laurel tree to the lady of the Leaf, Diana, and the goldfinch from the medlar tree to Flora, the queen of the Flower, both birds singing their loudest.

The two companies ride away together, and the poet, coming forth from her concealment, asks a lady in white for an explanation of what she has seen. The adherents of the Leaf, she is told, are people who have been chaste, brave, and steadfast in love; the adherents of the Flower are people who have loved idleness, and cared for nothing but hunting and hawking and playing in meads. Then, after explaining why the Leaf is to be preferred to the Flower, the lady of the Leaf asks the poet to which she will do service. The poet chooses the Leaf, and the lady hastens after her company.

CHAPTER I. THE CENTRAL ALLEGORY: THE ORDERS OF THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF

Obviously the kernel of the poem is the allegory of the Flower and the Leaf—the strife between two contrasted orders of knights and ladies, with one of which the author becomes allied. Distinct mention of these orders is made by three persons besides our unknown poet—by Chaucer, Deschamps, and Charles d'Orleans.

CHAUCER'S MENTION OF THE ORDERS

It has long been well known that in the Prologue to his *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer refers to the rivalry of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.[1] He has been speaking of his love for the daisy, and asks lovers to help him in his labor of adequately praising it—

Whether ye ben with the leef or with the flour.

He says modestly that he can only be a gleaner among poets, taking what others have left; but he hopes to be forgiven for his lack of originality,

Sin that ye see I do hit in the honour
Of love, and eek in service of the flour,
Whom that I serve as I have wit or might.

---

[1] Text A, ll. 70–80; B, ll. 72, 189–96. First noted in Urry's edition of 1721, and taken as a direct allusion to *F. L.*, which Chaucer was assumed to have previously composed. See articles by Professor Kittredge, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.; and Professor J. L. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. 593 ff.

The lines in text A corresponding to these are:

Sith hit is seid in forthering and honour
Of hem that either serven leef or flour;

and are immediately followed by an explanation which in text B does not come till l. 188. In the latter text the poet proceeds with praise of the "flour" referred to in l. 82. He tells how he could

Dwellen alwey, the joly month of May, (176)

with nothing to do

But for to loke upon the dayesye,
. . . .
The emperice and flour of floures alle.
. . . .
But natheless, ne wene nat that I make
In preysing of the flour agayn the leef,
No more than of the corn agayn the sheef:
For, as to me, nis lever noon ne lother;
I nam with-holden yit with never nother.
Ne I not who serveth leef, ne who the flour;
Wel brouken they hir service or labour;
For this thing is al of another tonne,
Of olde story, er swich thing was begonne.

The last three lines in the corresponding passage in A are also worth quotation, because they are a trifle more specific, especially in the use of the italicized words:

That nis nothing the entent of my labour,
For this *werk* is al of another tunne,
Of olde story, er swich *stryf* was begunne.

"This werk" apparently means the poem in hand, and "swich stryf" the strife of the Flower and the Leaf.

Since the author of our poem was first of all an imitator of Chaucer, it seems probable that the passage cited above furnished him direct inspiration. It is also entirely proper to conclude from Chaucer's language, especially in connection with that of Deschamps, soon to be quoted, that there was a sentimental strife between orders of the Flower and the Leaf, and that it was of comparatively recent origin when Chaucer wrote his Prologue, about 1385–86.

DESCHAMPS' MENTION OF THE ORDERS

Four short poems by Eustache Deschamps, in which the strife of the Flower and the Leaf is mentioned, were written probably about the same time as Chaucer's Prologue to his *Legend.*[1] Two ballades and a rondeau are in favor of the Flower, and one ballade in favor of the Leaf. It seems desirable to reprint them in full:

I. BALADE AMOUREUSE

(*Sur l'ordre de la Fleur*)

Qui est a choiz de deux choses avoir,
Eslire doit et choisir la meillour.
Et si me faut que je prengne, savoir:
De deux arbres ou la fueille ou la flour:
Qu'en la fueille est plaisir pour sa verdour,
Et qui resjoist les cuers des vrays amans,
Et aux oysiaux fait chanter leurz doulz chans,
Et tient toudiz une saison sa place,
Maiz quant au fort sa beauté est nians,
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

Car la fueille n'a pas tant de pouoir,
De bien, de senz, de force et de valour
Comme la flour; et ce puet apparoir
Qu'elle a beauté, bonté, fresche coulour,
Et rent a tous tresprecieux odour,
Et fait bon fruit que mains sont desirans,
Duquel avoir est uns chascuns engrans.
Maiz la fueille sans flour et fruit trespasse,
Et sans odour devient poudre en tous temps.
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

Pour ce qu'elle vault mieulx, a dire voir,
Que la fueille qui n'a nulle douçour,
Et fruit ne fait au matin ny au soir.
La fueille n'est fors que pour faire honnour
Et pour garder celle fleur nuit et jour
De la pluie, du tempest et des vans,
Comme celle qui n'est que sa servans,

---

[1] See Professor Kittredge's discussion of them in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 3-6; and Professor Lowes' article cited above, p. 124, n. 1. The probable relation of Deschamps' ballades to *F. L.* was first pointed out by Sandras in his *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pp. 102, 103. He gave no detailed attention to them, however, and did not mention the rondeau. As Professor Kittredge says, editors of Chaucer have ignored them in relation to *L. G. W.*; and even Professor Skeat does not mention them in connection with his reprint of *F. L.* The poems are grouped together in the complete edition of Deschamps' works published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vol. IV, pp. 257 ff.

Maiz en tous temps a fleur de tous la grace,
Comme belle, gracieuse et plaisans.
J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

II. BALADE.

(Des deux ordres de la Feuille et de la Fleur)
(Éloge de la Fleur)

Pour ce que j'ay oy parler en France
De deux ordres en l'amoureuse loy,
Que dames ont chascune en defferance,
L'une fueille et l'autre fleur, j'octroy
Mon corps, mon cuer a la fleur; et pourquoy?
Pour ce qu'en tout a pris, loange et grace
Plus que fueille qui en pourre trespasse
Et n'a au mieux fors que verde coulour,
Et la fleur a beauté qui trestout passe.
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

Celle doit on avoir en reverance,
Sy l'y aray; qu'en toutes choses voy
Loer la flour en bonté, en vaillance,
En tous deduis, en manniere, en arroy;
S'on scet rien bon, c'est la flour pour un roy.
En tous estas vient la fleur a plaisance:
De tout dit on, et par grant exellance,
Que cilz ou celle a la fleur sans retour
De quoy que soit, tele est l'acoustumance:
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

Amour la sieut, doulz desir, esperance,
Beauté, bonté, et de tous loer l'oy.
Coulour, odour et fruit de souffisance
Viennent de ly. Maiz mie n'aperçoy
Que la fueille ait nulle vertu en soy,
Ne que douçour, fruit, ne grant plaisir face.
Maiz maintes foys apalit et efface,
Ne rien ne voy en li de grant vigour
Fors de couvrir la fleur dessus sa place:
A droit jugier je me tien la flour.

Celle humble flour aray en remembrance
Qui tant noble est, humble et de maintien coy,
Que n'est tresor, pierre, avoir ne finance,
Qui comparer peust a li par ma foy.
Son ordre prain et humblement reçoy,
Qui plus digne est d'esmeraude ou topace:

Guillaume fay La Tremouille, or li place
Que du porter me face tant d'onour;
Car ordre n'est qui plus mon cuer solace.
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

Et qui vouldra avoir la congnoissance
Du tresdoulx nom que par oir congnoy
Et du pais ou est sa demourance
Voist en l'ille d'Albyon en recoy,
En Lancastre le trouvera, ce croy.
P. H. et E. L. I. P. P. E. trace,
Assemble tout; ces .viii. lettres compasse,
S'aras le nom de la fleur de valour,
Qui a gent corps, beaux yeux et douce face.
Au droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

l'envoy

Royne d'amours, de douce contenance,
Qui tout passez en senz et en honnour,
Plus qu'a la fueille vous faiz obeissance:
A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

III. Rondeau

(*Sur Elyon de Nillac*)

Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,
Car po est gent qui avoir ne la veille.

On met souvent les fueilles en un sac,
Ains que la fruit ne que la fleur se queille.
Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille.

Maiz vous estes le precieux eschac
Qui ne souffrez que nulz pour vous se deuille.
A vous me rent, vo pité me recueille;
Tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac,
Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,
Car po est gent qui avoir ne la vueille.

IV. Autre Balade

(*Des deux ordres de la Feuille et de la Fleur*)

(*Éloge de la Feuille*)

Vous qui prisez et loez la fleur tant,
Voulons par droit la fueille soustenir.
Car au jour d'ui n'est ne petit ne grant,

S’il a raison, que ne doye tenir
Que Dieux la fist en tous arbres venir
Pour resjoyr dames et damoisiaux
Et pour rendre leur chant aux doulx oysiaux.
Par sa verdour tuit nous esjoyssons,
Sans li ne puet li mondes estre biaux.
Pour ce a fueille plus qu’a fleur nous tenons.

Or responde qui veult, en arguant:
La fleur ne puet fors de la feuille issir,
Et se la fleur de la fueille descent,
Sa mere est donc la fueille sans mentir;
Naistre la fait, puis croistre et espennir,
Et la norrit en ses tresdoulx rainsiaux
Virginalment; fuelle est riches joyaux,
Qui ainsi fait la fleur dont nous parlons;
Sur toutes fleurs est la fueille royaux:
Pour ce a fueille plus qu’a fleur nous tenons.

Et s’il avient qu’il face un po de vent,
La fleur verrez et sa colour palir,
En ordure chiet et va au neant,
Fruit et colour li faut perdre et perir.
Maiz la fueille ne puet nul temps morir;
Tousjours se tient forte, ferme et loyaulx,
Vert en couleur et amoureuse a ciaulx
Qu’elle reçoit en l’ombre de ses dons,
En destruisant les chaleurs desloyaux.
Pour ce a fueille plus qu’a fleur nous tenons.

En grans chaleurs voit on prendre souvent
Fueilles de saulx pour malades garir;
Es cours royaux, en maint riche couvent,
Arbres feuillés pour les lieux rafrechir.
En May voit on chascun de vert vestir;
On fait dossier es cours des arbrissiaux;
Fueilles porte qui veult estre nouviaux:
En cuer d’iver fueilles de lierre avons,
Maiz fleur n’avez en arbres n’en vessiaux.
Pour ce a fueille plus qu’a fleur nous tenons.

De vostre fruit que la fleur va portant
Voit on aucun par droit anientir;
Du mengier sont maint et maintes engrant,
Maiz petit vault pour le corps maintenir.
Fleur ne se puet a fueille appartenir;

Dessoubz li vont cerfs, bisches et chevriaux
Sanglers et dains, connins et laperiaux,
Tous les deduis que par le bos querons,
Fueille en lorier, de houx, jardins, preaux;
Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons. 50

L'ENVOY

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay Pierre ensement
De Tremoille, li borgnes Porquerons,
Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;
Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

It is obvious that the foregoing poems are of very unequal value, so far as any possible relation with *F. L.*, or any influence upon it, is concerned. The rondeau (III), indeed, may be disregarded altogether. It is merely a personal tribute, couched in language more naturally applied to a woman, but in this case apparently intended for a woman to send to a man, since Hélion de Naillac was councilor and chamberlain of King Charles VI of France.[1] A personal compliment, also, to Philippa of Lancaster, is the chief burden of the second ballade, in favor of the Flower (II); which, however, is of considerably greater value to us than the rondeau, because it specifically declares that the poet has heard of the existence, in French amorous law, of Orders of the Flower and the Leaf. Though here said to be orders of women, they apparently did not exclude men from membership, for in both the second and the third ballades (II and IV) we find the names of men belonging to the orders.

The first and last ballades, then, are of most interest to us, because they present clear-cut arguments in favor, respectively, of the flower and the leaf. In the first the poet says that, though the verdure of the leaf gives pleasure to the hearts of true lovers,[2] and moves the birds to sing sweetly,[3] and though the leaf lasts during a season,[4] yet, because its beauty is nothing, he prefers the flower; for the beauty and color and odor of the flower, and the fruit that comes from it, make it of much greater value than the leaf, which has none of these good qualities, but is worthless except to protect the flower from rain and wind.[1] Because of the side taken in I and II, the argument is of course directly opposed to that in *F. L.;* yet it is surprising how many of the points made in favor of the leaf are suggested here—its pleasant verdure and enduring quality, its influence on birds and true lovers, and the protection it affords the flower against storms of various kinds. Indeed, there is little else but elaboration of these points in the long ballade in favor of the leaf (IV). The flower, we are told, springs from the leaf and depends upon it for nourishment. If a little wind comes, the flower loses its color and falls without producing fruit; but the leaf never dies. Instead, it always remains green and fresh and "loyal," protecting those in its shadow from the heat, and healing those who have been sick.[2]

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[1] Raynaud, *Œuvres* de Deschamps, Vol. X, p. 215; Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 5.

[2] Cf. I, 5-6; II, 8; IV, 8, 27; *F. L.*, 485, 486, 551-54.

[3] Cf. I, 7; IV, 7; *F. L.*, 447, 448.

[4] Cf. I, 8; IV, 25, 26; *F. L.*, 551-56.

Thus we see that there are found in these ballades of Deschamps nearly all the arguments of our poem based upon the physical characteristics of the flower and the leaf. The attribution of analogous mental and moral characteristics to the members of the respective orders, however, is not even hinted at by Deschamps. Nevertheless, such similarity of thought and expression as we have found, especially between the third stanza of Ballade IV and the accounts of the storm in *F. L.*, can hardly be accounted for except by actual influence of Deschamps on the English poet, or joint indebtedness of both to a common source not now known.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS' MENTION OF THE ORDERS

Some time during his imprisonment in England from 1415 to 1440, Charles d'Orleans wrote the following ballades:[3]

POÈME DE LA PRISON

Ballade LXI

Le premier jour du mois de May,
Trouvé me suis en compaignie
Qui estoit, pour dire le vray,

---

[1] Cf. I, 24-27; II, 28, 29; IV, 16, 21-30; *F. L.*, 354-78, 551-65. [2] Cf. IV, 31, 32; *F. L.*, 407-13.

[3] See *Poésies*, ed. d'Hericault (Paris, 1896); Vol. I, pp. 79 ff. So far as I am aware, these poems have not been previously mentioned in print in connection with *F. L.* My attention was called to them by Professor John M. Manly.

De gracieuseté garnie;
Et, pour oster merencolie,
Fut ordonné qu'on choisiroit,
Comme fortune donneroit,
La fueille plaine de verdure,
Ou la fleur pour toute l'année;
Si prins le feuille pour livrée,
Comme lors fut mon aventure.
Tantost après je m'avisay
Qu'à bon droit l'avoye choisie
Car, puis que par mort perdu ay
La fleur, de tous biens enrichie,
Qui estoit ma Dame, m'amie,
Et qui de sa grace m'amoit
Et pour son amy me tenoit,
Mon cueur d'autre flour n'a pas cure;
Adonc cogneu que me pensée
Acordoit à ma destinée,
Comme fut lors mon aventure.
Pource, le fueille porteray
Cest an, sans que point je l'oublie;
Et à mon povoir me tendray
Entierement de sa partie;
Je n'ay de nulle flour envie,
Porte la qui porter la doit,
Car la fleur, que mon cueur amoit
Plus que nulle autre créature,
Est hors de ce monde passée,
Qui son amour m'avoit donnée,
Comme lors fut mon aventure.

ENVOI

Il n'est fueille, ne fleur qui dure
Que pour un temps, car esprouvée
J'ay la chose que j'ay contée
Comme lors fut mon aventure.

Ballade LXII

Le lendemain du premier jour de May,
Dedens mon lit ainsi que je dormoye,
Au point du jour, m'avint que je songay
Que devant moy une fleur je véoye
Qui me disoit: Amy, je me souloye
En toy fier, car pieçà mon party

Tu tenoies, mais mis l'as en oubly,
En soustenant la fueille contre moy;
J'ay merveille que tu veulx faire ainsi
Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy.
Tout esbahy alors je me trouvay,
Si respondy, au mieulx que je savoye:
Tresbelle fleur, oncques je ne pensay
Faire chose qui desplaire te doye:
Se, pour esbat, Aventure m'envoye
Que je serve le fueille cest an cy,
Doy je pour tant estre de toy banny?
Nennil certes, je fais comme je doy
Et se je tiens le party qu'ay choisy,
Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy.
Car non pour tant, honneur te porteray
De bon vouloir, quelque part que je soye,
Tout pour l'amour d'une fleur que j'amay
Ou temps passé. Dieu doint que je la voye
En Paradis, après ma mort, en joye;
Et pource, fleur, chierement je te pry,
Ne te plains plus, car cause n'as pourquoy,
Puis que je fais ainsi que tenu suy,
Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy.

ENVOI

Le verité est telle que je dy,
J'en fais juge Amour, le puissant Roy;
Tresdoulce fleur, point ne te cry mercy,
Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy.

These two poems clearly have no close relation to *F. L.* They may be earlier than it is, but there are no such resemblances of thought and expression as to indicate that our author knew them; or, conversely, that the Duke of Orleans knew the English poem. The most that can be said of them is that they appear to be based upon the same amorous strife, which they connect with the celebration of the first of May by a well-dressed company whose members—"pour oster merencolie"—decide to choose the leaf or the flower as livery for the whole year. This poet chooses the leaf, not because of any such moral superiority as it symbolizes in *F. L.*, nor even because of the greater durability and usefulness which are emphasized in the last ballade from Deschamps; but because since his lady's death he cares for no flower but her. And he comes to the melancholy conclusion that neither leaf nor flower lasts more than a short time.

DOES GOWER MENTION THE ORDERS?

It seems generally to have been taken for granted that Gower refers to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the description, in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, of Cupid and his "parlement"

> Of gentil folk that whilom were
> Lovers.[1]

This company are crowned with

> Garlandes noght of o color,
> Some of the lef, some of the flour,
> And some of grete Perles were.

It is, of course, probable that the author of *F. L.* knew this passage from *C. A.;* partly because of the resemblances pointed out by Professor Skeat, and partly because a fifteenth-century English writer of the school of Chaucer could hardly have been ignorant of Gower's great English poem. And it must be admitted as quite possible that Gower had the strife of Flower and Leaf in mind. Yet the last line quoted above seems to preclude the idea of a twofold division in Gower's company, and suggests the probability that the reference is merely to the common custom of wearing garlands, generally of leaves and flowers, at the springtime celebrations.[2] Such a company as that described by Gower is regularly met in Court of Love poems,[3] and garlands are part of its regular attire. Professor Skeat zealously attempts to show greater resemblance between Gower and *F. L.* by skipping a number of pages to

> The grene lef is overthrowe,

and the following lines,[4] which he compares with *F. L.*, ll. 358–64, where the overthrow of the followers of the Flower is described. Any such comparison is entirely unjustifiable, however, as the passage in *C. A.* is merely part of a rehearsal of the progress of the seasons, and has no reference whatever to the leaves which the gentlefolks of Cupid's company wore.

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[1] See Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxviii–ix; Gower's *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. III, p. 546; Kittredge in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 2. Gower's mention of garlands of the flower and the leaf was first noticed by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, sec. 19; ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 31. The passage in Gower is Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff.

[2] See pp. 153–57 below.

[3] See W. A. Neilson's "Origins and Sources of The Court of Love," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VI (1899), chap. iii, *passim*.

[4] *C. A.*, Book VIII, ll. 2854 ff.

COMPARISONS OF FLOWER AND LEAF

One other alleged reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf requires brief mention. It is discussed in an article by Professor C. F. McClumpha,[1] calling attention to Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* as a possible model for *F. L.* Deschamps, says Mr. McClumpha, "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the leaf," and the author of the English poem, beginning with the same personages, preserves the allegory. This is a singular error; for, though Deschamps indulges in a good deal of compliment to an unnamed feminine flower, who is compared with the daisy, he nowhere even mentions the leaf or hints at the strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The word *feuille* does not occur in the poem, except as applied (in l. 45) to the petals of the flower; and there is not the remotest suggestion of an allegory of the Flower and the Leaf.[2]

An obscure comparison of the flower and the leaf is found in a short Picard poem of the thirteenth century,[3] which it seems desirable to quote in full:

L'HONNEUR ET L'AMOUR

Qui de .II. biens le millour[4]
Laist, encontre sa pensée,
Et prent pour li le piour
Bien croi que c'est esp[ro]vée
Très-haute folour.
Cause ai d'avoir mon penser
A ce que serve ai esté
Ai et sui de vrai ami

---

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV (1889), cols. 402 ff.

[2] Deschamps' poem is of some importance, however, in relation to the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*, and will therefore be considered further in chap. iii of this investigation.

[3] See "Fragment d'une Anthologie Picarde," ed. A. Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. III (1872), pp. 311 ff. The poem cited is on pp. 321, 322.

[4] Cf. Deschamps' Ballade I, p. 126 above.

Sage, courtois, bien secré,
G[ou]vrené par meureté,
Et gentil, preu et hardi,
Et qui sur tous a m'amour.
Dont sui souvent eno[rée]
D'autrui amer, sans secour.
Mais pour mon mieuls sui donnée,
S'en ferai demour.

Lasse! il m'est trop mal tourné
A dolour et à grieté,
Quant je ai si mal parti
Qu'il me faut cont[re] mon gré,
Par droite necessité,
De corps eslongier cheli
A qui m'otroi sans folour,
Et sans estre a . . . . voée [supply lui?]
De coer; mais c'est vains labours,
Car tant ne doit estre amée
Foelle con la flours.

Or m'ont amours assené;
Mais, si c'à leur volenté,
Est mieuls qu'il n'affier à mi.
Tous jours doi av[oir] fondé
Mon desir sur loiaulté,
En espoir d'amour garni.
Car tout passe de valour,
Chus dont s[ui en] amourée,
D'un si gratieux retour.
Sage doi estre avisée,
Se j'ai chier m'onnour.

M. Boucherie's comment on this poem is as follows (p. 313):

> Dans *l'Honneur et l'Amour*, vrai bijou de versification, la femme aimée se résigne, non sans lutte, à tenir "éloigné de son corps" celui qu'elle préfère. Sans doute l'effort est pénible, mais elle doit mettre l'honneur au-dessus de l'amour, "car," dit-elle avec un rare bonheur d'expression,
>
> "Car tant ne doit estre amée
> Foelle con la flours."

This implied connection of the leaf with love, the flower with honor, is rather puzzling,[1] and I have not found anything like it elsewhere. Whatever the precise origin and meaning of the comparison, however, there does not appear to be reference to any such thing as the later strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The poem is of interest only because of this early setting-off of the one against the other.

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[1] Another possible interpretation seems to be that this mistress, plain in comparison with another, cannot expect to be loved like the other, the flower.

In a great many other cases there is mention of flowers and leaves together;[1] but they are merely part of the natural background, and the juxtaposition seems without significance. The only example worth quoting is from Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*,[2] ll. 3900–2, about the trees in the garden of Deduit, which nature sustains:

> Ay tendre, fresh, and grene,
> Ageyn thassaut of al[le] shours
> Both of levys and of flours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF

Reference to the characteristics of the flower and the leaf that are emphasized in our poem—the perishable nature of the one and the comparative permanence of the other—is frequently found.

Thus in a chanson of Gonthier de Soignies, of the thirteenth century, we are told that

> Pucele est con flors de rose,
> Qui tost vient et tost trespasse.[3]

In Jean de Condé's *Dis de l'Entendement:*

> eürs del monde et richesce
> . . . .
> Ressamble la flour qui tost sesce
> Et poi en sa biauté demeure,
> Qu'ele chiet et faut en une heure.[4]

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[1] As, for example, in Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Nos. lxxiii–iv, ciii, ccii, ccxxi, ccxxviii, cclxxxiii, ccccxv, dxxiv, dlxiv, dxcv, etc. The list might be greatly prolonged, if necessary, from nearly all kinds of mediæval poetry in various languages.

[2] Ed. Sieper, E. E. T. S. (1901–3).

[3] *Trouvères Belges* (Nouvelle Série), ed. A. Scheler (Louvain, 1879), p. 29, ll. 43, 44.

[4] *Dits et contes* de Baudouin de Condé et de son Fils Jean de Condé, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866–67), Vol. III, p. 92, ll. 1417 ff.

Lydgate several times comments on the transitoriness of the flower in a way that strikingly suggests *F. L.* Thus in *Beware of Doubleness*[1] he declares ironically that because

> these fresshe somer-floures
> Whyte and rede, blewe and grene,
> Ben sodainly, with winter-shoures,
> Mad feinte and fade, withoute wene,

therefore there is no trust or steadfastness in anything but women. Another ballade of Lydgate's has the refrain:

> All stant on chaunge like a mydsomer rose;[2]

in still another he describes how "Alcestis flour" "in stormys dreepithe;"[3] and in *R. S.* beauty is compared to a rose that fades with a storm.[4] In Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*[5] is the line:

> Nocht is your fairnes bot ane faiding flour.

Other references could be made, were an exhaustive list necessary.

On the other hand, the enduring quality of certain kinds of leaves, including the laurel, the oak, and the hawthorn, is made prominent in Chaucer's *P. F.*, ll. 173 ff., and in Lydgate's *T. G.*,[6] ll. 503–16. In the latter passage a beautiful lady is advised to be "unchanging like these leaves [hawthorn], which no storm can kill."

It should also be noted that in *R. R.*, buds are preferred to blown roses because of their greater durability[7]—a reason sufficiently similar to that for the preference of leaf over flower to be of interest.

THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF AS SYMBOLS

The use of the flower and the leaf as symbols is paralleled in a rather interesting way in Christine de Pisan's *Dit de la Rose*,[8] which tells of the formation of the "Ordre de la Rose" for the purpose of guarding "la bonne renommée . . . . de dames en toute chose." This poem is, as the editor says,[9] "en quelque sort le couronnement de la polémique de Christine contre l'œuvre de Jean de Meun" in satire of woman. The order is formed at the suggestion of the "dame et deesse de Loyauté" (ll. 90, 91), who comes directly from the God of Love. The symbolism of the flower is more like that of the leaf in our poem, for the poet is the friend of Diana (l. 279). The rose is evidently chosen because of the controversy relating to *R. R.*, and there is no reference to any symbolism previously attached to that or any other flower.

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[1] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 291 ff.

[2] *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Society, Vol. II (1840), pp. 22 ff.

[3] *M. P.*, p. 161.

[4] Ll. 6210–16.

[5] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 327 ff., l. 461.

[6] Ed. Schick, E. E. T. S., 1891.

[7] Ll. 1653 ff., Vol. I, p. 54, Michel ed.

[8] *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy (Société des Anciens Textes Français), Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. x.

Mention should also be made, in this connection, of the well-known *Jeux Floraux* of Toulouse, established in 1324 by seven Provençal troubadours, for the purpose of fostering the "gay science" of poetry. Though it is possible that the author of *F. L.* had never even heard of this southern organization, the name, the floral emblems given to winners of prizes, and the date each year on which the *jeux* occurred—May 3—are all of interest as evidence of the way in which flowers were used as symbols in connection with observances of the springtime.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALLEGORY

The contrast between the adherents of the Leaf and of the Flower in our poem is not quite clear-cut. Too many different sorts of people are included in the company of the Leaf, and the characterization of the company of the Flower is too general. Yet the dominant ideas—serious achievement and steadfastness on the one hand, idleness and frivolity on the other—are plain enough, and are expressed elsewhere in ways of some interest to us.

Thus it is of value to examine somewhat in detail the plan and purpose of *Le livre des cent-ballades.*[1] A young man, riding between Pont-de-Cé and Angers, meets an old man, who, suspecting the young man of being a lover, asks him whether he intends always to be loyal in love and brave in war, and to observe the rules of French chivalry. The young man promises, and pursues his journey till he meets a company of young knights and ladies disporting in a meadow watered by the Loire. He avoids the crowd and proceeds to the river-bank to watch the fish; but is perceived by one of the youngest and merriest ladies of the company, who seeks him out and unasked gives "conseils d'amour léger, d'amour volage, bien différents des austères et vigoureuses leçons qui vient de lui donner le vieux chevalier."[1] The young man says he prefers to be loyal, and, in answer to the lady's question where he received such advice, tells her of the old man whom he had met. She proposes then that they submit to certain chevaliers renowned both in love and war the question:

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[1] Ed. de Queux de Saint Hilaire (Paris, 1868).

Qui plus grant
Joie donne & plus entière,
Loiauté, ou faux semblant
En amant.

He prefers to make the issue squarely as to the relative value or success in love of loyalty or falsity; but she demands that they ask of the judges only if they think—

Qu'estre secret & plaisant,
Pourchaçant
En mains lieux joie plénière,
Ne soit fait de vray amant.

The terms are finally agreed upon, and the question is submitted, with the result that nine out of twelve answers received, purporting to come from some of the most famous men of the time (not far from 1390), favor loyalty.

There is, to be sure, in the foregoing no mention of regular orders, with symbolic attire and decorations, and the strife is more specific and narrower in range than that of *F. L.;* but the resemblance is noteworthy nevertheless. As Professor Neilson says: "In this book we have very clearly opposed two different ideals of love,"[2] the old ideal of Ovid and his imitators, and a newer and nobler ideal not so frequently expressed. Such a contrast is suggested, however, in the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love in *Fablel* and *Venus*,[3] and was definitely made long before the latter part of the fourteenth century; for instance, in a Provençal poem mentioned by Professor Rajna,[4] in which we find "l'Amor Fino o Verace, antagonista dell' Amor Falso."

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[1] Editor's Introduction, p. viii.

[2] *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 198.

[3] P. 162 below.

[4] *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890), p. 23.

The conflict in *F. L.*, however, is not primarily or chiefly a love conflict. In some ways it more closely resembles that between Reason and Sensuality in Lydgate's amplification of *Les Echecs Amoureux*,[1] chiefly because Sensuality causes men to be

> Ful of plesaunce and fals delyte (801)
> And of flesshly appetyte.

Still more interesting, in the same poem, is the rivalry of Diana and Venus. The poet meets the former in her evergreen forest of chastity. She is clad in white, ornamented with pearls, and wears a golden crown. She bewails the change from the days when she was more highly regarded than Venus, and love was pure and faithful. She particularly detests "Ydelnesse," the porter of the garden of Deduit, Venus' son; and warns the poet at great length against the idle pleasures of this garden. In almost every way[2] the subjects of Venus and Cupid in the garden of Deduit resemble the frivolous company of the Flower. And though Diana has no company here, she bewails the loss of followers who either in chastity or steadfastness were like some of the groups in the company of the Leaf. Practically the only inconsistency is that Diana, as in classical mythology, spends her time hunting (to avoid idleness, she says, l. 3000); whereas in *F. L.* excessive love of hunting is one of the things condemned. The pleasures of the garden of Deduit, to be sure, do not differ materially from pleasures described in *R. R.* and other poems of its class; but there is nowhere else, so far as I have discovered, so important a contrast of the two ways of life contrasted in *F. L.*

ORDERS IN THE AMOROUS LAW

The fact that this conflict between two ways of life is attached, in *F. L.*, to orders mentioned by Deschamps as of the "amorous law," requires little comment. The origin and characteristics of this law have received such detailed treatment that repetition is unnecessary.[3] Suffice it to say that during the Middle Ages there did grow up—whether in actual practice or poetic fancy—an elaborate system of courtly love, formulated and celebrated in a long series of poems, with which ours is connected, not only by "the landscape, the costuming, and the rôle of the queens,"[1] but also by the fact that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were orders in the amorous law.[2] Mention has already been made of a slightly similar order of which a flower is used as the symbol.[3] This "Ordre de la Rose" may have been only a poetical fancy; but in 1399 an "Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l'Escu Verd" was actually formed,[4] and there is interesting record of a "Cour Amoureuse" of 1400.[5]

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[1] *R. S.*, ed. Sieper.

[2] See more detailed analysis in chap. iii below.

[3] See especially P. Rajna, *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890); E. Trojel, *Andreae Capellani Regii Francorum de Amore* (Copenhagen, 1892); J. F. Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love* (London, 1895); L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); W. A. Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI; and various references given in the books just named.

It is conceivable that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf did not actually exist, since literary influence may account for all definite mention we have of them. Chaucer and Deschamps knew some, at least, of each other's writings,[6] and Charles d'Orleans and the author of *F. L.* in all probability knew both Chaucer and Deschamps. Yet the manner in which all the writers speak of the contrasted orders is hard to reconcile with anything but their actual existence in connection with the observance of May Day. Chaucer's reference, as already pointed out,[7] seems to imply that the orders were not very old when he was writing the Prologue to *L. G. W.* (about 1385–86). Deschamps, too, writing about the same time, says, "I have heard of two orders," etc.;[8] as if the information had recently come to him. Charles d'Orleans' *Poème de la prison* cannot be later than 1440, and his reference to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf is probably due to the recollection of May Day festivities in France before he was imprisoned in 1415. *F. L.* can hardly be dated later than 1450, and the various facts to be observed as to its apparent relations with early poems of Lydgate[9] incline me to favor a somewhat early date. Thus it seems probable that Orders of the Flower and the Leaf existed as a part of the observance of May Day, according to the "amorous law," in portions of both France and England, some time during the period beginning not long before 1385 and ending before the middle of the following century. It is hardly probable that the orders were very important, however, or there would have been more frequent mention of them than we find.

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[1] Neilson, p. 150.
[2] Deschamps' Ballade II, p. 127 above.
[3] P. 138 above.
[4] To be discussed below, p. 153.
[5] See A. Piaget, in *Romania*, Vol. XX, pp. 417 ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 597 ff.
[6] See the articles of Kittredge and Lowes previously cited, p. 124 above.
[7] P. 125 above.
[8] Ballade II, p. 127 above.
[9] See especially chap. iii below.

CHAPTER II. THE ACCESSORIES OF THE ALLEGORY

A number of the details of *F. L.*, as to costumes, chaplets, birds, trees, and so forth, are clearly symbolic in relation to the central allegory.

THE COSTUMES—WHITE AND GREEN

The costumes are, we have noted, white and green—white for the adherents of the Leaf, green for the adherents of the Flower. At first this reversal of an apparently natural choice may seem strange, for the daisy—the flower here worshiped—is white, and the leaf is green; but when we remember that white is proverbially (and most naturally) the color of purity, the white attire of the chaste followers of the Leaf is at once seen to be appropriate.

The use of white as symbolic of purity is so common as scarcely to need comment: Thus Beatrice, when Dante sees her at the age of eighteen, is attired in white, "the hue of Faith and Purity."[1] Deschamps mentions the traditional interpretation of the color in his *Lay de Franchise*, l. 36, and his *Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite.*[2] Christine de Pisan, in her *Dit de la Rose*,[3] and Lydgate, in *R. S.*,[4] represent Diana as clothed in white—Diana the goddess of purity and leader of the company of the Leaf. Especially interesting in this connection is another poem by Lydgate—*Pur le Roy*,[5] an account of the entry of Henry VI into London in 1432, after his coronation in France.

> The citezens eche one of the citee,
> In her entent that thei were pure and clene,
> Chees hem of white a full fayre lyveré,
> In every craft as it whas welle sene;

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[1] Gardner, *Dante Primer* (1900), p. 46.

[2] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 379, 380, l. 7.

[3] *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff., ll. 279–81.

[4] Ll. 2816, 2822–24.

[5] *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 1 ff. The same event is described in the Chronicles; see especially Gregory's, ed. Gairdner, *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society, 1876), pp. 173 ff.

> To shew the trouthe that they did mene
> Toward the Kyng, had made hem feithefully,
> In sondery devise embroudered richely.[1]

On the bridge a tower was erected, from which issued three ladies representing Nature, Grace, and Fortune. On each side of these ladies were seven maidens—

> Alle clad in white, in tokyn of clennes,
> Lyke pure virginis as in ther ententis.[2]

But purity is not the only meaning attached by mediæval poets to white. The appropriateness of the color for the Nine Worthies, the *Douze Pairs*, the Knights of the Round Table and of the Garter,[3] is indicated in the following lines from Watriquet de Couvin's *Dis des .VIII. Couleurs:*

> Cils autres cuers de coragour, (206)
> Cils visages simples dehors,
> Qui n'espargne force ne cors
> A biaus fais d'armes commencier,
> Cils qui onques ne volt tencier
> A honour, ainz le quiert touz diz
> Simples est et douz et hardiz:
> Il portera par sa samblance
> L'argentée couleur très blance,
> Qui nous moustre en humilité
> Hardye debonnaireté,
> Aspreté, travail à suour,
> Et criera par grant vigour
> .I. cri courtois et deduisant:
> "Clarté, clarté, du roy luisant!"[4]

A third symbolic meaning is given to white by Guillaume de Machaut, in his *Rémède de Fortune*,[5] where we are told that the color signifies joy. A woman in white called Joye-sanz-fin appears in a poem attributed to Deschamps,[6] who was, it will be remembered, a pupil of Machaut. Connected perhaps with this interpretation are two references in Gaston Paris' collection of *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle.*[1] In chanson XLII the poet says he is too sad to sing—

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[1] I emend Halliwell's bad punctuation.

[2] It seems worthy of note, by the way, that these virgins sang "Most aungelyk with hevenly armony" (p. 10). Cf. *F. L.*, 131-33.

[3] *F. L.*, 504, 515, 516, 519.

[4] *Dits* de Watriquet de Couvin, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 311 ff.

[5] *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1849), pp. 83 ff.

[6] *Œuvres* de Deschamps, ed Raynaud, Vol. X, p. lxxxi.

Quant le Vaudevire est jus
Qui souloit estre jouyeulx,

Et blanche livrée porter,
Chascun ung blanc chapperon,[2]
Tout par bonne intencion
Noblement sans mal penser.

Somewhat similarly, in chanson LVI, Olivier Bachelin is addressed in the following terms:

Vous soulliés gaiment chanter
Et demener jouyeuse vie,
Et la blanche livrée porter
Par la pais de Normandie.

This "blanche livrée" was apparently the sign of some organization, but the editor of the *Chansons* gives no definite information about it. As Bachelin was the fifteenth-century Norman poet who wrote convivial songs called by the name of the valley (Vaudevire) where he lived, it seems hardly likely that the wearing of white livery in his time and by his merry companions has any relation to the wearing of white by the followers of the Leaf, in spite of the fact that ll. 11 and 12 of chanson XLII may reasonably be taken to imply either purity or steadfastness, or both. These chansons were probably later than *F. L.*, however, so that they interfere in no way with the conclusion that the use of white in our poem was entirely in accord with traditions prevalent at the time it was written.

There is abundant evidence that white was associated with the amorous law and its festivities. Thus in G. Villani's *Cronica*[3] there is mention of the appearance—in Florence, June, 1283—of "una compagnia . . . . di mille uomini o più, tutti vestiti di robe bianche con uno signore detto dell' Amore." Similarly, in May, 1290, "more than a thousand persons, dressed in white, paraded the streets [of Florence again], guided by the 'Lord of Love.'"[1] In Jean de Condé's *Messe des Oisiaus*[2] white-clad canonesses present a love suit before Venus; and in Gower's *C. A.*[3] a company of servants of love ride white horses and are clad in white and blue (the latter the regular color of constancy). In a popular chanson[4] "la belle au jardin d'amour" is in white. Moreover, in a number of other cases, to be mentioned hereafter,[5] white is associated with green in connection with love observances of various kinds.

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[1] Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

[2] In this connection may be mentioned Froissart's account of the "blans chaperons" of Ghent, 1379 (*Chroniques*, chaps. cccxlviii ff.; Berners' translation). I see no reason for suspecting any relation between these two kinds of "white hats," but they indicate how much was made of details of livery or uniform, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[3] Libro VII, cap. lxxxix; *Biblioteca classica italiana*, Secolo XIV, No. 21 (Trieste, 1857), Vol. I, p. 148.

These love observances took place most commonly during the month of May, in connection with more general celebrations of the return of spring, with which also white was sometimes associated, though, as will be seen shortly, far less frequently than green. One of Gower's French ballades,[6] for instance, contains mention of the "blanche banere" of May. There is record of the custom, in Provence, on the first of May, of choosing "de jolies petites filles qu'on habille de blanc . . . . On l'appelle le *mayo*."[7] Mannhardt[8] also mentions the wearing of white costumes at May Day celebrations in various parts of Europe. The specific examples he gives are doubtless of a time much later than *F. L.*, but such customs are generally traditional and may be of very great antiquity.

As to the fundamental interpretation of green there is direct conflict: it means constancy and it means inconstancy. Deschamps, in his *Lay de Franchise* and in two ballades, "L'Ascension est la fête des dames" and "Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite,"[9] says green is the color of "fermeté" or of "seurté." In two of these cases, however, he is complimenting a woman represented as a daisy, and naturally has to give a complimentary meaning to the green stalk. In another ballade he writes more conventionally of blue as the color of "loyauté."[1] Yet there is evidence that his idea was not exceptional. For example, in a Middle English version of *Le Chasteau d'Amour* are the following lines:

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[1] Gardner, *Dante Primer*, p. 13.

[2] *Dits et contes*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

[3] Book IV, ll. 1305 ff. See further discussion of the story of Rosiphele, p. 166 below.

[4] *Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 61.

[5] Pp. 152, 153 below.

[6] *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 367, ballade xxxvii.

[7] DeNore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France* (Paris, 1846); quoted in deGubernatis, *La mythologie des plantes* (Paris, 1878–82), Vol. I, p. 227. See also Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 579.

[8] *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), p. 344.

[9] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff., l. 35; Vol. III, pp. 307, 379.

> The grene colour bi the ground that wil so wele laste (403)
> Is the treuthe of oure ladye that ay was stedefast;[2]

in the *Castle of Perseverance* Truth is represented as wearing a "sad-coloured green;"[3] and in Lydgate's *Edmund and Fremund*[4] we find the lines:

> The wattry greene shewed in the Reynbowe
> Off chastite disclosed his clennesse.

Moreover, Chaucer has Alceste, the type of faithfulness, "clad in real habit grene,"[5] and even Diana's statue in the *Knight's Tale*[6] clothed "in gaude greene"—doubtless because she was a huntress.

The foregoing interpretation, however, is exceptional, and in most cases can be accounted for, as intimated, by special reasons governing each particular poem. By far the commoner meaning of green was inconstancy. For example, Machaut has a ballade with the refrain:

> Au lieu de bleu se vestir de vert;[7]

and in his *Rémède de Fortune*,[8] "vers" is said to signify "nouvelleté." Chaucer makes similar use of the color in the *Squire's Tale*;[9] and Lydgate in the following lines of the *Falls of Princes*:

> Watchet-blewe of feyned stedfastnes, ...
> Meint with light grene, for change and doublenes.[10]

---

[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. X, p. lix.

[2] Robert Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour* (*Castel of Love*), ed. Hupe; *Anglia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 415 ff.

[3] See Schick's note on l. 299 of Lydgate's *T. G.*

[4] In Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1891), pp. 376 ff.; part III, ll. 115, 116.

[5] *L. G. W.*, Prologue B, l. 214. Alceste, it should be remembered, is a personification of the daisy, and the green habit represents the green stalk of the flower. Similarly in the *Second Nun's Prologue* (*C. T.*, G, 90), "green of conscience" is to be explained by the comparison with a lily.

[6] *C. T.*, A, l. 2079.

[7] *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 55, 56. This poem is the original of Chaucer's *Ballade of Newe-Fangelnesse*, with its refrain,

> In stede of blew, thus may ye were al grene. (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. I, p. 409.)

[8] Tarbé, p. 84.

[9] *C. T.*, F, ll. 646, 647.

[10] Quoted by Professor Skeat in his note on Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*, l. 330 (Oxford Chaucer, Vol. I, p. 538); and by Professor Schick in the note referred to above, n. 3.

In *A. G.*,[1] too, Fortune's gown

was of gawdy grene chamelet
Chaungeable of sondry dyuerse coloures
To the condycyone accordyng of hyr shoures.

The use of green as an unlucky color in some of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*[2] is in harmony with the foregoing interpretation. The following lines, quoted by Child from William Black's *Three Feathers*, are of interest:

Oh green's forsaken,[3]
And yellow's forsworn,
And blue's the sweetest
Color that's worn.

A third meaning of green—not inconsistent with inconstancy, however—is given in the following passage from Watriquet de Couvin's *Dit des .VIII. Couleurs:*[4]

Car couleurs verde senefie (227)
Maniere cointe et envoisie:
Affaitiez, cortois et mignos
Et chantans comme uns roussignos,
Ne ne doit fais d'armes douter,
Que qu'il li doie au cors couster,
Mais qu'il puist sa force emploier
Par jouster et par tornoier,
Et criera ce joli cri:
"Verdure au riche roy joli!"

A similar interpretation is contained in the following lines from Barclay:

Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,
Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene;
The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite;
These two in nature hath great diuersitie.[6]

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[1] Ed. Triggs (E. E. T. S., 1895), ll. 320-22.

[2] Ed. Child, Vol. II, pp. 181 ff., 512. It should be added, however, that in the great majority of cases in which green is mentioned in the ballads, no ill luck is implied. Green garments are very common—more common than any other kind. Some special uses of them will be mentioned below, pp. 149-52. In numerous other instances not mentioned, the color seems to be used simply because it is bright and pretty.

[3] It may be mentioned that in Elizabethan times to "give a woman a green gown" mplied loss of chastity. See the *New English Dictionary*, under "Green."

[4] Already referred to, p. 144 above, n. 4.

Prologue to *Egloges*, Spenser Society (1885), p. 2.

This passage is, of course, considerably later than *F. L.;* but a parallel contrast between black and green is implied by Lydgate's representation of himself, on a pilgrimage, as

> In a cope of blacke, and not of grene.[1]

In the ballads there is frequent mention of the "gay green,"[2] and the association of the color with the festivities of spring[3] is in harmony with this interpretation.

Another use of green is as the color of hope,[4] in *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours*[5]—a meaning also given (along with others) in a passage quoted by Schick from Kindermann's *Teutscher Wolredner.*[6] A similar idea seems to be at the bottom of the following lines from *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival:[7]

> Amans donques, qui l'esperance
> De l'esmeraude et la puissance
> Veult avoir, il doit estre vers, (1310)
> C'est a dire qu'il ait devers
> Ceulz qui bien aimment bon corage,
> Et si doit metre son usage
> En ceulz ensuivir et congnoistre
> Qui se peinent d'amors acroistre;
> Car les vers choses tousjours croissent,
> Et les seches tousjors descroissent;
> Et cil qui en verdeur se tiennent
> A grace si tres grant en viennent (1320)
> Que des bons, des biaus et des gens
> Sont loé, et de toutes gens.

Such are the somewhat confusing interpretations of green that I have found—constancy, inconstancy, pleasure, hope.[8] In a far greater number of cases no specific meaning is given, but the color is associated with the light and frivolous pleasures of springtime and courtly love.[1] In astrology green was the color of Venus, and Venus was generally connected, as in the Tannhäuser legend, with the baser sort of love. Naturally, also, green costumes were worn at the festivities of May Day, in celebration of the renewal of nature's green. The following list will indicate how thoroughly in accord with tradition were the green costumes of the company of the Flower:

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[1] Prologue to *Thebes;* text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 571.

[2] See Child, ballads 64 A, stanza 19; 125, stanzas 23, 35; 132, stanzas 3, 4, etc.

[3] See pp. 150-53 below.

[4] White also appears as the color of hope in various Dutch poems. See Seelmann's "Farbentracht," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, Vol. XXVIII (1902), pp. 118 ff.

[5] Attributed to Martial d'Auvergne; ed. Montaiglon, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1881. See note on p. 111 of this edition. The poem is also found in *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, ed. Lenglet-Dufresnay (Amsterdam, 1731).

[6] In the note already referred to, p. 147 above, n. 3.

[7] Ed. Todd, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1883.

[8] Professor Brandl (in Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 663) mentions yet another meaning, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*—"die grüne Farbe des Friedens." This poem, however, seems to have no possible relation to *F. L.*

In *R. R.*, Oiseuse ("Ydelnesse"), who conducts the lover to the garden of Deduit, wears a dress of green; see l. 573 of the English version attributed to Chaucer.

The passage from *La Panthère d'Amours*, quoted on p. 149 above, associates the emerald and green with love.

A company of famous lovers in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour* (see chap. iii below) are all clad in green.

In Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* (ref. p. 143 above) a party of young men cutting foliage in observance of May are likewise "vestus de vert." See also ballade IV, p. 129 above, l. 35.

A ballade of Christine de Pisan (*Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 217), calling on lovers to rise and be joyful on May Day, contains the following lines:

Vestir de vert pour joye parfurnir,
A feste aler se dame le mandoit.

A lean chevalier, reciting the pains and troubles of lovers in Alain Chartier's *Debat des deux Fortunes d'Amours* (*Œuvres*, ed. DuChesne [Paris, 1617], p. 570), says that they often wear "cueur noircy . . . . soubz robbe verte."

In the note already mentioned, on p. 111 of *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours*, the following lines from Charles d'Orleans and Bertrand des Marins are quoted:

Le verd je ne veux plus porter, [Charles d'Orleans]
Que est livrée aux amoureux.

La couleur verde est demonstrant [Bertrand des Marins
Des femmes la plaisante face, de Masan in *Rousier*
Leur mine, aussi leur beau semblant, *des Dames*]
Dont maint estime estre en leur grace.

In the Prologue to *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, by Martial d'Auvergne, "les déesses, ... legistes, et clergesses qui sçavoient le decret par cueur," are all clad in green. This singular volume of burlesque decrees contains many other allusions to garments and decorations of green; most of them without significance, except as they show the great popularity of the color and its common association with the affairs of love.

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[1] The signification of green in the Dutch poems studied by Seelmann (n. 4, p. 149 above) is "Anfang de Liebe."

In chanson XLIX (*Chansons du XV*^{me} *siècle*, ed. Paris); green is said to be the livery of lovers.

Chaucer's Alceste, who, as we have noted (p. 147 above), is clad in green, is led upon the scene by the King of Love, and represents in appearance a daisy, the flower which the green-clad followers of the Flower particularly worship. See *L. G. W.*, text B, ll. 213, 242, 303, 341.

Isis, in *A. G.*, (ll. 332–34), wears a gown "grene as any gresse in the somertyde."

Venus, in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* (l. 221; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 334), is dressed in green and black.

Malory describes a "maying of Arthur's knights, all clad in green."

Rosiall and Lust, in *C. L.* (ll. 816, 1059; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 431, 437), are clad in green.

In the May eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, "love-lads . . . . girt in gawdy greene" are mentioned; and Lechery is given a green gown in *The Faerie Queene* (I, iv, 25).

In Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (ed. Furnivall, New Shakspere Society, 1877–79, p. 147) we are told of the followers of the Lord of Misrule, clad in "liveries of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton color."

Shakspere, in *Love's Labour's Lost* (I, ii, 90), mentions green as "the colour of lovers."

Green also was frequently associated with fairies and other supernatural creatures. In the ballad of Thomas Rhymer,[1] for instance, the queen of Elfland is attired in green. "The Wee Wee Man"[2] calls up a vision of twenty-four ladies in green, who dance "jimp and sma." A mermaiden in green entices Clerk Colvill away from his "gay ladie."[3] And—to go somewhat afield into folklore—Mannhardt[4] writes at great length of "Waldgeister" of various kinds clad in green.

Another extremely popular mediæval use of green was in connection with forestry and hunting.[5] Robin Hood and his men regularly wore suits of green, and other "merry men," out-laws, and hunters in the ballads are similarly clad.[1] Chaucer's yeoman, too, "was clad in cote and hood of grene;"[2] and Emily, in the *Knight's Tale*,[3] wears a green gown on the May morning when she goes forth with Theseus and his company to hunt. According to an old proverb,

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[1] Child, ballad 37, Vol. I, pp. 323–26.

[2] *Ibid.*, 38, Vol. I, pp. 330–33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 42, Vol. I, pp. 387–89.

[4] *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 111, 117, etc.

[5] Explained in an interesting way in the following passage, quoted in the *New English Dictionary* (under "Green") from Trevisa's translation of Bartholemew de Glanville's *De Proprietatibus Rerum:* "Hunters clothe themself in grene for the beest louyth kyndely grene colours."

The first of May
Is Robin Hood's day;

and at least as early as the fifteenth century Robin Hood and his men were associated in England with the May games.[4] Thus, since it is undue love of hunting and hawking and playing in meads that is specifically condemned in the followers of the Flower, their green costumes may possibly be accounted for without going away from England.

Thus far we have been examining cases of the use of white and green separately, where a symbolic meaning is attached to the colors or implied by the context. Many more examples might doubtless be found,[5] as mediæval poetry is full of details about costumes, and the colors in question were exceptionally popular. But it seems sufficient to conclude with a few important instances of the use of the two colors together.

At the ceremonies after the coronation of Charles VI of France, in 1380, "ceux de la ville de Paris allerent au devant de luy bien deux milles personnes vestus tout un, c'est a sçavoir de robbes my-partis de vert et de blanc."[6] Even though in this narrative no specific significance is attached to the colors, the circumstance is of interest. Much more important, however, is the use of the colors in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*,[7] where on one day knights clad in white joust before ladies in white, and on the next day both knights and ladies are clad in green. Here also no significance is attached to the colors, and the same persons wear the different costumes on different days; yet there is enough similarity in the attendant circumstances—the jousting; the order in which the colors appear; the attention to details about armor, harness, precious stones, gold embroidery, and so forth—to justify a strong suspicion that the author of *F. L.* knew the French woman's poem. Christine de Pisan makes a good deal of account of the "Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l'Escu Verd," which was formed by the famous Marechal Boucicault in 1399,[1] for the protection of women. The emblem of the order was "une targe d'or esmaillié de verd, à tout une dame blanche dedans." It seems reasonable to believe that the "dame blanche" represented the purity which the knights of the order were to protect; what the green background signified is not so clear.

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[1] See Child, "Robin Hood Ballads," *passim*, Vol. III; also ballads 73 D, stanza 11; 107 A, stanzas 25, 30, 76; 305 A, stanzas 19, 32. Of course, a very much longer list could be made, were it necessary to be exhaustive. See, for instance, *Ipomedon*, ed. Kölbing, l. 657.

[2] *C. T.*, A, l. 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, l. 1686.

[4] See the accounts of May games in Strutt's *Sport and Pastimes*, Book IV, chap. iii, secs. xv–xx; Strutt's romance, *Queenhoo-Hall*, sec. i; Hone's *Every-Day Book*, Vol. I, pp. 269 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 284 ff.; Hone's *Table Book*, pp. 271 ff.; Hone's *Year Book*, pp. 257 ff.; Brand's *Popular Antiquities;* Mannhardt's *Baumkultus*, pp. 160 ff.; Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

[5] For instance, in the romances, which I have not examined with this matter especially in view.

[6] Quoted from Jean des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," in *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, p. 342.

[7] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff. The poem will be analyzed somewhat in detail in chap. iii, below.

That white and green were sometimes associated together in connection with the observances of May is shown by an account, in Hall's Chronicle,[2] of a "maying" of Henry VIII, in which the company were clad in green on one occasion and in white on another. In Machyn's *Diary*,[3] too, there is mention of a white and green May pole, around which danced a company of men and women wearing "baldrykes" of white and green.

The conclusion, then, as to colors, is that the use of white and green in *F. L.* is substantially in accordance with tradition. White regularly signifies purity, and is associated with martial prowess and joy; the wearers of white in our poem are famous warriors, pure women, and steadfast lovers. Green is inconsistently interpreted; but in actual use is most often associated with pleasures of the lighter sort for which the followers of the Flower are condemned.

CHAPLETS OF LEAVES AND OF FLOWERS

The wearing of chaplets, whether of leaves or flowers, was a regular feature of the observance of May Day and other mediæval outdoor festivities of the spring and summer.[1] In *F. L.* this practice is used to distinguish the parties further by giving chaplets of leaves to the company of the Leaf; of flowers, to the company of the Flower.

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[1] See *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 255; C. de Pisan's *Œuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 208, 210, 220, 302, 303, etc.

[2] 1809 ed., pp. 515, 520; quoted by Mannhardt, p. 368.

[3] Ed. Nichols (Camden Society, 1848), p. 20.

Laurel wreaths, as it seems hardly necessary to say, were frequently used from very early times as tokens of honor. Apollo was often represented with a crown of laurel, "comme dieu qui purifie, qui illumine, et qui triomphe."[2] Chaucer presents Theseus

With laurer crowned as a conquerour.[3]

Christine de Pisan has a ballade on men "digne d'estre de lorier couronné.[4] Lydgate represents St. Margaret as crowned with laurel,[5] and in *A. G.*, l. 791, Virtue is crowned with laurel. Thus it is in accordance with a very common conventionality that in *F. L.* laurel wreaths are given to the Nine Worthies, and those that were "hardy" and "wan victorious name."[6]

Woodbine is worn by those that

never were (485)
To love untrew in word, ne thought, ne dede,
But ay stedfast.

A significance like this is attached by Lydgate to hawthorn;[7] and both Chaucer and the author of *F. L.* mention woodbine and hawthorn together.[8] The latter especially was very popular during the Middle Ages, and generally associated with the festivities of May. Hawthorn branches were used in "planting the May," and the hawthorn blossom was often called "the May."[9] The special appropriateness of hawthorn for the adherents of the Leaf is indicated in the following passages:

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[1] The examples cited of the different kinds of chaplets will furnish sufficient evidence of the prevalence of the custom. Reference may be made, however, to *R. R.*, ed. Michel, Vol. I, pp. 247, 248, note; and to Hinstorff's dissertation on *Kulturgeschichtliches im "Roman de l'Escoufle" und im "Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole"* (Darmstadt, 1896). See also the authorities cited on p. 152 above, n. 4.

[2] Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 193.

[3] *C. T.*, A, l. 1027.

[4] *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 2.

[5] "Life of St. Margarete," Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. 446 ff, l. 42.

[6] Ll. 240, 249, 479–81, 502–32.

[7] *T. G.*, ll. 503–16; see p. 138 above.

[8] *C. T.*, A, l. 1508; *F. L.*, l. 272.

[9] See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions* (Paris 1856), p. 101; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 343, 365; Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 571; Schick's notes on *T. G.*, pp. 99, 100, 136; Rolland, *Flore Populaire*, Vol. V (1904), pp. 157 ff.

L'aubépine, la fleur du printemps, était vénérée dans nos campagnes. On en faisait un emblème de pureté, et on lui prêtait des vertus merveilleuses; on en portait aussi une branche comme un préservatif contre le tonnerre.[1]

Au temps de la chevalerie, l'amant qui les circonstances condamnait à subir une longue attente avant de voir couronner ses voeux, présentait à la dame que les avait fait naître un rameau d'aubépine, lié d'un ruban de velours incarnat, ce qui signifiait qu'il vivait de l'esperance et demeurait fidèle.[2]

The nightingale, singer for the Leaf, is frequently associated with the hawthorn, as in *C. N.*, where, after his defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo, he flies into a hawthorn bush.[3] Similarly the nightingale sings from a "thorn" in Lydgate's *Night.* II,[4] and in *C. L.* he goes to matins "within a temple shapen hawthorn-wise."[5]

Two other kinds of leaves remain for chaplets—"okes cereal," of which also Emily's crown was made when she appeared in Diana's temple,[6] and *agnus castus*, which was proverbially believed to be a preservative of chastity.[7]

Chaplets of flowers are much more frequently mentioned than chaplets of leaves, and were associated regularly with the festivities of light love. Venus and Cupid are generally represented as crowned with roses.[8] Oiseuse in *R. R.* likewise wore a chaplet of roses.[9] Chaucer gives Priapus garlands of flowers in *P. F.*, l. 259.

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[1] Tarbé, *Romancero de Champagne* (Reims, 1863), Vol. II, p. 50. Sir John Maundeville also testifies to the potency of the white thorn or "albespine" against thunder (*Travels*, chap. ii).

[2] Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 101.

[3] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff., l. 287.

[4] *Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. Glauning (E. E. T. S., 1900), ll. 10, 11, 61, 355, 356. See Glauning's note on l. 10.

[5] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff., l. 1354.

[6] *C. T.*, A, l. 2290.

[7] See Professor Skeat's notes on both cereal oak and *agnus castus*, on *F. L.*, ll. 160, 209. The following may also be added from Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 4: "Dans les fêtes athéniennes des Thesmophores, les jeunes filles s'ornaient des fleurs de l'agnus-castus et couchaient sur les feuilles de cette plante, pour garder leur pureté et leur état de vierges."

[8] See Schick's note on l. 505 of Lydgate's *T. G.* The following additions may be made to the passages there quoted: Cupid wears a garland of flowers in *Fablel* (ref. p. 162 below), p. 23; in *R. R.*, l. 908, Chaucerian version; in *L. G. W.*, A, l. 160; B, l. 228.

[9] L. 566, Chaucerian version.

The following passage from Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303) is of decided interest:

> ȝyf þou euer yn felde, eyþer in toune,
> Dedyst floure-gerland or coroune
> To make wommen to gadyr þere,
> To se whych þat feyrer were;
> Þys ys aȝens þe commaundement,
> And þe halyday for þe ys shent;
> Hyt ys a gaderyng for lecherye,
> And ful grete pryde, & herte hye.[1]

Mention of chaplets of flowers is particularly frequent in connection with the observances of May. Thus Colin Muset[2] says that in May, when the nightingale sings, he must wear a chaplet of flowers "por moi déduire et déporter;" and in another poem he describes companies of young men and girls who

> Chantent et font grant revel,
> Chascuns a chapel de flor.

An Italian poem of the thirteenth century, attributed to Dino Campagni,[3] contains the following lines:

> Ne bei mesi d'aprile e di maio,
> La gente fa di fior le ghirlandette,
> Donzelle e cavalieri d' alto paraio
> Cantan d'amore novelle e canzonette.

Froissart tells in his *Paradys d'Amours* of meeting and loving Bel Acueil,

> Qui faisoit chapeaus de flourettes.[4]

She makes him a chaplet, and he in payment recites to her his ballade of the marguerite.[5] Deschamps mentions the making of chaplets of flowers, in connection with the observance of May Day, in both his *Lay Amoureux* and his *Lay de Franchise*.[6] The ladies whom the hero of *C. O.*[7] meets are making garlands of flowers. The poems of Christine de Pisan contain numerous references to this custom;[1] and—to conclude a list that might be longer—the lovers in *C. L.* wear garlands of flowers.[2]

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[1] E. E. T. S., ed. Furnivall, Part I (1901), ll. 997 ff.

[2] *Chansonniers de Champagne*, ed. Tarbé (Reims, 1850), pp. 87, 90, 92.

[3] Quoted by Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 228.

[4] *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff., l. 1473.

[5] To be discussed below, p. 158.

[6] To be analyzed in chap. iii below.

[7] In *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1841), pp. 310 ff.

An interesting specific contrast of leaf and flower is in the following passage from Gubernatis:

> Dans le Tyrol italien, les jeunes filles portent sur leurs cheveux une petite feuille verte, symbole de leur virginité . . . . ; le jour de leur mariage, elles perdent le droit de la porter et la remplacent par des fleurs artificielles.[3]

This is a bit of undated folklore; but the resemblance to part of the symbolism of leaf and flower in *F. L.* is striking. On the whole, it should be very clear that the use of the chaplets in our poem is in accordance with well-defined tradition.

THE CULT OF THE DAISY

Though *F. L.* presents no such description of the daisy as may be found in many another poem, the rôle of that flower is very important, since it is the object worshiped by the green-clad followers of the Flower. Such choice of a particular blossom is not a feature of any other poem we have on the strife of the Flower and the Leaf; but it is not at all surprising, in view of the widespread cult of the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[4]

The earliest poem of importance on the subject is Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite.*[5] This is a complimentary poem and bears no specific resemblance to *F. L.* The poet emphasizes the connection of the daisy with the affairs of love, saying that its scent produces love and its root cures the pains of love,[6] and he promises to serve and love this flower only.

Machaut's pupil, Deschamps, has a ballade complimentary to "une dame du nom de Marguerite,"[7] and virtually repeats the contents of this ballade in his *Lay de Franchise*.[1] In both these places the flower is spoken of as "blanche et vermeille,"[2] and the lady is said to be endowed with admirable qualities which the different parts of the flower symbolize. In the latter respect, as already noted, there is inconsistency with the allegory of our poem, and the bit of descriptive detail—"blanche et vermeille"—is practically inevitable in writing of a "Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flow'r." Hence the only thing especially worthy of note about Deschamps' love of the daisy is that his tribute in the *Lay de Franchise* occurs in a setting somewhat like that of *F. L.*[3]

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[1] See *Œuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 218, 236, 239; Vol. II, *Dit de la Pastoure*, ll. 634, 670, pp. 243, 244.

[2] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff., ll. 440, 450. On the general subject of flowers in connection with the observance of May Day, reference may be made to Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 153; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 344, etc.; and the authorities cited in n. 4, p. 152 above.

[3] *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 143.

[4] See Professor Lowes' article referred to above, p. 124, n. 1. I have limited my discussion to matters directly bearing on *F. L.*

[5] *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 123–29.

[6] See Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. V, pp. 133 ff.

[7] *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 379; already referred to in connection with the significance of the colors (p. 143 above).

Deschamps was primarily complimenting a lady named Marguerite; Froissart the chronicler, though not guiltless of complimentary intentions, seems really to have loved the flower somewhat as Chaucer loved it. He mentions it nearly everywhere. His best known poem on the subject is the ballade in *Le Paradys d'Amours*,[4] with the refrain:

Sus toutes flours j'aime la margherite.

In *La Prison Amoureuse*[5] Froissart used

une fleur petite
Que nous appellons margherite,

for the seal, or *cachet*, of the lover in an amorous correspondence. He imitated Machaut, also, in devoting a whole poem to this favorite flower—*Le Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*,[6] in which the praise is similar to that by Chaucer in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* And his seventeenth *Pastourelle*[7] concludes each stanza with the refrain:

La margherite à la plus belle—

that is, of the shepherdesses celebrated in the poem. It should perhaps be noted especially that in the ballade above referred to the daisy is praised for its enduring freshness (somewhat in contrast with its rôle in *F. L.*), but is associated with springtime and conventional love.

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[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff., ll. 30 ff.

[2] Compare *F. L.*, 333, and *L. G. W.*, A, 42.

[3] See above, p. 135; below, chap. iii.

[4] *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, p. 49.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 241 ff., ll. 898, 899.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 343 ff.

Whatever cult of the daisy there was in England seems to have been due to the influence of Chaucer, and he doubtless was familiar with some at least of the French poems just mentioned.[1] His tribute in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*,[2] in close connection as it is with his reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf,[3] must have been in the mind of the author of our poem; even though he seem inconsistent in making the frivolous company of the Flower do homage to the daisy, whereas in Chaucer the faithful Alcestis is transformed into that flower. It hardly need be pointed out that this inconsistency resembles that between *F. L.* and Deschamps, who makes the green of the stalk of the daisy symbolize constancy. And it must be admitted that, in spite of the association of this flower with springtime festivities and light love, the exalted position given it by Chaucer and Deschamps is more fully in accord with the common mediæval belief in its healing powers, emphasized in Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite.*[4]

Various references to Chaucer's happy bit of myth-making in regard to Alcestis have been pointed out by Professors Skeat and Schick.[5] In one of these I find striking expression, heretofore unnoticed, of a prominent thought of *F. L.* Lydgate's *Poem against Self-Love*[6] contains these lines:

Alcestis flower, with white, with red and greene,
  Displaieth hir crown geyn Phebus bemys brihte,
In stormys dreepithe, conseyve what I meene,
  Look in thy myrour and deeme noon othir wihte.

The italicized words describe so exactly the state of the flower and its followers after the storm that comes upon them[7] as to suggest that Lydgate was directly alluding to our poem.

Other notable English references to the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are as follows: In *C. N.*, with its discussion of love, the setting is a land of daisies, and healing properties are attributed to the flower.[8] The *Compleynt* which

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[1] See the articles by Kittredge and Lowes, cited above, p. 124, n. 1.

[2] Text B, ll. 40–65.

[3] B, l. 72.

[4] See p. 157 above, and the passage from Morley there referred to.

[5] See Schick's note on ll. 70–74 of Lydgate's *T. G.*, p. 74 of his edition, and the references there given.

[6] *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 156 ff.; especially p. 161.

[7] *F. L.*, ll. 368–71.

[8] Ll. 63, 243 ff.; ref. p. 155 above.

Professor Schick prints as an appendix to his edition of *T. G.* presents an extended tribute to the daisy,[1] in which most of the elements found in the French poets and Chaucer are repeated. If Lydgate wrote this poem (as is very doubtful, however) it is especially interesting on account of his very frequent reference to the flower.[2] "A Ballad" beginning:

In the season of Feuerere whan it was full cold,

printed first with Stowe's Chaucer of 1561, but rejected by Tyrwhitt and subsequent editors,[3] is a tribute to the daisy, which may allude to the worship of this flower by the Order of the Flower. Lovers are addressed, and told that they

Owe for to worship the lusty floures alway,
And in especiall one is called see[4] of the day,
The daisee, a floure white and rede,
And in French called La bele Margarete.

In two poems of some importance later than *F. L.* daisies form part of the setting: in *A. L.*, ll. 57 ff.,[5] and in *C. L.*, ll. 101 ff.

The refrain purporting to be quoted in *F. L.* from some French original—"Si douce est la margarete"[6]—I have not yet found elsewhere. The fact that the spelling "margarete," to rime with "swete," is not used in French—so far as I can learn—suggests the possibility that the line may have been composed by the English poet to suit the convenience of the rime.

On the whole, the use of the daisy in connection with May Day festivities is more or less conventional, but was probably directly suggested by Chaucer, with very likely a reference to Machaut, Deschamps, or Froissart for the lighter signification attached to the flower in *F. L.* It also seems probable that Lydgate knew our poem and directly alludes to it.

THE NIGHTINGALE

The nightingale in *F. L.* flies to Diana, the lady of the Leaf; the goldfinch, to Flora, the lady of the Flower. The former represents the more serious side of man's nature, shown in affairs of love by steadfastness; the latter, the more frivolous side, with a suggestion of inconstancy in love. Here the conformity with literary tradition is not so strict as in relation to most of the other matters discussed in this chapter.

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[1] Ll. 394 ff.

[2] See Schick's note, p. 74.

[3] See Skeat: *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. xiii. Most easily accessible in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 562.

[4] Apparently an error for "ee."

[5] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380 ff.

[6] *F. L.*, l. 350.

The nightingale, with other birds, was an element of the conventional springtime setting,[1] and as such became inevitably associated with the festivities of love, whether serious and steadfast, or the lighter love with which we have found green garments and garlands of flowers associated. The general popularity of the nightingale in mediæval poetry (or, for that matter, in the poetry of all times and all nations where the bird is found) is too well known to require comment.[2] A very large number, perhaps even a majority, of all the poems I have read which present the springtime setting give the nightingale a place of prominence—or *the* place of most prominence—among the birds that rejoice the poet's heart, or cheer the lover and remind him of his mistress.[3]

Along with this general association with love, however, there is a tendency to exalt the character of the nightingale, to associate her[4] with the better sort of love—with inspiration to brave deeds and even with religion—and thus make it more appropriate that she should be the singer for the brave and steadfast company of the Leaf. Giving the nightingale a serious character is probably due, in part at least, to the bird's association with the classical story of Philomela, and to the mediæval superstition that she sang with her heart impaled upon a thorn.[1] The following examples will illustrate the tendency:

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[1] To be discussed in chap. iii below.

[2] See Uhland, *Abhandlung über die deutschen Volkslieder*, *passim*.

[3] On the association of the nightingale with the affairs of love see Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 217 ff. The following additions may be made to the examples there referred to: The nightingale cries on the green leaf for love (Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. I, p. 173). The nightingale is sent with a message of love to the "jardin d'amour" (Tarbé's *Romancero de Champagne*, Vol. II, p. 159). On the nightingale as a messenger see also Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 2d ed., p. 97; *Romania*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 98; Vol. VII, pp. 55, 57; *Chansons du XVme siècle*, Nos. lxxvii, civ, cxxxix, etc.; Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* (Paris, 1879), Vol. II, pp. 275 ff. Christine de Pisan, in her *Dit de Poissy* (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 164, 165), describes the singing of nightingales against "le faulz jaloux." In Chaucer's *T. C.* (II, ll. 918–24) a nightingale sings a love song that lulls Criseyde to sleep. In Lydgate's *B. K.* (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.)—

"the nightingale (47)
With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste
Right as her herte for love wolde breste."

Cf. this with *F. L.*, ll. 99–102, 447–49.

[4] Though it is in fact the male nightingale that sings, the mediæval poets generally thought otherwise.

The burden of the first part of *Fablel* (ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1834) is the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love.

In *Venus* (ed. Förster, Bonn, 1880) the nightingale writes a charter containing a decree of love, in which loyal love is commanded.

Uhland cites examples of the inspiration of warriors by the nightingale's song (*Abhandlung*, ed. Fischer, p. 87).

In Froissart's *Loenge de May* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.) the song of the nightingale inspires the lover to ardent praise of his mistress and resolutions of loyalty to her.

In *C. O.* and many of the *Chansons* (e. g., cvi, cix) the nightingale sings to gladden the hearts of those in pain for love.[2]

The part of the bird is very prominent in the *Chansons*. She "praises true lovers in her pretty song" (lxvii). She is the messenger of a neglected mistress to remind her lover of his duty (lxxii, cxxiii).[3] She is asked for advice in a love affair (cxvii).

The nightingale in *C. N.* speaks in defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo (see p. 155 above, and p. 163 below).

Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems* are mainly religious allegories, in which the nightingale represents Christ; but in II, ll. 16, 17, the poet says he "understood that she was asking Venus for vengeance on false lovers." In l. 68 she praises pure love.

In the *Devotions of the Fowls*, printed by Halliwell with Lydgate's *M. P.* (pp. 78 ff.), but of doubtful authenticity, the nightingale sings of Christ's resurrection.

In *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 50 ff.; and *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, Vol. I, p. 241) the nightingale defends women against the attacks of the thrush, and is admitted by the latter to win the victory.

In the *Buke of the Howlat* (*Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Amours; S. T. S., 1897) nightingales (with other birds) sing a hymn to the virgin (ll. 716 ff.).

Dunbar has the nightingale defend the thesis that "All luve is lost bot vpon God allone" (*Poems*, S. T. S., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.).[4]

So far as a relation of any of the above poems with *F. L.* is concerned, the function of the nightingale is most important in

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[1] See Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 515; Schick's note on Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II, ii, 50.

[2] She does not always rejoice the lover, however; see cxx, cxxi.

[3] See other examples of use of the nightingale as a messenger, n. 3, p. 161 above.

[4] The rôle of the bird in the *Owl and the Nightingale* is not exalted, but this poem is considerably earlier than any but a very few of those here considered, and seems to have little, if any, connection with any of them.

C. N. This bird's defense there is primarily of love and love service in general, but the emphasis is distinctly on true service, such as the lovers among the adherents of the Leaf would render.

THE GOLDFINCH

The goldfinch is not nearly so often mentioned as the nightingale, but when he receives a character it is consistent with that given him in *F. L.* Thus the "prentis" in Chaucer's *Cook's Tale*[1] is described as "gaillard . . . . as goldfinch in the shawe." In the pseudo-Chaucerian *Pardonere and Tapstere* I find the expression "as glad as any goldfynch."[2] And in *C. L.* the "goldfinch fresh and gay" sings a psalm to the effect that "the god of Love hath erth in governaunce."[3] Professor Skeat's suggestion that the goldfinch in *F. L.* is like the cuckoo in *C. N.* in representing faithless love[4] is based upon an entirely unjustifiable interpretation of the latter poem. The cuckoo scoffs at love altogether and refuses ever "in loves yok to drawe."[5] He argues that lovers are the worst off of all people on earth,[6] because all sorts of evils come from love.[7] The cuckoo would agree with the chaste members of the company of the Leaf rather than with the gay adherents of the Flower.

THE LAUREL AND MEDLAR TREES

Whatever significance may be attached to the trees in which the birds sing in *F. L.* has been partly indicated above (p. 154), so far as the laurel is concerned. The laurel has leaves that last,[8] and has been associated for centuries with noble deeds. In classical mythology Daphne was changed to a laurel to preserve her virginity. The tree was sacred among the Greeks and Romans,[9] and in mediæval times was credited with power to protect against thunder,[1] such as the hawthorn also was thought to have. The bird sings from a laurel in Lydgate's *C. B.*,[2] and the nightingale from a laurel in *Night.* I, l. 63.

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[1] *C. T.*, A, l. 4367. [2] Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 638. [3] L. 1371.

[4] Note at bottom of p. 530, *Chaucerian Pieces*. [5] L. 140. [6] Ll. 141-44. [7] Ll. 171-75.

[8] As noted by Chaucer in *P. F.*, ll. 173, 182, and by Lydgate in *C. B.* (*M. P.*, p. 180). The latter passage deserves quotation because of the mention of Flora, queen of the Flower in our poem:

"And the laurealle of nature is ay grene,
Of flowres also Flora goddes and quene."

Further evidences of the popularity of the laurel are given in Glauning's note on *Night.* I, l. 63.

[9] On the laurel in general see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*, 7th ed. (Berlin, 1902), pp. 220 ff.

The medlar tree, on the other hand, though not very frequently mentioned in mediæval poetry, is plainly associated with hastiness and decay, or over-sudden ripeness, as in Chaucer's *Reeve's Prologue.*[3] Shakspere refers to the same characteristic in language very similar to that of Chaucer,[4] besides giving the name "rotten medlar" to Mistress Overdone,[5] and implying bad things of the medlar in *Romeo and Juliet.*[6] This tree is deciduous; its blossoms last but a short time, and its fruit ripens and rots quickly; so that a certain fitness is manifest in connecting it with the idle, faithless, luckless followers of the Flower.

THE DANCING AND JOUSTING

A few points remain as to the action of the allegory. The singing and dancing of both companies are without special significance. So also, probably, is the jousting among themselves by the knights of the Leaf. Singing and dancing always accompanied the observance of May Day, and jousting was a common feature of nearly every sort of celebration. The details of the jousting in *F. L.* resemble in a general way familiar passages in the *Knight's Tale* and in Lydgate's imitation of the latter, *The Story of Thebes.*[7] Two French accounts of jousts are also worth mention: that in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the use of green and white costumes;[8] and that in Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*,[9] because the setting there and portions of the action somewhat resemble those of *F. L.*

THE STORM

The storm that was so uncomfortable for the followers of the Flower seems significant only as to its result. In its combination of wind and hail and rain it bears some resemblance to the miraculous storm in Chrestian de Troyes' *Yvain;*[1] but the resemblance is not strong enough to justify any assumption of relationship. The most striking comments on a storm, so far as possible relations with *F. L.* are concerned, are in Lydgate's *Testament*,[2] as follows:

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[1] See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 539; Hone's *Year Book*, p. 776.

[2] *M. P.*, p. 181.

[3] *C. T.*, A. ll. 3871-73.

[4] *A. Y. L. I.*, III, ii, 125-28.

[5] *M. M.*, IV, iii, 184.

[6] II, i, 35, 36.

[7] *C. T.*, A, ll. 2599 ff.; *Thebes*, in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 581, etc.

[8] See p. 152, 153 above.

[9] Ref. p. 143 above.

> Lych as in Ver men gretly them delite
> To beholde the bewté sovereyne
> Of thes blosmys, som blew, rede, and white,
> To whos fresshnesse no colour may atteyne,
> But than unwarly comyth a wynd sodeyne,
> For no favour list nat for to spare
> Fresshnesse of braunchys, for to make hem bare.
> . . . .
> Whan Ver is fresshest of blosmys and of flourys,
> An unwar storm his fresshnesse may apayre.

RELATION OF F. L. WITH THE LAY DU TROT

The bedraggled condition of the adherents of the Flower after the storm is worthy of note chiefly because it has been compared with the condition of a company of women in the Old French *Lay du Trot.* This comparison was first made by Sandras,[3] and has been repeated by others.[4]

Substantially the same story appears in several forms, of which the Breton *Lay du Trot* is probably the earliest.[5] In this poem Lorois, a knight of Arthur's court, sees passing through the midst of a forest two companies of ladies. The ladies of one company ride on white palfreys, are splendidly arrayed, crowned with roses, and accompanied by *amis*, all because of their graciousness in matters of love. The ladies of the other company are mounted on wretched nags, miserably dressed, and in torment because they have cruelly refused to love.

In the Latin work of Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*,[6] there are three companies of women led by the God of Love. Those in the first company are gorgeously arrayed, well mounted, and attended each by three knights. They are women who, while alive, wisely bestowed their love. The second troop are in great discomfort because of the number who wish to wait on them; they are women of loose virtue. The women of the third troop are like those of the second in the *Lay du Trot*. One of their number explains the significance of all three companies. The whole vision is described by a knight to a lady whom he wishes to frighten out of her coldness.

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[1] Ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1887), ll. 397-407, 432-50.

[2] *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 245, 246.

[3] *Étude sur Chaucer*, pp. 104, 105.

[4] Notably by Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. V.

[5] *Lai d'Iguamès*, ed. Moumerqué and Michel (Paris, 1832). I have not had access to this edition, and am therefore indebted to Sandras, and to notes kindly lent me by Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard, for my brief analysis.

[6] *Andreae Capellani Regii Francorum de Amore*, ed. Trojel (Copenhagen, 1892). This work is very important in relation to mediæval imitation of Ovid, *R. R.*, the Court of Love poems, etc., and has therefore been analyzed at length by Neilson, Mott, Langlois, and others.

Gower's tale of Rosiphele, in the fourth book of the *Confessio Amantis*,[1] is in essentials only slightly different. The heroine

hadde o defalte of Slowthe
Towardes love,

and could not be prevailed upon to think of matrimony. While walking in a park before sunrise one day in May, she saw a company of ladies richly clad in white and blue, and mounted on great white horses well caparisoned. They were followed by a woman with torn attire, who rode alone on a very sorry looking horse and carried all the halters for the others. This woman, when asked, explained that the ladies whom she attended were "servantz to love" (1376), and that she was but their "horse knave" (1399) because she "liste noght to love obeie" (1389).[2]

On the whole, it is difficult to see how these stories can have been thought very similar to *F. L.* Even the miserable women are miserable chiefly because of their lack of attendants and the condition of their horses, and their plight is not due to any cause even remotely resembling the storm in our poem. In Gower's version, indeed, the woman is

Fair . . . . of visage, (1361)
Freyssh, lusti, yong and of tendre age;

a very different person from one who has just been burned by sun and drenched by rain and bruised by hail. The allegory, too, is in most respects different; for the persons in *F. L.* that correspond most nearly in character to the unfortunate women in these stories are, not any of the adherents of the Flower, but the strictly chaste members of the company of the Leaf (*F. L.*, 477). The only resemblance in the allegory is in the fact that the adherents of the Flower are condemned for idleness, and Gower's serving woman is being punished for sloth (or idleness) in love. This seems to be a superficial resemblance, not in harmony with the spirit of our poem. Thus the real similarities are few and nearly all general; namely: the fact that there are contrasted companies, one of which is in sorry plight of some kind and for some reason (for the kind and the reason are not similar); the fact that in Gower the fortunate company are clad in white and blue, in *F. L.* in white; and the fact that a member of one of the companies explains who all the people are and what their action means.[1] It is probable that the author of our poem knew the story in Gower, but there is no sufficient reason for assuming a knowledge of the *Lay du Trot* or Andreas Capellanus.

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[1] Ll. 1245 ff.

[2] In purpose Boccaccio's tale of Anastasio (*Decamerone*, V, 8) is similar to these; but the details are different, as the cavalcade disappears, and we have instead a single lady suffering great tortures after death for her hard-heartedness. On this whole matter of the "purgatory of cruel beauties," see an article by Professor Neilson in *Romania*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85 ff.

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[1] The interpreter is common to all allegories; see chap. iii, below, *passim*, and Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 213 ff. The significance of the colors has been discussed on pp. 143-46 above.

CHAUCER'S USE OF BOCCACCIO'S "FILOCOLO"

In the passage in Book III of *Troilus and Criseyde*[1] recounting the occurrences immediately preceding the first night together of the young lovers, Chaucer departs widely from the account offered him in *Il Filostrato.*[2]

The passage in the Italian poem may be briefly sketched as follows:

Through Pardaro's agency, Griseida has appointed a night for Troilo's coming to her. Troilo goes secretly but boldly in the dark to an obscure part of Griseida's house, and on his arrival she coughs, as a sign to him that she is aware of his presence. After sending her household to bed, Griseida, with a taper in her hand, goes to Troilo, praying his pardon for having kept him hidden. Troilo refuses to see the discourtesy, and after many embraces they ascend the steps into Griseida's chamber, where with little delay they betake themselves to bed, and "D' amor sentiron l'ultimo valore."[3]

This is manifestly no adequate basis for the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde*, the general action of which may be sketched as follows:

With the purpose of bringing Troilus and Criseyde together at his house, Pandarus chooses a night that promises to be dark and rainy, and invites Criseyde to supper. When she has been assured that Troilus is in no way connected with the invitation, and that she shall be secure from the gossip of "goosish peple,"[4] she comes at evening to Pandarus' house, accompanied by a few of her women. While Pandarus and Criseyde sup, sing, make music, and tell tales, Troilus looks on through a little window of an adjoining chamber. On account of the increased rain during the evening, Pandarus has no difficulty at bedtime in persuading

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[1] Book III, ll. 512–1190. Citations are made from *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by W. W. Skeat, Vol. II (Oxford, 1894).

[2] Parte III, St. 24–32. Citations are made from *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Vol. XIII (Firenze [Per Ig. Moutier], 1831).

[3] *Ibid.*, III, 32, 8.

[4] *T. and C.*, III, 584.

Criseyde to spend the night at his house. Pandarus conducts his niece to her bed in an inner chamber, and provides for her attendants in a passage outside her door; and, after making sure that all are at the point of sleep, he goes to Troilus, scolds courage into him, and draws him through a trap-door into Criseyde's room, concealing him, we may assume, in a dark corner or behind a curtain. Criseyde awakes, but Pandarus checks her attempted outcry, and comforts her by the assurance that he alone is invading her chamber. Gradually and skilfully he reveals to her that Troilus has entered the house by a secret way, and is at the point of madness with jealousy of Orestes, who, according to report, has supplanted him in Criseyde's heart. Criseyde protests that she can never be untrue to Troilus, and offers to Pandarus her ring with which to comfort the young lover. Pandarus scoffs[1] at such comforting, and at last persuades Criseyde to remain in bed while Troilus comes to her. Troilus is ready at hand, and while Pandarus sits near by and pretends to read "an old romaunce,"[2] Criseyde upbraids Troilus so severely for his unfounded jealousy and shows so poignant grief that Troilus falls in a faint. Pandarus springs impatiently to Troilus, throws him into the bed, and with Criseyde's aid brings him back to consciousness. After taking from Troilus such oaths as she wishes, Criseyde makes no objection to his remaining in bed with her, and Pandarus withdraws, leaving them together for the night. During their night together, in intervals of dallying, they exchange rings, and Criseyde gives Troilus a brooch. At the arrival of "cruel day"[3] the lovers reluctantly separate, and Troilus sorrowfully hastens to his palace.

Before estimating Chaucer's originality in thus changing what lay before him in *Il Filostrato*, we should note the resemblance between Chaucer's account and a passage in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*,[1] which may be outlined as follows:

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[1] *T. and C.*, III, 891, 892:

. . . . "that ring moste han a stoon
That mighte dede men alyve maken."

Cf. *T. and C.*, III, 1368, 1369:

" And pleyinge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
Of which I can nought tellen no scripture."

Is Chaucer alluding to such magical rings as are used in *Filocolo* (cf. Moutier, Vol. VII, pp. 110, 111, 147, 148, 152, 170, 263, 352, 353; Vol. VIII, p. 199), in Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Troiana* [Strassburg, 1489], sig. b 1, verso, cols. 1, 2), and in *Roman de Troie* (edited by L. Constans, Tome I [Paris, 1904], ll. 1677–1702)? Cf. below, p. 177, n. 2.

[2] *T. and C.*, III, 980.

[3] *T. and C.*, III, 1450.

The enamored Florio, under his new name, Filocolo, has followed Biancofiore to Alexandria. Having ingratiated himself with Sadoc, the guardian of the tower in which Biancofiore with her attendant, Glorizia, is confined, Florio arranges to be conveyed into the tower by concealing himself in a basket of flowers that the *Ammiraglio* is to send to Biancofiore on an approaching gala-day. On the appointed day, Glorizia succeeds in conveying Florio into the tower without his being discovered, and when she has deposited him in one of Biancofiore's rooms and has locked the door, the ardent young lover demands his *inamorata.* Glorizia explains to him that in his immediate appearance to his lady there is involved the twofold danger of scandal and of disaster to Biancofiore from sudden joy. Therefore Glorizia arranges to conceal Florio in an adjoining chamber, from which he can observe Biancofiore and her attendants in their merry-making, and promises later to conduct him from the side-chamber and conceal him behind the curtains of Biancofiore's bed, where he must await his lady's going to sleep before revealing himself. Glorizia warns him that Biancofiore will be severely frightened when she awakes, but that her fear will soon give way to joy, and Glorizia promises herself to be near at hand to prevent any miscarriage of her plan. Glorizia arouses the melancholy Biancofiore to taking part in the festivities of the day, and comforts her by recounting a dream in which she saw Florio appear in Biancofiore's chamber. Biancofiore and her maids celebrate the day with flowers and music, while Florio looks on through a little hole from the adjoining chamber. At night Glorizia arranges Biancofiore's bed and conceals Florio behind the curtains. While Biancofiore prepares for bed, Glorizia arouses her feelings for Florio, by suggesting now the possibility, and again the impossibility, of his coming. Glorizia goes so far as to suggest to Biancofiore that some other man might please her in Florio's absence; a suggestion that Biancofiore passionately repudiates, while referring with sorrow to Florio's groundless jealousy of

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[1] Libro IV, Vol. VIII (Moutier, Firenze, 1829), pp. 165-83.

Fileno. When Glorizia leaves her, Biancofiore lies down, but only after she is exhausted by sighs for Florio does she give herself up to sleep. Florio advances and caresses her as she sleeps, and finally embraces her at the very moment when she dreams of being in his arms. When she awakes in fright, she attempts to call for Glorizia, but Florio prevents her, and at last convinces her of the reality of his presence. She inquires by what way he has reached her, and he, attributing all to the gods, urges that they delay their delight no longer. Taking her ring and calling Hymen, Juno, and Venus to witness, Florio is ready for the espousal. At Biancofiore's suggestion they take vows before an image of Cupid in her room, after which Florio places the ring upon her finger and the marriage is consummated. After they have waked Glorizia to rejoice with them, the lovers retire and spend the night together.

In spite of the divergent external circumstances of the two accounts, one must admit at least that the passage in *Filocolo* offers the general situation of the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde.* In both stories a third person is arranging for the meeting of two lovers secretly, at night, in the bed-chamber of the *inamorata*, the latter being unaware that her lover is concealed near at hand. In one case the go-between resorts to concealment in order to avert scandal and personal disaster to the lady, in the other to avert scandal and to overcome the lady's scruples. The fact that in one case the *inamorata* frankly desires the meeting, while in the other she does not, happens not to affect the general procedure. Criseyde's scruples do, however, demand more delicate and persistent manipulation on the part of her uncle, and thus we readily account for the more subtle and prominent rôle of Pandarus in Chaucer's account.[1] The fact that Chaucer's go-between is a man and Boccaccio's a woman makes no perceptible change in the action, for Pandarus and Glorizia show their respective charges precisely the same intimate personal attention.[2]

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[1] That the Glorizia of Boccaccio is quite capable of undertaking the more difficult rôle of Pandarus is indicated by her own words: "Se altro forse avvenisse io vi sarò vicina, e lei caccerò col mio parlare d'ogni errore." (Moutier, Vol. VIII, p. 169.)

[2] Moreover, Chaucer did not deliberately choose to give to a *man* the rôle of go-between in this episode; he merely used the character already provided by his story of *Troilus and Criseyde.*

Passing from the general situation to details, we are forced to note that several significant minor circumstances of Chaucer's account occur also in *Filocolo.*

1. In each case the *inamorata* is led to believe that her lover is out of town.

> He swor hir, "nay, for he was out of towne."[1]

Or ecco, disse Glorizia, tu nol puoi avere, egli non c' è, nè ci può venire.[2]

Come può essere che tu qui sii ora ch' io ti credeva in Ispagna?[3]

2. In each case the lover, concealed in an adjoining chamber, observes through a small orifice the merry-making in which his lady takes part.

> And she to souper com, whan it was eve,
> With a certayn of hir owene men
> And with hir faire nece Antigone,
> And othere of hir wommen nyne or ten;
> But who was glad now, who, as trowe ye,
> But Troilus, that stood and mighte it see
> Thurgh-out a litel windowe in a stewe,
> Ther he bishet, sin midnight, was in mewe,
> Unwist of every wight but of Pandare?
> But to the poynt; now whan she was y-come
> With alle joye, and alle frendes fare,
> Hir eem anoon in armes hath hir nome,
> And after to the souper, alle and some,
> Whan tyme was, ful softe they hem sette;
> God wot, ther was no deyntee for to fette.
> And after souper gonnen they to ryse,
> At ese wel, with hertes fresshe and glade,
> And wel was him that coude best devyse
> To lyken hir, or that hir laughen made.
> He song; she pleyde; he tolde tale of Wade.[4]

Io in una camera a questa contigua ti metterò, dalla quale tu potrai ciò che in questa camera si farà vedere: quivi dimorando tacitamente, io senza dire a Biancofiore alcuna cosa che tu qui sii, qua entro colle sue compagne la farò venire, dove tu la potroi quanto ti piacerà vedere.[5]

Levossi adunque per li conforti di Glorizia Biancofiore, e coll' altre cominciò a far festa, secondo che usata era per addietro. Elle avevano già tutte le rose prese . . . . e quale sonando con usata mano dolci strumenti, e altre presesi per mano danzando, e altre facendo diversi atti di festa, e gittando l' una all' altra rose insieme motteggiandosi, e Biancofiore similmente no sapendo che da Filocolo veduta fosse . . . . Filocolo che per piccolo pertugio vide nella bella camera entrar Biancofiore, di pietà tale nel viso divenne, quale colui che morto a' fuochi è portato.[1]

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[1] *T. and C.*, III, 570.

[2] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 179.

[4] *T. and C.*, III, 595-614.

[5] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 168.

3. In each case the go-between, while keeping the lover concealed, prepares the mind of the *inamorata* for his coming by vague suggestions of such a possibility.

> Sone after this, to him she gan to rowne,
> And asked him if Troilus were there?
> He swor hir, "nay, for he was out of towne,"
> And seyde, "nece, *I pose that he were*,
> You thurfte never have the more fere,
> For rather than men mighte him ther aspye,
> Me were lever a thousand-fold to dye."[2]

Certo, rispose Glorizia, e' mi parve vedere nella tua camera il tuo Florio esser venuto, non so per che via nè per che modo.[3]

Glorizia disse: Biancofiore, se iddio ciò che tu desideri ti conceda, vorresti che Florio fosse qui teco ora indiritto?[4]

4. The jealousy of the lover figures prominently in both stories. This *motif*, treated briefly at this point in *Filocolo*, is developed by Chaucer into great lyric and dramatic importance.

> "Horaste! allas! and falsen Troilus?
> I knowe him not, god helpe me so," quod she.[5]

Egli non è nel mondo brevemente uomo, cui io desideri nè che mi piaccia, se non egli: e poich' io lui non vidi, e' non mi parve uomo vedere, non che alcuno me ne piacesse, avvegnachè egli a torto ebbe già opinione che io amassi Fileno.[6]

5. In each story the lady takes oaths from her lover before finally admitting him to her bed.

> Sone after this, though it no nede were,
> Whan she swich othes as hir list devyse
> Hadde of him take, hir thoughte tho no fere,
> Ne cause eek non, to bidde him thennes ryse.[7]

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[1] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 172.

[2] *T. and C.*, III, 568–74; cf. III, 771–84.

[3] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 171.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[5] *T. and C.*, III, 806, 807; cf. III, 796–840, 987–1054.

[6] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 175; cf. Vol. VII, pp. 247–79.

[7] *T. and C.*, III, 1142–45.

Col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò, alla qual cosa Imeneo, e la santa Giunone e Venere nostra dea siano presenti. Disse allora Biancofiore: mai di ciò che ora mi parli dubitai . . . . e davanti alla santa figura del nostro iddio questo facciamo.[1]

6. In both stories the lovers make use of rings.

> And pleyinge entrechaungeden hir ringes,
> Of which I can nought tellen no scripture.[2]

E mentre in questa festa dimorano, Biancofiore dimanda che sia del suo anello, il quale Florio nel suo dito gli le mostra . . . . col tuo medesimo anello ti sposerò.[3]

Perche Biancofiore . . . . disteso il dito recevette il matrimoniale anello.[4]

7. Although there is in Chaucer's poem no formal ceremony of marriage like that in *Filocolo*[5] before the image of Cupid, the English poem does furnish a parallel in the interchanging of rings just mentioned, in the prayer of Troilus to Love and to "Citherea the swete,"[6] and in Criseyde's acceptance of his vows.

> Than seyde he thus, "O, Love, O, Charitee,
> Thy moder eek, Citherea̍ the swete,
> After thy-self next heried be she,
> Venus mene I, the wel-willy planete;
> And next that, Imenëus, I thee grete;
> For never man was to yow goddes holde
> As I, which ye han brought fro cares colde.[7]
> . . . .
> And for thou me, that coude leest deserve
> Of hem that nombred been un-to thy grace,
> Hast holpen, ther I lykly was to sterve,
> And me bistowed in so heygh a place
> That thilke boundes may no blisse pace,
> I can no more, but laude and reverence
> Be to thy bounte and thyn excellence!"
>
> And therwith-al Criseyde anoon he kiste,
> Of which, certeyn, she felte no disese.
> And thus seyde he, "now wolde god I wiste,

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[1] Mout., Vol. VIII, p. 181.

[2] *T. and C.*, III, 1368, 1369.

[3] Mout., Vol. VIII, pp. 180, 181.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182.

[6] *T. and C.*, III., 1255.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1254–60.

Myn herte swete, how I yow mighte plese![1]
. . . .
And for the love of god, my lady dere,
Sin god hath wrought me for I shal yow serve,
As thus I mene, that ye wol be my stere,
To do me live, if that yow liste, or sterve,[2]
. . . .
For certes, fresshe wommanliche wyf,
This dar I seye, that throuthe and diligence,
That shal ye finden in me al my lyf,
Ne I wol not, certeyn, breken your defence;
And if I do, present or in absence,
For love of god, lat slee me with the dede,
If that it lyke un-to your womanhede."

"Y-wis," quod she, "myn owne hertes list,
My ground of ese, and al my herte dere,
Graunt mercy, for on that is al my trist;
But late us falle awey fro this matere;
For it suffyseth, this that seyd is here.
And at o word, with-outen repentaunce,
Wel-come, my knight, my pees, my suffisaunce!"[3]

These words, with the interchanging of rings,[4] may, perhaps, be regarded as Chaucer's substitute for a more formal ceremony like that in *Filocolo.*

Davanti alla bella immagine di Cupido se n'andarono . . . . e Florio primamente cominciò così a dire: o santo Iddio, signore delle nostre menti, a cui noi della nostra puerizia abbiamo con intera fede servito, riguarda con pietoso occhio alla presente opera. Io . . . . cereo quello che tu ne' cuori de' tuoi subietti fai desiderare, e a questa giovane con indissolubile matrimonio cerco di congiungermi. . . . . Tu sii nostro Imeneo. Tu in luogo della santa Giunone guarda le nostre faccelline, e sii testimonio del nostro maritaggio . . . . perchè Biancofiore, che simile orazione avea fatta, disteso il dito ricevette il matrimoniale anello; e levatasi suso come sposa, vergognosamente dinanzi alla santa immagine baciò Florio, ed egli lei.[5]

Without pursuing details further,[6] we may conclude that the general and particular similarities between the English and

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[1] *T. and C.*, III, 1268–78. [2] *Ibid.*, 1289–92. [3] *Ibid.*, 1296–1309. [4] *Ibid.*, 1368.

[5] Moutier, Vol. VIII, pp. 181, 182.

[6] It is hardly necessary to press the parallel between *T. and C.*, III, 1247–53, and *Filocolo* (Moutier), Vol. VIII, p. 179, ll. 1–8.

Italian stories[1] compared above justify our inferring a literary connection between this passage in *Filocolo* and the related passage in *Troilus and Criseyde.*[2] The importance that anyone may attach to such similarities as have been pointed out above will decide for him the question as to whether Chaucer borrowed only through general unconscious recollection or by direct use of the Italian text.[3]

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[1] It is to be noted that in the French romance *Floire et Blanceflor* (edited by E. Du Méril [Paris, 1866], ll. 2148-2269) there are no details like those brought out above in the comparison of *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Filocolo.*

[2] In connection with the passage in *Troilus and Criseyde* and in *Filocolo* dealt with above, attention has not been called to an episode in the story of Jason and Medea as recounted in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-More (L. Constans, *Le Roman de Troie*, Tome I [Paris, 1904], ll. 1447-1702), and in the *Historia Troiana* of Guido delle Colonne (*Historia Troiana* [Strassburg, 1489], sig. a 7 recto, col. 2-sig. b 1 verso, col. 2). The French poet and his translator give the same account of this episode, with slight variations in detail, Benoit being, in general, more vivid and less didactic. Following the French version, we may outline the episode as follows:

Medea arranges directly with Jason to have him brought to her apartment at night, in order that she may receive his vows of love and may instruct him concerning his approaching adventures. She impatiently awaits the coming of night, and when the household have retired, she orders her faithful servant to fetch Jason from a room near by. The servant arranges Medea in bed, and when she brings Jason to the room of her mistress, Medea pretends to be asleep, feigning surprise when Jason wakes her. When the servant retires, Jason vows faithfulness to Medea and offers to do her pleasure. After taking his oath before an image of Jupiter, she admits him to her bed. Before they separate at break of day, Medea gives him a ring of magic properties and presses upon him her parting advice.

Apparently this passage is at least faintly parallel to those in *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Filocolo* already mentioned.

That Boccaccio in *Il Filostrato* used other parts of the *Roman de Troie* than those dealing directly with the episode of Troilus and Briseida is shown by Sovez-Lopez (*Romania*, Vol. XXVII [1898], pp. 451-53). A similar wider use of the *Historia Troiana* in *Troilus and Criseyde* is indicated by G. L. Hamilton (*Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne* [New York, 1903], pp. 71-74).

[3] Although I am already prepared to point out parallels between other parts of *Filocolo* and *Troilus and Criseyde*, I postpone mentioning these parallels until I shall have made a more complete study of the relations of these two works to each other.

CHAUCER AND PETRARCH: TWO NOTES ON THE "CLERKES TALE"

I. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS TO PETRARCH

The words which Chaucer puts into the mouth of his Clerk, expressing obligation to Petrarch for the story of Griselda, have hitherto figured in discussion chiefly in their bearing on a matter of biographical detail—as evidence, accepted or rejected, for the actual meeting of the two poets. In this aspect the passage has been debated back and forth for nearly two centuries, and has become stereotyped at length into one of those haunting problems from which excessive treatment has banished all interest and profit. In what I have to present concerning the form of Chaucer's acknowledgment, I wish that it were possible to avoid allusion to this biographical question altogether, for I am truly not concerned with it, but only with the explanation and illustration of the artistic or literary technique employed. Still, since it is true that my conclusions have a bearing upon the matter, not revolutionary nor even novel—for they will only confirm the attitude of conservative scholarship since Tyrwhitt, which is merely agnostic—I shall not perhaps wholly escape some entanglement with the literature of the controversy.

Among the arguments of those who have seen in the *Clerk's Prologue* satisfactory evidence for the actual meeting of Petrarch and Chaucer, no stronger one has been found than the contention that the form of Chaucer's acknowledgment is exceptional and unique, and corresponds, therefore, to exceptional circumstances in his relation to the author from whom he has drawn, viz., personal acquaintance. To M. Jusserand[1] in 1896, as to Godwin[2] in 1803, this is one of the two considerations which seem to raise a possibility of much imaginative appeal to the level of an historical certainty. I have no biographical interest in challenging this conclusion, but the premise upon which it is based affords me a convenient foil against which to define my purpose in touching upon this question: It is, to show that the acknowledgment which Chaucer makes to Petrarch corresponds exactly to a general method used in the citation of *literary sources* in a related form of ancient literature, the Ciceronian dialogue.

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[1] Jusserand, in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1896, p. 996: "A statement of this sort is of a very unusual kind. Chaucer derived the subjects of his tales and of many of his minor poems from a variety of authors, living or dead, and he never went into so many particulars. It seems *prima facie* obvious that this unusual way corresponds to an unusual intention, and that, instead of merely giving his authority, he wanted here to commemorate and preserve the remembrance of an event the souvenir of which was dear to him."

[2] Godwin, *Life of Chaucer*, Vol. II, p. 150: "We may defy all the ingenuity of criticism to invent a different solution for the simple and decisive circumstance of Chaucer having

The suggestion that the conclusions, drawn from a study of the method of citing literary sources in the ancient dialogue might be of service to students of modern literature, I owe to my colleague, Professor Manly, who pointed out to me the similarity of Chaucer's expression of obligation in the Clerk's Tale to certain typical instances which I had adduced from ancient literature and presented in a paper read[1] before the Philological Society of our university.

I there explained that the dialogue, as a dramatic reproduction of conversation, seeks to maintain the fiction that oral communication is the normal method for the exchange of ideas between contemporaries, and that therefore, so far as possible, it avoids allusion to books even in acknowledgment of literary obligations. When such acknowledgment is to be made, it places the characters of the dialogue in some relation of personal communication with the sources of the ideas presented. This usage I illustrated in some detail from the dialogues of Cicero, which I grouped into two classes: (1) dialogues the dramatic setting of which lies wholly in the past; (2) dialogues contemporary with the time of the writer, in which he himself participates; here I differentiated again between expressions of obligation (*a*) attributed

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gone out of his way, in a manner which he has employed on no other occasion, to make the clerk of Oxenford confess that he learned the story from Petrarca, and even assign the exact place of Petrarca's residence in the concluding part of his life." M. Jusserand (pp. 997 f.) also makes much of this last point, showing by new evidence that, contrary to the usual belief, Petrarch was actually at Padua, and not at Arqua, just at the time of Chaucer's sojourn in Italy. But Petrarch whether at Arqua or Padua was still Petrarcha *Patavinus.*

[1] At the second meeting of the winter quarter, 1906: "Literary Sources of Cicero's *Brutus* and the Technique of Citation in Dialogue." It is published in the *American Journal of Philology* for July, 1906.

to other interlocutors, and (*b*) those which the author himself, as a speaker in the dialogue, makes.

Of the first type the *De oratore* affords a good illustration. Here, in Book I, the scholastic discussion concerning the nature of rhetoric and its relation to philosophy and statesmanship is set forth. From other sources we know that this problem was discussed with special zeal in the second half of the second century B. C. by Greek philosophers and rhetoricians in Athens and in Rhodes. It is certain that from their writings Cicero had his knowledge of this controversy and drew from them the materials which he places in the mouths of his characters. They, however, in the dramatic mechanism of the dialogue do not once refer to these writings, but profess to have their knowledge of the subject from actual conversations and debates with the philosophers or rhetoricians in question. This is the consistent method of allusion to sources contemporary with the dramatic date of the dialogue employed throughout the treatise. Conspicuous writers of an earlier time are cited freely enough ("Aristoteles, Isocrates, Theophrastus ait, dicit," etc.), but wherever allusion or acknowledgment is made to a contemporary or to some one of the immediate past, it is through some dramatic device of personal association or communication.

Of the second class (2, *a*) the *Academica priora* (Lucullus) affords a conspicuous illustration. In this dialogue we have a treatise drawn from a work of the Greek philosopher Antiochus, which Cicero has, in fact, almost transcribed. This obligation, however, he does not acknowledge directly, but through the means of a dramatic situation, as follows: Lucullus is represented as having come to Alexandria as proquæstor with Antiochus, where they met one Heraclitus of Tyre, a friend of Antiochus and a fellow-philosopher. They had just received a remarkable book of Philo, the master of Antiochus, which was so revolutionary in its doctrine that for several days it afforded material for discussions between Antiochus, Heraclitus, and other philosophers, to which Lucullus listened with great interest and participation. As a result he mastered the subject thoroughly and so explains his ability to present the views of Antiochus in the dialogue, the scene of which is laid some years later at Rome. This case is one of peculiar interest, because Cicero later became dissatisfied with the setting he had given the matter, since the person of Lucullus seemed on reflection inappropriate for a display of interest and erudition in such matters. Accordingly, in a second edition of the work (*Academica posteriora*) he allotted the principal rôle to Varro. But Varro in turn does not acknowledge a literary obligation to Antiochus, but professes to reproduce from memory the lectures which he had heard in his youth.

The last type (2, *b*), in which the writer himself as an interlocutor in the dialogue refers matter derived from a literary source to oral communication or personal intercourse with the author of the literary source in question, was, for the purposes of my investigation into the sources of the *Brutus*, the most important of all. Examples of this type were also found where it was possible to show with reasonable certainty that the same method of acknowledgment of literary sources was employed as in the former cases. That is, as soon as the author himself steps into the scene of the dialogue drama which he has created, he becomes subject to the same rule as he applies to the other characters of the dialogue. For the purposes of our present inquiry it is not necessary that I should illustrate this form by detailed examples. I will only add that by recognition of the nature of this method (which was yielded by a comparison of examples from Cicero's philosophical dialogues) it was possible to recover important fragments of pre-Ciceronian literature, which have hitherto passed for narratives derived from Cicero's boyhood acquaintance with the men from whom he professes to have heard them.

The principle of dialogue composition thus set forth is a natural one: it rests upon the universal psychology (so to speak) of the situation, rather than upon any recognized rule or tradition of art. It is not, so far as I am aware, alluded to in any ancient discussions of the theory of dialogue, unless it be implied in the suggestive phrase of Demetrius (*De elocutione* 224): *ὁ διάλογος μιμεῖται αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα*—"the dialogue reproduces the tone of extempore or improvised speech." Neither has it been formulated by any modern students of the ancient dialogue, though in practice it has sometimes been recognized by the investigators into the sources of Cicero's philosophical works (Hirzel, Reid, and others). There is no doubt, I think, that the dialogue or similar dramatic literature of any language would reveal the same usage, and a number of analogous examples I have noted from the English dialogues of Bishop Hurd (who facilitates inquiry by the considerate use of learned footnotes). So, for instance, in the *Dialogue on the Uses of Foreign Travel* (between the Earl of Shaftesbury and Locke) Hurd incorporates a story and an exact quotation from Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, which he places in the mouth of Locke, and makes acknowledgment for this indebtedness by causing Locke to address Shaftesbury with the words: "As I have *heard* you tell the story."

The application of these observations to the *Canterbury Tales* and to Chaucer's expression of obligation to Petrarch will be seen at once. The ancient dialogue, especially of the Ciceronian type, has in all essential respects a mechanism and technique analogous to the type of dramatic narrative which the Germans call picturesquely the *Rahmenerzählung*. In both the author introduces the characters, sets them in relations of conversational intercourse with one another, and out of such situations develops the longer narratives or discussions which are the real purpose of the composition. In both the aim is to maintain in the interludes which introduce or conclude the longer narratives an atmosphere of natural conversational intercourse suitable to the character of the interlocutors. If the author has acknowledgments of indebtedness for particular parts to make, they must be made through the utterances of his speakers in a manner conformable to the unrestrained and conversational nature of the whole situation. In the ancient dialogue, as we have seen, the participants are placed in a relation of oral communication with the sources from which they profess to draw. The reasons for this are obvious: the desire to avoid the appearance of pedantry which would result from the actual citation of a written source; the further desire to give to the communication an air of novelty, as of something which, though derived from another, is now communicated to the present audience for the first time. No one likes to confess that he got his joke from *Punch;* it suits his own and the listeners' sense of effectiveness much better to attribute it to personal experience,[1] or to direct communication from someone either named or nameless,[2] or merely to remembrance.[3] It is this universal feeling which the dialogue, or other similar literary forms, aims to reproduce. The source indicated by the speaker may or may not be the actual source from which the author drew.[4] That is a point which must be determined in each case for itself. The essential thing is that the interlocutor will not, as a rule, make acknowledgment to a literary source, except in referring to well-known authors of an earlier time.[5]

With this preface we may now note the acknowledgment which the Clerk makes to Petrarch:

> I wol yow telle a tale which that I
> Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,
> . . . .
> Fraunceys Petrark the laureat poete, etc.

The form of allusion to the source is, it will be seen, identical with the examples which I have cited above for the ancient dialogue (under the heading 2, *a*), as when Cicero causes Lucullus to confess obligation to Antiochus for matter which he heard at Alexandria. The two examples are perfectly parallel—Chaucer, the Clerk, and Petrarch, corresponding exactly to Cicero, Lucullus, and Antiochus. In each case the author's source was a literary one, but, in conformity with the demands of the underlying dramatic fiction, in each case it is transformed into an oral one. Professor Skeat, on the evidence of this passage, says (Vol. III, p. 454): "Chaucer himself tells us that he met Petrarch at Padua," and in a note he adds: "to which it is not unusual to object by insisting that it was not Chaucer himself who met Petrarch, but the Clerk who tells the tale. I doubt if this amounts to more than a quibble." Resuming again in the text, he continues: "Only let us suppose for a moment that Chaucer himself knew best, that he is not intentionally and unnecessarily inventing his statements, and all difficulty vanishes." But in the light of the examples which have been adduced it will require no arguments to show the complete misapprehension of the poet's technique which these words contain. That Chaucer invents his statements we shall not deny; that he invents even intentionally is also true. We shall not, however, concede that he invents unnecessarily, though the necessity in this case is perhaps to be called rather an artistic impulse, arising from the demands of the general dramatic scene which the poet has created.

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[1] As, for example, in the *Cooks Tale* (A 4342): "I wol yow telle as well as ever I can | A litel jape that fil in our citee." So also the *Friars Tale*, D 1299. Cf. the *Pardoner's Prologue*, C 460: "A moral tale . . . . which I am wont to preche."

[2] The *Clerkes Tale* (source named). The *Man of Laws Tale* (source indicated): "a marchaunt, gone is many a yere, | Me taughte a tale" (B 131).

[3] Sir Thopas (B 1897): "For other tale certes can I noon | But of a rhyme I lerned long agoon." The Franklins prologue (F 713): "And oon of hem have I in remembrance."

[4] So, for example, the *Man of Laws Tale* is attributed vaguely to a "marchaunt;" it was derived by Chaucer from Nicholas Trivet.

[5] For the Ciceronian dialogue I refer to such general allusions as "Plato (Aristoteles) ait," etc. Chaucer parades classical names sometimes ostentatiously, often in playful satire of the pedantry of his time. See the end of the *Wife's Tale* and the protest of the Friar (D 1276), "and lete auctoritees, on goddes name."

Indeed, one may go a step farther and raise Professor Skeat's "quibble" to a higher power. One may safely contend that, even if Chaucer himself had chosen to narrate the story of *Griselda* (instead of Sir Thopas and Melibeus), and in his rôle as a character in the dramatic situation explained that he had learned the tale from Petrarch at Padua, we should still not be certain that we were standing on historical ground in taking his assurance literally. As in the third group of examples cited above for the ancient dialogue (2, *b*), it might still be merely the fiction of the author moving his characters (including himself) in such a way as to make the expression of obligation suitable to the conversational character of the whole setting. Much less ground is there for identifying Chaucer with the Clerk. As well might we infer that Cicero had been present at Alexandria and heard the discussions of Antiochus which he causes Lucullus to report.

But there remains yet another point which demands explanation in this particular case. For why, it will be asked, if this is a natural form of recognition of a literary indebtedness, which the poet makes through the mouth of his character—why does the Clerk go on and make further acknowledgment to the literary source itself, the written tale of Petrarch? Here again the ancient dialogue furnishes us certain analogous examples which serve to illustrate the underlying psychology of the phenomenon, though the decisive analogue will be derived from Chaucer himself. Although the dialogue is a fictitious reproduction of conversation, yet, since it is written to be read and not to be spoken, the dramatic fiction upon which it is based falls away more easily than in the case of real drama. The author therefore may at times lapse inadvertently from the strict consistency of the situation which he has created, and appeal directly to his audience as *readers*, instead of as *listeners* to the conversation of his interlocutors.

Inconsistencies of this sort in the ancient dialogue are found, but the instances are not numerous, or at all events have not often been observed. Thus for instance in *De legibus* (I, 15) Atticus addresses Cicero and says: "and yet if you ask what I expect (it is this): since you have *written* concerning the State, it seems fitting for you next to *write* concerning Laws." The allusion here is first to the earlier dialogue, that is *conversation*, *De re publica*, and next to the very discussion which they were about to take up in dialogue form, *De legibus*. Indeed, in the very sentence which follows Cicero shifts back again to the conversational point of view of dialogue with the words: "visne igitur ut . . . . *quaeramus*," and a moment later: "non enim id *quaerimus hoc sermone*." The most conspicuous example of this sort to be found in Chaucer occurs in the *Seconde Nonnes Tale* (G. 78 ff.):

> Yet preye I you that *reden* what I *wryte*, etc.

The undramatic character of this tale as a whole has, of course, long been recognized; yet the fact that such incongruities were not eliminated when the story was given a place in the framework of the *Tales* serves to illustrate how easily the shift from the attitude of speaker into that of writer could take place and be overlooked by the author.

It is such a lapse from the consistency of the dramatic situation which confronts us in the *Prologue* to the *Clerkes Tale*:

> But forth to tellen of this worthy man,
> That *taughte* me this tale, as I bigan,
> I seye that first with heigh style he endyteth,
> Er he the body of his tale *wryteth*, etc.

That is, as in the presentation of the matter assigned to the characters the dramatic fiction demands *speak* (or *hear*), and not *write* (or *read*), so also in the acknowledgment of contemporary sources the same rule holds, and *wryteth* is here a lapse from the consistency of the pose, implied in the earlier words of the prologue, analogous to the examples cited above. It may be urged that such an inconsistency would scarcely occur in such close proximity to the correct dramatic form *taughte me this tale* and the preceding *lerned at Padowe.* The only answer that can be made to this objection is to produce similar examples. One such I have cited from Cicero above; another—and this, I think, is decisive—is afforded by Chaucer at the end of the *Prologue* to *Melibeus:*

> Ye shul not finden muche difference
> Fro the sentence of this tretis lyte
> After the which this mery tale I *wryte.*
> And therefor *herkneth* what that I shal seye,
> And let me *tellen* al my tale, I preye.

Much has been made of the fact that Chaucer here uses a form of acknowledgment such as he has not employed elsewhere in his *Canterbury Tales.* But to this it must be replied that the circumstances of his indebtedness are unique. Is there another example in the *Tales* of a story taken with such closeness of imitation from a source contemporary and of anything like equal eminence? Surely, Boccaccio cannot be instanced for the *Knight's Tale;* and indeed for any analogue at all one must fall back upon the story of the *Man of Law,* derived from the Anglo-Norman chronicle of Nicholas Trivet. But how different the circumstances of indebtedness: Trivet, a learned chronicler whose life barely, if at all, overlapped that of Chaucer, whose personality can scarcely have stood out for him in any sharpness of outline, whose work in general was of a quasi-historical character that would be thought of as merely recording the common possession of all mankind, and whose story of *Constance* was but one version of a tale widely diffused in the literature of the later Middle Ages. But these are problems quite apart from my purpose, and I should abuse the benevolence of the readers of *Modern Philology* if I ventured farther afield in a territory which has been hospitable enough to receive me at all. To have shown that the form of acknowledgment which is apparently unique in Chaucer conforms to a general rule and to a type of technique found in a related form of ancient literature is all that I have aimed to do.

II. ON THE "HIGH STYLE" ATTRIBUTED TO PETRARCH'S VERSION OF THE STORY OF "GRISELDA"

Concerning the date of the *Clerk's Tale* Professor Skeat, on the confident assumption that Chaucer heard the story from Petrarch and received from him a copy of it, places it very early—that is, in 1373 or 1374. But no arguments of any validity—for the stanza form can scarcely be reckoned as in any way conclusive—are advanced for this date, even conceding the correctness of his fundamental assumption. Mr. Mather has reviewed the matter carefully in his valuable discussion in *Modern Language Notes* (Vol. XII, col. 15), and finds no reason why the composition should not be assigned to the general period of the *Canterbury Tales*—that is, after 1385. The fact would seem to be that the available material yields no certain chronological indication whatever.

But one thing can be said with certainty, viz., that the *Tale* was completely composed before the *Prologue* was written. The evidence for this lies in the fact that the proemium of Petrarch, descriptive of the scene of the story, is set forth twice with very inartistic effect—once at the end of the *Prologue*, and again in the first stanza of the *Tale* itself. That this is the case will appear from a mere comparison of the two parts with Petrarch's original, and the matter does not require detailed explanation. Professor Skeat has apparently overlooked this fact and seems to assume that the two descriptions follow Petrarch's introduction in orderly sequence; for on line 57,

> There is at the west syde of Itaille
> Down at the rote of Vesaulus the cold,

he says: "Chaucer is not quite so close a translator here as usual; the passage in Petrarch being, 'inter cetera ad radicem Vesuli, terra Salutiarum, vicis et castellis satis frequens, Marchionum arbitrio nobilium quorundam regitur virorum.'" His note is obviously a hurried jotting (suggested perhaps by the single phrase common to both passages, *ad radicem Vesuli*), for no one examining the matter with any care can fail to observe that the whole of the first stanza is a condensed and fine reproduction of Petrarch's whole description down to the words which Professor Skeat cites, with elimination of the geographical detail.

The preface of Petrarch—a rhetorical embellishment upon Boccaccio's abrupt beginning—gives, in language of an elevation and picturesqueness scarcely found elsewhere in the tale itself, a sweeping survey of the whole Lombard plain from the sources of the Po on the west to the lagoons of Venice on the east. It is wrought out with conscious elaboration in the manner of the ancient ἔκφρασις, with much richness of geographical color. It is with reference to this that Chaucer says in the *Prologue:*

> I seye that first with *heigh style* he endyteth,
> Er he the body of his tale wryteth,
> A proheme, in the which discryveth he
> Pedmond, and of Saluces the contree, etc.

These words, I take it, mean that the proem is in "heigh style," with the implication that "the body of his tale" is in a style at least less elevated. Indeed, though Petrarch's Latin is earnest and aims at a certain classical dignity, yet it will not appear why in any ordinary sense the tale as a whole should be characterized as written in "heigh style." But this term Chaucer does in fact attach to the whole composition, when at the end he reproduces Petrarch's reflections on the significance and bearing of the story:

> This storie is seyd, not for that wyves sholde
> Folwen Grisilde as in humilitee,
> . . . .
> But for that every wight in his degree,
> Sholde be constant in adversitee
> As was Grisilde; therefore Petrark wryteth
> This storie, which with *heigh style* he endyteth.

As a student of the ancient classifications of style I was interested to discern here, as I thought, a reminiscence of the χαρακτὴρ ὑψηλός of Dionysius and Pseudo-Longinus, or of the Ciceronian *altitudo orationis*, which had been transmitted through the mediæval rhetoric. Although the matter has the appearance of a comment on Petrarch's words, yet it seemed worth while to refer to Petrarch to see if he gave any suggestion of the idea. I found, of course, that the reflections were in fact Petrarch's, introduced by these words: *hanc historiam stylo nunc alio retexere visum fuit*, *non tam ideo*, etc. The phrase *stylo alio* refers, of course, to the Latin of Petrarch's version contrasted with the Italian (*stylo volgari*) of Boccaccio's original. It was conceivable that Chaucer should call Petrarch's Latin, in contrast with Boccaccio's Italian, "heigh style,"[1] but with the analogy of classical usage in mind I could not repress a suspicion that Chaucer here either found *stylo alto* in his copy of Petrarch, or thus misread the true reading *stylo alio.* For this conjecture I afterward found unexpected confirmation in the extracts from Petrarch's original which are entered upon the margins of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS,[2] and are reproduced on p. 402 of the Six-Text edition. There, against line 1142, are entered these words from Petrarch: "hanc historiam *stylo* nunc *alto* retexere visum fuit," etc.

It thus appears that the "heigh style" which Chaucer attributes to Petrarch's version as a whole is due in the first instance to a textual error. But this does not explain the use of the same description in the prologue. It would seem to me that the matter can be explained naturally in some such way as this: Carrying away from the first execution of the tale itself the memory of this stylistic characterization, Chaucer, on reverting to the subject when he incorporated the story into the *Canterbury Tales*, recognized the special truth of the words in reference to Petrarch's preface. Accordingly, when he added the prologue, he wrote:

> I seye that with heigh style he endyteth,
> Er he the body of his tale wryteth,
> A proheme, etc.

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[1] So Hertzberg, *ad loc.:* "Der hohe Stil bedeutet hier, und wenn ich nicht irre auch v. 7893, nur die lateinische Sprache im Gegensatz zum stilus vulgaris."

[2] To which Professor Kittredge, to whom I had referred my conjecture, called my attention. He added a warning concerning the wisdom of verifying the text of these entries, which I have to my regret not been able to heed.

The desire, then, to illustrate the elevated tone of Petrarch's proem was probably the motive which impelled him to duplicate his first stanza by a version which should reveal more specifically the "high style" of the Latin introduction. This he does with duplication of the essential parts of the first stanza already written, and with inclusion of the impressive geographical detail which he had omitted from his earlier version.

One other observation I will add here in connection with this example of the corruption of Chaucer's MS of Petrarch and the results which grew out of it. It has been the pleasant fancy of those who have insisted that Chaucer describes his own meeting with Petrarch in the *Clerkes Prologue*, that he received from Petrarch himself a copy of the *Griselda:* Professor Skeat would add compulsion by saying: "It is difficult to see how he could have got it otherwise" (Vol. III, p. 455, note). Mr. Hales, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has varied the same theme by urging that he most likely received it from Boccaccio in Florence in September, 1373. Again avoiding entanglement with the biographical question, I would point out that Chaucer's MS of Petrarch was already seriously corrupt—which, to be sure, might have been the case even with an author's presentation copy —and contained variants which would point to some degrees of removal from its origins. At line 420 Chaucer writes:

> Thus Walter lowly, nay but royally,
> Wedded with fortunat honestetee, etc.

The words of Petrarch, as edited in *Originals and Analogues* from the Basel edition of 1581, are: "Sic Gualtherus humili quidem sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio, honestatis," etc. The text is obviously corrupt, and we should doubtless read: "humili quidem sed insigni ac prospero matrimonio *honestatus*," etc.—though it is not safe to suggest even so simple a correction without a better knowledge of the actual condition of the evidence of the MSS. But the same corruption is found in the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS, and it would therefore seem probable that Chaucer found it and owed to it his use of the word *honestetee.* For the words which follow,

In goddes pees liveth ful esily
At hoom, and outward grace y-nogh had he,

the words of Petrarch are: "Summa domi in pace extra vero summa cum gratia hominum vivebat." It would seem here that Chaucer has added merely the word *goddes.* But the marginal entry of the Ellesmere MS presents the interesting variant "Summa dei in pace." It would seem, then, that Chaucer's copy must have presented both readings *dei* and *domi* ("in goddes pees—at hoom"), one in the text and the other in the margin or above the line, though concerning their exact relation it is impossible to speak. Of course, nothing can be done in problems of this sort until we have a thorough collation of the Petrarch MSS containing the story, and I have touched upon this one point, somewhat rashly I know, merely for the sake of indicating by a concrete illustration a most imperative prerequisite to any intelligent study of Chaucer's relation to Petrarch—a critical text of Petrarch's tale.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF "THE BIRTH OF MERLIN"

Before its publication in 1662 no record exists of the play bearing the following title-page inscription:[1] "The Birth of Merlin: Or, the Childe hath found his Father: As it hath been several times acted with great Applause. Written by William Shakespeare and William Rowley. London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, and are to be sold at the Prince's Arms in Chancery Lane. 1662." Since this ascription of its authorship to Shakespeare constitutes the sole evidence of his connection with the play, the question of the validity of this evidence is the first matter for investigation in an attempt to determine the authorship. It is the question, first, of the publisher's knowledge of the facts, and secondly, of his honesty in setting them forth.

Francis Kirkman was born in 1632.[2] According to his own testimony, he had been an enthusiastic play-collector from boyhood, and had gathered many curious particulars of the lives of the old dramatists. If he had taken an early interest in this play, he might possibly have acquainted himself with its real authorship; but as the absence of all mention of it previous to its publication goes to indicate that it was not a popular production, he probably had no particular incentive to investigate the question closely, and, no doubt, by the time he had decided to print it the means for such investigation would have become as inadequate for him as for us now. Even if, as Warnke and Proescholdt guess, he followed an old copy in his possession, it is still uncertain that he did not alter the title-page. And even if the old title-page could be produced in evidence that he copied it unchanged, that would not prove that Shakespeare had a hand in the play; for both before and after the death of the master many plays were ascribed to him of whose composition he was wholly guiltless. All that can be said about Kirkman's knowledge of the authorship of the play is that he might possibly have ascertained the facts, but that no special reason appears why he should have investigated the question before 1662.

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[1] Warnke and Proescholdt's edition.

[2] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XXXI.

But if it was not that he believed Shakespeare to be the author of the play, what possible motive, asks Tieck,[1] can be assigned to Kirkman for falsely ascribing it to the great dramatist, since Shakespeare's name could not at that time help the sale of the publication? In reply it may be said that, while the tide of Shakespeare's popularity reached low ebb during the Restoration period, it had by no means reached it by 1662, and a strong business motive is not far to seek.[2] With the reopening of the theaters the traditions of Shakespeare's successes were revived, and though it soon became a fad with the smart set to cry him down as old-fashioned, his plays still drew crowds to the theaters. For example, while Pepys in his trifling way criticises Shakespeare severely, he yet records no less than thirty-six performances of twelve different plays of Shakespeare that he attended between October 11, 1660, and February 6, 1668.[3] It must be remembered, furthermore, that at the reopening of the theaters the actors had no choice but to resort to the pieces that had been on the stage before the civil war, since no new playwrights had yet come forward to cater to the new tastes of the public. Three of the older dramatists still retained the prominence that they had enjoyed from the first—Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher.[4] Under these conditions it was surely not difficult for a keen and not over-scrupulous bookseller to find a shrewd business reason for assigning one of his published plays to Shakespeare. The theaters had been closed for twenty years, a new generation had since grown up, and in those uncritical days the danger of the discovery of the fraud was not a great deterrent.

That Francis Kirkman was not over-scrupulous is a distinct impression derived from the accounts of him that have survived.[5] At least one of his contemporaries disputes his assertion concerning a point of fact about which there could be no difference of mere opinion. Again, can we quite credit his declaration that he had seen acted every one of the 806 plays he catalogued in 1671? Symonds[1] characterizes him as "a most untrustworthy caterer and angler for the public." Ulrici[2] makes a similar remark and cites evidence of his unreliability. Upon the whole, the title-page ascription to Shakespeare must be regarded with suspicion, and as inconclusive respecting the real authorship of the play.

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[1] *Shakespeares Vorschule*, Vol. II (Leipzig 1829).

[2] See Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, pp. 257, 258.

[3] Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1898), p. 329.

[4] Lounsbury, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, p. 262.

[5] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The opinions of the leading English and German critics who have discussed the play may be classified as follows:

1. Shakespeare wrote most of the play: Horne; see Knight, *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare*, pp. 311ff.
2. Shakespeare had a large share in it along with Rowley: Delius, *Pseudo-Shakespeare'sche Dramen*, Preface; Tieck, *Shakespeares Vorschule*, Vol. II, Preface.
3. Shakespeare might have had a hand in a sketch that Rowley worked over later: Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 373.
4. Shakespeare had nothing to do with the play: Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, p. 401; Warnke and Proescholdt, *Pseudo-Shakesperian Plays;* Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, (1898), Vol. II, pp. 243ff; Knight, *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare;* Fleay, *Life and Works of Shakespeare*, p. 289; Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. XI, p. 286; Daniel and Bullen also take this view.
5. Rowley wrote all of it: Ulrici, Ward, Bullen, Ellis (Mermaid Edition, Middleton).
6. The comic parts were written by Rowley, the serious parts by Middleton: Fleay, Daniel.

Since the second of the above propositions cannot be maintained, it is unnecessary to notice the first. There is no question that Ulrici has effectively disposed of the arguments advanced by Tieck and repeated by Delius in support of the opinion that Shakespeare had a considerable share in the play along with Rowley. Ward has produced further arguments against this position based upon considerations of character portrayal, while Warnke and Proescholdt have pointed out additional objections concerned with plot construction. All of these reasons taken together constitute convincing proof that Shakespeare had no share of any importance in *The Birth of Merlin.* It is enough to say of the third proposition that it is of too vague a character to admit of any argument. Critics are generally agreed that Rowley wrote the comic parts of the play; it is quite possible, also, that he is responsible for the use of the supernatural element in it. At all events Shakespeare never makes so crudely burlesque a use of that element. Subtracting, therefore, the whole Merlin action, we have left a fairly complete plot concerning the fortunes of Aurelius and his Saxon foes, to which is subjoined the episode of Modestia and Constantia. Now, this episode has absolutely nothing to do with the main action; the two daughters of Donobert are without the slightest excuse in the play. Now, while Shakespeare makes use of double plots and episodes, he never leaves the minor actions totally without organic connection with the main plot. It is certain that he did not design the plot that remains after cutting out Rowley's supposed parts. And if we should still further dissect the action by dropping out the episode of the two sisters, we should have left nothing that Rowley or anyone else could not just as well have derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth as from Shakespeare. There is not the slightest evidence that Rowley worked over a draft of the story by Shakespeare; no one would have ventured the suggestion, had it not been for the highly questionable title-page ascription. The absurd theory proposed by Tieck, that Shakespeare could assume at will the manner of any other dramatist, and that here he adopts Rowley's style, becomes still more ridiculous when it is asked how Shakespeare knew, when writing his "youthful sketch," that it was Rowley who was predestined to work it over.

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[1] *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, p. 296.

[2] *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, Vol. II, pp. 401, 366. See also Charles Knight, *Shakespeare: Doubtful Plays*, p. 311; Nathan Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times* (London 1817), Vol. II, p. 570; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XLIX, p. 363; remarks of Malone and Steevens.

On the whole, it appears quite probable that the fourth position is the true one, namely, that Shakespeare had no part in *The Birth of Merlin.* Practically the entire array of authoritative critical opinion supports it. Still, considerations of character and plot development are not quite sufficient in themselves to demonstrate the proposition. For the more convincing proof resort must be had to an examination of the language. Omitting the "clown" parts, which are universally conceded to be Rowley's, the results of a study of the versification of the remainder of the drama may be compared with those tabulated by Dowden[1] of an examination of Shakespeare's versification at a period when, if at all, he must have joined Rowley in *The Birth of Merlin.*

	Shakespeare	*Birth of Merlin*
Run-on lines	0.47	0.16
Rhyme	0.00	0.05
Feminine endings	0.33	0.47

This indicates conclusively that Shakespeare did not write the serious parts of the play late in his career, for the versification is not that of this period of the great dramatist's work; but it was only at this period that he could have joined Rowley in writing a play, considering the probable age of the latter, the date of his first appearance as a dramatist, and other significant circumstances. It is beyond question that Shakespeare did not co-operate with Rowley in writing *The Birth of Merlin.*

As to the point raised by Tieck that the play contains a number of Shakespearean touches, it may be noticed that these did not appear to be so striking as to be worth pointing out. Fleay,[2] however, notes two such passages, and a third may be added, viz., *Birth of Merlin,* IV, i, 194 (and cf. *King Lear,* III, iv, 69). But a few real or fancied echoes of the Shakespearean manner furnish no proof that Shakespeare participated in the authorship of the play. Admitting such evidence, one might argue that the master had a hand in many of the dramas written by his contemporaries and successors, who were impressed with his striking phrases, for many of them consciously or unconsciously echo his manner. A number of such echoes, for example, may be found in Middleton, and, more pointedly for a later consideration, in *The Mayor of Queenborough.*

There remain for discussion the last two propositions; the fifth, being involved in the sixth, may be neglected. The suggestion advanced by Daniel and adopted by Fleay, that it was Middleton who wrote the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin*, is worthy of attention. Neither critic gives any reason for the opinion; such reasons, however, may be found. The suggestion is based upon the assumption that Middleton is the author of *The Mayor of Queenborough*,[1] between which and *The Birth of Merlin* may be traced a number of curious parallels, the latter play bearing the relation of counterpart or sequel to the former.

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[1] *Shakespeare Primer,* pp. 40–44.

[2] *Life and Works of Shakespeare* p. 289. See Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors,* p. 373.

Both plays are concerned with the same events. The characters Vortiger, Aurelius, and Uther Pendragon are common to both. In the *M. of Q.* Constantius takes a part, but is killed early in the action; in the *B. of M.* he is referred to as having been murdered before the beginning of the action. Each play closes with the death of Vortiger. The *M. of Q.* is concerned chiefly with the fortunes of Vortiger; the *B. of M.* chiefly with those of Aurelius. Each play introduces the central character of the other in a minor part. In each play the principal scene is the court of the British king. In each the action turns principally upon the struggle between Britons and Saxons.

Mayor of Queenborough	*Birth of Merlin*
Roxena, a Saxon princess, at the instigation of the Saxon leaders, ingratiates herself with Vortiger, the British king, marries him, deceives him, and in large measure becomes the cause of his death.	Artesia, a Saxon princess, at the instigation of the Saxon generals, entices the British King Aurelius to marry her, deceives him, and finally causes his death by poison.
Roxena carries on an intrigue with Horsus. Upon a sudden announcement that she is to marry the king, Horsus is startled into a betrayal of the secret through some inadvertent exclamations.	Artesia attempts an intrigue with Uther, who, when surprised by the sudden news that she had become the wife of the king, reveals his relations with her in certain involuntary exclamations.
Vortiger murders Constantius, brother of Aurelius and Uther.	Vortiger is defeated before his castle in Wales by one of the

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[1] Ellis, Preface to Mermaid edition of Middleton, raises doubts about the authorship, remarking that the play was not published as Middleton's until 1661; that passages characteristic of Middleton are difficult to find in it; that the buffoonery is not his, but probably Rowley's, as Bullen holds; and that even the serious parts are as much in Rowley's manner as Middleton's. He suggests a comparison with *The Birth of Merlin*, and appears to think both plays entirely the work of Rowley.

Mayor of Queenborough	*Birth of Merlin*
This leads to his downfall and death after he is surrounded in his castle in Wales by the army of the brothers of his victim.	generals of Uther's army, and takes refuge in the castle. The murder of Constantius is the leading cause of his overthrow and ruin.
V. ii, 1, etc.: **UTHER**: My lord, the castle is so fortified— **AURELIUS**: Let wild fire ruin it. . . . . I'll send my heart no peace till it be consumed.	IV, v, 9, etc.: **PRINCE**: Proud Vortiger . . . for safety's fled unto a Castle, here standing on the hill. . . . . We'll send in wild fire to dislodge him, hence, or burn them all with flaming violence.
The Saxons, under Hengest, obtain a large share in the kingdom for a time, but are conquered by Uther and Aurelius. They are wily and deceitful, while Vortiger, the British king, is easily deceived.	Under Ostorius the guileful Saxons secure the kingdom, but are defeated by Uther. The British King Aurelius becomes a ready dupe of the Saxons.
Roxena, the Saxon princess, kills the king's son Vortimer by the use of poison.	Artesia, the Saxon princess, makes use of poison to murder the king.
Constantius is a religious zealot, devoted to a life of contemplation, and bound by his monastic vows to a state of celibacy.	Modestia is by nature a religious zealot, meditative, and possessed by a passion for a holy life. She refuses to marry her favored suitor, and pledges herself to the life of a nun. The Hermit also resembles Constantius in many respects.
Castiza, a lady of noble birth, is induced by Vortiger to annoy Constantius with the temptation of earthly love; but in the attempt she is converted to his ideals and resolves upon a single life.	Constantia, a lady of the nobility, is persuaded by Donobert to tempt Modestia from her resolution to become a nun; but Constantia is herself converted to her sister's views and adopts her resolution.
I, ii, 149, etc.: **CONSTANTIUS**: Are you a Virgin? **CASTIZA**: Never yet, my lord, known to the will of man. **CONSTANTIUS**: O blessed creature! . . . . Keep still that holy and immaculate fire. . . . . Disdain as much to let mortality know you as stars to kiss the pavements. . . . . They look but on corruption as you do, but are stars still; be you a virgin too.	I, ii, 243, etc.: **HERMIT**: Are you a Virgin? **MODESTIA**: Yes, sir. **HERMIT**: Your name? **MODESTIA**: Modestia. **HERMIT**: Your name and virtues meet, a modest virgin: Live ever in the sanctimonious way to Heaven and happiness. . . . . Come, look up. Behold yon firmament; there sits a power whose footstool is this earth. O learn this lesson and

Mayor of Queenborough	*Birth of Merlin*
Castiza: I'll never marry. . . . . Forsaking all the world I'll save it well and do my faith no wrong.	practise it: he that will climb so high must leave no joy beneath to move his eye. Modestia: I apprehend you, sir; on Heaven I fix my love. Earth gives us grief, our joys are all above.
Roxena, the unchaste and treacherous Saxon princess, is destroyed by fire when the castle is burned by the soldiers of Aurelius and Uther.	Artesia, the deceitful and licentious Saxon princess, is threatened with death by burning when captured by Uther's soldiers.
V. ii, 117, etc.: Vortiger [of Roxena]: Burn, burn! . . . . dry up her strumpet blood, and hardly parch her skin.	V. ii, 54, etc.: Donobert [of Artesia]: Burn her to dust. Edol: Take her hence and stake her carcass in the burning sun, till it be parched and dry; then flay her wicked skin.
V. ii, 84, etc.: Vortiger: Ha, ha, ha! Horsus: Dost laugh?	V. ii, 110, etc.: Artesia: Ha, ha, ha! Edol: Dost laugh, Erictho?
II, x, etc.: Castiza [to Vortiger]: I'm bound, my lord to marry none but you, ... and you I'll never marry.	I, i, 110, etc.: Modestia: Noble and virtuous: Could I dream of marriage, I should affect thee, Edwin.
I, ii: Name, character, sentiments, and speeches about marriage, etc., of Constantius.	III, ii: Name of Constantia, etc.

Each of these plays is entitled from the leading character of the sub-plot. Each contains absurd anachronisms, one a Puritan and the other a playwright along with Uther Pendragon and his contemporaries. In one is a "play within the play," and in the other something closely akin to it in the "show" element. Both introduce dumb shows. Each has two slight sub-actions coupled with the main action. Both contain rough, boisterous, clownish, ignorant, and amusing characters. In one Raynulph acts as Chorus to hasten the action; in the other Merlin serves that purpose, by means of his supernatural knowledge revealing distant events. The revenge motive is the chief cause of Vortiger's downfall in each of the plays.

All these parallelisms in plot, motive, situation, and characterization are so striking, the relations of the leading personages so obviously analogous, the manner of the dialogue in corresponding situations is so similar in the two plays, that to explain the resemblances as accidental is manifestly impossible. It is beyond a doubt that the writer of the later play had the earlier one before his mind and consciously adapted much of it to his own purposes.

But which is the earlier and which the later play? There is no record of *The Mayor of Queenborough* previous to its publication in 1661, a year earlier than that of *The Birth of Merlin.* Evidently the story of both dramas was drawn from some version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History.* A comparison of the two plays with each other and with Geoffrey's account shows that the author of *The Mayor of Queenborough* has followed the history far more faithfully than has the writer of its analogue. For example, the story of Roxena (Rowena), daughter of Hengist, her relations with Vortiger, the trickery of Hengist, and all the other essential features of the main plot of *The Mayor of Queenborough*, are substantially identical with the details of Geoffrey's narrative. On the other hand, all the Artesia story is a pure invention of the author of *The Birth of Merlin*, who in numerous other particulars allows himself the greatest liberty in the handling of his material.

Now, the significance of these considerations lies in the fact that the departures in this play from the historical account are not required by the play itself; in fact, the Artesia action is a close analogy of the story of Rowena. Why, we may well inquire, did the writer deem it necessary to invent an Artesia to serve the same purpose in his play as that served by Rowena in Geoffrey's story, and by Roxena in *The Mayor of Queenborough*, serving that purpose, however, not in connection with Vortiger, but with his enemy Aurelius? Why did he not rather prefer to use Geoffrey's story, which would have appealed to his audiences as history, unless it was that that story had already been employed in a well-known play? Why invent a Hermit to imitate the historical Constantius unless for the same reason? And why, unless for that reason, duplicate the historical Castiza in a fictitious Modestia? If we try to suppose the more truly historical story to have been dramatized after the less truly historical one, the improbability of that order becomes apparent. We must conclude that *The Birth of Merlin* was written after *The Mayor of*

Queenborough. It may not be significant, though it is suggestive of this conclusion, that while the title-page of the latter play bears the line, "Many times acted with great applause," that of the latter runs, "Several times acted with great applause."

It is impossible to assign a positive date to *The Mayor of Queenborough*, but such evidence as there is would seem to point to some time after the year 1621 as the time of its composition.[1] Since *The Birth of Merlin* undoubtedly followed *The Mayor of Queenborough*, it is again evident that Shakespeare could have had no hand in its authorship.

It is perhaps not quite so easy to show that Middleton did have a part in *The Birth of Merlin* as that Shakespeare did not. Ellis and others favor the view that Rowley is the sole author, but the internal evidence does not seem to me to favor this opinion. First, the versification tests do not support it. (I make use of the results worked out by Miss Wiggin in her study of the Middleton-Rowley plays.)

	Rowley	*B. of M.* Serious Parts
Run-on lines....................	0.25	0.16
Feminine endings..............	0.25	0.47
Verse..........................	Rough	Smooth

Secondly, the general tone of the serious portions is unlike the manner of Rowley in the dignity and restraint of the dialogue, the absence of exaggeration, and the deeper insight into character. Especially unlike Rowley's method is the treatment of the character of Modestia; in quiet, meditative strength and dignity, in noble and high-minded, though mistaken, self-renunciation, in consistency and absence of exaggeration, she is as far as possible from Rowley's characteristic method of character portrayal.

But it may be objected that Earl Edoll is a violent, irascible character, often stirred by ordinary, and sometimes by even trivial, obstacles to extremes of passion. It must be admitted that the earl's outbursts of wrath are as violent and exaggerated as are those of the prince in the parts accredited to Rowley; but it should be observed that in the latter case we are given no preparatory hint that the prince is subject to such tantrums, nor are these fits explained, or reconciled with his power of calm self-control elsewhere exhibited (II, i, 115–26; IV, ii, 18, etc.). But in Edol's case we are furnished with a preparation for his fits of violence (II, ii, 16, etc.). So also are we reconciled to his habit of ranting by the comments of his companions (II, ii, 114, 115; IV, ii, 18). It is therefore clear that the dramatist intended to make him an exaggeration in this particular. This is quite a different thing from Rowley's unrestraint in depicting his characters, for he is evidently unaware that they are not well-balanced and natural. The objection above raised thus turns out to be an argument against the idea that Rowley wrote the scenes concerning Earl Edol.

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[1] Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 104; Bullen's Middleton, I, introd. xviii, ii, 86; Ward, Vol. II.

But if the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin* were not written by Rowley, what is the evidence that they were written by Middleton? This evidence falls under two heads: the characteristics of the versification, and the relations between this play and *The Mayor of Queenborough.*

	Middleton	*B. of M.* Serious Parts
Run-on lines..................	0.20	0.16
Rhyme.........................	(*M. of Q.*) $\frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{21}$
Feminine endings..............	0.50	0.47

The correspondence in the two cases is sufficiently close to constitute confirmatory evidence that Middleton had a hand in *The Birth of Merlin.* It should be noted that this play was first printed entirely as prose and that critics have not altogether agreed in their re-establishment of the verse-lines.[1] This may in some degree account for lack of a closer correspondence in the foregoing comparison. Other particulars of corroborative evidence may be noted:

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[1] E. g., see Warnke and Proescholdt's edition and notes.

The exclamation "Pish" is used several times in the serious parts of *The Birth of Merlin.* This is characteristic of Middleton (*Mayor of Queenborough*, e. g.), but not of Rowley. (Wiggin.)

A large number of short broken lines occur in both *B. of M.* and *M. of Q.*, particularly lines of three feet.

The end-stopt effect of the verse in the serious parts of *B. of M.* is strikingly like that of the verse of *M. of Q.* and of Middleton generally,

The occurrence of a disorderly mixture of rhyme and blank verse is frequently found in both plays.

In both a rhymed couplet is often thrown into the middle of a speech in blank verse.

There is an appreciable percentage of double feminine endings in *B. of M.* This is characteristic of Middleton.

In both plays the close of a speech is often an incomplete verse that is not filled out at the beginning of the next following speech.

Finally, alliteration is noticeable in several of the longer speeches of both plays.

All this would seem to establish a fair presumption that the two dramatists who produced so much in collaboration about the time when this play is supposed to have been written, united in the production of this one as well.

But would Middleton be likely to take part in two plays so much alike in method of treatment of the same story? Could he be insensible to the certainty that his audiences would detect him in the attempt to palm off upon them old work for new? Whether or not Fleay considered these questions in adopting the suggestion of Daniel does not appear; yet he dates the plays only a year apart. But the questions require an answer, and it is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to them.

While it is difficult to see how Middleton could participate in these two strangely similar plays at so short an interval, it is still more difficult to suppose that Rowley would join with some other dramatist in the later of them so soon after the earlier had become well known, or that any other dramatist would care to take part with him in such a work. But while it is clear that *The Birth of*

Merlin followed *The Mayor of Queenborough*, it is quite unlikely that it followed it so closely as Fleay supposes; for what incentive could there be for a playwright to venture in competition with a play that was holding the stage by writing another play dealing with the same story in a similar way, though a far less authentic way? But unless the former play had been successful, why imitate it at all? And if successful, why imitate it so soon?

If a guess may be added to those already made concerning this play by others, we may suppose that *The Mayor of Queenborough* had proved a popular work, and that Middleton, on the lookout for subjects, wrote a sketch to be worked up at some future time into a sequel and complement of *The Mayor of Queenborough*. Perhaps he found it difficult, in handling the same story, to treat it in a sufficiently different style from that of his first use of it, and so laid it aside as unavailable. After the lapse of several years—perhaps after Middleton's death—Rowley may have revised the sketch, adding some parts, and possibly touching it up here and there by means of suggestions derived from *The Mayor of Queenborough*. Rowley's lack of constructive ability, together with the very possible exigency of having to provide a play on short notice would render such a guess not wholly improbable.

At all events, the theory that Middleton and Rowley wrote *The Birth of Merlin* is far more respectable than the obsolete belief that Shakespeare and Rowley wrote it, and is, on the whole, the most probable theory respecting its authorship.

I would assign the various parts as follows:

I, i, 2, Middleton.

II, i, Rowley; ii, iii, Middleton.

III, i, Rowley; ii, Middleton; iii, either might have written it; iv, Rowley; v, either; vi, Middleton.

IV, i, first 135 lines, Rowley; remainder, Middleton; ii, iii, iv, Middleton; v, Rowley.

V, i, Rowley; ii, Middleton.

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THE GROWTH OF INTEREST IN THE EARLY ITALIAN MASTERS

FROM TISCHBEIN TO RUSKIN

Interest has lately become keen in the rise and spread of the study of "Christian art." Through the efforts of various men in all countries—among the English-speaking nations primarily through Ruskin—the world has long been made familiar with the value of the pictorial art of the early Renaissance. It is only within comparatively recent times, however, that the historian has become aware that our present attitude toward the earlier masters was a necessary corollary of the great emotional upheaval which took its inception a century and a half ago.

Several treatises—to which I shall have occasion to refer in the course of this investigation—have lately appeared, more or less directly bearing on the subject here under discussion, and it is the purpose of the present writing further to contribute to a better understanding of one of the most interesting movements in criticism, and especially to point to the importance of German influence upon it.

To appreciate the originality implied in our modern attitude toward the early painters of Italy, it will be necessary briefly to familiarize ourselves with the canons prominent in the eighteenth century. Let us remember that the age of Louis XIV, which made current the formulæ of art and of life in vogue during a large part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was essentially aristocratic and intellectual. It insisted on dignity, refinement, and control, and was impatient of any tendency to break through the tenets of established creed. Emotion and individuality were held in check, if not suppressed; "regularity" and clearness were insisted upon. Hence antiquity influenced that age. Not, however, in the sense in which it did the Renaissance movement in Italy—as a thing of exuberance and power, broadening the horizon and leading men back to nature. It was merely an influence in the direction of dignity, exquisiteness, and technical perfection; until refinement became weakness, dignity coldness, control stiffness.

The uncritical admiration for antiquity prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to an infinitely narrow interpretation of the past. Our modern belief—first pronounced by Herder, and later more clearly defined by nineteenth century critics like Taine—according to which every temperament has a right to produce its own expression, was totally unknown. Whatever did not fit the established formula was rejected.

The ideal painter to those generations was Raphael. His work exhibited grace, technical skill, infinite refinement, and—his later productions at least—a knowledge of the ancients. He seemed satisfactory in every respect.

We can even today concur in this admiration, although partly for different reasons; but what seems much less intelligible to us is the fact that the Bolognese school—the Carracci, Albano, Guido Reni, Guercino, etc.—were believed to have rivaled, even distanced, the author of the "Transfiguration."

The Bolognese, such was the feeling, had freed art from mannerism, and had firmly established *le bon goût*. In the Carracci boldness and strength seemed coupled with dazzling technical ability; Guido appeared "divinely" graceful; and even Guercino, so disagreeable to us today on account of his violent contrasts of light and shade and his unnatural flesh-tints, was greatly beloved. Many writers agreed that the masters of Bologna represented the highest attainment of the human genius in the realm of pictorial art. Even Pietro da Cortona, to our taste an empty rhetorician, was for a time regarded as a painter of the first rank.[1]

Michel Angelo, on the other hand, the master-giant of the Renaissance, very characteristically for the time, seemed powerful but graceless, and hence essentially inartistic. Only after the middle of the century, after the yearning for power in literature had inspired Houdar de la Motte and Lessing with words of bitterness or ridicule for the French tragedy, Michel Angelo and Shakespeare together rose on the world. In 1772 Sir Joshua Reynolds, in a "discourse" delivered before the Royal Academy in London, declared that "the effect of the capital works of Michel Angelo perfectly corresponds to what Bourchardon said he felt from reading Homer; his whole frame appeared to himself to be enlarged, and all nature which surrounded him, diminished to atoms." The decline of Michel Angelo's reputation, he feels, was due to the decline of art.[2]

One might imagine that the admiration for strength which increased as the eighteenth century waned would soon have freed men from the polished Bolognese. Far from it; they exerted a sort of spell far into the nineteenth century. Then at last depth and sincerity of feeling, and naïveté, became the watch-words of art-criticism, and Guido and his associates were banished. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*[3]

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[1] Coulanges (a cousin of Madame de Sévigné) who was in Italy in 1657 and 1658, maintains (cf. *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges*, publiés par M. de Monmerqué [Paris, 1820], p. 18): the Italians think Pietro "emporte la palme sur tous les autres," and popes, cardinals, and princes regard his paintings "avec un estime sans pareille." Lione Pascoli, in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni* (Rome, 1730), says of Pietro (Vol. I, p. 3): "Ed in vero chi in maggior copia più di lui, e con maggior facilità, e franchezza ha dipinto cose grandi . . . . Aveva il fuoco ne' colori, la veemenza nelle mani, l' impeto nel pennello." Even Cochin—of whom more later—in his *Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre*, and in other works shows a foible for him. Pietro's reputation waned, however, long before that of the Bolognese. Heinrich Meyer, in his *Entwurf einer Kunstgeschichte des 18ten Jahrhunderts* (1805), praises the latter, but attacks Pietro.

[2] Cf. *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, with a Memoir by Beechy, Vol. I (London, 1899), pp. 371f. It is interesting, in this connection, to note Diderot's attitude toward Michel Angelo. In his "Pensées detachées sur la peinture, la sculpture, l'architecture et la poésie," *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. Assézat, Vol. XII (Paris, 1876), p. 118, he says: "Qui est-ce qui a vu Dieu? c'est Raphaël, c'est le Guide. Qui est-ce qui a vu Moïse? c'est Michel-Ange." And later (p. 132): "Il faut copier d'après Michel-Ange, et corriger son dessin d'après Raphael."

[3] The best representative of this hybrid attitude is Diderot. In his "Pensées detachées" (*loc. cit.*, p. 118) he says: "La colère du Saint Michel du Guide est aussi noble, aussi belle que la douleur du Laocoon." And in another place: "Il n'y a, à proprement parler, que

Throughout the eighteenth century, however, besides Raphael and the Bolognese, a few other masters of the High Renaissance throned in the realm of art. Titian and Correggio were felt to be the rivals of the greatest. Correggio charmed by his infinite grace; Titian by his marvelous coloring. Paolo Veronese, too, delighted because of the elegance of his figures, and Giulio by his ability as a technician. Lionardo, Tintoretto, Andrea del Sarto found favor, although in a lesser degree. Even Perugino and Mantegna, the former as the teacher of the "divine" Raphael, the latter as the instructor of Correggio, were deemed worthy of study. Here and there a good-natured critic or traveler has a kind word for Giorgione or for Fra Bartolomeo, or even for Bellini. Giotto is often mentioned as the founder of modern pictorial art, and occasionally someone has heard that Masaccio had something to do with the improvement of the technique of painting. But nobody is so barbarous as to waste time on Fra Angelico, Botticelli, the Lippis, Luca Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, Carpaccio—not to speak of less prominent men like Gentile da Fabriano, Cima, etc. To be sure, the names of these men occasionally occur, and the ignorant, who praise everything, praise even them. But those who know the *bon goût* are aware that almost all art which antedates Raphael is "Gothic."[1]

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trois grands peintres originaux, Raphaël, le Dominiquin et le Poussin. Entre les autres, qui forment pour ainsi dire leur école, il y en a qui se sont distingués par quelque qualités particulières" (*Œuvres*, Vol. X, p. 374).

[1] This word has an interesting history. In the eighteenth century it was applied to the painting, sculpture and architecture which developed in various parts of Europe after the decay of the Roman Empire and before about 1500. The Goths, meaning the barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire, stood to the seventeenth and a large part of the eighteenth century for everything that is brutal and savage. Hence "Gothic" was tantamount to "crude, barbarous." Vasari (*Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori.* Con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi [Firenze, 1878–81], Vol. I, pp. 138 ff.) says: "Ecci un' altra specie di lavori che si chiamano tedeschi . . . . Questa maniera fu trovata dai Goti, che . . . . fecero dopo coloro che rimasero le fabbriche di questa maniera . . . . e riempierono tutta Italia di questa maledizione di fabbriche." For generation after generation nobody dared to differ with the famous biographer. As late as 1778 J. G. Sulzer explains in his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*" (2d ed. Vol. II, [Leipzig, 1792], pp. 433 ff.): "Man bedienet sich dieses Beyworts [i. e., "gothisch"] in den schönen Künsten vielfältig, um dadurch einen barbarischen Geschmak anzudeuten; wiewohl der Sinn des Ausdruks selten genau bestimmt wird. Fürnehmlich scheinet er eine Unschiklichkeit, den Mangel der Schönheit und guter Verhältnisse, in sichtbaren Formen anzuzeigen, und ist daher entstanden, dass die Gothen, die sich in Italien niedergelassen, die Werke der alten Baukunst auf eine ungeschikte Art nachgeahmt haben. Dieses würde jedem noch halb barbarischen Volke begegnen, das schnell zu Macht und Reichthum gelanget, eh' es Zeit gehabt hat, an die Cultur des Geschmaks zu denken. Also ist der gothische Geschmak

Architecture was gaged by the same standard as painting. Antiquity had established the norm in this department of artistic activity, as it had in all others. Hence only those architects who were influenced by the "regular" forms were respected. The Byzantine, the Romanesque, the Gothic, the Moorish styles were all branded "Gothic." The sovereign master of the regular style was, however, Palladio, and his work was, therefore, perfect.[1]

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den Gothen nicht eigen, sondern allen Völkern gemein, die sich mit Werken der zeichnenden Künste abgeben, ehe der Geschmak eine hinlängliche Bildung bekommen hat . . . . Darum nennt man nicht nur die von den Gothen aufgeführten plumpen, sondern auch die abentheuerlichen und mit tausend unnützen Zierrathen überladenen Gebäude, wozu vermuthlich die in Europa sich niedergelassenen Saracenen die ersten Muster gegeben haben, gothisch. Man findet auch Gebäude, wo diese beyde Arten des schlechten Geschmaks vereiniget sind. In der Mahlerey nennt man die Art zu zeichnen gothisch, die in Figuren herrschte, ehe die Kunst durch das Studium der Natur und des Antiken am Ende des XV. Jahrhunderts wieder hergestellt worden . . . . Es scheinet also überhaupt, dass der gothische Geschmak aus Mangel des Nachdenkens über das, was man zu machen hat, entstehe." For details on the history of the word, cf. G. Lüdtke: "Gothisch im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung*, Vol. IV, (1904), pp. 133 ff. In addition to the passages given by Lüdtke, a few more which have come under my observation may here find a place as further illustration of the ignorance in regard to the history of art on the part of the eighteenth-century public.

The most amusing proof of confusion is perhaps the following utterance by a Swedish writer, C. A. Ehrensvärd. He says, in his *Resa til Italien, 1780, 1781, 1782:* Skrifven 1782 i Stralsund; ny uplaga (Stockholm, 1819), p. 29: "Uti arabesquerne i Pompeji och Herculanum är Gothiska architecturen målad; man ser derigenom huru litet man har fog at kalla den Göthisk." ("In the arabesques in Pompeii and Herculaneum are represented specimens of Gothic architecture; we perceive from this fact how little justification there is for calling them Gothic.") Gray, the poet, cultured man though he was, calls the Doge's palace at Venice "in the Arabesque manner," *Works*, ed. Ed. Gosse, Vol. II. (New York, 1890), p. 255, Fr. von Stolberg, as late as 1791, claims: "aus Spanien kam die gothische Architektonik über Frankreich nach Deutschland (*Gesammelte Werke der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Grafen zu Stolberg*, Vol. VII [Hamburg, 1827], p. 72). Students of Diderot remember that the most withering epithet of contempt he could hurl in his rage at his cowardly printer who had emasculated some of D.'s most seditious articles in the *Encyclopedia* was "Ostro-Goth." Ignorance concerning the nature of Gothic is further attested by Horace Mann, the correspondent of Sir Horace Walpole, who innocently believed W.'s garden at Strawberry Hill to be Gothic (cf. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Cunningham, Vol. II [London, 1891], p. 327). Here the word is used without opprobrium. Walpole himself as early as 1753 implies admiration in using the word. He writes to Bentley (*Letters*, Vol. II, p. 351) of the "charming venerable Gothic scene" presented by the buildings at Oxford during a moonlight night. A change of attitude toward the Middle Ages naturally spread the interpretation of the word as used by Walpole. By way of contrast, let us remember that Ruskin, in the *Stones of Venice* ("Torcello," §5; omitted in the Brantwood edition), uses "Gothic energy and love of life" as a term of highest approbation.

[1] Palladio's influence was particularly powerful in England. Inigo Jones (1573–1652), the creator of modern English architecture, was twice in Italy, where he enthusiastically studied the works of Palladio. He later introduced the Palladian style into England, to the almost total exclusion of national traditions. He was encouraged by the nobility, although the middle classes compelled him at times to build more nearly in the spirit of Gothic architecture. One of Jones's most remarkable classical buildings is the villa in Chiswick, Middlesex, an imitation of the Villa Rotonda by Palladio. Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), the architect of St. Paul's, rebuilt London, after the great fire of 1666, largely in the spirit of Palladio. In the eighteenth century James Gibbs (1682–1754) and

In sculpture also antiquity was regarded as the only model. To be sure, much confusion prevailed here, as in other departments of art-criticsm. Ghiberti, Donatello, even Michel Angelo, were looked upon as barbarous or semi-barbarous, while the sculptures on mediæval churches appeared merely absurd or disgusting. In the seventeenth century and during a part of the eighteenth the hollow skill of Bernini charmed, but later a new interpretation of antiquity, introduced mainly by Winckelmann, swept him aside and more firmly than ever established the Greeks.

The first important and widely known book which helped to promulgate the views of Italian art set forth above is Richardson's *An account of some of the statues, basreliefs, drawings, and pictures in Italy, &c. With remarks* (London, 1722).[1] The tone throughout is chatty and yet lifeless, and the whole treatise appears much like a catalogue. Let us take from it the pas-

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Colin Campbell (died 1729) were exponents of the same taste. C. is the author of the famous *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1717–25), an important source for our knowledge of the architecture of the time. The title shows how familiar the name of Palladio's teacher and model was to that generation. Campbell's Mereworth Castle in Kent (1723) and Goodwood House (1724–31) strongly bear the imprint of Palladio (cf. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils, des Rococo und des Klassicismus*, II. Abt., I. Teil, "Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England" [Stuttgart, 1888], pp. 313 ff.).

In 1776 appeared *Le fabbriche, ed i disegni di Andrea Palladio*, "raccolti ed illustrati da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi"—an enormous work in four folio volumes. A second edition appeared as late as 1843–46, showing how powerful was Palladio's name even after a movement in favor of Gothic had strongly asserted itself. The reaction against Palladio, violent in proportion to the exaggerated estimate of him, found most adequate expression in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (cf. especially his criticism of S. Giorgio Maggiore, in Brantwood ed., Vol. II, pp. 242 f.). His most succinct characterization of Palladio occurs, however, in *Modern Painters* (first American ed., Vol. IV [N. Y., 1857], p. 65): "The architecture of Palladio is wholly virtueless and despicable."

[1] Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665–1745) was a famous painter and art-critic, the friend of Pope, Prior, Gay, and other notables. Besides his book on art, he published verses and a work on Milton which established his reputation among men of letters. His pupil, Thomas Hudson, was the teacher of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Both Reynolds and Hogarth are said to have owed R. valuable inspiration. Examples of his work as a portrait-painter are to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery in London, and chalk-drawings by him in the print-room of the National Gallery. In 1715 he issued his *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, and in 1719 *An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism in Relation to Painting* and *An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*. The *Theory of Painting* for many years was the standard work on the subject. In 1722 appeared the *Account of some of the statues*, etc., based on material compiled by R.'s son, but edited by the father. This work was for a long time regarded as an important authority, and is referred to by Lessing and Winckelmann. It was several times reprinted and in 1728 was translated into French. As the French edition was "revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée . . . . par les auteurs," it is more important than the original, and I shall quote from it only.

sages most important for our purposes. In Milan Richardson admires Lionardo's "Last Supper" in frosty fashion. In Bologna he gives expression to his admiration for all the Bolognese masters, including Guercino. In Florence the bronze doors by Ghiberti seem to him worthy of note, although "il y a un peu du goût gothique dans les draperies." The door by Andrea Pisano is "dans le goût gothique de son temps." In the Uffizi the works of the early masters make no impression on him. Of "L'Adoration des Mages," by Botticelli, he simply says: "Les anges, et plusieurs autres choses, en sont rehaussés d'or." Of Ghirlandajo's "La Circoncision" we read, however: "Les airs et les attitudes en sont nobles et naïves" (a strong bit of praise for a critic of that time). Yet all these pictures, for Richardson, serve only as a foil for the works of Raphael. The "Concerto," by Giorgione, Richardson describes in the following fashion: "Martin Luther (!) qui touche un clavessin, sa femme est à son coté et Bucer (*sic*) derrière lui." He tells us nothing of the Giottos in Sta. Croce, nor does he mention Sta. Maria Novella nor S. Marco. He has much admiration, however, for Andrea del Sarto and even for Michel Angelo as a sculptor. On the description of Rome he bestows 500 pages, while 80 sufficed to exhaust a discussion of Florence. He devotes much space to a description of the remnants of antiquity in Rome, has great praise for Raphael and unbounded admiration for the Carracci frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese. The most striking artist, however, is Correggio. The paintings on the side-walls of the Sistine Chapel receive no comment from him, except that they are "fort gatées." (All travelers of the eighteenth century, including Goethe, share this indifference toward those masterpieces.) Nor do the frescoes of the ceiling, nor the "Last Judgment," satisfy him. Michel Angelo might have been something altogether remarkable, we are told, but he was gloomy and too much like his favorite poet Dante. He was "un génie extravagant; . . . . il lui manquait une solidité d'esprit, aussi-bien qu'une certaine politesse de jugement." Remarkably enough, Richardson appreciates Pinturicchio (both the frescoes in the Maria del Popolo and in Rome in the "library" of the Dome of Siena). Titian meets with his approval, as, of course, does

Giulio Romano (especially for his frescoes in the Palazzo del T in Mantua).[1]

Richardson's book was eclipsed about the middle of the century by another, far more readable and brilliant, written by one of the most influential art-critics of the last two centuries, Charles Cochin. His *Voyage d'Italie* appeared in 1758, and very soon took rank among the most important works on art of the time. It was often reprinted, in 1776 was translated into German, and altogether was the most powerful barrier, in France at least, to the spread of interest in early Christian art.[2]

Let us select from it a few of the most significant passages.

In Ravenna the mosaics of S. Vitale appear to Cochin merely "fort mauvaises." The early Florentine school he dismisses with a few words, and the early Sienese masters escape his notice altogether. He vouchsafes no discussion of Giotto and Orcagna, and deems it beneath his dignity to comment on Fra Angelico, the Lippis, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, etc. The frescoes in the Campo Santo in Pisa, he tells us, are specimens of the old school, and "par conséquent mauvaises." The older Venetian masters are hardly more to his liking. Carpaccio, he thinks, has merit, but is dry. Of the Bellini in S. Zaccaria in Venice—that favorite of Ruskin—he merely says "assez beau, d'une manière très-douce et très-fondue; on y trouve beaucoup de vérités, mais froides." Even Giorgione is an object of but mediocre interest to him.

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[1] Richardson's intolerable pedantry appears best, perhaps, in the *Theory of Painting*. Here he claims (in the subdivision entitled "Of Invention") that nothing absurd, indecent, or mean; nothing contrary to religion or morality, must be put into a picture, or even hinted at. He further gives it as his opinion that, before a painter starts his picture, he should write out the story of it (!). In the *Essay on the Art of Criticism* (in the subdivision entitled "Of the Goodness of a Picture") he supplements this utterance by another of the same character; for here he assures us that, if the story of a picture fill the mind with noble and instructive ideas, he would not hesitate to pronounce it excellent, even if the drawing be as faulty as that of Correggio, Titian, or Rubens. All this from one of the leading art-critics of the time!

[2] Charles Nicolas Cochin, descended from a family of well-known engravers, was born in Paris in 1715 and died there in 1790. He followed his father's profession, and soon rose to great eminence. In 1749 Madame de Pompadour chose several men, among them Cochin, to go to Italy with her brother, the Marquis de Vandières, who was later made *directeur général des bâtiments.* This was the beginning of a brilliant career for Cochin. In 1751 he was made a member of the Academy, in 1752 was appointed *garde des desseins du Roi*, in 1755 *historiographe et secrétaire* of the Academy, in 1757 he was ennobled, and soon after was created *chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Michel.* It now became Cochin's ambition to make himself a power in art-criticism. For this reason he published his *Voyage d'Italie*; *ou. Recueil de notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1758), based on notes collected during his trip in the South. The book instantly gave him much prestige. Diderot said of it soon after its appearance: "Il ne faut pas aller en Italie sans avoir mis ce voyage dans son porte-manteau". Other works of a critical character helped to strengthen his position, so that at last he became the monarch of French taste. In all his writings he pleaded for the *grand goût* as opposed to Rococo. As an etcher, however, he stands as the most adequate interpreter of all the graces and prettinesses, of the elegance and frivolity, characteristic of the court of Louis XV. From 1741 on, his plates—and their name is legion—came to be regarded as invaluable. Even Diderot granted him the very first place among French etchers. In course of time the *grand goût* which he himself had helped to establish, crowded out Rococo, and Cochin—the brilliant exponent of it with the stencil—lost his distingnished position among artists. His influence in criticism, however, was felt in France until almost the middle of the nineteenth century (cf. S. Rocheblave, *Les Cochin* [Paris, no date], and Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *L'art du XVIIIme siècle*, deuxième série [Paris, 1882]; pp. 327 ff.).

The masters of the High Renaissance appear to Cochin vastly more important. Andrea del Sarto, especially the Madonna del Sacco, greatly attracts him. Much greater than Andrea is, of course, Raphael. As the *Voyage* does not deal with Rome—on the plea that a special work would be needed to do justice to that metropolis of art—Cochin has comparatively little opportunity to discuss him. In Bologna, however, the Sta. Cecilia, and in Florence the Madonna della Sedia, delight him. More important than his utterances on Raphael are his remarks on the later Venetians, as no one had so greatly appreciated their artistic importance before. Paolo is the greatest painter for "la composition raisonnée d'un tableau (a significant phrase)." Cochin has unstinted praise for Titian, and Tintoretto fascinates him in spite of faults.[1] Of Correggio we read: "La nature seule l'a guidé, et sa belle imagination a sçu y découvrir ce qu'elle a de plus séducteur." Even Pietro da Cortona attracts him. His favorites, however, are the Bolognese. Through them, he claims, "la peinture est arrivée au plus haut degrès de perfection." Cochin's view of architecture implies as much contempt of the Middle Ages as does his view of painting. Of the dome of Pisa he records "une grande Eglise assez belle, l'extérieur en est gothique, tout bâti de marbre, et orné, sans goût, de colonnes de toutes sortes de marbres;" while the dome of Milan is to him "le comble de la folie du travail des Architectes Gothiques."

Cochin's powerful influence was in Germany supplemented, and soon supplanted, by that of Raphael Mengs.[1] His essays on art must be regarded, together with the works of Cochin, as the most adequate expression of the art-tenets of the eighteenth century. He voices the same principles as Cochin—with this modification, that here and there a broader attitude toward the art of the early Renaissance is faintly foreshadowed. So he says of Giotto: "Seine Umrisse sind trocken, die Falten seiner Gewänder zu abgebrochen, allein seine Farben ungemein lebhaft." Of Masaccio he grants: "Sein Geschmack nähert sich Raphael mehr als der übrigen Maler jener Periode. Seine Draperien sind grösser und nicht so abgebrochen, wie bei Giotto." Masaccio, furthermore, had more expression than his predecessors and contemporaries. Other early masters fare less well with Mengs. Verocchio was the teacher of Lionardo, but, Mengs adds, "malte in einem sehr trockenen Geschmack." Lionardo had good points, but his works are sometimes "etwas platt." "Seine Charaktere [sind] nicht immer edel und die Falten der Gewänder etwas abgebrochen." Mengs has only partial admiration for Andrea, while he notes of Michel Angelo: "Sein Colorit ist grau, sein Helldunkel zu gleichförmig." His men are excellent, but his women lack grace. Later artists are far greater favorites with Mengs. Correggio, in contrast with the "trockene Geschmack" of his teacher Mantegna, was conspicuous for charming, though often incorrect, drawing and for "Rundung." In his own way, Correggio was one of the greatest painters. He carried to consummation "was Lionardo da Vinci nur andeutete." In his oil-paintings he is to be compared only to the "göttliche Raphael." The Venetians, however, find less absolute favor with Mengs than they did with Cochin. Giorgione "zeichnete in erhabenem Geschmack, aber nicht sehr correct, beinahe in der Manier Michael Angelo's." Titian is remarkable for his boldness of stroke. In his last period, however, his manner became "grob." Yet Mengs admits "die Wirkung seiner Gemälde ist wahr." He admires the color in Titian's best works, but modifies this bit of praise by adding that the drawing is generally incorrect. Mengs finds much to admire in Paolo Veronese, but adds: "seine nackten Figuren sind sehr steif und die Gesichtszüge der Köpfe abgeschmackt." Critical as Mengs is, he finds it difficult to bestow unstinted praise even on the Bolognese, great though his admiration is for them. Of Ludovico Carracci we read: "Sein Geschmack in der Composition ist gross, schön und edel, seine Zeichnung ausserordentlich anmuthig. Er hatte den herrlichen Geschmack, welchen wir an Correggio bewundern." His color, however, is less admirable, and his draperies are a bit monotonous. Augustino Carracci "besass ein ungemeines Talent, componierte sehr, und zeichnete äusserst correct," but his color is a bit too dark. Annibale Carracci's drawing is "grossartig und ziemlich correct, nur etwas zu rund." Of Guercino he tells us: "Sein Geschmack in der Composition ist frei und gut, seine Zeichnung grossartig, allein nicht sehr correct." His color and his draperies are only partially satisfactory.

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[1] Rocheblave has shown (op. cit., pp. 104 ff.) that throughout the pages of the *Voyage* is scattered a doctrine of art recommending the imitation of the Venetians at the expense of the "Roman school."

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[1] Mengs was born near Dresden in 1728, spent a large part of his life in Rome, and died there in 1779. He was for many years regarded as the most distinguished painter in Europe, and was often compared with Raphael. He was a friend of Winckelmann, and together with him for a time established in Rome, and from there in all Europe, the superiority of German influence. On Mengs cf. the article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie;* O. Harnack, *Deutsches Kunstleben in Rom im Zeitalter der Klassik* (Weimar, 1896), pp. 7 ff., 21 ff., *et passim;* Otto Harnack, *Essays und Studien zur Literaturgeschichte* (Braunschweig, 1899), pp. 192 ff. His works were first edited by G. N. d'Azara (2 vols.; Parma, 1780); another edition, with additions (Bassano, 1783); a new edition by C. Fea, corrected and enlarged, appeared in Rome in 1787. The first German translation, by C. F. Prange, appeared in Halle in 1786. I used A. R. Mengs's *Sämmtliche Schriften* . . . . neu übersetzt . . . . und herausgegeben von Schilling, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1843–44).

It is apparent, then, that throughout the century, in all parts of Europe, art-criticism, in spite of slight deviations in detail, agreed in regarding Raphael and the Bolognese as having reached the supreme height of artistic achievement. Other masters of the High Renaissance were ranked but little below them, while the representatives of the earlier periods were deemed unworthy of regard.

In order to understand how this fabric of art-criticism, apparently so strong and brilliant, could crumble, and in the nineteenth century be replaced by radically different views, we shall have to recall several of the great revolutionary tendencies of the eighteenth century.

The whole so-called romantic movement flows, as has often been pointed out, from a mighty reawakening of emotional life. Even in the French literature of the seventeenth century emotion here and there timidly comes to expression; as, for instance, in the letters of Madame de Sévigné and in the choruses of *Athalie*. At the threshhold of the eighteenth century we meet James Thompson, whose works, however tame to the modern reader, were the expression of a new impulse. Not long after the complete *Seasons* appeared the first three cantos of Klopstock's *Messias* (1748). Its enthusiastic reception proved to what an extent Germany craved emotional depth and seriousness. Somewhat later, emotional power—sometimes even to an extent incompatible with self-control—determines most of Diderot's views of life and art, as expressed in his *Salons* and elsewhere. Synchronous with Diderot's most revolutionary works are those of Rousseau, in which emotion ran riot, and which led to a complete subversion of the old order.

Concomitant with this upheaval in literature was the desire for a profounder and more genuine religious life than the seventeenth century had known. The disciples of Spener as early as 1689 started that great spiritual movement within the Protestant church, known as "Pietism," which gained such momentum upon the removal of A. H. Francke to Halle in 1694. Pietism was succeeded by the "Herrnhuter," who combined in 1727 for the purpose of stimulating in one another brotherly love and a purer Christian life. Some ten years later John Wesley started that powerful movement in favor of religious fervor within the English church, known as "Methodism." In 1762 Rousseau published his *Émile*, in the fourth book of which appeared the "Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard." Here all the pretenses of reason are rejected as hollow, and intuition is declared infallible.

As emotional life deepened, a new interpretation of the past forced itself upon the minds of men. A conviction arose that the period so long despised as "Gothic" might contain elements of deep inspiration. We need hardly concern ourselves with the early sporadic efforts of individual enthusiasts to acquaint their contemporaries with mediæval records. Suffice it to call to mind here that as early as 1734 Bodmer, the Swiss critic, published *Character Der Teutschen Gedichte*, and in 1743 *Von den vortrefflichen Umständen für die Poesie unter den Kaisern aus dem schwäbischen Hause.* A little later, between 1753 and 1759, he put forth—in very uncritical garb, to be sure—*Der Parcival*, parts of the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Minnesänger*. In 1755 Mallet gave to the world the first translation of the *Edda*, and another Frenchman, Sainte Palaye, issued the first volume of a large work *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* (1759). In 1760 the appearance of *Ossian* strongly contributed to the confused but genuine love for things mediæval which was so rapidly widening European culture. Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, which appeared soon after (1762), mark an important advance. For the author aims to prove "the pre-eminence of the Gothic manners and fictions, as adapted to the ends of poetry, above the classic." He has the boldness to prefer the Gothic manner to the heroic as found in Homer.[1] At the same time, the first step was taken in Germany toward a critical study of the national past. Möser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, which appeared in 1768, may be regarded as the first faint attempt at a historical study of the Middle Ages.

In 1764 appeared the first important novel with mediæval setting, Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, the forerunner of the works of Mrs. Radcliffe and Sir Walter Scott. Simultaneously there was created in Germany a form of poetry intended to reflect the spirit of the German past. In 1766 Gerstenberg published his *Gedicht eines Skalden*, which, though intensely crude, inspired works like Klopstock's patriotic dramas, *Hermannsschlacht* (1769), later followed by *Hermann und die Fürsten* and *Hermanns Tod*. Gleim, patriot-poet, four years after the appearance of the *Hermannsschlacht* issued poems in imitation of the minnesinger, and in 1779 another volume in imitation of Walther von der Vogelweide.

At about the time when Klopstock was inflaming German patriotism, an Englishman of culture called the attention of his countrymen to older periods of English literature. Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (Vol. I in 1774) marks a significant step in the Gothic Revival.

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[1] Cf. H. A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1899).

Not one of these admirers of the Middle Ages, however, betrayed any true conception of the character of the time. The first to convey such insight was Herder. His *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774) reads like a prophecy of the views promulgated about a generation later by the German Romantic School. The Germanic individuality and the tenets of Christianity, Herder claims, together created a new epoch in the history of mankind, the Middle Ages. "Wir wollens Gothischen Geist, Nordisches Ritterthum im weitesten Verstande nennen—grosses Phänomenon so vieler Jahrhunderte, Länder und Situationen." With all their faults, those times had the advantage over us moderns in point of health and of simplicity. In conscious opposition to Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, he continues: "Wie es auch sei, gebt uns in manchem Betracht eure Andacht und Aberglauben, Finsterniss und Unwissenheit, Unordnung und Rohigkeit der Sitten, und nehmt unser Licht und Unglaube, unsere entnervte Kälte und Feinheit." Later, in his great historical work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784 ff.)—the first attempt on a large scale at culture-history in the modern sense—Herder again does justice to the importance of the Middle Ages, though in less rhetorical a fashion, thus paving the way for a scientific appreciation of a despised period.

Nor was the Romantic School slow to take up the hints thrown off by Herder, and mediævalism became a watchword of German literature. The propaganda made by the Schlegels and Tieck for the mediæval, the historical works of Johannes Müller, and especially the sound contributions of the Grimms and their associates, ultimately led to a profound and critical understanding of mediæval culture.

The emotional element contained in the interest in the Middle Ages was mightily strengthened by the blending with it of that constantly growing religious enthusiasm which, as we saw, had modified the character of the Protestant church in the eighteenth century. When mediævalism had become almost a universal passion, it was natural that the religiously inclined should feel an increasing reverence for the church which so admirably embodied the very essence of mediæval civilization.

Two documents best reflect this mood, Novalis' essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (written 1799) and Chateaubriand's *Le génie du Christianisme* (1802). Novalis' remarkable work, written by one who never joined the Church of Rome, is not a plea for Catholic dogma, but exhibits, rather, a passionate appreciation of the sensuous beauty of Catholicism, and a Rousseau-like love for simple-mindedness and faith:

> Es waren schöne, glänzende Zeiten, wo Europa ein christliches Land war, wo eine Christenheit diesen menschlich gestalteten Welttheil bewohnte. . . . . Mit welcher Heiterkeit verliess man die schönen Versammlungen in den geheimnissvollen Kirchen, die mit ermunternden Bildern geschmückt, mit süssen Düften erfüllt und von heiliger, erhebender Musik belebt waren . . . . . Mit Recht widersetzte sich das weise Oberhaupt der Kirche frechen Ausbildungen menschlicher Anlagen auf Kosten des heiligen Sinns und unzeitigen, gefährlichen Entdeckungen im Gebiete des Wissens.

Similar in sentiment, but more scintillating in expression, is the panegyric on Catholic Christianity by that most brilliant representative of early French Romanticism, Chateaubriand. The *Génie du Christianisme* aims to obliterate the influence of Voltaire, and to return to the interpretation of history as represented by Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle.* The claim is here advanced that "de quelque côté qu'on envisage le culte évangélique, on voit qu'il agrandit la pensée, et qu'il est propre à l'expansion des sentiments." Side by side with this fervid Catholic fought for a time the versatile August Wilhelm Schlegel. In his *Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst* delivered in Berlin 1801–4, in the lecture entitled "Malerei," he arraigns the critical spirit of the Reformation and complains of the modern lack of religious feeling and the sense for mysticism. The spirit of chivalry he calls "eine mehr als glänzende, wahrhaft entzückende, und bisher in der Geschichte beyspiellose Erscheinung," and adds "nicht bloss äusserliche Ehrerbietung vor der Religion, sondern eine ungeschminkte innige Frömmigkeit, gehörte zu den Tugenden der Ritter."

It was natural that in an atmosphere charged to such an extent with love of the picturesque, the mystic, and everything mediæval, the architectural forms of the Middle Ages, especially the Gothic, should exert a constantly growing fascination. In England the Gothic traditions had never been altogether lost. Even Sir Christopher Wren, of whom we heard above as the representative of Palladianism, crudely imitated Gothic forms in the towers of Westminster Abbey and in two churches in London, St. Mary Aldermary and St. Dunstan's-in-the-East.[1] In 1741 Batty Langley published Part I of his *Ancient Architecture, restored and improved by a great variety of Grand and Useful Designs*, the whole work being entitled *Gothic Architecture*, with a dissertation "On the Ancient Buildings in this Kingdom." Its aim was to remodel Gothic architecture by the invention of five orders for that style, suggested by the styles of classical antiquity. However absurd this attempt may appear, it was a significant step in an important direction.

Stimulated, perhaps, by this new interest on the part of a professional architect, Sir Horace Walpole, the son of Robert Walpole and the friend of the poet Gray, about 1750 began to turn his villa at Strawberry Hill on the Thames into a miniature Gothic castle. He worked at this until 1770. Dilettante as the undertaking must seem today, it added a strong impulse to the reintroduction of Gothic architecture. In the meantime another was laboring more seriously in the same field. James Essex (1722–84) is perhaps the first architect whose work shows a correct appreciation of old English styles. He was engaged on a large book on the history of ecclesiastical architecture at the time of his death. James Wyatt (1746–1813) may be considered the real author of the revival of interest in Gothic forms in England. His rebuilding of the nave of Hereford Cathedral in 1786, and the erection of Fonthill Abbey in 1795, are among his most important works. About a generation after Wyatt's death (1821), Augustus Charles Pugin (1762–1832) began to publish his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*. In this and in other works, such as drawings made on a trip to Normandy (1825), by a careful study of Norman architecture he swept aside the dilettantism in matters of Gothic introduced by Walpole and his sympathizers. His great son, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), then established the mediæval throughout England.[1]

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[1] Cf. Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1872), pp. 33 ff.

When Pugin was building his famous structures—i. e., during the first decades of the nineteenth century—Germany also was experiencing a mighty revival of the Gothic. Here the interest in mediæval architecture, though powerful at the start, was for a time modified by the influence of Winckelmann, then burst into renewed ardor, though imitation of the Greek never quite disappeared. That the temper of the rising generation of Germany at the time Essex and Wyatt were at the height of their activity in England, was largely in the spirit of the Gothic forms, is best attested by Goethe's youthful panegyric on the Strassburg cathedral, entitled *Von deutscher Baukunst* (1772):

> Mit welcher unerwarteten Empfindung überraschte mich der Anblick als ich davor trat! Ein ganzer, grosser Eindruck füllte meine Seele, den, weil er aus tausend harmonirenden Einzelheiten bestand, ich wohl schmecken und geniessen, keineswegs aber erkennen und erklären konnte. Sie sagen, dass es also mit den Freuden des Himmels sei. Wie oft bin ich zurückgekehrt, diese himmlisch-irdische Freude zu geniessen, den Riesengeist unserer ältern Brüder in ihren Werken zu umfassen! Wie oft bin ich zurückgekehrt, von allen Seiten, aus allen Entfernungen, in jedem Lichte des Tags, zu schauen seine Würde und Herrlichkeit![2]

The author of *Götz von Berlichingen*, then, sees in this structure a monument of the national spirit of the glorious past. The enthusiasm voiced by this essay was bound again and again to assert itself in spite of the authority of Winckelmann, so prevalent in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. At the very time of Goethe's strong reaction in favor of Greek ideals,[3] Wilhelm Heinse, the author of the much-maligned *Ardinghello*, though himself an ardent adherent of the principles of Winckelmann, cannot suppress his genuine delight when viewing the same edifice that had inspired Goethe (1780):

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[1] For further references on Langley, Wyatt, Essex, and the Pugins see the respective articles in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] Hempel ed., Vol. XXVIII, p. 343. In 1775 he supplemented this essay by another entitled *Dritte Wallfahrt nach Erwins Grabe*, which is nothing more than a few pages of continued enthusiasm on Erwin, the builder of the Strassburg cathedral. (Hempel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 354 ff.)

Not even this early enthusiasm, however, implies on Goethe's part true understanding of the inherent nature of the Gothic. The young "Stürmer und Dränger," the author of the *Prometheus* and the *Faust*, admires the powerful personality which had conceived this mighty structure, rather than the edifice itself. At no time of his life, then, did he show an appreciation of the Gothic as a satisfactory art-form. (Cf. *Goethe's Werke*, ed. Heinemann [Leipzig and Wien, no date], Vol. XXII, Introduction by Harnack, p. 8.)

[3] How far the reaction against the Gothic could go is shown by Goethe's *Bemerkungen zu Meyers Aufsatz "Ueber Lehranstalten der bildenden Künste"* (cf. Weimar ed., Vol. XLVII, p. 333): "Wer fühlte wohl je in einem barbarischen Gebäude, in den düstern Gängen einer gothischen Kirche, eines Schlosses jener Zeit, sein Gemüth zu einer freien thätigen Heiterkeit gestimmt?"

> Oben vor Sarburg erblickt man auf einmal noch zehn Stunden davon den Strassburger Thurm, der wie eine ungeheure Fichte, wunderbar noch von dem Riesengeschlecht der ersten Welt, in dem kleinen, neuern Wald, der davorliegt, entzückend frisch, und gesund und schlank zum Himmel emporsteigt . . . . . Der Münster hat die lebendigste Form, die ich noch irgend je an einem Gebäude gesehen.[1]

Nor was Heinse's admiration roused solely for the mediæval structures of his own country. Three years later, on his return from Rome, at the time when his love for antiquity had reached its zenith, he speaks with appreciation of S. Zeno in Verona, that fascinating Romanesque church which the eighteenth century (including Goethe) despised;[2] moreover, he calls the dome of Milan "das herrlichste Sinnbild der christlichen Religion."[3]

Even before Heinse, however, the painter J. H. Wilhelm Tischbein had exhibited great originality of taste in praising the dome of Milan, the building which Cochin regarded as the apex of Gothic folly:

> Das ist ein heiliger Wald, von der Kunst aufgestellt, von Gottes Geiste bewohnt, ... Von magischer Wirkung in dieser grossen Kirche ist die Dämmerung, welche durch die hohen, gemalten Fenster auf die Bildhauereien fällt.[4]

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[1] On Wilhelm Heinse, whom we now regard as the most important art-critic between Diderot and Friedrich Schlegel, cf. K. D. Jessen, *Heinses Stellung zur bildenden Kunst und ihrer Aesthetik* (Berlin, 1901); for the passage referring to the Strassburg Cathedral, Jessen, pp. 48 f. Cf. also Sulger-Gebing, *Wilhelm Heinse* (München, 1903).

[2] Cf. Jessen, *loc. cit.*, p. 138.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 108. In the first volume of his *Ardinghello*, that panegyric on the art of the High Renaissance, he again takes occasion to speak with praise of large Gothic churches. (Cf. Jessen, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.)

[4] Cf. *Aus meinem Leben*, von J. H. Wilhelm Tischbein, hrsg. von Carl G. W. Schiller (Braunschweig, 1861), Vol. II, pp. 3 ff. The originality of Tischbein and Heinse is thrown into proper relief by Goethe's bitter onslaught on the architecture of this building. In the *Teutsche Merkur* for October, 1788, pp. 38 ff., appeared his essay entitled "Zur Theorie der bildenden Künste—Baukunst" (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXIV, pp. 515 ff.), in which he says: "Leider suchten alle nordischen Kirchenverzierer ihre Grösse nur in der multiplizirten Kleinheit. Wenige verstanden diesen kleinlichen Formen unter sich ein Verhältniss zu geben, und dadurch wurden solche Ungeheuer wie der Dom zu Mailand, wo man einen ganzen Marmorberg mit ungeheuren Kosten versetzt und in die elendesten Formen gezwungen hat, ja noch täglich die armen Steine quält, um ein Werk fortzusetzen, das nie geendigt werden kann, indem der erfindungslose Unsinn, der es eingab, auch die Gewalt hatte, einen gleichsam

Others were soon to take up this note. Georg Forster, scholar and traveler, in 1790 visited Cologne and spoke of the dome—although at that time it was in a fragmentary and unsatisfactory condition—as a glorious temple. He experiences there "die Schauer des Erhabenen." He adds: "Die Pracht des himmelan sich wölbenden Chors hat eine majestätische Einfalt, die alle Vorstellung übertrifft." A Greek temple is the very symbol of harmony and refinement, but in a building like the great dome "schwelgt der Sinn im Uebermuth des künstlerischen Beginnens." Gothic churches, when compared with Greek structures, seem like "Erscheinungen aus einer anderen Welt, wie Feenpaläste." He deeply regrets the unfinished and dilapidated state of the dome: "Wenn schon der Entwurf, in Gedanken ergänzt, so mächtig erschüttern kann, wie hätte nicht die Wirklichkeit uns hingerissen!"[1]

But the ones through whose works this enthusiasm was to reach its culmination were the brilliant brothers, Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel. Their essays and lectures, soon so widely disseminated throughout Germany, created a passion for the architectural masterpieces of the Middle Ages which affected high and low, and at last and forever established Romanesque and Gothic forms as equal in every respect, if indeed not superior, to the Greek. Friedrich, in his "Grundzüge der deutschen Baukunst, auf einer Reise durch die Niederlande, Rheingegenden, die Schweiz und einen Theil von Frankreich. In dem Jahre 1804 bis 1805,"[2] says:

> Ich habe eine grosse Vorliebe für die gothische Baukunst; wo ich irgend ein Denkmahl, irgend ein Ueberbleibsel derselben fand, habe ich

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unendlichen Plan zu bezeichnen." As late as 1830, long after he had been in contact with the views of the Boisserées, he called this structure "eine Marmorhechel," and significantly adds: "Ich lasse nichts von der Art mehr gelten als den Chor zu Köln; selbst den Münster nicht." (Cf. G.-J., Vol. III, p. 10.) Moreover, the *Guide des étrangers dans Milan* (Milan, 1786), a book intended to glorify the beauties of the city, says of the dome: "L'Eglise Metropolitaine, quoiqu'elle ne soit certainement pas un monument du goût, ne mérite pas moins d'être observée par un voyageur curieux." Also Valéry, in his *Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie* (Brussels, 1835), a favorite guidebook of the time, says of the same church: "Le Dôme, avec ses cent aiguilles et les trois mille statues que l'on y voit perchées, n'est qu'un enorme colifichet, plus hardi, plus extraordinaire que beau" (p. 35).

[1] Cf. "Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich," *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Leipzig, 1843), Vol. III, pp. 26 ff.

[2] *Werke* (Wien, 1846), Vol. VI, pp. 179 ff.

es mit wiederhohltem Nachdenken betrachtet; denn es scheint mir als hätte man ihren tiefen Sinn und die eigentliche Bedeutung derselben noch gar nicht verstanden.

Greek architecture, he continues, has its advantages, but "die altdeutsche Baukunst [meaning the Gothic] verdient es wenigstens gewiss, dass man ihre noch unerforschte Tiefen zu ergründen strebe." Hence he speaks with deep veneration of Nôtre Dame, of the city hall of Louvain, and of the dome of Cologne.[1]

August Wilhelm Schlegel, in his "Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur"[2] (delivered in 1808 at Vienna) also touches upon the subject of Gothic architecture.[3] The Renaissance, he tells us, brought with it contempt for Gothic architecture. The Italians might be pardoned for such a view; "wir Nordländer aber wollen uns die mächtigen ernsten Eindrücke beim Eintritt in einen gothischen Dom nicht so leicht wegschwatzen lassen." He adds very wisely: "Das Pantheon ist nicht verschiedener von der Westminster-Abtei oder der Sct. Stephankirche in Wien, als der Bau einer Tragödie von Sophokles von dem eines Schauspiels von Shakspeare." Each is admirable in its way.

Stimulated by such utterances, Germany soon turned her attention to her mediæval remains as she never had done before. Sulpitz and Melchior Boisserée, partly through the encouragement of Friedrich Schlegel, devoted their energy to the interpretation of the older German art and architecture, and in 1810 even won over Goethe.[4] As a result of Sulpitz's labors, the most majestic Gothic structure in Germany, the dome of Cologne, was completed in the spirit of its original architect.

In France, too, after gropings in the eighteenth century, love for the mediæval was ultimately established. Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79) labored for forty years with his pen and in his capacity as *inspecteur général* to save mediæval buildings from ruin and neglect. At the same time, representatives of *belles-lettres*, too, were seized with love for mediæval architecture. So Prosper Mérimée wrote articles calculated to stimulate love for the antiquities of France, like his *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen âge, particulièrement en France* (1837), and his treatise entitled *L'Église de St. Savin* (1845).

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[1] In his *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur* (printed in 1815) he compares the mediæval epics with the great monuments of Gothic architecture.

[2] First printed in 1809–11. *Werke* (Leipzig, 1846), Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.

[3] As early as 1805 A. W. Schlegel wrote his sonnet "Der Dom zu Mailand," in which he expresses profound admiration for this building.

[4] On the brothers Boisserée, see article in *A. D. B.* and *Sulpitz Boisserée* (Stuttgart, 1862), 2 Vols.

It is clear that the views of Richardson, Cochin, and Mengs could not long continue to flourish at a time when all things mediæval were daily growing in intensity of fascination, and when emotional life was marvelously increasing in inwardness. While Cochin looked, in art, for technical mastery, intellectuality, and an adequate expression of refined worldliness, by the end of the eighteenth century an instinct had strongly asserted itself to turn to art for the manifestation of that mysticism, of that genuineness of feeling, of that spiritual depth, which had filled the author of *Parzival*, Dante,[1] and the builders of Nôtre Dame and the cathedral of Cologne. Hence Giotto, Fra Angelico, and even later masters like Perugino[2] were studied and revered as representatives of a lingering mediæval sentiment, not at all, as we should feel today, as bold and gifted innovators, as the exponents of an age constantly increasing in grasp of the phenomena of the visible world.[3]

The first feeble indications of such a change are found as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century. Even before Cochin and Mengs so forcibly formulated the *grand goût*, men appeared here and there in different countries who professed—or confessed, if you please—respect or even love for early Italian art. At the very time of Walpole's Gothic experiment, Gori, the great Florentine antiquarian, spoke with admiration of paintings on a background of gold, and Zanotti, the well-known Bolognese mathematician and connoisseur, condemned the mannerism of modern art and pointed to the simplicity of the older styles.[1] These feeble symptoms were soon followed by an admirable proof of true appreciation. An English artist, Thomas Patch, made careful drawings of the Masaccio frescoes in Sta. Maria del Carmine in Florence. These he etched and published in twenty-six plates, with the title *The Life of the Celebrated Painter Masaccio* (1770).[2] In 1772 he put out a series of etchings from the paintings of Giotto in the same church.[3]

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[1] The growth of interest in Dante, as is well known, was concomitant with the general growth of interest in mediævalism. Cf. Sulger-Gebing, "Dante in der deutschen Litteratur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, Vol. IX (1896), pp. 457 ff., and *ibid.*, Vol. X (1896), pp. 31 ff; also Hermann Oelsner, *Dante in Frankreich bis zum Endedes 18ten Jahr hunderts* (Berlin, 1898), chap. 3; also Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets* (New York, 1904), chaps. 5-7.

[2] Not the attitude toward the old Italian masters merely, but that toward the old German painters as well, especially toward Dürer, was affected by the new point of view. This does not, however, concern us here. (For further information cf. Helene Stöcker, *Zur Kunstanschauung des 18ten Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1904], pp. 100 ff.) It may be noted here that Herder and his group were enthusiastic for Dürer, and that later F. Schlegel and the Boisserées made a profounder understanding general.

[3] Because of this peculiar and characteristic view of the early Renaissance masters on the part of art-criticism of the first decades of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to sketch, cursorily at least, as was done above, the growth of mediævalism in the eighteenth century. We are still in need of a systematic and exhaustive study on that subject, undertaken from the comparative point of view.

Wilhelm Heinse, whom we met above as one of the appreciators of mediæval architecture, again appears among those who, in spite of dependence on Cochin and Mengs, here and there betray a genuine feeling for the art of the early Renaissance. During his visit to Italy (1780–83) he shows a total inability to understand Florentine painting. In his "Augenblickliche Anmerkungen auf meiner sehr schnellen Reise von Rom aus, ferner von Florenz nach Deutschland," he says (July 28, 1783): "Ihren [i.e., the Florentine] Mahlern fehlt es durchaus an schöner Gestalt und Form, und überhaupt an Verstand ein Ganzes schön und gross hervorzubilden," etc., etc.[4] This is quite in accordance with the teaching of Winckelmann. Nevertheless Heinse is the first traveler in Italy who speaks with admiration of the now famous Bellini in S. Zaccaria in Venice:

> Der Bellino von S. Zaccaria ist ein sehr interessantes Stück für die Geschichte. Die Venezianische Schule hat einen sehr braven Vorsteher gehabt. In den Figuren ist eine ähnliche Art Stil, wie bey Peter von Perugia, nur noch mehr Wahrheit und etwas Grösseres. Welch' ein

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[1] Cf. Rumohr, *Drey Reisen nach Italien* (Leipzig, 1832), pp. 25 ff. Unfortunately, I lack the material to verify these statements made by Rumohr.

[2] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, *sub* Patch; and John Doran, "*Mann*" *and Manners at the Court of Florence 1740–86* (London. 1776), Vol. II, p. 220.

[3] Modern criticism attributes these works to the school of Giotto rather than to the master himself.

[4] Taken from the MS diary of Heinse as yet unpublished, to part of which I had access through the kindness of Archivrat Schüddekopf, of Weimar.

Kopf ist hier der Alte linker Hand! er würde Tizianen selbst Ehre machen, so kräftig ist er gemahlt und so warm und feurig.[1]

To what an extent the interest in early art began to permeate even those circles most deeply affected by Winckelmann and Mengs appears in Goethe, who certainly, at the time of his Italian journey, was the representative *par excellence* of the classical spirit. To be sure, he, like Winckelmann, believed at all times in an ideal of beauty independent of time or nationality, and best represented by the Greeks. Among modern painters, Raphael most nearly attained such perfection. To Goethe, the early advocate of evolution, Raphael's predecessors, also, became interesting:

> Um ihn [Raphael] zu erkennen, ihn recht zu schätzen, und ihn auch wieder nicht als einen Gott zu preisen, der wie Melchisedech ohne Vater und Mutter erschiene muss man seine Vorgänger, seinen Meister ansehn. Diese haben auf dem festen Boden der Wahrheit Grund gefasst sie haben die breiten Fundamente, emsig, ja ängstl. gelegt, sie haben mit einander wetteifernd die Pyramide stufenweisse in die Höhe gebracht, bis zu letzt er, von allen diesen Vortheilen unterstützt, von einem himmlischen Genius erleuchtet die Spitze der Pyramide, den letzten Stein aufsetzte, über dem kein andrer, neben dem kein andrer stehn kann.[2]

Among these earlier masters three especially arouse his admiration: Mantegna, and in lesser degree Francia and Perugino. Of Mantegna he says:

> In der Kirche der Eremitaner habe ich Gemälde von Mantegna eines der älteren Mahler gesehen vor denen ich erstaunt bin! Was in den Bildern für eine scharfe sichre Gegenwart ist lässt sich nicht ausdrucken. Von dieser ganzen, wahren (nicht scheinbaren, Effecktlügenden, zur Imagination sprechenden), derben reinen, lichten, ausführlichen gewissenhaften, zarten, umschriebenen Gegenwart, die zugleich etwas strenges, emsiges, mühsames hatte gingen die folgenden aus wie ich gestern Bilder von Titian sah und konnten durch die Lebhafftigkeit ihres Geistes, die Energie ihrer Natur, erleuchtet von dem Geiste der Alten immer höher und höher steigen sich von der Erde heben und himmlische aber wahre Gestalten hervorbringen. Es ist das die Geschichte der Kunst und jedes der einzelnen grossen ersten Künstler nach der barbarischen Zeit.[3]

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[1] Cf. Jessen, loc. cit., pp. 134 f.

[2] "Tagebücher und Briefe Goethes aus Italien an Frau von Stein und Herder," *Schri ten der Goethe-Gesellschaft* (Weimar, 1886), p. 187. Cf., too Weimar ed. of Goethe, *Brie* Vol. VIII, p. 371.

[3] Loc. cit., pp. 114 f.

Francia he calls "gar ein respecktabler Künstler," and of Perugino he feels tempted to say "eine ehrliche deutsche Haut."[1]

It is less surprising that Herder, though at the time indifferent to painting, should in 1789, in a letter from Italy, speak of "alte heilige Anfänge der Kunst," upon viewing, in the Campo Santo in Pisa, the frescoes by Francesco da Volterra, erroneously attributed by him to Giotto.[2] Had Herder been in a happier mood in Italy, and had he been better prepared to understand Italian art, he might have left us more important comments on the early painters. By temperament he seemed destined to be a pathfinder in this field, as he proved to be in so many others.

Even scholars in criticism, naturally more dependent on convention, began, toward the end of the eighteenth century, to feel the breath of that new spirit which was revolutionizing literature and politics. So Lanzi, in his *Storia pittorica della Italia. Dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin pressso al fine del XVIII secolo*[3] has words of warm praise for Giotto, appreciates Masaccio as a great influence in the history of art, notes the beauty of the countenances of Fra Angelico's figures, is not indifferent to Giovanni Bellini's merits. All these men, however, are to him merely the forerunners of the golden age of art. How completely he is on a level with Cochin and Mengs in the essentials of art-criticism comes to the surface in the introduction (p. iii). Here he polemizes against former historians who went into minute details in describing the lives of lesser artists. It is different, he feels, with the "primi lumi dell' arte: in un Raffaello, in un Caracci par che anche le picciole cose prendan grandezza dal soggetto."[4]

Deeply rooted belief in the superiority of the Bolognese determines the views of another critic who, far better than even Lanzi, reflects the period of transition. Heinrich Meyer, "Goethe's prime minister in the Republic of Arts," is entirely unknown in English-speaking countries and not yet fairly appreciated even in his own.[1]

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 187. On this subject see also Heusler, *Goethe und die italienische Kunst* (Basel, 1891).

[2] Cf. Düntzer and F. G. Herder, *Herders Reise nach Italien* (Giessen, 1859), p. 379.

[3] Edizione terza, Bassano, 1809.

[4] Rumohr, in his *Drey Reisen*, claims that Lanzi in the introduction of the first and second editions (1792 and 1796) recommended to young painters the imitation of the older schools. I cannot verify this statement, as these two editions were not accessible to me. The introduction to the third edition contains no such passage.

Lanzi served as a model to Fiorillo, whose aim it was to describe every school of European art. His *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten* (Göttingen, 1798–1808) offers, however, nothing of sufficient originality to warrant a detailed treatment.

Meyer based his opinions on what was for the time a very extensive acquaintance with art, ancient and modern. His every word proves a desire for impartiality of judgment. This sense of justice is, however, everywhere coupled with a certain pedantry —his is a heavy flight—and an inability completely to break away from the school in which he was trained. Yet, in spite of faults, he manifests decided originality, and certainly more objectivity than most of his brilliant successors. He makes an effort to do justice to all schools. This ideal becomes manifest even in an early essay, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte der neueren bildenden Kunst.*[1] Here Meyer gives a short survey of the growth of Italian painting, speaks of the importance of Giotto, then touches upon Donatello, Ghiberti, Masaccio, and Brunelleschi—the most interesting representatives of what to him is merely an epoch of transition. He next adds a very short statement of the main facts of the history of Venetian painting—Giovanni Bellini is to him the first important figure; and lastly adds a few words on the "Roman" and "Lombard" schools. To the latter, we are informed, the Carracci and their disciples gave immortal luster. All these statements reflect, with slight modifications, the views of Meyer's contemporaries. He closes his essay, however, with a more detailed discussion of three artists—insignificant or even contemptible to the public of Cochin and Mengs: Bellini, Perugino, and Mantegna. With these, he evidently feels, his readers should be better acquainted. Bellini is no great genius,

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[1] Meyer was a Swiss. From 1778 to 1781 he took lessons in painting from Johann Caspar Füessli in Zürich, the same who had published Winckelmann's letters to his friends in Switzerland and Mengs' *Thoughts on Beauty and Taste in Painting.* So, during the formative years of his life, he came altogether under the spell of the Winckelmann-Mengs influence, which he never quite cast off. In 1784 he went to Italy. When Goethe met him in Rome (1786), Meyer had already made profound studies, and so impressed Goethe that the latter procured him a professorship in the "Freie Zeichenschule" in Weimar (1791). After another trip to Italy (1795–97), undertaken for the express purpose of further art studies, he collaborated with Goethe in an attempt on a large scale to acquaint the German public with all phases of art. Although, in continuance of the teachings of Winckelmann, the art of the ancients furnished the canon of criticism, considerable attention was given to the various phases of modern art. They labored at this task for many years, and in its spirit founded the *Propyläen.* Later their work in modern art was complemented, though in a very different sense, by that of the Schlegels. As Goethe and Meyer were in absolute accord, Meyer's views may be regarded as those of Goethe also, who thus, working constantly with Meyer, obtained a knowledge of Italian art infinitely greater than would appear from a perusal merely of the *Italienische Reise.* Proof of his extraordinary breadth of information on the subject is furnished first of all by the notes taken preparatory to his projected second trip to Italy (cf. Weimar ed. Vol. XXXIV, 2, pp. 192 ff.); furthermore by the appendix to *Benvenuto Cellini.* He here refers to Meyer's essay on Masaccio, and gives a "summarische Übersicht" of the predecessors of Cellini, in which men like Cimabue, Giotto, and especially Masaccio, are praised—yet regarded always as merely the forerunners of the great masters. In the *Geschichte der Farbenlehre: Geschichte des Kolorits seit Wiederherstellung der Kunst* he exhibited an astonishing acquaintance with even minute details of Italian painting. Not one of his contemporaries, in fact, controlled a greater amount of material than Goethe. Yet that he never outgrew Meyer's point of view is proved even in essays showing such mature and delicate insight as the one on Lionardi da Vinci's "Last Supper" (written 1818). Here Lionardi's predecessors and contemporaries are characterized as artists who worked "trefflich aber unbewusst . . . . Wahrheit und Natürlichkeit hat jeder im Auge, aber eine lebendige Einheit fehlt," etc. (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 503 f.). Even in the article on Mantegna's "Triumph of Cæsar" (written in 1823)—that masterpiece of interpretation—the epoch which produced M. is called one in which "eine sich entwickelnde höchste Kunst über ihr Wollen und Vermögen sich noch nicht deutliche Rechenschaft ablegen konnte" (cf. Hempel, Vol. XXVIII, p. 484). In 1826 he writes to Zelter, calling Giotto a "sinnlich-bildlich bedeutend wirkende Genius" (cf. *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, Vol. IV, p. 260).

> hingegen ist er gemässigt, stille, immer nüchtern, ein unbestechlicher Freund der Natur und der Wahrheit . . . . Einfalt und Innigkeit schmücken alle seine Bilder, und darum sind auch selbst die aus den frühern Jahren gefällig, ungeachtet sie noch in der alten trocknen Manier gearbeitet sind.

He subjoins a description of several of Bellini's works, among them the one in the sacristy of the Frari church and the one in S. Zaccaria, both in Venice. In the latter we find "grösseren und edleren Geschmack," in spite of occasional traces of the old style. Bellini's art reached its climax, however, in the "Christ at Emmaus."[2] Though Perugino, Meyer continues, remained more faithful to the old style, he deserves appreciation for re-introducing into painting some of that beauty and grace which had so long been absent from it. Raphael himself owed much of his greatness to Perugino. Again Meyer adds a description of several paintings. In Mantegna's style Meyer praises "äusserste Bestimmtheit." His earliest works are "hart, aber in einem hohen Grade geistreich" (a characteristic adjective for the critic of a time which knew *Kunstverstand*, but was but little acquainted with *Kunstgefühl*). Nevertheless, Mantegna never rose completely above the "Dürftigkeit und enge Beschränkung" of the older period and into untrammeled imitation of beauty. To prove his point, Meyer adds descriptions of some of Mantegna's characteristic productions.

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[1] Cf. Schiller's *Horen* for 1795, neuntes Stück.

[2] In S. Salvatore in Venice. It is doubtful to modern criticism whether this painting is by Bellini.

To one familiar with modern views a few dry chapters on early masters must seem unsatisfactory indeed. Yet Meyer's essay is epoch-making in the history of art-criticism as probably the earliest systematic attempt on the part of a critic of the academic school to arouse interest in neglected artists. In 1800 Meyer complemented this essay by another, entitled "Mantua im Jahre 1795,"[1] in which he takes occasion to speak in terms of praise of various works of Mantegna.

In the same year (1800) he had published a more pretentious treatise, entitled "Masaccio,"[2] which aimed to explain the position of Masaccio in the history of painting, and in which he therefore sketches the work of leading men before and after the author of the Carmine frescoes. In Giotto's pictures

> ging eine neue Welt auf, sie gefallen wegen der Einfalt in der Darstellung, wegen der Naivität ihrer Motive, obschon das Vermögen nachzuahmen gering, der Ausdruck schwach ist, und wissenschaftliche Kenntnisse gänzlich fehlen.

He adds, however:

> Ein überall durchscheinendes grosses Talent gewinnt unsere Zuneigung, und vergütet dasjenige reichlich was die strenge Kritik, gegen die Unvollkommenheit der Ausführung einzuwenden haben möchte.

Other masters, like Memmi, Gaddi, Orcagna, could not, Meyer insists, in spite of their improvements, rise "bis zum Schönen oder auch nur bis zum Zierlichen der Form." To make clear Masaccio's superiority over his predecessors, Meyer gives an appreciative description of some of Masaccio's frescoes. As, however, the full value of that painter can be understood only by a knowledge of his influence on the coming generation, Meyer next turns to a discussion of Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli and Ghirlandajo. The two last-named—Meyer treats them together—aimed at the representation of "das Natürliche." They were often "überschwenglich reich an Sachen," "doch macht die fromme Unschuld und naive Anspruchlosigkeit in ihrem Wesen, dass sie . . . . durch Einfalt gefallen." Ghirlandajo ist "äusserst wahrhaft." For Perugino Meyer claims "keiner hat mehr Gemüth und Innigkeit seinen Werken zu geben gewusst." All these artists learned from Masaccio. After him art improved technically, but lost "von Seiten des geistigen, bedeutenden Inhalts." He concludes with comments on Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Lionardo, and several masters of the High Renaissance.

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[1] *Propyläen*, Vol. III, zweites Stück.

[2] *Ibid* erstes Stück.

We miss in this treatise the names of Fra Angelico and Luca Signorelli, and therefore cannot claim for its author a mature grasp on the evolution of Italian painting. Its peculiar significance, however, lies in the degree of feeling shown for the charm of simplicity—an appreciation prophetic of the tenets of a new school of criticism, hostile in all respects to Cochin and Mengs.

How Janus-faced Meyer was in his views, how original, and yet how dependent on the age of rationalism, shows most clearly in his *Entwurf einer Kunstgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts.*[1] In it, by way of introduction, he sketches the history of art in the seventeenth century. Here the Bolognese are praised as warmly and as foolishly as ever they had been by former critics. Domenichino is "der edelste Sprössling der Carraccischen Schule," Guercino is conspicuous for "grosse Wirkung und naive Wahrheit" (!), and Guido for "die heitere Weise und wunderbare Meisterschaft seiner Behandlung." But even Meyer cannot abide Pietro da Cortona. In another place Meyer brands Giotto's works as "kunstlos;" nevertheless, he admits one finds in them "Gedanken, die ohne alle Schlacken sind, des grössten Künstlers der gebildeten Zeiten nicht unwerth." He even once speaks of "Giottos und Gaddis Geist, Orcagnas Ernst und Tiefsinn, da Fiesoles Frömmigkeit, Ghirlandajos Wahrheit."[2] Nowhere in Meyer's essays is found any concession to the principle, which at the time was being made popular by Wackenroder and Fr. Schlegel, according to which only religious art can lay claim to true inspiration and poetic worth. The child of rationalism could never have conceived such a notion and later even turned against it with severity,[1] when it threatened to control all criticism. Yet even Meyer himself once, at least, lapsed into a mood which strongly flavors of the ideas of the *Klosterbruder*. In a contribution to the *Propyläen*, entitled "Ueber Lehranstalten zu Gunsten der bildenden Künste," he says:

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[1] It appeared together with Goethe's *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1805).

[2] In notes in MS dealing with "Geschichte der Kunst" (found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar), Meyer remarks on Fra Angelico: "Andacht, Innigkeit und reine kindliche Einfalt sprechen wunderbar anmuthig aus seinen Werken."

> Wie günstig der christlich-religiöse Antrieb auf die bildenden Künste gewirkt hat, erhellet ferner daraus, dass sobald derselbe anfing schwächer zu werden, sie auch ihr höchstes Ziel erreicht hatten. Von dieser Zeit an suchten sie zu gefallen, oder eigentlich zu blenden und erhielten sich nur noch durch den Hang zur Pracht und Verschwendung.[2]

This from the worshiper of Domenichino and Guercino! Surely, the generation was feeling the breath of a new *Weltanschauung*.

And yet to what an extent dependence on the old standards prevailed far into the nineteenth century, and controlled persons very much more fierce and revolutionary of temperament than Meyer, is attested by certain essays by Stendhal.[3] In his *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* (1817) he reflects a point of view akin, in spite of differences, to that of Meyer. For, like him, he continues the tradition of admiration for the Bolognese, but he exhibits genuine and often intelligent interest in the men of the early Renaissance. Thus, Cimabue's figures at times betray "une expression étonnante." Giotto even went beyond his master, as evidenced, for instance, by the frescoes in Assisi. Yet, on the whole, "ses tableaux ont l'air barbare." Masaccio appears to him "homme de génie, et qui a fait époque dans l'histoire de l'art." It is the virility of the man which appeals to this forerunner of Nietzsche. Like Lanzi, he calls Fra Angelico, because of his sweetness, the "Guido Reni" of his time, but he is too "Giottoesque" to be the equal of Masaccio. Benozzo Gozzoli and Filippo Lippi appeal to him much more forcibly; nevertheless, the century which they represent is to Stendhal, as it was to Lanzi, merely a period of preparation. But he felt that toward its close there were symptoms of an advance, as proved by the character of some of the side-wall pictures of the Sistine Chapel. Thus Stendhal became a leader in the revival of interest in those works so unjustly overlooked by generations of critics and travelers. Like Cochin, and even like Ruskin in his youth, Stendhal has little enthusiasm for Botticelli. On the other hand, he finds kindred souls in Ghirlandajo and Luca Signorelli because of their realistic power. It must, therefore, be a subject of wonder that the marrowless skill of the Bolognese should appeal to him, as is apparent in his *Rome, Naples and Florence* (1817). Less strange is it that Cochin and his whole fabric of the *bon goût* should cease to be for Stendhal the last court of appeal, should even offer elements of amusement.[1]

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[1] In his essay *Neu-deutsche religios-patriotische Kunst*. Of all this more later.

[2] *Propyläen*, 1799, zweites Stück.

[3] Henri Beyle, known in literature as Stendhal (1783-1842), lived in Milan from 1814-1821, and later became French consul in Triest and in Cività Vecchia. He was passionately fond of Italy, and even preferred the Italians to his own countrymen. His chief importance lies less in his treatises on art than in his novels. For he is the forerunner of Balzac and Flaubert. I used for the *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* the "seule édition complète, entièrement revue et corrigée" (Paris, 1868); for the *Mélanges d'art et de littérature*, the edition Paris, 1867; for *Rome, Naples et Florence*, the edition Paris, 1865; for *Promenades dans Rome*, the "seule édition complète, augmentée de préfaces, et de fragments entièrement inédits" (Paris, 1873).

In Heinse, in Lanzi, in Meyer, and in Stendhal the rationalistic instinct successfully represses the romantic, and all do homage to the tradition which placed the Bolognese in the front rank of artists. The first to protest against such veneration was one of the most distinguished personalities in the art-life of England, Sir Joshua Reynolds. This great portrait-painter, we saw, was one of the path-finders in the appreciation of Michel Angelo's greatness. Strength appealed to him, and mincing sentimentality was foreign to him. Hence it happened that he became the first among critics to deal a severe blow to that school whose exaggerated sweetness had delighted the age of Samuel Richardson and of Gessner. In the fifteenth "discourse," delivered before the Royal Academy in London as early as 1790—in other words, before Lanzi and Meyer had put themselves on record—he declared:

> The Caracci, it is acknowledged, adopted the mechanical part with sufficient success. But the divine part which addresses itself to the imagination, as possessed by Michael Angelo and Tibaldi (!), was beyond

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[1] Cf. review, written in 1835, of Colomb's *Journal d'un voyage en Italie en 1828*, found in the volume entitled *Mélanges d'art et de littérature.*

their grasp; they formed, however, a most respectable school, a style more on the level, and calculated for a greater number.[1]

This utterance furnishes proof that before the end of the eighteenth century the time was becoming ripe for a school of criticism which would look for the "divine part" of painting far more than for the mechanical.

Indeed, at the very time when Reynolds thus expressed his dissatisfaction with the Carracci, a movement was being started in another part of Europe which ultimately swept away the rationalistic formula and established altogether new ideals.

Heinrich Meyer, the writer who occupied us above, tells us in his essay "Neu-deutsche, religios-patriotische Kunst,"[2] that about 1790 a strong interest in the older, simpler, and more religious masters arose among the German painters in Rome as a reaction against Mengs. Meyer says:

> Von unserm Tischbein,[3] woferne wir nicht sehr irren, ist nun zu allererst grössere Werthschätzung der ältern, vor Raphaels Zeit blühenden Maler ausgegangen. Dem Natürlichen, dem Einfachen hold, betrachtete er mit Vergnügen die wenigen in Rom vorhandenen Malereyen des Perugino, Bellini und Mantegna, pries ihre Verdienste und spendete vielleicht die Kunstgeschichte nicht gehörig beachtend, vielleicht nicht hinreichend mit derselben bekannt, ein allzufreygebiges Lob dem weniger geistreichen Pinturicchio der mit seinen Werken so manche Wand überdeckt hat. Tischbein und seinen Freunden wurde bald auch die von Masaccio ausgemalte Capelle in der Kirche St. Clemente bekannt. Zu gleicher Zeit forschte der gelehrte Hirt die in Vergessenheit gerathenen Malereyen des da Fiesole im Vatikan wieder aus, und Lips stach Umrisse von zwey solchen Gemälden in Kupfer.[4] Wiewohl nun das eben erzählte

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[1] Cf. *Works*, Vol. II, p. 109.

[2] First printed in Goethe's periodical *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Mayn- Gegenden* for 1817, Heft 2, pp. 5-62 and 133-62; reprinted in Seuffert's *Neudrucke*, Vol. XXV, pp. 97 ff.

[3] Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751-1829), the same of whom we heard above as one of the "discoverers" of the dome of Milan, belonged to a well-known family of painters. He is the author of the famous portrait of Goethe in Italy. In Rome, where he resided for many years, he became closely associated with Goethe. In 1787 he moved to Naples, and from 1808 until his death he lived in Eutin. On Tischbein cf., too, Jul. Vogel, *Aus Goethes Römischen Tagen* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 98 ff.

[4] This statement is corroborated by a letter of Hirt to Goethe, written August 23, 1788 (cf. *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Band V [Weimar, 1890], p. 53): "Ich habe bereits alle Artikel für das erste Heft der periodischen Schrift fertig, die Herr Professor Moritz und ich zusammen herausgeben wollen [i. e., *Italien und Deutschland*]. Lips hat auch schon eine Platte hiezu gestochen, nemlich die Predigt aus der Kapelle des Fra Giovanni Angelico von Fiesole, wovon ich die Beschreibung machte." Hirt means the chapel of Nicholas V in the

auf wachgewordenes Interesse für die Werke des ältern Styls hindeutet, so hatten dieselben doch damals noch keinen Einfluss auf die Ausübung der Kunst, niemand betrachtete sie als Muster, oder wähnte durch Nachahmung derselben den wahren Geschmack zu erjagen.[1] Ein bedenken erregendes Symptom aufkeimender Vorliebe für solche ältere Art, äusserte sich jedoch darin, dass gar viele Künstler, zumal unter den jüngeren, Raphaels nie unterbrochenes Fortschreiten in der Kunst abläugneten, die Gemälde von der sogenannten zweyten Manier dieses Meisters, z. B. die Grablegung, die Disputà u. a. den späterverfertigten vorziehen wollten. Unter seinen Arbeiten im Vatikan wurde daher die genannte Disputà am häufigsten von Studirenden nachgezeichnet, auch genossen die Werke des da Vinci grössere Vereherung, als zuvor; . . . . Dessgleichen wuchs die Gunst für die Arbeiten des Garofalo; hingegen gerieth die Achtung für Carraccische Werke ins Abnehmen, Guido Reni verlor ebenfalls sein lange behauptetes Ansehen immer mehr.

So ungefähr war es zu Rom mit den Geschmacks-Neigungen der Künstler und Kunstliebhaber, vornehmlich derer von deutscher Zunge, bis um das Jahr 1790 beschaffen.[2] . . . . Um diese Zeit unternahm der Maler Büri, von Rom aus, eine Reise nach Venedig und durch die Lombardie über Florenz wieder zurück. Er hatte zu Venedig und Mantua die Werke des Bellini und des Mantegna fleissig aufgesucht, betrachtet, auch einige derselben nachgezeichnet, ein gleiches geschah von ihm zu Florenz mit Gemälden des da Fiesole und anderer alten Meister. Bey seiner Wiederkunft nach Rom gedachte er gegen Kunstverwandte der geschauten Dinge mit grossem Lob und beglaubigte solches durch die gefertigten Zeichnungen.[3] Dieses bloss zufällige Ereigniss hat, nach

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Vatican, in which are the famous frescoes by Fra Angelico; one of these—and perhaps the most beautiful—represents St. Stephen preaching. Many years later Hirt told Rumohr, the art-critic, of his discovery; cf. Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen* (of which more later), Vol. II, p. 255 and note. (On Hirt cf., too, J. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 243 ff., also p. 319; cf., too, Goethe's letter to Wieland, Weimar ed. of Goethe, *ibid.*, pp. 60 ff.

[1] Rumohr evidently exaggerates when he claims (*Drey Reisen* [1832], p. 26) that Lanzi "hat vor etwa fünfunddreissig Jahren [i. e., about 1797] bei den Deutschen, welche damals in Rom studirten, zuerst für die Kunst des Mittelalters diejenige Achtung, bald Verehrung angeregt, welche die Kunstfreunde [i. e., Goethe and Meyer] unter die frühesten Symptome der bevorstehenden Umwälzung versetzen." The first edition of Lanzi's book did not appear until 1792, and we just saw that as early as 1788 Hirt was calling attention to the artistic importance of Fra Angelico. There is no reason for doubting, however, that Lanzi later greatly encouraged the German artists in Rome in their predilection for the works of the Early Renaissance, by his belief, mentioned above, that modern artists would profit by an imitation of older models.

[2] Meyer's date is slightly incorrect. There is no evidence that contempt for the Bolognese became manifest in this circle before 1790. It would seem more probable that such heretical ideas were not entertained until after the return of Bury from Florence.

[3] Bury (not Büri, as Meyer calls him) himself writes of his impressions in the North in a letter to Goethe dated Florence, September 2, 1790 (cf. *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Vol. V, pp. 208 f.): "In der Gallerie ist bis jetzo mein Aufenthalt gewesen, und eine hübsche Zeichnung nach einem Gemählde von Frate gemacht (*sic*), 6 Portraits nach der hiesigen Künstler-Sammlung und viele Ideen von verschiedenen Meistern, aber die Hauptsache

> unserm Dafürhalten, vielen Einfluss auf den Gang des Geschmacks gehabt; denn von derselben Zeit an sprach sich die Vorliebe für alte Meister, zumal für die der florentinischen Schule, immer entschiedener aus. Die vorerwähnten Freskogemälde des da Fiesole im Vatikan, wie auch die des Masaccio in der Kirche St. Clemente erhielten classisches Ansehen, das heisst: sie wurden nicht nur als ehrenwerthe Denkmale der emporstrebenden Kunst betrachtet, sondern von den Künstlern nun als musterhaft studirt und nachgezeichnet. Ferner wählte man, in der Absicht sich näher an Kunst und Geist der ältern Schulen und Meister anzuschliessen, für neu zu erzeugende Werke die Gegenstände schon häufiger aus der Bibel.
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> Einer der vorzüglichsten der auf diesem Wege sich bemühenden war Wächter aus Stuttgard, welcher mit lieblichen Gemälden heiliger Familien, wobey ihm Garofalo schien zum Muster gedient zu haben, mit einem Hiob u. a. m. grosses Lob bey Gleichgesinnten erwarb.[1]

In spite of tendencies to the contrary, "pflanzte sich die Neigung zum Geschmack der ältern Meister vor Raphael, immer wachsend fort und erhielt durch die vom Calmücken Feodor in Umrissen nach Lorenzo Ghiberti radirte bronzene Thüre am Battisterium zu Florenz neue Nahrung." Meyer next speaks of the influence of Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen*, a book of which we shall presently hear more, and then adds:

> Es fügte sich ferner dass, als nach den bekannten unruhigen Ereignissen, Rom, im Jahre 1798, von den Franzosen besetzt wurde, viele Künstler, um Beschwerlichkeiten und Störungen auszuweichen, sich von dort wegbegaben und, durch die Umstände genöthigt, Florenz zu ihrem Aufenthalt wählten, wo sie Gelegenheit fanden mit den ältern und ältesten Meistern dieser berühmten Kunstschule besser bekannt zu werden als in Rom hätte geschehen können. Giotto, die Gaddi, Orgagna,

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ist mein Mantegna; ich kann Ihnen gar nicht sagen, wie mich der Mensch durch seine Bestimmtheit an sich gezogen; kein alter Florentiner kommt ihm mit all seinem grandiosen Wesen bei; denn dieselben haben es öfters mit ihren allzu grossen Falten übertrieben; es sind hier drey Gemählde von Mantegna, ich glaube nicht, dass Sie dieselben wegen der vielen Sachen in der Gallerie recht beobachtet haben, sonst hätten Sie mir in Mantua davon gesprochen; dieselben hab ich aufs aller bestimmteste gemacht, und Sie sollen sehen, wenn Sie die Zeichnungen bekommen, dass man nicht weiter kann wegen der Ideen; denn auch alle andern Meister, welche dieselben Sujets gemacht, sind weit unter ihm; ich fühle, dass mich Mantegna auf einen Weg geführt, welcher freilich im Anfang etwas mühsam ist, aber unfehlbar etwas guts dabey herauskommen muss, und in Rom, welche ich fast nicht erwarten kann, einige Proben geben will (*sic*)." Bury himself was interested in the Carracci (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12, 222, 223). For Goethe's feelings in regard to Bury, cf. Weimar ed., *Briefe*, Vol. VIII, pp. 329 f., 356, 378 f.; cf. also Jul. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.).

[1] Wächter was for a time the representative of German classicism in painting. He will interest us later as the one who probably transmitted to Overbeck the theories of the Tischbein-Bury group. On Wächter cf. *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.*

selbst andere von geringerm Namen und Verdienst, wie Buffalmacco, kamen dadurch, vielleicht in übertriebenem Masse, zu Ehren und manches ihrer noch übrigen, lange nicht mehr beachteten Werke wurde jetzt zum Studium und Muster von Künstlern erkohren, welche kurz vorher noch den Coloss des Phidias vor Augen gehabt.[1]

In Tischbein and Bury, then, we have that preference for simplicity and naïveté of spirit which in future years was in so large a measure to control criticism in all countries. "The Spite of the Proud," as Ruskin later put it, is carefully to be shunned, and "simple and unlearned men," again to use one of Ruskin's telling phrases, are held superior to brilliant technicians and magnificent men of the world. The new principle implied in the views of the German artists—original as it is—is but a translation into the field of art of the gospel of the "simple life" enunciated by Rousseau and by the *Lyrical Ballads*.

Nevertheless, let us remember that, outside of this small circle, the old rationalistic formula—the rule of *Kunstverstand* as opposed to *Kunstgefühl*—still held almost paramount sway. The tenacious adherence to the old tenets on the part of Meyer, and especially of so rebellious a temperament as Stendhal, is the best case in point. A new evangel, one absolutely subvertive of all time-hallowed theories of criticism, was necessary finally and forever to break the yoke of Cochin and Mengs. It was enunciated in a little publication entitled *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Berlin, 1797).[2] The author who, in his rôle of a monk, pretends to give nothing more than the outpourings of his heart, views art essentially from the religious point of view:

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[1] There is no good reason for doubting the authenticity of Meyer's statements, though here and there his memory may have failed him in detail. Contemporary evidence, as far as I can judge with the material at hand, seems everywhere to corroborate him. According to what we saw above, Meyer strains a point when he claims that a better appreciation of the old masters started with Tischbein, although he doubtless was the first person whose influence in this direction was felt in artistic circles. Tischbein himself, in the second volume of his *Aus meinem Leben*, commenting on the greatness of Lionardo, maintains that before the author of the "Ultima Cena" the art of painting "lag gefangen und konnte nicht aufstreben." Lionardo freed it. After him came Michel Angelo, Titian, Raphael, Correggio, the Carracci, Guido, etc. But he adds: "Ich will hiermit nicht sagen, dass vor Leonardo nichts gutes gemalt sei;" only "die Künstler malten wie nach ausgeschnittenen Mustern, die sie nur auflegten, umschrieben und ausfüllten, oder als wäre es nach Schatten an der Wand gezeichnet und dann colorirt; so flach sind die Figuren auf der Tafel . . . . Doch findet man sehr scharf gezeichnete, schöne Marienköpfe und Engel aus jener Zeit. Selbst einige Mosaiken sind ihrer Einfachheit und Grösse, sowie ihres Contoures wegen achtungswerth, obwohl trocken und armselig." All this hardly sounds like the talk of a rebel. We shall presently see, however, that the suggestions thrown out by Tischbein were to be carried farther than he himself intended, perhaps, by bolder minds than his.

[2] Cf. article on Wackenroder, *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.* (by Sulger-Gebing); also introduction by K. D. Jessen to his reprint of the *Herzensergiessungen* (Leipzig, 1904); also Koldewey,

> Ich vergleiche den Genuss der edleren Kunstwerke dem Gebet . . . . Eben so nun, meyne ich, müsse man mit den Meisterstücken der Kunst umgehen, um sie würdiglich zum Heil seiner Seele zu nutzen. Es ist frevelhaft zu nennen, wenn jemand in einer irdischen Stunde, von dem schallenden Gelächter seiner Freunde hinwegtaumelt, um in einer nahen Kirche, aus Gewohnheit, einige Minuten mit Gott zu reden. Ein ähnlicher Frevel ist es, in einer solchen Stunde die Schwelle des Hauses zu betreten, wo die bewundernswürdigsten Schöpfungen, die von Menschenhänden hervorgebracht werden konnten, als eine stille Kundschaft für die Würde dieses Geschlechtes für die Ewigkeit aufbewahret werden. Harret, wie beym Gebet, auf die seligen Stunden, da die Gunst des Himmels euer Inneres mit höherer Offenbarung erleuchtet; nur dann wird eure Seele sich mit den Werken der Künstler zu Einem Ganzen vereinigen. Ihre Zaubergestalten sind stumm und verschlossen, wenn ihr sie kalt anseht; euer Herz muss sie zuerst mächtiglich anreden, wenn sie sollen zu euch sprechen, und ihre ganze Gewalt an euch versuchen können.
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> Kunstwerke passen in ihrer Art so wenig, als der Gedanke an Gott in den gemeinen Fortfluss des Lebens; sie gehen über das Ordentliche und Gewöhnliche hinaus, und wir müssen uns mit vollem Herzen zu ihnen erheben, um sie in unsern, von den Nebeln der Atmosphäre allzuoft getrübten Augen, zu dem zu machen, was sie, ihrem hohen Wesen nach, sind. . . . . Es ist mir ein heiliger Feyertag, an welchem ich mit Ernst und mit vorbereitetem Gemüth an die Betrachtung edler Kunstwerke gehe; ich kehre oft und unaufhörlich zu ihnen zurück, sie bleiben meinem Sinne fest eingeprägt, und ich trage sie, so lange ich auf Erden wandle, in meiner Einbildungskraft, zum Trost und zur Erweckung meiner Seele, gleichsam als geistige Amulete mit mir herum, und werde sie mit ins Grab nehmen.[1]

As a result of this attitude, he points to the old Italian masters as praiseworthy examples:

> Sie machten die Mahlerkunst zur treuen Dienerinn der Religion, und wussten nichts von dem eitlen Farbenprunk der heutigen Künstler: ihre Bilder, in Kapellen und an Altären, gaben dem, der davor kniete und betete, die heiligsten Gesinnungen ein. . . . . Ein andrer, Fra Giovanni

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Wackenroder und sein Einfluss auf Tieck (Leipzig, 1904); also Helene Stöcker *Zur Kunstanschauung des 18ten Jahrhunderts,* pp. 86 ff. Cf., too, R. Muther, *The History of Modern Painting* (London, 1895), Vol. I, pp. 209 ff.

[1] Jessen's reprint, pp. 100 ff.

Angelico da Fiesole, Mahler und Dominikanermönch zu Florenz, war wegen seines strengen und gottesfürchtigen Lebens besonders berühmt. Er kümmerte sich gar nicht um die Welt, schlug sogar die Würde eines Erzbischoffs aus, die der Pabst ihm antrug, und lebte immer still, ruhig, demüthig und einsam. Jedesmal, bevor er zu mahlen anfing, pflegte er zu beten; dann ging er ans Werk, und führte es aus wie der Himmel es ihm eingegeben hatte, ohne weiter darüber zu klügeln oder zu kritisiren. Das Mahlen war ihm eine heilige Bussübung; und manchmal, wenn er Christi Leiden am Kreuze mahlte, sah man während der Arbeit grosse Thränen über sein Gesicht fliessen.—Das alles ist nicht ein schönes Mährchen, sondern die reine Wahrheit.[1]

Here at last we find *Kunstgefühl* as opposed to *Kunstverstand.* In fact, it may be proved that Wackenroder's knowledge of the old masters was slender indeed. This book, which was soon to make a deep impression—upon Germany at least—marks the entrance into art-criticism of the principle, later so potent in Schlegel, Rio, and Ruskin, which claims that true art can never be divorced from religion. This principle, though at the time productive of important results in criticism, was, because of its essential unsoundness, later to lead—as, for instance, in Ruskin—to confusion and narrowness.

Wackenroder, retiring, hypersensitive, but meagerly acquainted with Italian painting, was ill equipped for the task of compelling a generation trained by Mengs and Meyer to accept principles so new, so perplexing, so uncomfortable. A different personality was needed to perform this task—one aggressive, turbulent, with a wider range of acquaintance in art, yet Wackenroder's equal in capacity of feeling: Friedrich Schlegel. In 1802, the very year in which Chateaubriand published the *Génie du Christianisme*, Friedrich Schlegel went to Paris. Napoleon had made of his capital the greatest art center of the world by carrying thither the spoils of Italy. In this fashion Schlegel came in contact with much of the best pictorial work of the world. As a result of this visit, he published his "Nachricht von den Gemählden in Paris,"[2] continued under the title "Vom Raphael,"[1] and furthermore under the title "Nachtrag italiänischer Gemählde;"[2] and further continued under the title "Zweiter Nachtrag alter Gemählde;"[3] and again as "Dritter Nachtrag alter Gemählde."[4] Here Schlegel roundly declares:

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 141 f. In Tieck and Wackenroder's *Phantasieen über die Kunst* we find the same views, derived this time from a study of Dürer's art. "Aus solchen Beispielen wird man ersehen, dass wo Kunst und Religion sich vereinigen, aus ihren zusammenfliessenden Strömen der schönste Lebensstrom sich ergiesst" (cf. "Tieck u. Wackenroder," Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vol. CXLV, p. 13).

[2] *Europa*, Vol. I (Frankfurt a. M., 1803), erstes Stück, pp. 108-57

> Ich habe durchaus nur Sinn für die alte Mahlerei, nur diese verstehe ich und begreife ich, und nur über diese kann ich reden . . . . Und doch gesteh ichs, dass die kalte Grazie des Guido nicht viel Anziehendes für mich hat, und dass mich das Rosen- und Milch-glänzende Fleisch des Dominichino mit nichten bezaubert . . . . . Gewänder und Costume, die mit zu den Menschen zu gehören scheinen, so schlicht und naiv als diese; in den Gesichtern (der Stelle, wo das Licht des göttlichen Mahlergeistes am hellsten durchscheint) aber, bei aller Mannichfaltigkeit des Ausdrucks oder Individualität der Züge durchaus und überall jene kindliche, gutmüthige Einfalt und Beschränktheit, die ich geneigt bin, für den ursprünglichen Charakter der Menschen zu halten; das ist der Styl der alten Mahlerei, der Styl, der mir, ich bekenne hierin meine Einseitigkeit, ausschliessend gefällt, wenn nicht irgend ein grosses Princip, wie beim Corregio oder Raphael, die Ausnahme rechtfertigt.[5]

Friedrich's famous "göttliche Grobheit" never made a deeper impression than by some of these utterances which slapped all traditional criticism in the face. But Friedrich was not satisfied with attacking, he wished to teach. He writes: . . . . "die stille, süsse Schönheit des Johannes Bellin oder des Perugino geht mir über alles." And then he proceeds to discuss works by these artists and their contemporaries, as for instance Mantegna.[6] But this great admiration does not in Schlegel stifle appreciation of Raphael, nor of Correggio and Titian. Not even Giulio Romano, the pet aversion of Rio and Ruskin, altogether meets with his censure.

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[1] *Europa*, Vol. I, zweites Stück, pp. 3–19.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II (1803), pp. 96–116.

[3] *Ibid.*, zweites Stück, pp. 1–41.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 109–45. These essays were reprinted with modifications of wording and with additions, with the title "Gemähldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden, in den Jahren 1802–1804," in the *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. VI (Wien, 1823), pp. 1–220. For further reference cf. Sulger-Gebing, *Die Brüder A. W. und F. Schlegel in ihrem Verhältnisse zur bildenden Kunst* (München, 1897).

[5] *Europa*, Vol. I, 1, pp. 113 f. It is not unworthy of note that this essay, together with those on "Gothic Architecture," one on "Schloss Karlstein bey Prag," and one on "Die heilige Cäcilia von Ludwig Schnorr," contained in Vol. VI of the *Werke*, appear under the collective title "Ansichten und Ideen von der christlichen Kunst." Rio, and after him Ruskin, were later to make the world familiar with the appellation "Christian art," so new in this large application to eighteenth century readers.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 115.

Schlegel's plea for the less pretentious artists of the older school corresponds to the principles enunciated a few years before him by the German artists in Rome. Even stronger deviations from the views of Meyer appear in passages which more clearly reflect the influence of Wackenroder. For what in Wackenroder was merely a childlike outpouring of feeling became, in the case of the Schlegels, the very corner-stone of their system of criticism. Their brilliant championship made them the true founders of that school which held sway until comparatively recent years. Friedrich Schlegel maintains:

> Die Kunst aber, und die Religion von der sie nie getrennt werden kann ohne sich selbst zu verlieren, sollen dem Menschen nicht allein das Göttliche andeuten, wie er es rein von allen Verhältnissen und im heitern Frieden sich denken und ahnden kann, sondern auch in seinem beschränkten Verhältniss wie das Göttliche selbst im irdischen Daseyn noch durchbricht und auch da erscheint; . . . . eigentlich fodern sollte man aber von einem Kunstwerke nicht Reiz und Schönheit, sondern nur die hohe, ja göttliche Bedeutung, weil es ohne diese gar kein Kunstwerk zu heissen verdient, und mit dieser die Anmuth als Blüthe und Lohn der göttlichen Liebe sich oftmals von selbst einstellt. Dieser hohen, tiefen Bedeutung aber sind die Martyria gewiss in einem ganz eminenten Grade fähig; wann der Mahler das Ekelhafte zu vermeiden weiss, so wird es ihm leicht werden, in diesem Gemisch von reinen und liebevollen Charakteren . . . . ein nur allzuwahres Bild von dem Trauerspiel des wirklichen Lebens zu entwerfen, und dem Geschick, was die reinere Natur im menschlichen Verhältnisse meistentheils erwartet; wobei er, wenn er sonst will, immer noch Gelegenheit genug finden wird, uns an die höchste Schönheit und Liebe zu erinnern.[1]

In every respect, then, the older painters, meaning the forerunners of Raphael, should be regarded as furnishing the proper models. In them is found what we lack: "das religiöse Gefühl, Andacht und Liebe, und die innigste stille Begeistrung derselben war es, was den alten Mahlern die Hand führte;" and, significantly for a German romanticist to whom philosophy was tantamount to religion, he adds:

> und nur bei einigen wenigen ist auch das hinzugekommen oder an die Stelle getreten, was allein das religiöse Gefühl in der Kunst einigermassen ersetzen kann; das tiefe Nachsinnen, das Streben nach einer

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[1] *Europa*, Vol. II, 2, pp. 16 f.

ernsten und würdigen Philosophie, die in den Werken des Leonardo und des Dürer sich freilich nach Künstlerweise, doch ganz deutlich meldet.[1] Is ever a great painter to arise in modern times? It is improbable, but not impossible. If so, religious feeling must again enter into art. "Vergebens sucht ihr die Mahlerkunst wieder hervorzurufen, wenn nicht erst Religion oder philosophische Mystik wenigstens die Idee derselben wieder hervorgerufen hat."[2] In lieu of religion, a few of the poets, supposedly tinged with mysticism—for to a Schlegel, even Shakespeare comes under this head—may become the inspiration of painters.

> Weniger die griechische Dichtkunst, die sie doch nur ins Fremde und Gelehrte verleitet, und die sie nur in Uebersetzungen lesen, wo vor dem hölzernen Daktylengeklapper die alte Anmuth weit entflohen ist, als die romantische. Die besten Poeten der Italiäner, ja der Spanier, nebst dem Shakespear, ja die altdeutschen Gedichte, welche sie haben können, und dann die Neueren, die am meisten in jenem romantischen Geiste gedichtet sind; das seyen die beständigen Begleiter eines jungen Mahlers, die ihn allmählig zurückführen könnten in das alte romantische Land und den prosaischen Nebel antikischer Nachahmerei und ungesunden Kunstgeschwätzes von seinen Augen hinwegnehmen.[3]

Soon afterward, Friedrich's brother, August Wilhelm Schlegel, proved that he shared the same ideas. In his "Schreiben an Goethe über einige Arbeiten in Rom lebender Künstler,"[4] in 1805, he discusses the works of the painter Schick, and praises his picture representing Noah's first sacrifice. He claims:

> Ich kann nicht umhin, an diesem Beispiele die Vortrefflichkeit der biblischen und überhaupt der christlichen Gegenstände im Vorbeigehen zu berühren, die mir für die Malerei ebenso ewig und unerschöpflich scheinen, als die der klassischen Mythologie es für die Skulptur sind; ja in ihrer geheimnissvollen Heiligkeit noch unergründlicher.[5]

A little later he praises the painter Koch for imitating the older masters:

> Ein besonderes Studium der älteren Meister, eines Fiesole, Masaccio, Pisani, Buffalmacco und Giotto, verbindet er mit dem des Michelangelo, welches für den Dante, denke ich, immer die rechte Verbindung sein wird.[6]

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[1] *Europa*, Vol. II, 2, p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 143 f.

[4] First published in the *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaer Allgemeinen Litteraturzeitung*, Nos. 120 and 121. I quote from *Werke*, hsg. von Böcking, Vol. IX (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 231 ff.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 254.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

In 1817 he again expressed himself with undiminished enthusiasm in favor of early Italian art, in an essay entitled "Johann von Fiesole: Nachricht von seinem Leben, und Beschreibung seines Gemåldes Mariă Krönung und die Wunder des heil. Dominikus."[1] He tries to define the position of the famous monk of S. Marco in the history of art. He describes his life, and, following Vasari and every writer on art since Vasari's day, lays stress on Angelico's piety. His genius, he tells us, is marked by "Süssigkeit, Zartheit und Anmuth," as contrasted with "der gefålligen und oberflächlichen Manier des Guido.[2] In the course of this essay he attacks Winckelmann's unfair condemnation of the harshness of Florentine art.[3] Modern art, he concludes, fails from lack of religious inspiration; for

> die Kunst als ein Wiederschein des Göttlichen in der sichtbaren Welt, ist eine Angelegenheit und ein Bedürfniss der Menschheit, an welche, nach dem Ausdruck Dantes von seinem Gedicht:
>
> —il poema sacro,
> Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra—
>
> Himmel und Erde Hand anlegen müssen, wenn sie gedeihen soll.[4]

As a consequence of the teachings of Wackenroder, and more especially of F. Schlegel, a group of German artists, under the leadership of Overbeck and Cornelius, settled in Rome for the purpose of putting into effect the new ideas. At first they lived in a monastery, St. Isidoro, and were known as "Die Klosterbrüder von St. Isidoro." This group dissolved in 1813, and after 1815 a new circle formed about Overbeck, generally known by their nickname "Die Nazarener." Wackenroder and the Schlegels had taught these young artists that simplicity and self-severity and a deep spiritual life, are necessary for the production of true art. Their attitude toward early Italian art was essentially that of Bury and of the other associates of Tischbein.[1] They recognized only the artists between Giotto and Raphael, and even Raphael's later manner, after he abandoned the teaching of Perugino, seemed to them an aberration. Giulio Romano was intolerable to them.[2] These views are singularly important for us, as they later controlled Rio, Ruskin's inspirer. The result of the labors, which occupied them many years, must seem to us moderns essentially unsatisfactory. In the history of art, however, they mark an admirable reaction against the shallow glamour of the eighteenth century.[3] Their dependence on F. Schlegel becomes the clearer by the fact that one of their most prominent members was Schlegel's stepson, Philip Veit.

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[1] *Werke, loc. cit.*, Vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 352 f.

[3] Cf. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Vol. III, chap. 3, § 15. Even more severe are his strictures on Florentine art as expressed in the letter to Riedesel, dated Rome, March 18, 1763; cf. *Werke*, ed. Eiselein, Vol. IX, pp. 616 f.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 355. In the third part of *Geschichte der Romantischen Litteratur*, in the chapter "Ueber das Mittelalter" and further in "Der Bund der Kirche mit den Künsten"—a long poem in ottave rime written about 1800—Schlegel foresees a new art born of the religious spirit. Painting is to abandon the world of sense and deal with "geistliche Geshichten." Haym (*Romantische Schule*, p. 458) justly doubts the genuineness of the religious sentiment here exhibited.

So, then, the new criticism seemed established, and even the protest of Goethe and Meyer against the union of art and religion apparently could not destroy the influence of the brilliant brothers. And, indeed, these two had greatly enriched the intellectual life of their generation; their very faults had proved fruitful of important results.

[1] The connection between the Tischbein group and the Nazarener was, it seems, established by Eberhard Wächter, of whom, as we saw, Meyer, in his *Neu-deutsche religios-patriotische Kunst*, spoke as one of the Tischbein circle, and as one who among the first produced works in the spirit of the older masters. In 1806, before Overbeck came to Rome, Wächter met him in Vienna, and seems to have communicated to him the views and prejudices of the German painters in Rome (cf. Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 213).

[2] Cf. Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.

[3] Cf. Herman Riegel, *Geschichte des Wiederauflebens der deutschen Kunst zu Ende des 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover, 1876), pp. 319 ff.; also Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58 ff., 212 ff., 233 ff.; moreover, Muther, *History of Modern Painting*, *loc. cit.;* also Howitt, *Friedrich Overbeck* (Freiburg i. B., 1886); also essays on Overbeck and Cornelius in *Allg. Dtsch. Biog.*

In 1817 Goethe and Meyer, frightened by the success of Schlegel's criticism and the works of the "Nazarener," published their essay, *Neu-deutsche, religios-patriotische Kunst*, from which we have already quoted several passages. It aimed a blow at the new ideas, but it showed beyond peradventure that neither Goethe nor his friend was capable of piercing the crude shell of the new principles and of understanding that Schlegel's message was vital for his time, and that Overbeck and Cornelius, with all their shortcomings, were establishing, in contrast to Mengs, a national art. It was, in fact, the example of this school which, forty years later, helped to free from the trammels of academic pedantry a group of young English artists who became known as "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood." The hyphen between German and English Pre-Raphaelitism was William Dyce, who had learned from Overbeck (cf. Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, *loc. cit.*, p. 303; also *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* under Dyce). Howitt (*Overbeck*, Part II, p. 115) claims that Pugin, too, strongly recommended Overbeck as a model to English artists.

For interesting material on the lives of the Overbeck group in Rome, cf. *Briefe aus Italien von Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, geschrieben in den Jahren 1817 bis 1827: Ein Beitrag zur Geshichte seines Lebens und der Kunstbestrebungen seiner Zeit* (Gotha, 1886). For a French estimate of the "Nazarener" cf. H. Fortoul, *De l'art en Allemagne* (Paris, 1842), Vol. I, pp. 263 ff.

Yet it would have been far from fortunate for their country, had their ideas prevailed unmodified, and Germany must therefore be congratulated for having produced a scholar and critic who took from the teaching of the Schlegels all that was valuable, and left untouched all that was misleading and unsound. This remarkable man was Rumohr.[1] His *Italienische Forschungen*, based on the studies of many years, aimed to do for Christian art what Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* had done for the art of antiquity. Vasari, Rumohr felt, was unreliable, because, being influenced by the technique of the Italian novelists of his day, he was entertaining, but lacked method. Even Lanzi, despite his great merit, was not sufficiently thorough. Besides, Rumohr, having become acquainted with the work of the Schlegels and of Overbeck, felt vastly more attracted by the earlier periods, and less by the seventeenth century, than did even Lanzi.

Rumohr's great work is characterized, considering the time in which it was written, by accuracy and care, his statements being always based on intimate study of the Italian archives. The notes reveal a large range of reading and the desire to reach the truth by an objective sifting of arguments.

In the theoretical part of the book, entitled "Zur Theorie und Geschichte neuerer Kunstbestrebungen: Haushalt der Kunst," he emphasizes the fact that Lessing and Winckelmann derived their ideas from a knowledge merely of antiquity. He adds the sentence, significant for his whole method of work: "Denn nur, wer von einer beschränkenden Vorliebe für eigenthümliche Richtungen, Schulen und Förmlichkeiten der Kunst unabhängig ist, vermag das Wesen der Kunst rein aufzufassen." Rumohr's criticisms of the great exponents of antique art are, however, altogether free from that violence which affects us unpleasantly in Fr. Schlegel's comments on Winckelmann. For it is most important, Rumohr feels, that we learn to understand the true nature of art. As a contemporary of Tieck and Fr. Schlegel, he is inclined "die Kunst weit entschiedener, als jemals vor uns geschehen, recht in das innerste Heiligthum alles geistigen Wirkens und Lebens zu versetzen."

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[1] Karl Friedrich von Rumohr was born in 1785 in Reinhardsgrimma, near Dresden, and died in Dresden in 1843. While a student at Göttingen, he took lessons in drawing of Domenico Fiorillo, the author of the *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten.* Fiorillo was a pupil of Batoni, and ranged against Mengs in the quarrel between the two. Rumohr at the death of his father inherited a large fortune, became a gentleman of leisure, and devoted himself to literature and art. Early in his life he turned Catholic, but this change of religion no more affected his inner life than a similar step had affected Winckelmann. He went to Italy several times. During a stay in Rome in 1816 he came in contact with the work of Overbeck and his associates, and thus deepened his interest in early Italian art. He published a large number of essays and studies on art and architecture. His greatest work is his *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin and Stettin, 1827–31), in which several of these earlier publications were embodied. Besides works bearing on art or history, he put out historical novels, like *Der letzte Savello* (1834). More than that, being a great Sybarite in matters of food, he issued a cookbook, *Der Geist der Kochkunst* (1822). His large culture procured him the friendship of men like Friedrich Schlegel, Tieck, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Platen, and others. He was also highly esteemed by Louis I of Bavaria and Frederick William IV of Prussia. His eccentric temperament, however, was apt to estrange even great admirers. On Rumohr see his own *Drey Reisen nach Italien* (Leipzig, 1832); also H. W. Schulz, *Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1844); also Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, pp. 157 ff.; also *Allg. Deutsch. Biog.*

In the chapter entitled "Betrachtungen über den Ursprung der neueren Kunst" he expounds the value of the beginnings of Christian art. Though technically deficient, these earliest works are characterized by the "Macht einer neuen Begeisterung," which was to determine Christian art for all time to come. In the discussions which follow, Rumohr traces the influence of pagan on Christian art, and betrays a keen appreciation of evolution by proving how early suggestions flowered full-blown in the works of the greatest masters of later centuries. Even in these chapters Rumohr never teaches the theory that art becomes important and inspiring in proportion as it reflects devotion to Christian dogma, and loses value in proportion as such devotion ebbs from it. In the remaining chapters of this volume—"Ueber den Einfluss der gothischen und longobardischen Einwanderungen auf die Fortpflanzung römisch-altchristlicher Kunstfertigkeiten in der ganzen Ausdehnung Italiens," "Zustand der bildenden Künste von Karl des Grossen Regierung bis auf Friedrich I . . . . ," "Zwölftes Jahrhundert: Regungen des Geistes, technische Fortschritte bey namhaften Künstlern," "Dreyzehntes Jahrhundert: Aufschwung des Geistes der italienischen Kunst; rascher Fortschritt in Vortheilen der Darstellung . . . . "—the author describes the growth of various branches of art in Italy down to Cimabue. In no part of the whole work is one more impressed with Rumohr's infinite care and intellectual honesty than in these studies on perhaps the most difficult periods of modern art. No wonder he constantly feels compelled to polemize against Vasari, and even against Lanzi and Fiorillo.

In the second volume the initial chapter treats of the earliest Sienese masters and Cimabue. In the next chapter, which is devoted to Giotto, Rumohr makes a great effort to disprove the validity of the general admiration for that artist. In the epitome of this discussion he comes to the conclusion that, though Giotto's merit was great, he helped to bring about "jene allmählich fortschreitende und immer zunehmende Entfremdung von den Ideen des christlichen Alterthumes" which marks the Florentine school, "etwa mit Ausnahme des Fiesole und des Masaccio." This chapter is perhaps the least satisfactory of the book. Here Rumohr loses his objectivity, and even lapses, as the sentence just quoted illustrates, into some of that phraseology about the inferiority of realistic to religious art which is generally so foreign to him. Next Rumohr adds a careful treatment of the disciples of Giotto.

Among the chapters which now follow, the one which we may call the core and kernel of the entire work, and which made the deepest impression on the contemporaries, is the one entitled "Entwurf einer Geschichte der umbrisch toscanischen Kunstschulen für das funfzehnte Jahrhundert." Here all those men of the early Renaissance are passed in review who through Ruskin have become the favorites of the English-speaking world. Again Rumohr at every turn goes beyond Vasari and Lanzi, and brings to light important new material. He was not the first to be attracted by these artists, as we have seen, but he became—to use the words of his biographer Schulz—"der wissenschaftliche Vertreter und Begründer der neuen Kunstansichten und Bestrebungen." The imitators of Giotto—such is Rumohr's thesis—had induced artists to treat the human side of religion, and had thus introduced so much "menschlich Wichtiges" that, on the whole, their innovations must be regarded as a "wesentliche Bereicherung." Yet these methods and theories did not arise from any desire "den Ideen des Christenthumes ihre ganze Tiefe, ihre ernstere Seite abzugewinnen." Masaccio and Fra Angelico represent two currents of the new art. Masaccio "übernahm die Erforschung des Helldunkels, der Rundung und Auseinandersetzung zusammengeordneter Gestalten;" Fra Angelico "hingegen die Ergründung des inneren Zusammenhanges, der einwohnenden Bedeutung menschlicher Gesichtszüge, deren Fundgruben er zuerst der Malerey eröffnet." Then Rumohr enters with acumen into the individualities and the historical position of both artists. Masaccio's strength and virility, and his importance for art down to Lionardo, had never before been so well understood; at the same time, Fra Angelico's peculiar depth was never more sympathetically felt, not even by Schlegel. In his best works "erschöpfte sich dieser Künstler in den mannigfaltigsten Andeutungen einer mehr als irdischen Freudigkeit." Fra Angelico influenced Benozzo Gozzoli, for whom Rumohr has evident understanding.

The career of Cosimo Roselli and other minor painters proves that "nach allgemeinem Erlöschen der Begeisterung für die vorwaltenden Kunstaufgaben" only one way was left for the Florentine school to escape becoming mechanical, viz., "ein fröhliches (freylich nicht ein pedantisches) sich Hingeben in den Reiz natürlicher Erscheinungen." Fortunately, the city in which these artists lived was fine, the country lovely, the dress of men and women picturesque. Hence painters derived from the new method "den mannigfaltigsten Gewinn." This inroad of the realistic spirit was encouraged, he explains, by the influence of antiquity.

Filippo Lippi, whom Vasari without proof calls dissolute, was one of the "bedeutenderen Maler" of the Florentine group. His easel pictures are often "schwach, bisweilen derb und gemein;" but in his frescoes, where the subject called for action, "erwachte seine Seele." Botticelli and Filippino fare less well with our critic. He admires the history of Moses in the Sistine Chapel, but has little to say in praise of any other works of Botticelli which charm us today. Filippino is uneven; some of his paintings fairly disgust Rumohr. Ghirlandajo, on the other hand, attracts him. He greatly contributed to a better understanding of the human figure. Rumohr has great praise for many of Ghirlandajo's frescoes, especially those in the Santa Maria Novella in Florence, for their adequate interpretation "wirklichen Seyns." The thrift of Florence, Rumohr points out, helped realism in art.

When "Religiosität der Gesinnung" had left the Florentine church and a sectarian spirit had grown up (proved, among other things, by the career of Savonarola), "war es sicher nur ein Gewinn, dass bey den malerischen Unternehmungen jener Zeit eine neue Begeisterung (die bürgerliche) die eingetretene Lücke erfüllte." It is this "Begeisterung" which gives the Novella frescoes their peculiar value. To be sure, Ghirlandajo was too "derb" altogether to grasp the "Zartheit der neuchristlichen Idee der Madonna."

In Lionardo—always admired, but heretofore not sufficiently appreciated—we venerate "den Begründer eines bestimmteren anatomischen Wissens," who combines with this great technical knowledge a "reinere, ernstlicher gemeinte Auffassung der obwaltenden kirchlichen Kunstaufgaben."

The school of Perugia, which perhaps affected Lionardo through Perugino, always had the advantage of other schools in possessing an irresistible "geheime Reiz" derived from a wonderful blending of "halbdeutliche Reminiscenzen" of the oldest Christian art with the "mildere Vorstellungen" of younger schools. Perugino became famous largely on account of his influence on Raphael. His own merit has so far generally been underrated. In his later years, he, like many others, became mechanical, "vom Handwerke hingerissen;" but in his best work—the frescoes in Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi—he combines severe study with a "damals ganz ungewöhnliche Klarheit der Anschauung seines ideellen Gegenstandes." A certain sameness runs through all he painted—the result not so much of his "Manier" as of his subjects and his "Gemüthsstimmung."

Raphael, the "vollendete Meister" of the art of painting, owes his "keusche Sinn," his respect for tradition, his religious feeling, probably mostly to Perugino; his "feine Natursinn" he derived from Florentine influence.

In the last chapter of this volume, entitled "Die unumgängliche Vielseitigkeit in den Beziehungen, die Hindernisse der Entwickelung, die Ursachen des vorzeitigen Verfalles," Rumohr first introduces a sympathetic discussion of Sodoma, maligned, he claims, by Vasari. Then follows a very interesting treatise on the effect of antiquity on Italian art from early times. He shows how the widening of the province of art, caused by the influence of antiquity, came about from the "Steigerung eines Verlangens" which gleams even in the works of the Middle Ages, and asserts itself clear and strong in the fifteenth century. The antique world furnished Raphael with a mass of heterogeneous material, such as myth, fable, allegory, etc., which he used with great liberty and interpreted with the *verve* of Apulejus and Ovid; correctly feeling that it should not be treated with severity and in the spirit of religion, but in worldly and poetical fashion. It is only within recent times that the theory has arisen that such treatment is idle and inartistic. This last remark is leveled, of course, against the Schlegel-Overbeck school of criticism. Rumohr is evidently more nearly in harmony with Meyer and Goethe than would appear from his bitter polemics against them.

The ancients, Rumohr continues, correctly felt that the appearance of things about us have a "sinnliche Reiz an und für sich," apart from any "Bedeutung." Among moderns the Dutch were the most successful in giving us this "Schwelgerey des Auges." To furnish such delight is perfectly legitimate. For it is an artist's duty to satisfy any honest demand of his time.

The premature decay of Italian art Rumohr explains by the exaggerated "Zunftgeist;" also by the tendency in the sixteenth century to hire artists to furnish work in the shortest possible time. These theories, however insufficient they may appear to modern students of culture-history, are noteworthy as marking Rumohr's freedom from the principle so dear to Wackenroder and Schlegel: the dependence of art on religion.

The third volume deals mostly with Raphael. It rather disappointed the public. Yet Herman Grimm in his treatise on Raphael claims that Rumohr's chapters on Raphael contained material of the first importance.

Of particular interest to us, however, is the fact that Rumohr nowhere condemns any of Raphael's later works on the ground of worldliness, as had done Tischbein and all his followers, and that even the "Transfiguration" meets with his unstinted praise.

The Bolognese masters, whose good points Rumohr seems to recognize—he speaks of them as "technisch höchst gewandte Männer"—evidently do not satisfy him. He mentions them only casually, and in one place blames them for not understanding that eclecticism such as they aimed at was absurd.

The volume closes with interesting chapters on the evolution of Christian architecture, and a short essay on "Arabische Baukunst."

We miss most in Rumohr's book any study of the Venetian school. His principle was, however, to treat exclusively of those works which he knew from intimate personal observation; hence his omission, too, of artists like Francia.

We have transcribed merely what seemed to us most characteristic in Rumohr's volumes—we omitted even his comments on the great Italian sculptors—but what has been given may suffice to enable the reader to appreciate the nature of Rumohr's contribution. He was the first to devote critical study to the earliest periods and, what is more important, to the artists of the fifteenth century; thus laying the scientific foundation for the modern criticism of Italian art, and utterly destroying the influence of Cochin and Mengs. Like Tischbein, Wackenroder, and Schlegel, he was deeply interested in the simplicity and naïveté of the religious painters. Yet the criticism, which Goethe and Meyer best represented, against the vagaries of Schlegel and Overbeck acted on him as an admirable corrective.[1]

Rumohr, today almost forgotten, attracted wide attention during his lifetime, and affected not merely his own countrymen, but even foreigners. The person who was to profit from the *Italienische Forschungen* beyond anyone else was not a German, but one of those Frenchmen—and every generation has produced them—for whom German civilization has strong fascination—A.-F. Rio.[2]

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[1] The next scholar of importance to carry on Rumohr's work was Franz Kugler. In his *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei von Constantin dem Grossen bis auf die neuere Zeit* (Berlin, 1837) we find the evolution of painting described in its entirety. In 1842 followed his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, which became basic for all modern works in the field of art-history.

[2] Alexis-François Rio was born in Normandy in 1798 and died in 1874. From his earliest childhood he showed a strong religious bent. This instinct in him was fed by the reaction against the contempt for religion preached by the French Revolution and implied by

To Rio, as to many men and women of his time, Catholic doctrine was not merely sacred and final, but the carrier of superhuman bliss and serenity. He was, moreover, one of those souls on fire who, in protest against the rationalism of the eighteenth century, were making inevitable in every part of Europe the creation of a new art and a new philosophy. No wonder, then, that early in life he felt dissatisfied with the eighteenth-century interpretation of Italian art. In France the æsthetic tradition represented by Cochin was still potent, he tells us, in his youth. Admiration for the Carracci—which, we saw, Stendall himself could not shake off—was "une sorte de maladie" among Frenchmen.[1] For even the distinguished author of the *Génie du Christianisme* in Rome and in Bologna adored the works of the Carracci and, more curious still, in Rome despised the æsthetic standards of Overbeck and his disciples;[2] he regarded merely as "blasphèmes" their estimate of

Napoleon's treatment of the Pope—the reaction so brilliantly voiced by Chateaubriand. During the "Cent Jours" he fought "pour Dieu et pour le Roi." For a time he taught, then occupied a government position. After his marriage he seems to have devoted himself to his studies. He made many trips to Germany—those of 1831, 1832, and 1833 proving the most fruitful. Here he came under the influence of Schelling, and especially of the philosopher Baader. The former impressed him particularly by his doctrine of the importance of the artist as a cultural and spiritualizing force. Even stronger was the influence upon him of Baader's views, deeply tinged as they were with mysticism. Rio's veneration for orthodox Catholicism grew more and more profound with time, and even led to a rupture with his friend, the famous Lamennais. In Munich Döllinger called his attention to Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen*, which had just appeared. The book gave direction to his groping, but intense interest in Christian art. German thought further influenced him through the writings of men like Hamann, Jean Paul, and others, who intensified his temperamental dislike for the rationalistic *Weltanschauung*. In Italy, which he visited several times, he became acquainted in 1832 with several representatives of the German school of painting who, years before, had fanned Rumohr's interest in the older masters. In 1833 he met Sulpiz Boisserée in Coblenz and Ph. Veit in Frankfort on the Main; in 1842 he made the acquaintance of Cornelius in Berlin. In 1836 came out the first volume of the work in which he aimed to give to the world a new interpretation of Italian art. He gave it the infelicitous title: *De la poésie chrétienne dans son principe, dans sa matière et dans ses formes. Forme de l'art. Peinture* (Paris, 1836). It was to appear in two volumes, but the ill success of the first volume for a time discouraged him. From 1836 on he frequently visited England. At last he published the second volume in 1851, with the title *De l'art chrétien* (Paris). Among his other publications should be named: *Essai sur l'histoire de l'esprit humain dans l'antiquité* (1828–30); *Léonard di Vinci et son école* (1855); *Quatre martyrs* (1856); *Shakspeare* (1864)—an attempt at proving the Catholicism of Shakespeare. The second and greatly changed edition of his work on Italian painting appeared from 1861 to 1867, under the title: *De l'art chrétien. Nouvelle édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée.* The chief source of information on Rio's life is his autobiography, *Epilogue à l'art chrétien* (Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1870). The biographical dictionaries give but scant and partly incorrect information.

[1] *Epilogue à l'art chrétien*, Vol. I, p. 337.

[2] He speaks of this group of artists in Part III, Book XII, of his *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe* (cf. ed. by Edmond Bire [Paris, no date], Vol. V, pp. 31 f.).

Perugino and their preference for the first manner of Raphael over the second. He, "qui avait presque entrevu les conditions de l'esthétique chrétienne," could not understand that these German painters under his very eyes "accomplissaient instinctivement une œuvre analogue à la sienne."[1]

When Rio went to Italy for the first time in 1830, French travelers were never taken to the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican—containing the frescoes by Fra Angelico which, as we saw, were discovered by Hirt for German criticism as early as about 1790—and in the Sistine Chapel never had their attention called to the frescoes by Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Ghirlandajo. The "Disputà" and the "School of Athens" were regarded merely "comme des acheminements à de plus grandes choses, et les transports d'enthousiasme ne commençaient que quand on rencontrait la collaboration néfaste de Jules Romain."[2]

Though burdened with this tradition, Rio even on this first visit to Rome instinctively made himself independent by studying the catacombs and certain early Madonnas. He now decided to go to Munich. On his way there he visited Venice—this "république héroiquement chrétienne"—which made an indelible impression on him. Now it was that in Munich he read for the first time the *Italienische Forschungen*[3]—a book which he says started "une ère nouvelle dans cette branche de littérature qui forme la base et l'aliment de la science esthétique."[4] Italian art suddenly appeared to him in a new light. He read everything he could to further a plan, as yet vague, of bringing about in France a revolution in the interpretation of Christian art.[5] "Je puis dire," he declares in another place,[6] "que Rumohr fut mon véritable initiateur, et qu'à lui seul revient le mérite de ce qu'il peut y [in Rio's book] avoir d'original dans certaines appréciations qui, sans lui avoir été directement empruntées, me furent ou inspirées ou facilitées par ses ouvrages," Rumohr, whom Rio praises as "à la fois archéologue, poëte, helléniste, graveur, peintre, musicien,"[7] omitted to do for Venetian what he so successfully performed for Florentine art. It became Rio's aim among other things to fill this gap.[1]

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[1] *Epil.*, Vol. I, pp. 337, 338.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 121.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

In 1831 he was back in Venice to finish those studies which had suggested themselves to him in Munich. In order to understand the art of Venice as the expression of national character, he plunged into a study of the Venetian chronicles, archives, and legends, until the individuality of the city and its people became familiar to him as they probably had never been to anyone before. His main difficulty here, and in other parts of Italy where he studied now and later, was the indifference of the persons he met toward his ideas. For he had elective affinity only with the older painters and could not understand even Titian.

After all we have heard, we may hazard the belief—even before turning to the book itself—that Rio's interpretation of Italian art must be based in large part on material furnished by Rumohr, and is likely to agree in striking fashion with the Tischbein-Wackenroder-Schlegel-Overbeck point of view. This premonition finds corroboration in a study of the facts.

At the very outset Rio declares his hostility to traditional attitude in matters of art. "Ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler un chef-d'œuvre"[2] cannot appeal to him. On the other hand, in the earliest attempts of Christian artists, as found in the catacombs, "au sein des inspirations les plus grandes qui furent jamais,"[3] he discovers the records of a "pensée naïve, attendrissante ou héroïque."[4] This early art, so much despised by the "connaisseurs," deeply thrills him. After passing in review the age of Constantine, the effect of the Germanic invasions, the age of Charlemain, and the influence of Byzantine art, he turns to the school of Siena. Vasari hardly deigns to mention it, Rio informs us with contempt, but he, Rio, takes great delight in some of the work of men like Duccio and Simone Memmi.[5]

The Madonna by Cimabue in Sta. Maria Novella is conspicuous for "le charme tout à fait nouveau du coloris" and "la dignité imposante."[6] Giotto he rates much higher than Rumohr had done and praises particularly the originality of the "Coronation of the

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[1] *Epil.*, Vol. I, p. 123.

[2] *Poésie chrétienne*, p. 2.

[3] P. 3.

[4] P. 5.

[5] Pp. 46 ff.

[6] P. 61.

Virgin" in Sta. Croce. He bestows similar praise on the followers of Giotto, notably on Orcagna, "le Michel-Ange de son siècle."[1]

During this first period, Florentine art made steady progress. In the second we miss unity and find less purity. Through the revival of interest in pagan civilizations an element of decadence almost imperceptibly grows and corrupts painters, sculptors, and poets. Ucello marks this decay: he signifies an advance in matters of technique, but he lacks inspiration.[2] Dangerous tendencies in the direction of naturalism now arise, such as the habit of introducing the portraits of donors in sacred pictures. Three schools now appear in Florence. One continued the old traditions left by the disciples of Giotto, another was influenced by the technique of the jeweler's trade, and the third took its models from among persons who lived and died in monasteries in the odor of sanctity.[3]

Among the prominent artists of this period, Masaccio deserves praise for deriving valuable elements from antiquity. So much Rio grants, yet he evidently believes that the growing realistic tendency of Florentine art, best exhibited by Masaccio's work, marks no real advance.[4] Filippo Lippi's type of Madonnas and saints is intolerably vulgar. In his works "l'oubli du but auquel l'art chrétien doit tendre est porté si loin, qu' il est impossible de lui pardonner ses profanations."[5] He was a libertine. Hence he could not rise "à la hauteur de ces peintres religieux, qui, dans le siècle précédent, avaient donné à l'art une si grande destination."[6] Lippi's inferiority shows particularly in his angels: "nul rayon de béatitude céleste n'illumine leurs visages."[7] He helped the Florentine school by improving the best elements of naturalism, yet he put there "un germe de décadence."[8] Botticelli was influenced by Lippi. He even adopted Lippi's "types vulgaires." His Madonnas, however, are better and "ont presque toujours le visage voilé par la tristesse."[9] In his estimate of Ghirlandajo, Rio becomes inconsistent. He praises his "fécondité et maturité,"[10] and because of their grandeur is willing to condone the realism of the Novella frescoes.

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[1] P. 81.

[2] Pp. 90 ff.

[3] Pp. 90 ff.

[4] Pp. 108 ff.

[5] P. 115.

[6] P. 116.

[7] P. 117.

[8] P. 118.

[9] P. 128.

[10] P. 130.

During the fifteenth century, then, Florentine art made great progress, but through the influx of paganism, which emanated as a bad influence from the court of the Medici, painting ceased for many artists to be "une des formes de la poésie chrétienne."[1] Only one school in this period offers a "spectacle consolant" by being "supérieure à toutes les autres par le charactère éminemment mystique de ses produits, et par l'inaltérable pureté de ses inspirations."[2] Rio continues: "Ici s'arrète la compétence de ce qu'on appelle vulgairement *les connaisseurs*."[3] For mysticism is to painting "ce que l'extase est à la psychologie, ce qui dit assez combien sont délicats les matériaux qu'il s'agit de mettre en œuvre dans cette partie de notre histoire."[4] Rio now subjoins a long discussion of mediæval mysticism and points out its profound influence on former generations. Nowhere does he betray greater glow of conviction and depth of feeling than in dealing with this subject, so foreign to most of his contemporaries.

Fra Angelico, who had "mûri et sanctifié son talent dans le silence du cloître,"[5] ignorant of the great revolution beginning in his day in Florentine art, became the finest exponent of this school, "à la fois si mystique et si lyrique."[6] He has certain defects in the treatment of the body, but to notice them one would have to be "bien inaccessible à tout ce que l'art chrétien peut faire naître d'émotions plus délicieuses dans une âme convenablement préparée."[7] They arise, not from inability, but from indifference to everything foreign "au but transcendental qui occupait sa pieuse imagination."[8] A close examination of certain paintings which at first may seem tiresome reveals "une variété prodigieuse qui embrasse tous les degrés de poésie que peut exprimer la physiognomie humaine."[9] Rio then interprets with warmth several of Angelico's works, among them the frescoes in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Vatican.

Fra Angelico's favorite pupil was Benozzo Gozzoli. Rio speaks of several of his paintings with praise and puts the frescoes in the Campo Santo in Pisa among the "plus étonnantes merveilles de l'art." "Il fallait pour y réussir un mélange de grandeur et de naïveté où l'école naturaliste de Florence ne pouvait déjà plus atteindre." Benozzo was the best representative of the "style patriarchal"—the most difficult of all.[1]

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[1] P. 158.

[2] P. 159.

[3] P. 160.

[4] P. 160.

[5] P. 173.

[6] P. 190.

[7] P. 192.

[8] P. 192.

[9] P. 193.

Among those who painted in a similar spirit the most important are Gentile da Fabriano, and especially Perugino. For the latter our critic has a great predilection and places him higher than even Rumohr was willing to do. When Perugino came to Florence, he was still free from "toutes les profanations contemporaines,"[2] for he had painted only religious subjects. His best period was about 1500. What he did after that is senile. The frescoes in Sta. Maria Maddalena in Florence are among his best. From his school sprang he who may fairly be called "le prince de l'art chrétien, du moins pendant la plus belle partie de sa vie."[3] The school of Perugia dealt with fewer subjects than did others, and omitted the study of the antique. Hence Perugino was accused of sterility of imagination by his contemporaries, who did not understand that an artist "qui cherche ses inspirations en dehors de la sphère des objects sensibles" will strive beyond all things to develop types which "se sont imposés comme une tâche longue et religieuse à son pinceau." "La gloire de l'école ombrienne est d'avoir poursuivi sans relâche ce but transcendental de l'art chrétien."[4] The inspiring influence of Perugino and his group spread to Bologna and affected artists like Francia. Pinturicchio may or may not have been a disciple of Perugino; he certainly painted in much the same spirit (e. g., in the frescoes of Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome). In the Appartamenti Borgia in Rome he was humiliated by being compelled to introduce the portraits of Alexander VI and his relatives in sacred pictures. It gives one satisfaction to see the inferiority of this "œuvre purement mercenaire."[5] Luca Signorelli must have been influenced by Perugino in his beautiful frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. In other works he shows no "influences d'inspirations également heureuses."[6] He wished to become popular and to rival contemporary artists. Hence he began to study the nude, and even

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[1] Pp. 203 f.

[2] P. 220.

[3] P. 234.

[4] Pp. 235 f.

[5] P. 265.

[6] P. 273.

"rechercha les bonnes grâces de Laurent de Médici."[1] Now his style gained in force what it lost in purity. Hence the general admiration for his "Last Judgment" in Orvieto. With all its good points this painting "ne prouve qu'un progrès purement externe dans Luca Signorelli."[2] He had so exclusively devoted himself to the study of anatomy that he "avait fini par ne plus voir autre chose dans l'art et même dans l'homme."[3]

We now come to him "qui fait à la fois le couronnement et la clôture de l'école ombrienne, et qui a eu la gloire de porter l'art chrétien à son plus haut point de perfection,"[4] viz., Raphael. When Raphael first went to Florence, "le naturalisme était encore dans tout l'orgueil du triomphe obtenu sur Savonarole et ses partisans,"[5] but Raphael chose his associates—men like Ridolfo Ghirlandajo and Fra Bartolomeo—"dans le parti vaincu."[6] As Raphael went several times to Perugia between 1505 and 1508, he had opportunity to continue his early method. Rio then adds an appreciation of the Madonnas of the early period. The "Vierge au baldaquin" is the most beautiful: it is the triumph of Christian art. Later on, changes almost imperceptibly came over Raphael. Yet, "le paganisme, de plus en plus en vogue parmi les graveurs et les artistes florentins, n'arriva pas jusqu' à lui et ne souilla pas une seule fois la pureté de son pinceau." "Cette noble répugnance pour tout ce qui tendait à dégrader l'art chrétien"[7] explains why Raphael found few illustrious protectors.

Among the tasks put before Raphael when he was called to paint the walls of the "Camera della Segnatura" was one subject which may be regarded as "une bonne fortune sans pareille" to a painter trained in the atmosphere of the Umbrian school—the "Disputà." The painting which treats this subject is therefore a masterpiece "sans rivale dans l'histoire de la peinture." Soon after finishing this wonder of art, Raphael showed symptoms of decay.[8] Hence the admirers of his first style look upon his second "avec une sorte de répugnance ou au moins avec froideur." Rio feels compelled to polemize against Rumohr's explanation of this revolution in the great painter.[9]

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[1] P. 273.

[2] P. 274.

[3] P. 274.

[4] Pp. 274 f.

[5] Pp. 277 f.

[6] P. 278.

[7] Pp. 291 f.

[8] P. 294.

[9] Pp. 298 ff.

Now Rio introduces a long chapter on Savonarola. As lovers "de l'art et de la poésie chrétienne" we must remember, in order to understand the famous monk, that he found everything in Florence—art, manners, customs—polluted with paganism.[1] He saw that "la décadence des beaux-arts tenait principalement à la décadence du culte parmi les chrétiens."[2] His influence became tremendous, and the enthusiasm for his doctrines went so far that many voluptuous works of art, among them several antique statues, were destroyed. "Fra Bartolomeo apporta scrupuleusement tous les desseins qu'il avait faits comme études du nu, et son exemple fut suivi par Lorenzo di Credi et par plusieurs autres peintres qui avaient compris le besoin d'une prompte régénération pour leur art."[3]

The following chapter deals with the men who, according to Rio, in their art carried out Savonarola's teaching, especially Lorenzo di Credi, Fra Bartolomeo, and Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. He calls this "l'école religieuse pure."[4] Fra Bartolomeo is a great favorite of Rio, who delights in his "répugnance pour toute espèce de sujets profanes."[5] Ridolfo left the path of his father and became "le dernier représentant de l'école mystique."[6]

Many interesting works of the sixteenth century belong to "naturalisme." Though we find in them "conceptions beaucoup moins sublimes" than are those of the Umbrian school, they nevertheless stand in the front rank in the history of painting "quand on est venu à la période de décroissance."[7] Rio cannot by any means place as high an estimate as does Cochin in his *Voyage d'Italie* on the artists who imitate nature on the side of color. Yet "nous leur devons une sorte de reconnaissance pour avoir donné à cet élément subalterne tout le dévelopement dont il était susceptible."[8] To the glory of the artists of Florence be it said that even in the period of decadence "ils ne se sont pas laissés séduire par la vogue scandaleuse"—in matters of coloring—"qu' obtenaient les productions cyniques du Titien et de Jules Romain."[9]

[1] P. 305.

[2] P. 328.

[3] P. 352.

[4] P. 364.

[5] P. 371.

[6] P. 395.

[7] P. 396.

[8] P. 396.

[9] P. 397.

Andrea del Sarto had much talent, but lacked the highest inspiration. His disgraceful passion for Lucrezia del Fede made him put her into several of his paintings as the Virgin. Some of his Madonnas, like the one in the Annunziata in Florence, the Madonna del Sacco, and the Madonna of St. Francis in the Tribuna, are admirable; others belong to a "type vulgaire."[1]

Mantegna absorbed much from antiquity with wonderful powers of assimilation. Such skill makes one "regretter d'autant plus la perte d'un temps si précieux qu'il aurait pu consacrer exclusivement à la composition d'œuvres plus vitales."[2] Later—much to his advantage—he was somewhat influenced by Giovanni Bellini. The Madonna in S. Zeno in Verona, however, calls out Rio's enthusiastic approval. Mantegna had no great disciples—not even his two sons accomplished anything important. "Ce triste résultat prouve plus invinciblement qu'aucune théorie, la funeste influence exercée par l'élément païen sur les arts d'imagination, toutes les fois qu'il n'a pas été rigoureusement subordinné à l'élément religieux, le seul qui contienne le germe de traditions véritablement vivaces."[3] Mantua, "cette pauvre ville," was haunted by a sort of fatality. No sooner did the "école défectueuse" of Mantegna expire there than she hailed with delight "le cynique Jules Romain" whose brush, void of poetry, "était toujours incomparable quand il s'agissait de distiller le poison."[4]

Venice did not go to Mantua nor to Padua—where at one time Lippi found favor—for inspiration. She preferred to communicate with the "école pure et mystique" of Umbria.[5] The influence of Umbrian ideals continued in Venice until came "la grande invasion du naturalisme et du paganisme" at the end of the fifteenth century. Gentile da Fabriano established the connection between Venice and Umbria. He was in a sense the founder of the school of the Bellinis. German and Dutch art also influenced painting in Venice.[6]

Of the two Bellinis, Gentile had a leaning toward the principles of the school of Mantegna. Giovanni never did. He painted much better later in life than he had done earlier in his career.

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[1] Pp. 406 ff.

[2] P. 446.

[3] P. 454.

[4] P. 455.

[5] P. 457.

[6] Pp. 457 ff.

But his type of Christ was always the same. He never spoiled his works by making them merely graceful. The Virgin on his canvasses is always "toute entière au pressentiment de ses souffrances." This type of Madonna is not as beautiful as that of the Umbrian school, "mais il est plus prophétique."[1] After Antonello da Messina had taught him the art of painting in oil, he began to produce his greatest *chefs-d'œuvre.* Among these the Madonna in the Frari church in Venice is a masterpiece comparable to the greatest of the Umbrian school. The artist seems to have had an "avant-goût de la béatitude céleste"[2] when he painted it. The Madonna in S. Zaccaria in Venice is the "chef-d'œuvre de l'école vénitienne pour tout ce qui tient à la poésie et à la profondeur des caractères." We find in it "grace naïve" and "simplicité touchante"—the "attribus exclusifs des productions de cette époque, qui fut comme l'âge d'or de la peinture chrétienne."[3]

Among the other masters of the older period of Venetian art, Carpaccio is to him the most delightful. The Ursula series he calls "ce monument colossal de l'art chrétien."[4]

Among Giovanni Bellini's pupils occurred a schism. Some "s'engagèrent dans les voies du perfectionnement extérieur, à la suite du Giorgion, réformateur non moins impétueux ni moins hardi que son contemporain Luther." Others continued the principles of mystic art. They were "amplement dédomagés par le suffrage populaire de la pitié qu'ils inspiraient aux novateurs" (!).[5] Among those faithful to these sacred tenets, Vicenzo Catena was "l'un des plus grands peintres de l'école venitienne."[6]

Giovanni Bellini influenced artists in different parts of the Veneto, especially in Bergamo; these pure traditions in the little town explain the appearance of Palma Vecchio and Lorenzo Lotto.[7]

On the remaining pages of his book Rio speaks of the relation of painting to music, has praise for Paolo Veronese's "magnifique tableau des noces de Cana"[8] in the Louvre, shows how much longer the Venetian school retained religious feeling in painting than did other schools; furthermore, how intense the Christian spirit was in Venetian life, and how corruption ultimately overwhelmed Venice in the eighteenth century.[1]

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[1] P. 474. [2] P. 478. [3] P. 481. [4] P. 498. [5] P. 504.

[6] P. 506. Catena is now forgotten. Never does the danger of the Schlegel-Rio method become more apparent than by such praise bestowed on mediocrity.

[7] P. 517. [8] P. 524.

Was ever interpretation more subjective, capricious, one-sided, placed upon the works of the great artists of Italy? Not only does Rio neglect or despise nearly everything which to Cochin and Mengs seemed vital, but he goes so far in his reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century that he might fairly, by way of motto, have placed on the fly-leaf of his book the words of Friedrich Schlegel, quoted above: "Ich habe vorzüglich Sinn für den alten Styl in der christlichen Mahlerei, nur diese verstehe und begreife ich, und nur über diese kann ich reden." For with Rio, as with Schlegel, the supreme test of a work of art is: "Does it breathe the religious spirit?" not at all: "Is it well painted?" or, "Does it reflect a great artistic individuality?" That ill-starred confusion between art and religion, implied as early as 1790 in the principles of Tischbein's associates, which appeared for the first time in a printed work in Wackenroder's *Herzensergiessungen*, which gives to Fr. Schlegel's essays their glamor of originality, and which guided the brush of the artists grouped about Overbeck—informs every line of the *Poésie chrétienne*. What Wackenroder had preached with subdued sweetness here sounds in clarion notes. The *Poésie chrétienne* may be called the great manifesto of the Wackenroder-Schlegel school of criticism."[2]

[1] When the second volume appeared in 1855, Lindsay and Ruskin had begun to publish. It therefore does not interest us here, although it represents the same point of view as the first.

[2] That Rio was directly influenced by the writings of Fr. Schlegel is proved by a passage in the *Poésie* (p. 450) in which he quotes from the essay in the *Europa*, entitled "Gemäldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden," and calls Schlegel "l'homme qui a le plus vivement senti l'art chrétien dans les temps modernes et qui portait dans ses jugements esthétiques toute la candeur d'une belle âme jointe aux lumières d'un beau génie." The title of Rio's work, apparently so far-fetched, seems inspired by a passage in Schlegel's *Europa* (Vol. II, erstes Stück, pp. 113 ff.). Schlegel here discusses the two elements which are essential to good painting: technique and inspiration, "Geist und Buchstabe, Erfindung und Ausführung." Of the latter he says: "Auch ist die Erfindung so zu verstehen, dass, was man Anordnung und Composition nennt, mit darunter verstanden ist; mit einem Worte, *die Poesie* in dem Gemählde . . . . Geist und Buchstabe also, das Mechanische und die Poesie, das sind Bestandtheile der Mahlerei . . . . Einer möglichen Misdeutung müssen wir noch vorbeugen, was die Forderung der Poesie betrifft. Der Mahler soll ein Dichter seyn, das ist keine Frage; aber nicht eben ein Dichter in Worten, sondern in Farben. Mag er doch seine Poesie überall anders herhaben, als aus der Poesie selbst, wenn es nur Poesie ist. Das Beispiel der alten Mahler wird uns auch hier am besten orientiren. . . . . Aber wir

It is interesting to note the difference between Rio and Rumohr, the scholar to whom he avowedly owed so much. No one could be more deeply interested in the naïve religious painters of Italy than the great German critic. But Rumohr, checked by a thoroughly artistic temperament, never forgets that pictorially to interpret life in its multitudinous forms is as great a contribution to the spiritual development of the race as exclusively to study the manifestations of the religious spirit; is, in fact, in a broad sense, a form of worship. More than that, he never overlooks the tremendous importance of technique, and he is fully aware that to be a religious painter need by no means necessarily imply being a great artist.

But let us not be unjust. Rio, like Schlegel, is certainly not conspicuous for soundness. Yet, as Schlegel, by dint of those very exaggerations which offend us, freed Germany from Mengs, so Rio, by his profound love for the poetry of religion, freed France from the worldly and unsatisfactory critical dogma of Cochin. The Frenchman did even more than the German toward establishing in the eyes of the world the importance of those early masters who had so long been contemned, and who are so dear to us now. He did more, I say; for his book was destined to make a deep impression in various parts of Europe.

In France, to be sure, it was at first entirely unsuccessful. The publisher sold only twelve copies during the first five months after its appearance, and as late as 1838 Délacluse, the oracle in matters of art on the *Journal des Débats*, asked Rio's friend Montalembert whether Rio actually was in earnest with his peculiar views on painting. He even wrote articles which were meant to warn young artists against those ideas. A sort of despair fell

meinen darunter nur die poetische Ansicht der Dinge, und diese hatten die Alten näher aus der Quelle. Die Poesie der alten Mahler war theils die Religion, wie beim Perugino, Fra Bartholomeo und vielen andern Alten; theils Philosophie, wie beim tiefsinnigen Leonardo, oder aber beides, wie in dem unergründlichen Dürer." He continues to explain that the poetry of the Middle Ages was religion and mystic philosophy. Therefore in our scientific age, in which religion has virtually passed out of life, the painter's only recourse is "die universellste Kunst aller Künste . . . . die Poesie, wo er, wenn er sie gründlich studirt, beides vereinigt finden wird, sowohl die Religion als die Philosophie der alten Zeit. Dass nun eine *solche poetische Absicht* in den Gemählden der alten, sowohl italiänischen als deutschen Schule durchaus vorhanden, ja der eigentliche Zweck der Mahlerei sey, das liesse sich durch vollständige Induktion beweisen." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 114.) Rio's whole work appears like an attempt to furnish this *Induktion*.

on Rio.[1] Only in later years did the book become more influential in its own country.

In England, on the contrary, Rio was soon to make a profound impression. He had married an English woman, and from 1836 on he repeatedly visited Great Britain and there became acquainted with many prominent men, like Lord Stanhope, Lord Houghton, Carlyle, Gladstone, Manning, Wordsworth, and especially Samuel Rogers. Gladstone became deeply interested in the *Poésie chrétienne*, and took it with him on a trip to Italy in 1838.[2] The disciples of the new art-criticism after a time became so numerous in England that during the "season" of 1840 Rio's position was much like that of the chief of a sect.[3]

There was good reason why Rio at precisely this time should make so profound an impression in England, when his own country refused to understand him. For several years before his arrival the English cultured had been stirred by a religious upheaval which in intensity far surpassed any other that had ever reached this class. The Oxford Movement had been started by Keble in 1833. Pusey, enthusiastic and learned, had greatly added to its strength. In 1836 John Henry Newman began his investigations of Catholicism (cf. his *Romanism and Popular Protestanism*) which, starting in a spirit of hostility to Rome, were later to end in espousal of the Catholic *Weltanschauung.* In February, 1841, about the time when Rio was impressing London circles, appeared Newman's famous *Tract No. 90*, in which he tried to refute the allegation that the Thirty-nine Articles were irreconcilable with

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[1] *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 274, 275, 399, 400.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 325–60.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 406 ff. In 1854 there appeared in London a translation of the *Poésie*, entitled: *The Poetry of Christian Art, Translated from the French of A. F. Rio* (cf. *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 412 ff.). Among those who helped to spread Rio's doctrines one of the most enthusiastic was Mrs. Jameson (*Epil.*, loc. cit., p. 412). In 1841 she met Rio in Paris. She calls this meeting "the great event of my life here" (cf. *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson*, by her Niece Gerardine Macpherson [Boston, 1878], p. 176), and further mentions visiting the Louvre in his company. Mrs. Jameson's books, written before this meeting (e. g., *The Diary of an Ennuyée*, 1826; *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad*, 1834), betray no interest in the early artists. In 1841 she began to devote her life to the interpretation of sacred art. The most important product of her new studies is her *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* (1845) and especially her *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848 ff.). About this time the *Poésie* was taken up with enthusiasm even in Italy. Manzoni and Cesare Cantù admired it, and, Rio states, an Italian translation with notes by Rumohr appeared (I know nothing more of this translation). (Cf. *Epilogue*, Vol. II, pp. 400, 419, 423.) Germany, the country of Rumohr, was naturally less impressed with the *Poésie.* Yet Cornelius read it and gave it to Frederick William IV (*ibid.*, p. 416).

Roman Catholic teaching. Sinister significance was given to this publication by the fact that a strong current was beginning to set toward Rome. Many superior minds felt that in the English Church might be found modest types of goodness, but that the Roman produced the heroic. There was a strong rebound in Anglican England from insular ignorance and prejudice in matters Catholic. English travelers had come in contact with high-minded French priests of great originality and eloquence, like Lamennais and Montalembert, the friends of Rio.

These convictions took a strong hold of W. G. Ward, remarkable for great controversial gifts. In his writings he constantly compared the English church with the Roman, to the disadvantage of the former (cf. his *Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1844). Newman's apostasy in 1845 marked the culmination of these Roman tendencies, but broke the Oxford Movement.[1]

So then Rio, coming to England while the movement was reaching white heat, found what he missed at home: an atmosphere surcharged with religious sentiment and spirituality. What wonder his teaching was taken up with an avidity, a violence, to which many a page in Ruskin bears eloquent witness! This atmosphere was identical in essentials with that which, two generations earlier, among German artists had produced the reaction against Mengs, and a little later had given birth to German pre-Raphaelitism.

Because of these favorable conditions, Rio's message was destined indirectly to become a great factor in the present culture of the English-speaking nations.

In 1847 Lord Lindsay put out in London his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art.*[2] This work, written in letters to a young friend, aims to call attention to the importance of Christian art, and is based, for material, chiefly on Rumohr; for interpretation, on Rio. Lanzi, Förster, Kugler, and others are also quoted;

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[1] Cf. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement* (London, 1900).

[2] Alex. Will. Crawford Lindsay, twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford (1812–80), was profoundly religious throughout his life and directed his last years to the study of religious history. His sympathy with its artistic side resulted in his best work, the book mentioned above. The second edition of it appeared in 1882. (Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography sub* "Lindsay.") This edition, according to the introductory notice, offers no changes from the first. I used the American reprint of it (New York, 1886).

nevertheless, Rumohr and Rio are the author's guides, and he constantly refers to them. He calls the *Poésie chrétienne* "a work graceful, eloquent and appreciative, and calculated to make enthusiasts in the cause of the *Ecole mystique*, exclusively of all other excellence."

The very first pages reveal Lindsay's view-point. We read there:

> But the Sculpture of Greece is the voice of Intellect and Thought, communing with itself in solitude, feeding on beauty and yearning after truth. While the Painting of Christendom—(and we must remember that the glories of Christianity in the full extent of the term, are yet to come)—is that of an immortal spirit, conversing with its God.[1]

He disclaims indifference toward Greek art ("do not for a moment suppose me insensible to classical art"), and pretends to take great pleasure in the Elgin marbles. Yet he continues: "But none of these completely satisfy us. The highest element of truth and beauty, the Spiritual, was beyond the soar of Phidias and Praxiteles." Consequently the Christian *Weltanschauung* is far superior to the Greek. Hence the "vantage" of the Bible over the *Iliad*.[2] The fine arts are a sort of Trinity of Unity. Architecture symbolizes the Father, Sculpture the Son, and Painting the Holy Spirit, the Smile of God illuminating creation.[3]

The work contains first a treatise on "The Ideal, and the Character and Dignity of Christian Art;" then one entitled "Table of Symbols: The Hierogryphical language of the Universal Church during the Early Ages." Then come (among other things) "Sketches of the History of Christian Art," dealing with Christian painting, sculpture, and architecture down to the fifteenth century. The author stopped here, but hoped some time to continue.

Lindsay's *Sketches* in themselves have no great importance. They are of interest because symptomatic of a new current, and furthermore because they helped to inspire him in whom the whole movement in favor of Christian art culminated.

Ruskin, by temperament and training as religious as Rio and Lindsay, very early in life exhibited a strong affection for the picturesque in architecture.[1] This predilection was perhaps encouraged in him by the presumption in favor of Gothic architecture started, as we saw, by Englishmen and Germans in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth most powerfully furthered in England by Pugin.

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[1] *Sketches*, Vol. I, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

For early Italian painting, we know, there was little feeling in England before the appearance of the *Poésie chrétienne.* Hence it was possible for Ruskin to go to Italy as a young man without appreciating the merit of the older school. He even could publish a treatise on art (*Modern Painters*, Vol. I, 1843) in which appears none of that explosive enthusiasm for Christian painting which fills many of his later publications. In the autumn and winter of 1844–45 he claims to have studied Rio and Lindsay.[2] He could now say of himself: "perceiving thus, what a blind bat and puppy I had been, all through Italy, determined that at least I must see Pisa and Florence again before writing another word of *Modern Painters*."[3]

From now on it became one of the chief labors of his life to spread the gospel that art can be inspiring and uplifting, can be an ennobling force, only as long as it is the expression of the religious spirit. This spirit, however, he found exclusively in the early masters. The wordliness and learning of the Renaissance killed it.[4]

His attitude is perhaps most clearly and forcibly expressed in his essay on "Pre-Raphaelitism," originally delivered in November, 1853, as Lecture IV of the "Lectures on Architecture and Painting."[5] Here he tells us:

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[1] See his *Poetry of Architecture*, etc., written when he was nineteen, and published over the *nom-de-plume* "Kata Phusin" (cf. Collingwood, *The Life and Work of John Ruskin* [Boston and New York, 1893], Vol. I, pp. 81 ff.).

[2] Cf. *Praeterita*, 2d ed. (New York, no date), Vol. II, p. 186. He probably read and studied Rio at this time, but his memory must have played him false in regard to Lindsay, for the latter's book did not appear until 1847. Ruskin wrote a review of the *Sketches* in the year of their appearance, and published it in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1847. It is reprinted in *On the Old Road.* Collingwood (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139) uncritically copies *Praeterita.*

[3] *Praeterita*, Vol. II, p. 186. In consequence he inserted in the third edition of Vol. I of *Modern Painters* the passages on the drawing of flowers by Cima da Conegliano, Fra Angelico, etc.

[4] Fortunately, Ruskin is not always consistent. We should hardly expect dithyrambic enthusiasm for Tintoretto from the greatest follower of Rio.

[5] Cf. the "Brantwood edition" of *Ruskin's Works* (New York, 1892), pp. 187 ff.

> Now the division of time which the Pre-Raphaelites [meaning, of course, Rossetti and his friends] have adopted, in choosing Raphael as the man whose works mark the separation between Mediævalism and Modernism, is perfectly accurate. It has been accepted as such by all their opponents. You have, then, the three periods: Classicalism, extending to the fall of the Roman empire; Mediævalism, extending from that fall to the close of the fifteenth century; and Modernism thenceforward to our days. Classicism began with Pagan Faith. Mediævalism began and continued, wherever civilisation began and continued to *confess* Christ.

About the time of Raphael began the denial of religious belief. Modernism is characterized by indifference to God and his word. The consequence is that all ancient art was religious, and all modern art is profane;

> . . . . that art is the *impurer* for not being in the service of Christianity, is indisputable, and that is the main point I have now to do with . . . . just as classical art was greatest in building to its gods, so mediæval art was great in building to its gods, and modern art is not great, because it builds to no God.

No one could claim:

> . . . . that Angelico painting the life of Christ, Benozzo painting the life of Abraham, Ghirlandajo painting the life of the Virgin, Giotto painting the life of St. Francis, were worse employed, or likely to produce a less healthy art, than Titian painting the loves of Venus and Adonis, than Correggio painting the naked Antiope, than Salvator painting the slaughters of the thirty years' war. If you will not let me call the one kind of labour Christian, and the other unchristian, at least you will let me call the one moral, and the other immoral, and that is all I ask you to admit . . . . . When the entire pupose of art was moral teaching, it naturally took truth for its first object, and beauty, and the pleasure resulting from beauty, only for its second. But when it lost all purpose of moral teaching, it as naturally took beauty for its first object, and truth for its second.

Raphael, Ruskin goes on to explain, was responsible for "the great change which clouds the career of mediæval art." For in his twenty-fifth year he decorated the chambers of the Vatican, where he wrote

> the Mene, Tekel, Upharsin of the Arts of Christianity . . . . . And he wrote it thus: On one wall of that chamber he placed a picture of the World or Kingdom of *Theology*, presided over by *Christ*. And on the side wall of

that same chamber he placed the World or Kingdom of *Poetry*, presided over by *Apollo*. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation.

If Bury had put in writing the views which left such an impress on his fellow-painters in Rome, and which later irritated Meyer, he might have expressed himself much as does Ruskin here, though doubtless less violently. Certainly Ruskin's statement sounds like an expansion and exaggeration of certain passages in Fr. Schlegel's *Gemähldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden*, and some sentences in it strike one like modified transcriptions from Rio.[1] His passionate preference for the early masters is attested again and again throughout his work. We are all familiar with the praise of Cimabue, Giotto, Orcagna, Fra Angelicò, etc., found in the various volumes of *Modern Painters* and in other works. We remember, too, that Lippi and Botticelli rose on his horizon comparatively late in life—and the fact is not without significance for one who had read Rio. We further call to mind Ruskin's contempt for the Bolognese, especially for Cochin's favorite, Guercino, and also, in spite of appreciation for his technical ability, for that other darling of the eighteenth century, Correggio. "Sensuality and impurity" soiled the brush of both. The Renaissance, readers of Ruskin are well aware, was to the great prose-poet merely an age of decay. As Wackenroder fifty years before had pleaded for a simple spirit in art, and had professed contempt for technique, so his famous English successor never tires of lauding "simple and unlearned men" like Giotto, Orcagna, Angelico, Memmi, Pisano, and of attacking "the learned men that followed them."[2] For knowledge and science (especially the science of words) are a burden. They have a pestilent effect. They lead to the pride of science which killeth; "the one main purpose of the Renaissance artists, in all their work, was to show how much they knew." This is "Renaissance Pride."[3] The interest in paganism, so strong during the Renaissance, is deplorable. There followed from this interest that "all the most exalted faculties of man, which, up to that period, had been employed in the service of Faith, were now transferred to the service of Fiction."[1] The inevitable corollary of such self-conceit was decay. This is the great "Mene" to be derived from the study of Venetian history.[2]

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[1] Cf. above, p. 55.

[2] *Stones of Venice*, "The Spite of the Proud," sec. 23 (Brantwood edition).

[3] *Ibid.*, sec. 32.

Ruskin goes beyond Rio, and the Germans from whom Rio borrowed, in more persistently emphasizing the purely moral aspect of art. This attitude frequently comes to the surface in Ruskin's writings, and is perhaps most tersely expressed in "The Relation of Art to Morals," the third of the "Lectures on Art": "You must have the right moral state first, or you cannot have the art. But when the art is once obtained, its reflected action enhances and completes the moral state out of which it arose."[3]

This inability to recognize the essential difference between the moral and the artistic instinct was common in the literary and the art criticism of all countries in the eighteenth century. In Germany the cultured had become accustomed to a clearer method of thinking through Geothe's and Schiller's illuminating contributions to criticism. In England and America, mainly through Ruskin's influence, absence of mature insight to this day characterizes discussions of the subject.

It is not my purpose, however, to show how much harm Ruskin has done. Quite the contrary. Certainly his method is viciously unscientific. To quote a felicitous word of Professor Norton: "Today he rides with Sir Galahad, pure, inspired, steadfast as he; tomorrow with Don Quixote, generous, deluded, extravagant as he."[4] Yet it was he who by dint of an unequaled genius for prose and an irresistible enthusiasm made love for beauty a strong factor in English culture, and thus gave it a degree of mellowness which, without his influence, it might lack. Surely, to have accomplished that is as much as any mortal need aspire to attain. His very lack of balance helped him, as lack of balance had helped Rousseau, with whom he has so much in common. And his insistence on the identity of religion and true art was the very channel through which his message found ready access to the hearts of thousands of his countrymen. For, while the German public had been disciplined through the influence of Goethe, Meyer, and Rumohr, the English had remained indifferent to art in spite of Reynolds and Fuseli,[1] and hence could best be reached through its veneration for Christian dogma.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, sec. 102.

[2] See the concluding chapters of *The Stones of Venice.*

[3] Cf. Brantwood edition, p. 80.

[4] Brantwood edition, volume containing the "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," p. v.

Ruskin's influence, though still strong, is no longer as overwhelming as it was even twenty years ago. The author of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* has done his share toward mitigating it. Let us not lapse into the tone of bitterness or ridicule which marks much of the estimate of Ruskin on the part of Whistler's school. Still, let us not forget that what was pardonable, even admirable, in Bury, Wackenroder, and Schlegel, as a protest against a view of art chill with intellectuality, need no longer control us who have been freed.[2]

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[1] This indifference had evidently not been greatly mitigated by Thomas Phillips' *Lectures on the History and Principles of Painting* (London, 1833). In the first of these delivered in 1827, he introduced an appreciative estimate of Giotto. In the second, delivered in the same year, he shows fair understanding of Masaccio and rather remarkable insight into the genius of Signorelli. But he evidently has no understanding of Lippi, Botticelli or Ghirlandajo. Besides, Phillips' style was hardly adapted to arouse a whole nation.

[2] I owe grateful ackowledgment to Geheimrat Professor Suphan and Archivrat Dr. Schüddekopf, of Weimar; to Professor C. E. Norton, of Cambridge, Mass.; as well as to the libraries of Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Chicago, for their generosity in granting me access to valuable material.

A VENETIAN FOLK-SONG

It may be that D'Ancona is right in assuming the following song[1] to be welded together of three separate fragments.[2] But when he says it is badly welded he oversteps the mark.[3] The joints of a ballad may be visible after the people are done with their soldering, but it is often an ill thing to denominate what they have joined mere casual patchwork; because reasons for such assembling of parts may exist, although the critic beneath his lamp behold them not. The *volkslied* is herewith divided, however as D'Ancona suggests:

O morte dispietata
Tu m' hai fatto gran torto:
Tu m' hai tolto mia donna,
Ch' era lo mio conforto,
La notte con lo die,
Fino all' alba del giorno.
Giammai non vidi donna
Di cotanto valore,
Quanto era la Caterina
Che mi donò il suo amore.

La mi tenne la staffa,
Ed io montai in arcione;
La mi pôrse la lancia,
Ed io imbracciai la targa;
La mi pôrse la spada,
La mi calzò lo sprone;
La mi misse l' elmetto.

Io gli parlai d' amore:
Addio, bella sora,
Ch' io me ne vò a' Vignone,
Ad Avignone in Francia,
Per acquistare onore.
S' io fo colpo di lancia,
Farò per vostro amore;
S' io moro alla battaglia,
Morrò per vostro amore.
Diran le maritate:
Morto è il nostro amadore;
Diran le pulzellette:
Morto è per nostro amore;
Diran le vedovelle:
Vuolsegli fare onore.
Dove il sotterreremo?
'N Santa Maria del Fiore.
Di che lo copriremo?
Di rose e di viole.

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[1] Widter-Wolf, *Volkslieder aus Venetien* (1864), no. 139.

[2] In his *La poesia popolare italiana* (1878), p. 87, D'Ancona says: "Nella seguente ci sembrano accozzati, e mal saldati insieme, più frammenti di diverse canzoni: l'uno dei quali va a tutto il decimo verso; poi un altro da questo al diciassettesimo, e dal diciassettesimo fino alla fine, l'ultimo. Così, come vedremo accadere assai spesso nella poesia cantata è raccomandata soltanto alla memoria, si sarebbero fusi e confusi insieme pezzi appartenenti a diversi componimenti."

[3] Such purely subjective statement is happily passing out of fashion among Italian folklorists. It is the old school as represented by Pitrè (*Studi di poesia popolare*, 1872) and Rubieri (*Storia della poesia popolare italiana*, 1877) which cannot deal with facts without coloring them.

It has long been the favorite play of leisure moments to hunt through odd volumes of German *schnaderhüpfel* or of Italian *ballate* for the as yet undiscovered sources of certain songs of Wilhelm Müller's.[1] There are many still to be added to the already long list of his appropriations.[2] In one sense this deliberate search for models partakes somewhat of the pettiness inherent in all source-hunting—in so far at least as its underlying motive may at times be nothing more than to fasten the stigma of plagiarism upon a half-forgotten poet. But, viewed from another standpoint, it is important to know as fully as we may the very last detail of Müller's gleanings from the vernacular verse of earlier generations. For he had an almost unparalleled success in melting foreign themes and forms into the liquid simplicity of his own German verses, afterwards to pass them on to Eichendorff and Heine—not even Rückert escaped the contagion of Müller's boyish enthusiasm. Of course, it was Goethe's great confession in the form of lyric and ballad poetry which made up the bible of Romantic rhyming (with its Old Testament of Klopstock and Herder—its New Testament of the Master in Weimar); but, had it not been for Bürger, we should have been spared the *schauerromanze* at which every adolescent contemporary tried his hand. Had it not been for Müller, late Romanticism would have lost that *je ne sais quoi* of transparent sweetness, that certain something of lyric simplicity and directness which so lives in its musical quatrains.

Arnold has shown Müller's pre-eminent ability in adapting Greek prototypes, and commented upon that deftness of touch which Goethe and Chamisso rarely equaled;[1] and likewise the poet's demonstrable aptitude for rendering Italian snatches and south-German doggerel is little short of marvelous. In these fields no other Romanticist approached him.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 165, 166, 213, 214; *ibid.*, Vol. XVI (1901), pp. 37, 38; *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III (1901), pp. 35–91, 431–91.

[2] I have not been able to ascertain what were the printed anthologies of Italian folk-songs which Müller made the basis of the collection that he began in 1818; only part of which was in the manuscript turned over by his heirs to Wolff ten years later. One has but to be familiar with the method of Müller's copying from Meinert (*Alte teutsche Volkslieder*, 1817), Ziska and Schottky (*Oesterreichische Volkslieder*, 1819), and Fauriel (ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ, 1824) to be sure that it was printed and not oral material which furnished the groundwork of the songs which we know he adapted from the Italian. Further proof of this fact, if such be needed, meets one on almost every page of his *Egeria*. The long ballads and chapbook histories which occur in this book, the difficult and various dialectic verses, the villanelles, chansonnettes, and dialogues couched in impeccable literary diction, inform us sufficiently that exacter means than those of oral transmission were everywhere used. When these printed sources of Müller's songs are found—the songs which were later printed in *Egeria*, as well as those which the poet for obvious reasons suppressed—models for certain other poems of Müller's will come to light.

For the reasons above given, then, it seems worth recording that I recently came upon the source of Müller's *Altitalienisches Volkslied* while reading D'Ancona's familiar collection of Italian popular songs. The translation, as so often in Müller, is extremely close to its original.[3] Two verses are omitted (13, 14) as offering perhaps but a tiring repetition, a phrase or two is added (as *amore*=*Lieb' und Leiden*), but the sure and German reworking has all the lilt and color of the model. For the sake of convenient reference Müller's song is here given:

O Tod, du mitleidloser,
Was tat ich dir zu Leide?
Du raubtest mir mein Mädchen,
Sie, alle meine Freude!
Bei Nacht und auch bei Tage,
Beim roten Morgenscheine,
Noch nie hab' ich ein Mädchen
Gesehn von solchem Preise
Wie meine Katharina,
Sie, alle meine Freude!
Sie hielt mir meinen Bügel,
Wollt' ich zu Rosse steigen,
Sie schnallte mir die Sporen,
Sie tat das Schwert mir reichen,
Sie setzte mir den Helm auf.
Ich sprach von Lieb' und Leiden:
Lebwohl, mein holdes Mädchen!
Nach Avignon ich reite,
Von Avignon nach Franken,[4]
Mir Ehren zu erstreiten;
Und wenn ich Lanzen breche,
Ist's nur für deine Liebe;
Und wenn ich fall' im Kampfe,
Fall' ich zu deinem Preise.
Dann sprechen alle Frauen:
Da liegt er, den wir meinen;
Dann sprechen alle Mädchen:
Für uns fiel er im Streite;
Dann sprechen alle Witwen:
Wie ehren wir die Leiche?
Wo soll'n wir ihn begraben?
Im Dom zu Sankt-Mareien.
Womit soll'n wir ihn decken?
Mit Rosen und mit Veilchen.

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[1] *Der deutsche Philhellenismus* (1896), *passim.*

[2] Even the graceful Eichendorff, despite his *Zerbrochenes Ringlein*, had but ill success in his more concrete copying of popular lyric balladry; testimony of which are his *Zigeunerin*, *Soldat 1 und 2*, *Glücksritter*, *Schreckenberger*, *Lied mit Thränen*, *Die Kleine*. A detailed investigation in the popular sources and technique of Eichendorff undertaken by Mr. J. H. Heinzelman, of the University of Chicago, will elucidate this point.

[3] Compare with Müller's adaptation Rückert's translation of the Venetian *barcarola* ("La biondina in gondoletta") which I find in *Egeria*, edd. Müller and Wolff (1829), p. 205; or Rückert's Roman ritornelles which he had from Müller (*Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (1820), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.; *Egeria*, pp. 1, 2). Compare Kopisch's renderings in *Agrumi* (1838), or Blessig's in *Römische Ritornelle* (1860), or even Heyse's in *Italienisches Liederbuch* (1860). However the comparative artistic worth of these different reproductions be adjudged, none of them vies with Müller's in fidelity to its original, in the unexampled ease of transference.

[4] Müller's original had evidently *E da Vignone*, etc., in line 21.

Now, who will say, after reading this translation from Italian folk-song, that Müller's appraisal of his original is not more justifiable than D'Ancona's? If there be really seams in the fabric of the Venetian *ballata*, they mark but the sewing-together of a harmonious whole, None who studies popular balladry that does not know with what an intuitive sympathy the humble artist often knits together new songs out of scarce-remembered remnants. And Wilhelm Müller was ever content to put full faith in the musicality of his ingenuous model. Like ourselves he had doubtless heard *his canzone sung* from some unseen gondola across the canal, before he met with it in print.[1] He knew it, that is, before it was stripped of its quavering tenor note of intensity, before it was prepared for division into three parts by D'Ancona.

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[1] In comparing Müller's original with its translation and noting the greater metrical smoothness of the latter, it must be remembered that in the one the syllables have been fitted to the song, in the other the song to the syllables. In the *ballata*, that is, a line with deficiency of syllables means a sostenuto note in the air, whereas an excess of syllables presumably marks a staccato bar. Cf. Busk, *Folksongs of Italy* (1887), pp. 19 f.

GALICIAN *G*

Although Galicia has long been politically a part of Spain, its language is not, as Castilian writers often say, a dialect of Spanish. Its real affinities are readily made clear by a comparison of almost any of the earlier phonetic developments that differ in the two official tongues of the peninsula.

Latin	Spanish	Portuguese	Galician
caelu	cielo	céu	ceo
bona	buena	boa	boa
plēnu	lleno	cheio	cheo
hodie	hoy	hoje	hoxe
januariu	enero	janeiro	xaneiro
folia	hoja	folha	folla
basiavit	besó	beijou	beixou
factu	hecho	feito	feito
illa anima	el alma	a(i) alma	ay alma

In its later history Galician has followed sometimes one language, sometimes the other. Thus *x* still retains, as in Portuguese and Catalan, the sound of English *sh*, Slavonic š (*ш*), while Spanish has altered it to a velar fricative similar to Russian *х* in *пасха* "Easter." On the other hand *ch*, reduced to a simple fricative in Portuguese (as in modern French), represents the same sound-group in Galician as in Spanish and English. The distinction of open and close stressed *o* seems almost entirely lost, probably through the influence of Spanish; but unstressed *o* has taken the sound of *u*, as it has in Portuguese.

In one case Galician has undergone a peculiar change unknown in the sister-tongues: a surd fricative similar to Andalusian *j*, intermediate to Castilian *j* and English *h*, has developed out of non-palatalized *g*, as in *xogo* "game," *chaga* "wound," *seguer* "follow," *longo* "long," *algun* "some," *negro* "black." This remarkable change, apparently contrary to the usual Romance laws of phonetics, reminds one of the High German shifting of sonant occlusives to surd fricatives, as in *wissen* corresponding to Slovenian *videti*, Italian *vedere;* but its development was presumably something quite different.

In Spanish the surd fricatives *ç ss x* were formerly distinguished from the sonants *z s j*, as they still are in Portuguese. The loss of these sonants Galician shared with Spanish, in which they became surd some centuries ago; and this change was probably connected with that of Galician *g* into its present *h*-like sound. In the peninsular tongues there has always been a tendency to weaken the originally occlusive sounds of *b d g* to fricatives; and supposing this tendency to have been especially strong in the case of early Galician *g*, it is perfectly natural that this sonant fricative should have become surd when the others did.

Against this proposed solution of the question, the objection might be made that of the three consonants *b d g*, the one that has the least tendency to become fricative, in modern Spanish and Portuguese, is *g*. But this objection is by no means fatal, for it is not uncommon to find in a language opposite tendencies during different periods of its history or in different portions of its sound-system. French has gradually gotten rid of all its falling diphthongs, some being changed to rising ones (*ie oi ui*) and others contracted to simple vowels (*ai ei au eu ou*); but the modern language seems to be on the point of forming new ones with the help of vowelized palatal *l*. In English the tongue is generally drawn back from the teeth; in French there is just the opposite tendency. Notwithstanding this, English keeps unaltered the two dentilingual fricatives written *th* (Icelandic *ð* and *þ*), while French lost these sounds long ago. The theory of an early Galician fricative *g* therefore seems an entirely safe assumption; and it is moreover apparently the only one that will account for the modern sound.

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SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART II[1]

CHAPTER III. THE GENERAL SETTING AND MACHINERY

Besides the central allegory and its symbolic accessories, the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*[2] deserve consideration. Most of the elements of the setting, making up the whole framework of the poem, are conventional. Yet even those that are most conventional require some attention, because many of them have been cited as evidences of indebtedness of the author of *F. L.* to particular poems.

THE ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCE

The first point to be noted is the fixing of the time of the poem by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac:

When that Phebus his chaire of gold so hy (1)
Had whirled up the sterry sky aloft,
And in the Bole was entred certainly.

This passage calls to mind at once a similar reference near the beginning of the prologue to *C. T.*, in which Chaucer may have been imitating either his Italian models or Boethius and earlier Latin writers. Whatever the source for Chaucer, the French poets do not seem to have cared for this device, as I do not find it in any French poem otherwise resembling *F. L.* Chaucer, however, used it a great deal, as the following passages show:

In the *Knight's Tale*, on the May morning when Arcite is to "doon his observaunce,"

fyry Phebus ryseth up so brighte,
That al the orient laugheth of the lighte.[3]

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[1] For valuable suggestions and assistance, in ways too numerous to mention, I should acknowledge indebtedness to Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University; Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard University; and the following members of the faculties of the University of Chicago: Professors Karl Pietsch, T. A. Jenkins, Philip S. Allen, John M. Manly, F. I. Carpenter, A. H. Tolman, and Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. My obligation to Professor Manly is particularly great, for he suggested the subject, pointed out much of the material, and assisted with comment and criticism from the beginning to the end of my investigation.

[2] For a list of abbreviations used, see Part I of this study, *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, p. 122, n. 2.

[3] *C. T.*, A, ll. 1493, 1494.

In the *Merchant's Tale,*

> Phebus of gold his stremes doun hath sent,
> To gladen every flour with his warmnesse.[1]

In the *Franklin's Tale,* "Phebus"

> Shoon as the burned gold with stremes brighte.[2]

In *T. C.* we have the same time as that of *F. L.* indicated in the same way:

> Whan Phebus doth his brighte bemes sprede
> Right in the whyte Bole.[3]

And at the very end of the fragmentary *Squire's Tale* is precisely the figure used in *F. L.:*

> Appollo whirleth up his char so hye.[4]

Lydgate also makes striking use of the astronomical reference. In his *B. K.,*[5] which bears many other resemblances to *F. L.*, all the essential elements of our first three lines are combined: "Phebus" and his "chaire of gold," his rapid movement, and his position in the "Bole" on May Day.

> In May, whan Flora, the fresshe lusty quene, (1)
> The soile hath clad in grene, rede, and whyte,
> And Phebus gan to shede his stremes shene
> Amid the Bole, with al the bemes brighte,

the action of the poem begins; and later the sun's "char of golde his cours so swiftly ran" (l. 595), that twilight came and gave the poet a chance to write about what he had seen. Lydgate nearly always called the sun "Phebus," and often mentioned his chariot of gold.[6] Other imitators of Chaucer began occasionally with astronomical references, as, for example, the Scottish poets; but none with any such frequency as Lydgate.

THE SPRING SETTING

After fixing the time as indicated, our poet proceeds with a description of the joys and the beauties of spring. Such details, it is well known, are extremely common in mediæval poetry. The spring setting is almost always found in love lyrics and love allegories, on account of the natural and universal association of the springtime with love. Accordingly it would be futile, even if it were desirable, to attempt here an exhaustive treatment of mediæval "spring poetry." Only works that present, along with the conventional setting, details and circumstances resembling in some way those of *F. L.* can be examined. Accounts of such works, nearly all poetical, and arranged approximately in chronological order, will make up the remainder of this chapter.

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[1] *C. T.*, E, ll. 2220, 2221. [2] *C. T.*, F, l. 1247. [3] *T. C.*, II, ll. 54, 55. [4] *C. T.*, F, l. 671.

[5] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff. See analysis, p. 306 below.

[6] See *Chaucerian Pieces*, XIII, l. 26; XXII, l. 30; *M. P.*, pp. 2, 6, 8, 24 ("the golden chayre of Phebus"), 96, 118, 138 ("Phebus goldene chare"), 151, 153, 156, 160, 161, 182, 194, 195, 213, 215, 216, 218, 242, 245; *Night. I*, ll. 26, 92; *T. G.*, ll. 5, 272, note p. 69; *R. S.*, ll. 450, 3766, 4606 ("the chare of Phebus"); *Thebes*, Chalmers, Vol. I, pp. 570, 588, 603; *Isopus*, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. LXXXV, pp. 1 ff., ll. 86, 390; *Anglia*, Vol. IX, pp. 3, l. 30; 18, l. 33; 22, ll. 10, 15.

Pastourelles—Provençal and French

From very early times the *pastourelle* was a popular form of Romance poetry, with a perfectly conventional setting and situation that suggests the germ of *F. L.* In spring, when the birds sing and flowers bloom, a knight or the poet, riding through a meadow or a forest, finds a pretty shepherdess guarding her flocks and weaving garlands, sometimes of leaves, more often of flowers. Examples are so numerous that no exhaustive list can be made here.[1] The following by an unknown Provençal poet will illustrate the type:

Eu'm levei un bon mati, (5)
　　enans de l'albeta;
anei m'en en un vergier
　　per cuillir violeta;
　　et auzi un chan
　　bel, de luenh; gardan
　　trobei gaia pastorela
　　sos anhels gardan.[2]

Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours

The first long French poem to be considered is the *Fablel*,[3] of the latter part of the twelfth century—one of the earliest allegories based in part on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and preparing the way for *R. R.* As such it has been analyzed in several recent monographs,[1] but some details require attention here. After lying in bed one morning with no delight but in amorous thought, the poet fell asleep and dreamed, in part as follows:

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[1] See Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. II, pp. 160, 171, 177, 211; Vol. III, p. 36; Tarbé, *Les chansonniers de Champagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Reims, 1850), pp. 2, 13, 18, 21, 23, 122, 123, 124; Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XIIe au XIVe siècles* (Bruxelles, 1876), p. 68; *Trouvères belges* (nouvelle série; Louvain, 1879), p. 111; Paris, *Chansons du XVe siècle*, pp. 6, 32, 114; *Poésies de Froissart*, Vol. II, pp. 306 ff.; *Œuvres poétiques* de Christine de Pisan, Vol. II, pp. 223 ff.

[2] Quoted from Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (Zweite Auflage, 1902), p. 88. The same poem is found in Mahn, Vol. II, p. 171; and in Diez, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, p. 119.

[3] Ed. A. Jubinal (Paris, 1834).

> Je me levoie par .j. matin en may, (13)
> Por la douchor des oysiaus et del glai,
> Del loussignot, del malvis et dou gai.
> Qant fui levés en .j. pré m'en entrai.
>
> Je vos dirai com faite estoit la praerée;
> L'erbe i fu grande par desous la rousée.

Through the meadow ran a clear, beautiful brook that would make young any old man who should bathe in it. The poet continues:

> Parmi le prée m'alai esbanoient, (33)
> Lès le rivière tout dalés .j. pendant;
> Gardai amont deviers soleil luisant:
> .J. vergié vic; cèle part vinc errant.

This garden was surrounded by a ditch and a high wall; but the poet, being "courtois," was allowed to enter.

> Qant jou oï [he says] des oisyllons le crit, (78)
> D'autre canchon en che liu ne de dit,
> N'eusse cure, che saciés tout de fit.
>
> Sous ciel n'a home, s'il les oïst canter,[2]
> Tant fust vilains ne l'esteut amer;
> Illuec m'asis por mon cors deporter,
> Desous une ente ki mult fait a loer.
>
> Elle est en l'an .iij. fois de tel nature:
> Elle flourist, espanist et meure;
> De tous mehains garist qui li honeure,
> Fors de la mort vers cui riens n'a segure.
>
> Qant desous l'ente, el vergié fui assis,
> Et jou oi des oysillons les cris,
> De joie fu si mes cuers raemplis,
> Moi fu avis que fuisse en paradis.[3]

Then the poet heard the nightingale call the other birds about him and complain of the degeneracy of love. In the remainder of the poem we have no present interest.

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[1] Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1890); Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI (1899). Professor Neilson has dealt with a large number of the works discussed in this chapter, but for a different purpose than mine. I shall not usually make specific reference to his valuable study.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 37, 38.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 113-15.

DE VENUS LA DEESSE D'AMOR

The main ideas of the *Fablel* are repeated and somewhat amplified in *Venus*,[1] in which, to quote from Gaston Paris, "est décrit le 'Champ Fleuri,' jardin ou 'paradis' où règne le dieu d'amour, dont la cour est composée d'oiseaux!"[2] Here we do not find the dream setting of the *Fablel*—a lover has been awake all night because of love; but the springtime setting is there, presented in terms so similar that quotation is needless. In this poem a lover by chance saw Venus and three damsels of her train, somewhat as the author of *F. L.* saw the companies there described.

LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Much more important than the *Fablel* or *Venus* is that portion of *R. R.* written by Guillaume de Lorris.[3] Not only does it present more points of resemblance to *F. L.* than any other poem written before the latter half of the fourteenth century,[4] but it set the fashion in allegory for more than two hundred years, and was thus in a way the literary parent of nearly all the other works to which our author may have been indebted.

The poet dreams that on a beautiful May morning (described in great detail)[5] he rose early and went forth until he came to a river, along which he wandered through a "medewe softe, swote, and grene" (l. 128), until he came to a garden (vergier) inclosed with high walls on which were portraits of the deadly sins. The noble damsel Ydelnesse (Oiseuse) opened a little wicket that let him into the garden, which he found to be like paradise (l. 648). Many birds sang there—including the nightingale and the goldfinch—as beautifully as "sirens of the sea." After listening to the birds a while, the poet followed a little path,

Of mentes ful, and fenel grene, (731)

till he reached a retreat where he found Myrthe (Déduit) with his company, beautiful as winged angels. These people were dancing while Dame Gladnes (Léesce) sang pleasantly to the accompaniment of flutes and other instruments. Here also appeared the God of Love; and after a long description of him and of various ladies in his train, the poet tells of wandering into another garden, followed by Love and some of his company.

---

[1] Ed. W. Foerster (Bonn, 1880).

[2] *La littérature française au moyen âge*, par. 104.

[3] Examined in the edition of Michel, 2 vols., Paris, 1864. References, however, will be to the Chaucerian version.

[4] With the possible exception of *Les Echecs Amoureux*, which I have not seen. See the account of Lydgate's *R. S.*, p. 310, below.

[5] Not quoted because the English version is easily accessible in editions of Chaucer. See especially ll. 49-89.

> The gardin was, by mesuring, (1349)
> Right evene and squar in compassing;
> It was as long as it was large;

and within it were set trees of various kinds, including medlars, laurels, and oaks. Moreover:

> These trees were set, that I devyse, (1391)
> Oon from another, in assyse,
> Five fadome or sixe, I trowe so,
> But they were hye and grete also;[1]
> And for to kepe out wel the sonne,
> The croppes were so thikke y-ronne,
> And every braunch in other knet,
> And ful of grene leves set,
> That sonne mighte noon descende,
> Lest (it) the tendre grasses shende.

These tender grasses were

> thikke y-set
> And softe as any veluët; (1420)

and there were many flowers in the garden. The poet sat down to rest beneath a pine tree beside the fountain of Narcissus. Reflected in the mirror at the bottom of this fountain he saw the beautiful rosebush, surrounded by a hedge, which was the inspiration of all his later efforts. The scent of the roses particularly attracted him, for it had healing powers.[2] With the wounds which the God of Love inflicted upon the poet and his prolonged efforts to win for his own the most perfect rose on the bush, we are not concerned.

THE DE CONDÉS, FATHER AND SON

La Voie de Paradis, of Baudouin de Condé,[3] begins with a description of springtime, which, as M. Scheler points out,[4] bears a very strong resemblance to the corresponding description near the beginning of *R. R.* Special attention may be called to the following fragments of detail:

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29-32.

[2] Michel ed., ll. 1824, 4096, etc.

[3] *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

[4] Note, p. 484.

Lors est chel jour grans joie née, (16)
Quar toute riens vivans s'esjoie.
. . . .
Sour l'ierbe qui est arousée, (22)
Dont la terre s'est revestue,[1]
. . . .
Et cil bois dont teüs m'estoie, (30)
Qui en yver sont desnué,[2]
Ont tout leur poure abit mué,
Pour le temps dont cascuns s'orgueille.
. . . .
Quant tout bois et vergier et pré (42)
Sont tel, n'est nus ne s'esjoïsse,[3]
Conbien que de son cuer joie isse.

Jean de Condé, like his father, Baudouin, was especially interested in pointing a moral to adorn his tale; but he was also fond of the conventional setting. An interesting little *Debat de l'Amant Hardi et de l'Amant Cremeteus*[4] begins with a brief but rather comprehensive description of spring, at the conclusion of which the poet tells of his entering a "moult biel vregier." Here he encounters two ladies, who are arguing a question in love casuistry which they ask him to answer.

La Messe des Oisiaus of Jean de Condé[5] is particularly important in relation to the part taken by birds in mediæval love allegory; but a number of features should be considered here. The poet says he went to bed

une nuit de may (3)
Tout sans pesance et sans esmay;[6]

and dreamed that he sat under a pine tree listening to the birds sing just before dawn. Of them he says:

Ains nus n'en vit tant en sa vie, (17)
Qu'il sembloit bien que par envie

---

[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 7, 8.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 13, 14.

[4] *Dits et contes*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1 ff.

[6] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 21.

Li uns pour l'autre s'efforchast;[1]
. . . .
A l'oïr m'orent tost emblé (24)
Mon cuer et en joie ravi.[2]

Altogether the place seemed like a "drois paradis." Farther on the poet continues:

Leveis ert en haut li soliaus, (91)
Si ert li tans et clers et biaus,
Li ore douche et atemprée;
Si ert revestie la prée
De verte herbe et de flours diverses,
Blanches, jaunes, rouges et perses;
Asés y ot d'arbres divers,
De fueille viestis et couviers,
Et fuison y ot de floris.

Soon the nightingale sang mass before Venus, and other birds joined in a beautiful service:

Ki chanter les ot, bien li samble (126)
Qu'oncques nul jour chose n'oïst
De coi ses cuers tant s'esjoïst.

Among the other birds the goldfinch is mentioned (l. 173) as joining in a second "alleluye." After the service love suits were presented to the goddess. A sick man in a litter was healed by the sweet odor of leaves plucked from a rose (ll. 348 ff.) A company of canonesses in white, accompanied by many knights, complained of the action of certain gray-clad nuns in enticing their lovers away. With the ensuing debate we are not here concerned.

NICOLE DE MARGIVAL

In *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival,[3] the spring setting is not presented; but the action in some respects resembles that of *F. L.* The poet dreams that the birds carry him to a forest full of beasts, all of which, except the dragon, follow one particularly beautiful panther, with a sweet breath that can cure all imaginable ills. After a time the beasts all disappear, and the poet, left alone, hears the sound of music and sees a great company of richly attired people approaching him, singing and dancing. Among them is the God of Love, their king; and under his direction the poet undertakes a search for the beautiful panther which symbolizes his lady. She is finally found in a valley surrounded by a thorny hedge. Her breath is curative like the smell of the rose in *R. R.*, the laurel and the eglantine in *F. L.*, etc. The God of Love explains to the poet all this symbolism, very much as the lady in white explains the allegory of *F. L.*

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 447, 448.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 101-3.

[3] Ed. H. A. Todd, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1883).

WATRIQUET DE COUVIN

Several of the poems of Watriquet de Couvin, a diligent disciple of Guillaume de Lorris during the first half of the fourteenth century, contain details similar to those of *F. L.* Most of these poems may be summarized rapidly.

In *Li Dis de l'Arbre Royal*,[1] an elaborate compliment to the descendants of Philippe le Bel, the poet dreams that he is

En .i. bel vergier verdoiant, (20)
Loing de la ville, en .i. destour,
Enclos d'un haut mur tout entour.

He wanders, listening to the birds, till he comes to a wonderful tree—such a tree as was never seen before "en terre ne en mer."[2] Some lines farther on he continues:

Atant souz l'arbre errant m'assis, (118)
Que je ne voil plus atargier,
S'esgardai aval le vergier
Que de biaus iert suppelatis,
. . . .
Ou douz mois qu'arbres rapareille
Flors et fueilles pour lui couvrir.

The scene of the *Tournois des Dames*[3] is the "haute forest de Bouloigne," which is

plains de si grant melodie (33)
En avril quant li bois verdie,
Que nulz croire ne le porroit,
Qui li douz rousignol orroit
Chanter en icelle saison.

---

[1] *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 83 ff.

[2] Cf. the description of the laurel and medlar trees in *F. L.*, ll. 86–88, 109–12.

[3] *Dits*, pp. 251 ff.

Then after further description of the birds' song, the poet remarks:

Je ne sai d'autrui, mais à mi (52)
Semble de l'ostel et de l'estre
Ce soit fins paradis terrestre,[1]
Tant est de melodie plains.

And again:

Et puis i refont si grant noise (64)
Cil autres oiselés menus,
Qu'il n'est hons joenes ne chanus
Grant deduit n'i poïst avoir.

The goldfinch is mentioned among other birds.

Li Dis de l'Escharbote[2] also begins with a spring setting. The poet enters a garden, falls asleep, and dreams that he encounters a "sergent," very noble and courteous, in whose company he journeys through a valley to a beautiful city that seems like an "earthly paradise." This city is the world, in which blind Fortune reigns as mistress; and its inhabitants, following her lead in caring for nothing but pleasure, are precipitated into the bottom of the valley. They are like the "escharbote,"

Qui vole par les haus vergiez (211)
De fleurs et de feuilles chargiez,
Où li roussignols chante et crie.[3]

Of all the poems of Watriquet de Couvin, however, *Li Dis de la Fontaine d'Amours*[4] presents the most details worth citation. One morning in spring the poet says he found

Un vergier de lonc temps planté (7)
Où d'arbres avoit grant plenté,
Qui fait avoient couverture
Et de couleur de maint tainture.
Lors entrai dedenz sanz esmai
En ce jolif termine en mai,
Qu'oiselés de chanter s'esforce
Au miex qu'il puet selonc sa force;
En pluseurs liex, par divers chans,
Mainent joie a ville et à champs,

---

[1] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 115.

[2] *Dits*, pp. 397 ff.

[3] In contrast with the usual signification of the colors, as noted in chap. ii above, the members of this company, with their slight resemblance to the green-clad followers of the Flower, are clad in white. No specific significance is attached to the color, however.

[4] *Dits*, pp. 101 ff.

Et toute riens iert en delis.

. . . .

Tant iert plains de grant melodie (23)
Cis vergiers, n'est hons qui vous die
Ne fame, de sa biauté nombre.
Pour reposer visai .i. ombre
Par desouz une ente florie,
Soutilment par compas norrie,
Et tainte en diverse couleur;
N'est hons, tant eüst de douleur,[1]
Qu'à l'oudeur ne fust alegiez.

In this delightful place is the beautiful fountain of love, the subject of the poem.[2]

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The poets and poems heretofore discussed, except *R. R.*, are of value in this investigation rather as showing how conventional certain elements of setting and machinery became, than as very likely to have had any direct influence upon the author of *F. L.* The case is different with a group of French poets now to be considered.

Oldest of these, and in many ways the master of the school, was Guillaume de Machaut. The opening lines of his *Dit du Vergier* were among the first French sources specifically suggested for *F. L.*,[3] and deserve citation here:

Quant la douce saison repaire[4]
D'esté, qui maint amant esclaire,
Que prez et bois sont en verdour
Et li oisillon par baudour
Chantent, et par envoiseure,
Chascuns le chant de sa nature,
Pour la douceur du temps féri,[5]
Ou doulz mois d'avril le joli,
Me levay par un matinet,

---

[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

[2] Other poems by Watriquet with the spring setting are (1) "*Li Mireoirs as Dames*" (*Dits*, pp. 1 ff.); (2) "*Li Dis de' Iraigne et du Crapot*" (pp. 65 ff.); (3) "*Li Disdes .IIII. Sieges*" (pp. 163 ff.); (4) "*Li Dis des .VIII. Couleurs*" (pp. 311 ff). In (2) and (3) the scene is a "vergier;" in all the song of the birds is prominent; in (2) the poet falls asleep beneath a "buisson" and dreams. The nightingale and the hawthorn are several times mentioned.

[3] By Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 98. I quote from *Œuvres choisies* de Machault, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1849), pp. 11 ff. The text differs in some details from that given by Sandras.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 15.

[5] Sandras, *séri*.

Et entray en un jardinet
Où il havoit arbres pluseurs,
Flori de diverses couleurs.
Si trouvay une sentelette[1]
Plainne de rousée et d'erbette,
Par où j'alai sans atargier;
Tant qu'à l'entrée d'un vergier
Me fist adventure apporter.[2]
S'entray pour moy déporter
Pleins d'amoureuse maladie,
Et pour oir le mélodie
Des oisillons qui ens estoient,[3]
Qui si très doucement chantoient
Que bouche ne le porroit dire:
N'onqs home vivans n'ot tant d'ire
Que s'il peust leur chant oïr
Qu'il ne s'en deust resjoir,
[En son cuer, et que sans sejour
N'entroubliast toute dolour,][4]
Tant avoit en eulx de deliz.

When the poet heard the songs of the birds, especially of the nightingale, which sounded above all others, he went into the most beautiful garden he had ever seen, all sown with flowers of diverse colors, and planted with green and flowering trees.

S'ot en milieu un arbrissel
De fleurs et de feuilles si bel,
Si bel, si gent, si aggréable
Si tres plaisant, si délitable
Et plein de si très bonne odour,
Que nulz n'en auroit la savour,
Tout fust ses cuers déconfortez[5]
Qu'il ne fust tout réconfortez.

. . . .

Je ne scay que ce pooit estre
Fors que le paradis terrestre.

From this place the poet passed into a meadow, where he had a vision, as follows:

Car il m'est vis que je veoie
Au joli prael où j'estoie
La plus très belle compaignie

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

[2] Sandras *aporcer*.

[3] *F. L.*, ll. 37, 38.

[4] Not in Tarbé.

[5] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

Qu'oncques fust veue ne oïe:
La avoit-il VI Damoisiaus
Juenes, jolis, gentils et biaus;
Et si avoit VI Damoiselles
Qui à merveilles estoient belles.
Et dessus le bel arbrissel,
Qui estoit en mi le praiel,
Se séoit une créature
De trop merveilleuse figure.

This was the God of Love. He wore on his head a

chappelet de rosettes,
De muguet et de violettes.

At the poet's request the god explained the vision.

Machaut's *Dit dou Lyon*[1] also has the spring setting. The poet is roused by the song of the birds, goes into the country, and is conveyed in a magic boat to an island where he finds a beautiful garden which no one can enter who has not been faithful in love. As Sandras points out,[2] there are in this poem trees of uniform height and planted at equal intervals, as in *F. L.*—"genre de paysage déjà décrit par G. de Lorris et qui charmait les anciens Bretons."

Le Dit de la Rose[3] begins with a rather brief description of a scene in May. Early one morning the poet wanders through a green meadow till he sees a "jardinet,"

Qui estoit de lès un vergier.

He enters and comes to—

un buisson d'espines
Plein de rouses et de racines,
Et de toutes herbes poingnans,
Qu'au buisson estoient joingnans.

Et si estoit par tel maistrie
Hayes, qu'onque jour de ma vie
Je ne vi haye ne haiette[4]
Si bien ne si proprement faitte.

---

[1] Extracts are found in *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 40 ff., but I have not seen the whole poem.

[2] *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 104.

[3] Tarbé, *Œuvres choisies*, pp. 65 ff.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 61-63.

Within the inclosure surrounded by this hedge there is a very beautiful rose, the sweetness of which cures all the ills of love. Manifestly the poem is an imitation of *R. R.*

JEAN FROISSART

Certain poems by the chronicler Froissart were early suggested as possible sources of parts of *F. L.*

Le Paradys d'Amour,[1] believed to be one of his earliest productions, is the account of a dream in which the poet is admitted within the "clos" of the God of Love, and then within a delightful garden where he finds his lady. The setting presents the usual elements: fresh grass, flowers, trees; songs of birds, including the nightingale; all the beauties of a day in May. Near the end of the conventional description the poet says:

> Pour mieuls oïr les oiselés, (59)
> M'assis dessous deux rainsselés[2]
> D'aube espine toute florie.

A long complaint follows, after which two ladies, Plaisance and Esperance, appear and ultimately conduct the poet to a place where, he says:

> Lors regardai en une lande, (957)
> Si vi une compagne grande
> De dames et de damoiselles
> Friches et jolies et belles,
> Et grant foison de damoiseaus
> Jolis et amoureus et beaus,
> Qui estoient là arresté
> Et de treschier tout aprestė.
> Tout estoient de vert vesti,
> N'i avoit ceste ne cesti.
> Les dames furent orfrisies,
> Drut perlées et bien croisies,
> Et li signeur avoient cor
> D'ivoire bendé de fin or.[3]

The poet asks who all these people are, and receives in answer a long list of names of famous lovers. A little farther on he comes to the tent of the God of Love, to whom he sings a lay that is favorably received. After this interruption, the poet and his guides go on through a shady forest, singing and dancing, till they come to a meadow,

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[1] *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; 3 vols., Paris, 1870–72; Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 117–19.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 324 ff. A portion of this passage is quoted by Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 101; but is erroneously said to be from *Le Temple d' Honour*.

> Où vert faisoit, plaisant et bel, (1456)
> Tout enclos de vermaus rosiers,
> D'anqueliers et de lisiers,
> Et là chantoit li rosignols
> En son chant qui fu moult mignos.
> Si tretos que son chant oï
> Moult grandement me resjoï.[1]

Here he finds his lady and sings to her his ballade in praise of the marguerite.[2]

L' Espinette amoureuse[3] is in general an account of Froissart's youth; but in one episode presents details of interest here, as follows:

> Ce fu ou joli mois de may; (351)
> Je n'oc doubtance ne esmai,[4]
> Quant j'entrai en un gardinet;
> Il estoit assés matinet,[5]
> Un peu après l'aube crevant;
> Nulle riens ne m'aloit grevant,
> Mès toute chose me plaisoit,
> Pour le joli temps qu'il faisoit
> Et estoit apparant dou faire.
> Cil oizellon, en leur afaire,
> Chantoient si com par estri.[6]
> . . . .
> Je me tenoie en un moment, (380)
> Et pensoie au chant des oiseauls,
> En regardant les arbriseaus
> Dont il y avoit grant foison,
> Et estoie sous un buisson
> Que nous appellons aube espine.

At this time and place three ladies, Juno, Venus, and Pallas, and a youth, Mercury, appear to the poet and present the story of the apple of discord.[7]

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 102, 103.

[2] Mentioned in chap. ii, above, p. 158.

[3] *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 21.

[5] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 25.

[6] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 447, 448.

[7] A version of this story is also found in Lydgate's *R. S.* (see p. 310 below) introduced very much as by Froissart. Apparently the latter was imitating Lydgate's French original, *Les Echecs Amoureux*.

Un Trettié Amourous à la Loenge dou Jolis Mois de May[1] presents several points of interest. One day in May the poet,

Pensans à l'amoureuse vie, (1)

enters an inclosure made of rosebushes, osiers, etc., where the nightingale is singing. There, he continues:

Au regarder pris le vregié, (25)
Que tout authour on ot vregié,
De rainselés
Espessement et dur margiet[2]
Et ouniement arrengié;
Au veoir les
Ce sambloit des arbrisselés
Qu'on les euïst au compas fais
Et entailliés.
D'oïr chanter les oiselés,
Leur divers chans et leur motés,
J'oc le coer lié.

There is mention of the sweet odor of leaves and flowers, and of the song of the nightingale, which like an "amorous dart" reminds the poet of his love.[3]

Eustache Deschamps

The eleven volumes in which the work of Machaut's friend and pupil, Eustache Deschamps, is now published[4] contain, amid a great mass of didactic and satirical work, a number of references to May Day customs and several rather elaborate settings similar to that of *F. L.* The most noteworthy of these are found in *Le Lay Amoureux* and *Le Lay de Franchise.*

The former[5] begins with a very elaborate description of spring. There is mention of the nightingale and other birds, with their songs; the renewal of meadows, fields, leaves, and flowers; of

L'aubespine que nous querons, (29)
L'esglantier que nous odorons;

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[1] *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 57, 58.

[3] One other poem by Froissart, *Le dit dou bleu chevalier*, will be mentioned in connection with Lydgate's *B. K.* below.

[4] Société des Anciens Textes Français, ed. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Vols. I-VI) and Raynaud (Vols. VII-XI), Paris, 1878-1903.

[5] *Œuvres* de Deschamps, Vol. II, pp. 193 ff.

of "chapeaulx, qui en veult enquerre," and of

> La marguerite nette et pure. (47)

Then follows an interesting description of May Day customs, telling how

> princes et Roys (61)
> Le premier jour de ce doulz mois,
> Chevaliers, dames, pucellettes,
> Escuiers, clers, lays et bourgois,

go to the woods to pick flowers, make garlands, sing songs, listen to the nightingale, and hold jousts, feasts, dances—merry-makings of all kinds—in honor of springtime and love. On such a morning as this the poet dreamed that when he was walking in a beautiful meadow, he saw, beneath a tall, green pine tree beside a brook, "un seigneur tressouverain," near whom were many people praying. In order better to see what should happen, the poet hid behind a hawthorn, and soon the God of Love appeared. The company beneath the tree was composed of the famous lovers of history and legend, as well as various allegorical characters. Some of the latter began a discussion, the burden of which proved to be that youth ought to love; and then after a time the company departed. The poet, in great fear, was discovered eavesdropping; but awoke unharmed immediately after he heard some of Love's company speak well of him.

Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*[1] is of special importance because, as already noted, it has been singled out as a model for *F. L.*[2] The formal presentation of the setting in this poem is brief:

> C'est qu'en doulz mois que toute fleur s'avance, (8)
> Arbres, buissons, que terre devenir
> Veult toute vert et ses flours espanir,
> Du mois de may me vint la souvenance
> Dont maintes gens ont la coustume en France
> En ce doulz temps d'aler le may cueillir.
>
> Le premier jour de ce mois de plaisance,

the poet goes forth at break of day thinking of his lady, who is described as a flower, the daisy.[3] After a long tribute to her he continues:

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[1] *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff. See Vol. XI, p. 46, as to the occasion for this poem.

[2] By Professor C. F. McClumpha in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, cols. 402 ff. See p. 135 above.

[3] See discussion of the cult of the daisy, chap. ii above.

Ainsis pensans vins par une bruiere (66)
En un grant parc d'arbres et de fouchiere
Qui fut fermé de merveilleus pouoir,

by means of various fortifications, elaborately described.

The poet, nevertheless, continues his pilgrimage:

Mais, en passant, vy ja dessus l'erbage (93)
De damoiseaulx tresnoble compaignie
Vestus de vert; autre gent de parage
Qui portoient sarpes pour faire ouvrage
Et se mistrent a couper le fueillie.
Oultre passay qu'ilz ne me virent mie;
En un busson me mis en tapinage
Pour regarder de celle gent la vie
Et pour oir la douce melodie
Des rossignolz crians ou jardinage:
"Occi iccy."

Other birds also sang, including the goldfinch. Moreover:

Parmi ce bois dames et damoiseaulx (118)
Qui chantoient notes et sons nouveaulx
Pour la douçour du temps qui fut jolis,
Cueillans les fleurs, l'erbe, les arbressaulx,
Dont ilz firent saintures et chappeaulx;
De verdure furent touz revestis.
Cilz jours estoit uns mondains paradis;
Car maint firent des arbres chalemeaulx
Et flajolez dont fleustoient toubis.

The grass was covered with sweet dew, which, besides being beautiful to look at, was of material assistance in renewing the growth of grass and flowers.

After a time, during which the poet listened to various private conversations about love, he heard a great noise

yssant d'une valée (145)
Ou il ot gens qui venoient jouster.

Of course they were on horseback, and among them was a king of wonderful prowess;

Sur un coursier fut de vert appareil, (157)
Accompaigniez de son frere pareil;
Contes et dus, chevaliers et barons,
Dames y ot, dont pas ne me merveil,

Haultes, nobles, plaines de doulz acueil
Qui de chapeaulx et branches firent dons.

In the joust that follows,

L'un sur l'autre font des lances tronsons (165)
Et se portent sur terre et sur buissons.
A l'assembler n'avoit pas grant conseil,
Ainçois queroit chascuns jouste a son vueil
Sanz espargnier chevaulx, bras ne talons.

Then the noise ceases, and they all kneel humbly before the king, who directs them to do honor to May. Various persons speak on subjects pertaining to love, and after a time the whole company adjourns to a "plaisant hosté," with a beautiful garden beside the Marne. This house is furnished in green and gold.

The poet comes out of his hiding-place, sees the feast spread before the king and his company, and then proceeds on his journey till he finds Robin and Marion (conventional pastoral characters) sitting under a beech tree and talking about the comforts of their life in contrast with the lives of kings. The latter part of the poem has no possible relation with *F. L.*

CHAUCER

Since the passages from Chaucer that resemble portions of *F. L.* have nearly all been pointed out by others,[1] it will not be necessary to deal with his work at such length as its importance in this connection would otherwise justify. As I have said, the author of *F. L.* was first of all an imitator of Chaucer, and detailed resemblances to the master are too numerous to mention. Only the more important parallels in plan and setting need be considered.

In *B. D.* we find the sleepless poet, who, moreover, as in *F. L.*, knows not why he cannot sleep.[2] * Reading makes him drowsy at last, however, and he dreams that on a May morning he was wakened at dawn by the songs of "smale foules a gret hepe," which sang a solemn service about the roof of his chamber.

* no! vide
ll 3–
whereas
lordly [illegible]
no [illegible]
love

Was never y-herd so swete a steven, (307)
But hit had be a thing of heven.[3]

---

[1] Especially by Professor Skeat, in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces.*

[2] Cf. *B. D.*, l. 34, with *F. L.*, l. 19.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 129–33.

After a time the poet rises to go hunting. While on the chase he follows one of the dogs

> Doun by a floury grene wente (398)
> Ful thikke of gras, ful softe and swete,[1]
> With floures fele, faire under fete,
> And litel used, hit seemed thus.

In the forest,

> every tree stood by him-selve, (419)
> Fro other wel ten foot or twelve.[2]

With the later events of the poem we are not here concerned.

P. F. also has the dream setting. The time is St. Valentine's Day, instead of May, but the surroundings are those of spring. Wherever the poet casts his eye he sees "treës clad with leves that ay shal laste" (l. 173), including the oak and the laurel. Continuing, he says:

> A garden saw I, ful of blosmy bowes, (183)
> Upon a river, in a grene mede,
> Ther as that swetnesse evermore y-now is.
> . . . .
> On every bough the briddes herde I singe (190)
> With voys of aungel in hir armonye;[3]
> . . . .
> Of instruments of strenges in accord (197)
> Herde I so pleye a ravisshing swetnesse,
> That god, that maker is of al and lord,
> Ne herde never beter, as I gesse;
> Therwith a wind, unnethe hit might be lesse,
> Made in the leves grene a noise softe,
> Acordant to the foules songe on-lofte.[4]
> The air of that place so attempre was
> That never was grevaunce of hoot ne cold;
> Ther wex eek every holsom spyce and gras.

Under a tree beside a well the poet saw Cupid forge his arrows, while women danced about. In the sweet green garden he saw a queen, Nature, fairer than any other creature, in whose presence the birds held their parliament.

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 31, 32.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 133.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 112.

In *T. C.*, just before the passage quoted in relation to the fixing of time by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac,[1] are the following interesting lines:

> In May, that moder is of monthes glade,
> That fresshe floures, blewe, and whyte, and rede,
> Ben quike agayn, that winter dede made,[2]
> And ful of bawme is fletinge every mede.

The familiar beginning of the Prologue to *C. T.* presents many details similar to those of the first two stanzas of *F. L.*: the astronomical reference already discussed; "Aprille with his shoures sote;" the springing-up of flowers; the wholesomeness of the air, and so forth. In other parts of *C. T.* there are only a few passages to which attention need be called.

It is on a May morning that Palamon and Arcite first see Emily. She has risen before dawn,

> For May wol have no slogardye a-night. (A, 1042)
> The sesoun priketh every gentil herte
> And maketh him out of his sleep to sterte,
> And seith, 'Arys, and do thyn observaunce.'

So she walks up and down the garden, gathering flowers

> To make a sotil gerland for hir hede, (1054)
> And as an aungel hevenly she song.[3]

Again, it is when Arcite, on another May morning, has gone into the woods to "doon his observaunce" and to make himself a garland of woodbine or hawthorn leaves (A, l. 1508), that he finds Palamon in hiding.

More important than either of the passages from the *Knight's Tale*, however, is the description of May Day festivities in the *Franklin's Tale.* These took place on the "sixte morwe of May"[4]—

> Which May had peynted with his softe shoures[5]
> This gardin ful of leves and of floures;
> And craft of mannes hand so curiously
> Arrayed hadde this gardin, trewely,
> That never was ther gardin of swich prys,
> But-if it were the verray paradys.[6]

---

[1] P. 281 above. *T. C.*, II, ll. 50-53.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 133.

[4] *C. T.*, F, ll. 901 ff.

[5] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 4.

[6] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 115.

Th'odour of floures and the fresshe sighte
Wolde han maad any herte for to lighte[1]
That ever was born, but-if to gret siknesse,
Or to gret sorwe helde it in distresse;
So ful it was of beautee with plesaunce.

Of all Chaucer's poems, however, the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is most important in relation to *F. L.* Its mention of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf has been discussed.[2] The action of the Prologue begins with the rising of the poet before daybreak, on the first of May, in order to see his favorite flower, the daisy (B, ll. 104–8). In greeting it he kneels

Upon the smale softe swote gras,[3] (118)

which is "embrouded" with fragrant flowers. The earth has forgotten his "pore estat of wintir"[4] (ll. 125, 126), and is newly clad in green. The birds, rejoicing in the season (l. 130), sing welcome to summer their lord, among the blossoming branches of the trees. All is so delightful that the poet thinks he might

Dwellen alwey, the joly month of May, (176)
Withouten sleep, withouten mete or drinke.[5]

Amid such surroundings he sinks down among the daisies. Then after his second mention of the strife of the Flower and the Leaf (in text B) he continues:

And, in a litel herber that I have,[6] (203)
That benched was on turves fresshe y-grave,
I bad men sholde me my couche make.

When he had gone to sleep in this "herber," he dreamed that as he lay in a meadow gazing at his beloved flower, he saw come walking toward him,

The god of love, and in his hande a quene, (213)
And she was clad in real habit grene.

She wore a "fret of gold" on her head, surmounted by a white crown decorated with flowers; so that, with her green robe and her gold and white headdress, she resembled a daisy, stalk and flower. Behind the God of Love came a company of ladies who knelt in homage to the flower.

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 38, 81–84.

[2] Chap. i above.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 52.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11,12.

[5] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 120, 121.

[6] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49–52.

JOHN GOWER

The machinery of Gower's voluminous *C. A.* is in part of the kind under consideration. After wandering in a wood for a time one day in May, the poet finds himself in a "swote grene pleine,"[1] where he bewails his misfortunes in love. The King and Queen of Love appear, and after some talk Venus bids the poet confess to Genius, her clerk. Then follows a long discourse by Genius on the seven deadly sins, with stories illustrating all of them, which constitute the main body of the poem. In these stories there are allusions to May Day customs,[2] but no striking similarities to *F. L.* Finally the poet prevails upon Genius to take a letter for him to Venus and Cupid; but the deities do not look with favor upon so old a would-be lover. He swoons at the rebuff, and has a vision of a great company of lovers wearing garlands of leaves, flowers, and pearls.[3] There is a sound of music, such

> That it was half a mannes hele (2484)
> So glad a noise for to hiere;

and members of the company dance and sing joyfully. The remainder of the action is of no present consequence.

THE CUCKOO AND THE NIGHTINGALE

C. N., already mentioned a number of times,[4] presents additional points of interest. The poet first describes the power of love, which is felt most strongly in May, when the songs of the birds and the springing of leaves and flowers cause great longing to burn in the heart. Such love-sickness, even in so "old and unlusty" a person as this poet, has made him sleepless during "al this May." At last, during one wakeful night, he recalls a saying among lovers:

> That it were good to here the nightingale (49)
> Rather than the lewde cukkow singe.
>
> And then I thoghte, anon as it was day,
> I wolde go som whider to assay[5]

---

[1] Book I, l. 113. References are to G. C. Macaulay's ed. of Gower's *Complete Works*, Vols. II, III (Clarendon Press, 1901).

[2] See Books I, ll. 2026 ff.; VI, ll. 1833 ff.

[3] Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff. Discussed in chap. i above.

[4] Pp. 155, 159, 163, above. *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff.

Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 39-42.

If that I might a nightingale here;
For yet had I non herd of al this yere,
And hit was tho the thridde night of May.

Accordingly at daybreak he went alone into a wood "fast by," and wandered along a brook till he came to the fairest land he had ever seen.

The ground was grene, y-poudred with daisye, (63)
The floures and the gras y-lyke hye,
Al grene and whyte; was nothing elles sene.

He sat down among the flowers and saw the birds come forth from their nests,

so joyful of the dayes light (69)
That they begonne of May to don hir houres!

The stream also made a noise

Accordaunt with the briddes armonye (83)

such that

Me thoughte, it was the best[e] melodye (84)
That mighte been y-herd of any mon.[1]

Delighted with all these sights and sounds, the poet fell in a "slomber and a swow" (l. 87), in which he heard a *debat* between the cuckoo and the nightingale.

CHRISTINE DE PISAN

A number of the poems of Christine de Pisan present interesting settings or machinery.[2] For example, in *Le Dit de la Rose*, which has been mentioned[3] in connection with symbolic orders, the poet represents that one day when a noble company saw assembled at the palace of the Duke of Orleans, the lady Loyauté appeared, surrounded by a company

De nymphes et de pucelletes (99)
Atout chappelles de fleurettes,

who seemed to have just come from paradise. They were messengers of the God of Love, sent to form the Order of the Rose. They sang so sweetly

Que il sembloit a leur doulz chant (246)
Qu'angelz feussent ou droit enchant

---

[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 130, 131.

[2] For brief descriptions of spring see *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1886-96), Vol. I, pp. 35, 112, 236, 239, etc.

[3] Chap. i above, pp. 138, 139, *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

Le Debat de deux Amans[1] tells of a joyful company that gathered in May to dance and make merry in one of the parks of the Duke of Orleans. Alone and sad, however, the poet sat on a bench at one side watching the assembly, till two gentlemen, one a woe-begone knight and the other a happy young squire, agreed to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of love. In company with these men and some other ladies, the poet proceeds to a "bel vergier" where the debate takes place.

Le Livre du Dit de Poissy[2] presents a very elaborate springtime setting. In gay April, when the woods grow green again, the poet rides forth to see her daughter at the convent of Poissy. In company with her are many ladies and gentlemen, enjoying to the full the beauties of the morning. Vegetation has been freshened by the dew; nothing on earth is ugly. Marguerites and other flowers are mentioned,

> dont amant et amie (107)
> Font chappellez.

Birds sing in the trees and bushes under the leadership of the nightingale. All these delights could not fail to banish grief. On their journey, the company enter a pleasant forest,

> Et la forest espesse que moult pris (185)
> Reverdissoit si qu'en hault furent pris
> L'un a l'autre les arbres qui repris
> Sont, et planté
> Moult près a près li chaine a grant planté
> Hault, grant et bel, non mie en orphanté,
> Ce scevent ceulz qui le lieu ont hanté,
> Si que soleil
> Ne peut ferir a terre a nul recueil.
> Et l'erbe vert, fresche et belle a mon vueil,
> Est par dessoubz, n'eon ne peut veoir d'ueil
> Plus belle place.

At the convent where the poet's daughter lives they find it like a "droit paradis terrestre" (l. 382). The latter part of the poem presents a "debat amoureux" with which we have no present concern.

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[1] *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.

In Christine's *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans*,[1] the hero, a young duke ripe for love, while out hunting one day, enters on a paved road that leads to a castle where a great company of people are disporting about their princess. As the duke and his companions draw near the castle, they are met by a "grant route" of ladies (l. 134), who welcome them most hospitably. The princess accompanies them to "un prael verdoyant" (l. 179), where she and the duke sit and talk beneath a willow beside a little stream. He falls in love with her, and henceforth his chief occupation is planning means of seeing her often. He invites her to a feast and joust, to be held in a "praerie cointe" where there are "herbarges" and "eschauffaulz" and "paveillons" (ll. 649, 653–55). In the evening the lady arrives with a noble company, including

> Menestrelz, trompes, naquaires, (665)
> . . . .
> Qui si haultement cournoyent
> Que mons et vaulz resonnoyent.

The festivities held in her honor last several days and are very elaborately described. The jousts held are of special interest, because of the use of white and green costumes.[2] The remainder of the poem deals with the way in which this lady and the duke deceived her "jaloux" for a number of years.

JOHN LYDGATE

The work of Lydgate is of the utmost importance in relation to *F. L.*, not only because he was the most important imitator of Chaucer during the period when our poem was probably written, but also because a number of his early works, whether original or translated, contain passages strikingly similar to portions of *F. L.* Discussion of his works will be approximately in chronological order.[3]

The main part of *C. B.*[4] begins with a description of the "chorle's" garden. It was

> Hegged and dyked to make it sure and strong;
> . . . .
> The benches turned[5] with newe turvis grene;

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[1] *Œuvres poëtiques*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

[2] Pp. 152, 153, 164, above.

[3] Following § II, chap. viii, of Schick's Introduction to *T. G.*; E. E. T. S., 1891.

[4] *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 179 ff. Citations are from pp. 181, 182.

[5] This should be "turved."

and there were "sote herbers." Further:

> Amyddis the gardeyn stode a fressh lawrer,
> Theron a bird syngyng bothe day and nyghte,
> With shynnyng fedres brightar than the golde weere,
> Whiche with hir song made hevy hertes lighte,
> That to beholde it was an hevenly sighte,
> How toward evyn and in the dawnyng,
> She ded her payne most amourously to synge.
> . . . .
> It was a verray hevenly melodye,
> Evyne and morowe to here the byrddis songe,
> And the soote sugred armonye.

Lydgate's *B. K.* has already been mentioned.[1] After fixing the time very much as it is fixed in *F. L.*, the poet tells us that he awoke early and went, in the hope of finding solace for his sorrow,

> Into the wode, to here the briddes singe,[2] (23)
> Whan that the misty vapour was agoon
> And clere and faire was the morowning.

On the leaves and flowers he found dew sweet as balm. Passing along a clear stream he came to

> a litel wey[3] (38)
> Toward a park, enclosed with a wal
> In compas rounde, and by a gate smal
> Who-so that wolde frely mighte goon
> Into this park, walled with grene stoon.

He went into the park and there heard the birds sing

> So loude . . . . that al the wode rong[4] (45)
> Lyke as it shulde shiver in peces smale;
> And, as me thoughte, that the nightingale
> With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste
> Right as her herte for love wolde breste.
>
> The soil was playn, smothe, and wonder softe
> Al oversprad with tapites that Nature
> Had mad her-selve, celured eek alofte
> With bowes grene, the floures for to cure,
> That in hir beautè they may longe endure
> From al assaut of Phebus fervent fere,
> Whiche in his spere so hote shoon and clere.

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[1] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 37.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 43.

[4] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 99, 100.

The air was "attempre," and gentle zephyrs blew, so wholesomely that buds and blossoms delighted in the hope of bringing forth fruit. Among the trees in the park were "grene laurer,"

the fresshe hawëthorn (71)
In whyte motlè, that so swote doth smelle;

the oak, and many others. In the midst was a spring surrounded by young grass "softe as veluët." Its waters had magic power to

aswage[1] (100)
Bollen hertes, and the venim perce
Of pensifheed.

The poet took a long draught of this water, and forthwith was so much refreshed and eased of his pain that he started out to see more of the park. As he went through a glade he came to

a délitable place (122)
. . . .
Amidde of whiche stood an herber grene[2]
That benched was, with colours newe and clene.

This arbor was full of flowers, among which, between a holly and a woodbine, lay a black-clad knight. To his complaint, which forms the burden of the poem, the poet listened from a hiding-place among some bushes.[3]

The time of *T. G.*[4] is December, not spring; but the poem begins with an astronomical reference. After a long period of restlessness, the poet suddenly falls asleep and is

Rauysshid in spirit in [a] temple of glas. (16)

The place is "circulere in compaswise" (ll. 36, 37), and there is a wicket by which to enter. Within the poet sees pictures of many famous lovers. Before a statue of Venus kneels the most beauteous of ladies,

al clad in grene and white (299)
. . . .
Enbrouded al with stones & perre.

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49-51.

[3] Sandras (*Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 80) declared that *B. K.* is an imitation of Froissart's *Dit dou bleu chevalier* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 348 ff.). In general plan, it is true, the poems are similar, both to each other and to Chaucer's *B. D.* In details, however, *B. K.* is much more like *F. L.* than is Froissart's poem.

[4] Ed. Schick, E. E. T. S.

She presents a "litel bil" to the goddess, and vows service in return for the latter's favor. She is given white and green branches of hawthorn for a chaplet and advised to be "unchanging like these leaves."[1] Finally,

with þe noise and heuenli melodie (1362)
Which þat þei [the birds] made in her armonye,

the author awoke, and resolved for love of his lady to write his "litel rude boke."

Lydgate's *Thebes*[2] is frankly on the model of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, and therefore can have no close resemblance to *F. L.* in plan; yet in many details it repays examination. Its Prologue begins with a rather elaborate astronomical reference:

Whan bright Phebus passed was the Ram
Midde of Aprill, and into the Bull came,
. . . .
Whan that Flora the noble mighty queene
The soile hath clad in new tender greene.

At this time Lydgate says he encountered a company of Canterbury pilgrims and agreed to tell them a tale. The tale does not concern us, but at the beginning of its second part there is another bit of description of spring, including the following line:

And right attempre was the holsome aire.[3]

Later, as Tideus, returning from Thebes, wounded after a combat with fifty knights, comes into "Ligurgus lond," he enters a garden "by a gate small,"

And there he found, for to reken all,
A lusty erber, vnto his deuise,
Sweet and fresh, like a paradise.

Here he lay down on the grass and slept till awakened by the lark when "Phebus" rose the next day. And "Ligurgus" daughter, who every morning came to the garden "for holesomnes of aire," found him and had his wounds cared for. In Part III, as Tideus and Campaneus ride about looking for water during a terrible drought, they enter by chance "an herbere,"

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[1] As already noted, p. 138 above.

[2] Examined in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 570 ff. This poem was written later than *R. S.*, but is mentioned out of chronological order that the discussion of Lydgate may end with *R. S.*

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 6.

With trees shadowed fro the Sunne shene,
Ful of floures, and of hearbes grene,
Wonder holsome of sight and aire,
Therein a lady, that passingly was faire,
Sitting as tho vnder a laurer tree.

She leads them to a river where they quench their thirst.

The most important of Lydgate's poems in connection with *F. L.*, however, is *R. S.*, "compyled" from the French *Echecs Amoureux*, a voluminous fourteenth-century imitation of *R. R.*[1] After an address to the reader, the poet presents an elaborate description of spring[2] in which we find nearly all the oft-repeated details. Spring clothes all the earth "with newe apparayle;" causes "herbes white and rede" to blossom in the meadows; makes the air "attempre," and rejoices all hearts. On such a spring morning the poet lies awake, "ententyf for to here" the birds' songs, when suddenly Dame Nature appears to him (l. 206). She reproves him for wasting time in bed,

Whan Phebus with his bemys bryght (450)
Ys reysed vp so hygh alofte,[3]

and the birds are "syngyng ther hourys." She advises him to go out into the world "and see if anywhere her work fails in beauty."[4] In response to his inquiry as to the way he should take, she suggests the eastern way of Reason rather than the western way of Sensuality.[5] After her sermon Dame Nature leaves him, and he rises. When he is "clad and redy eke in [his] array" (ll. 910, 911), he goes forth into a "felde ful large and pleyn,"

Couered with flour[e]s fressh and grene (919)
By vertu of the lusty quene,
Callyd Flora, the goddesse.

It is so delightful that he forgets past events.

After a time he sees a path in which walk a company of four—Pallas, Juno, Venus, and Mercury. He is reminded of the history of each, and describes each at great length. Juno's clothing is

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[1] *R. S.*, ed. E. Sieper, E. E. T. S., 1901, 1903. See also Sieper's "*Les Echecs Amoureux*, eine altfranzösische Nachahmung des Rosenromans und ihre englische Uebertragung;" Litterarhistorische Forschungen, IX. Heft (Weimar, 1898).

[2] Ll. 87 ff.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 1, 2.

[4] Quoted from the marginal summary in Sieper's edition, Part I, p. 15.

[5] A resemblance to the allegory of *F. L.* has been noted, chap. i above.

Fret ful of ryche stonys ynde[1] (1400)

Venus, as already noticed,[2] wears a chaplet of roses. Mercury carries a flute, of which "the sugred armonye" has more effect than sirens' songs. Seeing them come toward him the author

Ful humblely gan hem salewe.[3] (1838)

Mercury tells him of the golden apple and asks him to award it. He gives it to Venus and agrees to be her "lyge man" (l. 2352). She tells him of her sons—Deduit, expert in music, dancing, and games; and Cupid, the God of Love—and of the "erber grene" (l. 2538) of Deduit, the beauty of which may be compared to that of paradise. In this garden he will find a lovely maiden, but he must first know Ydelnesse, the porter.[4]

Finally Venus departs and the author enters a great forest "ryght as a lyne,"

Ful of trees, ... (2729)
Massiffe and grete and evene vpryght
As any lyne vp to the toppys,[5]
As compas rounde the fresshe croppis,
That yaf good air with gret suetnesse
Whos fressh beaute and grenesse
Ne fade neuer in hoote ne colde,
Nouther Sere, nor waxen olde,
. . . .
The levis be so perdurable.

The plain about the forest is "tapited" with herbs and flowers. In the forest under an ebony tree he finds Diana, who makes clear to him her rivalry with Venus.[6] But in spite of Diana's long account of the dangers that lurk in the garden of Deduit, and her eagerness to have the poet remain in her "forest of chastete," where

the tren in ech seson (4372)
Geyn al assaut of stormes kene
Of fruyt and lefe ben al-way grene,

he prefers to see the beauty of the world and keep his vow to Venus.

After a time he comes to the "herber" he is seeking. On the walls are pictures resembling those described in *R. R.* He is admitted by Ydelnesse and kindly greeted by Curtesye, who tells him the garden is intended only for sport and play and whatever may be "to hertys ese." He is "ravisshed" by the beauty, the "holsom ayr," the sweetness. There are herbs that would cure every malady, "freshe welle springis," nightingales singing "aungelyke" in the trees—everything, in fact, is so beautiful

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 152, 153.

[2] Chap. ii above.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 460, 461.

[4] As in *R. R.* See above.

[5] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29, 30.

[6] Discussed in chap. ii, p. 141, above.

That there is no man in hys wyt (5217)
The which koude ha levyd yt
Nor demyd yt in his entent,
But yif he had[de] be present.

Looking about the place he sees

Deduit and Cupide (5232)
With her folkys a gret Route,
. . . .
By hem self[e] tweyn and tweyn,
Ful besely to don her peyn
Hem to play and to solace.
. . . .
In karol wise I saugh hem goon, (5245)
And formhest of hem euerychoon
I saugh Deduit, and on his honde,
Confedred by a maner bonde,
Ther went a lady in sothnesse,
And hir name was gladnesse.

Next comes a long description of Cupid, with his two bows and ten arrows. He and his train go

Euerych vpon others honde, (5534)
. . . .
Ay to gedre tweyn and tweyn,[1]

They have all sorts of musical instruments and dance and sing beautifully. After a time the poet plays a game of chess with the beautiful maiden whom he seeks. In the midst of a long, allegorical, satirical description of the pieces, the translation breaks off at line 7042.

On the whole the resemblances between *R. S.* and *F. L.* are so varied and so striking, in both thought and form, that it seems impossible to doubt that Lydgate's poem or its original (and of course more likely the former) was familiar to our author.[2]

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 295.

[2] In other poems of Lydgate, especially in *M. P.*, there are details resembling various parts of *F. L.*; but I have indicated the most important parallels.

ALAIN CHARTIER

Le Livre des quatre Dames,[1] "compilé par Maistre Alain Chartier," apparently not long after the battle of Agincourt, begins with a very elaborate description of the conventional spring setting. On the pleasant morning of the first day of spring the poet goes forth into the fields in the hope of banishing his melancholy. He says:

> Merchai l'herbe poignant menue,
> Qui mit mon cueur hors de soucy,
> Lequel auoit esté transsy
> Long temps par liesse perdue.
>   Tout autour oiseaulx voletoient,
> Et si tres-doulcement chantoient,
> Qu'il n'est cueur qui n'en fust ioyeulx.[2]

He stopped in a "pourpris" of trees, thinking about his miserable fortune in love and watching a brook that ran beside a

> pré gracieux, où nature
> Sema les fleurs sur la verdure,
> Blanches, iaunes, rouges & perses.
> D'arbes flouriz fut la ceinture.

Near by was a mountain with a very beautiful grove on its slope. The poet aimlessly took a path,

> Longue & estroite, où l'herbe tendre
> Croissoit tres-drue, & vng pou mendre[3]
> Que celle qui fut tout autour.

With the people whom he met along this path we have here no concern.

Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Mercy* may be examined most conveniently in the English version once attributed to Chaucer, but in reality by Sir Richard Ros.[4] The translator represents that, "half in a dreme" and burdened with his task of translation, he rose and made his way to a "lusty green valey ful of floures," where he managed to accomplish his work. The original poet tells of riding a long time, until he hears music in a garden and is welcomed by a party of banqueters. Among them is a woe-begone knight who has eyes for but one lady. After dinner there is dancing; but the poet has no heart for it and sits alone,

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[1] *Œuvres*, ed. Du Chesne, Paris, 1617, pp. 594 ff.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 38.

[3] Cf. *F. L.*, l. 52.

[4] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 299 ff.

> behynd a trayle (184)
> Ful of leves, to see, a greet mervayle,
> With grene withies y-bounden wonderly;
> The leves were so thik, withouten fayle,
> That thorough-out might no man me espy.[1]

From this hiding-place he sees the sorrowful knight dance with his lady and then withdraw to "an herber made ful pleasauntly," where follows a long discussion of no interest in this study.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS AND OTHER LYRIC POETS

Among the works of Charles d'Orleans, whose ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf have been cited,[2] there is no long poem presenting a setting or machinery similar to that of *F. L.;* but scattered here and there with considerable frequency are allusions to such common topics as the sleeplessness of lovers,[3] the joy that comes in spring, especially to lovers,[4] the revival of plant life,[5] the songs of the birds,[6] and May Day customs in general.[7]

The same is true of such collections of lyric poetry as Gaston Paris' *Chansons du XV^e^ siècle.*[8] Often the poets represent themselves as rising before dawn—sometimes owing to sleeplessness caused by love—and entering some beautiful garden or meadow, in which they find their ladies, or pluck flowers, or listen to the birds. Some of these poems are *pastourelles* of the type already described.[9] Others worth special mention are numbers xlix and lxx. Scheler's collection from the *Trouvères belges*[10] and Tarbé's from the *Chansonniers de Champagne*[11] include similar poems; as, indeed, do other collections of lyric poetry.

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 67-70.

[2] Chap. i above.

[3] *Poésies*, ed d'Héricault, Vols. I, p. 21; II, p. 5, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 31, 65, 148, 218; II, pp. 10, 114, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 48, 114, etc.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, p. 65; II, p. 115, etc.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65, 79; II, pp. 94, 122, 214, etc.

[8] Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

[9] P. 283 above.

[10] Pp. 35, 147; nouvelle série, p. 4.

[11] Pp. 26, 92.

LE DEBAT DU CUER ET DE L'OEIL

In the fifteenth-century French amplification of the Latin *Disputatio inter cor et oculum,*[1] there is a good deal of machinery corresponding in an interesting way to that of *F. L.* One May Day the poet goes out to hunt. Hearing feminine voices, he dismounts and is soon graciously greeted by a number of ladies who come from the forest, wearing chaplets of flowers, and singing with such sweetness that their song would have given new life to a heart immeasurably troubled. This company soon withdraw, but the knight is moved to search especially for one of them, who seemed to him like an angel. During his search he sees, under a pine beside a fountain, a great number of women, accompanied by gentlemen well arrayed. Two of these gentlemen invite him to join the ladies; but, unable to find his beloved in the company, he falls asleep beneath the tree, and dreams of a debate between his heart and his eye. After fruitless argument, it is agreed that the controversy shall be settled by single combat before Amours. Very rich preparations are made, with lavish use of precious stones. The company of Eye are clad in green "pervenche."[2] Heart has a seat of eglantine in his pavilion. Certain "escoutes," armed with marguerites, are to give the champions

> De vert lorier lanches petites.

Further details are of no consequence in this place.

THE KING'S QUAIR

The much-admired poem long attributed to King James I of Scotland[3] begins with a fixing of the time by astronomical reference. After passing a sleepless night—"can I noght say quharfore"—the poet decides to tell in verse his own story. He hurries rapidly over his voyage, his shipwreck, his imprisonment by the English, till one spring day when, as he looks out of his prison window, he sees—

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[1] *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright (Camden Society, 1841); Appendix, pp. 310 ff. The English version mentioned by Warton (*History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 167) and by Wright (note, pp. xxiii, xxiv, in edition of Mapes), I have not seen. I understand it is soon to be printed by Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. The Latin original is of no consequence in this study, because it does not present the setting and machinery of the French *debat*.

[2] A fact which should have been noted in chap. ii above, p. 150.

[3] *The Kingis Quair*, ed. Skeat; S. T. S., 1884.

maid fast by the touris wall (stanza 31)
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about; and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
That lyf was non walking there forby,
That myght within scarse ony wight aspye.[1]

. . . .

And on the small(e) grene twistis sat (33)
The lytill suete nyghtingale, and song
So loud and clere, the ympnis consecrat
Off lufis vse.

After listening to the bird's songs awhile and meditating on them, the poet sees walking in the garden (very much as Palamon and Arcite saw Emily)

The fairest or the freschest ȝong(e) floure (40)
That euer I sawe.

He at once vows service to Venus, and bewails his plight when the lady leaves the garden. Finally, after

Phebus endit had his bemes bryght, (72)
And bad go farewele euery lef and floure,

he falls asleep, and is carried in dreams to the palace of Venus. Here he sees "a warld of folk." A voice explains who they are—

the folke that neuer change wold (83)
In lufe;[2] . . . .
. . . . the princis, faucht the grete batailis; (85)

and others who served love in any way. Cupid is there, and Venus, wearing a chaplet of roses. Venus agrees to help the poet in his suit. Her tears cause the flowers to grow,

That preyen men . . . . (117)
Be trewe of lufe, and worschip my seruise.

Hence it is that,

Quhen flouris springis, and freschest bene of hewe, (119)
And that the birdis on the twistis sing,
At thilke tyme ay gynnen folk renewe
That seruis vnto loue.

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 67-70.

[2] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 485-87.

The further wanderings of the poet are of no consequence in relation to *F. L.*[1]

LATER POEMS—ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

Thus far we have been examining works which were, either certainly or possibly, early enough to have influenced the author of our poem. It now seems desirable to add very brief mention of several later works that present similar features—that belong, in a sense, to the school of *F. L.*

Professor Skeat has made much of such resemblances as there are between *F. L.* and *A. L.*;[2] but in reality they are not very numerous or striking, being mostly in the commonplaces of Chaucerian imitation. *A. L.* belongs much more definitely than *F. L.* to the Court of Love group.[3] The time is September, not spring; but there is an "herber" of the usual sort, and a company of ladies. The action in no way resembles that of *F. L.*

Chaucer's Dream, or *The Isle of Ladies*, as Professor Skeat prefers to call it,[4] is also in part a Court of Love poem. A "world of ladies" appear with their knights before the Lord of Love, who is "all in floures." A good many details are reminiscent of *F. L.*

Various points of resemblance between *F. L.* and *C. L.*[5] have been pointed out in chap. ii above. Still more might be added, if minute attention were paid to details in imitation of Chaucer; but there is no important similarity between the two poems in the matter of setting and machinery.

The Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik*[6] is of some interest as showing how the conventional setting of love allegory was sometimes taken over into other kinds of poetry. The poet tells of coming, one spring day, to a garden, which was

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[1] The resemblances noted above, and in Mr. Henry Wood's article on "Chaucer's Influence on James I," *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 223 ff., seem to indicate that the author of *The King's Quair* knew *F. L.*, and was directly alluding to it. If this is true, and James I was the author of the Scottish poem (an undecided question), *F. L.* must be dated earlier than Professor Skeat inclines to date it.

[2] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380–404 (text), lxix, lxx (Introduction), 535–38 (notes).

[3] As stated by Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 150.

[4] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. xiv, xv. Text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 378 ff.

[5] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff.

[6] Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S. (1865).

al about enweronyt and Iclosit (53)
One sich o wyss, that none within supposit
Fore to be sen with ony vicht thare owt;[1]
So dide the levis clos it all about.

There he falls asleep, and has a dream that causes him to write the story of Lancelot. Other details besides those about the garden indicate that the author knew *F. L.*[2]

Several of Dunbar's poems present interesting features. *The Goldyn Targe*[3] has the spring setting, with a vision of a hundred ladies in green kirtles, including Venus and Flora, followed by "ane othir court," headed by Cupid and also arrayed in green. In *The Thistle and the Rose*[4] the poet is awakened early by May, "in brycht atteir of flouris," and follows her to a garden where there is an assembly of beasts and birds and flowers.[5] *The Merle and the Nightingale*[6] is a *debat* somewhat resembling *C. N.*, with a similar May setting. *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*[7] is also worth mention for its descriptions of spring.

Gavin Douglas, like the others of the Scottish school of Chaucer, seems to have known *F. L.* as well as the genuine works of his master.[8] *The Palice of Honour*[9] begins with the rising of the poet one day in May, and his entrance into a beautiful garden, where he sees a great company of ladies and gentlemen on their way to the palace of Honour. They are soon followed by the courts of Diana and Venus, the latter in a car drawn by horses in green trappings. She is accompanied by her son dressed in green.[10]

Sir David Lyndesay, in his *Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*,[11] tells of entering his "garth" to repose among the flowers. There is the usual astronomical reference and the usual description of a spring landscape. From under

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[1] Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 66–70.

[2] See especially ll. 335–42, 2088–93, 2471–87. There are also apparent allusions to *L. G. W.*, as in l. 57.

[3] *Poems* of William Dunbar, ed. J. Small, S. T. S. (1893); Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 183 ff.

[5] Obviously in part an imitation of Chaucer's *P. F.*

[6] *Poems*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff.

[8] See P. Lange, "Chaucer's Einfluss auf Douglas," *Anglia*, Vol. VI, pp. 46 ff.

[9] *Poetical Works* of Douglas, ed. J. Small (Edinburgh, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[10] This example of the use of green, together with that given above from Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe*, may be added to the list in chap. ii above, pp. 150, 151.

[11] *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 223 ff.

> ane hauthorne grene,
> Quhare I mycht heir and se, and be unsene,

the poet hears the complaint which is the burden of his work. *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabyll Estait of the World*[1] has a Prologue telling how the sleepless poet fared forth into a park one May morning before sunrise, in the hope of banishing his melancholy by hearing the birds sing. He met an old man who made a long recital of history. The setting of *The Dreme of Schir David Lyndesay*[2] is also of some interest.[3]

SUMMARY

It should now be clear that most of the elements of the setting and most of the machinery of *F. L.* were decidedly conventional before the first half of the fifteenth century. The spring setting, with almost infinite repetition of details, is found in the earliest lyrics, in nearly all the poems of the Court of Love group,[4] occasionally in other allegorical poems,[5] in religious poems,[6] in *chansons de geste* and metrical romances,[7] in political poems,[8] and even in prose romances and treatises.[9] The description of springtime phenomena in *F. L.* most closely resembles passages in Chaucer and Lydgate.[1] The sleepless poet is a familiar figure in mediæval literature.[2] Because of his pretended ignorance of the cause of his sleeplessness in both *F. L.* and *B. D.*,[3] indebtedness of the former to Chaucer seems extremely probable. Rising before dawn, or about dawn, and going into a pleasant meadow or grove or garden was clearly a common pleasure of poets. The most notable passages in this connection are in Machaut, Froissart, Deschamps, Chaucer, and Lydgate. The regularity of the grove in *F. L.* appears to have been suggested by either Lydgate's *R. S.*, or Chaucer's *B. D.*, with a line of indebtedness probably running back to *R. R.* One of the main objects of the poet's early rising is usually to hear the birds sing, especially the nightingale. The most striking parallelism in this respect appears to be, as Professor Skeat points out, between *F. L.* and *C. N.*[4] The "path of litel brede," overgrown with grass and weeds,[5] was found by other poets on other morning walks. In Machaut and Chartier the poet took this path aimlessly; yet here, as in so many other places, the closest resemblance is to Chaucer (*B. D.*), in the observation that the path is "litel used." The "herber" to which the path leads is found almost everywhere. In French it is usually a "vergier;" in English the form is nearly always "herber." In Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Lydgate's *C. B.* and *B. K.*, in *F. L.* and *A. L.* this arbor is said to be "benched;" in *L. G. W.*, *C. B.*, and *F. L.*, "benched with turves"—a similarity in minute detail that indicates indebtedness of all the later poems to *L. G. W.* Usually the arbor or garden is inclosed by a hedge or a wall, and in a number of instances the poets represent themselves as in hiding. Attributing healing power to the odor of the eglantine of which the hedge is made is but one example of a very common device. The passage in *F. L.* on this subject seems most like passages in

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[1] *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 1 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.

[3] "The Justes of the Month of May" (Hazlitt, *Popular Poetry*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.), of the latter part of the reign of Henry VII, contains several passages suggesting influence by *F. L.*

[4] See Professor Neilson's dissertation, *passim*, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI.

[5] As in *Piers the Plowman*, which begins on a May morning with a vision of a "faire felde ful of folke" (B, l. 17). See also *Le chemin de vaillance*, as analyzed in *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 584 ff.; de Guileville's *Pélerinage de la vie humaine*, as translated by Lydgate (ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1899–1904).

[6] E. g., a macaronic French and Latin *Hymn to the Virgin* in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, Vol. I, p. 200; Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, ed. Furnivall (E. E. T. S., 1892), Vol. I, p. 67; Lydgate's *Edmund*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* (Neue Folge, 1881), p. 443, ll. 233 ff.

[7] E. g., *Aye d'Avignon*, ed. Guessard and Meyer (Paris, 1861), ll. 2576–81; *The Bruce*, ed. Skeat (S. T. S., 1894), beginning of Book V; the *Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. Hausknecht (E. E. T. S., 1881), ll. 963 ff.; *The Squyr of Low Degre*, ed. Mead (Athenæum Press, 1904), ll. 27 ff., 43 ff., 57, etc.

[8] See *Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1839), pp. 3, 63.

[9] See, for example, a passage quoted from *Guerin de Montglave* in Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. Wilson (Bohn Library, 1888), Vol. I, p. 311; *Le livre des faits de Boucicault* (perhaps by Christine de Pisan), in *Memoirs pour servir à l'historie de la France*, Vol. II, p. 226; the Prologue to *The Book of the Knight of la Tour-Landry*, ed. T. Wright (E. E. T. S., 1868). Of course other examples could be found. I have made no exhaustive search in works of this kind.

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[1] Owing to the number of specific comparisons already suggested between passages in *F. L.* and in works analyzed above, I shall not usually make direct reference to previous pages of this chapter.

[2] See Neilson in *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 183, 185, 186, 190, 206, 216; Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, p. 33; besides the instances given in this chapter.

[3] Repeated also in *The King's Quair.*

[4] *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, note p. 530.

[5] *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

Couvin's *Fontaine d'Amours*, Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, and Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale.*

After the poet reached his "vergier" or "herber," it was his usual custom to sit down beneath a bush or a tree, and there either fall asleep and dream, or see visions without the aid of sleep. Of such visions a company like our poet's "world of ladies" and "rout of men at arms"[1] was a very common feature. Often such a company is connected with the Court of Love convention.[2] Sometimes there may be reference to stories of the singing and dancing of companies of fairies.[3] But probably in many cases the vision was suggested by the fact that on May Day and other popular holidays such companies actually did gather to sing and dance and engage in sports of various kinds. The vogue of *R. R.* seems to have been in part responsible for the commonness of such companies in later poetry; but on account of details as to the costumes,[4] the author of *F. L.* appears most likely to owe direct debts in this matter to Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, Deschamp's *Lay de Franchise*, Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Gower's *C. A.*, and Lydgate's *R. S.*

On the whole, then, only one conclusion is possible: that whatever merits of combination and expression *F. L.* may possess, its setting and machinery are a tissue of conventionalities owing most to Chaucer and his earlier imitators (a group to which our author belonged), and much—no doubt partly through Chaucer and perhaps Lydgate—to *R. R.* and the French works influenced by that poem.

CHAPTER IV. GENERAL CONCLUSION AS TO SOURCES

Before endeavoring to decide, in the light of the foregoing evidence, what were the actual sources of *F. L.*, it is desirable to examine briefly the suggestions previously made on this subject.

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[1] *F. L.*, ll. 137, 196.

[2] See Neilson's dissertation, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, *passim*.

[3] This theory as to the origin of the companies in *F. L.* was suggested to me by Professor Schofield, of Harvard. In view of the frequent occurrence of such companies, however, in poems containing no clear reference to fairy lore, and in view, further, of the common mediæval pageantry in connection with all sorts of celebrations, it seems improper to assume any conscious use of fairy lore on the part of the author of *F. L.*

[4] Discussed especially in chap. ii above.

Many of these have been mentioned already and may be dismissed rather summarily.

Dryden, in the Preface to *Fables* (1700), says *F. L.* is of Chaucer's own invention, "after the manner of the Provençals." The quoted phrase can apply only to the setting and spirit of the poem. I have found no close parallel to it in Provençal; but in certain ways it is an outgrowth of the influence of the Provençal idea of courtly love upon the French poets of the north, who in turn influenced Chaucer in his earlier work.

In Urry's edition of Chaucer (1721), the reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is first pointed out, and assumed to be a direct allusion to our poem. The indebtedness, however, was on the other side; *L. G. W.* is probably the most important direct source of *F. L.*

Tyrwhitt's comments on *F. L.* are only incidental, in the Appendix to the Preface to his edition of *C. T.* (1775). He doubts the accuracy of Dryden's statement that our poem is "after the manner of the Provençals," and suggests that the worship of the daisy may have been inspired by Machaut's *Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite* or Froissart's *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite.*[1] Apparently, however, it is unnecessary to go farther than to Chaucer for suggestion of the part the daisy plays in *F. L.;* except in search of the "bargaret" sung by the followers of the Flower,[2] and of the reason for giving these followers so frivolous a character. Nevertheless it is not at all unlikely that both Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy, as well as Deschamps' compliments to that flower, were known to our author, as they probably were to Chaucer.[3]

In Warton's *History of English Poetry* (completed 1781) there is considerable comment on *F. L.*, a large part of it in elaboration or criticism of Tyrwhitt. Thus in a footnote[4] Warton combats Tyrwhitt's assertion that Chaucer did not directly imitate the Provençal poets. *F. L.*, he says, "is framed in the old allegorizing spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century." Farther on he analyzes our poem with some care,[1] and refers to the panegyric on the daisy in *L. G. W.;* to Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy; to Margaret of Navarre's collection of poems called *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses;* and to the fact that "it was common in France to give the title of Marguerites to studied panegyrics and literary compositions of every kind both in prose and verse." Then he proceeds to the suggestion that the fancies of our poet "seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the Floral Games instituted in France in the year 1324, which filled the French poetry with images of this sort." Some description of these games follows. Later, in his discussion of Gower,[2] Warton suggests that the tale of Rosiphele,[3] of which he quotes a large part, is imitative of *F. L.* For "farther proof that the *Floure and Leafe* preceded the *Confessio Amantis*" he cites the lines from Book VIII of the latter, referring to garlands—

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[1] See chap. ii above, pp. 157, 158.

[2] *F. L.*, ll. 348–50.

[3] See Professor Lowes' article previously referred to, p. 124, n. 1, above.

[4] *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (1871), Vol. II, p. 298.

Some of the lef, some of the flour.[4]

One remaining reference to *F. L.* is in relation to its influence upon Dunbar's *Golden Targe.*[5]

Clearly the new matter brought forth by Warton is not of great importance. His additions in relation to the cult of the daisy show only something of its vogue long after the date of our poem, for the verses of Margaret of Navarre were not collected till 1547. His paragraph about the Jeux Floraux is full of errors; for he seems to have thought the whole of France participated in these festivities, and thus greatly exaggerates their influence in the north. I have not found any reason for believing that *F. L.* was directly influenced by the Jeux Floraux.[6] Finally, Warton's comment on our author's relations with Gower must of course be reversed, for beyond reasonable doubt *F. L.* is later than *C. A.* Resemblances between parts of the two poems have, as I have shown,[7] been exaggerated.

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[1] *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, pp. 8 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff.

[3] *C. A.*, Book IV, ll. 1245 ff. See chap. ii above, pp. 166, 167.

[4] See chap. i, above, p. 134.

[5] *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 209.

[6] See chap. i above, p. 139.

[7] Pp. 134, 135, 166, 167 above.

Godwin, in his *Life of Chaucer* (1801), analyzes *F. L.* at considerable length and praises it very highly, especially as it appears in Dryden's version, but adds very little as to sources. He combats the idea that the worship of the daisy came from Machaut or Froissart, on the ground that Chaucer himself had already originated it in *C. L.*, which he wrote in 1346! Since the best scholars are now convinced that this poem can hardly be earlier than 1500, comment is unnecessary. Godwin thinks *F. L.* "has the air of a translation," and that the original author was a woman—suggestions which are not intrinsically unreasonable, though entirely unproved.

Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), collects and elaborates the suggestions of his predecessors, but adds nothing of consequence.

Sandras, the next important commentator,[1] pursues a very different method. Practically all his suggestions are new, and most of them—although somewhat too dogmatically stated—are valuable. The introduction of *F. L.*, he says, is indebted to Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, from which he quotes most of the portion to be found on pp. 291–93 above. He also observes that in Machaut's *Dit du Lyon* there are trees of uniform height, planted at equal intervals, as in our poem. In nearly all the *ditiés* of Machaut and Froissart he finds scenes analogous to that of the appearance of the company of ladies of the Leaf led by Diana. To two of these scenes he makes reference: in Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* and in Froissart's *Temple d'Honour.*[2] His most important contribution, however, is mention of Deschamps' three ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.[3] The text of these, with an invitation to write on the same subject, he believes Chaucer may have received from Philippa of Lancaster, to whom one of the ballades is addressed.[4] Finally Sandras suggests that the end of our poem recalls the *Lai du Trot.*

His chief error—except, of course, in the matter of Chaucerian authorship—consists in assuming too much from resemblances of

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[1] *Étude sur Chaucer* (Paris, 1859).

[2] An error for *Paradys d'Amour*, as noted above.

[3] Discussed in chap. i above.

[4] Professor Kittredge makes a similar suggestion in *Modern Philology*, Vol, I, pp. 5, 6, without noting Sandras' previous comment.

F. L. to single works. Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* unquestionably does resemble the English poem in its setting and part of its action; but so do Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*—to select only two of the most notable French examples. Hence it is impossible to say dogmatically that the highly conventional introduction of *F. L.* is from one particular source. The conclusions reached in chap. iii above show the inadequacy of all Sandras' comments except in relation to the ballades of Deschamps. Some of the works he mentions may have influenced our author, but they can not be singled out to the exclusion of others. The ballades of Deschamps, however, must have had influence in the writing of *F. L.* I have already said that it seems unnecessary to assume a knowledge of the *Lai du Trot.*[1]

Ten Brink, in his *Chaucer Studien* (1870), presented the earliest comprehensive and adequate proof that *F. L.* was not by Chaucer,[2] but added nothing in relation to sources.

Professor C. F. McClumpha, in 1889,[3] suggested that Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* was a poetic model for *F. L.* Practically all the resemblances pointed out with emphasis in his article are shown in the analysis of Deschamps' poem in chap. iii above, from which it should be clear that the *Lay de Franchise* is hardly more like *F. L.* than a number of other works.[4] To be sure, Deschamps' young men gathering flowers are clad in green; but I have pointed out several examples of like companies similarly clad. And even the description of the jousting, which is the most significant feature of Deschamps' poem in relation to *F. L.*, seems hardly so important as a similar description in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the specific contrast of white and green costumes in the latter. These errors are akin to those of Sandras—of a negative rather than a positive sort; but in his zeal to make out a good case Professor McClumpha falls into a positive blunder of interpretation, when he says that Deschamps "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the leaf." He does do this in his ballades, but not in the *Lay de Franchise.* On the whole, it is quite impossible to agree that "the similarity of these two poems is so apparent that one must have suggested the other, if, indeed, a nearer relationship may not be assumed." The *Lay de Franchise* unquestionably belongs to a group of poems, any one or all of which, either directly or through Chaucer and Lydgate, may have influenced our author; but we cannot say dogmatically that it or any other one of them, particularly, was *the* model for *F. L.*[1]

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[1] End of chap. ii above.

[2] Pp. 156 ff.

[3] *Modern Language Notes*, Vol, IV, cols. 402 ff.

[4] Most notably those first mentioned by Sandras.

Professor Skeat, in his various comments on our poem, has made no important addition to our knowledge of its sources—has, in fact, ignored the most important suggestions previously made (by Sandras). He has, however, pointed out numerous similarities between passages of *F. L.* and of other English poems, especially those of Chaucer. Such verbal resemblances as he mentions usually indicate nothing but close imitation of Chaucer; the important resemblances in idea I have already discussed.

It must be admitted that a majority of the works most likely to have influenced our author had been pointed out before this investigation was begun. Chaucer's and Deschamps' references to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were known; but the latter had not been examined for specific resemblances to *F. L.* Discussion of Charles d'Orleans' ballades in this connection is new; and most of the material in the latter part of chap. i and the whole of chap. ii is here put together for the first time. No adequate idea had been given of the conventionality of the setting and machinery of our poem, and therefore too much was assumed from resemblances between *F. L.* and two poems of Machaut and Deschamps. I have pointed out almost infinite repetition of nearly all the details of the setting, and several poems which, in their combination of many such details, seem as likely to have influenced our author as Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* or Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise.* Among these are *R. R.*, the fundamental importance of which in this connection had not been recognized; Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour;* and poems by Christine de Pisan and Lydgate (primary indebtedness to Chaucer being, of course, taken for granted). The especially interesting material from Lydgate's *R. S.* is new, as that work was not generally accessible until after this study was begun.

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[1] As an illustration of the sort of misrepresentation to which such study of sources leads, it is interesting to note that Mr. Gosse, in his *Short History of English Literature* (1898), says *F. L.* "begins as a translation of Machault's *Dit du Vergier.*"

The conclusion as to sources must be that *F. L.* is decidedly an eclectic composition. Beyond doubt the author's first model was Chaucer; especially in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*, but also at least in *C. T.*, *B. D.*, and *P. F.* Next in importance is Lydgate, whose *R. S.*, especially, presents more different points of resemblance to *F. L.*, in both diction and idea, than any other one production I have examined. Gower's *C. A.* and later poems of the Chaucerian school, notably *C. N.*, our author probably knew. As to direct French influence there is more uncertainty, since most of the features that were French in origin had been fairly well domesticated in England before *F. L.* was written. Thus the setting and the main action of the poem are paralleled in both Chaucer and Lydgate, and the most influential French allegories in which similar setting and action are found had been translated into English. It seems practically certain, however, that our author knew Deschamps' ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf, and extremely probable that he knew other poems by Deschamps, as well as by Machaut, Froissart, and Christine de Pisan. And behind all other French influence, directly or indirectly, is *R. R.*, which the author of *F. L.* must have known in the version attributed to Chaucer, and perhaps in the original.

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STRUCTURE AND INTERPRETATION OF *WIDSITH*

In one of the most charming of the Old Norse sagas there are related the wanderings of the skald Gunnlaug Snake-Tongue, his visits to the princes and chiefs of Norway, Sweden, Ireland, the Scottish Isles, and England. He sailed to London and sought out King Æthelred the Unready, going, as the old tale says, "straight before the king," and telling him that he had come a long distance to see him. He then asked the king's permission to recite a lay which he had composed in his honor. This was graciously granted and the song was sung. "The king thanked him for the lay and gave him as a reward for his skaldship a mantle of scarlet, richly trimmed with costly fur and adorned with gold from top to bottom, and made him his retainer, and Gunnlaug remained with the king through the winter."

There is a striking similarity between the travels of Gunnlaug, one of the later singers of the Heroic Age, and those of Widsith, told in the earliest account of the life of a Germanic minstrel which has come down to us. According to what is professedly his own narrative, Widsith, like his Scandinavian brother of some five centuries later, wandered from court to court, exhibiting his art for the diversion of kings and princes, taking part in their fortunes, and receiving from them rich gifts in recompense for his services and his skill. The element of love, indeed, is not present in the story—there is no Anglo-Saxon counterpart to the beautiful Helga, nor did Widsith engage in combats of the sort which add so much picturesqueness to the career of Gunnlaug. But the traditions of the minstrel profession appear to have been much the same, and there is in the earlier narrative something of the same independence and pride in being a member of that profession which is so conspicuous in the later tale.

It is furthermore interesting to note that the only extant manuscript copy of the poem which has been given Widsith's name was written in England at about the same time that Æthelred was entertaining Gunnlaug. This copy, while probably greatly altered from the original form of the piece, is nevertheless of inestimable value as testimony to a particularly attractive side of early Germanic life. For whether the adventures of Widsith are wholly fictitious, or in part real, they are at least a faithful reflection of the careers of the men who kept the art of song and entertainment alive through the dark period before the Germanic peoples attained to the fuller culture of the Middle Ages. If not authentic, they are certainly typical.[1] The value of the piece to the historian of early literature, then, is obvious.[2] Indeed, the importance of what ten Brink has called the "earliest monument of English poetry that remains to us"[3] need hardly be emphasized.

If *Widsith* is inferior in poetic quality to other pieces of lyric character in Anglo-Saxon, it is by no means wholly lacking in this respect. The passage describing the singer's relations with his lord Eadgils and with Queen Ealhhild (ll. 88 ff.) serves to indicate what the general tone of the poem in an earlier form may have been. For, as will be seen, closer study shows that it has been much overlaid and defaced by the addition of inferior material, like a Gothic building rudely modernized with bricks and mortar. Unfortunately the reminiscences of heroic poetry in its best estate are all too few. It must be admitted that the chief interest of the poem lies in other directions. Perhaps its greatest value to the student of early European civilization is in just these passages of inferior poetic quality, which convey so much information in regard to the peoples and potentates of history and saga. The very features which diminish its æsthetic merit, the long catalogues of nations and rulers whom the singer is supposed to have visited, are valuable testimony to historical conditions during a period the scantiest records of which are priceless. Interesting glimpses of heroic saga are also revealed. Gifica (l. 19) and Guthhere (l. 65) are apparently conceived of at a period earlier than the joining of the historical Burgundian elements to the mythical features of the Nibelungen story. The passage relating how the pride of the Heathobards was humbled at Heorot, and how Ingeld was slain, forms a tragic sequel to the hopes of Hrothgar to secure peace by the marriage of his daughter Freawaru, as told in *Beowulf*.[1] It is unnecessary, however, to comment on the significance of the list of heroes of the Dark Ages, real and fictitious, who make their appearance in Widsith's narrative.

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[1] Cf. Rajna, *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, pp. 39 f.: "Con tutto ciò il fondo risponde certamente a una condizione reale di cose, e se il Vîdsîdh non sarà forse andato ad Ermanrico accompagnando Ealhhild, moglie del re Eádgil, suo signore, nessun poeta avrebbe finto l'andata, se fatti consimili non occorresser davvero nella vita dei poeti di corte."

[2] The figure of Widsith is not without significance for the history of the early drama; cf. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. I, pp. 28 f.

[3] *History of English Literature*, trans. Kennedy, Vol. I, p. 11.

The fascination of the poem is not lessened by the obscurity which surrounds its origin and growth. Its date, its value as a record of actual experience, the processes by which it has reached its present form, the interpretation of various obscure passages—all these questions and many others have been discussed with considerable fervor for upwards of fifty years. No consensus of opinion, however, has followed the disagreements of the past. The criticisms of ten Brink, Möller, Müllenhoff, Leo, Ettmüller, and others in Germany, and of Sweet, Thorpe, Wright, Brooke, and Earle in England, to mention no other names, are greatly at variance.[2] At the present day, one may well be excused for a feeling of perplexed indecision as to a safe middle course between conflicting theories. A more careful examination of the evidence is likely to involve one still deeper in the briars of criticism. The easiest way out, perhaps, is to call the question insoluble. Körting gives up the problem of date as "unbestimmbar."[3] Professor Saintsbury, after a procession of "ifs," and a thrust of scorn at the critical methods of those who dissect early poetry, holds that the evidence is insufficient to arrive at a conclusion, and refuses to express an opinion.[4] The argument for autobiographical value as against the hypothesis that the story is pure fiction is another important point still undetermined. Dr. Garnett recently returned to the older view that the narrative may be substantially genuine, despite interpolations.[5] Such a cautious statement as Mr. Chambers makes, that Widsith was "an actual or ideal scop," would perhaps find greater favor nowadays.

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[1] Cf. *Beow.*, ll. 2025 ff. and 2064 ff. with *Wids.*, ll. 45 ff.

[2] For bibliography to 1885, cf. Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 318 ff.

[3] *Grundriss der Gesch. der engl. Litt.* (1905), p. 27, note.

[4] *A Short History of English Literature*, pp. 1 f.

[5] Garnett and Gosse, *History of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 7.

The inquirer is certainly quite in the dark as to a conservative view of the processes by which the poem reached its present form. The elaborate patchwork theory of ten Brink,[1] who distinguishes in the piece four separate lays, not including introductory and connecting material, has never been adequately criticised and refuted, although the general weakness of his method is apparently coming more and more to be recognized. One feels that the truth must lie somewhere between this and the view of Dr. Guest,[2] for example, who accepted practically the whole poem as the work of one man, "soon after the age of eighty," the reference to Alexander the Great being "the only instance in which he has referred to one not a contemporary." But a careful examination of the problem from the point of view of construction is still lacking. Few men have thrown as much light upon these perplexing problems as Heinzel has done, both directly and indirectly, yet we have no detailed study of the poem from his pen, while much of his most illuminating criticism is to be found in articles dealing with other subjects, which may be overlooked in collecting bibliography especially with reference to *Widsith.* In short, some of the most important questions in regard to the piece as a whole, not to mention many details, must be regarded as still awaiting solution.

It is, indeed, too much to hope to gain the whole truth in regard to the baffling old poem. Many matters connected with it must remain undetermined. The illusion that analytic criticism can find out almost everything worth knowing is rather less common nowadays than it used to be. Yet it seems unwise to go too far in the direction of the caution that takes refuge in the impossibility of gaining further knowledge. At all events, the need of a thorough re-examination of *Widsith*, in the light of modern knowledge of ethnology and saga, and of a careful review and comparison of earlier theories, is perhaps sufficient excuse for rushing in where angels have feared to tread, or have trodden unsuccessfully. A good deal has been written which may safely be pronounced untenable, as, for example, Möller's attempt to force the entire poem into the Procrustean bed of the strophic form,[1] or Michel's notion that it reflects the mediæval conception of the seventy-two peoples inhabiting the earth.[2] Apart from articles exploiting special hypotheses, however, there are various suggestive criticisms of detailed points which must be taken into consideration, some of which have a most important bearing upon the interpretation of the poem as a whole. Any consistent interpretation must, indeed, rest to a very large extent upon these details. The difficulty of securing critical unanimity as to their significance is one of the stumbling-blocks to the acceptance of even the most conservative view as to the evolution of the poem. But the effort to clear up these matters is certainly worth while, in view of the importance of the piece, even if the only result were to stimulate renewed discussion.

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[1] Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 538 ff. References to the *Grundriss* in this paper are to the earlier edition.

[2] *History of English Rhythms*, ed. Skeat, pp. 371 ff.

The principal object of the present investigation, then, is, as the title indicates, to study the various processes in the evolution of the poem, and the interpretation of certain significant portions, which may lead to a decision as to the approximate date and provenience of the material, rather than to enter minutely into questions of ethnology, history, and saga.

I

Upon a hasty reading, the poem makes the impression of a jumble of heterogeneous material. A more careful examination shows that it falls into certain rather definite groups, and that the interest of the main narrative seems to be of two kinds, the details of personal experience, and the enumeration of peoples and rulers, with some historical, or avowedly historical, information added.

The whole is introduced by a short prologue:

WĪDSĪÐ MAÐOLADE, wordhord onlēac,
sē þe *monna* mǣst mǣgþa ofer eorþan,

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[1] *Das altenglische Volksepos in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form*, pp. 1 ff. In certain parts of the poem it is quite possible that strophic structure is to be assumed, as for instance ll. 15 ff., but to extend the principle as far as Möller wished to do, and reprint the whole with stanzaic divisions, cannot be regarded as otherwise than highly dangerous—indeed, the wide application which Möller made of his general theory to AS. heroic verse is generally discredited today. Cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, and note how little such strophic manipulations are likely to produce unanimity; ten Brink, Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 542, thinks that Möller's four-line strophes would form six-line divisions equally well.

[2] Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XV, p. 377; refuted by Bojunga, *Beiträge*, Vol. XVI, p. 545.

folca geondfērde: oft hē *on* flette geþāh
mynelīcne māþþum. H*im* from Myrgingum
æþel*o* onwōcon. Hē mid Ealhhilde,
fǣlre freoþuwebban, forman sīþe
Hrēðcyninges hām gesōhte,
ēastan of Ongle, Eormanrīces,
wrāþes wǣrlogan. Ongon þā worn sprecan:[1]

Autobiographical matter does not follow, however. The conventional formula *ic . . . . gefrœgn* (l. 10), which, so far as it implies anything, means that the poet got his information by hearsay, introduces, after the valuable observation that virtue is necessary to a successful monarch, a long list of peoples and princes. Obviously, however, there is no personal note here—these are not the ones that Widsith visited, or supposedly visited. The information is not even conveyed in the first person, but in the third.

Ætla wēold Hūnum, Eormanrīc Gotum; 18
Becca Bāningum, Burgendum Gifica.

This forms a contrast to the names introduced by the phrase *ic wœs mid,* later on. The mention of Eormanric seems rather superfluous, after the prologue. Offa, king of the Angles, and Hrothwulf and Hrothgar get a longer mention, closing the somewhat incongruous collection beginning with Alexander. The whole passage (ll. 10–49) is a kind of rhymed summary of historical information. It constitutes a division of the poem by itself, the basis of it perhaps being, as ten Brink suggested, the "uralte versus memoriales" (ll. 18–34).[2]

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[1] The text follows that in the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 1, with the addition of marking the quantity of the vowels. The punctuation has in some cases been changed. Elsewhere than in quotations, the spelling of the word *Wīdsīð* has, for the sake of convenience, been modernized, and the marks of length omitted.

[2] Ten Brink was no doubt right in setting this down as a mnemonic catalogue, and one of considerable antiquity. He looked upon ll. 35–44 as a later addition made among the Angles; ll. 45–49 as having been added in Mercia, while ll. 10–13 was assigned still a different origin. Into these details it does not seem possible to venture with any certainty. If, as is likely, it constitutes one of the oldest portions of the poem, we may have to take the changes of oral transmission into account. It represents a collection of facts and traditions thought worthy of perpetuation, and so committed to verse to assist the memory. The process outlined by ten Brink is not unreasonable, but it is improbable that it is correct, since there is but such slender evidence upon which to base it.

It is worth noting that there are some interesting parallels in Old Norse. The editors of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* call attention to the opening lines of the *Lay of Hlod and*

The singer then takes a fresh start, this time in the first person:

> Swā[1] ic geondfērde fela fremdra londa
> geond ginne grund; gōdes and yfles
> þǣr ic cunnade cnōsle bidǣled,
> frēomǣgum feor, folgade wīde.
> Forþon ic mæg singan and secgan spell,
> mǣnan fore mengo in meoduhealle,
> hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten.

Here, in place of the formal *ic gefrægn* stand the direct and personal *ic geondfērde*, and *ic cunnade.* More cataloguing follows, but up to the end of the narrative (l. 134) it is sustained in the first person, whether the phrase *ic wæs mid* or *ic sōhte* be the one used. It is noticeable that in the passage immediately following this second introduction, certain lines, and those the

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Angantheow, remarking that they "look like a bit of a separate song, parallel to the *English Traveller's Lay*, ll. 15–35." (*C. P. B.*, Vol. I, p. 565.)

> "Ár kvóðo Humla Húnom ráða,
> Gitzor Grýtingom, Gotom Angantý,
> Valdar Daonom, enn Vao lom Kiár,
> Alrekr inn frœkni Enski þióðo."

The short enumerative pieces which the editors call "Heroic Muster Rolls" (Vol. I, p. 353) are stated to be "manifestly the echoes of genuine older verse, and may probably contain passages borrowed from them" — which suggests a process not unlike what we may believe to have taken place in parts of *Widsith*. Manifestly, the lines in *Widsith* are similar to such verse as this:

> "Alfr ok Atli, Eymundr trani,
> Gitzurr gláma, Goðvarðr starri,
> Steinkell stikill, Stórolfr vífill:
> Hrafn ok Helgi, Hlœðver ígull,
> Steinn ok Kári, Styrr ok Áli" (etc., etc.).

[1] This statement "So I traversed many foreign lands," etc., following a passage which has no personal element in it, has given pause to various commentators. Müllenhoff remarks (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 285): "Der zweite abschnitt wird mit vv. 50–56 eingeleitet. nach hrn Greins und der frühern herausgeber interpunction, wenn man abtheilt

> Svâ ic geondfêrde fela fremdra londa
> geond ginne grund; gôdes and yfles
> þær ic cunnade u. s. w.,

muss man den ersten satz und das 'svâ' auf das was vorhergeht beziehen; es würde daraus folgen dass der sänger auch alle die fürsten die er eben aufgezählt besucht habe. . . . . (In ll. 18–49) zeigt der vielgereiste sänger seine erfahrung und sagenkunde; hätte er aber dort alle von ihm genannten könige besucht und selbst gesehen, was in aller welt sollte da noch das zweite, ziemlich abweichende verzeichniss von v. 57 an von völkern und zum theil auch von königen mit der ausdrücklichen bemerkung dass er bei diesen war? v. 51 muss darnach anders interpungiert und das semicolon in ein komma verwandelt werden. wir würden jetzt die unterordnung oder das verhältnis der gedanken schärfer ausdrücken als es zu einer zeit geschah wo der satzbau noch wesentlich parataktisch war. aber die folge der gedanken ist doch ganz deutlich: ice habe *so*—wie folgt—viele fremde länder durchreist, gutes und übles erfuhr ich da, deswegen kann ich singen und sagen u. s. w." Möller notes (Vol. I, p. 34) that this interpretation of *swā* is supported by *Beow.*, l. 2144, although he is inclined to think that there is contamination in the *Beowulf* passage itself. He regards the *swā* as an interpolation here, saying that it is "ein beliebtes interpolatorenwort." Ten Brink, too, changes *swā* to *Hwæt.* It seems well to remember that if ll. 18–49 or ll. 14–49 is an ones which contain the baldest enumerations, stand out prominently as awkward and hypermetric,[1] while others which introduce additional detail, mainly that of matters which have affected the singer personally, are of the normal length. Contrast, for instance,

> Mid Froncum ic wæs and mid Frȳsum and mid Frumtingum.
> Mid Rūgum ic wæs and mid Glommum and mid Rūmwālum.

with the lines immediately following,

> Swylce ic wæs on Eatule mid Ælfwine, 70
> sē hæfde moncynnes mīne gefrǣge
> leohteste hond lofes tō wyrcenne,
> heortan unhnēaweste hringa gedāles,
> beorhtra bēaga, bearn Ēadwines.

This distinction is perhaps not without significance in the evolution of the poem, as will be seen later. The mention of Guthhere, or Gunther, king of the Burgundians (ll. 65 ff.) is also of especial interest. Earlier in the poem (l. 19) Gifica is represented as ruling the Burgundians. The curious combination of the Greeks and the Finns and Cæsar, already found in l. 20, is repeated in l. 76. The strangest collection of all is the passage ll. 79–87. The Picts and Scots, the Israelites and the Assyrians and the Egyptians jostle the Medes and Persians, the "Mofdings" and the "Amothings." Surprising, too, is the statement that Widsith has been with the Myrgings, his own people, and "ongend Myrgingum," after all these travels!

The mention of Eormanric introduces a section of very different character. Here at last something the sort of tale promised by the prologue is realized. In striking contrast to

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insertion, something may very well have been cut out to make room for it, which would have made the usual meaning of *swā* quite in place here. But the adherents of the ballad theory were always loth to admit losses in practice, however willing they may have been to do so in principle. In the second place, the logical connection of the particle *swā* appears to have been less close than we are inclined to suppose nowadays. Müllenhoff's comment points in this direction. In an earlier article, I have shown this in regard to the adverb *forþon* (*Jour. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. IV, pp. 463 ff.). If *swā* is "ein beliebtes interpolatorenwort," it is certainly also a favorite word for introducing a new sentence in poetry where no contamination can be held to be present, and is sometimes used, like modern English "so," or German "also," as a loose connective in narrative, not necessarily denoting a close logical connection between what precedes and what follows. In short, then, there seems to be no need to regard it with suspicion here, even if no interpolation exists.

[1] Cf. ten Brink, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 540, 541.

what precedes, it consists of vivid and picturesque narrative, full of the color of real experience, and telling a connected story.

And ic wæs mid Eormanrīce ealle þrāge,
þǣr mē Gotena cyning gōde dohte,
sē mē bēag forgeaf, burgwarena fruma,
on þām siexhund wæs smǣtes goldes
gescyred sceatta scillingrīme,
þone ic Ēadgilse on ǣht sealde,
mīnum hlēodryhtne, þā ic tō hām bicwōm,
lēofum tō lēane, þaes þe hē mē lond forgeaf,
mines fæder ēþel, frēa Myrginga;
and mē þā Ealhhild ōþerne forgeaf,
dryhtcwēn duguþe, dohtor Ēadwines.
Hyre lof lengde geond londa fela,
þonne ic be songe secgan sceolde,
hwǣr ic under swegle sēlast wisse
goldhrodene cwēn giefe bryttīan.
Ðonne wit Scilling scīran reorde
for uncrum sigedryhtne song āhōfan,
hlūde bī hearpan hlēopor swīnsade:
þonne monige men mōdum wlonce
wordum sprēcan, þā þe wel cūþan,
þæt hī nǣfre song sēllan ne hȳrdon.[1]

This is perhaps the most important division of the poem in connection with the questions of origin and evolution, and a very careful examination of it will presently be necessary.

The last rough division of the story (ll. 110 ff.) appears to be an enumeration of the "innweorud Earmanrīces," following the statement that the singer traversed all the country of the Goths. It is hardly necessary to say that the list is an imaginary "omnium gatherum" of names, arranged, in many cases, in alliterative pairs—Secca and Becca, the latter the Bikki of the tragic story of the death of Swanhild; Eadwine and Elsa, Lombard monarchs of widely different periods; Rædhere and Rondhere, perhaps mere decorative names; so also Wulfhere and Wyrmhere. Wudga and Hama, the Wittich and Heime of Middle High German legend, are praised by the poet as "not the worst of comrades, though I name them last." There is a little glimpse of early contests against the Huns, and four good lines recalling the best heroic epic manner, with their mention of the "yelling shaft that flew, whining." The narrative closes with the moralizing afterthought, clumsily expressed,

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[1] Cf. the admirable English rendering by Professor Gummere in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1889, p. 419.

> Swā ic þæt symle onfond on þǣre fēringe,
> þæt sē bīþ lēofast londbūendum
> sē þe him god syleð gumena rīce
> tō gehealdenne, þenden hē hēr leofað,

—a pious reflection utterly at variance with the spirit of what precedes.

Finally, an epilogue of nine lines closes the piece, recalling rather superfluously that it is thus that the minstrels wander over the earth and gain everlasting glory.

Critics have generally agreed upon one point, that a composition full of such discrepancies in style, subject-matter, and metre, is in all probability not entirely the work of one man.[1] The passage consisting of ll. 10–49, as has been seen, does not fit into the general scheme of the whole, and has every appearance of having been composed for another purpose and utilized or inserted here. Again, it seems almost impossible that such screamingly bad verse as ll. 79 ff., with its mention of such "undinge"[2] as Mofdings and Amothings, and its jumble of scriptural names, can have been composed by the poet of the picturesque and graceful account of Widsith's stay at the court of Eormanric, and his relations with Eadgils and Ealhhild. It is difficult to imagine a *scōp* of the Christian period in England—as the biblical matter and the mention of the Picts and Scots must force us to believe him to have been—writing off this unnatural mixture of contrastingly good and bad verse, of early and late material. The matter in the "memory verses," in the earlier portion of the poem, bears signs of great age, as ten Brink has pointed out. On the other hand, the figure of Eormanric, who is so conspicuous in this poem in various places, was one little known to the Anglo-Saxons after their migration to Britain,[1] and it seems unlikely that a poet of the later time, as the Christian coloring would show him to have been, should have chosen to give Eormanric a prominent mention in his prologue, to have made him later one of the chief persons connected with the personal adventures of his hero, and have thought it worth while to enumerate his "innweorud" at length. Any argument supporting unity of authorship must concede that the poet was working on the basis of older material, chiefly of continental origin, and that he incorporated some of it bodily into his work. A more reasonable explanation for the stratification so generally conceded by modern critics is that the incongruous elements must have been inserted from time to time in a poem which was in its older form more consistent with itself. We have learned, indeed, not to set up a rigid standard of perfection for early poetry, and adjudge whatever does not conform to this standard to be spurious, but the discrepancies here are of another sort than literary inequality or carelessness of detail, they reveal fundamental differences of time and place and literary interest. Obviously, the chief value and attraction of the piece for the man who copied it into the Exeter Book was the information it contained. The cataloguing material occupies the main part of the narrative put into the mouth of the singer; the touches of personal experience seem insignificant by comparison. Personal interest, whether real or imaginary, made doubly conspicuous by the enumerative lists accompanying, is aroused by the kindness of Gunther and of Eadwine of Italy, the historical Audoin, father of Alboin, the longer narrative of the stay at the Gothic court, and the mention of Eadgils, Ealhhild, and the brother-minstrel Scilling, with such details as the exact value of the ring bestowed by Eormanric, and the repurchasing of land belonging to the minstrel's father. It is a thousand times to be regretted for the poetic interest of the piece that Widsith does not oftener take the hearer into his confidence.

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[1] Cf. the summary in Wülker's *Grundriss*, pp. 319 ff. and 329. Heinzel, who is disposed to defend the unity of the piece so far as may be, acknowledges that it contains discrepancies which cannot be explained away: "v. 88 *And ic wœs mid Eormanrīce ealle þrage* kann unmöglich derjenige sagen, der schon v. 57 erzählt hat, er sei bei den Hredgoten gewesen, noch der v. 18 den Goten Ermanarich unter jenen alten Fürsten aufgezählt hat, von denen er nur durch überlieferung weiss." (*Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, p. 232.) Miss Rickert (*Mod. Philology*, Vol. II, p. 370, notes that all the poems in the Exeter Book, except the *Wife's Complaint*, the fragmentary *Ruin*, and the *Riddles*, have been "edited" to a greater or less degree.

[2] Müllenhoff subsequently proposed to identify them with the Moabites and Ammonites. (Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 401.)

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[1] Binz, Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XX, p. 209: "Die ganze sage von Ermenric aber ist offenbar den Angelsachsen schon bald nach der übersiedlung nach England fremd geworden; nur so lässt es sich begreifen, dass die einst im epos hervorragenden namen derselben in gebrauche des täglichen lebens gar keinen widerhall mehr finden."

We shall surely not err in looking to this thread of story for the earlier material at the basis of the poem, rather than to the lists of names, etc., which precede. Instances of expanding a tale by the interpolation of inferior matter are common enough, but to enliven cataloguing by the composition of epic verse dealing with different material, and telling a separate story, is, so far as I am aware, unheard of. It seems reasonable, then, to regard much of this ethnological tediousness as a later addition to the main theme, having crowded out earlier portions of the poem, so that the real narrative of Widsith's adventures is preserved in a fragmentary condition only.

At this point the question arises: Granted that the poem consists of elements composed at different times, how far is it possible to separate these with accuracy?

Those who are familiar with the monographs already written on *Widsith* will have recalled in the course of the present discussion various attempts which have been made in the past to distinguish clearly the different strata in the poem. It has, in fact, already been dissected *ad nauseam.* The three most detailed studies of the piece ever published have been essays in critical dismemberment. In 1858 Müllenhoff attempted to separate the interpolations, arriving at definite, though not complicated, results.[1] At the end of his article he expressed the hope that the processes of composition might be analyzed more in detail, remarking that the mere excision of interpolated passages did not mean the restoration of the original text. In regard to *Beowulf*, criticism had arrived at other results. Why not in regard to *Widsith?* This tempting opening for critical ingenuity was utilized to the fullest degree in 1883 by Hermann Möller, who evolved a theory of growth of the most complicated sort, the minutest details being carefully worked out, and the whole process of construction laid bare. Where Müllenhoff had assumed but one interpolator, Möller distinguished two, "Interpolator A and Interpolator B," quite in the manner of Müllenhoff's *Innere*

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[1] Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 275. Müllenhoff had already discussed *Widsith* in his *Nordalbingische Studien*, Vol. I, pp. 48 ff. The divisions of the poem and the excisions, according to Müllenhoff, are as follows: Introd. 1-9; I, ll. 18-49 (except ll. 14-17); II, ll. 50-56, 57-108 (except ll. 75-87); III, l. 109-end (except ll. 131-34).

Geschichte des Bēowulfs. The whole was chopped up into lengths, and printed, as was also *Beowulf,* "in the original strophic form."[1] Finally ten Brink, carrying the "Liedertheorie" to its utmost limits, as he had already done in his *Beowulfuntersuchungen,* presented an analysis of *Widsith* even more elaborate than Möller's.[2] While recognizing the value of the work of his predecessors, he thought that it might, in various details, be corrected and completed. Those who are familiar with the profound scholarship, the delicate literary sense, and the laborious industry of his investigation of the *Beowulf* problem will have noticed the same qualities in the article in Paul's *Grundriss.* Granted that the method is legitimate, the work is as brilliant as that written before the latter days of his life. Yet it must bear, in direct proportion to its very elaborateness and its eager desire to leave no problem in the history of the poem unsettled, a severe weight of skepticism from those who disbelieve in the principles of higher criticism to which ten Brink subscribed. The eminence of ten Brink as a scholar, the great authority of the manual in which the work was published, and the valuable contributions made to other questions than those dealing with structure and growth have no doubt caused many to accept the whole argument without question. It is always to be remembered, too, that the essays of Müllenhoff and Möller contain a large amount of highly valuable and suggestive comment on ethnology, geography, language, history, and so forth. But the principles underlying the analysis under discussion call for most careful consideration.

The whole question of the structural character of *Widsith* depends, indeed, upon the creed of the investigator in regard to the processes through which early poetry has passed, and the ability of modern scholarship to unravel these processes. The situation is familiar from the criticism of *Beowulf.* The man who believes in the exegesis applied to that poem by the scholars just enumerated has only to choose between their respective analyses to satisfy himself in regard to the growth of *Widsith*—making due allowance, let us hope, for the strophic theory. The fact that it must often be conceded that early poetry is patched and pieced makes the way to such a belief all the more easy. The insertion in the *Genesis*, and the proof that the parts preceding and following are the work of different men; the two, and possibly three or more hands at work on the *Seafarer;* the curious relations between the *Daniel* and the *Azarias;* the interpolations in the Old Norse *Grímnismál*—these may stand as examples of such alteration. It is not so difficult for an unprejudiced person to admit that some such additions as Müllenhoff describes may have crept into *Widsith*, however unlikely he may think it that Müllenhoff succeeded in defining their limits with certainty. Most scholars would probably hesitate to deny that some lines in *Beowulf* are interpolated, and all would agree that the present text represents a reworking and insertion, in more or less changed form, of older subject-matter probably existent earlier in other versions. But that the processes are so simple and mechanical as the adherents of the ballad-theory supposed them to be, or that it is possible to trace the history of these combinations with microscopic exactness are very different propositions. It is no purpose of the present article, however, to enter into a detailed criticism of the application of the "Liedertheorie" to Anglo-Saxon poetry. Such a criticism—which, despite various able essays, has not been satisfactorily written—would have to take a far broader scope than the limits of the present paper allow.[1] But it seems to be coming to be generally regarded as dangerous to depend upon subjective and *a priori* conceptions of Anglo-Saxon poetic style, conceptions which presuppose a high degree of smoothness and consistency and lead to elaborate and minute rearrangements of the text. The weakness of these processes is particularly evident when applied to poems of a lyric character.[1] On the other hand, it is perhaps equally uncritical to go too far to the opposite extreme, to shut our eyes and accept as a unity a piece which shows clear evidence of contamination. The discrepancies in *Widsith*, which are, on the whole, far more striking than those in *Beowulf*, show, as already observed, every indication of being due to something else than lack of artistic skill in the composition of verse. What one cannot reasonably attribute to a poet capable of producing the best passages in the poem, namely, the most bungling and uninspired of the cataloguing, may reasonably be laid to the account of some botching scribe or copyist. It seems proper, then, in attempting to clear up the date and composition of *Widsith*, not to disregard the alterations which it has suffered, but to endeavor to gain a general idea of the nature and probable extent of these, even though their exact limits can never be precisely defined.

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[1] The details of Möller's theory are too complicated to give, even in outline. He distinguished three principal lays, I, ll. 50-108; II, ll.88-90 and 109-30; III, ll. 10-34, besides interpolations and additions — ll. 35-49; 1-9; 82-87; 131-34; 135-43.

[2] For the sake of comparison, the results of ten Brink's analysis are here given. Introd. 1-9; I, ll. 10-49, 131-34; II, ll. 59-63, 68, 69, 75-81, 82-87 (?), 88, 89, 109-30; III, ll. 50-58 (read *Hwæt* in l. 50 instead of *Swā*), 64-67, 70-74, 90-108 (read *Hē* instead of *Sē* in l. 90), 135-43. He assumed possible losses before ll. 57 and 88. For further details cf. his article, Paul's *Grundriss,* Vol. II, pp. 538-45.

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[1] Cf. especially Heinzel's review of ten Brink's "Bēowulfuntersuchungen," *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XV, pp. 153 ff.; and of Möller's strophic reconstructions, *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 220 ff.; Jellinek and Kraus, "Die Widersprüche in Beow.," *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XXXV, N. F. XXIII, p. 265; Brandl, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. CVIII, p. 155; Kistenmacher, *Die wörtlichen Wiederholungen im Beowulf*, Diss., Greifswald, 1898. Häuschkel, *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede*, Diss., Breslau, 1904; J. E. Routh, Jr., *Two Studies on the Ballad Theory of the Beowulf*, Diss., Johns Hopkins Univ., 1905. Mr. Routh gives a short introductory sketch of opinion concerning the ballad theory.

The next thing to do, then, is to examine the narrative portion of the poem somewhat more attentively. If this constituted the original material, a decision in regard to its interpretation, date, and authorship must be of prime importance in settling the questions connected with the present form of the piece.

II

The most detailed and important passage in that section of the poem which professes to relate the personal experiences of the singer is the one already quoted, which deals with the stay at the court of Eormanric, his return to the Myrging country, and his pre-eminence in his art. These lines (88–108)[2] do not appear to have been tampered with, while the narrative preceding contains much cataloguing of the most suspicious sort, and that following, which tells of the visit to the members of the "innweorud Eormanrices," is open to the same charge. One would like to believe that the references to Gūðhere (ll. 64–67) and to Ælfwine (ll. 70–74) formed originally a part of the same story as ll. 88 ff., as they are similar to it in style and metre, and unlike the material in which they are imbedded. It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that there is here preserved some of the good old piece which formed the nucleus of the present poem, much mutilated and interpolated, indeed, but still showing its presence wherever it remains by its superiority to the matter which surrounds it. Both Gūðhere, the Gunther of the *Nibelungenlied*, and Ælfwine, the historical Alboin,[1] the conqueror of Italy, would have been well-known figures to a North-German—each early gathered to himself an accretion of legend and story. It is worth while to note that they were far from being contemporary, Gunther dying in 437 and Alboin in 572. It is unnecessary to point out the presence of the Eormanric saga in this territory. Evidently this journey to the Gothic court was one of the principal exploits of the minstrel in the earlier version of the poem; it is the only one described in detail, and it is particularly mentioned in the prologue, which, though brief, gives an important piece of information in regard to the expedition, namely, that Widsith was accompanied by Ealhhild.

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[1] Cf. Boer, *Zs. f. d. Philol.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff., and criticism in *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. IV, pp. 460 ff.

[2] Cf. p. 337 above.

Hē mid Ealhhilde,
fǣlre freoþuwebban, forman sīþe
Hrēðcyninges hām gesōhte;
ēastan of Ongle, Eormanrīces,
wrāþes wǣrlogan.

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[1] There is little doubt that the identification of Ælfwine, the son of Eadwine, with Alboin, the son of Audoin, is correct. The close correspondence in the names, and the fact that Ælfwine is spoken of in connection with Italy leave little doubt on this point. Müllenhoff accepted it unhesitatingly: "Eádwine, der vater Älfvines (Albuins) in Italien v. 74, und der vater der königin Ealhhild v. 98, ist sicherlich ein und dieselbe person und kein anderer als der Langobardenkönig Auduin" (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 278). The idea that Ælfwine was one of the chiefs who followed the expedition of Alaric (cf. n. 2, p. 355) is without foundation, and seems to have been proposed mainly because the date of the historic Alboin was too late to square with Guest's general hypothesis. The conclusion that this Eadwine is the celebrated king of the Lombards is strengthened by the recurrence of the name further on (l. 117), where an Eadwine is mentioned along with Elsa, Ægelmund, and Hungar. Ægelmund is a well-known early Lombard ruler mentioned by Paul the Deacon. Elsa is taken to be an Aliso of early Lombard records by C. Meyer, *Sprache der Langob.*, Index, cited by Heinzel, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 526 (cf. n. 3, p. 351). Binz thinks Elsa "eine aus dem Mythus herübergenommene Gestalt" (*Beitr.*, Vol. XX, p. 206). Hungar, so far as I am aware, has not been satisfactorily identified. If grouping counts for anything—and one can place little reliance upon it—this is a slight confirmatory piece of evidence. But such evidence is, indeed, hardly needed. A well-known passage from Paul the Deacon shows the familiarity of the name of Alboin to North-German tribes. "Albuin ita praeclarum longe lateque nomen percrebuit ut hactenus etiam tam apud Baiuariorum gentem quam et Saxonum, sed et alios eiusdem linguae hominis eius liberalitas et gloria bellorumque felicitas et virtus in eorum carminibus celebretur." (Müll., *loc. cit.*, p. 279.)

The question now arises whether this prologue is to be reckoned with in the interpretation of the poem, or is to be regarded as a wilful distortion of the story as told in the narrative portion. Möller and ten Brink, finding it impossible to make this agree with their theories, are disposed to explain it as the work of a clumsy patcher. "Dass der sänger die Gotenreise in begleitung seiner königin Ealhhild machte ist gewiss nur die erfindung des verfassers dieser einleitung."[1] Why? Möller argues that nothing is said of the incident in the body of the poem, but he seems not to consider the necessity of allowing for losses, which must inevitably have taken place in such a process of growth as he postulates. Again, the discrepancy between the conception of Eormanric as a kindly monarch (ll. 88 ff.) and the stigmatizing of him here as a "wrāþ wǣrloga" has been made much of. It was noticed long ago by Thorpe,[2] who assumed on this account a hiatus after l. 9. Bojunga, in 1892, tried to show in this a proof of the early date of the older parts of the poem. "Wir sind also gezwungen, die älteren bestandtheile des Widsith in eine zeit zu verlegen, in der der Ostgotenhof wegen seiner kunstsinnigkeit und freigebigkeit in den deutschen ländern allberühmt war, also sicher vor der mitte des 6ten jahrhunderts."[3] Möller adduces this as a proof of the untrustworthiness of the prologue. "Der verfasser der einleitung nahm dies epitheton, *das der verfasser der verse 50–130 nicht gebraucht haben könnte*,[4] ohne rücksicht auf das vorliegende zum zweck des reimes auf *worn*." Jiriczek has disposed of this by pointing out that the events narrated fall *before* the time when Eormanric earned the uncomplimentary title of the introductory lines.[5] The connection with the Harlung-saga, which gave Eormanric the appellation of "wrāþ wǣrloga," is further carried out in the Eormanric catalogue, where Emerca and Fridla are expressly mentioned. There is surely nothing unnatural in finding an account of the visit of a minstrel to a famous king and to those who were afterwards to fall victims to his bad faith prefaced by the reminder that this was the very man of whose treachery the world had heard, although at the time when the minstrel made his tour the tragedy had not taken place. Furthermore, it would have been out of place for the singer himself to set forth a scandal like that which clung to the name of Eormanric, in a narrative whose avowed object is to relate how the great ones of the earth were good to him. Singers conventionally told of present-giving and the like—it was their business to praise their patrons. Alboin, who appears in Paul the Deacon as a cruel and barbarous king, forcing his wife to drink from a cup made of her own father's skull, is seen in *Widsith* in a wholly favorable light. There is, then, really no need of finding any discrepancy here, or of assuming a date for the main body of the poem earlier than the attachment of the Harlung-saga to the figure of Eormanric.

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[1] Möller, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

[2] *Beow.*, p. 218, note.

[3] Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XVI, p. 548.

[4] P. 33; the italics are mine.

[5] *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Vol. I, pp. 73 ff. After commenting upon the list of heroes connected with the mane of Eormanric in the poem, Jiriczek continues: "Dass der Dichter alle diese Personen als lebend anführt, ist natürlich kein Beweis, dass er die Sage von dem Ende der Harlungen nicht gekannt hätte; er wählte, um seinen Zweck, Katalogisierung der Helden nach dem Modell, dass der Sänger Wīdsīð sie kennen lernt, zu erreichen, seinen chronologischen Standpunkt so, dass der Besuch des Sängers vor die Ereignisse der Sage fällt. Wenn er Eormanric gleich zu Anfang als wrāþ wǣrloga, den bösen Treuebrecher bezeichnet, so setzt das notwendig Kenntnis der Sagen voraus, aus denen diese Bezeichnung sich ergibt. Wenn Bojunga, Beitr. 16, 548, meint, der Kern des Wīdsīð setze noch die ungetrübte gotische Auffassung Ermanarichs als eines kunstsinnigen und freigebigen, erhabenen Fürsten voraus, die Eingangsverse mit seiner Verurteilung aber seien eine aus dem Geiste

That the prologue was written in Britain, and consequently in all probability later than most of what follows, appears from the phrase *ēastan of Ongle.* This was explained by the earlier commentators as meaning "im osten von Angeln" (Müllenhoff), and as referring to the location of the home of Eormanric. Sievers pointed out, in considering the evidence for the situation of the Gothic people, that this translation is incorrect.[1] "Die Ansicht Müllenhoffs, Deutsche Altertumsk. 2, 99, dass noch das ags. Wīdsīdhlied die Goten 'ostwärts von Angeln' sitzend denke, beruht auf falscher Übersetzung der Worte *eastan of Ongle*, v. 9 . . . . Allerdings weiss der Wids. von Kämpfen der Hrædas gegen die Hunen *ymb Wistlawudu* v. 120, aber geographische Schlüsse lassen sich daraus nicht ziehen." The phrase does not

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der späteren Sage herausgesprochene Interpolation, so kann dass—auch wenn die Interpolationstheorie richtig wäre—doch in Hinblick auf das oben erwähnte Princip des Dichters kaum gefolgert werden, zumal die Verdunkelung des Charakters Ermanarichs eben auf der Verbindung mit der Harlungensage beruht, die von Wīdsīð bereits vorausgesetzt wird."

[1] Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. I, p. 408.

modify *hām*, it modifies *hē* (l. 5), and is to be rendered "(he, starting) from the east, from Angle-land hither." A valuable article by Sievers, apropos of the words *þat fram hām gefrægn* (*Beow.*, l. 194), emphasizes the peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon usage, whereby after verbs of seeing, hearing, seeking, shining, etc., adverbs denoting rest must modify the object, those denoting motion the subject of the sentence.[1] It might be expected that Widsith would start from the country of the Myrgings, but it is quite conceivable that the writer of the prologue should use the term *Ongle* loosely here. The territory of the Myrgings bordered upon that of the Angles in the old days, as l. 42 indicates. Possibly, the difference between the territory occupied by the two peoples was so small that the prologue writer thought it proper to treat the localities as roughly synonymous; possibly he thought that the use of the familiar term *Ongle* would help to fix a locality which would have been only vague under the name *Myrgingaland.* Or perhaps Widsith, though born a Myrging, started from *Ongle* on this first long journey, as the poem might show if preserved entire. There is nothing strange about his traveling "from the east hither" upon a journey which was ultimately to lead to Eormanric; he went from court to court, as the narrative suggests, not making a bee-line for the land of the Goths. The details of his itinerary will be discussed later, however. If it appears that, starting from the Low Countries, he ought to move south as well as west, it is well to remember that statements of direction are vague in early poetry. Henrici has emphasized this: "Die hauptsächlichen himmelsrichtungen sind für die Deutschen ost und west, die anderen treten dagegen zurück."[2] It would not be strange to find vagueness of location and direction in such a later addition to the poem as this. It need hardly be said that geographical uncertainty is likely to arise early in the transmutations of a story from one form to another, while the events remain clear and distinct. On the other hand, nothing could be more explicit than the statement that Widsith went with Ealhhild to the home of Eormanric.

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[1] Paul-Braune, *Beiträge*, Vol. XI, p. 354; Vol. XII, pp. 188 ff.

[2] *Zur Geschichte der mhd. Lyrik*, pp. 63 f.

There seems to be no sufficient reason, then, to throw out the testimony of the prologue. It is not unlikely that the man who composed it possessed some information in regard to the situation in the passage ll. 88 ff., which has not been preserved for us;[1] that a part of the poem has been crowded out, perhaps, by the evidently spurious ll. 79–87; and that this lost part would have gone far to make the interpretation of the whole poem clear. Nothing is commoner in early poetry, of course, than the elusive style of the reference to Ealhhild in the prologue. It sounds like the work of a man who knew the story, and was writing for an audience familiar with it. At all events it is not hard to choose between the two hypotheses that the man who wrote the opening lines was spinning out gratuitous and unmotivated nonsense and that he was adding something which had a reasonable connection with the story. The more critical attitude is certainly to accept the testimony of the poem wherever possible, and not to regard definite statements as wilful misrepresentations if they may be otherwise explained. In the following discussion, then, the motive of Widsith's accompanying Ealhhild to the Gothic court will be accepted as an integral part of the story.

Unfortunately the little tale in ll. 88 ff. is far from clear. The phrase *ealle þrāge* is puzzling—Widsith remained with Eormanric *ealle þrāge*. It may well refer to something preceding which has been crowded out by the Mofdings and the Amothings and the rest. The situation in the following lines raises new difficulties. The commonly accepted interpretation of the whole story of Ealhhild seems to be that suggested by Ettmüller: "Eadgils sandte seine Gemahlin Ealhhild zu Eormanrike, dem Gothenkönige, und gab ihr seinen Sānger Widsið zum Geleite mit."[2] Mr. Stopford Brooke explains it thus: "Born among the Myrgings he, [i. e., Widsith] became the singer of the court, and while still young went, in this capacity, 'with Queen Ealhhild, the weaver of peace,' the daughter of Eadwine and the wife of Eadgils King of the Myrgings, to seek the home of Eormanric (Hermanrich) King of the Ostrogoths who lived 'east from Ongle;' and this was

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[1] According to the view of ten Brink, the "Ordner" left out some lines preceding l. 88, which he made use of in his introduction.

[2] Cf. Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 322.

his first journey."[1] Kögel gives a similar outline: ". . . . Der Gote *Eormanrīc* hat ihm einen goldenen Ring geschenkt, der 600 Schillinge wert ist. Den überlässt er seinem Landesherrn *Eādgils*, dem Fürsten der Myrginge, weil er ihm seinen Erbsitz, der ihm verloren gegangen war, zurückgegeben hatte. Seine Herrin *Ealhhild*, die Gattin des *Eādgils*, Albuins Schwester, schenkt ihm zum Ersatze einen anderen Ring, und zum Danke dafür preist er sie in Liedern [ll. 90 ff.] als die freigebigste aller fürstlichen Frauen."[2]

Upon a careful examination of the lines in question, there are seen to be certain difficulties with this interpretation. In the first place, there is no statement in the poem that Ealhhild was the wife of Eadgils. The question naturally arises, too, why the Myrging queen—as Ealhhild is conceived to be—whose country was somewhere in North Germany about the mouths of the Elbe and Eider, should make this long journey to the distant court of Eormanric, the king of the Goths, somewhere in the eastern part of Europe.[3] A Germanic lady of the Heroic Age could hardly have taken the trip for pleasure. The explanation given by Leo years ago, and apparently still in force today,[4] is that she went as a "Friedenswerberin," a female peace-commissioner, because she is called in l. 6 *fǣle freoþuwebbe*, "lovely weaver of peace." After mentioning the two cycles of Alboin and Eormanric noticeable in the poem, Leo continues: "Beide sind verknüpft durch Ealhhilden, die Tochter Eadvyne's, die (wie es scheint) Fürstin der Myrgingen (wohl Eadgil's Gemahlin) geworden ist, und welche als Friedenswerberin der Sänger zu Eormanrika begleitet."

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[1] *History of Early English Literature*, p. 2. Müllenhoff objected to the arrangement of the main part of the poem as illogical, remarking that this mention of his journey as having been made to the home of Eormanric would lead one to expect that the enumeration would begin with that monarch or in the east (*loc. cit.*, p. 276). Yet this seems to demand an exactness of arrangement not to be found in early poetry. It is perfectly conceivable, even were the poem a unity, that the narrator might not proceed in strictly chronological fashion, but mention first other places than those visited on his earliest trip. Or perhaps this phrase was added to guard against the misconception that the mention of other travels first might lead the hearer to think they were first in point of time. Possibly *forman sīþe* is not to be held to its strict meaning—Professor Gummere renders it "once." There seems to be no reason to balk at it, however.

[2] *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, Vol. I, p. 139.

[3] It is impossible to locate the Goths from this poem, cf. p. 346. Probably they were placed only vaguely by those who dealt with the poem in its later forms.

[4] Cf., for example, Chambers, *loc. cit.* For Leo's comments, cf. Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 320 f.

It has not been hitherto pointed out, I believe, that this explanation is far from being satisfactory. In the first place, it would have been an unusual, if not an unknown proceeding to send a woman on such a mission. In the second place, the term *fǣle freoþuwebbe* will not bear such an interpretation. It was, rather, a formal epithet applied to a queen, as in *Beow.*, l. 1943, where it is used in describing the fierceness of Queen Thrytho. Here the formal character of the phrase appears very plainly. "Thrytho, ambitious queen of the people, showed terrible vindictiveness; no brave man among the court favorites, except her husband, durst gaze on her openly with his eyes, but he might count on deadly bonds being appointed for him, woven by hand; very soon after his seizure was the knife brought into service, so that the damasked dirk might settle it—proclaim the punishment of death. That is no queenly custom for a woman to practice, peerless though she may be, that a peace-weaver should assail the life of a valued liegeman, because of fancied insult."[1] The meaning of the epithet is clear. A queen should be a woman promoting, in a general way, good feeling, not hostility, as nowadays princes have been called "defender of the faith," not because they have ever fought for it, but because that is their general attitude toward the established religion. The Heyne-Socin glossary suggests how the term may have come to be applied to queens, interpreting it as "pacis textrix, Bezeichnung der (oft zur Befestigung des Friedens zweier Völker zur Ehe gegebenen) königlichen Gemahlin." Bosworth-Toller defines it as "peace-weaver, woman." Its significance, then, is general, not special. Care must be taken not to read too much meaning into a formal epithet of this sort. Note that the adjective *fǣle* often accompanies the noun, adding still further to the formal character of the word *freoþuwebbe*. So in *Elene*, l. 88, the angel who appears to Constantine is called *fǣle friðowebba*, but he does not come as a "Friedenswerber;" his mission is to announce that victory will perch on the standard of the Christian king on the morrow. It is a suitable epithet to apply to the divine messenger; it being the regular business of angels, as of queens, to promote peace in a general way. Möller regards it as purely mechanical: "Das epitheton das ihr hier in der einleitung v. 6 gegeben ist das allergeläufigste, das sich behufs reimes auf *forman sīþe* ganz von selbst darbot,"[1] an observation which would have more point if the phrase *forman sīþe* stood in the first half-line rather than in the second.

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[1] Transl. J. R. C. Hall. Cf. the term *friðu-sibb folca*, *Beow.*, l. 2017.

The use of the term "lovely weaver of peace" in the passage just quoted from *Beowulf* may serve to suggest the relation of Ealhhild to Eormanric in the present poem. She took the long journey to the Gothic court for the most natural reason which would lead a woman in those days to travel so far—she went to become his bride. In like manner Thrytho sought the hall of Offa "over the fallow flood," and Kriemhild journeyed from Worms to Vienna to wed Etzel the Hun, her royal husband waiting to welcome her in his home. It is natural to find Widsith in the train of Ealhhild on this joyful occasion, when minstrels and entertainers must have been particularly welcome, not only because they could give brilliancy to the festivities, but because they could beguile the tedium of the journey.

This interpretation is entirely contrary to the accepted view of the story, yet it will be found to be the one which best satisfies the requirements of the situation, the one which affords the most reasonable explanation of the text. It was proposed about twenty years ago by Heinzel, in a discussion of the Hervarar saga,[2] but as the comment on the passage in *Widsith* was merely incidental to the treatment of other matters, and as Heinzel did not give it more than the briefest comment, this important suggestion seems to have passed virtually unnoticed.[3]

It is worth while to quote Heinzel's comments in full:

> Dass der Sänger Widsidh mit der Frau seines myrgingischen Königs Ealhhild, der Tochter des langobardischen Eadwine, seine Kreuz- und Querfahrten durch Europa unternimmt, schliesslich mit ihr einen Besuch bei König Ermanarich abstattet und sie wieder in die myrgingische Heimat zurückführt, wo er gleichsam als Lohn für die Reisebegleitung

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 32.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse), 1887, Vol. CXIV, pp. 417 ff. Cf. particularly pp. 514 ff. (Also issued separately.) Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. CXIX, *Über die Ostgothische Heldensage.*

[3] The only other reference to Heinzel's discussion of this matter which I have observed is in Jiriczek's *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Vol. I, p. 73. Jiriczek accepts Heinzel's position without question.

von ihr einen Ring erhalt, ohne dass irgend ein Zweck angedeutet würde, ist unepisch und unglaublich. Der myrgingische Sänger macht vielmehr in seinem Berufe eine Fahrt an verschiedene Fürstenhöfe, kommt dabei nach Italien, das *regnum Italiœ*, wie das langobardische Reich hiess, und erhält da von Alboin, dem Sohne Audoins, den Auftrag, seine Schwester Ealhhild zu dem Gothenkönig Ermanarich, der um sie geworben hat, zu führen. Er entledigt sich dieses Auftrages und wird wie billig von Ermanarich dafür mit einem Ring beschenkt, den er aber, wie proleptisch erzählt wird, bei seiner Heimkehr ins Myrgingenland seinem Herrn Eadgils gibt—aber auch von Ealhhild, der neuen Gothenkönigin, worauf er mit Scilling, seinem poetischen Collegen, den gotischen Hof mit seinen Liedern erfreut und verherrlicht.

Heinzel fails to note the "Friedenswerberin" argument, or perhaps prefers to ignore it as untenable. He seems to exaggerate the probable prominence of a minstrel like Widsith in the bridal expedition of Ealhhild to the court of Eormanric. It is surely more likely that the minstrel must be thought of as one of a numerous company, led by some distinguished man of the Lombard court. The retinue of a noble lady, apparently the sister of Alboin, must have been a large one. As the whole poem centers about the figure of the singer, it is hard to think of him as filling a relatively subordinate place, but it seems unlikely that he would be very prominent; that the charge of escorting the bride would be placed in the hands of a minstrel, as Heinzel's words would seem to imply. Again, it is not quite clear that ll. 103–8, which describe the singing of Widsith in company with his brother minstrel Scilling, refer to events at the Gothic court. It seems quite possible that the scene may be shifted after ll. 97, 98. The train of thought runs: Ealhhild (in the country of Eormanric) gave me another ring; I spread her praises over many lands, whenever I had occasion to speak of the most generous queen under the heavens. On such an occasion, when Scilling and I raised up our voices in song before our *sigedryhten* (who may be the *hlēodryhten* of ten lines preceding, i. e., Eadgils, at the Myrging court), many men of excellent judgment exclaimed that they had never heard better minstrelsy.—The mention of the travels "through many lands" makes a close logical connection between the localities doubtful. The peculiarities of thought-sequence in Anglo-Saxon poetry must also be taken into account. A sort of interlacing of ideas is, as is well known, very common. It is quite in accordance with well-established usage to assume a double shifting of thought here, the ideas following in the order ABAB. The prologue affords a good instance of this stylistic trick. There the mind of the narrator wavers between the end of the journey, the stage traversed with Ealhhild, which resulted in reaching the home of Eormanric, and the place where the singer came from in the beginning. The clauses follow somewhat thus: He was a Myrging; he, with Ealhhild, on his first journey, visited the home of the Gothic king; he came from the east, from Angleland; (he visited the home of) Eormanric, the wrathful treaty-breaker. Many instances of this ABAB sequence have been collected by Heinzel in the criticism of the application of the "ballad-theory" to *Beowulf*, and the whole matter has been quite sufficiently discussed already.[1] It should be added, perhaps, that the place at which Widsith is to be thought of as relating all this is not indicated in the poem.

In spite of these dissents and queries, it appears that Heinzel's suggestion has marked a distinct step in advance in the interpretation of the poem. It is necessary, however, to examine other readings of the situation somewhat more carefully. This examination of other theories is conveniently made in connection with the important question of what historical foundation, if any, exists for the passage just discussed.

III

According to the interpretation of the story proposed by Heinzel, there is evidently no historical foundation for the relations between Ealhhild and Eormanric, and consequently none for the alleged escorting of the lady to the Goths by the hero of the poem. The sister of Alboin[2] could not have married a man a century and a half older than herself, any more than Widsith could have visited both Alboin and Eormanric on his travels. We are here dealing with epic fiction, not with reality. Such unions as this are common enough in saga. The sister of a great conqueror like the invader of Italy would have seemed a fitting bride for the renowned Gothic king to a people who did not trouble themselves about chronological discrepancies. In a similar way, Eormanric was moved down into a later period in the Middle High German conception of the Dietrich of Bern story.[1] Here he is transferred from the first three-quarters of the fourth century into the latter part of the fifth, and made to serve as uncle and opponent of Dietrich. Again, in the *Poetic Edda*, the bride of Eormanric, the bright-eyed Swanhild, whose connection with Ealhhild is interesting and significant,[2] is said to be the daughter of a sister of Gunnar, whose historic prototype flourished long after Eormanric's death. There is an even more curious distortion in the *Volsungasaga.* The compiler of this saga in its present form apparently intended it as an introduction to what he considered the far more important events in the life of Ragnar Lothbrok, connecting the two parts by making Aslaug, the daughter of Sigurd and Brynhild, the second wife of the Viking king. The historical Ragnar was born in 750, yet it did not involve an artistic blemish to connect him as closely as this with early saga characters. Such anachronisms are of course

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[1] Cf. Heinzel, *Quellen und Forsch.*, Vol. X, pp. 10 ff., and *Anz. für deut. Alt.*, Vol. X, pp. 220 ff.; Vol. XV, 157 ff., and *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, Vol. IV, 4, p. 467.

[2] Notice that Ealhhild is mentioned in the poem as *dohtor Ēadwines* (l. 98) while Ælfwine or Alboin is called *bearn Ēadwines* (l. 74). It seems most likely that the two Eadwines are identical, and that Ealhhild is to be thought of as a sister of Alboin. The identification has been accepted by Müllenhoff, Möller, ten Brink, and by critics of the poem generally. There is, of course, no historical testimony that Alboin ever had such a sister, or any sister, indeed. But we are probably dealing with pure fiction here; the main question is

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whether the author of the lines conceived Ealhhild as the child of Audoin. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Vol. V, p. 177), says, "considering the commonness of that name (Eadwine), we have perhaps no right to conclude that we have here an unknown sister of Alboin married to an English prince." Hodgkin's seems almost the only dissenting voice.

[1] Cf. *Dietrich's Flucht.*

[2] Both Heinzel (*Hervararsaga*, p. 516) and Jiriczek (*loc. cit.*, pp. 73, 104) agree that Ealhhild here replaces the Sunilda (northern Swanhild) in the Eormanric story. The name was probably in Gothic *Sōnihilds, in OHG. *Suonhilt, and the transition from a form of this sort ending in *-hild* to Ealhhild seems easy. Such confusion was not uncommon, of course; compare the identification of a Hild or Hildiko of historic story with Grimhild, sister of the Nibelungen princes (Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. III, 1898, p. 660). As Symons points out, this process may well have been assisted by the Germanic custom of letting one part of a compound name do duty for the whole, as Hild for Brynhild, Bera for Kostbera, etc., in the *Edda.* The Sunilda motive seems to have early faded out in German territory, though it seems necessary to postulate its existence to account for the presence of the Swanhild story in Scandinavian. There is no record in German saga sources of the death of Sunilda as a punishment for illicit love. Just what stage of the conception of the story is represented in *Widsith* it is difficult to say. The question is further complicated by the possibility that the references to the Eormanric saga in its various forms which the poem contains may very likely not all be from the same source.

common in the *chansons de geste*, which show little sense for historical perspective.[1] Charlemagne is credited in the *Song of Roland* with the act of William the Norman in collecting tribute for the pope from the island of Britain, and he goes on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket in *Rauf Coilyear.* Many instances of similar inconsistency in the time-relations in early and mediæval literature might be cited, if such citations were necessary.

If this visit of Eormanric to Ealhhild is a creation of saga-making imagination, the apparently personal account of the visit to the brother of Ealhhild, and of the ring-giving at the Gothic court and in the hall of Eadgils does not appear in quite so convincing a light. The question naturally arises whether such a person as Widsith ever existed, and if so, whether any of his experiences are to be believed. An intelligent answer will be much more easy to give if the question be put aside for a moment, and the principal interpretations of the poem be passed in review. This will, furthermore, make clearer the details of Heinzel's theory. Most scholars who have believed in the authenticity of any part of Widsith's experiences have made the poet a contemporary of Alboin. Some of the earliest investigators, however, were inclined to refer him to the time of Eormanric. Although their ideas have received very cautious support in modern times, it is perhaps best to consider briefly in the first place the possibility that the kernel of the piece may go back to actual events of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The theory of Dr. Guest, which has already been referred to, need not detain us long. He conjectured that practically the entire narrative of the singer was composed in the fifth century by a man "soon after the age of eighty"—a fairly advanced age, but one necessary to make his life touch the reigns of Eormanric and Attila, and that, as Mr. Brooke notes, Ælfwine is not Alboin, but one of the chiefs in the train of Alaric, *ca.* 400 A. D.[2] The statement, already quoted, that the poet's reference to Alexander the Great is "the only instance in which he has referred to one not a contemporary" shows better than any criticism how antiquated Guest's view is today. Conybeare held a somewhat similar view in general to the one adopted by Guest. It is pleasant to record these early appreciations of the interest and significance of the poem, but unprofitable, from a critical point of view, to dwell upon them here. A modified form of this theory, which would treat a portion of the poem as genuine, and as the composition of a contemporary of Eormanric, has not been without supporters. Mr. Stopford Brooke, though expressing himself with due reserve, appears to regard this position with favor,[1] so also Professor Earle[2] and Dr. Garnett.[3] The comments of Dr. Garnett, which have the importance of being perhaps the most recent of the criticisms of the *Widsith*, are unfortunately hardly detailed enough to carry much weight in a matter so complicated and confused as this. He wrote with due caution: "If Widsith is a real person, and the poem a genuine record of his bygone days, it must have been composed early in the fifth century." He admitted the evidences of lateness, but thinks "it is, perhaps, in favor of the genuiness of the poem that palpable interpolations should occur in several places." The mention of Alboin, king of the Lombards, he would regard as such a later insertion. Just what his position was in respect to the relations between Ealhhild, Eadgils, and Eormanric is not clear. He observed in regard to ll. 88 ff., however: "It is difficult not to be impressed with the apparent sincerity of Widsith's praise of his patrons, and still more difficult to conjecture why a literary imposture should be perpetrated in honour of the deceased sovereigns of an extinct nation two centuries after their death;" so that his idea was clearly that they lived in the era of Eormanric.[4] The question of how much significance is to be attached to the personal coloring of this passage will be considered at length later. But even granting that this personal quality is the reflection of actual experience, the burden of proof upon the supporters of this hypothesis is a heavy one. The only other historical patron besides Eormanric to whom the singer refers with anything like a personal touch, who could have been known to a man who had attained his majority by the beginning of the third quarter of the fourth century, is Gunther, the historical Gundicarius, who fell in battle in 437. Ealhhild cannot be the daughter of Audoin and the sister of Alboin, as she is almost universally regarded. Eadgils, if he has any historical position, must be moved back into the fourth or early fifth century. The citations of the various peoples of course prove nothing. Nor will the list of monarchs and chiefs in the "innweorud Eormanrīces" (ll. 112 ff.) help the case for putting the kernel of the piece in the fifth century. Dr. Garnett seemed to think otherwise: "He speaks . . . . distinctly of his comradeship with the Goths when they were contending against the bands of Ætla (Attila)." The probability that this is a purely fictitious list of rulers seems as great as that there is no sober record of fact in the list of peoples in ll. 82 ff. Müllenhoff has compared the mechanical use of *sōhte ic* with the equally mechanical use of *ic wæs* in the passages preceding which fall under the suspicion of being spurious. The "innweorud Eormanrīces" is a jumble of names, a few of which belong to history, but of widely different periods, as Theodric (l. 115), not the Frankish monarch, but the Gothic king (died, 526), the Hunnish Attila (died, 543), and the Lombard Ægelmund, who reigned in the early days when the Lombard people were still in their seats in the north of Europe. Others belong to saga, like Becca; the Bikki who betrayed Randver and Swanhild in the Eormanric story; Sifeca and Heathoric, who are the traditional Sifke and Heidrek, and the equally imaginary pair Hlithe and Incgentheow, whom Grundtvig explained as Hlödh and Angantyr. The mythical Harlung brothers appear as the Herelingas, Emerca and Fridla. Others are utterly unknown, or at best darkly conjectured—Wulfhere and Wyrmhere, Rædhere and Rondhere, whose names have a suspiciously "decorative" look, Rumstan and Secca and Becca and Withergield and Aliso and Hungar.[1] Is it safe to read any serious personal experience into all this? Let it be granted that it preserves an early form of the Gothic saga—the chieftain Wudga, the later German Wittich in the Dietrich of Bern story, here appears in his proper setting if we allow him an historical counterpart in the old Gothic hero Widigoia or Widigauja. As to his friend and companion Heime or Hama, there are no conjectures to help out a decision as to his identity, save that he is the constant companion of Wudga, and so probably of like nationality. It is clear that after fiction and probable interpolation have been cut out of this passage there is little to base historic truth upon. The description of the contests between the Goths and the Huns shows discrepancies. The very mention of a series of battles instead of one great contest may indicate epic error, and the strife of the followers of Eormanric with the Huns of Attila about the Vistula is puzzling.[2] Dr. Garnett suggested: "It . . . . seems not unlikely that Widsith's lays on the conflicts between the Goths and the Huns really related to those which took place under Hermanric's immediate successors, but that the passage has been altered by a later poet, for whom Attila was the representative of the obliterated Hunnish nation, now passing into the domain of legend."[3] Is it not more probable that this change took place in the oral tradition upon which such an account as this must rest, and that the passage in its present form was composed by a man who really had a wrong conception of the facts? But the possibilities of theorizing on the basis of the introduction of new names in the place of old ones are so varied that it is hardly profitable to carry this train of thought further. It seems evident, however, that if matters are as confused as this, no sound conclusions as to the life of the singer can be drawn from the Eormanric catalogue. If the Eadwine (l. 117) is Audoin, the father of Alboin, it would seem that its present date, at least, must be pretty late.

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[1] If Paris' theory of the lyric character of the *Cantilenae* be accepted, and the historical element in the chansons be regarded as largely an aftergrowth due to a people who are beginning to forget the exact details of history, these discrepancies may be all the more readily understood. (Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XIII, pp. 616 ff., and Rajna, *Epopea francese*, pp. 469 ff.)

[2] Cf. Brooke, *loc. cit.*, p. 460. I do not find this statement in Guest's *Hist. of Eng. Rhythms.*

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 459.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884, p. 148.

[3] Cf. n. 5, p. 331.

[4] This sounds a little like Guest's comment: "Of the different theories which may be started as to the origin of this singular poem, the one which seems to me beset with the fewest difficulties is that which maintains its genuineness. If we suppose it to be a forgery, where shall we discover a motive for the fraud? Where shall we find any analogous case in the history of that early period? Above all, where shall we find the learning and the knowledge necessary to perpetuate such a fraud successfully?" (*Loc. cit.*, p. 373.)

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[1] Cf., for discussions of these names, Kögel, *Gesch. der deutschen Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.; Binz, *Beiträge*, Vol. XX, p. 207; Bugge, *Beiträge*, Vol. XII, pp. 69 ff.; Jiriczek, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. Heinzel, *Hervararsaga*, p. 517.

[3] Jagic, *Arch. für slavische Philol.*, Vol. XI (2), pp. 305 ff., makes a similar suggestion, which Garnett may have had in mind, as his reference to modern Slavonic scholars suggests. Jagic remarks: "Attila, der legendhafte Eponym des Hunnenvolkes, möchte einen älteren Namen leicht verdrängt haben; die umgekehrte Änderung ist kaum wahrscheinlich."

The amount of actual testimony to the composition of any part of the poem by a man who had actually "seen Eormanric," then, is very small. It cannot be regarded as otherwise than highly dangerous, on the basis of such slender evidence, and the preservation of so small a part of the original poem, to refer its nucleus to so remote a period as the late fourth or early fifth century, a time when, as Professor Saintsbury has pointed out in this connection, no modern European language has left any traces of its existence.

The hypothesis that the poem reflects actual historic events of the fifth century, and that Widsith, if he were a real person, lived in that age, has been far more generally credited. The great learning and authority of Müllenhoff made his remarks on the historical events and the ethnology of the piece of very great weight. His arguments were accepted, in general, by Wülker,[1] after a careful summary of the evidence up to 1885. They are especially worth notice as having formed the basis for the more elaborate studies of Möller and ten Brink.

Müllenhoff cut out as spurious ll. 75–87, and remarked that l. 88 would make a good continuation for l. 74: "V. 88 schliesst sich auch vortrefflich an v. 74 an. V. 88 bezieht sich offenbar auf v. 70, und die ganze folgende Schilderung von des Sängers Verhältnis zu seinem Herrn und zur Ealhhild, der Tochter Eadvine's tritt erst ins rechte Licht, wenn unmittelbar das Lob Ælfvine's, des Sohnes Eadvine's, voraufgeht, und umgekehrt auch dieses, wenn jene unmittelbar folgt."[2] It is not difficult to agree with Müllenhoff that the passage has all the earmarks of spuriousness, but that there was originally no gap between ll. 74 and 88 seems an unwarrantable assumption. The two hardly make a faultless connection. What does *ealle prāge* mean? One of the commonest errors of the *Liedertheoretiker* was supposing that because an interpolated passage had been removed, and the beginning and end of the gap made good sense, no loss had taken place. It would be easy enough, as has been often pointed out in this connection, to cut out long passages in modern poems, so that no one unfamiliar with their original condition would guess that anything had been taken away. It seems quite likely here that the passion for mere information, for making this an "instructive" poem, may have led to the sacrifice of matter that would have explained the vague indication in the prologue that Widsith had accompanied Ealhhild to the home of Eormanric. But this is a mere conjecture. The main point is to examine Müllenhoff's interpretation of the part which has been preserved.

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[1] *Grundriss*, p. 329.

[2] P. 291.

His argument is closely connected with his investigation into the identification and position of the different peoples. It really arises from the discussion of the location of the Myrgings.[1] They are treated in ll. 41–44 as the same folk as the Suevi or Swæfs; one of the exploits of Offa, the Anglian king, is that

āne sweorde
merce gemǣrde wið Myrgingum
bī Fīfeldore: hēoldon forð siþþan
Engle and Swǣfe, swā hit Offa geslōg.

They are mentioned separately after the Swæfs in l. 22, but this does not necessarily mean that they cannot have been a division of the same people. As for the Swæfs themselves, Müllenhoff notes that their position according to the poem is "noch ganz in der stellung wie die Suebi in den ersten jhh. an der Elbe und Oder." But he thinks that the Myrgings were not a folk of this region. "Dass die Myrginge hier kein theil der Svæfen, etwa alte Holsteiner sind, beweist ihre verbindung mit der Langobarden an der Donau und in Pannonien." The Lombards in the time of Alboin were occupying lands in modern Austria, south of the Danube, and west of its southern course from Buda-Pesth downward, having crossed about 547 from the region lying east of the river. They were thus in an advantageous position to make their descent upon Italy in 568. Müllenhoff is convinced that the Myrgings were not up in Holstein, or thereabouts, as all the indications in the poem lead one to infer, but that they extended into much more southerly territory, not at a great distance from the Lombards in Pannonia. This view is all the more surprising, as the location of "Fifeldor" in the passage just quoted is believed to be the river Eider, in the lower part of the Danish peninsula.[1] Peoples in these early days were subject to migration, however, and a very convincing reason might lead to placing the Myrgings farther south than would otherwise be believed.

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[1] Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, pp. 278 ff.

Müllenhoff argues that they were neighbors of the Lombards because Ealhhild, the daughter of the Lombard Eadwine (Audoin) married the Myrging prince Eadgils. But it has been shown that there is no statement in the poem to that effect, and, furthermore, that there are grave objections to that interpretation. Müllenhoff thinks this marriage could not have taken place if the Myrgings had been restricted to Holstein: "Es kann aber der Langobardenkönig in Pannonien keine interesse gehabt haben seine tochter nach Holstein zu verheiraten. Der Myrgingenname muss eine viel grössere ausdehnung gehabt haben." Various reasons, he says, tend to confirm the conclusion that they may have been neighbors.[2] The Saxons and Swabians are known to have followed Alboin into Italy, and they came from a district, "das von der Elbe durchströmte und östlich anliegende land von der Donau bis zur Ostsee," where the people were known as Maurungani, as the map of the Geographer of Ravenna indicates. Moreover, according to Müllenhoff, the Lombard saga of Paul the Deacon puts Mauringaland "eben dahin." Finally, the name seems to be preserved in relatively modern place-names; cf. the minnesinger Heinrich von Morungen, the *curtis Moranga in pago Morangano* in the *Vita Meinwerci*, etc. Hence, he thinks, one cannot doubt the linguistic identity of "Maurungi, Mauringi, Myrgingas," and the chain is complete.

[1] Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. Meyer, Berlin, 1875, Vol. I, p. 198; Bosworth-Toller, *A. S. Lexicon*, etc.

[2] In showing Eadwine, the father of Ealhhild and Ælfwine, to have been the Lombard king Audoin, he points out the fact that the name occurs in l. 117 in connection with other Lombard heroes—Ægelmund, Hlithe (if Ettmüller's conjecture be correct). Cf. n. 1, p. 344. The mention of the Wid-Myrgings in the following line seemed to him additional testimony to the close connection which he wished to establish between the peoples. But it is evident from the preceding lists that no sound conclusions can be drawn from grouping, otherwise one would have to see relations between the Greeks and the Finns in l. 20. Müllenhoff himself says: "Eine strenge ordnung, wie im guten mhd. epos bei dergleichen aufzählungen, weiss ich freilich nicht nachzuweisen" (p. 276). In the days of Ægelmund, the Lombards *were* near what we may believe to have been the seats of the Myrgings, a consideration which may perhaps have a little weight in the matter. The map in Hodgkin's *Lombard Invasion*, p. 80, will be found useful.

If this argument be followed carefully, it will be seen to approach perilously close to a *circulus vitiosus.* Müllenhoff says in effect: The Myrgings must have been near the Lombards because these two peoples are connected in marriage. But this marriage could not have taken place unless they had been neighbors. Various reasons seem to show that a people with a name similar to that of the Myrgings were neighbors of the Lombards, hence they were no doubt identical with the Myrgings, and there is nothing to interfere with the connection by marriage. — The important thing to remember, in criticising Müllenhoff, is that the marriage of Eadgils and Ealhhild must be as hypothetical as anything else. At all events, whatever one may say about these logical processes, it is clear that the key to the whole question is the validity of the reasons brought forward to prove the Myrgings near the Lombards, all of which reasons depend upon proving the equation Myrgingas=Maurungani.

The linguistic identity of the two names was evidently not so close as Müllenhoff could have wished. Although it was accepted by Möller, Thorpe, and others, it appears quite impossible on philological grounds. Here again, in his article, *Über die Ostgothische Heldensage,* Heinzel makes a valuable point. "Der Name Myrgingas, welchen das ags. Widsidhlied und nur dieses, auch für ein Land östlich der Elbe braucht, ist lautlich mit Maurungani, Mauringa nicht in Einklang zu bringen, das erste *g* macht unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten."[1] If this be the case, it is evidently useless, as must appear to every unprejudiced critic, to criticise Müllenhoff's hypothesis further. It is worth noting, however, that neither the testimony of the Geographer of Ravenna nor the Lombard saga of Paul the Deacon gives testimony to the southerly position of the Maurungani as conclusive as one would infer from Müllenhoff's statement. The Geographer of Ravenna, who is believed to have written in the seventh century, is by no means so clear as he might be. It is significant that he has given Hodgkin, an investigator of remarkable impartiality, and one of the best authorities upon this period, a very different impression. Hodgkin says: "Maurunga is also, *on the authority of the Geographer of*

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[1] He refers to *Beiträge*, Vol. VIII, p. 256, and Brugmann's *Grundriss*, Vol. I, p. 332.

Ravenna, connected with the country near the mouth of the Elbe, probably on its right bank"[1]—a very different thing from Müllenhoff's "grössere ausdehnung" toward the Danube. I feel incompetent to give an independent judgment as to the precise meaning of the Geographer's rather misty words. The place-names in late German records cannot be regarded as important independent testimony to the position of a people in the sixth century. Again, the Lombard saga of Paulus Diaconus, as interpreted by Zeuss, the authority on early history whom Müllenhoff frequently quotes, as well as by more modern scholars, places Maurunga very near, if not in, Holstein, and gives no authority for extending it into southern Germany.

According to Paul the Deacon, the Lombards came originally from Scandinavia, and after leaving this country their first home was Scoringa, the left bank of the Elbe near the mouth. Strabo (A. D. 70), Tacitus (*ca.* 61–117), and Ptolemy (*ca.* 100–61) agree that the Langobardi dwelt near the mouth of the Elbe. They then moved into Mauringa, the land where Müllenhoff would have us believe the Myrgings lived. Paul continues: "The Langobardi were sore pressed with famine, and moved forth from the province of Scoringa, intending to go into Mauringa. But when they reached the frontier, the Assipitti were drawn up determined to dispute the passage . . . . Thus, then, did the Langobardi succeed in reaching Mauringa . . . . From Mauringa the Langobardi moved forward into Golanda, and there they possessed the regions of Anthaib and Bainaib and Burgundaib."[2] It should be remembered that all this is some centuries before the time of Alboin, and that the history of those early days is so enwrapped in legend and fable as to be very difficult to treat accurately. The location of Mauringa is given by the chief authorities as follows:

Zeuss.[3] Flat country east of Elbe. Golanda was Rugulanda, coast opposite island of Rügen in the Baltic.

Bluhme.[4] The Assipitti were located near Wolfenbüttel, and Mauringa north of the Assipitti.

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[1] *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vol. V, p. 100.

[2] I use Hodgkin's translation, *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

[3] *Die Germanen und die Nachbarstämme.*

[4] *Die Gens Langob. und ihre Herkunft*, Bonn, 1868.

Schmidt.[1] Mauringa was the country between the Elbe and Oder, or perhaps was Holstein. Golanda was Gotland.

Hodgkin's own view has already been given.

It appears, then, that the widely quoted interpretation of Müllenhoff breaks down upon careful scrutiny. The errors in this argument affect directly only that part of the poem under discussion, although indirectly the view adopted of the growth of the poem as a whole is deeply influenced by the construction of this important Eadgils-Ealhhild-Eormanric passage. It should be said that Müllenhoff rendered a great service by giving the long lists of peoples and kings a careful review, and placing many of them in their true places in history and saga.

IV

Any analysis of the work of Möller and ten Brink must depend to a very great extent upon the view taken of their general critical method, a method which, as has already been noted, cannot be adequately treated within the limits of this paper. It is interesting, however, to note their conceptions of the professedly autobiographical and historical elements in the piece, although these are very much affected by their reconstructions of the hypothetical original forms of the component lays. It will be observed that there is considerable divergence in their views upon various matters.

The clearest idea of Möller's division of *Widsith* into its elements may be gained by consulting his reprint of the poem in the second part of his study. Here the story of Eadwine, Eadgils, and Ealhhild appears, comfortably cleared of the troublesome reference to Eormanric, and set forth "in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form." The high-handed proceedings of the later adherents of the ballad theory is well seen in the work of Möller and ten Brink. While Müllenhoff, who was on the whole cautious in his cutting, regarded the reference to the Gothic king as "epic fiction," these scholars removed it from its place altogether. Möller sees no reason why the episode as he restores it may not have had a basis in actual fact. "Eine ringschenkung Albuins an den sänger des liedes braucht nicht fiktion gewesen zu sein, wie eine solche des Ermanarich, sondern kann in wirklichkeit stattgefunden haben."[1] He argues that it was this ring given by Alboin that Widsith gave to Eadgils, the name of Eormanric having been inserted later. He seems to agree in general with Müllenhoff's conception of the passage, quoting him with approval, and referring to Alboin as a king connected in friendship and marriage with Eadgils, which appears to him an additional reason why the ring given at the Lombard court should have been the one presented to the Myrging prince. He seems to have misunderstood the meaning of the phrase *ēastan of Ongle*, as the earlier scholars did generally.

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[1] *Zur Gesch. der Langobarden*, Leipzig, 1885. For details of these views in small space cf. Hodgkin, p. 141, n. A, "On the early homes of the Langobardi."

If due allowance be made for Möller's general theory, his view of the significance of the name "Widsith" seems eminently sane. He regards it as a proper name, as do the majority of the critics. "Der name *Widsið*, mit dem das ganze beginnt, steht nur an dieser stelle: es war offenbar der name mit dem das volk den sänger dieser lieder bezeichnete. Man hatte lieder in denen ein sänger der in der ersten person spricht von weiten reisen erzählt: sein wirklicher name kam in den liedern nicht vor, man nannte ihn darum nach dem was man von ihm wusste *Widsið*, und diese benennung galt alsbald als wirklicher name."[2] Whether the singer of the lay or lays which form the groundwork of the piece was a real or a fictitious personage evidently does not affect the bestowal of such a cognomen as "the Wide Wanderer" upon him.

The results reached by ten Brink are even more definite than Möller's. The reconstruction of *Widsith*, like that of *Beowulf*, becomes in his hands a kind of apotheosis of higher criticism. The "Ealhhild lay," which, as he rebuilds it, consists of ll. 50–58 (read *Hwæt* instead of *Swā*, l. 50); 64–67; 70–74; 90–108 (read *Hē* instead of *Sē*, l. 90); 135–43, "bildet ein vollkommen befriedigendes Ganzes, an dem wir nichts vermissen, und dem wir etwas hinzuzusetzen kein Bedürfniss empfinden." Möller assumed more gaps and imperfections than ten Brink, although it must be said that the failure of the lines to conform to the strophic theory is responsible for a good many of these.

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[1] P. 3.

[2] P. 31.

As for the autobiographical element, ten Brink admitted little of it, so far as the singer is concerned. He thought him "kein wirklicher, sondern ein idealer Sänger, der hier zu uns redet: gleichsam der typische Vertreter des fahrenden Sängertums der epischen Zeit." The marriage of Ealhhild and Eadgils he regarded as historical fact; the basis of the lay perhaps being an older poem belonging to the general class which details the experiences of minstrels. His views are best given in his own words.

> Vielleicht hat man sich die Sache folgendermassen vorzustellen. Es wird frühzeitig Lieder gegeben haben, in denen Sänger ihre Erlebnisse erzählten—in diese allgemeine Gruppe gehört auch *Deors Klage*—und im besonderen solche, in denen sie über ihre Reisen und den Empfang an verschiedenen Fürstenhöfen berichteten. An letzteren werden im Laufe der Zeit, wie manches Andere in Form und Inhalt, auch die Namen geändert werden, jüngere Namen zu älteren getreten sein. So dürfen wir uns eine ältere Gestalt unseres Liedes denken, deren schematische Grundlage der vorliegenden ziemlich entsprach; ich denke namentlich auch an das Motiv des von einem ausländischen Fürsten erhaltenen kostbaren Rings, den ein Sänger seinem eigenen Fürsten schenkt und was sich weiter daran schliesst. Jener ausländische Fürst könnte der Burgunderkönig Gunther gewesen sein (zu dem Albuin im vorliegenden Text sich wie eine gesteigerte Wiederholung ausnimmt). Nehmen wir nun an, dass, wie unser Lied berichtet, eine langobardische Prinzessin (Ealhhild) Tochter des Auduin, wirklich als Gemahlin des Königs Eadgils bei den Myrgingen—eben im mittleren und östlichen Holstein—geherrscht und sich wie ihr Bruder Albuin, von dem uns solches auch sonst bezeugt ist (Paul. Diac., I, 27) durch ihre Freigebigkeit berühmt gemacht habe, so wird die Kunde von ihrer Milde auch zu den Angeln gedrungen sein; und von den wenigen anglischen Sängern, die damals noch nördlich von der Eider heimisch waren, werden Einzelne zweifellos diese Milde an sich selber erfahren haben. Da bedurfte es nur noch der Nachricht von Albuins Zug nach Italien und der Gründung des langobardischen Reichs daselbst um einem englischen Sänger den ganzen für die Umgestaltung des alten Liedes nötigen Stoff zu liefern. Am einfachsten war die Sache dann, wenn—wie sehr wohl denkbar—jenes alte Lied selbst aus dem Land der Myrginge stammte. Ob die vorliegende Gestalt des Ealhhildlieds—es wird hierbei nur an die wesentlichen Momente, nicht an alle Einzelheiten der Darstellung gedacht—noch in Angeln oder erst in Mercien zum ersten Male gesungen wurde, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Zweierlei aber ist höchst wahrscheinlich: einmal dass sei es unser Lied sei es der Stoff dazu im Gefolge des—etwa um 575 stattfindenden—letzten Angelnzugs, und so wohl im Gefolge des altanglischen Königsgeschlechts

(Müllenhoff, D. A., II, 98 ff.) nach Brittanien verpflanzt wurde; zweitens dass die Verschmelzung jener Elemente jedenfalls noch vor dem Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts stattfand.[1]

If Ealhhild is to be regarded as the wife of Eadgils, and the general method of reconstruction is admissible, the above hypothesis appears plausible. But there is so little direct evidence in the poem to support the details of so complicated a theory, that it must be regarded rather as an ingenious surmise as to what may or might have taken place than as a well-grounded outline of actual growth. Probably ten Brink would have admitted this himself. The difficulty is not that the theory is too complicated, or that the analysis takes account of too many details, but the chances are small that so elaborate a conjecture—admittedly not supported by facts—corresponds with even approximate accuracy to the facts of the case.

V

The foregoing review of the principal interpretations of the more personal passages in the poem does not encourage the belief that they reflect actual historical conditions as observed by a contemporary. The hypothesis that Widsith was a singer of the days of Alboin is almost as unconvincing as the one which makes him out a man of the time of Eormanric. Too much of the text must be credited either to interpolation or to "epic fiction." Both are justifiable processes to which to appeal to sustain an argument in regard to a poem of the age of the one under discussion, but it will not do to push either beyond reasonable limits. The amount of later matter is out of all proportion to the original nucleus, if the theory that the latter was composed in the fifth century or earlier be adopted—a theory so unlikely for other reasons that it will hardly find many advocates among careful students. On the other hand, Müllenhoff's suggestion that the reference to Eormanric was introduced as a kind of rhetorical flourish into an account of bona fide experience is not so convincing as it might be. Making all due allowances for the haziness of historical fact in the popular mind, it is not very probable that a man should be soliciting belief for the statement that the ring with which he bought back his father's land came from a monarch whom his hearers must have known to be a misty figure of saga. Eormanric had been dead about two hundred years at the time when Widsith may be supposed to have visited Alboin. Dr. Garnett remarked: " . . . . it is manifest that while seeming indications of a later date may easily find their way into an old poem, tokens of antiquity are not so likely to be interpolated into a recent one with deliberate purpose of deceit." If the historical allusions are shown to be untrustworthy, there is little evidence upon which to base an actual personality for the singer. There is, indeed, no way of proving that a North-German chief, Eadgils, may not have had a traveled singer attached to his court, whose figure was made to serve as the starting-point around which to weave this story. But where so much fiction has to be accounted for, it is hard to feel certain that even a small residue of fact may remain.

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[1] Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 543 ff.

Entirely aside from the interpretation of the tale of Eadgils and Ealhhild, it seems antecedently more probable, in view of the characteristics of early poetry, to regard the whole of *Widsith* as fictitious. The simplicity, the straightforwardness, the personal ring of portions of the story have seemed to many critics convincing indications of its veracity. After the long dry enumerations which precede, it makes an impression of even greater sincerity. But this show of truthfulness must not deceive us. Early narrators were anxious to be implicitly believed. A tale gained in the telling if it had the added charm of being a "true story." Beowulf exclaiming *sōð ic talige*—"this is truth I tell you!" in his description of the swimming-match with Breca, or the author of the *Romance of Partenay*, beginning with the assurance: "Hit is so in truth in time auncion," use the same literary device, which was common among minstrels down to the close of the Middle Ages. Chaucer has his humorous fling at it:

> This storie is al-so trewe, I undertake,
> As is the book of Launcelot de Lake.

Nothing gives veracity like detail, a discovery remade in the eighteenth century by Defoe, but no secret to the bard of early times. When we read of the hundred *sceats* marked on the ring which Eormanric gave Widsith, or consider the naïve way in which the business transaction with Eadgils is arranged by means of this same present, we cannot but be struck, as was Mr. Stopford Brooke, with the apparent plausibility of "the little tale, so simple, so direct, so full of the detail of memory." It is of course common, however, to find this realism and this detail in early poetry which is undoubtedly fictitious. The presents bestowed upon Beowulf by Hrothgar are even more carefully described than Widsith's ring—the eight horses with bridles covered with plates of gold, and the helmet curiously protected with wires. It was no part of the story-teller's business to be vague; his hearers wanted to know things precisely. The apparently exact six hundred *sceats* on the arm-band given to Widsith fall into the same class as the seven hundred rings which Weland forged, the eight salmon and three tuns of mead which Thor consumed in the hall of Thrym, or the seven hundred camels and the thousand falcons and four hundred laden mules sent by Marsilies to Charlemagne. The desire to give vividness by introducing realistic touches is noticeable in the narrative poetry of the Christian period in early Britain. The poetic elaboration in *Andreas*, in which "the passages of description and dialogue . . . . are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring"[1] illustrates this.

Furthermore, narrative in the first person, which lends a specious air of directness and candor, was a favorite device in early literature in England and on the Continent. Misconceptions in regard to the personal element contained in such pieces have been common. The *Pearl* was long regarded as an elegiac outburst upon the death of a beloved child, and not as an allegorical poem.[2] It is not now generally believed that such pieces as *The Lover's Message* and *The Wife's Lament* are in any sense the records of personal experience. The latter has been connected, indeed, with the Offa saga.[3] Or consider the elaborately circumstantial fiction woven about the name of Sir John Mandeville, which has deceived so many as to the real facts in

[1] *Andreas*, ed. Krapp, Albion series, p. lv.

[2] Cf. C. F. Brown, "The Author of the Pearl," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1 ff., and W. H. Schofield, *ibid.*, pp. 154 ff.

[3] Miss Edith Rickert, *Mod. Philol.*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

regard to that highly entertaining figure. How convincingly does "the good knight" tell us of his history and intentions!

> And for als moche as it is long tyme passed, that ther was no generalle passage ne vyage over the see, and many men desiren for to here speke of the holy lond, and han thereof gret solace and comfort; I, John Maundevylle, knyght, alle be it I be not worthi, that was born in Englond, in the town of Seynt Albones, passed the see, in the yeer of our Lord Jesu Crist MCCCXXII., in the day of Seynt Michelle; and hidreto have ben longe tyme over the see, and have seyn and gon thorghe manye dyverse londes, and many provynces and kingdomes and iles, and have passed thorghe Tartarye, Percye, Ermonye the litylle and the grete, thorghe Lybye, Caldee and a grete partie of Ethiope, thorghe Amazoyne, Inde the lasse and the more, a gret partie, and thorgheout many othere iles, that ben abouten Inde; where dwellen many dyverse folkes, and of dyverse maneres and lawes, and of dyverse schappes of men.

Does not this seem "simple, direct, and full of the detail of memory"?

The general tendency nowadays is to be sceptical about the autobiographical element in works which apparently reveal the inmost feelings of the writer. Shakspere is not thought to have "unlocked his heart" for us in his sonnets so much as to have illustrated the extent of the influence of French sonneteering conceits; we know better than to take the apparently personal allusions in Chaucer too seriously; and we are able to guard against confusing the poet who wrote *The Vision of Piers Plowman* with his imaginary dreamer.[1] Why should we attempt to read sober truth into *Widsith*, to find actual experience in a poem, which can, under any hypothesis, contain only about one-fifth fact to four-fifths fiction, on the most liberal estimate possible? There seems to be, on the whole, no reason for thinking that it may not be quite as much a work of the imagination as Mandeville's *Travels*, besides showing other interesting analogies with that work.

These considerations are perhaps a sufficient answer to such queries as those made by Guest, who thought, strangely enough, that "the theory which maintains the genuineness of the poem is beset with fewest difficulties" (a remark quoted respectfully by

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[1] Cf. A. E. Jack, "Autobiographical Elements in Piers Plowman," *Jour. Germ. Philol.*, 1901, Vol. III, no. 4, and Professor Manly's article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 259.

Mr. Brooke), and who inquired eagerly where one could find the motive for such a "fraud" as the poem must be if fictitious, or the learning to perpetuate it successfully. If Widsith is a "fraud," then realistic fiction generally must be branded with that disagreeable name; as for the learning, an acquaintance with the familiar heroes of saga such as most men possessed in the sixth and seventh centuries, the name of a traveled minstrel, and a little imagination were enough for a nucleus; the great show of learning, the long catalogues of peoples and rulers, we may believe to have come from another source or sources, having been added to suit the taste of a circle among whom knowledge was more prized than amusement. It was a common device of Scandinavian poets to set information, mythological and otherwise, in a narrative framework, as in the *Grímnismál* or the *Vafþrúþnismál.* The *Gylfaginning* exemplifies the same process in prose. Something the same condition appears to exist in *Widsith*, the singer's story serving as a useful peg upon which to hang the lists of names which some scribe was anxious to preserve, although the details of the process of combination are no doubt quite unlike those in Old Norse.

It may be well, in closing, to summarize briefly the results of the above review. Some interesting problems have been left untouched, particularly those dealing with ethnology and saga, but as more attention has been given to questions of this sort in recent years than to those of composition and structure, there seems to be less reason for discussing them here.

The poem appears to have been originally an imaginary account of the travels of a professional singer, represented as having visited prominent heroes of Germanic history and saga. The present version seems to have grown up, not by the dovetailing or interweaving of separate and dissimilar compositions, an "Ealhhild lay," an "Eormanric catalogue," etc., as ten Brink and Möller supposed, but by additions made to an early lay of the same general character which the poem exhibits today, save that it was probably less occupied with mere enumerations. How much of this original lay has been preserved cannot be precisely determined; it seems probable, however, that it included at least the visits to Alboin, Gunther, and Eormanric, and the band of warriors imagined as acknowledging allegiance to the Gothic king.[1] The passage describing the "innweorud Eormanrīces" is evidently early at bottom, as the lines locating the Goths on the Vistula in contests against "the people of Attila" indicate. An imaginary incident of especial interest in connection with Eormanric is the part taken by the minstrel in accompanying Ealhhild, presumably the sister of Alboin, on her bridal journey to the Gothic court. While its main object was apparently to recount the various worthies visited, this lay was apparently far from being mere bald cataloguing, but possessed considerable literary merit. Such enumerations as it contained, however, may well have given the hint for continuing the process farther and in a more mechanical way. It was probably composed upon the Continent,[2] although any conclusive evidence of this is lacking, and not later than the latter half of the sixth century, as the reference to Alboin indicates. If the Alboin passage be regarded as interpolated, it is possible to place the date earlier, but such interpolation is not probable, and other reasons for assuming composition earlier than this are not convincing. The poem cannot have been a record of personal experience, and there is no reason for believing that such a person as "Widsith" ever existed.

This lay was provided with a prologue in England, as the phrase *ēastan of Ongle* indicates. The epilogue (ll. 135–43) may well have been added at the same time.[1] It was further altered by the insertion of material intended to perpetuate information, some of which (ll. 18–34 ?) may have existed previously, and may be as old as the narrative portion, or perhaps even older; other passages, particularly *ca.* ll. 79–87, bear evidences of lateness, as references to the Picts and Scots and to biblical peoples indicate. Christian coloring appears also in ll. 131–34. Portions of the original lay were doubtless sacrificed in the process of alteration. It seems likely that the prologue may have been added before the main portion received its present form, as it shows an acquaintance with a part of the Ealhhild-Eormanric narrative which has apparently been lost, and an interest in mentioning this which would hardly be expected from the man who is responsible for the addition of the cataloguing. The chronological order in which the prologue, epilogue, and other portions were added cannot, however, be definitely ascertained.

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[1] How far ll. 10–87 may be taken from various sources it is difficult and dangerous to conjecture. It has been seen that ll. 14–34 and ll. 75–87, although so unlike each other, show strong evidence of having been inserted. L. 76 appears to be a feeble imitation of l. 20. Apart from the metrical discrepancy, ll. 57 ff. are suspicious; contrast the mention of the Huns and Goths with what follows (cf. n. 1, p. 338); ll. 35–49 do not agree with the character of the later part of the poem, while ll. 10–13 and especially ll. 50–56 do. But any attempt to assign these portions to definite sources must prove unavailing. Such lines as 10–13 for example, may be among the earliest in the poem—or they may be among the latest.

Early lays of such a sort as the one here postulated as the basis of the present poem are not unknown in early literature. Heinzel, in his recension of Möller (*Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. X, p. 232), remarks that there are parallels to the divisions II and III of Möllers analysis in Old Norse and in Anglo-Saxon, and gives references.

[2] Wülker, after reviewing the evidence, says (*Grundriss*, p. 329): "Der ältere Teil des Gedichtes weist sehr entschieden auf die Zeit, wo die Angelsachsen noch auf dem Festlande sassen." There seems to be no reason to dissent from this. The acquaintance with saga, especially with the Eormanric saga, which was little known in Britain, apparently, and the intimacy of this acquaintance (cf. ten Brink, Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 541) point to a continental composition. The "merkwürdige Ansicht" of Maurer (*Zs. f. d. Philol.*, Vol. II, p. 447), who places the composition of the poem after the time of Charlemagne, hardly seems to require refutation. As Wülker suggests, Maurer evidently came to the criticism of the poem "ohne gehörige Beachtung der darüber erschienenen Litteratur."

The great discrepancy in the matter and manner of various passages in the narrative precludes the hypothesis that the whole is a unit, the work of one man. It is impossible, then, to set any one "date of composition" for *Widsith*, since a poem which has taken shape in such a fashion as this must be called rather a growth, an evolution, and must be judged by critical standards of a different sort than those which apply to more homogeneous compositions. It seems most probable that but a small portion of it antedates the end of the sixth century, while the present form of the piece, considering all the changes, and the presence of Christian influences in it, is not likely to be older than the latter half of the seventh century, and may be much later. While the general drift of the history of the poem may still be observed, after careful study, attempts to trace this in minute detail must prove fruitless. The exact limits and boundaries of the various insertions cannot be definitely fixed, nor can anything like a reconstruction of the earliest form of the piece be successfully accomplished, if for no other reason than that so much has been lost. Precise results give an air of scientific exactness, but in the analysis of *Widsith* are to be distrusted. When one remembers the inevitable changes in oral transmission, the complexity of which the English and Scottish ballads well illustrate, and the arbitrary behavior of scribes, one hesitates to make any dogmatic statements at all about the original form of such a text as this. For in the earliest stages of the development it is by no means impossible that oral transmission must be reckoned with; in the latest ones it seems plain that someone has been at work with pen in hand. *Widsith* is probably far more changed than has hitherto been supposed. If the singer of the original lay were to "unlock his word-hoard" for us today as he did for his hearers in the beginning, we should hardly recognize his song at all in the mutilated, distorted, and debased version which we read some thirteen centuries later.

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[1] Müllenhoff, Möller, and ten Brink all separated ll. 131–34 from the following, assigning them to a different source. Möller remarks: "Das eine der beiden stücke ist ohne zweifel auf grund des andern gemacht, denn wie Müllenhoff s. 293 zeigt es wiederholen sich dieselben ausdrücke und gedanken," etc. (p. 35). Repetition of the same thought in slightly changed words is really exceedingly common in AS. poetry, cf. the references in n. 1, p. 353. As for the fact that both divisions begin with *swā*, cf. the instances of similar beginnings of sentences in Kistenmacher, *Die wörtlichen Wiederholungen in Beowulf*, Diss., Greifswald, 1898. The fact that one division reflects Christian conceptions and that the other does not proves nothing conclusively in regard to their origin. An interesting example of the danger of dogmatizing about such a passage as this is afforded by the epitaph in *Timon of Athens* (v, 4, 70 ff.). The two couplets of which this is composed are inconsistent with each other, yet Shakspere evidently allowed both couplets to stand.

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EIN BRIEF GOETHES

Hiermit sende ich die ersten Scenen[1] meines Stücks bey dessen Ausführung ich mich nur um Ein Jahr Arbeit verrechnet habe. Was es geworden ist mag das Publicum entscheiden.

Nun empfehle ich die allerstrengste Fürsorge bey den Correcturen. Die vorigen Bände sind leidlich, doch nicht ohne Mängel, bey diesem Stücke werde ich auch den geringsten Fehler durch einen Carton zu verbessern bitten. Bey der höchsten Sorgfalt die ich auf dieses Stück gewendet, wünsche ich auch dass es ganz rein in die Hände des Publicums komme. Wann Sie das Exempl. mit lateinischen Lettern anfangen wollen, ist mir ganz gleich.

Was H. Vulpius betrift, wiederhohle ich dass mir eine Gefälligkeit geschieht wenn Sie diesem jungen Mann Ihren Rath und Beystand gönnen wollen. Er hat manche gute Eigenschaften und es fehlt ihm nicht an Talent. Bey den weitläufigen Bedürfnissen der Buchhandlung, sollte es mich wundern wenn er nicht, gut geleitet, sich einen mässigen Unterhalt sollte verdienen können. Ich bin auch nicht abgeneigt ihm von Zeit zu Zeit einige Unterstützung zu gönnen, nur was seine Einrichtung betrift, darin kann ich nicht reden, das ist ganz seine Sache.

Leben Sie wohl. Das Mst von *Tasso* folgt nun nach und nach. Senden Sie mir ja gleich 3 Exemplare der abgedruckten Bogen.

W. E. 22 Jun. 89
v Goethe

Der Brief ist abgedruckt in der Weimarer Ausgabe, Briefe, 9. Band, Seite 134–35. Er ist an Göschen gerichtet, dessen Geschäftsvermerk am oberen Rand des zweiten Bogens steht: Weimar d. 22. Juny 89. v. Goethe empf. d. 24. Die vorstehende Fassung ist dem Original entnommen, das sich nebst einem von mir im vorigen Jahre veröffentlichen, bis dahin unbekannten Briefe Schiller's, im Besitze von Frau Rossmässler in Germantown, Pennsylvanien befindet.

Vergleichung mit der Weimarer Ausgabe ergibt eine beträchtliche Anzahl Lesarten. Da die oben mitgeteilte Fassung urkundengetreu, ist dies die Rechtfertigung der Mitteilung.

Nur einige Bemerkungen zu den Unterschieden. *Darein*

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[1] Act ist gestrichen, Scenen drübergeschrieben.

(W. A. S. 135, Z. 5) ist offensichtlich Lesefehler für darin, ebenso *Stück* für *Stücke* (Ebenda, S. 134, Z. 14). Nach den orthographischen Änderungen der Weimarer Ausgabe—wie *bei* statt *bey*, *wiederhole* statt *wiederhohle*, *betrifft* statt *betrift*—fallen besonders auf die vielen Änderungen in der Interpungierung. Zweimal ist, und zwar das zweite Mal ohne jede innere Berechtigung, ein Semikolon statt eines Kommas gesetzt, S. 134, Z. 14 nach *Mängel*, S. 135, Z. 6 nach *reden.* Einmal (S. 135, Z. 1 nach *Buchhandlung*) fehlt Goethes Komma. Achtmal hat schulmeisterlich-subalterne Pedanterie ein Komma eingefügt, wo Goethe keins hat. Goethe interpungiert sinnenfällig nach rhythmischen Grundsätzen, nach der musikalisch-logischen Art des Sprechstils. Selbst wenn dies nicht der Fall wäre und so unsern ästhetischen Sprachsinn weniger befriedigte, wäre uns der genaue Text eines von Goethe eigenhändig geschriebenen Briefes an sich sakrosankt.

KARL DETLEV JESSEN

BRYN MAWR, PA.

"TROTULA"

There has not been any adequate explanation of the reason that the name of "Trotula" should appear as the author of one of the books "bounden in o volume" which was the *Vade Mecum* of Jankin in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue.*[1] Tyrwhitt merely cites the title of one of the several editions of the *Trotulae curandarum aegritudinum muliebrium ante, in, et post partum,* liber unicus.[2] Skeat[3] scarcely adds to our knowledge by following Warton in citing as two other works of the writer, a manuscript and an imprint of the same work under different titles. And yet one does not need to go far for an explanation.

Trotula was the first and most distinguished of the female representatives[4] of the medical school of Salerno. The little that is known of her life is that she lived about the middle of the eleventh century, that she had the family name of di Ruggiero; that she was the wife of one member of the Salernitan school, Johannes Platearius I, and the mother of two others, Johannes Platearius II and Matthaeus Platearius I.[5] Of her works the most important was a treatise on the diseases of women and the care of children, known under the various titles of *De passionibus mulierum*,[1] *De aegritudinibus mulierum*,[2] *De curis mulierum*,[3] *Trotula major*,[4] and *Trotula*.[5] A work dealing with the care of the complexion and cosmetics, known as *De ornatu mulierum*[6] and *Trotula minor*,[7] is generally appended in manuscripts to the more important work. The printed editions only present an abridged version of these two works,[8] which cannot have been made before the thirteenth century,[9] although in Wolf's edition the work is attributed to a certain Eros, a freedman of Augustus, the physician of the emperor's daughter, Julia.[10]

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[1] *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Skeat, Group D, 677, "Crisippus, Trotula, and Helowys."

[2] Note to *C. T.*, l. 6253. He cites from the edition contained in the *Medici antiqui* (ff. 71–80) published by Aldus in 1547. Besides this edition P. Meyer (*Rom.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 270 n.) notes the first edition published in Strasburg in 1544, and that which appeared in Gaspard Wolf's *Gynaeciorum* published in Basle in 1566. To these are to be added the edition in the reprints of the latter work: Basle, 1586, 4to, I, pp. 89–127; in the *Gynaeciorum* of Spath, Strasburg, 1597, fol. ff. 42–60; in the three editions of Victorinus Faventinus, *Empirica*, Venice, 1554, 1555, 1565; 12mo, pp. 460–525; and in Heinrich Kornmann, *De virginitate*, Leipzig, 1778.

[3] *Works of Chaucer*, Vol. VI, p. 309. The two works noted are "Trotula Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum," and "Trottula, seu potius Erotis medici aegritudinum muliebrium liber;" Basil, 1586; 4to. The latter of these is evidently the edition found in the *Gynaeciorum* of 1586, noted above.

[4] Renan (*Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXX, p. 578) makes the curious mistake of stating that "le médecin salernitain est transformé en une femme." Upon the other female representatives of the school of Salerno, cf. de Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*, Vol. I, pp. 372 ff.; Choulant, *Haesers Archiv*, Vol. II, pp. 301 ff.; J. K. Proksch, *Die Geschichte der venerischen Krankheiten*, Vol. I, p. 285.

[5] De Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 149–64; Vol. III, pp. 327 ff.; Choulant, *Geschichte und Litteratur der älteren Medicin*, Vol. I, pp. 293, 294, 299; E. G. J. Siebold, *Essai d'une histoire de l'obstetrice*, Vol. I, pp. 296–300.

The great reputation of this mediæval Lydia Pinkham is not only evidenced by the large number of manuscripts of her work, and copies of certain chapters under the titles of *Practica domine Trote ad provocanda menstrua*,[11] and *Practica de secretis mulierum*,[12] liberal use was made of her work in later medical compilations; it was translated into various vernacular tongues, and the authoress was cited as a high authority. Her work is an important source of the twelfth century *De aegritudinum curatione*,[1] and of the *Poema medicum*[2] of the thirteenth century. It was translated, or at least largely utilized in two Old French verse compositions,[3] and once translated into French[4] prose and once into German.[5] The popularity of the work was in part due to its pornographic character, and later compositions of the same stamp, such as the *Secreta mulierum*,[6] falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus,[7] refer to Trotula as one who sat on the bench of last appeal.[8] A most striking instance of such a use, and its justification is to be found in a French work of the fourteenth century, *Le livre des secrets aux philosophes:*

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[1] MS Bibliotheque nationale, Lat. 7856, Fol. 112 recto. Cf. Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 121; M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 481, "Trotula major de passionibus." This title is not to be confused with another medical treatise with the *Incipit* "De passionibus mulierum," sometimes attributed to Trotula, sometimes to Cleopatra (*Rom.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 272; M. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. LII, pp. 349, 350) and again to Theodorus Priscianus (Oxford, Coll. Magd. CLXIV, 243 recto).

[2] James, *loc. cit.*, p. 62; Oxford, Merton Coll. CCCXXIV, Fol. 94 verso.

[3] James, *loc. cit.*, p. 338, "Trotula major de curis mulierum," also pp. 345, 347. Cf. title of MS Univ. Bibl. Breslau, *Practica Trotulae mulieris Salernitanae de curis mulierum*, which according to Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin*, 3d ed., Vol. I, p. 663, is chiefly devoted to cosmetics.

[4] James, *loc. cit.*, pp. 341, 385.

[5] *Rom.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 270; Oxford, Merton Coll. CCXXX, Fol. 11 verso; Digby, 29, Fol. 278 verso; cf. 291 verso, "Explicit hec Trota multum mulieribus apta."

[6] James, *loc. cit.*, p. 59; Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 270; Coll. Magd. CLXXIII, Fol. 253 recto; A. Schultz, *Anz. f. d. Kunde d. deutschen Vorzeit*, 1877, col. 186–90.

[7] Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 271; James, *loc. cit.*, pp. 340, 385; Haeser, p. 663.

[8] Cf. *Rom.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88, 270; Haeser, p. 662. Perhaps it would be better to speak of the two parts of one work, remembering that the first sixteen books of Priscian were known as *Priscianus major*, and the last two as *Priscianus minor*, cf. Thurot, *Notices et Extracts des MSS*, Vol. XXII, 1, 213; G. Becker, *Catalogi Antiqui Bibliothecarum Britique*, p. 321.

[9] Choulant attributes the revision to a female physician of Salerno in the thirteenth century; *Jahr. f. d. deutsche Med.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

[10] G. C. Gruner. *Neque Eros, neque Trotula, sed Salernitanus quidam medicus, isque Christianus, auctor libelli est, qui de morbis mulierum inscribitur*, Jena, 1773.

[11] James, *loc. cit.*, p. 58. Upon the importance in mediæval medical treatises of this subject cf. J. Haupt, *Wiener Ak. Sitzungsber. phil. hist. Cl.*, Vol. LXXII, pp. 477, 480.

[12] Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson, C, DVI, Fol. 146 recto.

> Premierement je vous di que une feme qui fu philosophe, appellee Trotula, qui mout vesqui et fu moult belle en sa jeunece, de laquelle li phisicien qui riens sevent tiennent moult d'auctoritez et de bons enseignemenz, nous dist une partie des natures aus femmes. L'une partie nous en pot elle bien dire tant comme elle en sentit en soi; l'autre partie que, comme elle fust feme, et toutes femmes descovroient plus volentiers a li toutes leur contenances et leur secrez que a un home, e li disoient leur natures, et elle regardoit en ses livres et trouvoit concordances a ce que nature li en divisoit. Par icelle seusmes nous grant partie des natures aus femmes.[9]

How well the name of Trotula was known one sees from the way she is mentioned in the *Diz de l'erberie* of Rutebeuf. In this composition, a parody of the advertising methods of the traveling quack doctor, the charlatan, after puffing his wares, addresses the audience with

Or oeiz ce que m'encharja
Ma dame qui m'envoia sa,

and dropping into prose continues:

Bele gent, je ne sui pas de ces povres prescheurs ne de ces povres herbiers qui vont par devant ces mostiers a ces chapes mau cozues, qui

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[1] Choulant, *Haesers Archiv*, Vol. II, pp. 302 ff.; de Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 81 ff.

[2] de Renzi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXII, p. 105 (V. Le Clerc). On a reference to her as an authority in a medical work of the school of Salerno in Hebrew, cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. XL, p. 124.

[3] Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88, 101.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 270. Cf. P. Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*, p. 429.

[5] Spiller, *Zeits. f. deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XXVII, p. 167.

[6] On similar works cf. Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 405, n. 53.

[7] On attribution to Albertus, *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 171, 173.

[8] Spiller, *loc. cit.*, p. 166; cf. Oefele, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Vol. X, p. 672.

[9] *Hist. litt.*, Vol. XXX, p. 578.

> portent boites et sachez, et si estendent .i. tapis, car teiz vent poivre et coumin [et autres espices] qui n'a pas autant de sachez comme il ont. Sachiez que de ceulz ne sui je pas; ainz suis a une dame qui a nom Trote de Salerne, qui fait cuevre chief de ces oreilles, et li sorciz li pendent a chainnes d'argent pardesus les espaules; et sachiez que c'est la plus sage dame qui soit enz quatre parties dou monde.[1]

Assuredly in Jankin's "book of wikked wyves" the work of such an authority on women, and of such wide repute would not be out of place.

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[1] *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. A. Jubinal, 1874, Vol. II, pp. 58, 59. I have corrected the text after the extracts printed by Picot in *Rom.*, Vol. XVI, p. 493. His comment on the passage is worth citing: " Trot de Salerne, ou Trotola de Roggeri, est resté célèbre parmi les médecins du XIe siècle: mais Rutebeuf semble jouer ici sur le nom de ce médecin et sur la mule du marchand d'orviétan. C' est à cette dernière qu' appartiennent les longues oreilles et la chaine d' argent qui sert de bride." G. Mannheimer, in his article " Etwas über die Ärzte im alten Frankreich," cites only the Rutebeuf passage (*Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VI, p. 596). Cf. A. Delpeuch, *La Goute et la Rhumatisme*, p. 350, for a comment on the passage.

THE RELATION OF DRYDEN'S "STATE OF INNOCENCE" TO MILTON'S "PARADISE LOST" AND WYCHERLEY'S "PLAIN DEALER": AN INQUIRY INTO DATES

In the history of English literature few incidents are better known or more attractive to the imagination than the meeting of Dryden and Milton, recorded by Aubrey.[1] In that meeting confronted each other not only radically contrasting personalities and geniuses, but epochs of society and government, of literary ideals and form. Dryden came to do honor to Milton, but he came with the proposal to translate Milton's greatest work into a form which the age could comprehend and enjoy, to turn the blank-verse epic into a rimed "sacred opera." Whether Milton's feeling was one of amusement, as Masson suggests, or indifference, as Scott has it, or something deeper, he answered Dryden at all events with superb self-reliance and control. "Certainly," he appears to have replied, "you may tag my verses, if you will." And so, some time after the publication of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, in 1674, came out Dryden's *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man.*

It was entered on the Stationers' Register by Herringman, the publisher, on April 17, 1674, under the title *The Fall of Angells and Man in Innocence*, and was published, according to Scott,[2] soon after Milton's death, on November 8 of that year. This date of publication has been accepted by Genest,[3] Saintsbury,[4] Masson,[5] A. W. Ward,[6] W. C. Ward,[7] and by scholars in general. During the interval between entry and publication, "many hundred" surreptitious and erroneous copies had got abroad, as Dryden informs us in the well-known "Apology for Heroic Poetry and

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[1] Lives.

[2] *Works of Dryden*, ed. by Scott and Saintsbury, V, 99.

[3] *History of the Drama and Stage in England*, I, 161.

[4] *Works of Dryden*, V, 94.

[5] *Life of Milton*, VI, 710.

[6] *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 368.

[7] *Plays of Wycherley* (Mermaid Series), 364.

Poetic License," a defense of his method, prefixed to the *State of Innocence;* and critics were expressing unfavorable opinions. "Among those critics of the opera," claims Mr. Masson, "as it was to be read in the copies that had got about early in 1674, were Milton himself and his friend Marvell. The fact has escaped notice hitherto, but it is certain, nevertheless."[1] For proof of the fact Mr. Masson relies upon the date of the entry, with Dryden's statement as to the surreptitious copies; and the verses of Andrew Marvell, prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost;* the peculiarity of which, says Masson, "consists in their being a studied combination of eulogium on Milton for his *Paradise Lost* with rebuke to Dryden for his impudence in attempting a dramatic and rhymed transversion of such an epic."[2]

There is another literary relation of interest connected with *The State of Innocence.* In the "Apology" Dryden refers to the dramatist Wycherley. "The author of the 'Plain Dealer,' whom I am proud to call my friend, has," he says, "obliged all honest and virtuous men, by one of the most bold, most general, and most useful satires, which has ever been presented on the English Theatre."[3] Now *The Plain Dealer*, here referred to, was not published till 1677, but Dryden's words show that when he wrote the "Apology" it was already on the stage, and as *The State of Innocence* with the prefaced "Apology" has been dated 1674, it follows that Wycherley's play was produced as early as that year. And this has been the general assumption of the editors and critics of Wycherley. The date is of special importance because there has been much controversy as to Wycherley's method of work. Rochester characterized him as "slow" and says:

> Wycherley earns hard whater'e he gains,
> He wants no judgment, nor he spares no pains.[4]

Lansdowne objected that the adjective "slow" was due merely to the demands of Rochester's verse. To judge by what Wycherley accomplished one would think it

> could be no other than the work of extraordinary diligence, labour and application. But, in truth, we owe the pleasure and advantage of having

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[1] *Life of Milton*, VI, 710.

[2] *Life of Milton*, VI, 715.

[3] *Works of Dryden*, V, 115.

[4] "An Allusion to Horace," in *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed. of 1685, p. 36.

> been so well entertain'd and instructed by him, to his facility of doing it . . . . The club which a man of an ordinary size could not lift, was but a walking-staff for *Hercules*.[1]

And Pope declared:

> Lord Rochester's character of Wycherley is quite wrong. He was far from being slow in general, and in particular, wrote the Plain Dealer in three weeks.[2]

Now, if *The Plain Dealer* was produced in 1674, we have good evidence that Wycherley carefully worked over and revised his plays; for the first edition, of 1677, contains allusions to events and productions subsequent to 1674.

Thus the conclusions that Milton knew the *State of Innocence*, except for the evidence of Marvell's verses, and that Wycherley's *Plain Dealer* was produced in 1674, both depend upon the acceptance of 1674 as the date of the publication of *The State of Innocence*. A careful examination of the data on which the authorities above named relied, together with data that have since become available, leads to the belief that *The State of Innocence* was not published in 1674, nor in 1676, the date ascribed by W. C. Hazlitt,[3] Halliwell,[4] and others, but first in 1677. It will be seen that there is no direct testimony to the 1674 date, and only one piece of apparently direct testimony, and, so far as I have been able to discover, no testimony at all for the 1676 date; while there is evidence of considerable value that the 1677 edition is the first.

The verses of Marvell—all that are important for this discussion—are these:

ON PARADISE LOST

When I beheld the poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold—
. . . .
. . . . The argument
Held me awhile misdoubting his intent,
That he should ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song
. . . .

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[1] *Genuine Works of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne*, ed. of 1732, I, 432.

[2] *Spence's Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, p. 201.

[3] *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays.*

[4] *Dictionary of Plays.*

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I liked his project, the success did fear—

. . . .

Lest he perplexed the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.
Or if a work so infinite he spanned,
Jealous I was that some less skillful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill-imitating would excel,)
Might hence presume the whole Creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.
Pardon me, mighty Poet; nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious surmise.
But I am now convinced, and none will dare
Within thy labours to pretend a share.
Thou hast not missed one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit;
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

. . . .

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
And, like a pack-horse, tires without his bells.
Their fancies like our bushy points appear;
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too, transported by the mode, offend,
And, while I meant to *praise* thee, must *commend.*
Thy verse, created, like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

These latter lines are sufficient to prove Masson's claim that Milton and Marvell had talked over Dryden's request and Milton's answer; but they afford no evidence that they had seen *The State of Innocence,* or even that they knew it was to be published. After stating that he had been fearful lest someone might show Milton's work in a play, Marvell calls his surmise "causeless." The lines that follow—somewhat significantly, not quoted by Masson—appear to mean that he is now convinced that no one will dare to turn *Paradise Lost* into a play, because to do so would clearly manifest him a fool or a thief; they may mean that he no longer fears, because, if anyone does turn Milton's work into a play, it can only redound to Milton's honor, through the manifest ignorance or plagiarism of the dramatist; but they certainly do not indicate that Marvell has seen any such play. Dryden's project he evidently knows; had he known Dryden's production, he could hardly have failed to attack it more directly.

That Milton and Marvell had seen *The State of Innocence* appears less likely in view of the date when the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was published. Professor Arber's invaluable reprint of the Term Catalogues[1] now enables us to state approximately the time of year when it appeared. It is advertised in the Catalogue of Books published in Trinity Term, 1674. This catalogue was licensed for publication on July 6, so the second edition of Milton's work had either been published between May 26, or thereabout—the date of the preceding catalogue—and July 6, or on July 6 was about to appear. Thus, even if Marvell's verses were written and printed after the second edition was otherwise ready, we have at the most barely three months after its entry in the Stationers' Register for a surreptitious copy of *The State of Innocence* to come into Milton's hands. These copies were evidently written, not printed. Dryden speaks of "everyone gathering new faults," and Masson calls them "transcripts." In view of all the circumstances it appears highly improbable that Milton had seen *The State of Innocence:* it clearly is not "certain."

But even if Milton saw such a copy, and even if that copy were printed, this is no evidence that the authorized edition was published in 1674. Scott's statement that it was so published, "shortly after the death of Milton" on November 8, adopted by Masson and others, appears to rest on no better foundation than the natural belief that it would be published not long after the entry in the Stationers' Register, and the fact that Dryden in the prefaced "Apology" speaks of Milton as deceased. It is a not unnatural surmise that Dryden might have delayed the publication of his work out of regard for the aged poet merely until his death.

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[1] *The Term Catalogues*, 1668–1709. Edited by Professor Edward Arber; Vol. I, 1903; Vol. II, 1905. By this vast and difficult undertaking, of which he bears all the financial as well as editorial responsibility, Professor Arber has again placed students of English literature deeply in his debt.

Two things declare strongly against the acceptance of this surmise. The first is that a copy of a 1674 edition is not to be found! First editions of Dryden's other plays are not rare. Dryden's popularity and prominence, together with the connection of this book with Milton, would lead one to expect a specially large first edition. The edition of 1677 is today a fairly common book; yet the supposed first edition is not to be found. It is not in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library, and diligent search in the other large British libraries has failed to reveal it. No private collection has been discovered that contains it. Mr. Edmund Gosse has been collecting for thirty years, has in his possession the first edition of every other play of Dryden; but this he has never seen or heard of. The great London booksellers have never seen it, though they have been commissioned hundreds of times to procure a copy. Nor has the edition apparently ever been described. Why should this one first edition be so entirely missing?

Corroborative evidence is furnished by the Term Catalogues. From November, 1668, to November, 1682, but one play of Dryden—*All for Love*—is missing from the catalogues. All the others, fourteen in number, leaving out *The State of Innocence*, are advertised in what are demonstrably the first editions. And the one new play, *Don Sebastian*, which appears in the catalogues after this time is also in the first edition. For books not in the first edition the catalogues have a special heading—"Reprinted Books." Now, *The State of Innocence* appears first in the Term Catalogue for Hilary Term (licensed for publication February 12), 1676–7. This is the edition which bears on the title-page the date 1677. Like all the other plays, this entry of *The State of Innocence* does not appear under the heading "Reprinted Books," but under that of "Poetry and Plays." Professor Arber informs me that he has never yet [August, 1904] discovered a case where a book not entered under the head of "Reprinted Books" is not a first edition. The third edition of *The State of Innocence* appears in the catalogue of November, 1684, in its proper place, under the head of "Reprinted." Why should it be supposed that the edition of *The State of Innocence* entered in February, 1676–7, forms a unique exception, and though not entered under the head "Reprinted" was really preceded by an edition in 1674 and possibly by another in 1676?[1]

Only one piece of apparently direct evidence for the existence of a 1674 edition have I succeeded in discovering; but this is of a character to give one pause. In Saintsbury's edition of Scott's Dryden he publishes what appears to be a copy of the title-page of the first edition of *The State of Innocence.* It differs in spelling from the title-page of the 1677 edition, but this is probably the editor's modernization; the quotation is followed by "Ovid Met." [1677, "Metam."]; it is printed by "T. M." [1677, "T. N.," i. e. Tho. Newcomb]; and it is dated 1674!

Here, it seemed, was evidence enough for the existence of a 1674 edition. Private inquiry was made of Professor Saintsbury where this 1674 copy was to be found. His reply I am not authorized to quote in detail. It must suffice to say that, while he believed that he would in no case quote a title-page except from actual inspection by himself or a trustworthy deputy, he could not remember where it had been seen; nor is the volume to be found in the British Museum or Mr. Gosse's collection, where he thought he might have seen it. Nor could he offer any evidence for its existence. Another letter recently received from Professor Saintsbury says: "I always now inform inquirers that the '74 *State of Innocence* cannot be found and is probably a Boojum."

And there we are left. It is difficult to account for Professor Saintsbury's title-page. But as he cannot account for it himself, and apparently no longer believes in it, is there not, in view of the other evidence, good reason to believe that his title-page is not in fact the copy of a title-page bearing the date 1674?

None of the evidence that I have adduced against the existence of a 1674 edition is absolutely conclusive. But it is sufficient to warrant the strong belief that there was no such edition, until someone has actually produced or described it.

For the 1676 date there is apparently no evidence at all. An edition may have been put on the market late in that year, but if so it bore the date 1677.

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[1] It is perhaps not without significance that in the interval between November, 1673, and Easter, 1676, Dryden published nothing but the pamphlet *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco.*

There remains the question how, if the 1677 date be accepted as that of the first edition, we are to account for the delay in the publication since April 17, 1674. Masson's explanation of the delay till after Milton's death suggests a plausible conjecture for the longer delay. In the contract between Milton and his publisher, Milton engaged

> that he the said Jo. Milton, his executors or administrators, or any other by his or their means or consent, shall not print or cause to be printed, or sell, dispose or publish the said book or manuscript, or *any other book or manuscript of the same tenor or subject*, without the consent of the said Samuel Symons, his executors or assigns.[1]

Milton's permission to Dryden may easily have appeared to Symons a breach of contract; and it would not be at all strange if he made such difficulties for Dryden and his publisher Herringman as to delay the publication of *The State of Innocence*, not only during the remainder of Milton's lifetime, but for some time after, until the second edition of Milton's work was well disposed of.

Our conclusion is therefore that Wycherley's *Plain Dealer* was not produced in 1674, but probably as late as 1676, and that the 1677 edition of *The State of Innocence* is the first. And it may be said that our conclusion is strengthened by the fact that it has already been reached by Professor Ker and Mr. Gosse. In his edition of Dryden's essays Professor Ker gives 1677 as the date of the first edition,[2] and Mr. Gosse writes in a private letter:[3]

> I have ceased to believe in the editions of *The State of Innocence* of 1674 and 1676. I believe the edition of 1677 to be the first . . . . I possess in my own collection every other play of Dryden in the first edition, and have been collecting now for thirty years. I think that if there were an edition earlier than 1677, I must have heard of it.

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[1] *Life of Milton*, VI, 713.

[2] *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. by W. P. Ker, I. lxxv. Cf. also Ker's note, p. 313.

[3] To Winston H. Hagen, Esq., New York.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF THE OLD SAXON "GENESIS."

It is well known that the narrative in the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis B*, which constitutes in translated form the longest existing fragment of the Old Saxon *Genesis*, departs considerably from the corresponding portions of the Vulgate. But it has not been clearly shown that the author had any other source, and recent opinion appears to be tending toward the view that his variations are original. This idea was long ago suggested, though not actually stated, by Sievers, who discussed the question of sources quite incidentally in his famous essay on the *Heliand* and the *Genesis*.[1] Sievers pointed out that, while the doctrine of the creation and fall of the angels (ll. 246 ff.) was a theological commonplace, and while other parts of the *Genesis* resembled passages in Avitus, at the same time there were significant variations from both Avitus and the commentators; and he laid stress upon certain elements which seemed peculiar to the Saxon poet. Later investigators have expressed doubt about the parallels from Avitus, and Behaghel, in a recent general survey[2] of the literary relations of the *Genesis*, speaks with some assurance of the independent imagination of the author, adding that he has not been proved to have made use of any sources outside of the Bible. This opinion, then, appears to be becoming current doctrine on the subject,[3] and it may be well to inquire whether the peculiarities of the Saxon narrative are, after all, so entirely without parallel.

The feature of the story which has been oftenest designated as original is the account of the temptation and the fall. The tempter, it will be remembered, is said by the Saxon poet to have declared himself a messenger of God, and to have professed to bring Adam and Eve divine permission to eat of the forbidden tree.

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[1] *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis* (Halle, 1875).

[2] *Heliand and Genesis* (1903), p. xxiii, with a reference to Siebs, *ZDPh*, XXVIII, 139.

[3] Other expressions of the same opinion will be cited in the following pages. Jellinek (Haupt's *Anzeiger*, XXI, 220), speaking primarily of the later Vatican fragments which deal with Cain and Sodom, expresses uncertainty about the author's use of biblical commentaries. He says he could cite parallels to ll. 41, 75, 79, 124, 273, etc.: "Aber mit solchen vereinzelten Nachweisen ist doch wenig gethan."

Ongon hine þá frínan   forman worde
Se láða mid ligenum: "Langað þé áwuht,
Adam, up tó Gode?   Ic eom on his ǽrende hider
feorran geféred;   ne þæt nú fyrn ne wæs,
þæt ic wið hine sylfne sæt.   þá hét hé mé on þisne síð faran,
hét þæt þú þisses ofætes ǽte,   cwæð þæt þín abal and cræft
and þín módsefa   mára wurde
and þín líchoma   léohtra micle,
þin gesceapu scénran;   cwæð þæt þé æniges sceattes þearf
ne wurde on worulde."[1]

When he failed to beguile Adam, he went to Eve and urged her to avert the divine anger which Adam had incurred by doubting God's messenger and refusing to eat. If she would take the forbidden fruit herself, and persuade Adam also to taste it, all would yet be well.

Gif þú þæt angin fremest,   idesa seó betste,
forhele ic incrum herran,   þæt mé hearmes swá fela
Ádam gespræc,   eargra worda,
týhð mé untryówða,   cwyð þæt ic seó teónum georn,
gramum ambyhtsecg,   nales godes engel.
Ac ic cann ealle swá geare   engla gebyrdo,
heah heofona gehlidu: wæs seó hwíl þæs lang,
þæt ic geornlíce   gode þegnode
þurh holdne hyge,   herran mínum,
dryhtne selfum: ne eom ic ðeófle gelíc.[2]

Thus the tempter made his appeal to the credulity of the first parents rather than to their pride, and caused them to disobey God unwittingly and in a sense innocently. The doctrine is obviously not biblical, and Sievers, finding no support for it in the commentators, pronounced it "eigenthümlich."[3] Other scholars have been less cautious and have attributed it to the poet's invention. Hoenncher, in an article[4] on the sources of the

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[1] Ll. 495 ff. The quotations are from Behaghel's text (*Heliand and Genesis*, p. 215).

[2] Ll. 578 ff.

[3] Sandras had also called attention to its peculiarity (*De carminibus Anglo-Saxonicis Caedmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, p. 74).

[4] *Anglia*, VIII, 41 ff. See particularly pp. 48 ff. Compare also Jovy's discussion of the subject in the *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, V.

Genesis, while undertaking to show that Sievers was wrong in deriving any part of the poem from Avitus, insisted still more strongly than Sievers on the originality of the account of the fall; and W. P. Ker, in his admirable volume on the Dark Ages[1] quoted the opinion as if it were an established fact and made it the basis of critical observations. "Both imagination and good sense," he observed, "are shown, as Sievers has brought out, in the view taken of the temptation. The ordinary theological motives, gluttony and vainglory, did not seem sufficient. The poet would not so degrade the Protoplast. Adam and Eve are beguiled by the lies of the serpent, who brings them word that the Lord has revoked his prohibition, and that for their good they are to eat of the fruit of the tree." The same implication of originality on the part of the Saxon author is found in a recent dissertation by Abbetmeyer, who remarks: "The poet, it then appears, selected the Teutonic conception of loyalty to account for the disloyalty of the first parents."[2]

Now, while I am not prepared to say just where the Saxon writer learned his theory of the temptation, I am convinced that he did not invent it, and consequently that he is not to be credited with such originality as the foregoing comments imply. To be sure, the details of his story differ considerably from any other account of the fall that I have seen. But the feature of the deception upon which Sievers and his followers lay stress, is by no means uncommon in the apocryphal documents about Adam and Eve. It is natural to conclude that the Saxon version is somehow indebted to that body of literature. In the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, edited and discussed by Wilhelm Meyer[3] a few years after the appearance of Sievers' study of the *Genesis*, a similar deception is practiced by Satan to induce Eve, after her expulsion from the garden, to abandon her penance in the waters of the Tigris. The fiend transforms himself into an angel of light and tells Eve that God has forgiven Adam and her and remitted their penalty.[1] Eve is deceived at once and comes out of the river; but Adam recognizes the Adversary and rebukes Eve for having again yielded to him. The circumstances of this temptation differ considerably from those in the *Genesis*, where Adam is first approached (ll. 261 ff.), and where the tempter takes the usual form of the serpent, though protesting himself to be an angel from God. But the nature of the strategy is the same in both instances, and the Saxon poet, or more probably some predecessor, may simply have transferred to the temptation in the garden the method employed by Satan, according to the *Vita*, in the later temptation by the Tigris.

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[1] *The Dark Ages*, p. 259.

[2] C. Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis, 1903), p. 23. Elsewhere (p. 20) Abbetmeyer says of the passage in the *Genesis:* "The source, though much looked for, has not been found." Perhaps he means, then, that the author was influenced by the Germanic conception of loyalty, not in inventing a new theory of the fall, but in choosing among existing accounts of it.

[3] *Abhandl. d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XIV (1878), pp. 187 ff.

The apocryphal accounts of the earlier temptation furnish, in my opinion, some confirmation of this surmise; for they exhibit a good deal of confusion as to the form in which Satan addresses Eve when he offers her the forbidden fruit in Paradise. In the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*[2] (hereafter referred to briefly as the *Apocalypse*) Eve, long after the expulsion, relates to her children the story of the fall. She declares that Satan appeared to her in the form of an angel, and then she describes him as answering one of her questions "out of the mouth of the serpent."[3] The inconsistency apparently arises from the introduction into the biblical story of the apocryphal idea of the later temptation as set forth in the *Vita*—just such a confusion as I have assumed to lie behind the Saxon poem.[1] Except for what is implied by the angelic disguise, the motive of Eve's guilt in the *Apocalypse* is made substantially the same as in the biblical account. The tempter tells her that if she and Adam eat of the fruit their eyes will be opened to perceive good and evil, and that God has forbidden them to touch the tree for fear that they will become like him. But the object of the disguise itself was clearly to make Eve suppose she was dealing with a loyal messenger of the Lord, and to complete the deception Satan even joined the other angels in singing a hymn of praise to God.

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[1] *Vita*, § 9: "Et transierunt dies xviii. tunc iratus est Satanas et transfiguravit se in claritatem angelorum et abiit ad Tigrim flumen ad Evam et invenit eam flentem. et ipse diabolus quasi condolens ei coepit flere et dixit ad eam: egredere de flumine et de cetero non plores. iam cessa de tristitia et gemitu. quid sollicita es tu et Adam vir tuus? audivit dominus deus gemitum vestrum et suscepit penitentiam vestram; et nos omnes angeli rogavimus pro vobis deprecantes dominum, et misit me, ut educerem vos de aqua et darem vobis alimentum quod habuistis in paradiso et pro quo planxistis. nunc ergo egredere de aqua et perducam vos in locum, ubi paratus est victus vester. Haec audiens autem Eva credidit et exivit de aqua fluminis et caro ejus erat sicut herba de frigore aquae. et cum egressa esset cecidit in terram, et erexit eam diabolus et perduxit eam ad Adam."

[2] This Confession of Eve (*Apocalypsis Mosis*, §§ 15 ff.) does not appear in the *Vita*, where Adam (p. 236) simply asks Eve to tell the story to the children after his death. But Meyer, believing it to have formed an episode of the earlier work from which both the *Vita* and the *Apocalypse* were derived, inserted the Greek passage (following Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*) after § 41 of the Latin text. For Meyer's discussion of the relation of the *Vita* and the *Apocalypse* see p. 206 of his article; and for evidence that a Latin text combining elements of both existed in Ireland in the tenth century see Thurneysen, *Revue celtique*, VI, 104.

[3] The devil first asks the serpent to help him. *λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· μὴ φοβοῦ. γενοῦ μοι σκεῦος κἀγὼ λαλήσω διὰ στόματός σου ῥήματα πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατῆσαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη εὐθέως παρὰ τῶν τειχέων τοῦ παραδείσου περὶ ὥραν ὅταν ἀνῆλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι. τότε ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐγένετο ἔν εἴδει ἀγγέλου καὶ ὕμνει τὸν θεὸν καθάπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι. καὶ παρέκυψα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους*

The author of the Saxon *Genesis*, then, whether or not he wrote independently, was not the first or only authority to refuse to "degrade the Protoplast." I am inclined to believe that he did not reinvent the motive, but rather that he knew some form of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve.* Very likely he is still to be credited with originality in his treatment of the details of the story. At all events, I have not found any other account which resembles it closely. The long speech of Satan (ll. 356 ff.), pointed out by Sievers[2] as a departure from Avitus, is not only not paralleled by the *Vita*, but represents a different theory of the fall of the angels.[3] The use by Satan of a subordinate demon

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καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ἀγγέλου. καὶ λέγει μοι· σὺ εἶ ἡ Εὔα; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ἐγώ εἰμι. καὶ λέγει μοί· τί ποιεῖς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὥστε φυλάσσειν καὶ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ἀπεκρίθη μοι ὁ διάβολος διὰ στόματος τοῦ ὄφεως· καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσθίετε ἀπὸ παντὸς φυτοῦ. κἀγὼ λέγω αὐτῷ· ναί, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐσθίομεν παρὲξ ἐνὸς μόνου, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου, περὶ οὗ ἐνετείλατο ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε.

[1] Meyer (p. 206) comments on this confusion in the *Apocalypse*. Something like it is observable in the Slavic versions of the story published later by Jagić, *Abhandl. d. kais. Österreichischen Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1893, II, 26 ff. In the first of these texts the devil appears as an angel and tempts Eve. Nothing is said of the serpent, though Satan has already instructed it to beguile Eve. In the second version, which Jagić thinks is a correction of the first account, Satan does not go to the serpent till he has talked with Eve. Gaster (*Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature*, p. 32) quotes a popular Wallachian version of the Confession of Eve, according to which the devil first comes as an angel and tries to beguile Eve, and after his repulse the serpent comes as an angel and prevails upon her. I cite these accounts, of course, not because I suppose them to have influenced the Saxon, but simply to show how, as I believe, the conception of the temptation in the garden was affected by the tradition about the later temptation.

[2] Pp. 18 ff.

[3] In the *Vita* Satan tells Adam that the fallen angels were expelled from heaven because they refused to worship Adam, the image of God. The *Genesis*, on the contrary, follows

to tempt Eve (*dyrne deofles boda*, l. 490) is unlike the procedure in either the *Vita* or the *Apocalypse*.[1] The long conversation between Eve and Adam when she urges him to eat the apple also finds no close parallel in these texts.[2] But, on the other hand, certain elements of the *Genesis* which Sievers found it hard to account for may be plausibly explained by the Adam book. The delusive light which Eve saw when she had partaken of the fruit, and which disappeared soon after Adam's fall was accomplished,[3] may well go back to the "great glory" described in the *Apocalypse* as surrounding the forbidden tree.[4] The account of the sufferings of Adam and Eve after their expulsion (ll. 802 ff.) is not based upon the Vulgate, and Siebs has shown[5] that it is not strikingly similar to the two passages cited by Sievers[6] from the third book of Avitus. It is also unlikely, in my opinion, that the lines contain a reminiscence of a passage in Hilarius, as Siebs suggests,[7] and it seems quite as easy to explain them as an elaboration of the situation described at the beginning of the *Vita*. The Latin text, to be sure, is brief and bare at this point,[8] but other versions of the Adam book (as, for example, the Irish *Saltair na Rann*)[9]

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the orthodox view and represents the fall of the angels as anterior to their envy of man. Meyer (p. 199) cites Augustine, *De Genesi ad literam* xi, 18, for the condemnation of the apocryphal account. Compare also Bonwetsch on Methodius, Göttingen *Abhandlungen*, N. F. VII (1903), 71 ff. A disagreement with respect to this doctrine of course constitutes no argument against the influence of the Adam book on the *Genesis*.

[1] This situation was long ago compared by Sandras (*De carminibus Anglo-Saxonicis Caedmoni adjudicatis disquisitio*, p. 67) with that in another apocryphal document, *The Book of Enoch* (ed. Lawrence, lxviii, 61), where Gadrel is represented as the seducer of Eve.

[2] The *Apocalypse* represents Adam as more easily persuaded. ἅμα γὰρ ἦλθεν, ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἐλάλει καὶ ἠρξάμην νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν λέγουσα· δεῦρο, κύριέ μου Ἀδάμ, ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ φάγε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ δένδρου, οὗ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσῃ ὡς θεός. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν εἶπεν· φοβοῦμαι μή ποτε ὀργισθῇ μοι ὁ θεός. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· μὴ φοβοῦ· ἅμα γὰρ φάγῃς ἔσῃ γινώσκων καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. καὶ τότε ταχέως πείσασα αὐτὸν, ἔφαγεν, καὶ ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ, καὶ ἔγνω καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γύμνωσιν αὐτοῦ.

[3] Ll. 600 ff., 666 ff., 772 ff.

[4] σὺ δὲ πρόσεχε τῷ φυτῷ καὶ ὄψει δόξαν μεγάλην περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ προσέσχον τῷ φυτῷ καὶ εἶδον δόξαν μεγάλην περὶ αὐτοῦ. Sievers (p. 20) pointed out that the "repentinus fulgor" in his parallel passage from Avitus does not appear until after Adam's fall is accomplished, and is also not described as a "teuflischer Trug." In the *Apocalypse* the "great glory," which seems to be part of the tempter's device, is visible to Eve before she eats of the fruit.

[5] *ZDPh*, XXVIII, 138, 139.

[6] P. 21.

[7] Siebs's reference is to Hilarius, *In Genesin ad Papam Leonem*, ll. 164 ff.

[8] Quando expulsi sunt de paradiso, fecerunt sibi tabernaculum et fuerunt vii. dies lugentes et lamentantes in magna tristitia. post vii. autem dies coeperunt esurire et quaerebant escam ut manducarent, et non inveniebant.

[9] Ll. 1469–1520 (Whitley Stokes's edition, Oxford, 1894).

enlarge considerably upon the sufferings of Adam and Eve from hunger, thirst, and the fierceness of the elements. Finally, I think we have in Adam's words in ll. 830 ff. a hint of the penance in the rivers, a conspicuous episode of the *Vita* which has been already referred to.[1] After bewailing the sorrow that sin has brought upon himself and Eve, Adam declares himself ready to endure any pain for the sake of regaining God's favor.

Gif ic waldendes   willan cúðe,
hwæt íc his tó hearmsceare   habban sceolde,
ne gesáwe þú nó sniómor,   þeáh mé on sǽ wadan
hété heofenes god,   heonone nu þá
on flód faran: nǽre hé firnum þæs déop,
merestréam þæs micel,   þæt his ó mín mód getwéode,
ac ic tó þám grunde genge,   gif ic godes meahte
willan gewyrcean.[2]

Unfortunately the interpolated fragment—*Genesis B*—breaks off just too soon for us to know whether the poem included an account of the penance.[3]

By these various resemblances, as well as by the similarity in the central motive of the temptation, I am led to believe that there is some connection between the *Genesis* and the body of tradition represented in the Latin *Vita* and the Greek *Apocalypse.* It remains to be said that there is no chronological difficulty in my supposition. One of the Latin manuscripts published by Meyer is earlier than the eighth century. Meyer assigns the composition of the Latin text to the fourth century, and Tischendorf dated the *Apocalypse* in the "saecula circa Christum natum."[4] The original Adam book, from which both of these were derived, Meyer holds to have been pre-Christian (probably written in Hebrew), and to this *Urtext* he traces various Jewish and Mohammedan legends[5] in which Satan is said to have tempted Eve in the form of an angel. The apocryphal story, then, was widely known long before the time of the Saxon poet, who is now supposed to have written after the author of the *Heliand*. Its later influence is apparent in various literatures of mediaeval Europe, and Meyer brought together in his introduction[1] a considerable list of versions. But none of the vernacular texts cited by him is as early as the probable date of the Old Saxon poem, which furnishes, if my argument be accepted, an interesting bit of additional testimony to the spread of the tradition.

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[1] See p. 392, above.

[2] Hoenncher (*Anglia*, VIII, 55) suggested a relation between these lines and the Middle English *Canticum de creatione*, which is now known to be based upon the apocryphal *Life of Adam.*

[3] In the later fragments of the Old Saxon *Genesis* there are also apocryphal elements, such as the references to the "children of Cain" (ll. 807 ff.) and to the battle between Enoch and Antichrist (ll. 879 ff.). The first of these, though not found, I think, in either the *Vita* or the *Apocalypse*, appears elsewhere in documents derived from the Adam book. Compare the Irish *Saltair na Rann*, ll. 2389 ff., for the "clann Cain."

[4] See Meyer's introduction for all these matters.

[5] For the Mohammedan stories in question see Weil, *Biblische Legende der Musselmänner*, p. 20.

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[1] See p. 209 ff. The Irish *Saltair na Rann*, to which I have several times referred, was not published till after Meyer's article. See Stokes's edition, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1892, and Thurneysen's remarks, *Revue celtique*, VI, 114 ff. It is a document of the tenth century. A later prose redaction from the *Lebor Brecc* was published by MacCarthy in the Todd Lecture Series of the Royal Irish Academy, III, pp. 29 ff. The narrative in the *Saltair* is not close enough to that in the *Genesis* to suggest a direct relation between the two.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF "WHAT IF A DAY," AND ITS VARIOUS VERSIONS

I

In the following paper I wish to examine Thomas Campion's claim to the authorship of a song which during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth century was among the most popular airs of that musical age. To enable the reader to take in at a glance the various references to, and forms of, the poem, I subjoin the following numbered list:

I. *Scottish Metrical Psalter.* 1566. Brit. Mus. Add. 33,933. Fol. 81 *b.*
II. *Diary of John Sanderson.* Date of entry probably 1592. Brit. Mus. Lans. MS 241. Fol. 49.
III. *Philotus.* Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, 1603.
IV. *An Hour's Recreation in Music.* By Richard Alison, Gentleman. 1606. British Museum.
V. A Scottish version copied by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir, ab. 1612? Univ. Libr. Cambr. K. K. 5. 30. Fol. 82 *b.*
VI. *Giles Earle his booke,* 1615. Brit. Mus. Add. MS 24,665. Fol. 25 *b.*
VII. Alexander Gil's *Logonomia Anglica.* 1619.
VIII. *The Golden Garland of Princely pleasures and delicate Delights.* The third time imprinted, enlarged and corrected by Rich. Johnson. 1620.
IX. Richard Wigley's *Commonplace Book.* Brit. Mus. Add. MS 6704. Fol. 163. (1591–1643).
X. *Cantus, Songs and Fancies, &c.* Second edition. Aberdene, Printed by John Forbes, 1666. (Brit. Mus. K. 1. *e.* 12.)

XI. *Select Poetry, Chiefly Sacred, of the Reign of King James the First.* Collected and edited by Edward Farr, Esq., editor of *Select Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Gems of Sacred Poetry,* etc., etc. Cambridge: Printed at the University Press for J. & J. Deighton; and J. W. Parker, London, 1847. P. 102.

XII. *Collection of Ballads in the Pepysian Library, at Magdalene College, Cambridge.* Vol. I, p. 52.

XIII. *The Roxburghe Ballads.* Edited by Charles Hindley. London, 1873. Vol. I, pp. 439–44.

XIV. Professor Edw. Arber, *Shakespeare Anthology.* 1899. P. 247. (From *An Hour's Recreation.* = No. 4.)

XV. Thomas Campion, *Songs and Masques.* Edited by A. H. Bullen. London, 1903. P. 270.

XVI. *A Collection of National English Airs, Consisting of Ancient Song, Ballad, and Dance Tunes.* Interspersed with Remarks and Anecdotes, and preceded by an Essay on English Minstrelsy. The airs harmonized for the pianoforte by W. Crotch, Mus. Doc., G. Alex. Macfarren and J. Augustine Wade. Edited by W. Chappell. London: Chappell, 1840. P. 63, No. 127, music and words; No. 128, music. Page 108 of the companion volume containing the notes (published 1838) gives under No. CXXVII remarks and another version.

XVII. W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Old Time: A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads, and Dance Tunes, Illustrative of the National Music of England.* London, 1855–59.

XVIII. *Old English Popular Music.* By William Chappell, F.S.A. A new edition, with a preface and notes, and the earlier examples entirely revised by H. Ellis Wooldridge. Vols. I and II. London, 1893. Vol. I, pp. 100, 101.

XIX. Wright-Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae, I, 323 (=Sanderson's *Diary*). II, 123 (=Wigley's *Commonplace Book*). Inaccurate copies!

XX. [William Slatyer]. *Psalmes or Songs of Sion: Turned into the language, and set to the tunes of a strange Land.* By W. S. "Intended for Christmas Carols, and fitted to divers of the most noted and common, but solemne tunes, everywhere in this land familiarly used and knowne. London. Printed by Robert Young." 1642. On p. 36: "Psalme 126; tune: 'What if a day.'"

XXI. Skene MS, Advocates' Library. Lute tablature to the tune of "What if a day." 1615–35.

XXII. J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof*. 1634. P. 77: "What if a Daye, or a moneth, or a year;" tune of a song beginning "Suyvere, schoone, vermaecklycke Maeghd." *Ibid.*, p. 108: "Suyvere, schoone, vermaecklycke Maeghd" is given as tune of a song of three verses, the first of which is an adaptation of the first stanza of "What if a day." The tune also occurs on pp. 65 and 141. See *Tydschrift v. Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, Vols. XXI, XXIV.

XXIII. D. R. Camphuyzen, *Stichtelycke Rymen* (t' Rotterdam, 1639). P. 305. "Ongerustigheyds oorspronck." Zangh: *Essex Lamentatie* of "Wat if a daye, &c."

XXIV. University Library, Cambridge, Lute MSS Dd–iv, 23. To the tune of "What if a day or a night or an hower."

XXV. Robinson's *Citharen Lessons*. 1609.

XXVI. Sir John Hawkins' *Transcriptions*. See p. 417.

XXVII. Butler's *Hudibras*, I, 3, 9.

XXVIII. *Bagford Ballads*, p. lxxi, No. 209 (= XII).

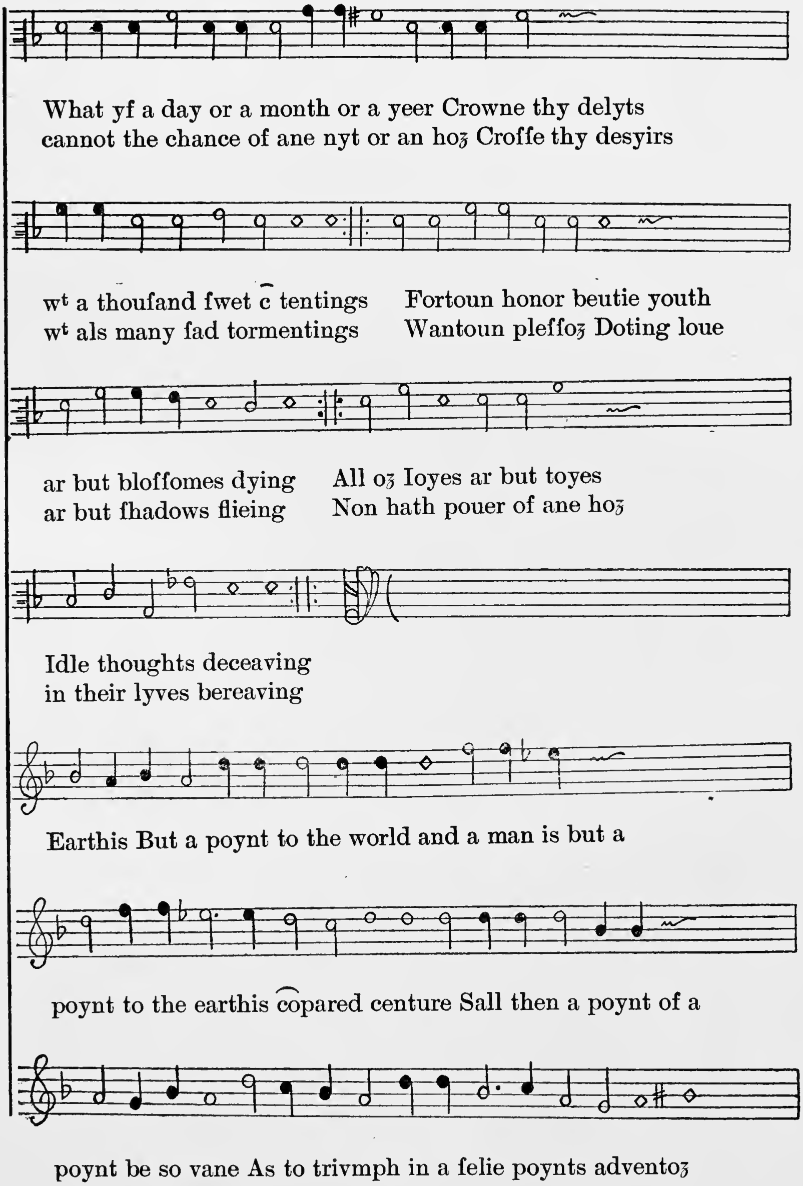
XXIX. *Old English Ditties*. The words sometimes altered by John Oxenford; music arranged by Macfarren.

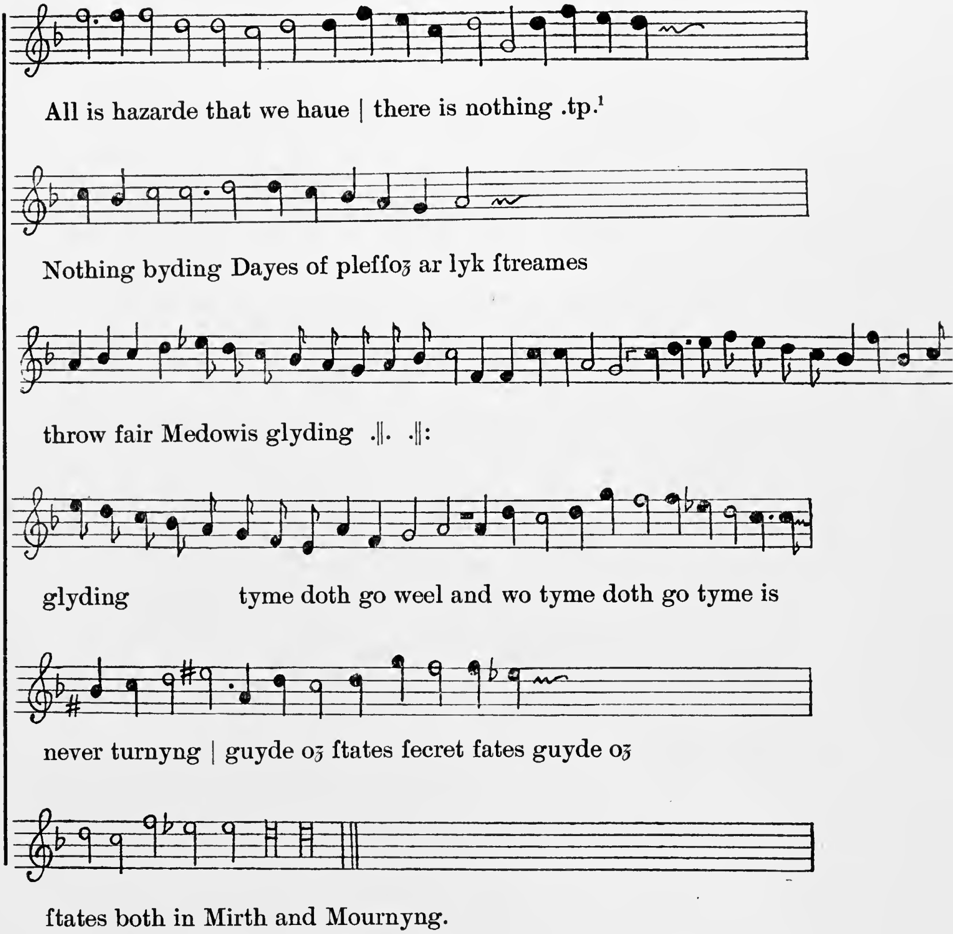
XXX. Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*. 1626. No. XV of Loman's edition. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; The Hague: M. Nyhoff, 1893.

I is the oldest version I have been able to find, and has only two stanzas. Upon inquiry I have been informed by the keeper of the manuscripts at the British Museum that "the date is based on a comparison of the MS with David Laing's 'Account of the Scotch Psalter of 1566, Containing the Psalms . . . . set to Music in Four Parts in the MSS of T. Wade . . . . ,' from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. VII (Edinburgh, 1871). The music to the Psalter proper is 'in iiii partes be . . . . David Peables,' with the exception of at least Ps. 128, which was 'set and notit be Jhone Bughen of my vnwitting.' The music of the Canticles, etc., which immediately follow the Psalter, is by various composers; those whose names occur in the MS are Andrew Kemp, Andrew Blakehall, David Peables, Sir John Frithy, and Francis Heary; John Angus is known to have set eight of the Canticles. Date of the MS, about 1575–78." Thus the date varies between 1566 and 1578.

I

Scottish Metrical Psalter. 1566


What yf a day or a month or a yeer Crowne thy delyts
cannot the chance of ane nyt or an hoȝ Croſſe thy desyirs
wᵗ a thouſand ſwet c̄ tentings Fortoun honor beutie youth
wᵗ als many ſad tormentings Wantoun pleſſoȝ Doting loue
ar but bloſſomes dying All oȝ Ioyes ar but toyes
ar but ſhadows flieing Non hath pouer of ane hoȝ
Idle thoughts deceaving
in their lyves bereaving
Earthis But a poynt to the world and a man is but a
poynt to the earthis cōpared centure Sall then a poynt of a
poynt be so vane As to trivmph in a ſelie poynts adventoȝ


All is hazarde that we haue | there is nothing .tp.[1]
Nothing byding Dayes of pleſſoʒ ar lyk ſtreames
throw fair Medowis glyding .‖. .‖:
glyding tyme doth go weel and wo tyme doth go tyme is
never turnyng | guyde oʒ ſtates ſecret ſates guyde oʒ
ſtates both in Mirth and Mournyng.

II also has only two stanzas. With I it belongs to the sixteenth century.

II

DIARY OF JOHN SANDERSON

What yf a day, or a night, or an hower,
Crowne thy desire, w^th a thowsand wiſht contentinges
Cannot the chaunce of a night or an hower
Croſſe thy delighte w^th a thowſand ſad tormentinges

---

[1] This is the nearest approach to the original mark of repetition that can be given in ordinary type.

fortune, honor, bewtie, youth ar but bloſoms dienge
Wanton pleaſure, dotinge loue, ar but ſhadowes flienge
All our Joyes ar but toyes Idle thoughts deceauinge
None hath power of one hower in their liues bereauinge.

Earth^{s} but a poynt to the world, & a man
is but a poynt, to the worlds compared Center.,
ſhale then a poynt of a poynt be ſo vaine
as to triumph in a ſilly poynts aduenture!
All is haſſard that we haue ther is nothinge bidinge
Dayes of pleaſure ar like ſtreams throughe faire medowes glidinge.
Weale or woe time doth goe, in time no retorninge
Secret fates guyde our ſtates, both in mirth and mourninge.

III, printed at the end of *Philotus*, which was published by Robert Charteris at Edinburgh in 1603, but may have been written as early as 1594,[1] has again but two verses. They are here copied from the edition of Ballantyne & Co., 1835. This is the first appearance in print of the song.

III

Philotus: reprinted from the edition
of Robert Charteris Edinburgh.
Printed by Ballantyne & Company
(MDCCCXXXV).

What if a day or a month or a zeere
Crown thy deſire with a thouſand wiſched contentings?
Can not the chance of ane nicht or ane houre,
Croſſe thy delightes with a thowſand ſad tormentings?
Fortune, honour, bewtie, zouth are but bloſſomes dying
Wanton pleſoures, dotting loue are but ſhadowes flying:
All our joyes are but toyes idle thoughtes deceauing,
None hes power of an houre in thair lyues bereauing.
Earth's but a point of the World, and a man
Is but a poynt of the Earths compared centure.
Shall than the poynt of a poynt be ſo vaine
As to delight in a ſillie poynts aventure?
All is hazard that wee haue, here is nothing byding:
Dayes of pleaſures ar but ſtremes throgh fair medowes glyding
Well or wo tyme dois go, in tyme is no returning,
Secreete fates guydes our ſtates, both in mirth and murning.

---

[1] Cf. "R. Brotanek, Philotus," in *Festschrift zum VIII. allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage*, 1898, p. 152.

IV. The following is only a copy of Arber's reprint, 1883. "What if a day or a month or" and "Earthes but a point to the world" are mentioned as Nos. XVII and XVIII in "The Table," but are not in the book, and a MS note in the margin refers to the *Pepys Ballads*. I have in vain tried to find a copy of the book elsewhere.

IV

AN HOUR'S RECREATION IN MUSIC

By Richard Alison, Gentleman. 1606

What if a day, or a month, or a year
Crown thy delights with a thousand sweet contentings!
Cannot a chance of a night or an hour
Cross thy desires with as many sad tormentings?
Fortune, Honour, Beauty, Youth, are but blossoms dying!
Wanton Pleasure, doating Love are but shadows flying!
    All our joys are but toys! idle thoughts deceiving:
    None have power, of an hour, in their lives bereaving.

Earth's but a point to the world, and a man
Is but a point to the world's comparèd centre!
Shall then a point of a point be so vain
As to triumph in a silly point's adventure?
All is hazard that we have! there is nothing biding!
Days of pleasure are like streams through fair meadows gliding.
    Weal and woe, time doth go! time is never turning!
    Secret fates guide our states, both in mirth and mourning!

(THOMAS CAMPION, M. D.)

V. The following copy I owe to the courtesy of the librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. The original writing is very bad. The letters in brackets are blotted. This is the first version that has more than two stanzas.

V

The Scottish version copied by Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir.

Quhat giff a day or a ny^{t} or a ʒeir
Croune thy delyts v^{t} a thousand vist contentings
Mey no^{t} the chonge off a month or ane houre[1]
Cross thy desyres w^{t} als monie sad tormentings
forton, hono*ur*, beutie ʒouth, ar bo^{t} shaddous fleeing
Wanton pleas*ure*, dotting Love, ar bo^{t} blossums deeing

---

[1] May be "hower."

All our joyis, ar bot toyis, idle thoghts disceaveing
Non heth power, off ane houre in y^{r} lyffs bereveing

The erth is bot a poynt off a poynt and a man
Is bot ane poynt off ye erths compareid[1] center[2]
Suld then a poynt off a poynt be so vaine
As to triumphe in a sillie poynts adverter[3](*sic*)
All is haserts that ve heve, ther is no thing byding
Dayis off pleas*ure* ar as streames throu fair medous slyding
[Wei]ll or vo tyme doth go in tyme no returneing
Sacreid faith gyd*es* our steatis both in mirth & murneing

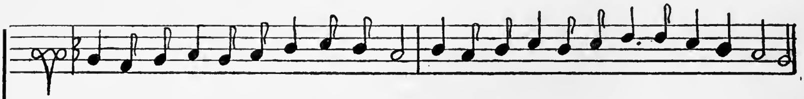
Quhat hes thou then sillie man for to b[oi]st
bo^{t} of a shoirt and a sorowfull lyff perplexit
Quhen haipp and h[oi]p [&] thy saiftie is moist
Then vo & waik[4] dispaires and deth is annexit
Blossums bubles as is erth doth thy steat resemble
ffear off seiknes danger death maketh the to tremble
Evrie thing that do spring shoone ryp is shoone rottin
Pomp and pryd shoone doth slyd and is shone forgottin.

VI. Two stanzas. The setting of the second is struck out and followed by another, the one here printed.

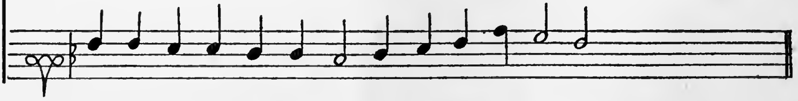
VI

Giles Earle his booke. 1615. (fol. 3)

Egidius Earle hunc librum poſsidet qui compactus fuit mense Septembris 1626. (fol. 1)



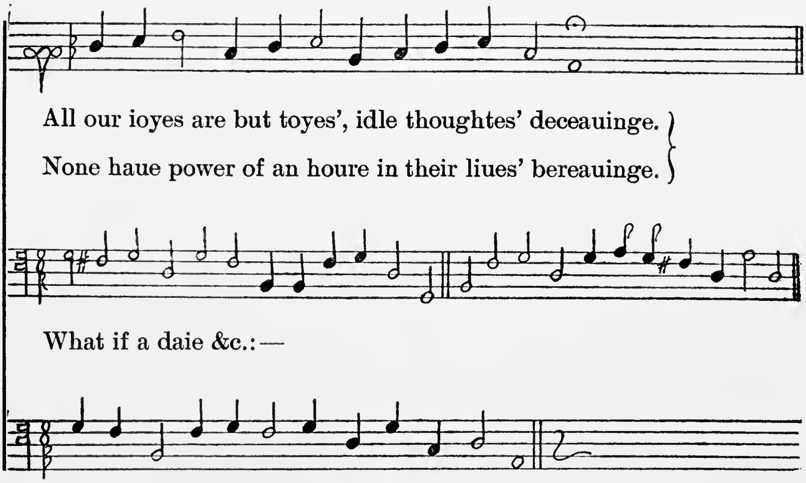
What if a day or a moneth or a yeare, crowne thy delights wth: a thouſand wiſh'd contentings
Cannot the chance of a night or an houre, croſse thee againe wth: as' many ſad tormentings.—



Fortune, honoure, beautie, youth, are but bloſsoms' dyeinge
Wanton pleaſures', dotinge loue, are but shadowes' flyinge

---

[1] "eid" indistinct.
[2] Initial letter indistinct.
[3] "Adverter" probably "adventer."
[4] Waile?



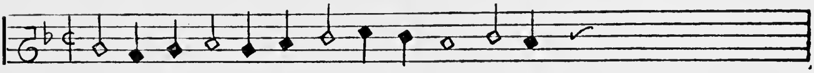
All our ioyes are but toyes', idle thoughtes' deceauinge.
None haue power of an houre in their liues' bereauinge.

What if a daie &c.:—

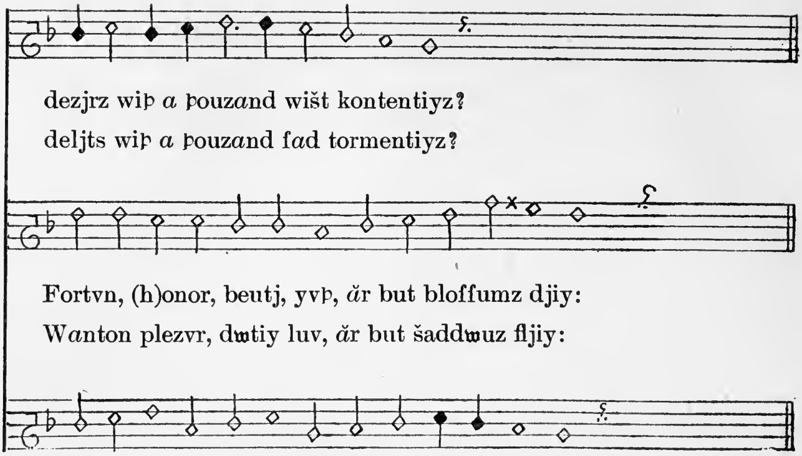
Th' earth's but a point to the world, and a man
is' but a point to the earths' compared center
Shall then a point of a point be ſoe vaine,
as' to triumph in a ſillie pointes' aduenture?
All is' hazard that wee haue, there is nothing bidinge
daies' of pleaſure are like streames' through faire meadowes'
glidinge.
All our ioyes &c:

VII. Gil quotes this stanza after saying: "Ut in illo perbello cantico Tho. Campiani, cujus mensuram, ut rectius agnoscas, exhibeo cum notis."

VII
Logonomia | Anglica | Qua Gentis Sermo
Faci | lius Addiscitur. |
Conscripta ab Alexandro Gil | Paulinae Scholae
Magistro | Primario. |
(Device)
Londini | Excudit Iohannes Beale. |
1619.



Wat if *a* d*a*i, or *a* munþ, or *a* yer, kroun ðj
K*a*n not *a* č*a*uns of *a* njht, or *a*n ouer, kros ðj



dezjrz wiþ *a* þouz*a*nd wišt kontentiyz?
deljts wiþ *a* þouz*a*nd f*a*d tormentiyz?

Fortvn, (h)onor, beutj, yvþ, *ǎ*r but bloffumz djiy:
W*a*nton plezvr, dꝏtiy luv, *ǎ*r but šaddꝏuz fljiy:

Al our ǵoiz *ǎ*r but toiz, Idl þouhts defeviy.
Nꝏn h*a*þ pouer of *a*n ouer, in ðeir ljvz bireviy.[1]

VIII is the first version which has five stanzas. A note in the volume from which this was copied says that it is the third edition of a work unknown, and is probably unique.

VIII

THE GOLDEN GARLAND OF PRINCELY PLEASURES AND DELICATE DELIGHTS.
The third time imprinted, enlarged and corrected by Rich. Johnſon.
The inconſtancy of the World.

(1)

What if a day, a moneth, or a yeere,
Crown thy deſires with a thowſand wiſht contentings
Cannot the chance of an night or an houre
Croſſe thy delights with as many ſad tormentings:
Fortune in their faireſt birth,
Are but bloſſomes dying,
Wanton pleaſures doating mirth,
Are but ſhadowes flying:
All our ioyes are but toyes
Idle thoughts deceiuing:
None hath power of an houre
In our liues bereauing.

---

[1] The above is as close a reprint of the original as ordinary type will allow. Cf. Ziriczek *Alexander Gil's Logonomia*, p. 147.

(2)

What if a ſmile, or a beck, or a looke
Feed my fond thoughts with as many ſweet conceiuing
May not that ſmile, or that beck, or that look.
Tell thee as well they are but vaine deceiuing:
Why ſhould beauty be ſo proude
In things of no ſurmounting
All her wealth is but a ſhroude
Of a rich accounting:
Then in this repoſe no bliſſe
Which is vaine and idle:
Beauties flowers haue their houres,
Time doth hold the bridle.

(3)

What if the world with alures of his wealth
Raiſe thy degree to a place of high aduancing
May not the world by a check of that wealth
Put thee again to as low deſpiſed chancing
Whilſt the Sun of wealth doth ſhine
Thou ſhalt haue friends plenty:
But come want they then repent,
Not one abides of twenty:
Wealth and friends holds and ends,
As your fortunes riſe and fall:
Up and downe riſe and frowne
Certaine is no ſtate at all.

(4)

What if a griefe, or a ſtraine, or a fit,
Pinch thee with pain, or the feeling pangs of ſicknes,
Doth not that gripe, or that ſtraine, or that fit.
Shew thee the forme of thy own true perfect likenes
Health is but a glimpſe of ioy,
Subiect to all changes
Mirth is but a ſilly toy,
Which miſhap eſtranges.
Tell me then ſilly man
Why art thou ſo weake of wit:
As to be in ieopardy
When thou maiſt in quiet ſit.

(5)

Then if all this haue declard thine amiſſe
Take it from me as a gentle friendly warning:
If thou refuſe and good counſell abuſe,
Thou maiſt hereafter dearely buy thy learning.
All is hazard that we haue
There is nothing biding,
Daies of pleaſure are like ſtreames,
Through the meddowes gliding,
Wealth or wo, time doth go
There is no returning
Secret fates guide our ſtates
Both in mirth and mourning.

Finis.

Printed at London by A. M. for Thomas Langley, & are to be ſold at his Shop ouer againſt the Sarazens Head without Newgate 1620.

IX. It is impossible to fix the date of this version. The third stanza is different from that of any other version.

IX

Richard Wigley's Commonplace Book.

1. What yf A daye or A month or A yeare
Crowne my desyres wth A Thousand wiſht Contentments
cannot the Chaunce of A nighte or an hower
Croſs thy delytes wth A Thowsand sad tormentments
ffortune ffavoure bewty youth are but bloſſoms dyinge
wanton pleaſures dotinge loue are but ſhadowes flyinge
all oure Ioyes are but toyes Idle thoughtes delightinge
none haue power of an hower in their lyves bereavinge.

2. Thearths but A poynt to the world & A man
is but the poynte to the Earthes Compared Centur
cann then the poynte of A poynte be ſoe fonde
as to delighte in A Sillie poynts adventure
All is haſſard that wee haue their is noughte abydinge
dayes of ffortune are but ſtreames throughe faire meadowes glydinge
Weale or woe tyme dothe goe in tyme noe returninge
secrete fates gydes oure ſtates bothe in mearth & mourninge.

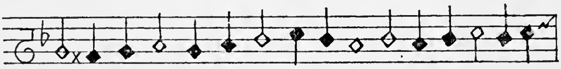
3. Goe ſillie note to the Eares of my deare
make thy ſelfe bleſte in her ſweeteſt paſſions Languishe
Laye thee to ſleepe in the bedd of her harte

Geue her delighte thoughe thy ſelfe be madd wth Anguiſhe
Then wheare thou arte thinke on me that from thee ame vaniſ[ht]
Saye once I had bine Content thoughe that nowe ame vaniſ[ht]
Yett when Streames backe ſhall runne & tymes paſſed shall [renewe?]
I ſhall Seaze her to loue & in Lovinge to be trewe.

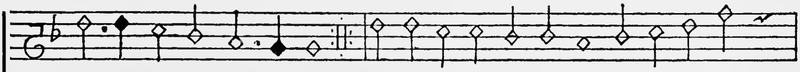
X. This famous "book of songs" has five verses again.

X
Cantus, Songs and Fancies, &c. 2nd ed^{n}.
Aberdene, Printed by John Forbes, . . . M.DC.LXVI.

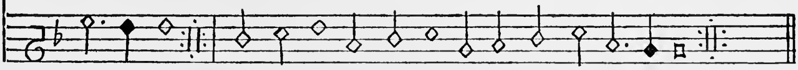
THE XVII. SONG.



WHat if a day, or a month, or a year, Crown thy delights with a
May not the change of a night or an hour, Cross thy delights with as



thouſand wiſht contentings. Fortune, honor, beauty, youth, Are but bloſſoms
many ſad tormentings. Wanton pleaſures, doting love, Are but ſhadows
dying



dying. All our joyes, are but toyes, Idle thoughts deceiving.
flying. None hath power of an hour, Of his lives bereaving.

(2)

Th' earth's but a point of the world, and a man
Is but a point of the Earth's compared centure:
Shal then the point of a point be ſo vain,
As to triumph in a ſilly points adventure.
All is hazard that we haue,
Here is nothing byding:

Days of pleaſure are as ſtreams
Through fair meadows glyding.
Well or wo, time doth go,
Time hath no returning.
Secret Fates guides our States,
Both in mirth and mourning.

(3)

What if a ſmile, or a beck, or a look,
Feed thy fond thoughts with many vain conceivings:
May not that ſmile, or that beck, or that look,
Tell thee as well they are all but falſe deceivings.
Why ſhould Beauty be ſo proud,
In things of no ſurmounting?
All her wealth is but a ſhrowd,
Nothing of accounting.
Then in this, there's no bliſs,
Which is vain and idle
Beauties flowrs haue their hours,
Time doth hold the bridle.

(4)

What if the World with a lure of its wealth,
Raiſe thy degree to great place of hie advancing.
May not the World by a check of that wealth,
Bring thee again to as low deſpiſed changing.
While the Sun of wealth doth ſhine,
Thou ſhalt haue friends plenty;
But come want, they then repine,
Not one abides of twenty.
Wealth and friends holds and ends,
As thy fortunes riſe and fall:
Up and down, ſmile and frown,
Certain is no ſtate at all.

(5)

What if a grip, or a ſtrain, or a fit,
Pinch thee with pain of the feeling pangs of ſickneſs:
May not that grip, or that ſtrain, or that fit,
Show thee the form of thine own true perfect likeneſs.
Health is but a glance of joy,
Subject to all changes;
Mirth is but a ſilly toy,
Which miſhap eſtranges.
Tell me than, ſilly man,

Why art thou ſo weak of wit,
As to be in jeopardie,
When thou mayſt in quiet ſit.

FINIS.

XI. The third stanza is different again from any in the other versions.

XI

E. FARR'S SELECT POETRY.

XV.

Anonymous Stanzas.

(1)

What if a day, a month, or a yeare,
Croune thy delights with a thousand wisht contentings,
May not the chance of a night, or an howre,
Crosse those delights with as many sad tormentings?
Fortune, honoure, beautie, youth,
Are but blossomes dying;
Wanton pleasure, doting loue,
Are but shadowes flying.
All our joyes
Are but toyes,
Idle thoughts deceaving:
None hath power
Halfe an howre,
Of his liue's bereaving.

(2)

The earth's but a pointe of the world, and a man
Is but a poynte of the earth's compared center:
Shall then a pointe of a pointe be so vayne,
As to delight in a sillie poynt's adventer?
All's in hazard that we haue,
There is nothing byding;
Dayes of pleasures are like streames
Through fayre medowes gliding.
Weale or woe,
Tyme doeth goe,
There is no returning:
Secreat fates
Guide oure states,
Both in myrth and mourning.

(3)

What shall a man desire in this world,
Since there is nought in this world that's worth desiring?
Let not a man cast his eyes to the earth,
But to the heavens with his thoughts high aspiring.
Thinke that, living, thou must dye,
Be assured thy dayes are tolde:
Though on earth thou seeme to be,
Assure thyselfe thou art but molde.
All our health
Brings no wealth,
But returnes from whence it came;
So shall we
All agree
As we be the very same.[1]

XII. I owe this copy to the courtesy of the librarian. Together with XIII it is different from all other versions in consisting of two parts, each counting five stanzas.

XII

A Friend's Advice:

In an excellent Ditty, concerning the variable changes in this World.
To a pleasant new Tune.

(1)

What if a day, or a month, or a yeere,
Crowne thy delights
with a thousand wisht contentings,
Cannot the chaunce of a night or an houre,
Crosse thy delights
with as many sad tormentings?
Fortunes in their fairest birth,
Are but blossomes dying,
Wanton pleasures, doting mirth,
Are but shadowes flying:
All our ioyes are but toyes,
Idle thoughts deceiuing;
None hath power of an houre,
In our liues bereauing.

---

[1] In "Brief Notices of the Writers in this Selection," the author says under XV Anonymous: "The extracts from this author are derived from Sir Egerton Brydges' *Restituta*, who printed them from a MS in the possession of the Rev. H. J. Todd. This MS was noticed by Mr. Todd in his edition of Milton's *Poetical Works*, Vol. VI. It was evidently written in the age of King James, as in the epigrammatic portion there is an allusion to the 'counsayle' of that monarch, which, it is pungently said, 'made wise men mad, and mad men wise.'"

(2)

What if a smile, or a becke, or a looke,
Feede thy fond thoughts,
with many a sweet conceiuing:
May not that smile, or that becke, or that looke,
Tell thee as well
they are but vaine, deciuing (*sic*)?
Why should beauty be so proud,
In things of no surmounting?
All her wealth is but a shroud,
Of a rich accounting:
Then in this repose no blisse,
Which is so vaine and idle:
Beauties flowers have their bowers,
Time doth hold the bridle.

(3)

What if the world with allures of her wealth,
Raise thy degree
to a place of high aduancing?
May not the World by a check of that wealth,
Put thee againe
to as low dispised chancing?
Whilst the Sunne of wealth doth shine,
Thou shalt haue friends plenty:
But come want, then they repine,
Not one abides of twenty:
Wealth and Friends holds and ends,
As your fortunes rise and fall,
Up and downe, rise and frowne,
Certaine is no state at all.

(4)

What if a griefe, or a straine, or a fit,
Pinch thee with paine,
or the feeling panges of sicknes:
Doth not that gripe, or that straine, or that fit,
Shew thee the forme
of thy owne true perfect likenesse?
Health is but a glimpse of ioy,
Subiect to all changes:
Mirth is but a silly toy,
Which mishap estranges.
Tell me then, silly Man,

Why art thou so weake of wit,
As to be in ieopardy,
When thou maist in quiet sit?

(5)

Then if all this haue declar'd thine amisse,
Take it from me
as a gentle friendly warning;
If thou refuse and good counsell abuse,
Thou maist hereafter -
deerely buy thy learning:
All is hazard that we haue,
There is nothing byding,
Dayes of pleasure are like streames,
Through faire Medowes gliding,
Wealth or woe, time doth goe,
There is no returning,
Secret Fates guide our states,
Both in mirth and mourning.

The Second Part: *To the same Tune.*

(1)

Man's but a blast, or a smoake, or a clowd,
That in a thought,
or a moment is dispersed:
Life's but a span, or a tale, or a word,
That in a trice,
or sodaine is rehearsed:
Hopes are chang'd, and thoughts are crost,
Will nor skill prevaileth,
Though we laugh and live at ease,
Change of thoughts assayleth,
Though a while Fortune smile,
And her comforts crowneth,
Yet at length failes her strength,
And in time she frowneth.

(2)

Thus are the ioyes of a yeere in an hower,
And of a month,
in a moment quite expired,
And in the night with the word of a noyse,
Crost by the day,
of an ease our hearts desired:

Fayrest blossoms soonest fade,
Withered, foule, and rotten,
And through griefe, our greatest ioyes
Quickly are forgotten:
Seeke not then (mortall men)
Earthly fleeting pleasure,
But with paine striue to gaine
Heauenly lasting treasure.

(3)

Earth to the world, as a Man to the earth,
Hath but a poynt,
  and a poynt is soone defaced:
Flesh to the Soule, as a Flower to the Sun,
That in a storme
  or a tempest is disgraced:
Fortune may the Body please,
Which is only carnall,
But it will the Soule disease,
That is still immortall,
Earthly ioyes are but toyes,
To the Soules election,
Worldly grace doth deface
Mans diuine perfection.

(4)

Fleshly delights to the earth that is flesh,
May be the cause
  of a thousand sweet contentings,
But the defaults of a fleshly desire
Brings to the Soule
  many thousand sad tormentings:
Be not proude presumtious Man,
Sith thou art a poynt so base,
Of the least and lowest Element,
Which hath least and lowest place:
Marke thy fate, and thy state,
Which is only earth and dust,
And as grasse, which alasse
Shortly surely perish must.

(5)

Let not the hopes of an earthly desire,
Bar thee the ioyes
  of an endless contentation,

Nor let not thy eye on the world be so fixt,
To hinder thy heart
    from unfeyned recantation:
Be not backward in that course,
That may bringe thy Soule delight,
Though another way may seeme
Far more pleasant to thy sight;
Doe not goe, if he sayes no
That knowes the secrets of thy minde,
Follow this, thou shalt not misse
An endlesse happinesse to finde.
Finis.
Printed for H. Gosson

XIII does not differ from XII except as regards the spelling. Stanzas 4 and 5 of part II are printed as one. I omit this version, as the differences are immaterial.

XIV is the same as VIII, save for some differences in spelling, which is modernized in the *Anthology.*

XV. At the end of his volume Mr. Bullen gives the two stanzas from Alison's *An Hour's Recreation*, in modernized spelling, as one of the "scattered verses." In the exhaustive note he gives three additional stanzas from the *Golden Garland* and the *Roxburghe Ballads.*

XVI. On p. 63, No. 127 gives the music (f sharp) and the words of the first stanza according to Alison's version; p. 63, No. 128 gives the music only (b d flat). The companion volume of 1838, containing the remarks, says under No. 127 that the music is from Starter's *Lusthof* (XXII of our list), and that the same words were differently set by Richard Alison. These observations are followed by the five stanzas of X (*Cantus*), with here and there a slight change.

XVII has the same stanzas, but Chappell has taken some liberties with his text. Thus "wisht" in l. 2 of the first verse has been changed into "sweet" from *An Hour's Recreation* (IV). The peculiar spelling "centure" in l. 2 of stanza ii, which is characteristic of Forbes's *Cantus* and has been retained in XVI, has been changed here into "centre." Chappell does not explicitly state the source of his version, but his words leave the impression that he took them from VIII or XIII; but this is not so, as will be evident on comparing the second stanzas.

XVIII. Mr. Ellis Wooldridge's plan in this revised edition of Chappell's work is to give two stanzas only, as a rule. Consequently he gives only the two verses from Giles Earle's songbook (VI), with some inaccuracies. Referring to Wigley's *Commonplace Book*, he quotes the third stanza of that version in a note, saying that he gives it because it has never been printed before, acknowledging at the same time that it is "perfectly irrelevant." He also refers to Sir John Hawkins' *Transcripts*. I am sorry to say I have not been able to verify this reference. Mentioning John Sanderson's *Diary*, he says that it "is remarkable from the fact that the first line there reads, 'What yf a daye or a night or an houre,' which is the title of the tune in the Cambridge Lute Books" (*vide infra* XXIV), and is also the beginning of a fifteenth-century song in Ryman's collection in the Cambridge University Library where the first two lines read:

What yf a daye, or nyghte, or howre,
Crowne my desires wythe every delyghte?

Now, Mr. Bullen on p. 271 of his Campion says in a note:

> There was a fifteenth-century song to which Campion was indebted; for J. O. Halliwell-Phillips pointed out (in 1840) that one of the songs in Ryman's well-known collection of the fifteenth century in the Cambridge Public Library commences
>
> What yf a daye, or night, or howre,
> Crowne my desyres wythe every delyghte;
>
> and that in Sanderson's Diary in the British Museum, MSS Lansdowne 241, fol. 49, temp. Elizabeth, are the two first stanzas of the song, more like the copy in Ryman, and differing in its minor arrangements from the latter version.

On applying to the librarian at Cambridge, I was informed that no trace of the poem had been found in Ryman's collection, though he had looked through it twice. On referring to Professor Zupitza's articles on "Jakob Ryman's Gedichte," in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*,[1] I find no trace of our song. Nor does this collection appear to be a very likely place for the poem to crop up in. Till further light has been thrown on this point we had better be on the safe side and doubt the statements concerning Ryman's collection.

---

[1] Nos. 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97.

XXVII. The passage in *Hudibras* runs:

> For though dame Fortune seem to smile,
> And leer upon him for a while,
> She 'll after show him, in the nick
> Of all his glories, a dog-trick.
> This any man may sing or say
> I' th' ditty called, "What if a day?"

This passage shows that more than a hundred years after the writing-down of the first version mentioned in this paper the song was still referred to as a well-known ditty.

XXIX. Valerius' song is the famous "Bergen-op-Zoom" air, which after the continental revival of old music has rapidly become a favorite, not only in Holland, but also in Germany. It commemorates the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom by the Spaniards in 1622. The tune over the song is "Comedianten Dans."

II

Now that we have become acquainted with the various forms in which the song has come down to us, we will try to settle the question: Is Campion the author? The reply must be negative. Thomas Campion was born in or about the year 1567;[1] that is, the year after the oldest known version of "What if a day" was written down (*Metrical Psalter*, 1566). The song is not in his "Books of Airs," but even in his lifetime it was ascribed to him. "Thomas Campion M.D." is printed at the end of the version in *An Hour's Recreation* (IV), and, as we have seen, Alexander Gil corroborates this ascription, which may perhaps be accounted for as follows: Either Campion, who was very musical, reset the older *music*, and thus paved the way for his name becoming coupled with the *words;* or, being widely known as the author of a great number of very sweet, melodious airs, it was taken for granted that he must be the author of this very popular song as well. By the time Alison edited his collection he was generally regarded as such, and, no contradiction ensuing, in that age so careless in this respect, Alexander Gil perpetuated the mistake. It would not be difficult to corroborate this surmise, which seems to me to be the more plausible of the two, by examples from English or continental literature.

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[1] *Vide* Mr. Bullen's introduction to his edition of *Campion's Poems.*

Though we can say, "Campion is not the author," no answer can be given as yet to the question: Who, then, was the author? It is not at all improbable that the song originally appeared anonymously as a broadside. If so, luck served us; for many of these broadsides were irretrievably lost, and we know of their existence only from first lines being quoted as tunes (e. g., "Was Bommelalire so pretty a play," "Y have waked the Winters nights"). Or it may have appeared in an old book of songs of which no copy has come down to us. I may here remind the reader of the fact that no copies of the first and second editions of the *Golden Garland* appear to have come down to us. As many things come to those who know how to wait, we need not despair, although the chance of discovering the author seems slight.[1]

III

We may divide the versions into four groups: (1) those consisting of two verses only; (2) those consisting of three verses; (3) those consisting of five verses; (4) those divided into two parts of five stanzas each. The first group comprises I, II, III, IV, VI; the second group comprises V, IX, XI; the third group comprises VIII, X; the fourth group comprises XII, XIII. The single stanza in VII is, of course, of the nature of a quotation.

We may safely say that the poem originally counted two stanzas only, the four oldest versions having only that number of verses.[2] What strikes us most in group 2 is the divergent character of the third stanza. In IX it has the character of an envoy to the writer's "mistress," and has in spirit no connection with the two preceding stanzas. In V the thing is different: here we have a verse kept in the spirit of the song, and there is something in the order of its thoughts that reminds us of the fourth verse of XII, while other touches may be found dispersed through the other stanzas of that version. Yet it is a verse standing by itself. This is also the case with the third stanza of XI: it has a decidedly religious ring, which is in accordance with the spirit of the two preceding stanzas, yet it is original. This is important, for it shows that one and two are the original stanzas on which the poets grafted their own additions, and it also shows that the second group is independent of groups 3 and 4, from which it differs not only in the number of stanzas, but also in the wording of the third verse; they are not merely versions of 3 and 4 with the last stanzas lopped off.

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[1] It is a striking fact that the earliest written and the earliest printed forms are both Scotch.

[2] The reader will have noticed that the four last lines of the second verse of VI are a repetition of the last four lines of the first verse. In this respect VI differs from the other versions.

VIII and X of the third group differ from each other in one material point: What is the second stanza in nearly all versions is the second also in X, but in VIII it has been shifted to the end, its first four lines have been altogether changed, and a subjective element has been introduced which is foreign to the other stanzas. This fact connects VIII with the next group, where we find the same state of things; only in XII and XIII we find in the third verse of the second part a reminiscence of the second stanza in the other versions in the two opening lines:

> Earth to the world, as a man to the earth,
> Hath but a poynt, and a poynt is soone defaced.

This leads us to a second division into three groups: A, versions with "Earth's but a point" for their second stanza (I, II, III, IV, V, VII, IX, X, XI); AI, version with the four last lines of "Earth's but a point" like the four last lines of the first stanza (VI); B, versions with "What if a smile" for their second stanza, and a fifth stanza ending like the second stanza of the remaining versions, but with the first four lines different (VIII, XII, XIII).

IV

If we consider stanzas 1 and 2 as the basis of our poem, and compare the different versions, we shall come to the following results: The first line is either, *What yf a day or a month or a year* (I, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XXII); or, *What yf a day, or a night, or an hower* (II, XXIV); or, *Quhat* *giff a day or a ny^{t} or a ȝeir* (V); with which corresponds the third line, *Cannot the chance of ane ny^{t} or an hoȝ* (I, II, III, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII), or, *Mey no^{t} the chonge off a month or ane houre* (V). Looking away from minor differences, all the versions except one agree in the form of this line, which would seem to point to "What yf a day, or a night, or an hower" as the oldest form of the first line. The later form, "What if a day, or a month or a year," would in that case be an improvement in its climax. "Though a day, or a month, nay even a year, may crown thy delights, all is transient," seems to me more forcible than, "Though a day, or a night, or an hour crown thy delights, all is transient," with its anti-climax. In the second line we have either *desire*(*s*) or *delight*(*s*). *Desires* seems the most rational word here in connection with *contentings* (*contentments*); in the fourth line all have *delights* except I, IV, V, which have *desires* (VI has *crosse thee againe*). The substitution of *contentments* for *contentings* in IX has induced the uncommon *tormentments.* In l. 2, *wisht* has in all the versions replaced the *sweet* of I and IV. Whereas V and X have *change*, all the other versions have *chance.* While in l. 5 the majority have *honour*, IX has *favour*, and VIII and XII have *Fortune*(*s*) *in their fairest birth.* In l. 6, VIII and XII have *doting mirth* instead of *doting love*—a decided falling-off. In l. 7. IX spoils the rime by putting in *delighting* for *deceiving.* The remaining variants are of slight importance. Between VIII and XII there appears to be a close connection, which is confirmed by the form of the second and fifth stanzas. From this we may conclude that the author of XII extended VIII by the addition of a second part.

The variants of the second stanza, except the differences that have already been pointed out, are of no importance.

From what has been said it follows that each succeeding copyist changed and added at his own sweet will. This may, as regards the changes, be accounted for by supposing that it was often written down from memory. The semi-religious, contemplative spirit made the song popular with people of a serious and pious cast of mind throughout the realm, while the sweetness of its melody, coupled with solemnity, made it a welcome contribution to the "books of songs." Both melody and contents shared the same fate in Holland: it appears in Starter's book of songs, in Camphuyzen's collection of hymns, and as a political, patriotic song in Valerius' *Gedenck-Clanck*. The latter's calling the tune "Comedianten Dans" may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that it first became known to the Hollanders at performances by English actors. Its being called a dance remains, however, a difficulty.

In conclusion, I wish to say that in my opinion it is desirable, both on chronological and on aesthetic grounds, to consider the form of two stanzas, such as it occurs in Alison's book, as the best. Whenever the song is reprinted for merely literary purposes in anthologies and collections, this form should be chosen.

A. E. H. SWAEN

GRONINGEN

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SCRIPTURAL STORY, MOTIVE, AND CONCEPTION IN ANGLO-SAXON POETRY[1]

I

In the selection of material from which to trace the transformation of scriptural story, motive, and conception in Anglo-Saxon poetry, considerable difficulty arises in determining the limits to be imposed. Exact isolation of scriptural material is impossible. "Scriptural story" might be limited to the paraphrases; though even here arises the difficulty of logical distinction in character between biblical and patristic literature. The canonical story of the fall of man cannot be separated from the non-canonical story of the fall of the rebel angels; nor the temptation and the ascension of Christ from his descent into hell. Distinction would be still more arbitrary in the case of motives and conceptions which are based on Scripture, but developed in poems not confined to scriptural sources. Thus the most fundamental of all scriptural conceptions—those of God, of Christ, of the duty of man—cannot be understood in Old English literature without consideration of the Christ-poems, which can be directly attached to Scripture only at occasional points; and, to a less extent, of the legends of the saints. Indeed, scriptural motives and conceptions are illustrated, in greater or less degree, by almost every Old English poem which touches on religious subjects.

A survey of the transformation of the ideas of Christianity in all its aspects, however, though more satisfactory in logical completeness, would tend, under the conditions of the present essay, to become somewhat vague and remote from necessary detail.

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[1] The text-references are to Grein-Wülker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* (Leipzig, G. H. Wigand, 1898). Heinzel, *Q. und F.*, X, refers to Heinzel's Essay "Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie," No. X, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*. Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, refers to Meyer's *Die altgermanische Poesie nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben* (Berlin, 1889). Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* is cited always in Stallybrass' translation. All other authorities are named in full.

Quotations have been given wherever apparently necessary. No attempt has been made to give exhaustive lists of references, but enough have been noted (by verse-number in Grein-Wülker) to substantiate the statements to which they are appended.

The proposed limitation of range, on the other hand, is practicable, though no phrasing of a title can exactly define it. Scriptural story, motive, and conception can be broadly recognized though not accurately separated; and the Old English poems may thus be grouped according to the influence of these elements. A brief survey of the material bearing on the subject may indicate the varying relation between Teutonic motives and ideas and those introduced by Christianity. It must be confessed that the vagueness of the data, through uncertain chronology, through the possibility that the poems preserved may not be truly representative, and through the indefiniteness of many of the influences to be considered, makes it impossible to draw authoritative conclusions. Still, the evidence to be gathered may furnish suggestions individually plausible and collectively coherent, which, when more certain results cannot be established, may be not entirely valueless.

1 The redactor of the *Beowulf* songs, the *scopas* of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* were Christian; but the character of the songs preserved by the one, of the subjects treated by the others, did not compel definite realization of the new conceptions and ideals. Consequently these were attached to poetry preserving the old traditions; probably with no feeling of incongruity, since both the new element and the old would be accepted individually; but leaving new and old distinct, associated but not amalgamated, untouched by that correlative realization—that application of the old motives and conceptions to the new—which was gradually produced by the specialization of the appeal of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon thought and feeling.

2 In another group of poems scriptural material was deliberately chosen; and in this case, where the whole basis of the poem, instead of merely an occasional insertion, was taken from Christian sources, realization of the story compelled the unconscious application of those motives and conceptions which were most familiar; and thus the paraphrases show scriptural material transformed by its interpretation. The extent of the transformation, of course, varies very much; but even in *Daniel*, where the paraphrase follows the Vulgate unusually closely, modifications are to be found; while in *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Judith*, congenial passages lead to free inven-

tion, thoroughly Teutonic in character. This group, where apparently the whole reverent aim of the poet is to transfer his original, as he realizes it, into Anglo-Saxon verse affords, with the Christ-poems mentioned below, the central field for treatment in this essay. One member of the group cannot be included without distinction —the interpolation in the *Genesis*, known as "Genesis B." The Old Saxon origin of this poem places its evidence on a different footing from that of the original Anglo-Saxon paraphrases. Nevertheless, of the motives, conceptions, and ideals which these transform those of Christianity are at least Teutonic, and supplement in a very interesting way the conclusions drawn with regard to the Anglo-Saxon transforming influences. In a synthetic treatment of these influences detailed notice of its special characteristics cannot be attempted;[1] and its evidence will therefore be adduced for corroboration, with only this general distinction. In no case, however, will a statement be founded on Genesis B. alone.

3 Greater freedom than was possible in paraphrase was offered by poems which borrowed a subject from Scripture or from patristic literature, but developed it by detail, sometimes collected from other scriptural and patristic sources, sometimes created by free application of native conceptions and motives. In this group are included the poems attaching to Christ, which stand apart from the saints-legends through their much closer connection with scriptural incidents and conceptions—Cynewulf's *Christ;* the *Dream of the Rood;* the Exeter Book *Descent into Hell;* the fragments in the so-called "Cædmonian" MS on Christ's *Descent into Hell*, *Resurrection and Ascension*, the *Last Judgment*,[2] the *Temptation of Christ*, and, connected with the other hell-poems though not immediately concerned with Christ, the *Complaint of the Fallen Angels.* Of these, the *Christ* seems to stand somewhat apart, although the fragmentary character of the other poems

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[1] These may be briefly indicated in the words of Professor Ten Brink—written, it may be noted, before the OS. origin of the poem was conclusively established: "Profoundness of psychological insight is a chief characteristic of this poet; and though he is too fond of the forms of variation, his copious, somewhat verbose style, while not sentimental, is much more sympathetic and tender than Cædmon's."—*Early English Literature* (Kennedy's translation), p. 85.

[2] The Exeter Book, *Last Judgment* (*Bibl. der as. Poesie*, Grein-Wülker, Vol. III, p. 171) and the poem called by Wülker *Vom jüngsten Tage* (Gr.-W., Vol. II, p. 250) are entirely Christian in conception, and hence fall outside present consideration.

makes distinction tentative. The *Christ* does not closely follow any single original; its sources are various, and are handled with freedom. The opportunities for the introduction of characteristic detail thus seem exceptional; and the other Christ-poems (*v. s.*) show that reverence for the subject did not preclude such treatment. Nevertheless, the *spirit* of the poem is definitely Christian. Further, the *Christ* bears traces of wide knowledge of the Scriptures, shown in phrasal reminiscences, and in references to the prophets and to incidents not concerned in the immediate narrative;[1] and also of a considerable acquaintance with the writings of the Latin Fathers. With this is combined a strong tendency to homily, both direct and through simile. It is true that moral reflections occur in most of the poems (e. g., *Exodus*, ll. 522–47; *Daniel*, ll. 444 ff.; *The Fallen Angels*, ll. 194–224, 283 ff.; Christ-fragments in "Cædmonian" MS, in sermon-songs at the end of each) and that they appear a natural Christian development of the sententious spirit which earlier inspired gnomic verses. In the *Christ*, however, not only are homiletic passages very numerous and unusually closely woven into the structure of the poem, but the language of some of them gives the impression of an attempt at popular appeal. Thus, ll. 758–78 describe the attacks on man of the devil:

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[1] In some cases the debt to Scripture is at second hand; as, for example, in the description of the Last Judgment in Passus III, modeled, as Professor Cook has shown, on the hymn *De die judicii*. It seems possible, however, that the loan was here supplemented by direct recollection of Scripture. In the passage parallel to the verse of the hymn "Erubescet lunae sol et obscurabitur" Cynewulf writes:

"Þonne weorþeð sunne sweart ʒewended
on blodes hiw, seo ðe beorhte scan
ofer aerworuld ælda bearnum;
mona þæt sylfe, þe ær moncynne-
nihtes lyhte, niþer ʒehreoseð."—*Christ*, ll. 935 ff.

It is suggestive that *erubescet* is paraphrased, not *readaþ*, but *weorþeð . . . . ʒewended on blodes hiw*—the phrase of the Vulgate, Joel 2:31: "Sol convertitur in tenebras, et luna *in sanguinem*." This does not account for the application of the phrase to the sun instead of to the moon; but the mistake would be more easily made if the poet were expanding the hymn by scriptural accounts, from memory, than as a mere misapprehension. Again, the lines

"Weorþeð ʒeond sidne ʒrund
hlud ʒehyred heofonbyman stefn
and on seofon healfa swoʒað windas
blawað brecende bearhtma mæste
weccað and woniað woruld mid storme."—*Christ*. ll. 948 ff.

have for foundation in the hymn only "clangor tubae per quaternas terrae plagas concinens." The Vulgate, Matt. 24:31, reads: "Et mittet angelos suos cum tuba, et voce magna; et congregabunt electos ejus *a quatuor ventis* . . . . " May not possibly the phrase of the Vulgate, conventional though it is, have given just the mere hint necessary for such a congenial addition? Of course, the evidence is extremely slight, and the suggestion is put forward with the utmost diffidence.

> Þonne wrohtbora
> in folc ȝodes forð onsendeð
> of his bræȝdboȝan biterne stræl.

The passage is quoted at length in another connection.[1] As there noted, it cannot be considered certain that the passage is to be interpreted literally. In any case, however, comparison with passages descriptive of a similar subject in ordinary warfare[2] shows that some motive other than spontaneous warrior-feeling is probable here; while the careful elaboration of the passage, borrowing the familiar phraseology without its spirit, confirms the suggestion of deliberate illustrative intention. A similar impression is given by the summary of the gifts of men (ll. 664 ff.);[3] the passage borrowed from Gregory's *Homily* is here amplified to include secular as well as spiritual gifts, but the references to warlike qualities lack vigor—those to eloquence and music are more sympathetic. So again in ll. 851–67, the simile between life and a sea-voyage is developed with unusual care and fulness; yet in comparison with sea-passages in *Andreas*, for example, or the *Riddles*, it cannot be said to express any strong feeling for the sea. On the other hand, the conclusion of rapturous praise is wonderfully powerful.

The apparent inference is that in the *Christ* the poet was subdued by his subject; that his conceptions and motives were thoroughly Christianized, so that their expression conveys the force of vital conviction; but that he still used the favorite Teutonic ideals as media of popular homily.[4] Such an hypothesis would explain the strange mingling in the *Christ* of elements very definitely non-Christian with elements surprisingly modern; and whether or not the theory supported by Dietrich and Grein, identifying the poet with Cynewulf, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in 783, be accepted, the choice of subject in the *Christ* makes probable strong religious preoccupation, and its treatment, as already said, proves considerable theological qualifications in its author.

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[1] See p. 42.

[2] E. g., *Judith*, ll. 220 ff.; or, to take a passage from Cynewulf himself, *Elene*, ll. 114–23.

[3] Mr. Gollancz, in his note on this passage, points out its dual connection with Gregory's *Homilia in ascensione domini* and the Exeter Book *Manna Cræftas*.

[4] Deliberate introduction seems the most plausible explanation; for the absence of spontaneous vigor makes against explanation by sheer involuntary persistence of the old ideals; and though the assumption of a conventional vocabulary (cf. p. 15), here supported by the absence of spontaneity, might be applied to isolated phrases, it does not satisfactorily explain the more elaborate passages.

Coming to the Christ-fragments in the "Cædmonian" MS, it is noteworthy that while Christian influence is very plainly marked, Teutonic conceptions also are applied, especially to Christ, with a boldness greater even than in the *Christ* itself. Here, further, the heroic element is more spirited than in the *Christ.* The absence of any strong evidence on even the approximate chronology of the poems, added to their fragmentary character, makes this very uncertain ground. If, however, as Ten Brink and Wülker think, the fragments are later than Cynewulf, the increased force of the Teutonic element might indicate a further and freer development of the tendency to deliberate application of Teutonic motives, suggested in the *Christ.*

In this respect, the saints-poems[1] closely resemble the Christ-fragments. In *Andreas*, *Guthlac*, and *Elene*, especially in *Andreas* and the later part of *Guthlac*, the conditions of the paraphrases seem reversed. There, the pagan element results from the unconscious persistence of older conceptions. Here, a subject from Christian legend seems to be deliberately treated in a popular, heroic manner, and the native element to be exaggerated with a conscious effort at popular appeal. The *Fates of the Apostles* shows a similar tendency in phraseology, but the poem does not give scope for its development in treatment of incident.

Finally, completing the gradation from pagan to Christian poetry, may be grouped the poems in which Christian conceptions and motives are supreme—the symbolic poems, the didactic poems, hymns, prayers, etc. These lie quite beyond our immediate subject.

Though this general arrangement of the poems according to character harmonizes with the chronological order most weightily supported, it does not depend on a chronological classification. Teutonic conceptions and motives were interacting with those of

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[1] *Juliana* stands apart through the nature of the story there reproduced.

Christianity; and the poems have been grouped according to the predominance of one or the other. The relation between the two forces is explained by the history of the Teutonic conquest of England, and of the conversion of the conquerors to Christianity. "Of all the German conquests," says Green, "this was the most thorough and complete." On the continent, the conquest

> proved little more than a forcible settlement . . . . among tributary subjects who were destined in a long course of ages to absorb their conquerors. . . . . But almost to the close of the sixth century the English conquest of Britain was a sheer dispossession of the conquered people; and, so far as the English sword in these earlier days reached, Britain became England, a land, that is, not of Britons, but of Englishmen.[1]

Green perhaps exaggerates the absolute character of the establishment of pure Teutonism;[2] but it is at least certain that the influence of the conquered was less important than in any other Teutonic settlement.[3] On the continent, the Teutonic conquerors were subdued by the culture of the Roman provincials, and in many cases adopted their religion. In England, the Roman civilization, never deep-rooted, did not remain a living force in the midst of the new rulers. They retained their native ideals and motives, and, in a very large degree, their form of society. When Augustine landed in 597 A. D., Christianity thus had to make its appeal to a spirit thoroughly Teutonic in its conceptions; and its introduction was accompanied by no rude assault upon that spirit. Despite the occasional union of political and religious motives in the struggle between rival kings, the conversion was essentially a conversion by persuasion, gradual, conciliatory, and assimilative. The old beliefs long remained side by side with the new, which became modified to minimize their divergence. In the words of Mr. Stopford Brooke

> The rites and beliefs of either religion took one another's clothing; the people reverted to heathen practices and then back again to Christian in times of trouble; the laws right up to the time of Cnut are still "forbidding heathendom, the worship of heathen gods, of Sun and Moon,

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[1] *The Making of England*, p. 135.

[2] Undoubtedly Celtic influence was felt in the marches, especially of the later settlements; but during the period before the introduction of Christianity—and this is the point at issue—it was of little importance.

[3] Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, chaps. 1 and 4.

rivers and wells, fire, stones and trees." . . . . The long intermingling . . . . of heathenism and Christianity did not exile the captured deities, or utterly destroy the old habits of worship, but took them into service, gave them new names, and clothed them in Christian garments.[1]

The survival of old pagan beliefs unchanged is very rare, though possible examples may be found in the scriptural poems. In descriptions of hell, for example, Teutonic recollections seem to mingle with the Christian terrors. Says Grimm:

> *Niflheimr* where Nîphöggr and other serpents have their haunt . . . . is the dread dwelling-place of the death-goddess Hel; . . . . it is gloomy and black, like her; hence a Nebelheim, cold land of shadows, abode of the departed, but not a place of torment or punishment as in the Christian view.[2]

Hell includes serpents and terrors of cold in *Christ*, ll. 1545 ff.:

> Ac þær se deopa seað dreorʒe fedeð,
> ʒrundleas ʒiemeð ʒaesta on þeostre,
> æleð hy mid þy ealdan liʒe and *mid þy eʒsan forste,*
> *wraþum wyrmum* and mid wita fela
> frecnum feorhʒomum folcum scendeð.

Serpents are again mentioned in this connection in *Christ*, ll. 1251, 1252 (the wicked suffer "wyrma slite | bitrum ceaflum); cold in *Christ*, l. 1630 ("*caldan* clommum"); while the phrase *windsele* gives a hint of a Teutonic conception in the midst of a very conventional description of hell in the *Fallen Angels*.[3] Such evidence is certainly very slight; and it becomes still less capable of supporting any assertion that pagan beliefs persist directly, when it is recalled that "worms" are included in hell in the gospel of Mark[4] in the thrice repeated phrase "Ubi vermis eorum non moritur"—to which must almost certainly be attributed the allusions to *wyrmas* in that thoroughly conventional poem "On the Last Judgment."[5]

Even such examples as these are few. The wider influences of paganism merge indistinguishably into those of temperament and ideals. Temperament and ideals, indeed, were of very great importance in determining the character of the older beliefs themselves, for Teutonic paganism tended strongly to symbolism and typification.

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[1] *Early Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, pp. 265 ff.

[2] *Teutonic Mythology*, Stallybrass' translation, Vol. II, p. 800.

[3] L. 320; cf. also ll. 135–37.

[4] 9:43, 45, 47.

[5] Grein-Wülker, Vol. II, no. 6, ll. 167, 168, 210, 211.

Teutonic characteristics in scriptural poems may result either from preservation of the old beliefs; from the application to the new religion of the ideals and motives which helped to shape the old; or from the influence of ideals and motives which, though very important for the earlier Teutonic *society*, as well as for the Anglo-Saxon, left little trace on the earlier *religion*, but were called into prominence by related motives and ideals in Christianity.

Vital importance thus attaches to the dominant relations, conceptions, and emotions of Anglo-Saxon society. These may be gathered, in essentials, from the account given by Tacitus, at the end of the first century, of the customs and the structure of society of the Teutonic tribes on the continent; for, according to Green,[1] "the settlement of the conquerors was nothing less than a transfer of English society in its fullest form to the shores of Britain;"[2] while the freshness and vigor with which the Teutonic spirit was preserved has already been noticed and explained.

In the *Germania*, the warlike propensities of the tribes are repeatedly emphasized:

> Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare.[3] . . . . Nec rubor inter comites adspici. . . . . Magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites.[4]

Valor and loyalty are the greatest virtues:

> Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse: illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est: principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe.[5]

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[1] *Making of England*, p. 154.

[2] Cf. Stubbs's more cautious statement: "It is unnecessary to suppose that a migrating family exactly reproduced its old condition; . . . . every element of society would expect advancement and expansion. But all allowance being made for this, the framework of the older custom must have been the framework of the new."—*Constit. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 66.

[3] Cap. xiv.

[4] Cap. xiii.

[5] Cap. xiv.

In the chief, liberality is also a necessary virtue.[1] Feasting, including hard drinking, is a pleasure second only to that of battle.[2] "Proditores et transfugae, ignavi et imbelles" are among the worst types of criminal.[3]

> Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.[4]

The relation between chief and follower is thus of the greatest importance. Very important also, and frequently associated with it, is the bond of the family.

> Quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus.[5] Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est.[6]

I have quoted at some length because these characteristics furnish the key to many Anglo-Saxon conceptions. In England, as on the continent, the warrior was the social unit; and the organization of the tribes, later to form a nation, developed from the relations of the family and of the warrior to his chief. As the office of king grew in importance under the circumstances of the conquest, a relation developed between king and ealdormen similar to that existing between ealdorman and followers, while still closer ties of personal allegiance bound the king's thanes to him.[7] Other modifications also took place; the distaste for tillage and the work of cultivation noticed by Tacitus diminished; and, more important, the activity by sea, which was characteristic especially of the old Saxons, was almost abandoned.[8] The sea gradually comes to be regarded with dread rather than with the daring and affectionate familiarity of the old rovers—a change noticeable on contrasting the *Seafarer* or the *Wanderer*, or the sea-passages in *Guthlac* and *Andreas*, with those in Beowulf.[9] This change, however, is interesting chiefly in relation to the Anglo-Saxon view of nature; for the same relation of follower and chief, the same ideals of bravery and loyalty, governed the warrior by sea and by land. And whatever other modifications might follow the settlement, the warrior conception of the individual and of society was not likely to lose its hold among a people constantly stirred up to battle.[1] The motives and conceptions of the earliest Anglo-Saxon poetry correspond very closely to those mentioned by Tacitus.[2] Beowulf himself leaves home to seek the rumored adventure, and Hrothgar welcomes him and rewards him liberally. Beowulf realizes the ideals sketched in the *Germania* of leader, thane, and king alike. Wiglaf expresses the spirit noted by Tacitus almost in parallel phrases:

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[1] Cap. xiv. [2] Caps. xv, xxii. [3] Cap. xii. [4] Cap. vi. [5] Cap. xx. [6] Cap. xxi.

[7] Cf. Green, *Making of England*, pp. 179, 180.

[8] Tacitus mentions this quality only in the case of the Suiones, and there without emphasis; but with the exceptions of the Frisii and the Cimbri, the other tribes described in the *Germania* dwelt inland. The sea-daring of the Saxons is, however, vividly recorded in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.*, viii, 6), quoted by Green, *Making of England*, p. 16.

[9] Cf. Mr. Stopford Brooke's *Early Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, chap. 10.

Me is micle leofre, þæt minne lic-haman
mid minne ȝold-ȝyfan ȝled fæðmiæ.
Ne ðynceð me ȝerysne, þæt we rondas beren
eft to earde, nemne we æror maeȝen
fane ȝefyllan, feorh ealȝian
Wedra ðiodnes.[3]

And again:

Deað biþ sella
eorla ȝehwylcum þonne edwit-lif.[4]

The same spirit breathes also in the song of Byrhtnoth's death at the Battle of Maldon in 991—at the close of the period of Anglo-Saxon poetry proper.

Þa wearð afeallen þaes folces ealdor,
Aeþelredes eorl; ealle ȝesawon
heorðȝeneatas, þæt hyra heorra læȝ.
Þa ðær wendon forð wlance þeȝenas,
unearȝe men efston ȝeorne:
hi woldon þa ealle oðer tweȝa
lif forlætan oððe leofne ȝewrecan.[5]

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[1] "The world of these men was in fact a world of warfare; tribe warred with tribe, and village with village; even within the village itself feuds parted household from household, and passions of hatred and envy were handed on from father to son. To live at all, indeed, in this early world, it was needful, if not to fight, at any rate to be ready to fight. . . . . The very form of the people was wholly military."—Green, *Making of England*, pp. 171, 172.

[2] The evidence of vocabulary shows that Old Teutonic poetry generally preserved the direction of thought and feeling indicated in the *Germania.* Meyer, adopting Liliencron's theory that frequency of variation depends on the importance to poetry of the idea expressed, names as the three ideas most frequently varied in Old Teutonic poetry, "king," "treasure," and "battle."—*Altgermanische Poesie*, cap. ii, § 1.

[3] *Beowulf*, ll. 2651 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, l. 2890.

[5] Grein-Wülker, Vol. I, no. 16, ll. 202 ff.

Ælfwine says:

> "Ne sceolon me on þære þeode þeʒenas ætwitan,
> þæt ic of ðisse fyrde feran wille,
> eard ʒesecan, nu min ealdor liʒeð
> forheawen æt hilde; me is þæt hearma mæsst!
> He wæs æʒðer min mæʒ and min hlaford."
> Þa he forð eode, fæhðe ʒemunde.[1]

Other speakers echo the words. They fight on, slaying until one by one they fall by the body of their lord. The words used of Offa may be applied to all.

> He hæfde ðeah ʒeforþod, þæt he his frean ʒehet
> swa he beotode æt wið his beahʒifan,
> þæt hi sceoldon beʒen on burh ridan,
> hale to hame oððe on here crincʒan,
> on wælstowe wundum sweltan;
> he læʒ ðeʒenlice ðeodne ʒehende.[2]

"He was both my kinsman and my lord," says Ælfwine of Byrhtnoth. The root of Anglo-Saxon society at the end of the tenth century, as of the Germanic society on the continent at the end of the first, lay in this relation of kinsman to kinsman and of warrior to chief. Its ideals and motives were those of the brave and loyal warrior. Glory was the greatest good; and it was to be earned by valor and loyalty—by faithful service during the lord's life, and vengeance on his foes if he were slain. Around such duties life centered. It was a worthy code; but it emphasized rather the rugged than the tender emotions. Even the love of the chief had to be earned by the stern qualities of the warrior; while of all emotional satisfactions, triumph is one of the most powerfully expressed. On the side of painful emotions, the earlier Teutonic characteristics are somewhat modified in the Anglo-Saxon poetry.[3] Early Teutonic poetry generally exhibits little sense of the pathetic, and the general tendency of the poetry here preserves an original racial characteristic. The Teutonic temperament was serious, even somber; but it felt rather the tragedy than the pathos of life—its pity was mingled with awe. Even when death snaps the ties they cherish most, there is no sentimentalism. "Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse."[1] In the Anglo-Saxon poetry, on the other hand, this tendency is softened—according to Heinzel's very plausible suggestion,[2] by the influence of Christianity. The elegiac motive is especially fruitful. Still, in the sense of the mutability of life, the uncertainty of power and happiness, the certainty only that even the most fundamental relations must be broken; in the *Heimweh* of the exile, and in grief for dead kinsman or lord; in all the occasions, in short, of Anglo-Saxon elegiac expression, the element of pure pathos is less important than that of tragedy. And Beowulf expresses the old Teutonic feeling even more strongly than it appears in the records of Tacitus (*v. s.*)—

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[1] Ll. 220 ff.

[2] Ll. 289 ff.

[3] Cf. Heinzel, *Q. und F.*, X, p. 25 ("Das angelsächsische und das deutsche Epos").

selre biþ æᵹhwæm
þæt he his freond wrece, þonne he fela murne.

Similarly in Anglo-Saxon original poetry fear of human enemies can find no place; but the sense of the terrible is repeatedly noticeable in superstitious feeling for the vague, unknown powers of the darkness and the storm.

Such, briefly, were the native ideals and motives of the Anglo-Saxon, to which the conceptions of Christianity were introduced. These conceptions, however, as expressed in the Scriptures, were extremely various. The Anglo-Saxon, though regarding all with equal veneration, must instinctively have been drawn most strongly to those portions which expressed the conceptions and the life of a society not entirely dissimilar to his own. In the Old Testament he was brought into contact with the writings, diverse, indeed, through differences in date and in the conditions of their production, of wandering shepherd tribes, evolving through conquest and captivity, in constant conflict with other tribes and among themselves, under changing social organizations, and with unusually important interaction of religion and leadership, into national life. The New Testament, on the other hand, presented a society and a spirit entirely alien to the Anglo-Saxon. In the gospels, which would naturally claim first attention, the society is that of a subject race, among whom battle was little more than a hope or a tradition; and throughout the New Testament the spirit expressed is that of a peaceful religion, professed by a suffering minority—a spirit not calculated to attract the warlike conquerors of the Britons. It was the heroism of action—of armed action—which appealed most powerfully to them, not the heroism of meek, unresisting endurance. Again, the religious teaching of the New Testament, with its emphasis on the spiritual aspect of God, could not appeal to the Anglo-Saxon mind as did the more primitive beliefs of the Old Testament, where traces of nature-worship and fetishism lingered, and where, even in the later-developed monotheistic religion, Yahweh was conceived as a tribal god, a god of battle, in whom awful attributes predominated. The religious conceptions of the gospels then had little influence in so far as they related to the present life; and even the contribution of the New Testament to the system of the universe is entirely transformed in spirit. The Anglo-Saxon, susceptible to a doctrine of love only in so far as it harmonized with the familiar feeling for kinsman and chief, conceived the redeemer of damned mankind with the full vigor of motives and ideals thoroughly Teutonic.

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[1] Tacitus, *Germ.*, cap. xxvii.

[2] *Q. und F.*, X, Section "Angelsachsen und Skandinavier;" especially p. 38.

Scriptural story, motive, and conception were modified, therefore, at the points where the temperament, the ideals, and the structure of society which they expressed or embodied, failed to harmonize with those of the Anglo-Saxon. The transforming influences were related, and operated both in preserving old conceptions and in shaping new. In the latter case it must be noticed that very frequently the difference between the early Teutonic and Christian conceptions lay, not in the elements present in the conception, but in their proportion; and the transformation consisted in change of proportion, bringing into dominance elements previously subordinated. Warrior-motives, for example, occurring only incidentally in the Vulgate, are habitually developed by the Anglo-Saxon poets, and a material change of effect is thus produced.[1]

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[1] Cf. pp. 16, 17, 29 ff.

In this connection, the influence of a traditional vocabulary may be considered.[1] Says Kemble:

> To this is owing the retention, even in Christian works, of modes of expression which must have had their origin in heathen feeling and which in order to fit them for their new application, are gradually softened down, and gain less personal and more abstract significations . . . . Even translations become originals from the all-pervading Teutonic spirit, which was unconsciously preserved in the forms and phrases of heathen poetry.

The first sentence quoted seems to exaggerate the loss of significance of the traditional phrases. Some, especially those fixed by alliteration, doubtless tended to become conventional; but more frequently it seems probable that the use of "the forms and phrases of heathen poetry" implies not only the *preservation* of "the all-pervading Teutonic spirit," but its living and active application. The continued life of this spirit has already been explained; and the Maldon and Brunanburh poems show it in undiminished vigor at the very close of the period of Anglo-Saxon poetic production. Here it cannot be explained simply by the assumption of a traditional vocabulary, for it appears, not in single phrases, but as the essential motive and inspiration of the poems. Similarly in the specifically Christian poems, the Teutonic spirit is preserved, not only in phrases which can be isolated, but in conceptions, emotions, and ideals. While old conceptions lived, as well as the old phrases, the association between the two could scarcely be forgotten. Christianity could be realized only through known conceptions; and the familiar motives and emotions thus retain potency in their new connection. The supposition that heroic phrases used of saints and martyrs were merely conventional seems to arise only from a modern sense of incongruity. There appears no sufficient reason to doubt that they were used with a sense of their real force, thus indicating the Anglo-Saxon tendency to conceive as heroic the persons and events of Christian story.

The existence of a poetic vocabulary, marked by peculiarities not shared by the vocabulary of prose, is, however, beyond doubt;

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[1] Cf. Professor Toller's *History of the English Language*, chap. vii, from which the quotation is borrowed.

and its character, as well as that of the metrical form employed, (cf. pp. 24, 25) emphasized the effect of the older motives and ideals in harmony with which it was itself evolved.

It is impossible to isolate any single transforming influence. Temperament is the most fundamental, determining in great measure the ideals and motives, and the organization of society, which more frequently form the immediate sources of transformation. Its influence through direct emotional differentiation—through the comparative power and familiarity of various moods—may be considered first in cases where these related causes do not operate.

The joy of victory has been placed among the satisfactions most natural to the Anglo-Saxon mind. Naturally the literature of the wandering, fighting Hebrew tribes does not lack expressions of this feeling, which especially inspires the *Judith.* Even in this case, however, where the story is told in the original with outbursts of savage triumph unsurpassed in Hebrew Scriptures, the Anglo-Saxon poet does not for a moment lag behind. Though the story possesses for him no immediate national inspiration, its spirit is so congenial to him that it bursts out in his verse with undiminished power.

This instinct exercises a definite transforming influence by seizing on opportunities for the expression of triumph not taken in the Vulgate. Thus in the account of Abram's victory over the four kings, in the Vulgate the simple fact is recorded:

> Et divisiis sociis, irruit super eos nocte; percussitque eos, et persecutus est eos usque Hoba, quae est ad laevam Damasci. Reduxitque omnem substantiam, et Lot fratrem suum cum substantia illius, mulieres quoque et populum.[1]

In the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase, these two verses are elaborated to fifty-one lines (*Gen.*, ll. 2045–95). A very brief quotation will show how thoroughly the Anglo-Saxon poet appropriates his materials:

Genesis
ll 20

Þa ic neðan ʒefræʒn under nihtscuwan
hæleð to hilde: hlyn wearð on wicum
scylda and sceafta, sceotendra fyll,
ʒuðflana ʒeʒrind; ʒripon unfæʒre

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[1] Gen. 14: 15, 16.

> under sceat werum scearpe ᵹaras
> and feonda feorh feollon ϱicce,
> þær hlihende huðe feredon
> serᵹas and ᵹesiððas . . . .[1]
> . . . . wide ᵹesawon
> freora feorhbanan fuᵹlas slitan
> on ecᵹwale.[2]

Similarly in Exodus, the Vulgate describes the actual overwhelming of the Egyptians in the Red Sea very briefly;[3] the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase extends the account to sixty-eight lines, with an infinite addition of personal exultation.

The same spirit is felt repeatedly in Cynewulf's *Christ* and in the Junian Christ-fragments. The descriptions of Christ's victories over the archfiend, the redemption of the captives of hell, the return of Christ to heaven, were recognized occasions for jubilation in the conventional Latin Christianity; but it is noteworthy that while the more tranquil and benign motives of the orthodox religion were neglected, this was fully developed in the Anglo-Saxon poems. The early Christian experienced only the exultation of spiritual triumph; the Hebrew tribes throughout their history were never so thoroughly dominated by the spirit of the warrior and the conqueror as were the Anglo-Saxons; and hence the accepted literature of Christianity was transformed in Anglo-Saxon poetry with vivid familiar touches of joy in victory, native in the blood and known from actual warfare.

The Teutonic mind, as said above, was not susceptible to purely pathetic appeal. Very few cases occur in the scriptural poems in which a pathetic touch is added to the original. The only examples I have noted are in *Genesis*, in the king of Sodom's speech,[4] in the remark on Abraham's friendlessness,[5] and in the description of the wanderings of Sarah and Abraham.[6] On the other hand, pathetic potentialities are often left unemployed, as in the story of Abraham's intended sacrifice of

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[1] *Genesis*, ll. 2060 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 2087 f.

[3] The narrative gives only two verses (Ex. 14:27, 28) to the incident itself; and in the song of Moses (chap. 15) praise predominates over description and triumph. The gap in the AS. MS (*v.* Wülker's note *ad loc.*) also calls for allowance. In this case the expansion is due to feeling for storm, as well as for triumph (cf. p. 19).

[4] Ll. 2124-35.

[5] Ll. 2625, 2626.

[6] Ll. 2695-2706.

Isaac, and throughout the Christ story. In the scriptural as in the secular poetry the sense of tragedy overshadows that of pure pathos. The sorrow of exile, in which both are mingled, is repeatedly applied in the scriptural poems to the banishment of the rebel angels and the unrighteous from heaven; and the sense of the mutability of life is redirected but not removed by Christianity.[1] In Cynewulf's *Christ* and in the *Dream of the Rood* the pathos of the crucifixion is overshadowed by terror. The weeping women, the prayer of Christ for his persecutors, are passed by; and the poet's entire attention is absorbed by the awful convulsions of nature recorded in the gospels and emphasized by Gregory.[2] In the *Christ*, the details of the Scriptures and of Gregory's homily are followed; but the fifty-nine words of Gregory and the three verses of Matthew[3] which form the basis are expanded to fifty-nine lines;[4] the seas, the stars, the trees are added to the *insensibilia elementa* which testify to their Lord; more important still, their testimony takes on the character of a personal though inarticulate anguish and terror:

. . . . ȝeseȝun þa dumban ȝesceaft
eorþan ealȝrene and uprodor
forhte ȝefelan frean þrowinȝa
and mid cearum cwiðdun, þeah he cwice næron.[5]

and seo eorðe eac eȝsan myrde
beofode on bearhtme.[6]

The sense of imminent horror is even more powerfully expressed in the *Dream of the Rood*. It pervades the whole description of the crucifixion in that poem, and quotation can give no adequate idea of its force.

This sensitiveness to the terrible—this feeling for superhuman forces in nature, which are often almost personified, is thoroughly Teutonic. On the one hand it connects with the liking for nature description; on the other, with the sense of human impotence under the unknown, irresistible Wyrd.

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[1] Cf. pp. 44 ff.

[2] "Homilia in die Epiphaniae" (*In Evangelia*, Lib. I, Homil. X), "Omnia quippe elementa, etc., [down to] . . . . reddidit."

[3] 27:51–53.

[4] *Christ*, ll. 1128–87.

[5] *Ibid.*, ll. 1128 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll. 1144 f.

The Anglo-Saxon poetry is marked by distinct fondness for description of nature.[1] In the paraphrases, such passages are regularly expanded—e. g., in the *Genesis* account of creation,[2] the account of the flood;[3] the passage of the Red Sea in the *Exodus*;[4] and the *Azarias*, where the whole poem expands and describes the natural phenomena which in the Vulgate are simply exhorted to praise. (A similar tendency is seen in the elaborate metaphorical passage, *Gen.*, ll. 987–95.)

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Naturally, the sea possessed a special attraction for men who still remembered their tradition as "ocean-dwellers,"[5] though the exact nature of their feeling had changed. The wild and terrible aspects of the sea, and of nature generally, forced themselves on the Anglo-Saxon imagination; awakening, however, not the earlier joy of strenuous conflict nor the modern romantic wonder, but the terror of painful experience. Dread of storm influences the descriptions of the Day of Judgment in the *Christ*, where the storm-elements are emphasized.[6] The description, already referred to, of the Red Sea at the overwhelming of the Egyptians[7] shows a similar sense of the terrors of sea and sky in the gloom and violence of storm. *Cold* especially is noticed. The sea there is *sin-ceald*[8] and Adam in his new consciousness of nakedness expresses his fear of cold more strongly than his fear of heat.[9] The sea-passages in *Andreas* echo those of the *Seafarer* in emphasizing the sad fate of the sailor,[10] the bitter weather, hail and snow,[11] the terrors of the storm.[12] The waves are brown,[13] fallow,[14] as in the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*. This characteristic is emphasized repeatedly in the descriptions of the Flood,[15] and on the other hand it is a characteristic of Eden that the water there is bright.[16]

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[1] Other Teutonic poetries share, though in less degree, the feeling for storm so productive in the Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon view of sea and storm had, however, become somewhat enervated (see p. 10). Feeling for the *milder* aspects of nature is not a general Teutonic characteristic. It has been plausibly ascribed to Celtic influence; and also to the general softening of emotions (*Q. und F.*, X, pp. 32 ff.) produced by Christianity (*ibid.*, p. 38). ✓

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 97 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1300 ff. [4] Ll. 282 ff. [5] *Christ*, ll. 73, 221.

[6] *Christ*, ll. 933-41, 950-53, 991, 992, in comparison with sources; see p. 4, note.

[7] *Ex.*, ll. 446 ff. [8] *Ex.*, l. 472; cf. *Wanderer*, "*hrimceald*," l. 4. [9] *Gen.*, ll. 805-9. ✓

[10] *Andr.*, ll., 511 ff. [11] *Ibid.*, ll. 1255 ff. [12] *Ibid.*, ll. 369 ff.

[13] *Ibid.*, l. 519. [14] *Ibid.*, l. 421.

[15] *Gen.*, ll. 1300, 1301, 1326, 1355, 1375, 1414, 1430, 1462. [16] *Ibid.*, 210-12, 220. ✓

In this connection, gloom is simply one attribute of storm, brightness of the fair weather. A similar feeling is shown for the contrast between day and night. The gloom of the earth before the creation of light strikes the Anglo-Saxon imagination, and the whole passage is expanded.[1] Again, a striking passage referring to the creation of light is inserted in the *Christ.*[2] Nightfall and dawn are favorite times in descriptions;[3] and frequently where the original simply *names* the time, the Anglo-Saxon poem *describes* it (e. g., for nightfall, *Genesis*, ll. 2448–51, cf. *Guthlac*, ll. 1252 ff.; for dawn, *Genesis*, ll. 2874–76—a pure insertion—*Exodus*, ll. 45, 46; cf. *Andreas*, ll. 835 ff.).

The contrast occurs frequently in Anglo-Saxon poetry in much wider application. Association of darkness, evil, and ugliness on the one hand, and of light, goodness, and beauty on the other, is of course very widespread. It is repeatedly suggested in Christian Scriptures, and Teutonic paganism here found familiar ground. The Anglo-Saxon poems dwelt especially on this association—a tendency well illustrated by the descriptions of heaven and hell, which give much more concrete detail than those in the Vulgate. Gloom, a characteristic alike of Christian hell and pagan *Niflheimr*, is one of the horrors of hell most insistently emphasized.[4] The very flames are *sweart*,[5] as in another scene of terror to the wicked—the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra.[6]

Similarly the brightness of heaven is appreciated; here, however, the suggestions of the originals are so insistent that the point avails little. Epithets of praise are frequently borrowed from light; though one very interesting metaphorical passage, in which Christ is called "se soðfæsta sunnan leoma,"[7] may rather be suggested by the scriptural "Light of the World." The same term, *wuldortorht*, describes a beam of the sun[8] and the spirit of

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[1] *Gen.*, ll. 103–11, 116–19.

[2] Ll. 230–35.

[3] This is a characteristic common to all early Teutonic poetry. "Wie die menschliche Gesellschaft treffen wir sogar die Zeit auf der Höhe; nie ist es Vormittag oder Nachmittag, sondern stets gerade Abend oder Morgen."—Meyer, *Altgermanische Poesie*, p. 108.

[4] E. g., *Genesis*, ll. 42, 312, 333, 391, 392; *Christ*, ll. 1543, 1632; *Fallen Angels* (Gr.-W., Vol. II, no. 18), ll. 28, 38, 104–6, 111, 178.

[5] *Christ*, l. 1533.

[6] *Gen.*, ll. 1926, 2505, 2541, 2556, 2557.

[7] *Christ*, ll. 104–18, especially ll. 106, 107; repeated in ll. 696, 697.

[8] *Gen.*, l. 2874.

God,[1] and the double application suggests the connection of goodness and brightness. A sunbeam from the southeast heralds the second advent of Christ;[2] and when Christ descends into hell,

> ʒeseah he [*Johannis*] helle duru hædre scinan,
> þa þe lonʒe ær bilocen wæron
> beþeahte mid þystre.[3]

On the question of the Anglo-Saxon sense of physical beauty, general Teutonic tendencies afford no entirely satisfactory evidence. Tacitus mentions beauty, with youth and wealth, when he wishes to name qualities highly desired in a woman, in order that the force of his negation may emphasize the importance attached to chastity.[4] With such an aim, however, a Roman idea might easily intrude; and though Tacitus speaks of the fine physique of both men and women,[5] he never refers definitely to regard for beauty. In Anglo-Saxon, as in early Teutonic poetry generally,[6] the physical beauty or ugliness of a hero is rarely mentioned. The generalization does not, however, apply to women or to superhuman figures. In these cases the Anglo-Saxon scriptural poems regularly emphasize a hint of physical beauty given in the original. Sarai is described in the Vulgate[7] as *pulchra;* her beauty is mentioned in the paraphrase, not only in the corresponding passage, but in ll. 1722 and 2730. Eve's beauty is repeatedly mentioned.[8] In the *Judith*, it is true, the Anglo-Saxon poet cannot equal the glowing eastern praises in the original; but the failure is in lyrical expression, not in appreciation of the beauty which lured Holofernes to death. Beauty is associated with the freedom which belongs to a certain dignity of rank; *freolic*, applied, parallel with other terms of respect, to Enoch,[9] Shem's sons,[10] and to heroes and warriors generally, is also used to describe Eve, Sarai, and Cain's wife.[11] The Vulgate does not state that Hagar is beautiful; but this is inferred by the Anglo-

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[1] *Gen.*, l. 119.

[2] *Christ*, ll. 900–4.

[3] Exeter Bk., *Descent into Hell*, ll. 53 ff.

[4] "Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non *forma*, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit."—*Germania*, cap. xix.

[5] *Germania*, cap. xx.

[6] Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie*, p. 108.

[7] Gen. 12: 11–14.

[8] *Gen.*, ll. 184, 188, 527, 548, 626, 627, 821, 822, 884, 896, 998.

[9] *Ibid.*, l. 1169.

[10] *Ibid.*, ll. 1709, 1710.

[11] *Gen.*, l. 1053.

Saxon as a circumstance natural to the story, and slave though she is, she is called *freolecu*.[1] Again, consciousness of beauty unites with the desire for perfect freedom in inspiring Satan's rebellion.[2] On the whole, it seems probable that the sense of beauty, like the more tender emotions, developed under the influence of Christianity and reacted on the scriptural material treated. The suggestion is, however, offered with the utmost caution, for here the possibility of conventional phraseology is not balanced by definite knowledge of recognized Teutonic tendencies. The conventional tendency would be stimulated by such alliterative phrases as *freolecu faemne*, *wifa wlitegost;* but the variation in the terms used (e. g., in the passages on Eve and Sarai referred to above) shows that this is only a subsidiary cause, and that (by Liliencron's theory, see p. 11, note 2) the idea of beauty is not unimportant. In any case, the development of a conventional phrase implies a nucleus of ideal. "Fair" becomes a stock epithet in mediæval romance; but it is because beauty was the first qualification of a heroine.

Physical beauty, like light, is associated with goodness in very many religions and mythologies; and here again the Anglo-Saxon poetry emphasizes the element common to Latin Christianity and Teutonic paganism.[3] Thus the change, after the fall, in Satan, so gloriously beautiful and bright in heaven, is seized upon; and the change of the angels to devils.[4] At the Judgment Day *womma leas* and *wlitig* are used by Christ as associated terms;[5] so the blessed *shine* gloriously,[6] while each of the damned, *swart* with sin,[7]

> won and wliteleas, hafað werȝes bleo,
> facentacen feores.[8]

Again, Andreas is *sigeltorht;* while the devil who causes the attack on him

> wann and wliteleas hæfde weriȝes hiw.[9]

A dark appearance characterizes the devils also in *Christ*, ll. 269, 1523, 1561.

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[1] *Gen.*, l. 2226.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 265 ff.

[3] Cf. Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, p. 993.

[4] *Gen.*, ll. 305–9.

[5] *Ibid.*, l. 1465.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll. 1238–42, 1292.

[7] *Christ*, ll. 1561, 1607.

[8] *Ibid.*, l. 1565.

[9] *Andreas*, l. 1169.

The appearances of the trees of life and of the knowledge of good and evil are similarly contrasted:

> Oðer wæs swa wynlic, wlitiȝ and scene,
> liðe and lofsum: þæt wæs lifes beam;[1]
> þonne wæs se oðer eallenȝa sweart,
> dim and þystre: þæt wæs deaðes beam.[2]

It is difficult to mark the point of transition to metaphor in many slightly varying phrases which speak of the "stain" or "rust" of sin on the *soul;* of its "beauty" through good deeds; and of good deeds themselves "shining."

It is to be noticed that modifications and additions occur especially in points of detail. Even where the outline is transferred unchanged, the details added by the poet are naturally Teutonic in character. Customs unknown to him are ignored. In the Vulgate, when circumcision is mentioned, the phrase specifies the nature of the operation—*carnem praeputii circumcidere,* or sometimes simply *circumcidere.*[3] The Anglo-Saxon paraphrase uses vague general phrases—*sigores tacn,*[4] *friðotacen,*[5] *torht tacn,*[6] *beacen.*[7] Similarly the change of names of Abram and Sarai, possessing no significance for the Anglo-Saxon, is ignored, Abraham and Sarah being used throughout. On the other hand, slight modifications constantly occur, not only in the representation of persons and conceptions, but in incidental detail, giving characteristic tone even when the paraphrase follows the main outline closely. Thus the importance of relationship is felt in the accuracy of the paraphrase, where instead of the loose *fratres* of the Vulgate Abraham reminds Lot—

> Ic eom fædera þin
> sibȝebyrdum, þu min suhterȝa.[8]

The strife of the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot is nationalized. The significance of "foes all round"—mentioned only casually in the Vulgate—is appreciated and expanded. Lot's possessions become Teutonic in character—

> beaȝas from Bethlem and botlȝestreon
> welan, wunden ȝold.

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[1] *Gen.*, ll. 467 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 477 f.

[3] Gen. 17:10, 11, 12, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; 21:4.

[4] *Gen.*, ll. 2311, 2320.

[5] *Ibid.*, l. 2369.

[6] *Ibid.*, l. 2375.

[7] *Ibid.*, l. 2768.

[8] *Ibid.*, l. 1900

—as do those of Abraham.[1] Similar coloring is given to the gifts of Abimelech to Abraham,[2] the description of Sodom;[3] and generally wherever personal property is mentioned.[4] Again, Abraham offers sacrifice "*nalles hneawlice*"[5] and his great feast assumes Teutonic characteristics. So does Belshazzar's:[6] Belshazzar, "*medugal,*" sends for the treasure of the Israelites; the history of the conquest by which it was gained is briefly given; then—"*swiðe gulpon.*" In *Genesis* also, Abimelech is *wine druncen*[7]—a statement unauthorized by the Vulgate—and his speeches are modified in tone.[8] In the same way the sentence of Cain,[9] though very little altered, conveys more of the force of exile—the grief so characteristically Teutonic, which again in *Christ* influences the curse pronounced by God on disobedient man, adding to the labor and sorrow inflicted by the scriptural curse,

[þu scealt] wræce dreoȝan
feondum to hroþor fusleoð ȝalan.[10]

None of these modifications or additions is important when isolated; but the total effect is a very considerable modification in the tone of the poetry. Hence, since it is in detail that the change is made, the causes which lead to its accumulation in the Anglo-Saxon poetry rank among the influences transforming scriptural story, motive, and conception. The alliterative verse and the enormous wealth of synonyms of Anglo-Saxon stand as immediate causes; but these must themselves be explained by the emotional and mental characteristics in harmony with which they evolved. Heinzel has pointed out[11] that the Anglo-Saxon style tends somewhat to heighten emotional expression—to carry it to extremes; and that it is excellent to convey the changing emotions of the hero and the poet. Those emotions which are well expressed by insistent reiteration are especially developed, as in the triumphant conclusion of the *Exodus*, already noted. Here style and emotional tendencies harmonize. Again, with the abundance of synonyms possessed by Anglo-Saxon, the exigencies of metre do not *compel* accumulation of detail; if, however, such accumulation is congenial to the poet, vocabulary and metre alike offer the ready means. Here the style harmonizes with the power to realize events—to imagine the minutiæ which give vividness to a scene.

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[1] *Gen.*, ll. 1875–79.
[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 2716–19.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 2402–04.
[4] Cf. *Daniel*, ll. 9, 58–61, 672, 673, 691; *Andreas*, ll. 1655–57.
[5] *Gen.*, l. 1809—a pure addition.
[6] *Daniel*, ll. 696 ff.
[7] *Gen.*, l. 2634.
[8] *Ibid.*, ll. 2679–89, 2827–30.
[9] *Ibid.*, ll. 1020 ff., especially 1020, 1021, 1051–53.
[10] *Christ*, l. 622.
[11] *Q. und F.*, X, p. 32.

The Anglo-Saxon poets seem, indeed, to possess true dramatic imagination. Thus, when Cain slays Abel, the poet, with the scene before his eyes, sees the earth soak up the blood as it gushes forth.[1] The episode of Noah's drunkenness is made more dramatic than in the Vulgate by the addition of Ham's laughter, which excites Noah's anger. The same thorough realization is shown in the expansion of Hagar's speech;[2] and in the telling insertion that Sarah's laughter was *joyless*.[3] The intended sacrifice of Isaac is vividly described—the fire is actually kindled.[4] Detail is similarly added in the *Christ*, in the description of the rending of the veil of the Temple;[5] its beauty is emphasized, and its appearance when rent "swylce hit seaxes ecȝ | scearp þurhwode."[6] Even in entirely superhuman matters the same tendency to insert detail may possibly be seen in the *Temptation of Christ*, ll. 56–60—from hell's door to hell's bottom is a hundred thousand miles; in the Exeter Book *Descent into Hell*, ll. 100, 101—the time at which the descent occurs is definitely named; and in the *Fallen Angels*, ll. 338–40—though here the "twelve miles" distance at which the gnashing of teeth in hell can be heard may simply represent any considerable distance.

The dramatic imagination which adds these vivid details produces an attempt to realize the persons as well as the scenes described. This tendency is clearest in the national shaping given to the emotions and motives of scriptural personages.[7] It may be connected, in another direction, with the attempt to give logical coherence and plausibility to scriptural story—an attempt which shows the capacity to feel the significance of detail, and also a disposition to give the imagination as much support as possible from reason.

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[1] *Gen.*, ll. 978–86; repeated ll. 1097, 1098. In ll. 1015, 1016, the paraphrase merely follows the Vulgate.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 2272 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 2380, 2381.

[4] *Ibid.*, l. 2922. Cf. the account in *Exodus*, ll. 397, 415. The preparations might perhaps recall the funeral pyres, e. g., in *Beowulf*, ll. 1119–22, 3144–48.

[5] *Christ*, ll. 1134–42.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll. 1141, 1142.

[7] See pp. 29 ff.

In *Daniel*, for example, the cause of the fall of Jerusalem is added;[1] the king's threat to the Chaldeans[2] is made more reasonable by emphasis on their pretences to wisdom; and it is specially explained that the bonds of the "children" are burned off—a necessary condition, unnoticed in the Vulgate, to their walking out of the "oven." Another aspect of this feeling is seen in the special emphasis apparently felt to be necessary to insure the acceptance of so wonderful an incident as the removal of Adam's rib.[3] *Genesis* B, however, surpasses in coherence and plausibility all the poems which exhibit only Anglo-Saxon transforming influences. The account of the temptation is well conceived. The devil first tempts Adam, whose caution is well depicted; then, foiled, he turns to Eve. His speeches, not too eager, are finely created; and Eve's reasoning is very plausible—once convinced, she finds ample proofs of the devil's good faith. Again, an explanation is inserted[4] why the woman yielded when the man resisted; and the obvious comment that it is strange God permitted the temptation is anticipated.[5]

Miracles essential to the framework of the narrative are accepted without question[6]—the Anglo-Saxon felt no strangeness in supernatural incidents *per se.* It was simply in detail, where no contradiction of his authority was involved, that his logical and dramatic imagination tended to harmonize and complete the statements handled.

The capacity for imaginative vision—for mental reconstruction of scenes and events—is naturally associated with a strong sense of contrast. Not only is the incident itself pictured with attendant detail, as already said, but a wider glance forward and backward brings out the incidents future and past with which it is connected. This tendency is related to that which, acting in a narrower range, produces the frequent fluctuation of attention from one circumstance to another, and back again, which marks the Anglo-Saxon style.[1] The use of contrast to heighten effect is one of the most obvious and widespread of literary artifices. In Anglo-Saxon literature it is frequent and effective, especially in association with the sense of tragedy already mentioned. Emphasis is constantly placed on the gloomier of the elements contrasted. In the *Wanderer*, the vision of former joys adds poignancy to the waking sorrows of exile; and the fate of the *Seafarer* becomes more gloomy by contrast with that of the dweller in the town. Similarly in the scriptural poems: the former state of the fallen angels is constantly recalled in the midst of descriptions of hell,[2] and Satan's first feeling in hell is that of the contrast with heaven.[3] On the Day of Judgment, the wicked feel their tortures increased by contrast with the bliss of the righteous; and the same contrast points the moral to the hearer. Other examples occur in *Genesis*, ll. 792 ff.; and in the conclusion of the *Exodus*, when after a picture of the Israelites rejoicing and dividing the spoil, the poet abruptly turns again to the Egyptians—

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[1] Ll. 17 ff. [2] Ll. 135 ff. [3] *Gen.*, 176 ff. [4] Ll. 590, 591, 649. [5] Ll. 595–98.

[6] Cf. Heinzel: "Nur selten wurden solche Unebenheiten bemerkt und geglättet. In der Regel nahm sie der a.s. Übersetzer ehrfurchtsvoll oder gedankenlos in seine Arbeit hinüber."—*Q. und F.*, X, p. 43. The statement is true of expressed and essential inconsistencies, but not of those which could be remedied without violence to the original. In the former case the Christian's reverence outweighed the native instinct for coherent narrative.

Weriȝend laȝon
on deaðstede, drihtfolca mæst.[4]

Closely connected with the feelings for tragedy and contrast is tragic irony, which is a frequent source of fine effects in the Anglo-Saxon scriptural poems. Its use is generally exultant and derisive. Thus in *Judith*, ll. 250–80, the effect is much heightened by a development of the irony of the situation. In the Vulgate, three verses[5] sum up the crisis: the captains send to waken Holofernes; Vagaus knocks, then enters to find the headless trunk of his lord lying on the threshold. The paraphraser, fascinated by the grim dramatic power of the situation, lingers over it for thirty-one lines. The followers even fear to arouse their leader, when within the tent he is lying dead—

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[1] Cf. Heinzel, *Q. und F.*, X, pp. 10, 11.

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 320 ff., 367, 368, 419.

[3] *Gen.*, ll. 356 ff.; *Fallen Angels*, ll. 141 ff.

[4] *Exodus*, l. 588. The examples given illustrate what might be termed pictorial contrast, presenting two scenes side by side. The use of antithesis, which might seem related to this, is ascribed by Heinzel to Latin influences (*Q. und F.*, X, p. 46). Anglo-Saxon sensitiveness to contrast may have assisted the introduction of the rhetorical figure. An extraordinary example, where the antithesis is emphasized both by alliteration and rhyme, occurs in *Christ*, ll. 590–94.

[5] 14: 13–15.

næs ðeah eorla nan
þe þone wiȝȝend aweccan dorste.[1]

In *Genesis* the fate of Lot's foes is anticipated in the midst of their triumph with the same exulting mockery.

Hettend læddon
ut mid æhtum Abrahames mæȝ
of Sodoma byriȝ. We þæt soð maȝon
secȝan furður, hwelc siððan wearð
æfter þaem ȝehnæste herewulfa sið,
þara þe læddon Loth and leoda ȝod,
suðmonna sinc, siȝore ȝulpon.[2]

In ll. 2065–67, the irony is retrospective—

and feonda feorh feollon ðicce,
þær hlihende huðe feredon
secȝas and ȝesiððas.

So also in *Exodus*, ll. 204–7. Akin to this spirit is the fierce humor of the "ransom"—not gold, but death and destruction—paid for Lot by Abraham.[3]

II

So far an attempt has been made to indicate the modification of scriptural story and motive by the elaboration of congenial passages, the addition of detail native in character, the vivid dramatic realization, characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon story-teller, of scene and event. These influences, we have seen, produced variations from, and developments of, the original, which, though individually slight, gain importance by their agreement, and in the aggregate distinctly modify the character of the √ material. I The predominance of certain emotions, the special sensibility to certain aspects of nature and of life, the general character of the Anglo-Saxon imagination in comparison with the Hebraic and the early Christian, are potent forces; but from their √ very nature they are vague and elusive. II We turn now to consider the influence of the Anglo-Saxon form of society, and of the ideals and motives associated with it, upon the conceptions of the Scriptures. Here, though exact statement and authoritative inference are still impossible, the material for comparison is less uncertain. Of course, national character retains its importance here also as an ultimate source of difference; but it is crystallized in a social organization changing only very slowly, and in well-marked ideals and motives. The tendencies here native can be defined with a nearer approach to accuracy; and although the conceptions, ideals, and motives presented by the scriptural originals differ widely within those originals themselves, they can be roughly grouped in broad contrasts with their Anglo-Saxon equivalents. Thanks to this possibility of approximately determining the forces in operation, the effect of their resultant may be suggested with more confidence, though still without any assumption of certainty.

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[1] *Judith*, ll. 257, 258.

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 2011 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 2069–72.

The dominant motives and ideals of Anglo-Saxon society have already been sketched. They are those of the warrior, developed by the special form taken by his relations with his comrades and his lord. It was with these motives and ideals that the Anglo-Saxon poets approached scriptural originals; with these they endowed the persons of the stories to be told. This unconscious reconstruction of the conception of individuals was helped by the tradition of poetic subject. Anglo-Saxon poetry, like early Teutonic poetry generally,[1] centered around the deeds of heroes, to whom the other figures are subordinated; and it was from this standpoint that the persons and incidents of the scriptural stories were regarded. Prophet, patriarch, and apostle were thus conceived with the attributes of the Teutonic warrior, and their deeds were celebrated in the familiar heroic spirit. Wherever the original gives a hint of warlike action, it is seized, elaborated, and given Teutonic character in the paraphrase. The account of Chedorlaomer's ("*Orlahomar's*") invasion[2] is transformed by the feeling for war which later produced the poems on Brunanburh and Maldon. The Vulgate gives the bare outline, which is filled in by the Anglo-Saxon poet with detail thoroughly characteristic.[3]

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[1] "Als vornehmster Typus, als Quintessenz gleichsam aller altgermanischen Typen, tritt der Mann als Held auf, entweder König oder Einzelkämpfer."—Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, p. 36. "Der Held kann nicht anders gedacht werden als im Kampf" (*ibid.*, p. 39).

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 1960 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1982 ff.

Foron þa tosomne (francan wæron hlude)
wraðe wælheriʒas; sanʒ se wanna fuʒel
under deoreðsceaftum, deawiʒfeðera
hræs on wenan.[1]

The bravery of the warriors, and their eagerness for battle, are emphasized as usual:

Hæleð onetton
on mæʒencorðrum modum þrydʒe.[2]

Similarly the battle phrases of ll. 1989–95, the compact picture of the ravished maidens and their slaughtered protectors, ll. 1969–72; in fact, all the details of the description, express the Anglo-Saxon feeling for war. The same fascination is very clearly seen in *Judith* and in the opening of the *Elene.* In other cases the circumstances preceding battle furnish the welcome opportunity. The finest example in the scriptural poems occurs in *Exodus*, ll. 154–99. A short extract may serve as illustration.

. . . . hie ʒesawon of suðweʒum
fyrd Faraonis forð onʒanʒan,
oferholt weʒan, eored lixan,
(ʒaras trymedon, ʒuð hwearfode,
blicon bordhreoðan, byman sunʒon)
þufas þunian, þeod mearc tredan.[3]

Then, as already noticed, the description passes to the wolf lurking, and the war fowl hovering in joyful expectation of their prey. Another fine specimen occurs in *Elene*, ll. 225–65.[4]

The *Exodus* paraphrase strikingly illustrates another point of great interest. The way in which Pharaoh's army is levied is very much taken for granted in the Vulgate:[5]

Tulitque sexcentos currus electos, et quidquid in Aegypto curruum fuit, et duces totius exercitus.[6]

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[1] The carrion-birds, those grim war fowl so familiar in Anglo-Saxon poetry, appear again in ll. 2087–89, 2158–60; and in the other scriptural poems; for example, *Judith*, 205–12, 296, 297; *Exodus*, 161, 168.

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 1985, 1986.

[3] *Exodus*, ll. 155 ff.

[4] The very similar description in *Judith* (ll. 199 ff.) leads directly to an equally spirited account of the battle itself.

[5] Ex. 14:7.

[6] The "2,000 chosen warriors" of the Anglo-Saxon appear to correspond to the "600 chosen chariots" of the Vulgate. No numbers are definitely stated elsewhere in either. If this be so, the exaggeration in the Anglo-Saxon account, like the emphasis on the disparity in numbers between Abraham's followers and their opponents (*Genesis*, ll. 2092–95—a pure insertion), seems to mark a tendency in the Anglo-Saxon to make the most of the heroic action provided.

In the paraphrase, the actual Anglo-Saxon method is applied. The king calls out his thanes and ealdormen, and they bring with them their followers:

Hæfde him alesen leoda duʒeðe
tireadiʒra twa þusendo,
þæt wæron cyninʒas and cneowmaʒas
on þæt eade riht æðelum deore;
forðon anra ʒehwilc ut alædde
wæpnedcynnes wiʒan æʒhwilcne
þara þe he on ðam fyrste findan mihte.[1]

Even when the outline of the story gives no opportunity for the description of actual combat, or even of warlike preparations, its personages are often conceived as warriors. Thus, though Moses is described as *rices hyrde*,[2] *werodes wisa*,[3] the other aspect appears within half-a-dozen lines:

Ahleop þa for hæleðum hildecalla,
bald beohata, bord up ahof.[4]

The patriarchs are described in phrases familiar in application to warrior-chiefs; for example:

. . . . [wurdon] bearn afeded
freolicu tu and þa frumʒaran
hæleð hiʒerofe hatene wæron
Abraham and Aaron.[5]

Frumʒara, *freolic bearn*, *hæleð hiʒerof*, *maʒoræswa*, *maʒorinc* and variants of these phrases occur repeatedly. Still more striking is the phraseology used to describe the apostles.[6]

Wisdom in council, also an attribute of the ideal leader,[7] is attributed to the leaders of the scriptural stories in such phrases as *folces wisa*,[8] *aldordema*, *weardwisa*.[9] The leader assumes the aspect not only of head of the family or tribe, but of the warrior-king. Abimelech, described in the Vulgate simply as *rex Gerarae*[10] is called *aeðelinga helm*,[11] *gumena baldor*,[12] *sinces brytta*,[13] and his *servi*[14] become *wiʒsmiðas*.[15]

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[1] *Exodus*, ll. 183 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, l. 256.
[3] *Ibid.*, l. 258.
[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 252 f.
[5] *Gen.*, ll. 1707 ff.
[6] See pp. 41, 42.
[7] Cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, xi.
[8] *Gen.*, l. 1198.
[9] *Ibid.*, l. 1156.
[10] Gen. 20:2.
[11] *Gen.*, l. 2721.
[12] *Ibid.*, l. 2693.
[13] *Ibid.*, l. 2726.
[14] Vulgate, Gen. 20:8.
[15] *Gen*, l. 2703.

The patriarchs also are described in phrases expressing the Teutonic conception of the chief's function. Liberality, in that conception, was one of the most essential virtues of a leader. Gifts were the reward of the brave warrior.[1] This ideal colors the description of Abimelech in the phrase already noted (*sinces brytta*, *Gen.*, l. 2726); and the accounts of the patriarchs—

Lonȝe siððan
ȝeared ȝumum ȝold brittade:
se eorl wæs æðele, æfæst hæleð
and se frumȝar his freomaȝum leof.[2]

ȝeomor siððan
fæder flettȝesteald freondum dælde
swæsum and ȝesibbum sunu Iafeðes.[3]

Chus wæs æðelum heafodwisa
wilna brytta and woruldduȝeða
broðrum sinum.[4]

So also in *Daniel*, ll. 672–77.

Another very characteristic transformation is that of the account of Abraham's little council of war. The Vulgate[5] simply says: "hi enim pepigerant foedus cum Abram." In the paraphrase the description is that of a chief consulting with his fellows, and its spirit is quite Teutonic:[6]—

þa þæt inwitspell Abraham sæȝde
freondum sinum; bæd him fultumes
wærfæst hæleð willȝeðoftan.[7]

. . . . bæd him þræcrofe,
þa rincas þæs ræd ahicȝan,
þæt his hyldemæȝ ahred wurde
beorn mid bryde. Him þa broðor þry
æt spræce þære spedum midum
hældon hyȝesorȝe heardum wordum,
ellenrofe and Abrahame
treowa sealdon, þæt hie his torn mid him
ȝewræcon on wraðum, oððe on wæl feallan.[8]

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[1] "Exigunt enim a principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam; nam epulae . . . . pro stipendio cedunt."—Tacitus, *Germania*, xiv. The point is constantly illustrated in the AS. secular poetry—in *Beowulf* especially; the *Wanderer*, the *Fight at Maldon*, etc.

[2] *Gen.*, ll. 1180 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1610 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 1619 ff.

[5] Gen. 14:13.

[6] Cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, xi.

[7] *Gen.*, ll. 2024 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, ll. 2030 ff.

The persons of the Old Testament stories are thus endowed with the qualities of the Anglo-Saxon warrior or king. In some cases the original gives hints which harmonize with such development; but in others, as in the accounts of the patriarchs quoted on p. 32, the additions have absolutely no foundation in the Vulgate. The genealogical catalogue of the patriarchs scarcely varies in phrase: "vixit . . . . annis, et genuit . . . ."[1] The Anglo-Saxon poet, with his instinct for detail, could not be satisfied with such bald statement, and added the phrases proper to an enumeration of his own warrior-kings. In the original there was no immediate suggestion of the character of the bond between the head of the tribe and its members; and these phrases must be regarded as indicating the application of the Anglo-Saxon conception in all unconsciousness—the simple realization of the scriptural story through native ideals and motives.

In the poetry of a newly accepted religion, it is natural that special interest should attach to conceptions of the divine powers and of their relationship to man. The idea of a struggle between ① good and evil divinities, which runs through so many religions and mythologies, found widely varying expressions in the composite literature of Christianity. The Talmudic legend of the fall of the angels, taken over by the early Christian Fathers, supposes an actual combat between the rebel angels and God; and the fall of man is a later incident in the same struggle. Man, as a creature of God, becomes an object of attack for the enemies of God.

The life and teaching of Christ gave a new character to the conflict of the forces of good and evil. Spiritual struggle replaces ② physical combat. The present life is regarded as a preparation for a higher; and devotion to the needs of that higher life becomes the first duty. Meek endurance thus transcends physical courage.

Early Latin Christianity absorbed both conceptions, preserving the one in symbolism from warfare, the other in emphasis on the ascetic virtues. A similar contrast exists between the conceptions of God in the Old Testament and the New.[2] Again, early Latin

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[1] Gen., chap. 5.

[2] Cf. pp. 13, 14.

Christianity absorbed both.[1] The two elements could not, however, become perfectly fused; and in the selective process inevitable in adaptation to a new type of character, these conceptions could be transformed by a change in the proportion of their elements.

The tendencies of the Anglo-Saxon transformation have already been indicated. Any conception of a deity must consist more or less in a summation and symbolic presentation of ideals.[2] The object of worship must embody the qualities most valued by the worshiper. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon these were the qualities of the warrior and the leader. The Hebraic Yahweh possessed congenial elements; he was Lord of hosts, God of battles, the Lord mighty in battle, and so on. The Anglo-Saxon Christian made these elements more personal, conceiving God not only as ruling in battle, but as actually fighting with his own hands.[3] Further, the conception took Teutonic coloring, and was applied also to New Testament material, so that Christ, as well as the Father, was represented as a warrior god. Side by side with native phrases, conventional Christian titles are transcribed:[4] God is the *fæder*, *godspedig gast*, *drihten*, *frea ælmihtig*, etc.; Christ is *nergend*, *haelend*, etc.; but the invented detail—the material which really marks the vital element in realization of ideas—represents the Deity, in personal attributes, as a Teutonic warrior. The account of the expulsion from heaven of the rebel angels may serve as an example:

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[1] The Fathers, of course, modified and developed the early conceptions, and added others; but their influence, as distinct from that of the Scriptures, was less important for the poetry, where details of doctrine do not matter very much, than for the homilies.

[2] Cf. Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, chap. ii, §§ 2 (section i) and 3 for illustration of this point from the characters of the old Teutonic *pagan* gods. The new conception was influenced less by persistence of the old beliefs than by application, to the ideas offered by Christianity, of the methods and the attitude of thought which had produced those old beliefs.

[3] The scriptural phrases making God a "man of war" are almost always softened by additions clearly differentiating him from the human warrior.

[4] A passage from Cynewulf's *Christ* may be quoted to illustrate the mingling of Christian titles with those expressing native ideas applied to the Deity:

. . . . "Se breʒa mæra to Bethania
þeoden þrymfæst his þeʒna ʒedryht
ʒelaðade, leof weorud. Hy þæs lareowes
on þam wildæʒe word ne ʒehyrwdon
hyra sincʒiefan: sona wæron ʒearwe
hæleð mid hlaford to þære halʒan byrʒ,
þær him tacna fela tires brytta
onwrah wuldres helm wordʒerynum
ærþon upstiʒe ancenned sunu,
efenece bearn aʒnum fæder."—*Christ*, ll. 456 ff.

Him seo wen ȝeleah, siððan waldend his,
heofona heahcininȝ honda arærde
hehste wið þam herȝe. Ne mihton hyȝelease
mæne wið metode mæȝyn bryttiȝan,
ac him se mæra mod ȝetwæfde
bælc forbiȝde þa he ȝebolȝen wearð,
besloh synsceaþan siȝore and ȝewalde.[1]

. . . . Hæfde styrne mod
ȝeȝremed ȝrymme, ȝrap on wraðe
faum folmum and him on fæðm ȝebræc
yr on mode.[2]

Similar phrases forecast the Flood:—

. . . . He [God] þæt unfæȝere
wera cneorissum ȝewrecan þohte
forȝripan ȝumcynne ȝrimme and sare
heardum mihtum.[3]

Christ is still more distinctly conceived as a warrior. Here the original material contained much less explicit indication of such a conception, and, indeed, in many ways definitely contravened it; but the idea of Christ as the Redeemer who released man from the powers of hell especially lent itself to such a transformation. Perhaps the most striking example is the Exeter Book fragment on the *Descent into Hell*, from which a few lines may be quoted:

Wolde heofona helm helle weallas
forbrecan and forbyȝan, þære burȝe þrym
onȝinnan reafian, reþust ealra cyninȝa.
Ne rohte he to þære hilde helmberendra
ne he byrnwiȝend to þam burȝȝeatum
lædan ne wolde.[4]

The same incident is treated with similar spirit in Cynewulf's *Christ:*

Nu sind forcumene and in cwicsusle
ȝehynde and ȝehæfte in helle ȝrund
duȝuþum bidæled deofla cempan:

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[1] *Genesis*, ll. 49 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, ll. 60 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1273 ff.

[4] Gr.-W., Vol. III, no. 14, ll. 34 ff. The lines describing the Resurrection may perhaps be added:

“. . . . haȝosteald onwoc
modiȝ from moldan, mæȝenþrym aras
siȝefæst and snottor . . . .”—Ll. 21 f.

ne meahtan wiþerbroʒan wiʒe spowan
wæpna wyrpum, siþþan wuldres cyninʒ
heofonrices helm hilde ʒefremede
wiþ his ealdfeondum anes meahtum,
þær he of hæfte ahlod huþa mæste,
of feonda byriʒ folces unrim.[1]

Again in the Exeter Book *Descent into Hell*, the description is exactly that of an invasion of hostile territory, to rescue the captives from the "camp of the foes."[2] Christ's speech is that of a victorious leader, not without a touch of *gielp*. The Teutonic spirit is very distinct also in the "Cædmonian" *Temptation of Christ*, in savage triumphant mockery of the conquered foe:

Ah ic þe hate þurh þa hehstan miht,
þæt ðu hellwarum hyht ne abeode,
ah þu him secʒan miht sorʒa mæste
þæt ðu ʒemettes meotod alwihta[3]
Wast þu þonne þe ʒeornor, þæt þu wid ʒod wunne.[4]

The point first to be recognized, then, in the Anglo-Saxon transformation of the conception of the Deity, is the emphasis on the individual character of God as a warrior. This conception, of course, was familiar in the case of the pagan gods. Christianity, however, suggested a new relationship between divine powers and humanity. The Teutonic pagan gods occupied a sphere distinct on the whole from man's; they came into contact with human kind at certain times and under certain conditions, but without any suggestion of the intimate relationship, eternal and unchanging, between the Christian God and man. The Anglo-Saxon adopted this idea of close connection; but he gave it very characteristic coloring. The Father of the New Testament, the tribal god of the Old, became in Anglo-Saxon poetry the great leader and lord to whom all men owe loyalty. Even the phrases derived from his lordship over the angels become more specifically those of the chief:[5] *engla ordfruma*,[6] *brego engla*.[7] But his lordship—

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[1] Ll. 561 ff.

[2] *Wraðra wic*, *Christ*, l. 1535; cf. ll. 568, 569, quoted above.

[3] Junian MS, *Temptation*, Gr.-W., Vol. II, no. 20, ll. 30 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, l. 41.

[5] Of course, conventional Christian titles are also used—cf. p. 34.

[6] *Fallen Angels*, l. 21; *Fates of the Apostles*, l. 28.

[7] *Genesis*, ll. 181, 976, 1008.

still with Teutonic character—extends to all mankind: *helm alwihta,*[1] *blið-heort cyninȝ, metod alwihta.*[2] Similarly, Christ is *æðelinȝ,*[3] *æðelinȝa ord,*[4] *breȝa mæra,*[5] *heahenȝla breȝo.*[6] The disciples especially are his *þeȝnas,*[7] his *leofe ȝesiþas,*[8] and in the Exeter Book *Descent*[9] Christ is John's *mæȝ;* but Christ is also lord and leader of all men—*wiȝendra hleo,*[10] *helm ealwihta,*[11] *eorla eadȝiefa.*[12]

It is, then, the warrior-element in conceptions of God and of Christ, both as individuals and in relation to mankind, which is emphasized. Universal mercy and tenderness were not qualities appreciated by the Teutonic races. So God, as represented in Anglo-Saxon poetry, though kind and generous to his followers, is cruel and terrible—as in the Old Testament—to his foes; and Christ, almost denuded of the qualities attributed to him in the gospels, shares this character, differing from the Father chiefly in his closer connection with man—his more active part, if such a phrase may be used, in the world-struggle.

The early Christian conception of Satan, on the other hand, needed little modification in outline to harmonize with Anglo-Saxon motives. Grimm has pointed out[13] the special importance, in the Latin Fathers, of "names denoting a *hostile* being, resisting God and persecuting men"—*antiquus hostis, persequutor antiquus, callidus hostis,* etc.—and that this idea preserved its prominence in Teutonic names for the devil. Moreover, by the time of the Fathers, there had arisen

> the doctrine of a satanic empire in rivalry with the celestial . . . .: the evil spirits may be the weaker side and suffer defeat, but they go about enlisting wicked men, and seek thereby to replenish their host.[14]

This doctrine also was thoroughly congenial to the Anglo-Saxon, as is shown by the frequency with which it is treated in the poetry. There was consequently no necessity for the conception of the devil to be modified by a process complementary to that which attributes ideal qualities to God and Christ. The original represents the devil as breaking his faith with God; and the Anglo-Saxon adds no further hated sins—he is not characterized by cowardice, illiberality, or tyranny over followers. The patristic conception is eagerly accepted; Satan is the opponent of good rather than the representative of evil—*godes andsaca* is one of the phrases most frequently applied to him.[1] Satan is a thane, owing duty to God, his overlord; from pride he rebels, and with his followers endures the punishment of faithlessness:

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[1] *Genesis*, ll. 978, 1290.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 192, 193.

[3] E. g., Ex. Book, *Descent*, ll. 3, 5; and repeatedly in *Christ* and *Andreas*.

[4] *Christ*, ll. 515, 846.

[5] *Ibid.*, l. 456.

[6] *Ibid.*, l. 403.

[7] *Ibid.*, ll. 470, 497, 541.

[8] *Ibid.*, l. 473.

[9] Ll. 55, 57.

[10] *Christ*, l. 409.

[11] *Ibid.*, l. 410.

[12] *Ibid.*, l. 546.

[13] Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, Vol. III, pp. 989, 990.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 985.

> Laȝon þa oðre fynd on þam fyre, þe ær swa feala hæfdon
> ȝewinnes wið heora waldend: wite þoliað[2]
>
> . . . . forþon hie þeȝnscipe
> ȝodes forȝymdon.[3]

Even in hell, *se ofermoda cyninȝ*[4] remains a leader;[5] and the fiends are his thanes.[6] A passage from *Genesis B* may be quoted to illustrate how literally they are conceived as warriors:

> Anȝan hine þa ȝyrwan ȝodes andsaca,
> fus on frætwum, hæfde facne hyȝe,
> hæleðhelm on heafod asette and þone ful hearde ȝeband,
> speonn mid spanȝum.[7]

Similarly in *Christ*, the fiends are *deofla cempan* and fight hand to hand with Christ.[8] In *Andreas* the devils address the arch-fiend as *eorla leofast;*[9] they are his *rincas*, *lindȝesteallan*,[10] and he bids them attack the saint with spear and arrow.[11]

The same predominating motives and ideals that cause the ready seizure and development of the warrior-aspects of God and the angels, Satan and the devils, color some descriptions of heaven and hell. Heaven is *cynestola cyst*, *Cristes burȝlond*, *enȝla eþelstol*,[12] guarded by a *micel mæȝenþrym;*[13] *þeodnes þryðȝesteal and his*

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[1] E. g., *Fallen Angels*, ll. 191, 269, 280, 340; *Genesis*, ll. 321, 442; *Temptation of Christ*, l. 54 The same phrase is used of Pharaoh, *Exodus*, l. 502—they alike "fought against God."

[2] *Genesis*, ll. 322 f.

[3] L. 326.

[4] *Ibid.*, l. 338.

[5] *Fallen Angels*, l. 323, "*aldor;*" *Juliana*, l. 544, "*helwarena cyninȝ.*"

[6] *Fallen Angels*, l. 326.

[7] Ll. 442 ff.

[8] Ll. 561 ff., quoted on pp. 35, 36.

[9] L. 1352.

[10] Ll. 1343, 1344.

[11] Cf. pp. 1330 f., quoted on p. 42.

[12] *Christ*, ll. 51, 52

[13] Cf. *ibid.*, l. 1007

þeȝnunȝa,[1] where Christ's warriors feast, rewarded by treasure.[2] These terms are native parallels to, not mere paraphrases for, the conventional Christian City of God and of the Lamb, the New Jerusalem where glory and bliss await the blessed; and the changes, though generally slight, bring in some flavor of the northern ideals.[3] Hell, on the other hand, presents two aspects. In the first place it is the home of Satan and his followers, *feonda byriȝ,*[4] *wraðra wic.*[5] Here the joys of feast and gift are no longer known; when Heliseus and his followers die and go to hell.

Ne þorftan þa þeȝnas in þam þystran ham
seo ȝeneatscolu in þam neolan scræfe
to þam frumȝare feohȝestealda
witedra wenan, þæt hy in winsele
ofer beorsetle beaȝas þeȝon,
æpplede ȝold![6]

This ironic negation does not convey the full force of the other aspect. Hell is the *carcer,*[7] *witehus,*[8] *morþerhusa mæst,*[9] to which God consigns his foes. Here Teutonic detail is sometimes added,[10] but the outline and general coloring of the conception is preserved unchanged.

The Anglo-Saxon tendency, then, is to dwell especially on the heroic element in the theory of the universe and of life presented by Latin Christianity. When this element dominates the original, the modifications in the Anglo-Saxon parallel are merely those produced by transcription into the terms of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry. The spirit is the same, but the conceptions it inspires vary through differences in time and place. When the heroic element is quite subordinate in the original, the changes caused by the Anglo-Saxon instinct for heroic motives are more considerable. Whenever possible the literal aspect of the struggle between good and evil is presented. The war stirred up by Satan's rebellion remains physical so long as it is sufficiently remote. Thus the aim of the rebellion in heaven is stated in the *Fallen Angels:*

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[1] *Christ*, l. 354.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 550–57; 1635, 1636.

[3] It is noteworthy, in passing, that though there is feasting in heaven, the *drinking* which was so prominent a feature of Teutonic feasts is never mentioned. The omission illustrates the AS. sense of propriety in religious ideas, noted by Heinzel, *Q. und F.*, X, p. 44.

[4] *Christ*, l. 569; *Juliana*, l. 545.

[5] *Ibid.*, l. 1535.

[6] *Juliana*, ll. 683 ff.

[7] *Christ*, l. 334.

[8] *Ibid.*, l. 1534.

[9] *Ibid.*, l. 1623.

[10] Cf. p. 8.

We woldon swa
drihten adrifan of þam deoran ham
cyninʒ of cestre.[1]

When Satan, plotting revenge after his downfall, takes council with his thanes, he says: "Onʒinnað nu ymb þa *fyrde* þencean."[2] In the temptation of Adam and Eve strategy replaces force. Even here, however, Adam is pictured as a warrior, given a trust by his leader; he suspects treachery, and refuses to disobey his original orders without proof of his lord's command.[3] The idea of physical combat breaks through again in the third great group of incidents in the struggle—those connected with Christ. Here the Anglo-Saxon heroic tendencies find much less warrant in the original stories. The transformation of the conception of Christ has already been noticed. His descent into hell (*v. s.*) becomes the hero's daring expedition to rescue the followers who cry to him for help. The account of the Ascension[4] has the tone of the triumphant return from war of the successful king. At the Day of Judgment the struggle ends with God's final victory, the reward of his followers and the punishment of his foes.

Þonne herʒa fruma
æþelinʒa ord eallum demeð
leofum ʒe laðum lean æfter ryhte,
þeodum ʒehwylcre.[5]

Until this final triumph, however, the warfare originated by Satan's rebellion remains the central occupation of universal existence. The nature of the part to be played by man is very clear from the *Christ*. He is bound to fight for God, and wrongdoing is branded with the stigma of faithlessness.[6] The ethical significance of the struggle is sometimes lost to sight. The duty of the Christian is to fight for God—not for abstract righteousness—because God is his chief, who has already shown him goodness, and who will further reward him if faithful. This distinction gains significance when it is remembered that Teutonic wars were less between nations than between the followers of rival chiefs.[1] Loyalty to the lord is the cardinal virtue in Anglo-Saxon Christianity as in the paganism it replaced; and the relationship between lord and follower, in a warrior-society, gives the key to the Anglo-Saxon transformation of the fundamental conceptions of Latin Christianity.

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[1] *Fallen Angels*, ll. 256 f.
[2] *Gen.*, l. 408.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 535 ff.
[4] *Christ*, ll. 547-81.
[5] *Ibid.*, ll. 845 ff.
[6] Thus in *Christ*, l. 1614, the wicked are called *wœrleasra weorud;* and the disobedience of Adam and Eve becomes almost deliberate treachery, ll. 1393-96.

Man was bound to fight for God. Putting aside the most obvious and congenial kind of religious warfare—that of Oswald and Oswin against Penda—it seems difficult for the literal combat, so unerringly singled out when remoteness made it possible, to be applied to the everyday life of man. In the practical application of religion, the Anglo-Saxon was inevitably brought down to the struggle between good and evil within himself, to which the actual teaching of Christ was directed. Still, the idea of physical combat was retained whenever possible; and the lives of the apostles and saints, falling between the superhuman world of the Christ-stories and the conditions of actual life, gave an opportunity for the development of the heroic element.[2] Thus phrases absolutely heroic are applied to the apostles and saints:

> Hwæt! we ʒefrunan on fyrndaʒum
> twelfe under tunʒlum tireadiʒe hæleð
> þeodnes þeʒnas: no hira þrym alæʒ
> camprædenne, þonne cumbol hneotan,
> syððan hie ʒedældon, swa him dryhten sylf,
> heofona heahcyninʒ hlyt ʒetæhte.
> þæt wæron mære men ofer eorðan,
> frome folctoʒan and fyrdhwate,
> rofe rincas, þonne rond and hand
> on herefelda helm ealʒodon
> on meotudwanʒe.[3]

Again, the "Fates of the Apostles" tells

> hu þa æðelinʒas ellen cyðdon,
> torhte and tireadiʒe. Twelfe wæron

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[1] Cf. Meyer, *Altgerm. Poesie*, p. 52.

[2] It seems probable, as suggested on p. 6, that the choice of these subjects, and the method in which they are treated, show deliberate inclination to the ideals and conceptions most generally familiar.

[3] *Andreas*, ll. 1 ff. Professor Toller has illustrated this point in a very striking way by quoting, after these verses, passages in which the same terms are used in connections thoroughly heroic. *Vide* his *History of the English Language*, pp. 112-16.

dædum domfæste, dryhtne ȝecorene
leofe on life. Lof wide spranȝ
miht and mærðo ofer middanȝeard
þeodnes þeȝna, þrym unlytel.[1]

Similar phrases occur repeatedly in *Andreas*, the *Fates of the Apostles*, and the latter part of *Guthlac*.

In the preservation of the heroic character of the struggle between good and evil, one aspect of the attacks of the devil is especially noteworthy. When the fiends come against Andreas, the command given by their leader is

Lætað ȝares ord
earh attre ȝemæl in ȝedufan
in faeȝes ferð![2]

This idea of the devil shooting his arrows against the follower of God is applied to the ordinary life of man in *Christ:*

. . . . He [God] his aras þonan
haliȝ of heahðu hider onsendeð,
þa us ȝescildaþ wið sceþþendra
eȝlum earhfarum, þi læs unholdan
wunde ȝewyrcen, þonne wrohtbora
in folc ȝodes forð onsendeð
of his bræȝdboȝan biterne stræl.
Forþon we fæste sculon wið þam færscyte
symle wærlice wearde healdan,
þy læs se attres ord in ȝebuȝe
biter bordȝelac under banlocan,
feonda færsearo: þæt bið frecne wund,
blatast benna.[3]

So in *Beowulf:*

. . . . Se weard swefeð,
sawele hyrde: bið se slæp to fæst
bisȝum ȝebunden, bona swiðe neah,
se þe of flanboȝan fyrenum sceoteð.
þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen
biteran stræle: him bebeorȝon ne con
wom wunderbebodum werȝan ȝastes.[4]

The context of the *Beowulf* passage clearly shows the nature of the devil's darts. They are shafts of sin, leveled against the unwary.[1] It is very difficult, however, to decide to what extent these expressions may be interpreted literally, to what extent they must be considered figurative. Suggestions of such imagery occur in the New Testament itself (e. g., Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, 6:16, where the Vulgate reads "In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea exstinguere"), and Paul's phraseology is closely paralleled in the *Juliana* passage. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the conflicts of the saints and devils, whatever symbolic value they may ultimately possess, were taken in an entirely literal sense in the Anglo-Saxon poems; while an idea similar to this of the devil's shafts was literally accepted in the superstitions of darts, maliciously shot by elves and hags, striking the victim with sickness.[2]

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[1] Ll. 3 ff.

[2] *Andreas*, ll. 1330 f.

[3] *Christ*, ll. 759 ff.

[4] *Beowulf*, ll. 1741 ff.; cf. also *Christ*, ll. 774, 778–81; *Juliana*, ll. 382 ff.

The motives and conceptions of warfare leave their mark on the aspects of Christian life least anticipated in Anglo-Saxon paganism. The New Testament conception of the struggle between the higher and lower natures in man was developed in early Christianity, as already said, into a doctrine of asceticism. This form of godly life was familiar both to Celtic and Latin Christianity in Britain, enshrined in stories of the saints, and actually illustrated by hermit and recluse in Britain itself. Even here the favorite ideals are applied;[1] and Guthlac is described as a warrior, while his self-mortification becomes a form of heroism. The courage of patient suffering is similarly transferred to the heroic category. When God sends Andreas to endure the tortures of the heathen and the fiends,

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[1] Cf. *wraþe firene . . . . synna wunde* (*Christ*, ll. 1313, 1314):

"[*ic him*] *þurh earʒfare in onsende*
in breostsefan bitre ʒeþoncas."—*Juliana*, ll. 404, 405.

[2] In *Guthlac* Death is represented in very similar phrases:

"Deað nealæcte
stop stalʒonʒum stronʒ and hreðe,
sohte sawelhus. Com se seofeða dæʒ
ældum and weard, þæs þe him inʒesonc
hat heortan neah hildescurum
flacor flanþracu, feorhord onleac
searocæʒum ʒesoht."—Ll. 1112 ff.

This passage may be taken to support either view; *prima facie* it confirms the literal interpretation, for Death seems conceived as an actual being, like the Norns, not as an abstraction personified. On the other hand, the passage is set among phrases which cannot be taken metaphorically. Thus, a few lines before another passage where Death is called *wiʒa wælʒifre* (ll. 970–72), Guthlac's sickness is described:

"Wæs seo adl þearl . . . . l. 951

. . . . bryþen wæs onʒunnen,
þætte Adame Eve ʒebyrmde
æt fruman worulde";—ll. 953 ff.

while in the passage quoted above, the metaphor of the darts is followed, in ll. 1117, 1118, by another—that of keys unlocking the life-hoard. At least the elaboration and repetition of the idea, even if the expression must not be taken as literal, show its particular aptness to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and illustrate the general tendency of Anglo-Saxon motives.

> meotud mihtum swið sæʒde his maʒoþeʒne:
> "Scealt þu, Andreas, ellen fremman!"[2]

The tendency to select, develop, and realize the elements in Latin Christianity most capable of connection with warlike motives and conceptions is perceptible also in the presentation of emotions in the poetry.[3] We have seen that the greatest hope of the warrior was in the glory of brave and loyal service; his greatest fear, of the shame brought by faithlessness and cowardice. With these ideals were associated the joy of the victor, savagely gloating over the fallen enemy; and conversely, the shame of the vanquished, quickened by the thought of the foe's triumph. The sadness of life consisted less in physical ills than in sorrow for loss, in bitterness of exile, and in the sense of powerlessness against fate.

These emotions appear clearly in the scriptural poetry.[4] The torments of hell lie not only in physical torture but in mental anguish—in the sense of exile,[5] of sorrow for lost joys,[6] in impotent hatred and envy.[7] The devil vanquished by Juliana feels the shame he has incurred.[8] At the Judgment Day, according to the *Christ*, to the wicked

> sar oðclifeð[9]
> þroht, þeodbealu on þreo healfa.

The first source of torment is anticipation of the fires of hell; this receives briefest mention of the three, and adds a touch of exile—"*awo sculon wraec winnende wœrʒðu dreoʒan.*" The second is the shame of exposure before the multitude:

> þonne is him oþer earfeþu swa some
> scyldʒum to sconde, þæt hi þær scoma mæste
> dreoʒað fordone: on him dryhten ʒesihð
> nales feara sum firenbealu laðlic
> and þæt ællbeorhte eac sceawiað

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[1] Cf. also pp. 41, 42. [2] *Andreas*, ll. 1207 f. [3] See pp. 34 ff. [4] See also pp. 17, 18, 27, 28.

[5] E. g., *Christ*, ll. 1515, 1616–18. [6] *Fallen Angels*, ll. 184 ff.; *Genesis*, ll. 365 ff.

[7] *Genesis*, ll. 368–72, 385–88, 393, 394, 433, 434, 733–37, 750–60.

[8] *Juliana*, ll. 526–30, 539–42. [9] *Christ*, l. 1267.

heofonenʒla here and hæleþa bearn,
ealle eorðbuend and atol deofol
mircne mæʒencræft, manwomma ʒehwone.[1]

The third is the bitterness of seeing the joys of the blessed:

þonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorʒ
cwiþende cearo, þæt hy on þa clænan seoð,
hu hi fore ʒoddædum ʒlade blissiað.[2]
ne bið him hyra yrmðu an to wite,
se þara oþerra ead to sorʒum.[3]

Similarly, of the three signs of the blessed with which these are contrasted, the first is their public glorification:

An is ærest orʒeate þær,
þæt hy fore leodum leohte blicaþ
blæde and byrhte ofer burʒa ʒesetu.[4]

The second—the sight of the glories of heaven—is mentioned briefly; the third receives the chief emphasis—joy in beholding the torments of the damned:

Ðonne bið þridde, hu on þystra bealo
þæt ʒesæliʒe weorud ʒesihð þæt fordone
sar þrowian synna to wite,
weallendne liʒ and wyrma slite
bitrum ceaflum, byrnendra scole:
of þam him aweaxeð wynsum ʒefea,
þonne hi þæt yfel ʒescoð oðre dreoʒan
þæt hy þurh miltse meotudes ʒenæson.[5]

Again, as the sorrows of hell include exile, the joys of heaven include, in addition to physical rewards,[6] enjoyment of the love and the embrace of the lord,[7] in the fatherland:

þær heo æfre forð wunian moten
cestre and cynestol.[8]
Soðfæste men, sunnan ʒelice,
fæʒre ʒefrætewod in heora fæder rice
scinað in sceldbyriʒ, þær heo sceppend seolf
befæðmeð.[9]

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[1] *Christ*, ll. 1273 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 1285 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 1293 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 1238 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, ll. 1248 ff.

[6] See pp. 38, 39.

[7] Cf. the *Wanderer*, ll. 40, 41:

> "þinceð him on mode, þæt he his mondryhten
> clyppe and cysse."

[8] *Fallen Angels*, l. 297.

[9] *Ibid.*, ll. 307 ff.

In no poem where Anglo-Saxon influences alone operate, however, do the emotions represented become so thoroughly Teutonic as in *Genesis B*. This distinction may be associated with the attempt to give plausibility to the story,[1] as characteristic of a more mature narrative art than that of any Anglo-Saxon poet who treated scriptural or quasi-scriptural subjects. Pride was the traditional motive for Satan's rebellion, and this is adopted with ready comprehension.

> . . . . Ne meahte he at his hiȝe findan,
> þæt he ȝode wolde ȝeonȝerdome
> þeodne þeowian; þuhte him sylfum,
> þæt he mæȝyn and cræft maran hæfde
> þonne se halȝa ȝod habban mihte
> folcȝestælna.[2]

Other motives stimulate this pride, and the ambition with which it is so closely associated. He has confidence not only in himself, but in his friends and followers:

> Biȝstandað me stranȝe ȝeneatas; þa ne willað me æt þam striðe
> ȝeswican,
> hæleþas heardmode: hie habbað me to hearran ȝecorene
> rofe rincas; mid swilcum mæȝ man ræd ȝeþencean
> fon mid swilcum folcȝesteallan; frynd synd hie mine ȝeorne
> holde on hyra hyȝesceaftum.[3]

The Teutonic coloring is equally strong in Satan's feelings after the fall. His heart swells as he thinks of his former state,[4] and he denounces the injustice of God.[5] The thought of man enjoying his lost glories galls him above all,[6] and revenge alone can bring him ease.

> Siððan ic me sefte mæȝ
> restan on þyssum racentum, ȝif him þæt rice losað.[7]

Equally characteristic is Satan's appeal to his thanes; he recalls the gifts he gave them in happier times, and promises as a reward to the successful volunteer

> him bið lean ȝearo . . . .[8]
> Sittan læte ic hine wið me sylfne.[9]

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[1] See p. 26.
[2] *Gen.*, ll. 266 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 284 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, ll. 353, 354.
[5] *Ibid.*, ll. 360, 391-93.
[6] Ll. 364-70, 385-89.
[7] *Ibid.*, ll. 433 f.
[8] *Ibid.*, l. 435.
[9] L. 438.

The thane who undertakes the temptation recurs to Satan's feelings of savage jealousy to man,[1] and exults in the blow struck through him against God. His whole speech after his success throbs with joy in revenge and in anticipation of his lord's approval:

Hloh þa and pleʒode
boda bitre ʒehuʒod, sæʒde beʒra þanc
hearran sinum: "Nu hæbbe ic þinc hyldo me
witode ʒeworhte and þinne willan ʒelæst . . . .[2]
. . . . Mæʒ þin mod wesan
bliðe on breostum; forþon her synt butu ʒedon,
ʒe þæt hæleða bearn heofonrices sculon,
leode forlætan and on þæt liʒ to þe
hate hweorfan: eac is hearm ʒode,
modsorʒ ʒemacod . . . .[3]
. . . . Forþon is min mod ʒehæled,
hyʒe ymb heortan ʒerume: ealle synt uncre hearmas ʒewrecene,
laðes þæt wit lanʒe þoledon."[4]

To recur, however, to the passages quoted from Cynewulf's *Christ* and the *Fallen Angels*:[5] it has been noted that the rewards and punishments offered by Christianity are transformed so that they appeal to Anglo-Saxon emotional ideals as well as physical (*v. s.*) The appeal of the contrast between them is directed especially to the sense, so deep in the Anglo-Saxon mind, of the transitory nature of life:

her bið feoh læne, her bið freond læne,
her bið mon læne, her bið mæʒ læne:
eal þis eorþan ʒesteal idel weorþeð![6]

To a mind with this consciousness, the fervor of earth-contempt expressed in the *Christ* was no difficult development; and even in less extreme cases, there appears instinctive attraction to the Christian inference:

Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,
frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal
fæstnunʒ stondeð![7]

Beowulf's "Wyrce se þe mote domes ær deaðe" still lives in the Christian poems,[8] though in the latter the glory to be sought is that of loyalty to God;[1] Teutonic wisdom still rules, though it also lies in the service of God, and in the sacrifice of the brief joys of sin for the eternal bliss of heaven.[2] The ideal of faithfulness is strengthened by common-sense, for the ultimate issue of the struggle is certain. In all the scriptural poems, it is emphasized that God's side always wins—his foes inevitably suffer.[3] In *Exodus* the destruction of the Egyptians is explained—"hie wið god wunnon."[4] The same reason accounts for the fall of Satan—"he wann wið heofnes waldend."[5] Abraham prospers because the Lord favors him,[6] and wins the battle against Lot's foes: "him on fultum ȝrap heofonrices weard."[7] So in *Daniel*, the Jews prosper while they deserve God's favor,[8] but incur disaster through choosing *deofles cræft.*

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[1] Ll. 733–36; 749, 750.
[2] *Gen.*, ll. 724 ff.
[3] Ll. 750 ff.
[4] Ll. 758 ff.
[5] See pp. 44, 45.
[6] *Wanderer*, ll. 108 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, ll. 114 f.
[8] Thus Gods bids Andreas "*wes a domes ʒeorn*" (*Andr.*, l. 959). Appreciation of glory is shown also in *Daniel* (ll. 455–59), where the "children" gain glory and renown, instead of merely being promoted, as in the Vulgate (Daniel 3:97).

The moral of the poems is thus plain, however difficult it may be to decide to what extent its deliberate inculcation was mingled with other aims. And, though the varying motives with which subjects from the literature of Christianity were treated must be resigned to theories confessedly hazardous, the effect of that treatment, in general tendencies at least, is plainly to be traced. It is too much to hope altogether to have escaped exaggerated statement and over-eager inference. The general conclusions, however, depend on no single detail, and historical circumstances, so far as they are known, confirm and explain the tendencies noticed in the poetry itself, in the transformation of the stories, motives, and conceptions introduced by Christianity.

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[1] Cf. *Christ*, ll. 1577-89.

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, ll. 1293-96, 1315-25; *Seafarer*, ll. 72-80.

[3] It is interesting here to contrast the Christian God with the Teutonic pagan gods. Grimm remarks: "It is to my mind a fundamental feature of polytheism that the good and beneficent principle in the Divine preponderates: only some isolated deities, subordinate to the whole, incline to the evil and hurtful, like the Norse Loki."—*Teut. Mythol.*, Vol. III, p. 984. Yet though the good powers predominate, individually they are always fallible—little removed from the heroes—especially subject to temptation and malice. The God of Christianity, on the other hand, is almighty, and the very existence of his opponents is allowed only to heighten the glory of his followers. (Cf. Gotfred of Viterbo, quoted by Grimm, Vol. III, p. 986.)

[4] L. 514.

[5] *Gen.*, l. 303; cf. also ll. 77, 345, 346; *Christ*, l. 1525.

[6] *Gen.*, ll. 1945-51.

[7] *Ibid.*, ll. 2572, 2573; cf. ll. 2057-59.

[8] Ll. 7 ff., especially ll. 15, 16.

THE SOURCE AND COMPOSITION OF *ILLE ET GALERON*

The student of mediaeval literature interested in the development of the legend of the husband with two wives is forced to take a decided attitude with reference to the source and structure of Gautier d'Arras' poem on the adventures of Ille and Galeron, which represents an important member in the group of stories in which this legend is related. In his edition of this poem,[1] Förster formulates, on p. xxii, his conclusions with reference to this point as follows: "unser Gedicht ist . . . . nichts anders als die im Sinne einer idealen Liebesauffassung streng durchkorrigierte Ueber- oder besser Umarbeitung des Lai von Eliduc. He hesitates between the version of this lay rimed by Marie de France, "oder einer einfacheren, vielleicht ungeschriebenen Fassung" (p. xxiii), since he believes that the two episodes of the shipwreck (ll. 815–68) and the resuscitation by means of a marvelous herb (ll. 1032–66) in Marie's poem are later additions to the story "welche mit dem Stoffe des Eliduc in keiner ursächlichen Beziehung stehen." This thesis he then tries to fortify by means of a detailed comparison of the two poems.

This conclusion was rejected by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XXI, p. 278, for the reason that the motive of the injured eye, which causes the separation of Ille and Galeron and forms in a way the pivot of Gautier's whole story, is incompatible with the Eliduc lay and is in itself intimately connected with another idea, also unknown to the lay, viz., that of the original social difference between Ille and his wife. He recognized, however, the relation between the two poems, and maintained (*Hist. litt.*, XXX, p. 600, and elsewhere) that *Ille et Galeron* derives in part from the same source as the Eliduc lay.[2] This same view of the relation of the two poems was accepted by Warnke in the notes to *Eliduc* in his second edition of the *Lais* of Marie de France.[1] To the reasons advanced by Gaston Paris he adds that the two episodes of the shipwreck and the resuscitation absent in *Ille et Galeron* appear to be essential features of the Eliduc story. This particular side of the problem we are not prepared to discuss at present. It belongs to a larger comparative study of the legend of the husband with two wives, sketched in general outline by Gaston Paris (*La poésie du moyen âge, deuxième série*,[2] pp. 109 ff.), which we shall take up in the near future. Here we intend to limit ourselves to a detailed examination of Förster's conclusions with regard to the direct source of Gautier's poem.

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[1] "*Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras," *Rom. Bibl.* VII (Halle, 1891).

[2] "*Ille et Galeron* venu d'un lai perdu qui, dans sa plus grande partie, n'était qu'une variante de celui d'*Éliduc* de Marie de France." (Cf. *Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, 3d ed., p. 113.)

The contents of both *Eliduc* and *Ille et Galeron* are so well known and so easily referred to in the editions already cited that we may abstain from repeating the stories. It will be useful, however, before going farther, to determine in barest outline the form which the Eliduc story must have had, if Förster's supposition, that the two episodes just cited are later interpolations, is correct.

Eliduc, happily married to Guildeluëc, finds himself suddenly maligned by his enemies, and he leaves his wife to seek adventures and peace of mind in new surroundings. He arrives at the court of the king of Exeter, who is hard beset by a rejected suitor for the hand of his daughter. Eliduc takes up his cause and overcomes the enemy. In consequence the princess falls in love with him, and the king appoints him his chief minister. For a while he struggles feebly between his new passion and his duty to his marriage vows. The call of his former liege lord causes him to return for a short period to his wife, but as soon as his services are no longer needed he leaves her upon some shallow pretense to return to Guilliadun, his new love. The two then manage to escape together and arrive at Eliduc's home, and when the wife learns the true state of affairs, she withdraws to a cloister, while Eliduc and Guilliadun live happily together until remorse overcomes them and they also enter monasteries to seek pardon for their sin.

It must be confessed that a comparison of this outline with the skeleton of *Ille et Galeron* makes Förster's theory stand out in a rather favorable light. The story of this *roman d'aventure*, if conceived as an anti-Eliduc and stripped of all accessory details, can readily be presented as in every way the opposite of this lay. Like Eliduc, Ille leaves his wife, but he remains faithful to her, and when Ganor falls in love with him he rejects her advances, agreeing to the marriage from a feeling of pity only when he receives what he has every reason to accept as definite proof that Galeron has disappeared. When she suddenly reappears on the scene, he does not for a moment waver in his duty, and only when his first wife of her own determination, and for reasons in no wise concerned with his relation toward Ganor, has sought refuge in a nunnery does he finally marry his second wife.

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[1] Halle, 1900 (*Bibl. Norm.*, III, p. cl).

[2] Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1903.

While the two stories, when thus reduced to their barest outline, are undoubtedly the one the reverse of the other, it is nevertheless questionable whether the exact relation between them has been made clear; for the possibility should be taken into consideration that they are literary representatives of two opposite types—a contingency which Förster does not seem to admit. His theory is, moreover, absolutely dependent upon the relative age of the Eliduc lay and Gautier's poem, for though he concedes the possibility of the dependence of *Ille et Galeron* (I) upon an earlier, simpler Eliduc lay (E^1), yet his whole argumentation is based upon Marie's poem[1] (E^2). It would follow that her work must have been rather mechanical; for on no other supposition would it be permissible to establish the relation of I to E^1 through minutiae of similarity and verbal contact between I and E^2. And the difficulty of this whole theory is all the more apparent when Marie's statement, E^2 ll. 1–4, is taken into account, that she translates her lay from the Celtic. Under these circumstances it is important to consider the passages in either poem which may have a possible bearing upon the question of its immediate source.

Marie's testimony is direct. Her poem begins with a reference to a *mult anciën lai Bretun*, of which she will relate *le cunte e tute la raisun*. Then she gives a succinct outline of the story in ll. 5–28, and ends by saying that the lay has now the name of

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[1] Warnke then goes a step farther and uses this relationship of the two poems to confirm the chronological order of Marie's works; cf. *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (Halle, 1898), p. cxvi.

Guildeluëc ha Guilliadun.
"Eliduc" fu primes nomez,
Mes ore est li nuns remuëz,
Kar des dames est avenu
L'aventure dunt li lais fu. (21–26)

The reference to an earlier form of the story is here quite definite, and it also seems to follow that the name was changed,[1] because the real subject appeared to her the submissive wife rather than the faithless husband. In the outline which Marie then adds there is not the slightest hint of the two episodes of the shipwreck and the resuscitation. It would perhaps help the theory if it could be assumed that this silence is evidence that they represent her additions, but there is not sufficient basis to warrant such an inference.

Gautier refers to his source most directly in *I* 929–36. In the note to these lines Förster explains the passage as having reference to the vogue of lays in general, but Gaston Paris (*Rom.*, XXI, p. 278) has given another interpretation of it, which seems to me undoubtedly correct. A paraphrase of the whole passage will bring out its meaning. The author comments on his story. Ille has fallen in love with Galeron and she with him. She is of noble station and he a simple knight; how could they ever expect to enjoy each other's love! But they do not think of such difficulties and take pleasure in each other's company. Such is the nature of love. It flatters people to attract them, and later it has no joys to offer.[2] To be sure, they do not think of this and would like the present condition to continue; but if love did not have its sadder side, this lay would not be such a favorite, and knights would not prize it as they do. *A fine story is that of Ille and Galeron.* It contains no witchcraft nor lengthening, you'll not find anything supernatural in it. There are other lays, which make the one that hears them think that he has slept or dreamed.

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[1] It is evident from these lines that the lay at present does not have the name which Marie intended to give it.

[2] Gautier returns to this same thought, ll. 1532–38. In the first passage it forms a natural introduction to the reference to his source which follows, and this fact makes it impossible to accept Foulet's suggestion (*Zs. f. rom. Phil.*, XXIX, p. 303) that the lines in question represent a later addition, either by Gautier himself or by a jongleur who recited the poem.

Since the poem on *Ille et Galeron* which we know is no lay, it follows that Gautier here refers to his source and that this bore the same title. The allusion to the absence in it of witchcraft and the supernatural is important, for it contains a distinct reference to the peculiar atmosphere of the lays of Marie de France, the chief exponent and, if Foulet in the article just cited is correct, the inventor of this class of composition.

The further inference that the Eliduc lay itself is meant, and specifically the two episodes not duplicated in I, depends to a certain extent upon the question at issue in this paper. If I represents a reversal of E^2 it would probably be exact. Yet, even if the source of I were entirely independent of E^2, it might still be true; for, granting the earlier date of E^2, we should have proof of his acquaintance with this poem in the name Eliduc, which he applies to the father of his hero.

We have thus on either side the author's testimony of the existence of an older form of either poem. The question to solve is whether this earlier form is identical for both E^2 and I, and whether the points of contact enumerated by Förster contain evidence that I is a reversal of E^1. Before going any farther it will be of service to state clearly Förster's position. He maintains that Gautier reworked the Eliduc story, and purposely eliminated all its immoral features. While Eliduc was ready to forget his wife and commit bigamy, Ille remains faithful to Galeron, until of her own will she sets him free. Hence the remorse of Eliduc and Guilliadun could disappear from *Ille et Galeron.* The fundamental difference in the appearance of the two protagonists—Eliduc as a knight with followers, Ille poor and unknown—is due to Gautier's principle to let his hero create his position through his valor and daring. The motive of the separation of Ille and Galeron, he thinks, is based upon a question debated at the court of Marie de Champagne, and called up presumably by incidents that must have been of frequent occurrence in the tournaments of the time, viz., whether a lady is justified in dismissing her lover when his appearance is changed as the result of injuries received in combat, in this instance the loss of an eye. And he refers to a passage in André le Chapelain's well-known book[1] where a decision on this very question in the sense of Gautier's poem is given by the countess Irmengard of Narbonne. To this reconstructed story Gautier then made various additions. He increased the poem to the proper length of a *roman d'aventure* by adding an account of the youth of his hero and his first marriage. He fills in and lengthens out descriptions of battles, discourses on love in the manner of Chrestien de Troies, and inserts some clever scenes of his own invention, such as the life of Galeron in Rome and her appearance at the door of the church at the moment of Ille's wedding to Ganor, the latter's journey to Bretagne to implore the aid of Ille, and their failure to meet in Vienne, and the like.

Bearing these points in mind, we may now proceed to a critical examination of Förster's argument, which is based partly on alleged similarities between E^2 and I, and partly on contrasts in the main motives of the two stories.

The first points of contact which he notes are contained in the battle scenes. Only one such incident occurs in E^2. Here it is related that Eliduc arrives at the court of the king of Exeter with 10 of his own knights (l. 79). He is joined by 14 of the king's men (l. 155), and together the 25 (l. 221) set out to give battle to the enemy who is pressing him. The subsequent victory takes place in a *destreit*, pointed out to Eliduc by one of the king's men upon his question (ll. 166–84); 30 of the enemy are captured (l. 221); and when the king now sees this crowd of 55 knights approaching his castle, his first thought is that the enemy has been victorious (ll. 235 ff.). There are five battles described in I, and the similarities are scattered through several of them. In the first of this list Ille has set out to conquer his heritage with 10 knights (l. 319) and two old companions (ll. 194 and 329), so that the whole cavalcade numbers 13 men. These expect to be joined by 20 additional knights (l. 340) of Ille's faithful friends, but their plan miscarries. The 20 are attacked by 100 of Hoel's men (ll. 400 ff.), and hard pressed, and when Ille and his 12 companions arrive a battle ensues, 13 against 60, and 20 against 40 (ll. 494, 495). Of the 20 finally only 13 remain, and of the

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[1] *De Amore*, edited by E. Trojel (Havniae, 1892), p. 287.

40 only 16 (ll. 512, 513). Ille and his men in the end overcome the other 60 (ll. 517–792). He kills 18, and the others flee.

The similarities which Förster sees in these two scenes are rather dim. Eliduc's battle is directed against a rejected suitor for the hand of Guildeluëc, the daughter of the king of Exeter; while Ille fights for his own title, though later, after his marriage to Galeron, he defends her twice—a fact which Förster overlooks—against rejected suitors, first against Rogelion (ll. 954–1176), and later against the counts of Anjou and Poitou and the duke of Normandy (ll. 1494–97 and 1538–80). This latter battle takes place in a *destreit* (l. 1552) as that of Eliduc; yet Förster fails to note the vital difference that in E^2 the pass is a part of Eliduc's prearranged plan of attack, while in I it represents the natural road of the enemy in the third of these battles. He maintains further that the 14 knights in E^2 (l. 155) play the same rôle as the 20 in I (l. 483) in the first battle; but he overlooks that the 14 aid Eliduc in defeating the enemy, while Ille frees the 20 from the danger in which they are caught. Furthermore, Eliduc's increase comes from the king of Exeter's men, while Ille's 20 knights are friends of his youth, trying to effect a union with him. Finally the one battle takes place for the conquest of Ille's inheritance, while the other is in aid of the father of Eliduc's future wife; and above all, the points compared are divided between two entirely different scenes. It is evident that the significant features of the three battles are quite dissimilar. The mistake of the king in E^2, when he sees the larger number of knights returning to his castle, and which is so unique that it should have appealed to Gautier, is entirely lacking. Taking all these variations into account, I think it will be agreed that the few scattered points of contact, meager as they are, must be fortuitous, all the more when it is remembered that they could be duplicated from other poems.

Förster thinks, in the next place, that the circumstances attending the appearance of Eliduc and Ille at the courts of the fathers of their second wives are identical, barring the difference already referred to that the former arrives surrounded by followers, while Ille comes alone in shabby dress and is exposed to ridicule. In both poems the king is described as old and feeble (E^2 90, *Vielz* *huem et ancïens esteit* = *I* 2004, *Que d'une part l'aqeut viellece*), and both have refused a neighbor the hand of their daughters (E^2 95–98 = *I* 5400). Here Förster distorts the facts to support his thesis. In E^2 the king is attacked by a rejected suitor, but in *I* the sole reason for the Greek emperor's aggression is the age (l. 2004) and feebleness (l. 2007) of the emperor of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople is already married to Ganor's cousin, and the question of his suit for the hand of Ganor does not arise until much later, when her marriage to Ille is not thought of. Galeron has reappeared and both have returned to Bretagne. Ganor's father has died (l. 5400) and her cousin has succumbed to the effects of her husband's cruelty. This is the final war of the poem, and, like the one preceding it, is in the main a war of conquest in which the idea of a marriage is of secondary consideration.

Förster sees further evidences of the indebtedness of Gautier to the Eliduc lay in certain features of Ille's battles against the Greeks after his arrival in Rome, ll. 2201 ff. The comparison is of course again with the single battle in E^2. The Romans retire to a castle (*I* 2255), where they are besieged, while Eliduc prepares an ambush (E^2 173) for the enemy. Förster notes particularly that in both cases the action is the result of a *conseil.* He overlooks that in E^2 the counsel is sought by Eliduc, while in *I* it is offered with diffidence by Ille to the seneschal (*I* 2237, and particularly ll. 2274 ff.). The siege which the Romans undergo in this castle Förster compares, if I understand him correctly, with the siege which the king of Exeter suffers at the hands of the rejected suitors, when Eliduc first appears at his court (E^2 99)! He then notes that as the result of the victory Eliduc becomes *gardein de la tere* (E^2 270) and Ille *senescal* (*I* 2476); but he overlooks that in E^2 the appointment is made by the king, while Ille is elected to the position by the knights on the battlefield after the seneschal's death, when they are in need of a new leader (*I* 2470). The emperor merely confirms the choice (*I* 3165 and 3237–67).

Förster lays stress upon the fact that in both poems it is the princess who falls in love first with the newly arrived knight, and he points out certain similarities that exist in the description of their first meeting (E^2 300–02 = *I* 3317–19); their interview without witnesses (E^2 297 ff. = *I* 3332 ff.); the shyness of the girl, who fears that she may be laughed at and rejected if she confesses her love (E^2 307–08 = *I* 3354–58); her desire to have the newly come knight for her lover (E^2 327–30 = *I* 3358–61). But certainly Gautier did not have to refer to the Eliduc lay for such commonplaces of mediaeval literature.

The fundamental and conscious reworking of the Eliduc lay begins, according to Förster's hypothesis, with the appearance of Ille in Rome. The differences which may be observed now are explained as being due to the purpose of the author. Eliduc falls in love with Guilliadun, while Ille thinks only of Galeron. Then the two couples are separated. Eliduc leaves Guilliadun unwillingly when summoned by his liege lord (E^2 550 ff.), while Ille gladly follows Galeron to Bretagne when she informs him of Conain's death and the country's needs (*I* 4213 ff.). Both knights promise to return, Eliduc to carry Guilliadun away (E^2 690), and Ille only if Rome should stand in need of his sword (*I* 4880).

The leave-taking which is described at this point shows some rather striking points of contact. Both Eliduc and Ille announce their intention first to the maiden's father (E^2 620 = *I* 4486); both promise to return if needed or called by him (E^2 638 ff. = *I* 4517 ff.); both receive presents from him as they leave (E^2 643 = *I* 4942); both then say farewell to the princess (E^2 654 = *I* 4675); in both poems the maiden swoons when she hears the news (E^2 661–62 = *I* 4774 ff.); the knight bemoans his fate (E^2 664 ff. = *I* 4790 ff.); when she regains consciousness he makes his promises (E^2 668 = *I* 4873); and finally both Eliduc and Ille kiss the maiden as they depart (E^2 702 = *I* 4902).

This is the only scene in the poem showing distinct resemblances. There is the possibility that we may have to do with a commonplace of mediaeval literature, yet the various steps outlined follow so closely in the same order that the relation between them may perhaps be more vital; and since Gautier probably knew the Eliduc lay, he may have had this scene in mind when he wrote this portion of his poem. Yet the argument is not sufficient to establish Förster's claim, and at any rate it is quite compatible with the conclusions as to the source of his poem which we shall try to establish later. After this scene fundamental differences reappear. Eliduc returns to Guilliadun because he had promised to do so, while Ille must avoid Ganor's presence until Galeron of her own accord has entered the cloister. In either poem the knight marries his second wife, but in E^2 this act is followed by ultimate penitence for the sin that has been committed, while in *I* no wrong has been done and Ille can live in joy with Ganor.

It must be granted that Förster's theory appears very plausible with regard to the portion of the story in which one poem is the reverse of the other, but it is evident also that the absolute proof of its accuracy is lacking. Like all well-constructed theories, it must rely upon its logic and plausibility. And, certainly, it must be granted that Gautier might have composed his poem as Förster maintains he did. However, when one compares E^2 and *I* closely, as we have done, doubts with regard to the justice of Förster's point of view begin to assert themselves. Granting that Gautier with conscious purpose stood the central motive of the Eliduc lay on the head, it is evident from this comparison that he did not make use of the form which Marie de France had given to the story. The points of contact brought forward by Förster are scattered and separated in a manner quite inexplicable on such a supposition. Furthermore, many of the resemblances pointed out by Förster are without doubt fortuitous, and could easily be duplicated from other poems. The presence in two texts of an ambush or a council of war, of a speech to infuse courage, or the elevation to high office of an unknown knight who performs miracles of bravery, the advances of a princess to this knight and his disdainful attitude, the separation of two lovers and the maiden's swoon, can certainly not prove relationship between them. If, then, we note in addition that these elements are used in the freest manner, and that the scenes in which they occur are fundamentally dissimilar, as has been shown, the conclusion becomes pressing that the fancied relation of the two poems has no basis in fact.

Furthermore, Förster's supposition fails to give the key to Gautier's method in many other details of the story. Granting that the introduction of the account of Ille's youth caused him to split the battle episodes, why should he have introduced Galeron as the sister of Conain, when in the corresponding scene in *E* the princess is the daughter of the king whom Eliduc aids with his arms? Why should Rogelion, the first of the rejected suitors, prepare an ambush for Ille and leave Conain unmolested? Why should the other suitors for Galeron's hand endeavor to avenge the slight cast upon them only after her marriage to Ille? Why should the Greek emperor at his first attack on Rome lay no claim to Ganor's hand? Why should this suit appear as an afterthought after her father's death? And why should Gautier, who was clever enough to invent such striking scenes as those depicting the life of Galeron in Rome and her appearance at the cathedral at the moment of Ille's impending marriage, duplicate in a vague way at the court of Rome scenes upon which he had already drawn when describing events at the court of Conain? All these variations, and others that might be mentioned, become of small importance when they are conceived as due to the impulse toward variation observed in all popular literature; but they demand a definite explanation when it is maintained that one story represents a conscious reworking of the other. And in support of our demands we have merely to cite the *Cliges* of Chrestien de Troies. That this poem represents a reversal of the Tristan story Förster was the first to maintain, and all have subscribed to his opinion. But here it is possible to outline the reversal step by step, and the picture, when completed, represents not merely a plausible hypothesis, but a definite and convincing argument.

There can be no question, however, that the two stories are closely related in their central theme. *E* shows a fickle husband and a faithful wife, while *I* tells of a model husband and the reward of an equally faithful wife, with this addition that fate so arranges the life of the second couple that the husband can wed his second wife in honor. Looked at in this way, the one story is plainly the reverse of the other. The question at issue is to determine the age of the reversal. Before submitting our answer to this problem we must look for a moment at the structure of *I*.

Three sections are plainly visible in this poem. (1) The story begins with an account of the *enfances* of Ille. Deprived of his heritage, he sets out to conquer his rightful possessions (—l. 888). (2) After a first unsuccessful attempt he arrives at the court of Conain, count of Bretagne. Here he meets Galeron, his first wife, and is victorious over four rejected suitors (—l. 1580). Then follow his separation from his wife, his arrival in Rome at that moment besieged by a Greek army, his victory and selection to the office of seneschal, the love of Ganor, the preparations for the wedding, the appearance of Galeron, and the return of both to Bretagne, while Ganor remains in Rome (—l. 5310). (3) After the death of the emperor of Rome, Ganor is hard beset by a Greek army, Ille hastens to her aid, after his wife has entered into a cloister, defeats her enemies a second time, and is finally married to her.

Between the first and second of these divisions stands the reference to the lay of *Ille et Galeron*, and its introduction at this point and the general setting in which it appears create a strong presumption that it is here that Gautier began to follow his source. What precedes is his invention. If this be so, we shall get a clearer conception of the type of story which this lay contained, if we reduce it to general terms. A youth unknown and deprived of his heritage arrives at a court, where he distinguishes himself by his bravery and is raised to an important office. In consequence a princess falls in love with him, and the two are married. Presently, for a reason to be discussed later, the two are separated. The knight journeys to another court, where similar scenes are re-enacted, but he remains steadfast to his first love. In the end, when he has received apparently definite news of the death of his wife, he assents to a second marriage. But the first wife appears before the ceremonyis consummated, is reunited with her husband, and both return to their home.

I leave open for the moment the question whether the final scenes of the poem also had their counterpart in the lay. The portion that we have outlined bears most striking resemblance to the story of Horn and Rigmel.[1] Here Horn, unknown and shorn of his heritage, with fifteen companions appears at the castle of Hunlaf, who is old and feeble (l. 1752). As he grows up, his daughter Rigmel falls in love with him. She employs the seneschal to arrange an interview. She leads the youth to a portion of the room where they can converse in private, and makes him sit near her on a richly covered couch.[1] Horn rejects her advances because of his poverty and modest descent, telling her that she should marry a king,[2] or at least wait until she could be certain of the value of her choice. Presently Horn becomes *cunestable*[3] on account of his brilliant first battle. Then Rigmel sends him presents, which he accepts, much to her joy. The affection between the two now becomes apparent, and Horn is maligned to Rigmel's father. He leaves the court in disgrace and arrives at Westir, where Gudreche is king, and lives there under the name of Gudmod. Again he proves his valor and rises in esteem, so that Lenburc, one of the king's daughters, falls in love with him and makes the usual advances by sending him a messenger and presents. Horn, however, repels her and remains true to Rimel. Then comes another war, in which he proves himself the mainstay of the country, and when it is over Gudreche, who is also very old (l. 3573), wishes to bestow upon Gudmod, though he is in entire ignorance of his antecedents, the hand of Lenburc and with it the crown of his kingdom.[4] He now advances his low origin as an obstacle, and speaks of his love to Rigmel and the troth which he had pledged her.[5] Soon after he leaves Gudreche's court and arrives at Hunlaf's castle just as Rigmel is to be married by the will of her father to another.

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[1] *Das anglonormannische Lied vom Wackern Ritter Horn*, published by Brede and Stengel, Marburg, 1883 (*Ausg. and Abh.*, VIII).

The characteristic feature of this story is the youthful knight, who through his prowess wins the love of two maidens, but remains faithful to the first in spite of all the advantages which the second union offers to him.[6] Some striking points of contact with *I* have been pointed out in the course of the analysis. We may add that the increase in prestige offered to Horn through his marriage with Lenburc is also paralleled to a certain extent in the marriage of Ille with Ganor. The latter is an emperor's daughter, while Galeron was only the sister of a duke of Bretagne. Similarly Hunlaf, the father of Rimel, though described as a king, does not appear to be the equal in importance to Gundreche, the king of Westir. Perhaps it is futile to lay too much stress upon this point, but at any rate it is evident that the *Song of Horn*, when looked at in this way, differs from our poem mainly in the fact that the hero is not married to the first lady, when he meets the second. We have proof, however, that a variation of this original theme, representing the hero as married, was current before Gautier's time. The evidence lies in the following episode from the Beves[1] legend.

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[1] The same trait occurs in *I*, ll. 3327 ff., and since it is to be found also in E^2, ll. 297 ff., Förster construes it into an argument for Gautier's indebtedness.

[2] Cf. *I*, ll. 4699 ff.

[3] Cf. *I*, ll. 1191 ff.

[4] Ille also arrives unknown at the court of Rome and is received by the emperor without telling him his antecedents (ll. 2011 ff.). Later the proposal to bestow Ganor and the crown upon him also comes from the emperor (ll. 3491 ff.).

[5] Ille also makes known his marriage to the pope, when the latter makes him acquainted with the emperor's plans, ll. 3666 ff.; cf. *Horn*, ll. 3663 ff.

[6] Another version of this theme is to be found in the unpublished poem on *Gui de Warwick*. Here the hero of humble birth falls in love with the daughter of his liege lord. At first scornfully rejected, his suit is listened to only on the condition that he shall become a

Bueve, after his marriage to Josiane, goes to London to the court of the king. During the festivities of Pentecost the king's son tries to steal the horse of Bueve, and is killed by the animal, and, in consequence, Bueve, though innocent, is forced to leave the country. He takes Josiane and Tierri, a young companion, and sails across the sea. When they have reached land again, Josiane is delivered of twins, but Saracens carry her away before Bueve and Tierri can come to her aid. In their journey to discover her whereabouts both arrive in Civile, and put up at the house of a squire called Gernier. On the following morning the city is attacked by a hostile army, and both aid in the defense and are the cause of a complete victory. The lady of the land, a maiden, witnesses the battle from her tower and falls in love with Bueve. When he returns with Tierri to his lodgings, she sends her steward Reiner to summon him to her presence, but he is unsuccessful in

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famous knight. In consequence, he sets out on the quest of adventures, in the course of which he finally arrives in Constantinople, where he delivers the emperor from the attack of the Saracens. His reward is the offer of marriage with the emperor's daughter with half the realm. He accepts the proposal, but at the very altar he remembers his given promise and swoons. The marriage is thus deferred, and circumstances soon permit him to leave Constantinople. Eventually he returns to England and marries his first love. Cf. *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, pp. 841–51, and Billings, *A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances*, *Yale Studies in English*, IX, p. 25.

[1] *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, Herausg. von Stimming (Halle, 1899; *Bibl. Norm.*, VII), ll. 2817–3045.

this errand. Then she goes herself, and hears now that Bueve is seeking his lost wife and two children; but she persists in her demands, and even threatens Bueve with death. Finally it is agreed that Bueve shall marry her in form at once, but that he shall continue his search for his wife for the space of seven years. If at the end of this period he should still be ignorant of her whereabouts, the marriage should be consummated in fact. Should the wife be found, however, the duchess of Civile is to receive Tierri as husband. Thus the ceremony takes place, and they live together for seven years. At the end Josiane appears with Sabaoth, Tierri's father, who had been seeking for Bueve and Tierri. A general recognition follows, Bueve and Josiane are joined again, and the duchess of Civile becomes the wife of Tierri.

The French poem, which we have followed so far, assigns no reason for the attack upon Civile, which Bueve and his companion repel. But this omission is supplied by the Norse version of the story. Here it is told that two earls had declared war, because the princess had preferred another suitor. After the victory, and during the seven years in which Bueve is the nominal husband of his second wife, this version adds that he increased her dominion in every direction and killed her enemies wherever he could find them, i. e., acted as her *senescal* or *cunestable.* Finally Sabaoth and Josiane hear of his high station and impending marriage, and fortunately arrive before the union has been consummated.

In this episode we have all of the important features of *I.* (1) Bueve arrives as an unknown knight in a strange city. (2) This city is attacked by enemies who in one version at least are represented as rejected suitors. (3) Bueve aids the inhabitants to repel the attack. (4) The princess falls in love with him and makes advances. (5) Bueve refuses to marry her until definite assurance of his wife's death can be obtained. (6) A search for the wife is instituted. (7) This is unsuccessful, but she appears herself at the moment when the second marriage is about to be consummated. The two peculiar features of the marriage in form and the agreement that the princess will accept Bueve's companion in case her liberator should prove unavailable do not alter the general similarity.

Unless we are much deceived, we have in this episode of the Beves legend evidence of the existence of a type of story which we may call "the faithful husband." It seems to have developed from an earlier type in which the hero is not yet married, but has merely plighted his troth to the first of the two maidens who fall in love with him. The lost lay of *Ille et Galeron* to which Gautier refers was a member of this group, and if this conception of our problem is correct, we can on the basis of it gain quite a definite idea of Gautier's method in the composition of his poem. His source furnished him with the central motive; that is to say, it related the separation of Ille from Galeron, his arrival and signal deeds in Rome, the love of Ganor, the steadfastness of Ille, and the final union of husband and wife. This matter stands compactly in the middle of the poem, and what precedes and follows represents his additions. That he is responsible for the *enfances* of Ille is accepted by all,[1] but it will have to be granted as well that he added the final scenes of the story, beginning with l. 5283. In looking at the poem at this point, one is struck by the rapidity with which the story proceeds here, which is quite contrary to Gautier's usual habit.[2] In twenty-seven lines he relates the early education of the two sons of Ille and Galeron. The birth of a third child, a daughter who is not mentioned again, the decision of Galeron to take the veil, and the execution of this design. Here certainly was matter for many lines. But the passage serves merely as the connecting link for what was to follow, and when that object is accomplished, the whole matter is dismissed in the interest of the second marriage. There is a hasty reference to Galeron as *le nonain* at the end, l. 6565, her two sons are called to Rome, but *Idone*, the daughter of l. 5312, has completely disappeared.

This third section of his story Gautier added under the influence of the Eliduc lay, in such a way, however, that the spirit of the main motive was not changed. The relation of I to E^2 is then to a certain degree comparable to that of *Ami et Amile* and *Jourdain de Blaive.* As the hero of this latter poem becomes the grandson of Ami, so here Ille is described as the son of Eliduc. Gautier did not find the name in his source, but basing himself on a lay, which was an anti-Eliduc on account of the difference in moral tone which pervades it, he could properly connect the two stories in this way. Perhaps the suggestion to use the lay of *Ille et Galeron* as the basis for an anti-Eliduc came to him from the anti-Tristan of his famous contemporary. If Förster's dating of *Cliges* is correct, this point of view would have much in its favor. If, however, *Cliges* followed *Ille et Galeron*, as Gaston Paris maintained, the relation between the two would be reversed

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[1] Lot, *Romania*, XXV, pp. 585–90, has pointed out the probable historical background of this portion of the poem.

[2] Cf. Gaston Paris, *Rom.*, XXI, p. 278, n. 2.

However this may be, in one respect Gautier's poem in its spirit shows close resemblance to *Cliges.* In the various poems which we have examined it is the maiden who falls in love with the knight and makes the advances. Through her chamberlain she invites the knight to her room and gives him presents. In *Bueve de Haumtone* she even visits the knight when he refuses to follow her invitation. No such scenes are found in *Ille et Galeron.* Here the maiden is shy and reserved, and can show her feelings only by indirection. It is significant, however, that in both the scenes in point in the poem Gautier seems to have had in mind the earlier habit illustrated by *Eliduc*, *Horn*, and *Bueve de Haumtone.* After describing the love of Galeron, he says:

> N'ele ne li descoverroit
> Premierement por rien qui soit,
> Qu'il n'afiert pas que feme die:
> "Je voel devenir vostre amie,"
> Por c'on ne l'ait ançois requise
> Et mout esté en son service. (1221–26)

and, similarly, when Ganor longs for Ille, he writes:

> Tout li a dit la fille au roi
> Fors seulement: "Sire, amés moi!"
> Et se costume fust en terre
> Que fille a roi dëust requerre
> Nului d'amors premierement
> Ele le fëist esranment. (3353–57)

In both instances the natural guardian of the girl decides upon the marriage. We have evidently a conscious alteration here, introduced by Gautier in accord with the conception of propriety at his time, and this spirit is entirely in harmony with that evident in Chrestien's *Cliges*. In the *Tristan* story Blancheflur falls in love with Rivalen, and goes to find him on the bed where he was recovering from the wounds which he had received in battle. But in *Cliges* Soredamors, the copy of Blancheflur, is shy and reserved, and the confession of her love is skilfully provoked by the queen. If this point of view is valid, we have an additional indirect indication here of the age of Gautier's source.

A word should finally be added about the cause of the separation between Ille and Galeron. The connection which Förster has established between this passage and one of the *Judicia Amoris* of André le Chapelain is indeed evident, but this fact does not prove the indebtedness of Gautier. Gaston Paris[1] saw in it a remnant of another story not connected with the theme under consideration here. According to our view, Gautier found it in his lay. It must be borne in mind that his story, as the others that we have analyzed, must have given some explanation for the separation of the knight from his first lady, and we may add that no two agree in regard to this point. To be sure, the spirit of this passage is more in accord with the subtler conception of the relation of the sexes current at the time of Chrestien than with that of the *Song of Horn* or *Bueve de Houmtone*. But it is evident also that the accident described there, or similar ones, must have been of frequent occurrence in the tournaments of the time, and there is no valid reason which could be advanced against the presence of this passage in the original lay. At any rate, this point does not affect our main thesis, and if Gautier added it, he made it replace some other explanation with similar purpose which did not appeal to him. The fact that it stands at the beginning of the second of the sections of the poem which we have observed, and after the definite reference to his source, is a strong argument for the accuracy of our point of view.

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[1] Cf. *Rom.* XXI, p. 278.

STUDIES IN GERMANIC STRONG VERBS. I

These studies, which are preliminary to a book on *Germanic Strong Verbs* to be published later, will discuss strong verbs that have not been fully or satisfactorily explained. No distinction is here made between originally strong verbs and those that became strong by analogy.

1. Bīdan

Goth. *beidan* c, gen. 'auf etwas warten, etwas erwarten,' *gabeidan* tr. 'dulden, ertragen,' ON. *bíða* 'warten; c. gen. warten auf jemand oder auf etwas; tr. durch Warten erlangen, erreichen; erdulden, ertragen,' etc., have long been connected with Gk. πείθω, Lat. *fīdo.* But this connection has of late been doubted. So Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*^{2} 26; Walde, *Et. Wb.* 222, who says: "Zweifelhaft ist die Zugehörigkeit von got. *beidan* 'erwarten' . . . . wegen der anzunehmenden Bedeutungsentwickelung von 'sich fügen machen,' intr. 'sich fügen,' zu 'warten.'" If we had to assume such a development in meaning, connection between *beidan* and πείθω would be more than doubtful.

To get at the primary meaning of Germ. *bīdan*, let us see how it is used: (1) Absolutely meaning 'wait, remain, continue;' (2) with gen. or prep. 'await, wait for;' (3) tr. 'endure, bear.' The transitive meaning is especially instructive: Goth. *gabeidan* 'ὑπομένειν, ertragen,' ON. *bíða* 'erlangen; ertragen,' OE. *bīdan* 'endure,' MHG. *gebīten* 'erhalten, bewahren.' Notice also OE. *bīd* 'halt,' *on bīd wrecan* 'make to halt, bring to bay,' MHG. *bit*(*e*) 'Stillhalten, Verweilen,' *beite* 'Hinhalten, Zögern,' etc.

From this we may infer for *bīdan* the primary meaning 'hold,' whence tr. 'hold, bear, endure, sustinere, ertragen; intr. hold, hold on, hinhalten, still halten.' A striking parallel between the use of Lat. *sustinere* and *bīdan* occurs in OLFr. Psalm 68, 21: *ik beid, thie samon gidruovit uuirthi, inde ne was*, which translates *sustinui, qui simul contristaretur, et non fuit.* Compare also OHG. *haltan* 'halten, erhalten, festhalten; intr. still halten.'

As *halten* comes from the primary meaning *drive:* Skt. *kaláyati* 'treibt, hält, trägt,' Gk. *κέλλω* 'drive,' *κέλομαι* 'urge on,' etc.; so also Germ. *bīdan* 'halten, erhalten, ertragen; still halten, verweilen, warten' goes back to a base *bheidh-* 'drive, urge,' which is the underlying meaning in Gk. *πείθω*. For it is evident from the way in which *πείθω* is used that it could not have meant originally either 'persuadeo' or 'überrede,' but rather 'urge, impel, compel, convince, force.' E. g. 'impel, stir up' (*θυέλλας*), Il. 15, 26; 'force, compel, make to obey,' Il. 9, 345, etc. From 'urge, compel' naturally came 'prevail on, convince, cause to yield, persuade,' and in the passive, 'yield, comply, obey, be convinced, believe, trust, etc.'

From *πείθω* 'impel, compel, convince, persuade' we certainly do not need to separate Goth. *baidjan* 'zwingen, gebieten,' ON. *beiða* 'nötigen, auffordern; bitten, begehren,' OE. *bǣdan* 'compel; urge on, incite; solicit, require; afflict, repress,' OHG. *beiten* 'antreiben, drängen; fordern; führen; refl. c. gen. wagen; intr. sich drängen,' ChSl. *běditi* 'zwingen,' *běda* 'Not,' Alb. *bē* 'Eid, Schwur,' with which compare Lat. *foedus* 'league, compact,' and OE. *bād* 'pledge, thing distrained.'

2. Brīdan

MHG. **brīden* 'flechten, weben' is usually assumed on account of the pp. *gebriten*, *gebreten* (cf. Wilmanns, *DGr.* I, 38; Paul, *Mhd. Gr.*^{5} 69, etc.). The inf. is better written **brīten*, if indeed we may assume any inf. at all. For the word is identical with OHG. *bretten* 'stringere, ziehen, zücken; weben,' OS. *bregdan* 'flechten,' etc. MHG. **brīden* or **brīten* corresponds to OFries. *brīda* 'ziehen' from **brigdan*. The loss of *g* with lengthening of *i* to *ī* occurs also in OE. *brīdel*, OHG. *brīdel*, MHG. *brīdel*, *brītel* 'Zügel' beside OHG. *brittil* 'Zügel,' *brittolōn* 'frenare.'

3. Dīkan

MHG. *tīchen* 'schaffen, treiben, ins Werk setzen, fördern; büssen,' *ertīchen* 'büssen.' This corresponds to the MLG. weak verb *dīken* 'büssen, wieder gut machen.' Whether this verb was originally strong or weak it is impossible to tell. Here probably belong OHG. *tihtōn*, MHG. *tihten* 'erfinden und schaffen, hervorbringen, ersinnen, ins Werk setzen, anstiften, machen, abfassen, dichten,' OE. *dihtan* 'direct, command, arrange; compose, write,' *diht* 'direction, command; arranging, ordering; administration, office, action, conduct; purpose, intention,' MDu., MLG. *dichten*, whence ON. *dikta* 'dichten, ersinnen.' The wide variety of meanings in these words, and the close similarity with MHG. *tīchen* point to Germ. origin with later confusion with Lat. *dictāre*, which probably took its late meaning 'verfassen' from the Germ.

The base *dheig-* of the above is a byform of *dheigh-* in Goth. *digan* 'kneten, aus Thon formen.' Compare especially Lat. *fingo* 'form, fashion, make; mold; adorn, dress, arrange, direct; devise, contrive, invent, feign, etc.' These meanings are strikingly similar to those of MHG. *tīchen* and *tihten*. It is not impossible that Lat. *fingo* represents both *dheigh-* and *dheig-*.

4. FLĪHWAN, FLĪHAN

OS. **flīhan* 'versöhnen' may be assumed from *giflīhid* C 1460, *geflīit* M 1460, and from the corresponding strong verb in MLG. *vlīen*, *vlīgen* 'ordnen, fügen, einrichten, in die Reihe bringen, schichtweise legen, stellen, setzen; Streitende versöhnen, einen Streit schlichten, etc.,' NHG. (north German) *fleihen* 'put in order, arrange, fold.' Here belong MLG. *vlege* 'Ordnung, Einrichtung, Schlichtung, Beilegung eines Zwistes; Schmückung, Putz,' MHG. *vlīe* 'Ordnung,' ON. *fló* 'Schicht' from **flaihwō* or *flai*(*g*)*wō*, *flǿia* 'schichtweise belegen.' Compare Gk. πλίσσω 'stretch out, stride,' πλίξις 'a stretching out; span-measure; striding;' ON. *flíka* 'stretch out,' base *pleik*, *pleig-* 'stretch out, spread out: put in order, arrange, etc.'

This is probably a derivative of a simpler base *plei-* in Lith. *atsi-plaitau* 'sich breit machen,' Lett. *plītēt* 'plätten, schlagen,' Lith. *plýnas* 'eben, frei,' *plýne*, *pleīne* 'eine weite, baumlose Ebene.' A synonymous base *pelā-* also occurs.

5. FLĪTAN

OE. *flītan* 'contend, struggle, quarrel,' OS. *flītan* 'wetteifern,' OHG. *flīzan* 'eifrig sein, Fleiss und Sorgfalt anwenden, sich befleissigen' etc., may be referred to a base *pleid-* 'stretch out: aim at, strive for, contend, etc.,' from *plei-* in Lith. *atsi-plaitau* 'sich breit machen,' Gk. *πλίσσω* 'stretch out, stride,' ON. *flīka* 'ausspannen, ausdehnen; prahlen,' etc. (cf. no. 4). That *plei-* 'stretch out' should develop in opposite directions is nothing unusual. For this change in meaning compare Lat. *tendo* 'stretch, stretch out: aim, strive, go; exert oneself in opposition, strive, try, contend,' *contendo* 'stretch out, strain: strive, dispute, fight, vie with;' Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'stretch, stretch out: stride; reach for, desire; reach at, aim a blow at,' Lat. *rego* 'guide, conduct, direct; sway, rule,' Av. *rāzayeiti* 'ordnet.' These combine the meanings in Gk. *πλίσσω* 'stretch out, stride,' *διαπλίσσω* 'stretch out, spread out, unfold, mid. stride, stalk,' MLG. *vlīen* 'ordnen, einrichten, schlichten' and in OE. *flītan* 'contendere,' etc.

The connection of *flītan*, assuming a pre-Germ. base **tleid-*, with Lat. *stlīs* 'strife, dispute' (cf. author, *Americana Germanica* III, 315) I long ago discarded.

6. GLĪPAN

Sw. dial. *glīpa* 'be open,' MHG. *glīfen* 'schräge, abschüssig sein' are from a Germ. strong verb **glīpan* 'slip, slant; fall away, sink, open.' Related words are Sw. dial. *glip* 'gap, opening, chasm,' Norw. dial. *glīp*, *glīpa* 'opening,' ON. *gleipa* 'schwatzen,' i. e. 'klaffen,' MLG. *glepe*, *glippe* 'Ritze, Spalt,' *glippen* 'gleiten, glipfen,' *glipperich*, *glibberich* 'schlüpfrig,' *glepe*, *gleppe*, MHG. *gleif* 'schief, schräge,' *gleif* 'das Abschüssige,' *gleifen* 'schräge sein, hin und her irren,' *glipfen* 'gleiten,' NE. *glib*, etc.

According to Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* I, 235, these are related to Germ. *slīpan* 'slip.' Aside from the fact that this connection is based on a theory that is unproved and unprovable, Germ. *slīpan* may be referred to a base *selēi-* in Lith. *selḗti* 'schleichen,' *selejimas* 'das Schleichen;' Ir. *slemain* 'lubricus,' OE. *slīm* 'slime;' Lett. *slīpt* 'gleiten, schief werden,' NE. dial. *slive* 'sneak;' OHG. *slīhhan* 'schleichen;' Lith. *slḗkas* 'Regenwurm;' OE. *slīdan* 'slide,' etc. (cf. author *AJP*. 24, 45 ff.).

For Germ. *glīpan* we may assume a base *ghlei-* on account of OE. *glīdan* 'glide,' etc., Norw. dial. *gleina* 'open place,' which, in the developed meaning 'fall away, give way, become soft' is in Gk. χλίω 'become soft or warm, be delicate, luxuriate,' χλιδή 'softness, delicacy, luxury, voluptuousness,' χλιδάω 'be soft or delicate, live softly, revel,' χλιδανός 'soft, delicate, voluptuous,' etc. These meanings are based on 'softness' not 'warmness,' the latter coming from the former. So they cannot be connected with OS. *glītan* 'gleissen,' as is frequently done.

The base *ghlei-* 'slip, fall away,' etc., comes perhaps from *gha*l-* in Gk. χαλάω 'slacken, loosen; let down, let sink; become slack; gape open, stand open; leave off, cease from; give way or yield to, be indulgent to,' etc., χαλαρός 'slack, loose,' Ir. *galar* 'Krankheit, Kummer,' ON. *galle* 'Fehler, Mangel, Schaden;' *glata* 'verlieren, verderben,' OE. *gylt* 'fault, guilt;' Lith. *glèbti* 'weich werden, zerfliessen,' ON. *glap* 'flaw,' *glópr* 'idiot,' *gløpr* 'crime,' etc. (cf. IE. a^x: a^xi: a^xu 108).

7. HRĪTAN: RĪTAN: WRĪTAN

Germ. *hrītan* and *wrītan* are well authenticated; **rītan* is doubtful but possible. With initial *hr-* occurs OS. *hrītan* 'schreiben.' Identical with this may be MLG., MDu. *rīten* 'reissen' (by the side of MLG. *wrīten* 'ritzen, schreiben'), NFries. *rīt* 'reissen,' OHG. *rīzan* 'reissen' (though this may be for **wrīzzan*). To these may be related ON. *rísta* 'ritzen' (which may have lost initial *h-* on account of the synonymous *ríta*), OSw. *rīsta*, MLG. *risten* 'ritzen' (neither of which could have had initial *wr-*, but both could come from *hr-*), OSw. *rēta* 'reizen,' OHG. *reizzen*, *reizen*.

Germ. *hrītan* is from a pre-Germ. base *qrei-d-*, with which compare Gk. δια-κριδόν 'separately,' κρίνω 'separate, distinguish,' κείρω 'cut,' ChSl. *kroiti* 'schneiden,' Lett. *krijāt* 'schinden,' OE. *hrīcian* 'cut, cut to pieces,' etc. (IE. a^x: a^xi: a^xu 88).

Germ. *wrītan* 'ritzen, schreiben' occurs in OE., OS. *wrītan*, MLG. *wrīten*, OFries. *wrīta*, and probably in ON. *ríta*, OHG *rīzan*. Related are Goth. *writs* 'Strich,' OE. *writ*, ON. *rit*

'Schreiben, Schrift,' OHG. *riz* 'Strich, Buchstabe,' ON. *reitr*, OSw. *vrēter* 'Streifen.' Doubtful are ON. *reita*, OHG. *reizen* 'reizen' on account of OSw. *rēta* 'reizen,' and ON. *rísta* 'ritzen' on account of OSw. *rīsta*, MLG. *risten* 'ritzen.'

Germ. *wrītan* is from a base *u̯reid-*, which probably meant 'move to and fro, turn, rub, etc.' Compare early LRh. (ndrh.) *wrīten* 'drehen, verdrehen,' Du. *wrijten*, and for meaning OHG. (*w*)*rīban*, MHG. *rīben* 'reibend wenden oder drehen, reiben, schminken,' MLG. *wrīven* 'reiben, wischen, scheuern, schleifen, zerreiben;' OHG. *drāen* 'drehen,' Gk. τείρω 'reibe auf.'

A Germ. **rītan* may have occurred which is possibly represented in MLG. *rīten*, MDu. *rīten*, NFries *rīt*, OHG. *rīzan* 'reissen.' Of these the first three could represent Germ. **hrītan* (OS. *hrītan*), or **rītan;* the last **rītan*, **hrītan*, or **wrītan*. ON. *ríta* might go back to **rītan* or **wrītan*, and if *rísta* is related, it seems to point to the former. For if this were from **wrīstan*, we should expect OSw. **vrīsta*, not *rīsta*, the form that actually occurs. On the other hand Germ. **hrīstan* would regularly give ON. **hrísta*, OSw. *rīsta.* Similarly MLG. *risten* may have had initial Germ. *r-* (or *hr-*) but hardly *wr-*. So also ON. *reita*, OSw. *rēta*, OHG. *reizen* give no difficulty when referred to **raitjan*. But **wraitjan* would give OSw. **vrēta;* and **hraitjan*, ON. **hreita* and, if early enough, OHG. **hreizzen*. On the whole, therefore, it is quite probable that a Germ. **rītan* occurred. In some dialects this would fall together with *wrītan*, in others with *hrītan*.

Germ. **rītan* would go back to a base *rei-d-*, with which compare *rei-p-* in ON. *rífa* 'reissen, zerreissen' (whence NE. *rive*), OSw. *rīva*, OFries. *rīva* 'reissen,' etc., Gk. ἐρείπω 'throw or tear down,' Lat. *rīpa*, etc.; *rei-b-* in OE. *rīpan* 'reap,' Norw. *ripa* 'ritzen;' *rei-k̑-* in Skt. *riçáti* 'rupft, reisst ab,' Gk. ἐρείκω 'break, tear.' All of these may come from the base *rei-* in Skt. *rinā́ti* 'lässt laufen, löst ab,' etc. A base *reid-*, with which we may compare Germ. **rītan*, and ON. *reita*, OSw. *rēta*, OHG. *reizen*, *reizzen*, is in Gk. ἐρείδω 'press against, lean against; prop up; press hard upon; dash, hurl, etc.' Compare no. 9.

8. Līman

MHG. *ent-līmen* 'sich ablösen, ablassen von' is probably not from **līmen* 'sich fest anschliessen' as given by Lexer, *Mhd. Wb.* 1922 (which would connect it directly with *līmen* 'zusammenleimen, vereinigen'), but from **līmen* 'weichen.' Such a meaning best explains the use in such expressions as *sīn arger mūt im niht entleim; im entleim diu kraft.* Compare Lat. *līmus* 'seitwärts abbiegend, schief,' OE. *lim* 'limb,' ON. *lim* 'Zweig,' *limr* 'Glied; Zweig,' base *lei-* in Goth. *aflinnan* 'fortgehen, weichen,' Gk. λίναμαι· τρέπομαι (Hesych.), λιάζομαι 'weiche aus, gleite aus, sinke,' Skt. *linā́ti, láyatē* 'schmiegt sich an, kauert, verschwindet,' etc.

9. Rīþan

ON. *ríða* 'bestreichen, beschmieren' is usually supposed to be the same as *ríða* 'drehen, winden, flechten, binden,' OSw. *vrīþa* 'drehen,' OE. *wrīþan* 'twist, bind,' etc. I refer it rather to a base *rei-t-*, and compare Skt. *rītí-ṣ* 'Strom, Lauf, Strich; Art, Weise,' OE. *rīþ* 'stream,' OLFr. *rīth* 'Bach,' MLG. *rīde* 'Bach, Graben,' Lat. *rītus* 'way, manner, rite,' *ir-rīto* 'incite, excite; move, stir up,' Skt. *riṇā́ti* 'lässt fliessen, lässt laufen,' ChSl. *rinąti, rijati* 'stossen, fliessen,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 16, 311).

10. Skīban

MHG. *schīben* 'rollend fortbewegen, rollen lassen, wälzen, drehen, wenden, schieben; intr. rollen, sich wenden,' *beschīben* 'sich auf etwas wälzen; einem etwas zuwenden, zuteilen,' NHG. Bav. *scheiben* are plainly related to MHG. *schībe*, OHG. *skība* 'Scheibe, Kugel, Walze, Rolle, Rad, Kreis,' OLG. *skība* 'sphaera,' ON. *skífa* 'Scheibe, Schnitte,' ME. *schīve* 'disk,' Gk. σκοῖπος 'potter's wheel.'

The primary meaning of this group of words is not 'cut' but 'turn, roll, etc.' From this came various words for 'roller, ball, wheel, disk, etc.,' a diminutive of which appears in OHG. *skivaro* 'Steinsplitter,' MLG. *schiver* 'Schindel,' NE. *shiver* 'Splitter,' whence *shiver* 'zersplittern.' Or OHG. *skivaro*, etc., may belong rather to ChSl. *scěpiti, cěpiti* 'spalten.' In this case they must be separated from ON. *skífa* 'in Schnitten schneiden,' which is better taken with *skífa* 'Scheibe, Schnitte.'

The earlier meaning 'turn, roll; shove, etc.,' underlies the following: OHG. *beskīben* 'disponere,' MLG. *schīven* 'nach Weise einer Scheibe bewegen, rollen; zerquetschen, pilare, contundere,' *schivelen* 'schwanken, auf die andere Seite treten, abfallen; unredlich handeln, intrigieren,' NE. *shiver* 'schauern, zittern' (these last two frequentatives), ON. *skeifr*, OE. *scāf*, MLG. *schēf*, MHG. *schief*, 'schief.' ON. *skeifr*, etc., Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.* 154, compares with Lith. *į skybei* (adv.) 'schief,' Lett. *schkī́bs* 'schief,' *schkēbt* 'kippen,' which would imply a base *sqeibh-*.

In Gk. occur synonymous bases *sqeip-*, *sqeĭb-*, *sqeĭbh-*: σκίμπτω, σκίπτω 'prop against; crouch,' ἐνσκίμπτω 'dash in or upon,' σκιμπάζω, σκιμβάζω, κιμβάζω 'halt, limp, crouch,' σκιμβός 'halt, limping,' σκῖφός 'niggardly, miserly.' Compare OE. *hnīgan* 'bend down,' *hnāg* 'bowed down, prostrate; contemptible; niggardly.'

11. SMĪTAN

This word occurs with the greatest variety of meanings: NHG. *schmeissen*, MHG. *smīzen* 'streichen, schlagen,' NE. *smite*, OE. *smītan* 'daub, smear; pollute,' Norw. dial. *smīta* 'kleben; refl. wegschleichen,' Sw. *smīta* 'schleichen, sich drücken, sich davonmachen,' etc. These are from a pre-Germ. base *smei-d-* 'drücken, reiben, streichen, schmieren, etc.; sich drücken, schleichen, etc.,' which is from *smĕi-* in Gk. σμῆν, σμήχω, σμώχω (cf. Schade, *Wb.* 835; Persson, *Studien* 183).

Derivatives of the same base *smei-* are NHG. *schmeichen* 'smooth, plane,' Norw. *smika* 'streichen, glätten,' Sw. *smeka* 'streicheln, hätscheln, liebkosen,' MDu., MLG. *smēken*, MHG. *smeichen*, *smeicheln* 'schmeicheln.'

Similarly Germ. *smītan* 'streichen, etc.,' may be compared with Lett. *smaidīt* 'schmeicheln.' But this is regarded as related to Lett. *smaida* 'Lächeln,' Gk. μειδάω 'smile,' derivatives of the base *smei-* in Skt. *smáyatē* 'lächelt, lächelt verschämt, errötet,' *vi-smáyatē* 'wird betroffen, bestürzt,' *smaya-s* 'Staunen, Verwunderung; Hochmut, Stolz,' ChSl. *smějǫ sę*, Lett. *smeiju* 'lache,' Lat. *mīrus*, etc. In these words we have the intransitive and passive meanings of *smei-*. Skt. *smaya-s* is especially instructive, as it points to the primary meaning 'drawing back,' which describes both 'astonishment, wonder, shyness,' and 'aloofness, haughtiness.' Compare especially Sw. *smīta* 'sich drücken, sich davon machen' and NHG. *verschmitzt*, Dan. *smette* 'schlüpfen.'

A similar development in meaning is seen in the following: NHG. dial. *schmorkeln* 'schrumpfen,' OE. *smearcian* 'smile,' NE. *smirk* 'schmunzeln.'—Lith. *smaukiù* 'glatt oder gleitend streifen,' MHG. *smiegen* 'sich eng an etwas drücken, sich zusammenziehen, ducken,' NE. *smug* 'smooth, sleek; unctuous; self-satisfied.'—Scotch *smule, smuil* 'schleichen; schmeicheln,' MHG. *smollen* 'schmollen; schmunzeln,' *smielen* 'lächeln:' Gk. *σμοιός*, *σμυός* 'mürrisch:' MHG. *smieren* 'lächeln.'—MHG. *smutzen* 'streichen: schlagen; beflecken,' MLG. *smotteren* 'schmeicheln, liebkosen,' MHG. *smutzen, smutzern, smunzeln* 'schmunzeln.'

12. STRĪDAN

This verb occurs in a twofold sense represented by OE. *strīdan* 'stride' and OHG. *strītan* 'streiten.' That these meanings are easily combined I have shown in *PBB*. 24, 532.[1]

The old connection of OHG. *strīt* 'Streit' with Lat. (*st*)*līs* (Vaniček 329) may be phonetically possible as Uhlenbeek, *PBB*. 20, 328 f., and Walde, *Et. Wb*. 344, maintain. But before we admit this comparison, it should be proved conclusively that Germ. *str-* may come from IE. *stl-*, and that the meaning of Lat. *līs* and OHG. *strīt* actually correspond.

In the sense 'strive, contend' the word occurs strong as follows: OSw. *strīþa* 'streiten' (usually weak), OFries. *strīda*, MDu. *strīden* 'streiten,' OLFr. *withar-strīdan* 'widerstreiten, zornig, erbittert sein,' MLG. *strīden* (also wk. like OS. *strīdian*), OHG. *strītan*, MHG. *strīten* 'kämpfen, streiten; sich eifrig bemühen.' Related to these are ON. *strīð* 'Streit, Kummer,' *strīða* 'streiten; plagen, reizen,' *strīðr* 'streitsüchtig, rauh, streng, grimmig,' Dan. *strid* 'rauh, struppig; hart, streng, trotzig,' OS. *strīd* 'Streit, Eifer,' OHG. *ein-strīti* 'widerspenstig,' etc.

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[1] The connection between *stride* and *streiten* had been given before by Skeat, *Et. Dict.*, and has been adopted by Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* II, 307.

In all these forms there is no evidence of a Germ. *þ*. If the *d* of Germ. *strīdan* goes back to an IE. *t*, then the verb must be an aorist-present **strītṓ* or **srītṓ* or ***stlītṓ*. Admitting that it is an aorist-present, it is still strange that no noun or adjective occurs with Germ. *þ*. The probabilities are therefore that the verb had IE. *dh*, and for that reason, if for no other, could not be directly compared with Lat. *līs*.

Both *stride* and *streiten* may be referred to a pre-Germ. base *streidh-* 'stretch out, stand out stiffly,' whence 'stride, straddle' and 'strive, struggle,' with which compare *streid-* in ON. *strita* 'zerren, reissen,' *stritask*, *streitask* 'sich anstrengen, sich sträuben,' *streita* 'Anstrengung,' *strit* 'schwere Arbeit.' These seem to come from a base *sterei-:* OE. *strīmende* 'resisting; striving.' Lith. *strainùs* 'widerspenstig in Worten,' *pasistraĩnyju* 'streben, sich anstemmen;' Gk. *στέριφος*, *στριφνός* 'starr, hart, fest,' early Du. *strijven* 'streben, streiten,' OHG. **strīban*, whence OFrench *estriver*, NE. *strive* 'streben, streiten.' Synonymous bases *sterex-* and *stereux-* occur. Compare especially *streud-*, which shows the same double development as in *stride*, *streiten:* OE. *strūtian* 'stand out stiffly, be rigid,' NE. *strut* 'sich spreizen, stolzieren,' MHG. *strotzen*, *striuzen* 'sträuben, spreizen,' *strūz* 'Widerstand, Streit.' For meaning compare no. 5.

13. SWĪGAN

OSw. *swīgha* 'sich neigen,' Sw. dial. *sviga* (*sveg*) 'sich biegen, schwanken, nachgeben,' MDu. *swīghen*, MLG. *swīgen* 'schweigen,' MHG. *swīgen* 'schweigen, verstummen' (also weak like OHG. *swīgēn*) etc.: ON. *suig*. 'bend, curve, circuit,' *suige*, *sueigr* 'switch,' *sueigia* 'bow, bend:' Lith. *svaĩgti* 'schwindelig werden,' *svaiginė̃ti* 'umherschwanken,' Russ. *svigat* 'bummeln, sich herumtreiben' (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* xvi, 20).

According to Persson, *Studien* 192 f., Lith. *svaĩgti* has IE. *g* not *gh*, and is related to OE. *swīcan* 'gehen, schweifen, weichen,' etc.; and Sw. dial. *sviga* is from pre-Germ. **su̯īkṓ*. In that case we may compare NIcel. *svía* 'weichen,' and in any case refer all to a base *su̯ei-* (*id. ibid.*).

The same change of meaning as in the above is seen also in the following derivatives of *su̯ei-:* MHG. *swīmen* 'schwanken, schweben,' *verswīmen* 'verschwinden,' MLG. *swīmen* 'schwindelig sein, betäubt werden,' MDu. *swīmen*, *zwīmen* 'abnehmen, betäubt werden, in Ohnmacht fallen,' etc.—MHG. *swīnen* 'abnehmen, dahinschwinden; abmagern, welken; in Ohnmacht fallen.' —ON. *suīfa* 'schweben, schwanken,' *suīfask* 'zurückweichen von,' Goth. *sweiban* 'ablassen, aufhören.' OHG. *swiftōn* 'stille sein.' For other words with a similar change in meaning see *Color-Names and their Congeners* 33 ff.

14. TWĪÞAN

MLG. *twīden* 'willfahren, gewähren, bewilligen, erhören' is conjugated strong and weak. It corresponds to a weak verb in MHG. *zwīden* (*zwīdigen*, *zwīgen*) 'willfahren, gewähren, erhören,' *bezwīdegen* 'gewähren, bestätigen;' *zwīdesal* 'Gewährung, Geschenk,' MLG. *twīdinge* 'Gewährung,' *twīder* 'Gewährer, Erhörer,' *getwede* 'willfährig,' MG. *getwedic* 'zahm, willfährig,' *getwedigen* 'zahm, willfährig machen,' OE. *lang-twidig* 'granted for a long time.'

These are from a pre-Germ. base **du̯ei-to-*, which we may compare with *du̯ei-* in Lat. *beo* 'gladden, rejoice, refresh; present with, reward with, enrich,' a derivative of *du̯e-* in Lat. *bonus* 'good,' Skt. *dúvas* 'Ehrerweisung,' *duvasyáti* 'ehrt, verehrt, erkennt an, belohnt,' and in OS. *tugiðon*, *tuiðon* 'gewähren,' OE. *tygþian*, *tīþian* 'grant.'

To this base may also belong ON. *týia* 'helfen, nützen' (confused with *tióa*), *full-týia* 'ausreichende Hilfe gewähren,' OE. *tēon* 'furnish; adorn,' *ful-tum*, *-tēam* 'help,' *getīeme* 'suitable,' OLG. *tōmig* 'ziemlich, schicklich,' MLG. *tōmen* 'schmücken, zieren,' Du. *tooi* 'Schmuck,' OE. *tūcian* 'adorn' (cf. IE. *a^x: $a^x i$: $a^x u$* 70). Further connection with Goth. *taujan* 'machen, tun,' OHG. *zouwen* 'fertig machen, bereiten,' *zawēn* 'von statten gehen, gelingen,' Skt. *duvás* 'hinausstrebend,' etc., is doubtful though possible (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 128).

15. ÞWĪTAN

OE. *þwītan* 'cut, shave off,' *ā-þwītan* 'disappoint, frustrari,' OFries. **thwīta*, NFries. *twit* 'schneiden, schnitzen,' pre-Germ.

base *tu̯eid-*, also in OE. *geþwit* 'chip,' ON. *þuite* 'Stein,' *þueita* 'kleine Axt,' *þueita* 'schleudern, werfen.' These are from the base *tu̯ei-* in Lith. *tvỹczyju* 'schlage, stäupe,' *tvóju* 'prügele,' *tvýskinu* 'klopfe gewaltig an,' *tvìska* 'flackert, blitzt,' Gk. σείω 'swing, shake,' Skt. *tviṣáti* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, ist erregt; funkelt, glänzt.'

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THE SIXTH QUARTO OF *HAMLET* IN A NEW LIGHT

It has been generally held that the quartos of *Hamlet*, from the second to the sixth inclusive, were printed each from the immediately preceding copy. This statement must, I believe, be accepted for the second, third, fourth, and fifth quartos, but the sixth bears clear traces of different treatment. It evidently had an editor who incorporated into his text many readings occurring in the folios. Besides these he made many other important changes.[1]

In order to prove my point it is simply necessary to present those instances in which the reading of the sixth quarto differs from the corresponding readings of the earlier quartos, but agrees with the reading of the first or of the second folio, or of both folios. Not having access to the fifth and sixth quartos, I have made use of the readings recorded in *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1892). When no authority is given for the first reading, it is to be understood that it is derived from the folios and quartos not subsequently mentioned. I have, of course, ignored all texts other than the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth quartos and the first and second folios; still I have allowed the "Ff" of the Cambridge editors to stand when the reading of the first two folios is also found in the following folios.

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[1] Compare, for example:

I, ii, 33 *subject*] *subjects* Q_6. 215 *made it*] *it made* Q_6. 237 *a*] *an* Q_6.

I, iii, 7 *primy*] *prime* Q_6. 79 *the day*] *to day* Q_6. 98 *you? give . . . . truth.*] Q_6. *you giue . . . . truth,* Q_2Q_3. *you giue . . . . truth.* Q_4Q_5. *you, giue . . . . truth?* Ff.

I, iv, 19 *clepe*] Q_6. *clip* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

II, i, 18 *if't*] Ff. *y'ft* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *if it* Q_6.

III, ii, 87 *detecting*] Ff. *detected* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *detection* Q_6. 301 *from*] *upon* Q_6. 379 *breathes*] Q_6. *breakes* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *breaks* Q_5. *breaths* F_1F_2. 380 *this*] *the* Q_6. 383 *lose*] Q_6. *loose* The rest.

III, iii, 35 *know*] *heare* Q_6.

III, iv, 79 *sans*] Q_6. *sance* The rest. 215 *in life*] *in's life* Q_6.

More such readings may be found by consulting the Cambridge edition: I, i, 49, 93, 96, 161, 163; I, ii, 63, 92, 127, 137, 147, 179, 200, 209; I, iii, 3, 9, 17, 48, 128; I, iv, 5, 57, 67, 82, 84; I, v, 1, 26, 30, 35, 38, 41, 44, 95, 97, 107, 137, 150, 162, 174; II, i, 3, 18, 42, 49, 63, 65, 69, 77, 79, 94, 106, 112; II, ii, 12, 25, 30, 54, 80, 109, 125, 162, 164, 210, 224, 269, 277, 283, 294, 302, 311, 314, 359, 360, 362, 367, 380, 383, 396, 397, 414, 420, 424, 430, 444, 445, 449, 450, 455, 457, 478, 479, 482, 484, 489, 496, 497, 505, 516, 517, 550, 570, 571, 575, 579, 582; III, i, 10, 19, 30, 33, 46, 60, 61, 64, 65, 72, 75, 89, 92, 113, 118, 144, 147, 151, 161, 162, 163; III, ii, 25, 50, 51, 53, 57, 60, 63, 76, 96, 106, 153, 166, 171, 192, 218, 252, 267, 287, 301, 309, 313, 334, 337, 349, 370, 379, 380, 383, 388; III, iii, 6, 15, 26, 29, 35, 52, 58, 70, 75, 79, 93; III, iv, 22, 24, 77, 90, 116–118, 145, 161, 165, 188, 198, 210; IV, i, 13, 26; IV, iii, 6, 16, 35; IV, iv, 11, 14, 20, 24, 30, 60; IV, v, 26, 36, 55, 83, 102, 103, 129, 130, 138, 140, 173, 184, 197, 210; IV, vi, 8, 9, 16, 26; IV, vii, 7, 8, 11, 22, 29, 32, 45, 87, 115, 117, 122, 129, 159, 161, 174, 175, 191; V, i, 6, 18, 23, 76, 90, 107, 114. 118, 119, 124, 134, 147, 154, 160, 195, 211, 215, 218, 225, 242, 247, 268, 268, 284; V, ii, 13, 29–31, 52, 63, 67, 98, 102, 116, 125, 128, 140, 141, 145, 146, 155, 178, 201, 204, 211, 222, 257, 264, 273, 280, 295, 298, 300, 302, 303, 305, 318, 320, 329, 335, 350, 355, 357. Similar changes occur in other quartos, but so much less frequently that they would not suggest any special editorial work.

I, i

4 *Barnardo?* $F_1F_2Q_6$. *Barnardo.* The rest.

21 *What, has*] Q_2Q_3. *What ha's* Q_4Q_5. *What, ha's* $F_1F_2Q_6$.

65 *dead*] *same* F_2Q_6.

173 *duty?*] FfQ_6. *duty.* Q_2Q_3. *duety.* Q_4. *dutie.* Q_5.

I, ii

29 *bed-rid*] *bedred* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

34 *Voltimand*] F_2. *Valtemand* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Voltemand* F_1Q_6.

83 *denote*] FfQ_6. *deuote* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *deuoute* Q_5.

105 *course* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Coarse* FfQ_6.

114 *retrograde*] F_1Q_6. *retrogard* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *retrograd* Q_5. *retrogarde* F_2.

118 *lose*] FfQ_6. *loose* The rest.

132 *self-slaughter*] *seale slaughter* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

133 *weary*] FfQ_6. *wary* The rest.

157 *incestuous*] FfQ_6. *incestious* The rest.

174 *Elsonoure* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Elsenour* $F_1F_2Q_6$.

237 *hundred*] *hundreth* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

256 *rise Though . . . . them to* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *rise, Though . . . . them to* FfQ_6.

I, iii

16 *feare,* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *feare* $F_1F_2Q_6$.

76 *loses*] FfQ_6. *looses* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

77 *dulls the edge*] FfQ_6. *dulleth edge* Q_2Q_3. *dulleth the edge* Q_4Q_5.

122 *entreatments*] FfQ_6. *intreatments* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

123 *parley*] FfQ_6. *parle* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

I, iv

1 *shrewdly*] F_1Q_6. *shroudly* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *shrew'dly* F_2.

I, v

47 *a*] FfQ_6. om. $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

84 *pursuest*] FfQ_6. *pursues* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

121 *it?*] FfQ_6. *it,* The rest.

151 *Sellerige* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *selleredge* F_1. *selleridge* F_2Q_6.

170 *so mere* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *so ere* FfQ_6.

II, i

31 *quaintly*] *quently* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

63 *take* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *takes* FfQ_6.

113 *beshrew*] FfQ_6. *beshrow* The rest.

II, ii

1, 33, 34 *Guyldensterne* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Guildensterne* F_1Q_6. *Guildenstare* F_2.

5 *call*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *I call* FfQ_6.

39 *I* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. om. FfQ_6.

76 *shown*] *shone* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

104 *thus.*] FfQ_6. *thus* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

136 *a winking*] FfQ_6. *a working* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

140 *star* Q_2Q_3. *starre* $Q_4Q_5F_1$. *sphere* F_2Q_6.

141 *prescripts*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *precepts* FfQ_6.

148 *a*] om. $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

151 *this*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *'tis this* FfQ$_6$.
like] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *likely* FfQ$_6$.
155 *this, if . . . . otherwise;* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *this; if . . . . otherwise,* F_1. *this, if . . . . otherwise,* F_2Q_6.
176 *lord.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *lord?* FfQ$_6$.
190 *lord?*] FfQ$_6$. *Lord.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
192 *lord?*] FfQ$_6$. *Lord.* $Q_2Q_3Q_5$. *Lord,* Q_4.
193 *who?*] F_1Q_6. *who.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *whom?* F_2.
228 *lap* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Cap* Ff. *cap* Q_6.
271 *even*] FfQ$_6$. *euer* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
295 *forgone*] FfQ$_6$. *forgon* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
302 *What a piece*] FfQ$_6$. *What peece* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
303–305 *faculty! . . . . god!*] Pointed substantially as in FfQ$_6$. *faculties, in . . . . mooving, how . . . . action, how . . . . apprehension, how . . . . God:* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
315 *coted*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *coated* FfQ$_6$.
hither] FfQ$_6$. *hether* The rest.
318 *of me*] FfQ$_6$. *on me* The rest.
332 *are they*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *they are* FfQ$_6$.
369 *lest my*] FfQ$_6$. *let me* Q_2Q_3. *let my* Q_4Q_5.
390 *my*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *mine* FfQ$_6$.
414 *pious chanson*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Pans Chanson* Ff (*Pons* F_1). *pans chanson* Q_6.
450 *heraldry*] *heraldy* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
470 *hideous*] *hiddious* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
545 *fiction*] F_2Q_6. *fixion* The rest.
548 *in's*] F_1Q_6. *in his* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *ins* F_2.
551 *Hecuba.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Hecuba?* FfQ$_6$.
565–569 *coward? . . . . this?*] Pointed substantially as in FfQ$_6$. Commas in $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

III, i

6 *he will*] *a will* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
29 *hither*] FfQ$_6$. *hether* The rest.
46 *loneliness*] *lowlines* Q_2Q_3. *lowlinesse* Q_4Q_5.
61 *more;*] F_1Q_6. *more,* Q_2Q_3. *more:* $Q_4Q_5F_2$.
66 *come,*] FfQ$_6$. *come* Q_2Q_3. *come?* Q_4Q_5.
85 *sicklied*] FfQ$_6$. *sickled* The rest.
140 *too*] FfQ$_6$. *to* The rest.
146 *Go to*] Q_5. *goe to* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *Go too* F_1Q_6. *Goe* F_2.
147 *marriage* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *marriages* FfQ$_6$.

III, ii

13 *out-herods*] Hyphened in FfQ$_6$.
29 *praise*] FfQ$_6$. *praysd* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *praisd* Q_5.
41 *too*] *to* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
46 *too*] FfQ$_6$. *to* The rest.
101 *Capitol*] F_1. *Capitall* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Capitoll* F_2Q_6.
107 *that?*] FfQ$_6$. *that.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
232 *how?*] FfQ$_6$. *how* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
256 *name's*] F_1Q_6. *names* The rest.
265 *strooken* Q_2Q_3. *stroken* Q_4Q_5. *strucken* FfQ$_6$.
278 *paiock* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Paiocke* F_1Q_6. *Pajocke* F_2.
290 *vouchsafe*] FfQ$_6$. *voutsafe* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
298 *for, for*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *for for* F_1Q_6. *for* F_2.
312 *lord?*] FfQ$_6$. *lord.* The rest.
319 *astonish*] FfQ$_6$. *stonish* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
386 *daggers*] FfQ$_6$. *dagger* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

III, iii

37 *upon't*] FfQ_6. *vppont* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
73 *praying*] *a praying* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
81 *With all*] FfQ_6. *Withall* The rest.
90 *incestuous*] *incestious* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

III, iv

6 *warrant*] FfQ_6. *wait* Q_2Q_3. *waite* Q_4Q_5.
30 *king.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *king?* FfQ_6.
37 *brasd* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *braz'd* FfQ_6.
42 *off*] FfQ_6. *of* The rest.
64 *mildew'd*] FfQ_6. *mildewed* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *mil-dewed* Q_5.
94 *stie.* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Stye.* $F_1F_2Q_6$.
95 *my*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *mine* FfQ_6.
97 *twentieth*] FfQ_6. *twentith* The rest.
102 *patches,* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *patches.* FfQ_6.
143 *And I the*] FfQ_6. *And the* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
155 *curbe* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *courb* F_1Q_6. *courbe* F_2.
179 *Thus*] FfQ_6. *This* The rest.
186 *rouell* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *to ravell* $F_1F_2Q_6$.
190 *paddock*] *paddack* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

IV, i

16 *answer'd*] *answered* FfQ_6.

IV, ii

28 *lord?*] FfQ_6. *Lord.* The rest.

IV, iii

19 *supper, where.* Q_2Q_3. *supper where.* Q_4Q_5. *supper? Where?* FfQ_6.
35 *indeed, if*] Ff. *if indeed* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *indeed if* Q_6.
46 *England?*] F_1Q_6. *England.* The rest.
52 *and so*] FfQ_6. *so* The rest.

IV, v

50 *clothes*] F_1Q_6. *close* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *cloathes* F_2.
103 *They*] *The* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
122 *Acts*] *Act's* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
196 *Christian*] FfQ_6. *Christians* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
202 *colaturall* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *collaturall* Q_5. *Colaterall* F_1. *Collaterall* F_2Q_6.

IV, vi

5 *greeted, if*] FfQ_6. *greeted. If* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

IV, vii

21 *gyves*] $F_1F_2Q_6$. *Giues* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
38 *Hamlet?* FfQ_6. *Hamlet,* The rest.
48 *mean? . . . . back?*] Pointed as in FfQ_6. Commas in $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
154 *soft,* FfQ_6. *soft* The rest.
180 *indued*] F_1Q_6. *indewed* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *deduced* F_2.
184 *she is drownd.* Q_2Q_3. *is she drownd.* Q_4. *is she drown'd.* Q_5. *is she drown'd?* FfQ_6.

V, i

51 *carpenter?*] FfQ_6. *Carpenter.* The rest.
201 *thither*] F_2Q_6. *thether* The rest.
226 *Crants* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Rites* FfQ_6.
255 *and*] FfQ_6. om. $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
257 *hand.*] *hand,* Q_2Q_3. *hand?* Q_4Q_5.
271 *thou*] FfQ_6. The rest omit.
272 *grave?*] FfQ_6. *grave,* The rest.
279 *thus*] *this* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
293 *Till*] *Tell* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

V, ii

31 *sat*] *sate* FfQ_6.
55 *know'st*] FfQ_6. *knowest* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
94 *it is*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *'tis* FfQ_6.
102 *laid*] *layed* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
154 *carriages*] FfQ_6. *carriage* The rest.
249 *off*] FfQ_6. *of* The rest.
256 *too*] FfQ_6. *to* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
296 *is it*] $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *is't* FfQ_6.
306 *medicine*] FfQ_6. *medcin* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *medecine* Q_5.
308 *thy hand*] FfQ_6. *my hand* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
311 *poysned* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *poyson'd* $F_1F_2Q_6$.
312 *to blame*] *too blame* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. F_1.
313 *too*] *to* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
317 *incestuous*] FfQ_6. *incestious* The rest.
318 *off this*] FfQ_6. *of this* The rest.
328, 329 *time, as . . . . arrest, ô* Q_2Q_3. *time as . . . . arrest. O* Q_4Q_5. *time, (as . . . . arrest) oh* FfQ_6.
377 *inuenters* $Q_2Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Inuentors* $F_1F_2Q_6$.

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REPETITION OF A WORD AS A MEANS OF SUSPENSE IN THE GERMAN DRAMA UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ROMANTICISM

I. GENERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN REPETITION AND ARTISTIC COMPOSITION

The repetition of some part or parts organically related to the fundamental idea of any work of art, literary, musical, or pictorial, is both an essential part of artistic structure and an effective means of intensification of utterance. The parts repeated may be any units of expression: in poetry, a word, a phrase, a sound, a stress, a vowel or consonant, or groups and concretions of these; in music, a tone or a group of tones, a theme, or a musical phrase; in pictorial art, a line or a general direction of lines, a color or a combination of colors, spots or masses of color, or of light and shade. They may even be whole sections, as the burdens of ballads, the various restatements of the theme in symphonic composition, especially in the symphony and sonata, or the return to the first part in Chopin's *Nocturnes*, and all the frequent repeats in musical composition; in architecture, all the structural duplications designated by the term "symmetry;" and in the drama they may be, under certain circumstances, whole situations and scenes —with modifications—as Herod's return in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne.*

The function of repetition as a necessary part of artistic structure is chiefly amplification. In order to give richness and diversity, depth and breadth, to the main idea of a work of art, it is necessary that this idea be presented in a variety of relations; which means that it must be repeated in many different surroundings. In every symphonic composition the various themes are repeated in a constantly changing harmonic environment. Without this repetition musical composition would be impossible. The same is true of pictorial art, as any good Japanese print, or any fragment from the frieze of the Parthenon, or any example of great art that has weathered the criticism of history will show.

The other function of repetition, that of intensification, is derived from the emotional effect of the reiterated impact of the same perception upon our consciousness preoccupied with the train of associations induced by the general idea of some work of art. If the repetition is sufficiently regular to be anticipated and calculated, it takes the form of symmetry, rhyme, or rhythm, the latter including not only poetic rhythm, but the form of repetition called rhythm of lines, colors, tones, curves, masses, and movement in the pictorial and dramatic arts and architecture. The repeated parts may be separated by others, or they may be reiterated in uninterrupted succession. Beethoven frequently doubles and again doubles the ratio of the repetition of a note; others—Chopin and Liszt, for instance—increase the ratio of repetition less regularly. Liszt uses the repetition of a note in a very characteristic and effective manner, in his piano concertos and rhapsodies, to produce the effect of an echo-like reverberation.

Numerous as are these cases in which intensification is due to regularity of repetition, they are yet easily classified under what is properly termed the general technique of each art. Far more complicated are the cases in which intensification is the result of the opposite condition. The spectator may be startled into intense anticipation by the unexpectedness, or by the length or brevity, of the intervals separating the recurrences of the part repeated. Or, repetition may, by a gradual unemphatic cumulation of emotional effects, produce an all-pervading emotional atmosphere, *Stimmung*, which may at times, as in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, grow to an almost mesmeric power. The secret of *Stimmungs*-poetry, and of the art and poetry in which mood predominates, consists in a skilful manipulation of the emotional possibilities of irregular repetition.

Repetition in art, however, never occurs unaccompanied by some variation. In its structural function, variation is implied in the very purpose of achieving variety and amplitude of associations. But even when intensification is desired, entire absence of variety would be monotonous and inartistic. Even repetitions of the same musical note are attended by variations in intensity, speed, quality of touch; all of which, though almost imperceptible, produce telling musical effects. In the case of rhyme in poetry, even if we consider the mere matter of sound of the rhyming words aside from the really inseparable matter of significance, the most perfect rhymes offer variations in the preceding consonants combined with the rhyming vowels. The classical French "rich" rhyme seems to the modern mind tiresome because it lacks this variety; yet even here variety is pushed back merely one step fastening upon the sounds preceding the rhyming syllables. .

The range of variations, from the least degree perceptible to the point where they threaten to overwhelm all sense of repetition and identity, is very great. In a general way it may be said that modernity, development in all arts, can historically be shown always to have been attended by an increasing freedom of variation, and by, not a weakening, but a relegation to a less obvious, though quite as essential, position, of repetition. Greater freedom, less rigidity of form, the incessant triumphs of Romanticism over Classicism, mean ultimately, not, as is often said, displacement of order by disorder, a futile triumph of formlessness over form, but the development of a keener sense of essential identity delving more deeply through the growing splendors of variation, a greater ability to penetrate to the foundations of things, a more incisive power of synthetic perception. It is true that at the beginning of every great movement there is usually an outbreak of disorder, but the laws of development soon sift the permanent from the transitory. The peculiar character of obsoleteness in forms of art and literature rests in their being too explicit, too "complete," too definite, too limited in complex suggestiveness; attributes all of which spring from too obvious repetitions of fundamental elements, insufficiently relieved, amplified, enriched by significant variation. Too great explicitness produces threadbare monotony of restatement. As art develops, the fundamental elements of it become more plastic, and elaboration takes greater freedom.

Confining ourselves to a consideration of poetry, it is evident that the more comprehensive, complex, and close-knit, the more analogous to the highest forms of biological organization a work of poetry is—i. e., the more vital and numerous the relations between each part and every other part are—the more significant must be the elements establishing and emphasizing these relations. The most highly organized form of poetry is the drama. Lyrical poetry, though it may be more intense, more penetrating, more subtle, more exquisite, more true in some particular direction, can never achieve the breadth, complexity, pregnancy, comprehensive and vital synthesis, which are the glory of the great drama. Epic poetry, on the other hand, though it may equal the drama in the synthesis of what is essential, "historical," in life, especially in that of the past, yet cannot achieve the directness, the elemental compactness, the supreme fitness, of the texture and organization of the drama. The great drama compared with the great epic is as the best type of a modern ocean steamer, with all its lines trimmed down to greatest power of resistance combined with greatest mobility, with not an inch of space wasted, and with all parts so related to each other as to make possible an instant and most effective response of the whole complex mechanism to the will of the guiding hand; compared with a reconstructed Noah's ark, safe, slow, leisurely, rich in all the treasures, memories, and associations of the patient earth.

It is this combination of greatest complexity and most effective interrelation—i. e., of this synthetic energy and high nervous pressure—of its organization which gives to the drama in the highest degree the quality of suspense. Suspense, then, must be the ultimate test of the structure of the drama. Under the head of suspense comes whatever *arouses*, *intensifies*, and *amplifies* one's interest in the progress of the drama. Where it is lacking there is some deficiency, either in the intensity or in the variety of the dramatic action. Whenever a dramatist is in a position to choose between several forms in which he might present his story, he has to take the one producing the greatest suspense, even if by doing so he rejects others of apparently greater intrinsic beauty, as symmetry, balance, moderation, elegance, or smoothness. In German literature some of the most poetic dramas—Goethe's *Iphigenia*, *Tasso*, and *Faust*—are faulty as dramas for the chief reason that the requirement of suspense has been subordinated to that of a more abstract form of poetic statement. The pure lyric knows no suspense, because it utters a mode of feeling without regard to origin and issue; when suspense enters into a lyrical theme, it produces a romance; when it becomes a prominent part of the poetic effect a ballad results. In epic poetry there is considerable suspense. But it is only one element among others, all serving the chief purpose of giving a broad picture of people in their fundamental relations to their times. There is in the ideal epic always a broad strain of reflection, of the thought of prose, of quiet, comprehensive summing-up of the main forces of life. The very fact that the action is presented as occurring in the past detaches it from our intensest interests; which is still more obvious in the "I" epic, because in this case it is evident on the face of the story that the main person passed through all the vicissitudes of his past, presumably triumphant, overcoming his troubles at least to the extent of weighing and weaving into the fabric of his experience their significance—which is the only real triumph life offers. But the dramatic form is entirely dependent upon suspense. By conforming to the requirements of suspense, by transforming itself in obedience to the dictates of it, the story, the "fable," becomes the dramatic plot, amplified into the drama.

The conclusion might be drawn from this that the melodrama must be the highest form of drama, for its purpose surely is to produce the most lurid forms of suspense. But luridness represents strength only to crude minds prone to measure strength by explosive violence of outburst, and not yet trained to the deeper though soberer test of the quality of endurance. True dramatic suspense is not a mere superadded external sensational effect—a stage trick, as it were—but an integral part of the very warp and woof of the dramatic subject.

FOUR CLASSES OF REPETITION IN THE DRAMA

Repetition in the drama may be related to the poetic form, to the manner and forms in which ideas are expressed, and to the dramatic action itself. In most cases there is no real distinction between the last two heads, the second properly being dependent on the third; yet this division will presently justify itself by assisting us in defining our problem. In addition to these functions, repetition serves as a signal to the spectator.

1. *Repetition as poetic form.*—Under the head of poetic form belong all the repetitions, regular or not, called rhyme, rhythm, meter, alliteration; and those involved in formal symmetry or balance. Being common to all forms of poetry, they cannot have specifically dramatic functions, and are therefore negligible.

The same is not the case with those infinite subtleties of repetition of sounds called sound symbolism. Although they have been exploited principally in lyrical poetry, especially of the lastcentury, their purpose being that of creating "atmosphere" (*Stimmung*), yet we shall see that through this same function they fulfil a very important office in creating suspense in a certain class of dramas.

2. *Repetition for the purpose of rhetorical emphasis.*—Under the second head, that of forms of expression, belong a very great number of cases of repetition of words or phrases serving the purpose of emphasis, which yet produce no dramatic suspense because they have no important bearing on the dramatic action. These are the cases, usually called rhetorical, occurring in great numbers in the dramas of the early stages of the rebirth of German literature, chiefly those of Lessing, the "Storm-and-Stress," including Goethe's and Schiller's early dramas, and again in Grillparzer's, Hebbel's, and Otto Ludwig's dramas. They are accounted for by the purpose of vivacity of dialogue, vividness of expression, or any stylistic peculiarity incident to speech and conversation in general; or characteristic, not of a particular dramatic character, situation, or action, but of the general style or manner of a poet, or of a "school" of poetry which in these instances is obviously Shakespearean. The term "rhetorical" is here used with a reservation, because rhetorical utterance in its true sense should refer in the drama to all forms of expression conveying in the most impressive and adequate manner the emotions, ideas, and general conception of events, situations, and characters which the dramatist has in mind. Dramatic technique, and the problem of suspense, should therefore properly be regarded as parts of rhetoric.

Two examples from Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* representing this form of repetition will show that, being common to all forms of utterance, it has no specific and organic relations to the dramatic form. In Act I, scene 6, Marinelli's invariable answer to the anxious inquiries of the prince regarding the identity of Emilia Galotti with the obscure woman who is to be married to Count Appiani the same day, is: "Eben die." Finally, in desperation, the prince breaks out: "Sprich dein verdammtes 'Eben die' noch einmal, und stoss mir den Dolch ins Herz." Whereupon Marinelli answers: "Eben die." In Act I, scene 4, Conti, who painted the picture of Emilia, says:

> Wie viel geht da *verloren!*—Aber, wie ich sage, dass ich es weiss, was hier *verloren* gegangen, und wie es *verloren* gegangen und warum es *verloren* gehen müssen: darauf bin ich ebenso stolz, und stolzer, als ich auf alles das bin, was ich nicht *verloren* gehen lassen.

In the latter case the painter repeats the word "verloren" because he is excited, just as anyone in the same state of mind and situation would do. It is true there is a relation between the painter's state of mind, and the beauty of Emilia Galotti which is the cause of the subsequent tragedy, but the connection between his repeated utterance of the word "verloren" and the tragic result of the train of events started by her beauty is too remote and indirect to present itself with any degree of clearness to our minds. Our interest is naïvely centered on a naturalness and vivacity of utterance which does not stop to hunt up synonyms to introduce variety. There is no suspense in this repetition.

3. *Repetition as an element of dramatic structure.*—It is therefore only the repetitions classed under the third head, those related to the structure of the drama, which hold the nucleus of our problem. The problem thus resolves itself into the relations between repetitions of certain parts of the drama and dramatic motivation.[1] Dramatic motivation, however, is governed by the laws of association of ideas.

ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS IN THE DRAMA

Association of ideas is impossible without some form of repetition. Thought consists in connecting different data of experience by means of some elements contained in all of them, which are perceived in some respect to be identical. This identity may be inherent or ideal, or it may be incidental, imputed to an external—i. e., actual or pragmatic—adjunct of some experience. In accordance with this distinction, logicians since Aristotle have divided association of ideas into two classes, characterizing the one by similarity, the other by contiguity. In discursive thought both forms of association are essential. In trying to single out and define the essential elements of our consciousness, whether they be abstract ideas, as "good" or "just," or concepts of concrete things, as "horse" or "cow," especially in the modern positivistic or pragmatic conception of reality, we have to collect and subject to the tests of similarity and contiguity as many data as are accessible to us.

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[1] The next study in this series on Romanticism, to be published presently, will be a detailed study of the peculiarities of Romantic motivation. I have to limit myself in this paper to a brief statement of the general forms of association.

There is a great difference between the objective and the psychological aspects of these two categories, especially as regards contiguity. Objectively, all data would come under the head of contiguity which form essential parts in the description of an external object, say a horse. We form an objective definition of the idea of a horse by applying the criteria of similarity and disparity which are ideal, to all the data, *the contiguous evidence*, which horses, as distinguished from all other objects of external reality, furnish us. Psychologically, however, all those qualities come under the head of contiguity which, whether inherent in the data given or not, for some subjective reason induce certain universally communicable conditions of consciousness in all normal persons.

As regards association by contiguity, it may be essential or irrelevant. Irrelevancy in objective association by contiguity would refer to the insignificant character of details of description or definition adduced—such as, for instance, the average thickness of horsehair established by elaborate measurements as part of the description and definition of a common cart-horse—though this item may be relevant for biological definitions. In psychological association, irrelevancy means lack of universal communicability of experiences—as, for instance, the insufficient communicability due to that peculiar form of egotism called sentimentality.

In the drama and in normal life the processes of association are not discursive. Their purpose is not definition in terms of discursive thinking, but the working-out, the organic unfolding, of some complex state of passion; or, if it please us to use the term "definition," it is definition in terms of organic passional consistency. This passional association, similarly as discursive association, is subject to the criteria of similarity—including its opposite, disparity—and contiguity. However, the processes belonging to dramatic thinking being passional and dynamic, instead of discursive and fixed, similarity and disparity take the forms of correspondency and contrariety of passional reaction, or agreement and contrast of emotional effect upon different characters, the former, correspondency, producing the cumulative and climacteric effects of similar passions and dramatic forces working together; the latter governing the proper and plausible use of dramatic contrast. The use of contrasts in characters, situations, and actions is therefore not a mere artifice to produce an external effect of diversity, but an inherent requirement of dramatic composition. Richness of texture, breadth of significance, universality of "appeal," depth of wisdom, in a drama depend upon the wealth of definition, often miscalled suggestiveness, which governs the right use of similarity and contrast in the selection and arrangement of the structural parts of the drama. In *Romeo and Juliet* we feel an essential bond of identity between the acts of gentleness, devotion, humility, of the lovers; but we find the same bond, that of uncompromising affection, between Romeo's self-control in the scene ending in Mercutio's death and in Tybalt's self-abandonment to murderous hatred. Further, Mercutio and Tybalt are similar in their love of a fight, their quick tempers, their lack of regard for consequences; they are essentially opposites through Mercutio's good nature and Tybalt's fierce sullenness; yet all these traits have their roots in that lusty and potent vitality of youth which is *the ultimate bond of the unity of action in this drama.*

Dramatic association by contiguity takes place when two passional experiences are linked because through some accident of time, place, or other circumstance they occurred in emphatic conjunction. The fragrance of lilacs amid which the lover first kissed his lady will be fraught with potent associations for him as long as his love lasts. This form of association occurring constantly in normal intercourse, being in fact our principal means of giving individuality and concreteness and vividness to our ideas and emotions, is very important in the drama. A few cases in which repetition is used to serve its purpose are: in Otto Ludwig's *Der Erbförster*, "im heimlichen Grund" (nine times), characterizing the scene of the murder; and "mit dem gelben Riemen" (five times), individualizing the rifle with which the deed is committed; "Park" in Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht*, giving the concreteness of locality to Thusnelda's brutal plan of revenge; "Gitterthor" in Grillparzer's *Hero*, serving to retain, through its most prominent local adjunct, the first impression created by the two youths from Abydos; and many others.

4. *Repetition as a signal to the spectator.*—Repetition, then, is an essential part of the very warp and woof of dramatic structure. But it has, in addition, an important external function. The average theater-goer, noting rather naïvely the sequence of events on the stage as an engaging spectacle, without concerning himself much with any underlying identities binding this sequence into an organic process—unless some close personal interest be involved, in which case it is marvelous how speculative he becomes, and with what lightning quickness—this normal person would be greatly assisted in keeping his attention fixed on the structural relations of the details passing in review before him, by some not too obvious hints, some not too impertinent or officious sign-posts now and then when the trail of association becomes dim or frazzled. Repetition is such a sign pointing the association of ideas from a thousand blind alleys leading to the dead walls of utter darkness, upon the highroad of the poetic purpose. Any part of a drama that is repeated with sufficient frequency and under circumstances arresting attention must acquire an emphatic eminence among its less distinguished fellows.

Repetition thus inevitably performing both the more external function of intensification of utterance and the essential function of uniting the several parts of a drama into an organic structure, it would be radically wrong to treat these two functions as separate and different things, rather than as integral parts in the working-out of the structural unity and the organic life of the drama. Both of these functions must therefore be treated together, except in a few cases when particular considerations make separation necessary.

WHAT PARTS OF THE DRAMA CAN BE REPEATED

The parts of a drama which can be repeated are: whole scenes, as Herod's two returns in Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne;* anything coming under the head of action or dramatic event, and more particularly ideas or objects expressed in the discourse; and finally single words or brief phrases, used as keywords. A study of the entire subject of repetition would have to cover the whole of dramatic technique. In limiting ourselves to the repetition of words—excluding synonyms, for, important though they are, their admission would prevent any possibility of delimitation—we have the advantage of fixing our attention upon the most definite and elementary part of the dramatic structure, the part most easily dealt with as to frequency of occurrence and structural relation, and at the same time serving as a means of prying open the whole problem of dramatic suspense. The faculty determining the elaboration of the dramatic dialogue is in the last analysis a quick and subtle sense of words, consisting both of an imaginative vision presenting all the possibilities of meaning, all the different facets, of a word at once; and of a gift of a keen dialectic, a verbal sagacity, seizing at once upon the essential characteristic of each meaning. This sense of words, so ready and fundamentally sound that it might please itself in any fantastic extravagance, in any exuberant divagation, without running the least danger of losing in the end its sober, safe, and steady way, is the basis and justification of most of Shakespeare's punning and skylarking in quest of "conceits." Among the contemporaries, Ibsen has carried the dialectic use of words in his dialogue to an astonishing degree of perfection. Especially in his later works, as *John Gabriel Borkman*, a study of his dialogue practically coincides with a study of his keywords.

REPETITION AND MOTIVATION

Any part of a drama—an action, an event, parts or the whole of the conduct of a character, speeches, even external matters of stage-setting, costumes, and so forth—is properly motivated if it is organically related to a central idea dominating the whole play. Whatever is inconsistent with this idea, whatsoever disturbs the essential unity of action in a drama, can therefore bring about no dramatic suspense, no matter how absorbing it may be in itself.

The term "dramatic suspense" expresses the attitude of anticipation on the part of the spectator with reference to the fundamental idea of a drama—i. e., the central interest of the dramatic action. This interest presents a double aspect, the two sides of which, though organically inseparable, yet have to be marked off with greater precision than is usually done by writers on the drama. They are: the organic consistency of the action and the cultural value of it to mankind. The former calls for judgments of possibility or probability or necessity—that is, of truth or reality on any plane between the crudest literalism or naturalism and the most attenuated and remote "idealism;" the latter, for judgments of values, for appreciations of the actions represented, with reference to the cultural requirements of human life. They have to be treated separately.

Under the first head our attention is centered on the fundamental forces of life as they actually are and operate. Whether they are good or bad, beautiful or the reverse, attractive or not, is irrelevant. They may be either external or psychological.

II. EXTERNAL MOTIVATION

The external forces determining the course of a drama may have the mere significance of a "plot" appealing to a naïve curiosity which is satisfied with a dénouement, with the lifting of the veil of uncertainty dimming the eyes of the spectators, or more commonly of the characters of the play, to the circumstances in the net of which they are entangled. These circumstances are usually not of a deep significance, and, though they may produce disastrous and even tragic results, are not intrinsically tragic. They belong properly to comedy, and appear most commonly as errors of some kind—mistaken identities, misunderstandings, intrigues, false inferences, and so on. In Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, Act II, scene 7, and Act III, scene 8, the names "Stauffen" and "Wolf," and in Act III, scene 7, the words "Ebenbild" and "Bild" are repeated in a significant manner in order to prepare us for the dénouement. In *Nathan*, Act IV, scene 6, the word "Brautkleid" is repeated as a false lead in order to intensify expectation. In Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein* the word "Finger" (the finger missing from the hand of the body of the drowned child) is repeated a score of times to arouse expectations as to a possible clearing of the mystery surrounding the death of the child. In Kleist's *Käthchen von Heilbronn* temporary suspense is effected by the word "Brief." The word is repeated about seventeen times in a conversation between Graf von Strahl and Käthchen. We know that the life of the former might depend on his reading the "Brief." Again, when the castle is in flames, Kunigunde requires that Käthchen take from the burning castle the "Futteral" in which the "Bild" of Graf von Strahl is supposed to be. In reality it contains papers relating to Kunigunde's claim against the count, which she is supposed to have destroyed before her betrothal to him. Kunigunde says: "Das Bild mit dem Futteral, Herr Graf von Strahl! Das Bild mit dem Futteral!" and to Käthchen: "Geh, Mädchen, geh, schaff Bild mir und Futteral." The word is spoken eleven times. It has the double effect of making us anxious as to the safety of Käthchen, who is almost certain to find her death in the flames in trying to recover the "Futteral," and of arousing suspicions as to Kunigunde's motives even before we know the real facts of the case, because she appears singularly cruel and selfish in sending Käthchen into the fire for picture and case, and again for the case alone. This repetition partly belongs under the head of psychological motivation. The word "Handschuh," repeated fourteen times in *Der Prinz von Homburg*, serves to bring about a partial dénouement, the revealment of Homburg's love for Natalie.

The repetition of a word is more significant when it is related not so much to a mere dénouement—that is, when its office is not so much to tease and satisfy curiosity—but serves to emphasize and individualize an inevitable development toward an important, triumphant or tragic, issue. The dramatist in this case does not, as the artificer of "plot" and "dénouement," expect us to make more or less frivolous or clever, at any rate haphazard, guesses, and to express ourselves yet outdone at the end by his ingenuity; he does not enter into a contest of clever guessing with his audience; nor are his issues to surprise us, though the manner and time of their appearance may not always be anticipated; but he rather expects to confirm our profoundest anticipations, to live up to our loftiest sense of the eternal fitness, the deepest and direst logic, of things.

Hebbel furnishes some telling examples of repetition belonging here. His earliest one is that of "fünf Tage" in *Judith.* It occurs in Act III. The besieged citizens of Bethulia are trying to determine how much longer they can resist the besieging army of Holofernes. One of them, the "Älteste," says:

"Liebe Brüder, habt noch *fünf Tage* Geduld und harrt der Hülfe des Herrn."

Judith: "Und wenn der Herr noch *fünf Tage* länger braucht?"

Der Älteste: "Dann sind wir tot! Will der Herr uns helfen, so muss es in diesen *fünf Tagen* geschehen."

Judith (feierlich, als ob sie ein Todesurteil spräche): "Also in *fünf Tagen* muss er sterben."

Judith takes a vow to free her city by the assassination of Holofernes. She goes to him, offering herself to him and promising that she will make him lord of the Jews. Toward the end of her conversation with him she says:

"Auf *fünf Tage* hab' ich genug [of undefiled food to eat], und in *fünf Tagen* bringt er's [Jehovah] zu Ende."

Holofernes: "Die Erlaubniss hast du [to remain alone]. Ich liess die Schritte eines Weibes noch nie bewachen. Also in *fünf Tagen,* Judith!"

Judith: "In *fünf Tagen,* Holofernes."

In Otto Ludwig's *Der Erbförster* the words "gelbe Riemen" ("Gewehr mit dem gelben Riemen") and "heimlichen Grund" are repeated five and nine times respectively, the former identifying the murderer and fixing our attention in a certain direction, and the latter individualizing and giving a certain symbolic significance to the scene of the murder. Some cases requiring mere mention are the repetition of "Ritter" in the cave scene in Kleist's *Schroffenstein;* "Hunde" (twelve times) in Kleist's *Penthesilea*, "Erzbischof von Mainz" (cf. "der Mainzer" in II, 132) in Grillparzer's *Ottokar*, I, 50; II, 19/20, 49/50; "Wo ist Margarethe nun," *ibid.*, II, 520, and III, 469.

The most significant case of the repetition of a word, pointing to the catastrophe by punctuating the decisive steps in the progress of the action, is that of "Licht" (and "Lampe") in Grillparzer's *Des Meres und der Liebe Wellen.* The word is repeated more than thirty times in various associations, constantly assuming additional, more complex, and more pregnant significance. It is necessary to consider this case somewhat in detail, because it substantiates an interesting conclusion. The frequent repetition begins in the fourth act, and its purpose is to lead the priest to suspicion, thence to certainty, and finally to his murderous decision. The temple guard insists that he has seen a man jump into the sea in the morning, at Hero's tower, and that a light has been burning in the latter all night, in violation of the rules.

1297 "Und dort in jenem Turme brannte *Licht*
Die ganze Nacht."
1299 ". . . . vermeiden,
Durch *Licht* und Flamme Bösgesinnten . . . .
Den Weg zu zeigen."
1304 "Sie wusst' es wohl, und dennoch brannte *Licht*."
1320 Tempelhüter: "Und sah' hinein, nichts schaut' ich als ein *Licht*."
1328 Tempelhüter: "Ei Herr! und warum brannte denn das *Licht*."
1339 Tempelhüter: "Allein das *Licht* an jenem, jenem Fenster!"
1348 Priester: "Ruf' mir Ianthen."
Tempelhüter: "Aber, Herr, das *Licht!*"

The priest's suspicion is aroused, and he interrogates Hero about the happenings of the night.

1433 Priester: ". . . . Man sah
In deinem Turme *Licht* die ganze Nacht."

The priest is now convinced and plans Leander's death.

1445 Priester: "Kommt dann die Nacht und siehst du wieder *Licht?*"

The plans have been laid to make Leander's death certain if he follows the summons of the light.

1791 Tempelhüter [to the priest]: "Siehst du das *Licht?* . . . . "

Hero arrives, speaking her longing for Leander in a monologue, the first part of which is addressed to her lamp:

1798 "Noch ist's nicht Nacht, und doch geht alles *Licht*
Von dir aus . . . . "

and

1803: Hero: "Hier will ich sitzen, will dein *Licht* bewahren."

And in many other places: 1839, 1865 (twice), 1872, 1876, 1881, and 1890 (after finding Leander's body). This repetition is reinforced by a frequent repetition of "Lampe" in the same associations. The word "Licht" is closely associated with nearly every step of the action descending to the catastrophe, its presence and absence becoming almost a symbol of hope and disaster, life and death.

A close relation to the progressing action of the drama is also held by the word "Ring" associated with "Grab" in Hebbel's *Gyges und sein Ring*, all in Act I, scene 1 ("Halle"):

". . . . ein Königs*ring*,
Und dennoch kannst du für dein Königsreich
Ihn dir nicht kaufen . . . .
Doch nie vernahm ich noch von diesem *Ring* . . . . "
Gyges: ". . . . Aus einem *Grabe*
Aus einem *Grabe* in Thessalien . . . . "
Kandaulus: "Du hast ein *Grab* erbrochen und entweiht."

Gyges proceeds to tell that he found the grave broken open by robbers, and in it "Erblickte ich auf einmal diesen *Ring*." The word is repeated about twenty-four times. This repetition differs from that of "Licht" in two particulars. First, while it is obvious that the repetition of "Licht" in *Hero* was deliberately resorted to for the purpose of emphasis, there is no emphasis intended in the case of the "Ring." It is incident to normal narrative and colloquy; and yet, recurring as it does in conjunction with gruesome or mysterious or suggestive associations, as "König," "Grab," deeds of violence, a mysterious origin, it does intensify, by limiting and qualifying the object of interest, our and Kandaulus' state of suspense. In the latter case its function being psychological, will not be discussed here.

It might appear that in cases like the one of Gyges' "Ring," in which the intensifying effect of repetition is not primarily intended, and where the dramatic interest is not centered upon the word at all, but upon an object or idea named by the word, as in "Licht" and "Ring"—that is where the repetition of the word is incident to the progress of the dramatic action—we cannot regard repetition as a means of suspense. It might be said that every new emergence of the object and idea, accompanied by the word signifying it, by marking a new step in the action of the drama, must involve a partial dénouement, a relief from previous tension and uncertainty. But we have to consider that dramatic action is not a sum of disjointed events or facts, which could be considered and weighed individually, but an organism in which each part is indissolubly connected with the whole. As the action progresses, as the plot thickens, the relations of each part of the action, each event and idea, to the whole constantly change, expand and multiply. Each new step, while it may explain some object of dramatic concern on the part of the audience, yet at the same time adds to suspense until the final catastrophe. The dramatic possibilities gather before our eyes as the thunderstorm upon the darkening sky. Now and then there may be a moment of clearing, merely to give way, in the next instant, to a still more portentous phase of the expected storm.

The use of the word "Ring" in *Gyges und sein Ring* differs in another respect from that of "Licht" in *Hero*. It conveys a sense of an awful, fateful power, a magic potency, whereas "Licht" though it has a slightly symbolic significance, as in Hero's monologue, has no unearthly significance. It represents fate.

REPETITION RELATED TO DRAMATIC FATE

"Fate" is the collective term comprising the fundamental forces directing the course of the dramatic action. Only in plays that have merely a plot and dénouement fate has no place, except as the dramatist's private Jack-in-the-box contrivance for causing a momentary attack of the shivers to his audience. In serious drama it abides in every detail, swaying the action step by step.

Dramatic fate has two aspects in accordance with the type of drama in which it operates. In that class of dramas in which the chief matter of interest is the concatenation of events—i. e., the external action or story—"fate" is the collective name of all the supreme external and mechanical forces of existence. In the psychological drama, on the other hand, it embraces all the internal, psychological forces—that is, the forces guiding, transforming, controlling, the minds of men. External fate always appears in the guise of extraneous violence opposing and thwarting the wills and purposes of men, whereas psychological fate, being of the very warp and woof of these wills and purposes, of the innermost essence of personality, does not appear as a supervening force, but as the abiding inner cogency, the inevitable intrinsic logic of things, thrusting the conscious will which supposes itself ensconced in the heart of personality, be it good or evil, outside the citadel whence to make its valiant but futile assaults upon the Invincible. This is the dramatic significance of the supreme Romantic article of faith, "Personality is Fate," which combines in a paradoxical conception of ultimate irresponsibility the opposites of absolute freedom of the will and of an absolute subjective fatalism.

In *Gyges und sein Ring* both these forms of fate appear side by side; the preordained destruction of Gyges and his wife being the external manifestation of fate, and its psychological operation directing the course of Kandaulus.

At present we are concerned in detail only with external fate. Representing, as it does, the external forces of life it must appear, not directly, in *propria persona*, so to speak, as "fate," "Schicksal," but as something implied in external events and circumstances. It is by this immanency of fate that the facts of reality become symbolic. Only what is fraught with fate, and as far as it is so, is symbolic.[1] Symbolism is an abiding consciousness of inherent structural or organic relations between the details of reality and fate. The bald word "fate," "Schicksal," frequently repeated as in Schiller's *Wallenstein* (over twenty times), causes not so much suspense as rather a weary sense of poetic self-consciousness and self-interpretation overdone. It is far more effective, in a dramatic sense, in indirect, symbolic presentation.

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[1] The only fundamental distinction between "symbol" and "allegory" compatible with historical usage seems to me this, that a symbol appears vested with the authority of fate. From the "Storm-and-Stress" movement until the Romanticism of the present day, usage has never wavered in this respect.

The differences in the dramatic use of fate mark an important line of development in the history of the German drama from Lessing to Romanticism. In Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* the word, or rather the object, "Ring," repeated about as frequently as in Hebbel's drama, bears a relation to the external action of Lessing's play analogous to that of "Ring" in *Gyges*. It serves as a bond connecting different phases in the progress of the story. In Lessing's play its function ends there; in Hebbel's it serves the further purpose of giving the awful authority of fate to the dramatic events and passions. Before the symbolic possibilities of external circumstances had been rediscovered and their uses exploited anew by the Romanticists, dramatists had no means of enforcing the fate-begotten sweep and validity of their actions upon their audiences, except by baldly giving them a name—a proceeding too direct, too obvious, too devoid of suggestiveness, and too monotonous to have much dramatic value. Schiller, who greatly lacked the power of symbolizing, produced a strong, though clumsy, symbol only once, in the Black Knight in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans;* but he made almost no use of symbolizing words. He rode, therefore, the word "Schicksal" nearly to death, not because he "trieb das Schicksal," as Caroline Schlegel wittily said of him—for every dramatist does that—but because, on account of his deficient symbolic vision, his conception of fate lacked variety and organic relation to reality.

Fate-symbolism was carried to its extreme limit, and to the point of absurdity, in the so-called "fate drama" holding sway in German literature during the decade beginning about 1815. In Zacharias Werner's short play, *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, the word "Fluch" is repeated about fifty-two times, in order to drive home to the shuddering sense of the audience the demoniac power dominating the course of events. In the same play the words, "Messer," "Sense," "Hund," "Sohn," occur for a similar purpose. In Müllner's *Die Schuld* the words tellingly repeated are "Schuld," "Rache," "Stahl," "Blut," "Tod," and "Mord." In Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*, though not a fate drama proper, in which the passion of hatred becomes a demoniac possession taking the function of fate, the word "Rache" is repeated, at the outset, about twenty-six times, and "Mord" about forty times. In Grillparzer's drama *Die Ahnfrau* the words "Ahnfrau" and "Dolch" are used in a similar manner as in the fate dramas proper, though in a somewhat less lurid manner. There is one instance of this romantic use of words in the repetition of "Traum" in Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* (I, 4 and 7). The same word, endowed with greater superstitious power, is repeated in Kleist's *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, where it is associated with the words "Engel," "Marianne," and "eines Kaisers Tochter," likewise repeated.

In Richard Wagner's dramas the repeated words frequently are the names of symbolic objects—objects endowed with superstitious, demoniac, or generally animistic powers. Some of these are "Gold" in *Rheingold*, (about twenty times); "Schwert" in *Die Walküre* (about twenty-five times), and in *Siegfried* (about thirty times); "Ring" in *Siegfried* (about twenty times), and in *Die Götterdämmerung* (about forty-four times); "Speer" in *Parsifal.*

SOUND-SYMBOLISM

In many of these cases of sensational repetition the mere sound of the emphatic word, aside from the relation of its meaning or the object designated by it to the dramatic action, is of considerable significance. Words like "Fluch" "Rache," "Stahl," "Messer," produce, and are by the sensational writers intended to produce, strong emotional effects. Nor is this sound symbolism,[1] if properly used, illegitimate in aiding and intensifying suspense. Wagner in joining the meaning and sound of the words with musical symbolism has in his *Leitmotive* made a masterly use of repetition for the purpose partly of intelligibility and partly of suspense. It is sufficient to refer to Brunhilde's oath on the spear in *Götterdämmerung*, where meaning and sound of the word "Spitze," emphasized by the sharp rise to the musical pitch given the first syllable of the word, unite in startling dramatic significance.

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[1] The Romanticists made much of this symbolism, as: A. W. Schlegel's *Briefe über Poesie, Silbenmaas, etc.* (S. W., Vol. VII); Fr. Schlegel's *Alarkos;* Tieck's "*U*" *Romance of Sir Wulf;* Tieck's symphony prefacing his comedy, *Die verkehrte Welt;* Hoffman's *Kreisleriana* and *Kater Murr.* In lyrical poetry this sound-symbolism has, especially in the last century, been a very prominent means, often overdone, of creating "atmosphere," *Stimmung,* in German as well as in English literature, and in the French Symbolists of the second half of the nineteenth century.

FATE SYMBOLISM BY ANALOGY

There is a still subtler, but no less powerful, use of repetition to accomplish fate symbolism, the typical example of which is found throughout Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, in the constant recurrence of the words "Meer" and "Wellen." This case is peculiar in being even less direct than those of the fate dramas. In the latter the symbols of fate have a direct causal connection with fate, being its tools. In Grillparzer's drama, however, while the "Meer" ultimately brings about the catastrophe, its more important function lies in a different direction. It was Grillparzer's express purpose to eliminate any guilt, or at least any consciousness of it, in Hero. Her passion is to take its course with the same elemental simplicity, directness, inherent rightness, with which the sea follows every fluctuation of natural forces. The admission of consciousness of moral issues, of any self-consciousness whatever, in Hero would have thwarted his purpose. He chose the title, overlong and sentimental though it is, to suggest his purpose—as Goethe, in *Wahlverwandtschaften*, used a simile taken from physical science to emphasize the character of the passion depicted. The repetitions of "Meer" and "Wellen" serve the purpose of reminding us again and again of this idea, pointing the unswerving way of destiny through all the tangle of individual initiative and psychological reaction. The intended effect of suspense upon the spectator is produced through association by analogy. We anticipate the course and issue of the master-passion, because we are made to feel that the force which drives the waves of the sea shattering upon the rocks by Hero's tower is similar to that which dashes the lovers upon the battlements of settled conventions.

DRAMATIC "STIMMUNG"

Symbolic repetition, through its indeterminateness and suggestiveness, produces, when properly used, an effect of general atmosphere, a dramatic *Stimmung*, which at times, as in *Hero*, is as potent, as mesmeric, as *Stimmung* in lyrical poetry. It is worth while to draw the conclusion that *Stimmung* is not, as generally supposed, intrinsically lyrical, and that scenes of *Stimmung* in a drama therefore are not to be set aside as lyrical, but that, whenever in a drama it contains suspense, it is genuinely dramatic. This is the melodramatic element which within certain limits is indispensable to the drama, as Shakespeare shows. Without it the drama lacks richness, color, atmosphere, and the necessary warmth. It is chiefly through the want of it that Schiller's dramas are "thin," or threadbare. It may, however, degenerate, as in the fate drama, into mere sensationalism, analogous to the scare headlines of the yellow press, arousing wild forebodings unsupported in the context by any additional detailed evidence giving distinct significance to the alarming shriek of nondescript emotionalism.

III. PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVATION

In the cases so far discussed repetition is used to direct attention to the story, the sequence of events, and the issue of the dramatic action. It is in these cases an instrument both for knitting different events together and for calling our attention to what is essential in them. It is an important part of the structure of the drama, and at the same time of the evidence from which the spectator draws inferences as to the issue of the action before him. It is part of external, mechanical motivation, and is therefore found most frequently in the drama of action, the highest form of which is the so-called historical drama. It has also appeared in a very important passional function, derived from the psychological skill of dramatists trained in the school of Romanticism—the function of engaging the emotions of the spectator.

We turn now to its use in affecting the relations of the dramatic characters to each other—i. e., to repetition as part of psychological motivation. The psychological drama was rediscovered by Romanticism, and its modern uses were developed under its influence. It soon gained ascendancy over the older drama, surviving the fall of the Romantic philosophy of life by annexing subsequent theories of life, chief among which is Evolutionary Materialism, to its domain. The drama of Naturalism is psychological, not objective or historical. Indeed, on surveying the history of the drama, of the ages of Sophocles and Euripides, of Shakespeare, of Calderon and Lope de Vega, of Molière, of Ibsen, it is difficult not to suspect that a supreme historical drama, combining the breadth and exactness, the actuality, of history with the subtleties and unity of psychology, of which we now and then hear cheerful prophecies and encounter interesting though misshapen specimens, is a chimera. However that may be, since the rise of Romanticism the psychological drama has been the dominant form of the drama. The most powerful attempt at a historical drama since that time, Grillparzer's *König Ottokar*, is psychological even to a fault, the direct influences bringing about the downfall of the hero being on the whole rather paltry intrigues. Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which also the undoing of a great historical character through self-indulgence is shown, employs personal intrigue also as one of the inevitable incidents of the situation. But he ignores it altogether in motivating Antony's downfall, which is caused by more momentous, fateful, "historical," forces than insidious schemes of base and contemptible characters.

In the evolution of psychological motivation in the modern German drama we can distinguish three main stages. In the pre-Romantic drama, the drama of Lessing, the "Storm-and-Stress," and Schiller—who, although the ten last and most important years of his activity coincided with the first high tide of Romanticism, yet never comprehended its spirit—there is a certain amount of psychological motivation. Lessing, especially in *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti*, shows considerable psychological knowledge, surpassing Schiller in the subtleness of his analysis, and the greater freedom and naturalness of his conceptions of personalities. Yet in all of these dramas the main interest is absorbed by the events, the external sequence and issue of the dramatic action. The characters serve merely the purpose of accounting for these events; that is, the characters themselves are not the ultimate centers, but only the means of motivation, subordinate to the story part of the drama. To be sure, the "Storm-and-Stressers," especially Lenz and young Goethe, insisted that character was the main concern of the serious drama; yet these theories did not bear artistic fruit until Goethe had outgrown the heyday of his titanomania.

With the advent of Romanticism—or, rather, after Romanticism had outgrown its first undramatic intoxication of transcendentalism—the relations between characters and the action in the drama became reversed. The characters or personalities now were the final objects of the dramatic interest, the ultimate entities of the drama; and, in turn, the events served merely the purpose of motivation; they were the screen of objective perception through which alone it is possible in a drama to perceive personalities. All reality, all external action and events, acquired a psychological symbolism. A consistent, however one-sided, animistic view of life discerned in all external phenomena manifestations of personalities, hidden only in a measure sufficient to create the sensation and suggestion of infinite possibilities of further revelation. Novalis' theory that history must become a fairy-tale before it has poetic value accords with the use Kleist makes of actual and historical reality in *Penthesilea*, *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, and *Die Hermannsschlacht*, in this respect that the final test to which every part of the external action is subjected is that of consistency with the psychological purpose. It finds its dramatic application to historical subjects in Lessing's and Grillparzer's demand that, however much historical events are modified to serve the purpose of the dramatist, no liberties must be taken with the conceptions of historical characters. This psychological conception obtained, although a constantly growing sense of reality added continually new data to the materials of motivation, until the rise of biological materialism or the theory of biological evolution, with its attendant literary movement of contemporary Naturalism. Yet, in spite of a brief period of materialistic bluster, Naturalism did not succeed in discarding psychology. The dramatists of the preceding era had accepted personality on the whole as a finality, troubling themselves little with accounting for it, or at most doing so in a very general way. They were content to rest their case upon phrases like "Character is fate," or "Temperament is fate," or whatever changes might be rung on the idea of the finality and ultimate validity of personality. The naturalists, in the first exaltation of a rash and shallow materialism—as, for instance, Hauptmann in *Vor Sonnenaufgang*—tried to account for personality by a biological milieu; i. e., by the material conditions determining its growth. This environment, being removed from all control by the personality produced by it, had in the first outburst of Naturalism to serve, not only as fate, but also as the hero of the drama. The possibilities of it as a hero were soon exhausted, however. Ibsen, even in his most radical milieu-play, never forsook psychology; and Hauptmann soon turned to psychological drama.

The final outcome of the development from a crass materialism through a new Romanticism no less extreme to a sane and impartial psychological Realism, the convolutions and ramifications of which are easily traceable in spite of their complexity,[1] was that the psychological drama, instead of being replaced by a more objective form, assimilated all that part of naturalistic technique which made available the richest treasury of human experience ever poured out before the eye and hand of man—the ever-growing results of modern science.

The cases of repetition of words serving psychological motivation are so numerous and various that only the most important ones can be discussed individually. They will be presented as much as possible in chronological order, treating each author separately, in order to give the force of actual demonstration to the historical survey given above. Only one type of repetition will have to be discussed separately.

The only clear case in Lessing belonging here is the repetition of "recht gern" by the Prince in *Emilia Galotti*, I, 8. The repetition of this expression of thoughtless complaisance when a human life depends upon his decision, showing the preoccupation and haste of the prince, produces a strong impression of the absorbing, and therefore threatening, character of his passion for Emilia. The frequent repetition of "Grobian" in *Minna von Barnhelm*, I, 2, bears no important relation to the action of the play. It is a secondary adornment intended to give vivacity to the characters of the speaker and the person addressed, rather than part of psychological motivation. It is related to the "rhetorical" use of repetition in the narrow sense discussed above.

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[1] I have tried to indicate the main lines of this development in a paper on "Naturalism," recently published.

It was not until Kleist that repetition became very important. In *Die Familie Schroffenstein* the fundamental idea determining the entire course of the drama is a settled disposition of distrust between two related houses, growing until it becomes a fateful obsession drawing the venom of murderous hatred from every happening, no matter how harmless, and endowing every action of the supposed enemy, no matter how ingenuous and guiltless, with a satanic intent. Years before the beginning of the action of the drama the last two remaining branches of a powerful and noble family had provided by solemn agreement that, in case either house remained without a direct descendant, its property was to accrue to the other. This agreement is assumed by certain members of both houses to induce a desire for mutual destruction. It has, therefore, an important relation to the psychological motivation of the drama. At the beginning the church bailiff, in explaining the existing circumstances to Jeronimus, says (p. 6):[1]

"Seit alten Zeiten
Giebts zwischen unsern beiden Grafenhäusern
Von Rossitz und von Warwand einen *Erbvertrag*."

Jeronimus says:

"Das gehört zur Sache nicht."

Thereupon the "Kirchenvogt":

"Ei, Herr, der *Erbvertrag* gehört zur Sache."

Later Sylvester's wife says:

"Freilich wohl, man weiss
Was so besorgt sie macht: *der Erbvertrag*."

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[1] Edited by Dr. Karl Siegen (Leipzig: Max Hesse).

Considerably later Jeronimus says to the count of the house:

"Ei, möglich wär' es wohl, dasz Ruperts Sohn,
Der doch *ermordet* sein soll, blosz gestorben,
Und dasz von der Gelegenheit gereizt,
Den *Erbvertrag* zu seinem Glück zu lenken,
Der Vater es verstanden, deiner Leute,
Die just vielleicht in dem Gebirge waren,
In ihrer Unschuld so sich zu bedienen,
Dasz es der Welt erscheint, als hätten wirklich
Sie ihn *ermordet*—um mit diesem Scheine
Des Rechts sodann den Frieden aufzukünden,
Den Stamm von Warwand auszurotten, dann
Das *Erbvermächtnis* sich zu nehmen."

The obsession of hatred and distrust is emphasized through many other repetitions: The word "Mord," with variants "Morden," "Mörder," occurs in all about forty times. In the love-scene between Ottokar and Agnes, Ottokar, remembering that he has sworn to destroy the "*Mörderhaus*" of Sylvester, says to Agnes:

"So brauch' ich dich ja nicht zu *morden!*"

And Agnes asks: "*Morden?*" and later:

"Du sprachst von *Mord.*"
"Mit wem sprachst du von *Morde?*"
"Wollt ihr mich *morden?*"

And Ottokar says: "Dich *morden?*"

Their state of mind makes it easy for those concerned to draw rash conclusions from an apparent confession which finally turns out to furnish no evidence except of their own mad readiness to believe the worst. The word "gestanden" occurs twenty-six times. The "Kirchenvogt" says (p. 7):

"Der eine, Herr, blieb noch am Leben, und
Der hat's *gestanden.*"
Jeronimus: "*Gestanden?*"
Kirchenvogt: "Ja, Herr, er hat's rein h'raus *gestanden.*"
Jeronimus: "Was hat er *gestanden?*"
Kirchenvogt: "Dass sein Herr Sylvester
Zum Morde ihn *gedungen* und bezahlt."
Jeronimus: "Erzähl's genau. Sprich, wie *gestand* er's?"

The "Kirchenvogt" admits the confession consisted only of the one word, "Sylvester," and continues:

"Herr, weiter war es nichts. Denn bald darauf
Als er's *gestanden* hatt', verblich er."

The word is repeated twenty times more in the progress of the drama. It is further enforced by repetitions of "bekannt" and "öffentlich gesagt."

The word "gedungen," already mentioned, occurs five times in connection with "gestanden," as, "Der eine hat's sogar *gestanden*, du hätt'st ihn zum Mord *gedungen*" (p. 31).

The cause of the tragic results is the mistake made in the false construction put on the tortured man's confession. Thus the word "Irrtum" occurs, adding to suspense. Ottokar says to Agnes:

"Denn fruchtlos ist doch alles, kommt der *Irrtum*
Ans Licht nicht, der uns neckt."

Later Agnes says:

"Was ist das für ein *Irrtum* ?
Ottokar: "So wie einer, kann auch der andre *Irrtum* schwinden."

The characters interpret their impulse of hatred as "Rechtsgefühl" (p. 5), justifying and confirming their course. Jeronimus says:

"Bewaffne, wo
Ich's finde, das *Gefühl des Rechts*, den frech
Verleumdeten zu rächen."

Ottokar's reply contains the two exclamations:

"Das *Gefühl* des *Rechts !*" "Das *Rechtsgefühl !*"

This word is used three other times. The word "Verdacht" occurs nine times.

Likewise we find the word "Ahnung" ("ahnen"). Ottokar and Johann speak of Agnes, the maiden they have seen in the woods. Both begin to fear she may belong to the house of Warwand. Ottokar says:

"Doch meine *Ahnung* ?"
Johann: "Du hast's *geahnet*."
Ottokar: "Was hab' ich *geahnet* ?"

The word occurs four more times.

Johann has obtained possession of Agnes' "Schleier."

Ottokar "Wie kamst du denn zu diesem *Schleier?*"

and repeats his question:

"Und der *Schleier?*"
"Wie kamst du denn zu diesem *Schleier*, sprich?"

Later:

"Nimm diesen Ring und lasz den *Schleier* mir."
Johann: "Den *Schleier?*"

and later:

"Du nähmst das Leben mir mit diesem *Schleier*."

This word seems a kind of *Leitmotiv* for Agnes, and occurs altogether ten times.

In *Penthesilea* the chief characters are also in the demoniac grip of a single passion. It is *desire*, vaulting ambition, "Der Wunsch," that possesses Achilles and Penthesilea as a madness to their undoing. "Wunsch" is the ruling idea of the play. The Greek general says:

"Die sucht, ob nicht ein schmaler Pfad sich biete
Für einen *Wunsch* der keine Flügel hat."[1]

Prothoe, one of the Amazons, to Penthesilea (p. 107):

"Um eines Sieges,
Der deine junge Seele flüchtig reizt,
Willst du das Spiel der Schlachten neu beginnen?
Weil unerfüllt ein *Wunsch*, ich weisz nicht welcher,
Dir im geheimen Herzen blieb."

The queen answers (p. 108):

"Sind's meine *Wünsche* blosz, die mich
Zurück auf's Feld der Schlachten rufen?"

Some scenes later, Penthesilea says (p. 122):

"Warum auch wie ein Kind gleich,
Weil sich ein flüchtiger *Wunsch* mir nicht gewährt,
Mit meinen Göttern brechen?"

Later Prothoe says to her (p. 126):

"Nicht ruhn wollt' ich, ...
. . . .
Bis meiner lieben Schwester *Wunsch* erfüllt."

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[1] P. 97, Siegen's edition.

Toward the end of the drama, Meroe, another Amazon, says (p. 164):

> "Sie zog dem Jüngling entgegen
> In der Verwirrung ihrer jungen Sinne
> Den *Wunsch*, den glühenden, ihn zu besitzen."

This overmastering and unfulfilled desire is the fate of both Penthesilea and Achilles. It is not an external force, but the essence of their natures. It is the romantic psychological fate. The priestess, not understanding Penthesilea, says (p. 124):

> "Unmöglich,
> Das nichts von aussen sie, kein *Schicksal* hält,
> Nichts als ihr thöricht Herz . . . ."

and Prothoe, Penthesilea's devoted friend, who understands her, answers:

> "Das ist ihr *Schicksal*."

It is as if Kleist had deliberately chosen this opportunity to hurl his interpretation of the powers ruling over life at the heads of convention and tradition symbolized by the priestess. Later Prothoe says to Penthesilea (p. 135):

> "Welch ein *Geschick* auch über dich verhängt sei,
> Wir tragen es, wir beide!"

Achilles says to her (p. 144):

> "Vernichtend war das *Schicksal*, Königin,
> Das deinem Frauenstaat das Leben gab."

Later he says again (p. 153):

> "Dein *Schicksal* ist auf ewig abgeschlossen."

The herald brings Achilles' challenge to the queen with the words (p. 157):

> "So fordert er . . . .
> Noch einmal dich in's Feld hinaus, auf dasz
> Das Schwert, des *Schicksals* ehr'ne Zung', entscheide."

In *Die Hermannsschlacht* the word "Locke" is repeated to give force to the motivation of Thusnelda's inhuman plot against Ventidius, the Roman commander. Pretending to love her, he has asked her for a lock of hair. Later we learn that this request really was not prompted by sentiment, but by base vanity. His fate rests upon Thusnelda's state of mind on discovering his true purpose. The word occurs sixteen times. The portrayal of Thusnelda's wrath is not without a concurrent brutality of race-feeling in Kleist himself, characterized by a frequent repetition of the word "Bärin."

The phrase "Fanfare blasen" occurs in an impressive manner in Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*, its purpose being to emphasize Homburg's state of mind. One idea possesses him—the desire to win Natalie; he pursues it with somnambulistic concentration. He can win her only by distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner, by a great decisive victory. This ambition speaks in the words "Fanfare blasen," which in Homburg's mind displace the whole careful plan of battle by which the complete destruction of the enemy is to be compassed.[1]

Feldmarschall: "Dann wird er die *Fanfare blasen* lassen" (p. 24).

After a slight interruption by the other characters, the prince repeats:

> "Dann wird er die *Fanfare blasen* lassen!" (p. 25).

The "Feldmarschall" is about to continue giving orders:

> "Eh' wird er nicht *Fanfare blasen* lassen" (p. 26).

Rittmeister von Golz writes it down:

> "Eh' wird er nicht *Fanfare blasen* lassen."

The "Feldmarschall" asks the Prince if *he* has written it down:

> Prinz: "Von der *Fanfare?*"
> Hohenzollern: *Fanfare!* Sei verwünscht! Nicht eh' als bis der . . . ."

Later Homburg:

> "Ja, allerdings! Eh' nicht.
> Doch dann wird er *Fanfare blasen* lassen."

At the battle the prince gives orders for the attack before he receives word from the other divisions of the army: "*Lass Fanfare blasen!*" (p. 36), and, in spite of remonstrances from his friends, repeats, "Trompeter, *die Fanfare!*" (p. 37).

During his temporary hallucination the prince passes the open grave prepared to receive his body after his execution. The word "Grab" is repeated a number of times in order to emphasize the part that associations aroused by it play in the psychological motivation. This part is clearly contained in this line:

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[1] Edited by Nollen (Boston: Ginn & Co.).

> "Seit ich mein *Grab* sah, will ich nichts als leben" (p. 72).

This is one of the cases in which the sound of a word concurs with its meaning in producing an effect of foreboding.

In Hebbel's dramas repetition for the purposes of psychological motivation is used in a similar manner as in Kleist. Hebbel, however, has some subtleties and dramatic effects all his own, corresponding to his peculiar conception of a barbaric eroticism—a monster half ape half god, in whose worship Romanticism and Naturalism have at all times met.

In *Judith* the word "Opfer" is used in a very interesting manner. Hebbel's purpose was to have it clearly understood that Judith, no matter how much she is fascinated by the primitive force of Holofernes, is not actuated by desire, even loathes the sweetness of the desire that threatens to overwhelm her a few times. The idea of sacrifice has to be emphasized throughout the play to overcome any suspicion in the spectator that, partly at least, Judith is seeking gratification rather than martyrdom. Therefore the word "Opfer" is thrust at us at the outset. Act I begins:

> Holofernes: "*Opfer!*"
> Oberpriester: "Welchem Gott?"
> Holofernes: "Wem ward gestern *geopfert?*"
> Holofernes: "Bringt das *Opfer* Einem, den ihr Alle kennt, und doch nicht kennt."
> Oberpriester: "Holofernes befiehlt, dass wir einem Gott *opfern* sollen," etc.

At the end of the drama, when we know how great Judith's sacrifice has been, she rejects the offer of a reward with the words:

> "Wenn das *Opfer* verröchelnd am Altar niederstürzt, quält ihr's mit der Frage, welchen Preis es auf sein Leben und Blut setzt? . . . ."

However, the force of Holofernes, the barbaric superman, does play an important part in the conflict raging in Judith's mind, and to emphasize this also, the word "Kraft" occurs frequently, especially in the fifth act, just before the catastrophe. We are for a time in doubt whether Judith's determination can hold out against the fascination of this force in Holofernes. The word also suggests the irony of fate in the situation of a strong man boasting of his security when the shadow of death is already upon him.

In *Golo und Genoveva*, Siegfried, Genoveva's husband, suffers from an obsession of distrust as mad and deadly as the characters in Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein.* His suspicion is so deep-rooted and wilfully irrational that Golo says of him:

> "Mein Widerruf bewirkte nichts,
> Als dass er mir's nur um so fester glaubte."

Repetition in *Golo und Genoveva* is overdone to such a degree that it is almost comical; as, for instance, "log" in Act IV, scene 6:

> Golo: "Herr Graf, ich *log.*"
> Siegfried: "Du *logst?* . . . .
> Doch gegen eine solche *Lüge* wär
> Sie schuldlos . . . .
> Du *logst!*"
> Golo: "Ich *log.*"
> Siegfried: " . . . . Um niemals zu erfahren, ob mein Weib
> Die Sünderin, ob du der *Lügner* warst."
> Margaretha: Brav! Eins—zwei—drei . . . .
> Ich *log!* zum dritten Mal! Nur fügt hinzu:
> Ich *log* den andern Beiden nach. Verschweigt
> Warum wir *logen.*
> Ihr straft mich *Lügen.*
> Nur zu! Ich *log!*

Two pages later, after Siegfried has become still more entangled in his madness of doubt,

> Margaretha: "Ihr seid ein Mann,
> Den Keiner zu *belügen* wagen wird. . . . . "
> Siegfried: . . . .
> Margaretha: "Doch ob sie etwa unerlaubt geküsst,
> Es ist *erlogen* (zu Golo). Nichts für ungut, Herr,
> Ihr könnt ja selbst *belogen* sein!"

The hero of the play is Golo. The dramatic purpose of it is to show how an erotic passion may not only lead a man into crime, but corrupt his will until he knowingly chooses a career of crime. Golo becomes in the end a deliberate criminal.

The last line in Act I reads:

> Golo: "So leg' ich's aus, ich soll ein *Schurke* sein."

Then in Act III, scene 10, after Genoveva has rejected his adulterous suit, putting him on his honor,

> Golo: "Wer jetzt noch bleibt, der muss ein *Schurke* sein. Ich bin ein *Schurk'*. Nun hab ich *Schurkenrecht*, denn auch ein *Schurk'* hat Recht . . . ."

At the end of this speech he forcibly kisses Genoveva. In the following scene the word "Kuss" is repeated four times, referring to Golo's action, in order to emphasize the dramatic importance of it. This importance consists chiefly in the interpretation of the kiss by others, especially by Siegfried, the victim of his mad jealousy. To quote only two brief lines, in Act IV, scene 6:

> Siegfried: "Ein *Kuss* auf ihre Hand?
> Ich *küss* die Hand nicht wieder."

Another case of repetition in this drama is that of "Mord" and "nichts" together, as: "Ein Mord, ein Nichts," in Golo's speech of six lines concluding Act III. "Mord" occurs in this passage five times; "nichts" four times. The repetition serves the purpose of showing to what degree of evil and desperation Golo has fallen.

In *Maria Magdalena* the only word repeated is "nicht," or "nichts." It occurs in Act III, scene 2, in Klara's plea. The keynote of the whole speech is: "I demand nothing; I have nothing to live for now; only marry me to save me from shame and death." It confirms in us the anxious expectation that she will yield to the obvious suggestion of self-destruction arising from her conviction that her life is hopelessly bankrupt. The word "Gulden" repeated in Act I, scene 2, emphasizes a suspicion of Karl's character and is interesting. For this suspicion, though it later proves ungrounded, affects decisively the tragic course of events.

The tragic conflict in *Herodes und Mariamne* consists in the clash between the two principal characters. It is a tragedy of a conflict between the pride of a loyal and intensely passionate wife and a morbidly selfish, tyrannical husband. The tragic traits of Herod's character are emphasized in the repetition of the words "weiss" or "wissen," "Welt," "zittern;" those of Mariamne, in "zittern," and her final tragic determination in the word "Tod."

In Act I, scene 3, Herod has been called to Antonius to give an account of the assassination of Mariamne's brother. Mariamne has forgiven him the murder.

Herodes: "Ja! Antonius lässt mich rufen
Doch, ob auch wiederkehren, *weiss* ich nicht!"
Mariamne: "Du *weisst* es nicht?"
Herodes: "Weil ich nicht *weiss* wie hart
Mich meine—deine Mutter bei ihm verklagte."
Herodes: "Gleichviel! Ich werd's erfahren. Eins nur muss ich
Aus deinem Munde *wissen*, *wissen* muss ich
Ob ich und wie ich mich vertheid'gen soll."
Mariamne: "Ob du —."

In the ensuing dialogue Herod demands that Mariamne promise on oath to kill herself if he should not return, because he wishes to know whether she prefers him to the world ("die Welt," repeated four times in five lines). She refuses firmly, too proud to pledge herself to do what she is resolved to do of her free will. Herodes, thinking her love not great enough to give him the comfort of complete sympathy, says:

"Die Liebe *zittert!*
Die *zittert* selbst in einer Heldenbrust!"
Mariamne: "Die meine *zittert* nicht!"
Herodes: "*Du zitterst* nicht" (accusing her of selfishness in opposing his "Du" to her "Die meine").

Mariamne leaves him, and in a monologue, scene 4, Herod says:

"Heut' nicht! Doch morgen, übermorgen!—
Sie will mir nach dem Tode Gutes thun!
Spricht so ein Weib? Zwar *weiss* ich's, dass sie oft,
Wenn ich sie schön genannt, ihr Angesicht
Verzog, bis sie es nicht mehr war. Auch *weiss* ich's,
Dass sie nicht weinen kann, das Krämpfe ihr,
Was ander'n Thränengüsse sind! Auch *weiss* ich's, ... etc."

This insistence on entire certainty, in which Mariamne's integrity and honor are ignored, joined with the egoistical contrast between "the world" and himself, reveals the whole arrogant selfishness of Herod, incapable of faith in others, which, conflicting with Mariamne's passionate pride and love, brings about the catastrophe. Her pride is further emphasized by the word "räche" in Act II, scene 3, occurring four times in three lines.[1] She would not seek revenge for the murder of her brother, but for a breach of the faith demanded and justified by her love and pride. Suspense arises from the inferences suggested by this incident, as to what she might be capable of doing should her pride be deeply hurt by Herod. Still other aspects of Mariamne's pride are contained in the repetitions of the words "schwur" (three times in the same scene), "Trost" (*ibid.*). The scene is between Mariamne and her mother who mourns for her murdered son, Aristobulos, and is much disappointed on finding that Mariamne is not in need of "consolation."

An extremely effective repetition occurs in Act IV, scene 8. Mariamne, having learned that Herod, on his second departure, has again given the command to have her killed in case he should lose his life during his hazardous enterprise, has come to the conclusion that he does not love her. In the frenzy of her desperation she arranges a great festivity for the time when the news of Herod's death is expected. She is dancing in a state of hysterical excitement when Herod suddenly appears. She addresses him:

Mariamne: "Der *Tod!* Der *Tod!* Der *Tod* ist unter uns!
    Unangemeldet wie er immer kommt."
Salome [who desires Mariamne's death]: "Der *Tod*, für dich. Ja wohl!
    So fühlst du selbst!"
Mariamne: "Zieh' das Schwert!
    Reich mir den Giftpokal! Du bist der *Tod!*
    Der *Tod* umarmt und küsst mit Schwert und Gift."
Salome [to Herod]: "Die Kerzen haben dich betrogen;
    Hier wird gejubelt über deinen *Tod.*"

This ominous word continues to recur throughout this scene, the last and climacteric one of the fourth act. Its chief purpose is psychological in two directions: principally, to symbolize Mariamne's determination to die, but also to confirm, partly through the insinuations of Salome, Herod's suspicions of Mariamne, which the latter is too proud, too bitterly determined, even to make an attempt of dispelling. It furthermore confronts the spectator blankly with the inevitable issue of the situation.

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[1] Edited by R. M. Werner (Berlin: B. Behr, 1901), p. 249. See also "Rache" repeated three times in three lines, earlier in the same scene, p. 243.

There are a great many repetitions in Hebbel's *Nibelungen;* but since they present no new type of repetition in psychological motivation, it may suffice here simply to name the chief words. They are: "Nebelkappe," "Gürtel" (ten times), "Eid," "Drachen" (Chriembild trying to influence Etzel), "Falke," "Schuh" (in the stone-throwing contest Siegfried outthrows his adversary always by one "Schuh"); and "liebte" (twice), "hasste," "Hass" (three times), "versöhnte," "Versöhnung" (five times), in close juxtaposition in Chriembild's "Rache."

In Grillparzer's dramas the most obvious case of repetition coming under this head occurs in *König Ottokar's Glück und Ende.* The word "knieen" in various forms occurs at the end of Act III in line 614[1] twice; after that in IV, 69, 70, 71, 108, 110, 195, 196, 200, 479 (twice), 480. This word, repeated over and over again to Ottokar, or within his hearing, by his army, by the burgomaster and citizens of Prague, his subjects, and finally by his adulterous wife and Zawisch, her paramour, becomes an intolerable taunt, lashing him on to his now mad and hopeless revolt, to the brutal, lawless execution of Meerenberg, and to his final undoing. In a similar manner Sappho goads herself into fury by the repetition of the word "Undank": *Sappho,* IV, 18, 27, 30 (three times), 102, 108. Speaking the word the first time inadvertently in her plaint over Phaon's desertion, she is arrested, at the sound of it on her own lips, by the emotional possibilities of it, as it were. She fairly gloats over it in her self-abandonment to wrath, her rage gradually rising to a point where her actions, beginning with the determination to exile Melitta, take the tragic turn. In addition to this, the repetition forces upon us the inference that by putting her claim to Phaon's loyalty on the ground of gratitude she unconsciously acknowledges defeat.

To return to *Ottokar,* other cases of repetition are "feierlich" with "Gelübde" (I, 345, 347, 360, 557), emphasizing Ottokar's willingness to use any pretext to attain his ambitious ends; "O Hand von Schnee," etc. (II, 157, 158, 162, 165, 364, 561), marking the gradual acquiescence of the queen in Zawisch's suit, and generally foreshadowing the part she is to play; further Ottokar's repeating, "Die Schwäche macht versöhnlich" (III, 224, 229), showing that Ottokar's yielding is not prompted by a sense of right, but merely by momentary exhaustion, and suggesting that as soon as there is sufficient incentive again, he will return to his iniquitous ways.

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[1] Lichtenheld's edition (Cotta).

In *Ein Bruderzwist in Österreich* the word "Spiel" is significant. In Act III Rudolph, speaking of Matthias, says:

> "Mein Bruder ist nicht schlimm, obgleich nicht klug,
> Ich geb' ihm *Spiel*raum, er begehrt zu *spielen*."

Julius replies:

> "War's *Spiel*, dass eigner Macht er schloss den Frieden?"
> "Ist's *Spiel*, dass er den Herren *spielt* im Land?"
> Rudolph: "Du *spielst* mit Worten, wie er mit der Macht."

And again, p. 107,[1] "Helden*spiel*." This word, accounting as it does for the most significant weakness, lack of stability, in Matthias (and also, though in a different manner, in the other, actual or possible, pretenders to the throne of Austria), foreshadows the disastrous part he is to take in the affairs of a country that needs firmness and sober persistency in its ruler more than any other quality. The triviality and irrelevancy of the Hapsburgians is further brought to our notice in the repetitions of the word "Kreis" ("im Kreise drehen") on pp. 43 (twice), 44, 64 l. i.[2]

Three distinct ideas are interwoven to form the tragic complication of *Das Goldene Vliess*. They are the traditional fate attached to the thirst for gold, symbolized in the fleece laden with an accumulating weight of curses. This idea influences the external action directly, requiring external motivation. It is emphasized chiefly by the repetitions of the words "Vliess" and "Fluch." The other two ideas are the relations between civilization and barbarism, and the purely personal conflict between Jason and Medea. Of these the former, though it appears as a psychological conflict, will be discussed later,[3] because the interest attaching to it primarily involves a much broader general question, the psychological conflict being merely one of its reflexes. But the personal relations between Jason and Medea are purely and ultimately psychological. Medea, in pouring out her bitterness to Kreusa, characterizes Jason thus, repeating the same words ten lines farther on: "Du kennst ihn nicht, ich aber kenn ihn ganz." This line, framing, as it were, through repetition her indictment of Jason, gives a weight to it for the attention of the spectator, which pursues him, compelling him to apply her interpretation of Jason's motives to his acts, note his deterioration step by step, and draw inferences as to the probable direction of his course.

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[1] Cotta edition.

[2] Edited by August Sauer (Cotta).

[3] Under the head of "Dramas with a Purpose."

Otto Ludwig uses repetition very extensively. The most emphatic cases of it will be treated under a different head. There are, however, some very good ones in *Die Makkabäer*[1] which belong here. The leading idea in this play is that Judah is chosen by the Lord to restore the historic splendor of the house of Israel. The faith of the people in the chosen of the Lord, actuating all the chief characters, including Judah himself, becomes the fundamental psychological motive of the play. It is emphasized by a repetition of the word "Judah." This name occurs throughout the play with greater frequency than would be required by ordinary speech; e. g., seven times on p. 176. This extraordinary repetition produces in us the feeling that the salvation of the whole people depends upon this one man. We gradually associate a growing sense of a superhuman prominence and power with Judah. This feeling is enhanced by these repetitions: "Gross" (Act I, pp. 174, 175; four times); "Mann" (I, 174, 175; five times); and again in the same association (I, 187; four times); "Krone David" (emphasizing the historical mission of Israel; I, 179; four times; including "Königskrone," once). Associated with this within sixteen lines: "Kranz," in "Kranz die Krone" (twice); and "Hut," "Hohenpriesterhut," "Aaron's Hut" (four times). "Hut" and "Krone" often recur later in the same scene; "Volk," "Retter," "Retter-Volk," together (I, 183; twice); "Volk" alone frequently; "Krone" again in the same association, later in I, 188 (four times); "will's" ("Der Herr will's") (II, 201, 203; thirteen times). Minor repetitions are: "Tempel" (II, 196; five times), emphasizing the religious nature of the struggle; "Freundschaft" (three times), "fluchen" ("eignem Kinde," twice) (five times), emphasizing the pre-eminent and irreconcilable character of the conflict.

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[1] Edited by Adolph Bartels (Leipzig: Max Hesse).

Of the repetitions in Wagner the following belong here: "Fürchten," in *Siegfried* (about twenty-five times), foreshadowing Siegfried's careless and ingenuous nature which ultimately causes his death; "verthan" and "versungen," in *Die Meistersinger*, to characterize the weight of philistinism in the mastersingers with which Walther's free spontaneity has to contend.

REPETITION PER SE

There are a number of cases where psychological motivation is achieved, not by the meaning nor by the sound of the word, but principally by the mere fact that a person repeats the same word. Such a repetition, whether in the form of quick iteration, or interrupted by varying intervals of silence or of other words or events, indicates a certain emotional state of the speaker, or reveals a certain emotional effect produced by another person, thus interpreting also the latter's conduct; or it induces an emotional reaction in the person in whose presence the repetition occurs. The range of emotions that can be expressed by such repetition and the reactions caused by it is unlimited. It reaches below and above the normal, including, to give a few instances, joy, hate, terror, enthusiasm, love, passion, impatience, concern of any kind; disappointment, dejection, melancholy, despair, desperation, malice, stubbornness, and so forth. In Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*, Jeronimus, related to both the hostile houses, goes to Rupert on an errand of reconciliation. At this time the herald sent by Rupert to Sylvester to declare a war of extermination has been slain by the mob assembled before Sylvester's palace. The news of the deed has aroused all the evil passions in Rupert. He receives Jeronimus with these words (Act III, scene 2):

" . . . . Vielleicht hast du
Aufträg' an mich, kommst im Geschäft des Friedens,
Stellst selbst vielleicht die heilige Person
Des *Herolds* dar?—"

Jeronimus: "Des *Herolds*?—Nein. Warum?
Die Frag' ist seltsam."

During the progress of this scene Rupert gives way to an almost satanic hatred of his adversaries. Toward the end, with ominous emphasis, he says:

"Was ist ein *Herold*?"
Jeronimus: "Du bist entsetzlich—"
Rupert: "Bist du denn ein *Herold*?"
Jeronimus: "Dein Gast bin ich, ich wiederhol's und wenn
Der *Herold* dir nicht heilig ist, so wird's
Der Gast dir sein."

We see the murderous plan soon to be executed forming in Rupert's hate-ridden mind. The word is repeated frequently afterward: pp. 59 (twice), 64 (twice), 66, 67 (twice), 76; but in these later cases it is not so much the repetition as the meaning of the word which produces the intended effect of showing the extent of Rupert's malice in this violation of one of the most sacred laws of war.

In Otto Ludwig's *Erbförster* the word "durchforsten" is used in a similar way. The disastrous quarrel between the forester and Stein arises over the question of thinning out (*durchforsten*) a certain forest. The repetition of "durchforsten" (about twenty times) in Act I, scene 1 (pp. 102 ff., 111-28), which is peculiarly insistent, marks, and intensifies as well, the obstinacy of the two men. This effect is reinforced, with reference to the forester, by his manner of repeating the word "Herr" three times on p. 103, and again three times on the following page, where it has a different meaning, yet essentially the same dramatic effect. These repetitions are supported by a number of others which, on account of their organic connection, are quoted here rather than under the preceding head, where they belong: "Vom Vater zum Grossvater," p. 130, p. 133 (five times); "Recht" p. 130 (six times in a short passage, harking back to: "Aber der Herr hat doch allemal *recht*, weil er der Herr ist" p. 103); and again, p. 165, three times, and in other places throughout the play; "Bauernmoral," p. 117 (four times; "redlich," p. 117 (four times); "wenn und aber," pp. 133, 134, 165, 171, 172. The psychological condition from which the disastrous course of events takes its rise is an obsession of a similarly blind force as in Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein.* The old "Förster," whose father and grandfather have had his position before him, regards it as his right and duty (opposed to the egoistical "Bauernmoral") to impose his will regarding the conduct of his office even upon his employer. He declines to reason about the matter, to consider the "wenn und aber," insisting on nursing his feeling of resentment over his discharge which is the result of his quarrel with his master, He feels himself a victim merely of a brute force residing in an order of things which he symbolyzes by an invidious repetition of the word "Herr."

The extravagant use of repetition in this play comports well with the subject of it, which is a purely emotional condition. At the root of the disaster is temper. Repetition here combines the two functions of being a consistent form of expression on the part of the "Förster," and of conveying to the audience a sense of his extraordinary mental condition and the fatal external consequences likely to spring from it.

In Grillparzer's *Medea* occurs a case of repetition revealing, not a state of mind in the speaker, but in the person addressed, and arousing an important partisan reaction in the sympathies of the spectator. Medea, trying to please Jason, has learned a song. She has to repeat the words, "Ich weiss ein Lied," a number of times before Jason, absorbed in his interest in Kreusa, takes cognizance of her (*Medea*, II, 281, 292, 295).[1]

IV. PLAYS WITH A PURPOSE ("TENDENZ")

The point of view thus far taken in analyzing the dramatic action has been that of causality. The only relations between the parts and the dramatic whole considered have been those of actual fact, establishing a plausible consistency, either of external sequences of events, or of internal, psychological processes. The only faculty appealed to in the spectator has been assumed to be that of sane and critical inferences from external evidence or psychological data. But in judging a serious drama another faculty comes into play—the faculty of appreciation, or judgment of values. These values may be either ethical or aesthetic. Both of these will have to be treated under separate heads.

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[1] Edited by A. Lichtenheld (Cotta).

1. *The ethical values of a drama.*—There is a school of writers and critics who demand that no appreciation of ethical values is to enter into the judgment of art and literature. They would rest content with a presentation of a plausible sequence of events, external or psychological, disregarding their ethical values estimated in terms of individual, social, generally human, historical interests. (Whether these interests are ultimately to be accounted for by utility, or absolute ideal validity, or a compromise between the two, does not matter here.) But it is evident, and has always been the result worked out by the intellectual activity of the different eras of literary and cultural thought, that the more comprehensive, the more complete, the more universal the range of human interests embodied in works of literature is, the more intense, potent, and enduring is their appeal. No dramatic action and no psychological problem or conflict have vital significance for the world unless they have far and deep-reaching ethical bearings. Supreme art is impossible, no matter how clever it is, without supreme ethical significance. This significance, or value, of a drama is therefore one of the two fundamental criteria of excellence and power, the other being that of intrinsic consistency, already considered. Neither can take the place of the other. No ethical purpose, however high, can uphold a drama lacking dramatic consistency, any more than a building badly constructed will resist ruin because it is dedicated to some high service. Nor can supreme skill expended on flimsy and perishable material give enduring value to it. Perfect harmony between construction and ethical value produces perfect art.

In the supreme drama the moral values residing in the dramatic data, and adding substance to the objects of our suspense, form an integral part of the structure and organism of the drama, and particularly of motivation, so completely that analysis of the one necessarily covers the other also. But in the great majority of serious dramas the purpose exceeds the structural capacity. They are the so-called dramas-with-a-purpose. In these the ordinary methods of motivation are thwarted and diverted by an extraneous guiding idea. For, the ethical purpose being dominant in the poet's mind, the sequence of events or the psychological processes cannot be the ultimate goal of his motivation. They are merely helps, intermediate supports, enabling him to reach his final aim. No matter, therefore, how great a share of our attention is absorbed by the interest of story—external motivation—or the psychological interest—internal motivation—our expectancy is not directed primarily toward these, but toward the dramatist's final attainment of his purpose toward which they are devised to lead. These dramas, which are called didactic or allegorical or symbolistic or problematic according to the literary methods followed in their composition, form a mixed class, partly overlapping the other two classes. It is hardly necessary to point out that among those influenced by Romanticism the dramas of purpose as a rule intersect the class characterized by psychological motivation.

The question may be asked how an ethical purpose can produce dramatic suspense. In a drama of this class we are always dimly conscious and morally certain that the dramatist is prepared to lead the action to his purpose, whether his theme or characters will or no. We feel that we have fallen in with a personally conducted party. All the routes and stopping-places have been arranged before the start; all lateral avenues of disconcerting spontaneity have been closed and sealed. Every little glimpse of the poet's intention will therefore bring our speculations within closer range of the dominant interest embodied in the drama, and thus intensify our suspense.

In none of the cases under consideration has the purpose been put on an absolute philosophical ground, for the good reason that a dramatist of any insight could not assume such a ground in an existence without absolute values and with all its ideals indissolubly bound up with pragmatic interests. It is always found to rest upon a lower ground, where the ethical interest is more or less mixed with a personal and passional one, with a more or less prejudiced preference, as patriotism, race-prejudice, religious or any other kind of partisanship, affinity with certain types of character and temperament, and so forth. Considered from the point of view of the ideal, of a universal art these personal preferences might seem, and some of them undoubtedly are, in a measure corrupt. As regards the national interest, however, it is certain, and has been emphasized in modern times since Herder by every competent writer on the subject, that all supreme dramatic art has had its root in the national life in which it flourished, and has therefore never been quite without patriotic or racial, and even chauvinistic, bias. Respect and sympathy cannot be withheld even from the idiosyncrasies engendered by a warm-hearted, full-blooded participation in the potent influences surrounding us at every step we take.

Schiller in *Wilhelm Tell* appealed to the patriotic interest of his German contemporaries, trying to teach them, through the example of the Swiss republicans, the needed lesson of national unity. The repetition of the word "ein" ("einig") throughout the play, culminating in Attinghausen's dying words (IV, 2, 2452), "Seid einig, einig, einig," had a powerful effect upon the Germans of those days of disunion and weakness. But nowadays, political union having been accomplished and patriotic passion satisfied, cooler consideration divests the word of a potency not genuine, because not sufficiently related to the fundamental structure of the play.

Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* presents an example of an extreme reaction against the religious intolerance of his time, prompting him to give an unfair representation to the Christian, as opposed to the Jewish and Mohammedan religions. In I, 5, "gehorchen" and "meint der Patriarch" are often repeated to show the abjectness of the monk and to dispose us unfavorably toward the representatives of Christianity. The same purpose is served by the repetitions of "Rat," "Scheiterhaufen," "Holzstoss," "ein Problema," and especially the words recurring very often: "Thut nichts, der Jude wird verbrannt," emphasizing the cold-blooded cruelty of the Christians. The repetition of "Jude," "ganz gemeiner Jude," by Al-Hafi to protect Nathan, serves to characterize the Christians unfavorably and the Mohammedan favorably.

In *Prinz von Homburg* Kleist made an attempt to rid the prince of the arbitrary individualism characteristic of his own and his Romantic contemporaries' more youthful view of life, and of the heroes of his earlier dramas, by making him bow to the authority of law. The issue of the play depends upon the interpretation of certain parts of martial law. The word "Gesetz" is significantly repeated toward the end of the drama (about six times, pp. 105, 106, 113, 115, Nollen ed.).

A very important case of purpose emphasized by repetition occurs in Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer*. Albrecht, son and heir of Ernst, duke of Bavaria, has married Agnes, the daughter of a burgher of Augsburg. The nobles and estates of the duchy are incensed over the mésalliance, and the duchy is brought to the brink of a revolution. When neither Albrecht nor Agnes proves amenable to his urgent request to save the country by dissolving their union, Duke Ernst has Agnes abducted and, after the formality of a trial, put to death for high treason. Albrecht collects an army, defeating his father's forces. Ernst himself is taken prisoner. The tragic conflict is between the *raison d'état* and personal loyalty to the beloved wife, between the duties of Albrecht as an individual and as a citizen, the most important citizen, of the state. When Albrecht learns that his father, the duke, has been captured, he, who has been killing whomever of his father's chief followers he could overtake, commands (V, 8, pp. 82, 83):

"[Man] soll ihn freilassen! *Gleich!*"

Nothaft von Wernberg: "Ei, das kommt wohl morgen auch früh genug!"

Albrecht: "*Gleich!* sage ich. Mensch, fühlst du's denn nicht auch?"

Nothhafft von Wernberg: "Eh' er Urfehde geschworen hat und uns wenigstens die Köpfe gesichert hat?"

Albrecht (stampft mit dem Fuss): "*Gleich! Gleich! Gleich!*"

This sudden halt in the midst of his headlong career of revenge, jeopardizing the lives of himself and his faithful followers, brings home to us his abiding respect for law and order, symbolized by the person of the ruler. It prepares us for the turn in the course of the dramatic action. This effect is further intensified by the repetition of the words "Göttliche und menschliche Ordnung" (V, 9) and "Gewalt" (p. 84):

Ernst [to Albrecht]: ". . . . Aber wenn du dich wider *göttliche und menschliche Ordnung* empörst . . . . "

> Albrecht: "*Göttliche und menschliche Ordnung!* Ha, ha! Als ob's zwei Regenbogen wären, die man zusammengefügt und als funkelnden Zauberring um die Welt gelegt hätte! Aber die *göttliche Ordnung* rief sie in's Leben . . . . Die *menschliche* . . . . (er tritt Ernst näher) die *menschliche* . . . . !"

And in the next scene (V, 10, p. 86) the imperial herald, in pronouncing the ban of the empire over him, again repeats: "in deinem Trotz wider *menschliche und göttliche Ordnung* . . . . " Another repetition referring to the purpose of the drama is that of "Gewalt" (V, 10, p. 87):

> Albrecht: "Soll ich mich vor der *Gewalt* demüthigen . . . . ?"
>
> Ernst: "Gewalt? Wenn das *Gewalt* ist, was du erleidest, so ist eine *Gewalt*, die alle deine Väter dir anthun, eine *Gewalt*, die sie selbst sich aufgeladen, und ein halbes Jahrtausend lang ohne Murren ertragen haben und das ist die *Gewalt* des Rechts! . . . . "

This example may suffice for Hebbel. But before passing on it is necessary to point out that of all the dramatists of a higher order he is the one most persistent and immoderate in attempting, by way of a false (a "faked") background, to extend the reach of the central ideas of his plays far beyond their intrinsic structural validity, and that he more than others offers examples of words repeated to emphasize his special purpose.[1]

The most numerous cases in Grillparzer's dramas are found in *Libussa.* The fundamental conflict in the play is between two theories of government: the old patriarchal one, deriving the authority of the ruling class from a mystical unity with the cosmic order of things, and exacting from the subject classes a childlike confidence and reverence; and the ideal of modern constitutional liberalism, basing the distribution of authority on a definite Declaration of Rights. Secondary conflicts are those between feministic and reactionary ideals of an absolute right to be enforced without compromise by a mere appeal to the sense of justice of the governed, on the one hand, and a practical, determined, persistent method, preferring for the time being a possible, partial good to an impossible whole, on the other; and finally between obsolete privilege and modern democratic equality. The mystical union between life and the cosmic forces, between traditional authority and the natural needs of men, is symbolized by "Kleinod," "Gürtel," "Kette," "Gold" (opposed to "eisern," cf. the legend of the Golden Age), "Krone," and by the opposition of "Bauer" and "Fürst," all repeated throughout the play. The aversion of "Libussa" (and Grillparzer) to constitutional liberalism is emphasized through the very insistent repetition of the word "Recht," as, for instance, pp. 121,[1] 157, 158, 180 ("Gerechtigkeit," "gerecht," "Unrecht"), 186 ("Recht," "Unrecht"), etc.[2] But the most significant word is "Mann," often opposed to "Frau," because man—the modern, liberal man—stands at the center of the whole purpose of *Libussa;* see, for instance, p. 160 (three times); p. 161 (four times, reinforced by repetition of "eisern," "Eisen"); p. 163 (three times, and opposed to "Frau" and "Weib"); p. 164 (three times); p. 174 (three times); and so forth.

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[1] As, for instance, the continuous cursing of the Jew in *Golo und Genoveva*, II, 5; the allusions to Christ and the Slaughter of the Innocents in *Herodes*, and so forth.

In *Medea* the well-ordered, ample simplicity of civilization is opposed to the disarranged narrow complexity of barbaric minds in these words spoken by both Kreusa and Medea: Medea (I, p. 86), "Ein einfach' Herz," and Kreusa (III, 247), "Ein einfach' Herz und einen reinen Sinn."

2. *The aesthetic interest.*—Every drama appeals to a certain extent, and to an extent increasing in proportion to the culture of the audience, to the literary sensibilities of the latter. This interest, often called sophisticated, is within certain limits thoroughly legitimate. It is only the naturalists and literalists, demanding the highest degree of "imitation of nature," of "illusion" attainable, who ignore the obvious fact that art means no more than representation only to crude and rudimentary forms of aesthetic intelligence; whereas to artists, and to those who have entered into its spirit, it means presentation, at first hand, of conceptions none of which ever existed or can exist in nature except in inchoate and rudimentary forms, and in confusing and hopelessly jumbled conglomerations, stimulating, teasing, and feeding the artistic intellect, but not satisfying it until they are selected

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[1] Edited by August Sauer (Cotta).

[2] Cf. *Ein Bruderzwist in Österreich*, pp. 66, 100, and elsewhere. This play appears in many ways as a preparation for *Libussa*.

and transformed in accordance with what somehow we know to be the fundamental canons of art. To suppose that a crude and naïve mind, because it can recognize certain realistic landmarks in the background of a drama, or certain realistic traits in the characters, or the actuality of the facts and events represented, can form a truer judgment of the merits of a drama than a person more deeply cultured and more conscious of himself—provided he has not dulled his spontaneity nor corrupted his originality by overburdening his memory—means merely making a virtue of ignorance and dulness. It is like conditioning the eligibility of jurors in an important criminal case upon a stupidity and indolence sufficient to maintain and protect a state of complete ignorance concerning facts of general repute, and current interpretations of that and similar cases.

Art cannot exist without considerable conventions, though it must be without makeshift truths and ideals. But it is obviously absurd to suppose that the artistic reality of a work of art is diminished by the fact that the audience or spectators are conscious of its being artistic.

The aesthetic interest is that of the critic and cultured person concerned with the artistic—i. e., constructive—purposes of the dramatist. The subject of it is not the question of how the action is to proceed, but why the dramatist made it proceed as he did. That this interest must produce a certain suspense is obvious; though it must be admitted that, being less primitive, less concerned with the foundation needs of life, it is far less potent than in the previous cases. There is no drama in which this interest does not propose questions to the thoughtful spectator. In Grillparzer's *Medea*, in the scene between Medea and Kreusa ending in the quarrel and the breaking of the lyre, we cannot help comparing our opinions thus far formed concerning the logic of Medea's and Kreusa's characters with the applications of it made or promised by the dramatist's control of the action. We cannot, for instance, help weighing Medea's words: "Du kennst ihn nicht, ich aber kenn ihn ganz," and her state of mind bespoken by them as well as their effect upon Kreusa, and trying to ascertain how far our conclusions agree with the poet's, and, in case of disagreement, to what extent we still would find the dramatist's solution of his problem acceptable and capable of engaging our serious attention. Or in Kleist's *Homburg*, one of our perfectly legitimate, though called sophisticated, interests in the prince's character would prompt a desire to anticipate, as soon and as accurately as possible, how and why the poet would manage a rehabilitation of the prince without violating the intrinsic probabilities of the situation. It is through this interest alone that we attempt to enter the sanctum, that we try to participate, at least by reflection, by *Anempfindung*, in the creative labor of the poet's mind. The acknowledgment of the legitimacy of this interest opens a deep, varied, and fascinating vista of a subject not even touched by students of the drama—the subject of the deliberate, conscious communication from poet to audience, his dramaturgic flirtations, so to speak, with the spectators.

Among the modern German dramatists it is especially Grillparzer who resorts to such a variety of clever and subtle artifices in order to project his shy, and yet intense and pointed, appeals to his audiences beyond the direct and literal scope of the language of his dramas that one is tempted at times to analyze his motivation chiefly from this point of view. To be sure, in the highest, the world-art, this personal element is supposed to be drowned entirely in a deep flood of objectivity, but do we not, now and then, find even Shakespeare himself engagingly wigwagging to us across the tempests and the gay splendor of his plays?[1]

Before concluding, a few words should be said regarding the use of repetition in the contemporary drama. Without going into detail, it should be pointed out that, owing to the Romantic character of the contemporary drama, including, as shown above, the naturalistic drama, the technical use of the repetition of a keyword has remained essentially unchanged. Two examples may suffice: one from the first and most extreme drama of Naturalism, to wit, the drunken shouts of the old peasant in Hauptmann's *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, pointing to the catastrophe; and the other from one of the subtlest modern psychological dramas, the word "Liebe" in Sudermann's *Johannes*, repeated more than a score of times for the purpose of psychological motivation and development.

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[1] For instance, in the monologue on the stage in *Hamlet*, or Theseus' speech about lunatics, lovers, and poets at the beginning of the fifth act of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

There is one new form of repetition found in the dramas of Maeterlinck, which, though not strictly belonging to the subject, yet, both because Maeterlinck is deeply influenced by German Romanticism and because he in his turn is influencing the modern German drama, should find brief mention. It is the reiteration of words and phrases by those of his characters representing simple folk and children. This repetition expresses a gaucherie, a fate-ridden helplessness and resignation, such as are found among the poor and lowly, whom the march of history has passed by. The modern reactionary Romanticists—W. B. Yeats, for instance—are fond of these folk and their often very engaging, though ineffectual, wisdom, and have endeavored to make them available for the modern drama. Maeterlinck, by a stroke of genius, seems to have selected precisely the kind of words and phrases most fitted for this neo-Romantic individualization.

SUMMARY

It is generally supposed that Romanticism, being essentially lyrical, contributed nothing to the development of the drama. The main result of this study may be interpreted as an addition to our understanding of the very essential dramatic services of Romanticism. The psychological subtlety, wealth, and depth of the modern drama would have been impossible except through the extension of our knowledge of the passional side of our mental processes which we owe to Romantic emotionalism. This extension went on in two directions, giving force and variety to the relations between the characters of the play—i. e., developing psychological motivation—on the one hand, and fundamentally changing those of the audience to the play, on the other. Romanticism taught the dramatist how to offer his audience a deeper and more poignant satisfaction than his less emotional predecessors. The subjects of the latter could be resolved, in their more trivial forms, into a tale, or into a riddle or puzzle, a mere sop to curiosity, surrendered to a shallow appetite by the device of the dénouement; or, in their more dignified form, into the inevitable issue of the course of an external fate. The Romantic dramatist, however, perceived that the emotional nature of his audience demanded stronger fare; that there was before him a collective being abounding in a surprising passional capacity, and clamoring for an opportunity to expend some of his emotional energy. The only opportunity of this kind in the dramatic spectator could be that of passionate participation in the dramatic action, of an intense self-identification with the dramatic characters. This the Romantic dramatist set out to accomplish, aiming at a sort of magic, a mesmeric obsession of the minds of his audience. And one of his principal means of imposing, intensifying, driving home this obsession was the tireless, recurrent keyword.

The Romanticists went to an extreme at first, and many of them never returned to moderation, believing that this sympathetic, or magnetic, or hypnotic—i. e., the immediate emotional—effect of their dramas took the place of all the more quiet, sober, universal verities on which a work of art must be based in order to be enduring. Historical development, as always, soon drew the true balance, showing that a passionate personal interest of the audience in the action of a drama, while it cannot take the place of the more objective parts of poetic truth, is yet a fundamental and integral part of the constructive conception of the modern drama, adding force and a greatly intensified sense of passional reality and intimacy to the dramatic action.

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FRENCH WORDS IN LAȜAMON

In estimating the influence of French on English, various scholars have compiled lists of French words in early Middle English texts. Thus in *A Student's Pastime*, pp. 98–102, Skeat has a list of seventeen[1] French words in the Laud *Chronicle* (*E*), and of a large number in *Old English Homilies*, first series. For the *Ormulum*, see Kluge, *Englische Studien*, XXII, 179 ff.; for *Genesis and Exodus*, see Fritzsche, *Anglia*, V, 43 ff.

The number of French words in Laȝamon's *Brut* Sir Frederick Madden in 1847 roughly estimated to be, in the earlier text, less than fifty, "of which the later text retains about thirty and adds to them rather more than forty" (Vol. I, p. xxii). Madden's subjoined lists make no pretense at completeness, nor are they wholly accurate.[2] His figures, however, seem to have been somewhat widely accepted as authoritative: cf. Green, *Short History of the English People* (1874), chap. iii, §1; Koch, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (1882), Vol. I, p. 17; Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People* (1895), p. 219; Toller, *Outlines of the History of the English Language* (1900), p. 223; Brooke, *English Literature* (1901), p. 42. On the other hand, Skeat, *Principles of English Etymology* (1891), second series, p. 8, and Emerson, *History of the English Language* (1894), p. 162, give the number of French words in both texts as about 150.

The inaccuracy of Madden's statement was noted by Sturmfels, *Anglia*, VIII, 207 (1885), and illustrated by lists of words in Morris, *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (1872), p. 338. These lists, however, even in the revised edition by Kellner and Bradley (1895), need considerable correction. One word, *tumbel*, does not occur in Laȝamon. The following obviously belong elsewhere: *avallen*=*afallen* < OE. *afellan; bolle*, 'bowl,' 14298 < OE.

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[1] To Skeat's list should be added: *acordedan* (1119), *canceler* (1137), *duc* (1129), *sot-* in *sotscipe* (1131), *sotliche* (1137), *treson* (1135); cf. also *de* in titles (1104, 1106).

[2] One word, *haleweie* (l. 23071), Madden's own later etymology (Vol. III, p. 501) would exclude.

bolla; iburned < OE. *byrne; crucche* 19482 < OE. *crycc; ieled* 31941=*iheled* 29991 < OE. *gehælan; martir* is an OE. borrowing directly from Latin; so are *mile, munstre, munt, must, nonne, pal, salmes, scole; talie* < OE. *talian; tavel* < OE. *tæfl; temple* < OE. *tempel* < Lat.; *tunne* < OE. *tunne; warde* < OE. *weard.* Moreover, Laȝamon uses some twenty French words not recorded in the Morris lists.

In the interests of definiteness and convenience I have prepared the following new list, adding in parenthesis the French form from which apparently Laȝamon drew, and appending references to lines of the text. The list is, I believe, complete; perhaps one or two words are open to question. Words marked with a star are not recorded by Morris; words and forms in italics occur only in the later (B) text. Abbreviations used are AF.=Anglo-French; BS.=Bradley-Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary;* KL.=Kluge and Lutz's *English Etymology;* Mätz.=Mätzner's dictionary to his *Altenglische Sprachproben;* NED.=*New English Dictionary.*

abbey (abbeie) 29717, 29721.

admirail (a(d)miral, -ail) 27668, 27689.

**alaski*, 'release,' (alaski(e)r > Fr. lâcher) 8838.

anued, 'annoyed,' (anuier) 2259.

appostolie, 'pope,' (apostolie, not OE. apostol) 29614.

archen, 'ark,' (arche) 26, 8965. BS., KL., and Mätz. derive from OE. earc, an early common Teut. borrowing from Lat. The palatalized form suggests Fr. influence. This is the view of NED., which, however, admits that OE. earc may have > arche in some dialects.

*ariued (ariver) 16063.

*ærmi (armer) 15313, *armede* 8655.

(*h*)*arsun*, 'saddle-bow,' (arçon) 2263.

aspide, 'espied,' (espier, AF. aspier) 19737. Of Teut. origin, OHG. spehōn.

astronomie (astronomie) 24298.

atyr, noun (atirer, verb) 3275. Of Teut. origin (KL.); still doubtful (NED).

*Aueril, 'April,' (Avril) 24196.

balles, 'balls,' 17443, 24703. Native Teut. (OE. *beallu; cf. bealluc) according to NED., which adds: "In the later ME.[1] spelling *balle*, the word coincided graphically with Fr. *balle*, 'ball, bale,' which has hence been erroneously assumed to be its source."

barun (barun) 16921, barunes (gen. sing.) 5319.

biclused, 8698, etc., is rather OE. beclȳsan direct from Lat. Forms in *u* are OE.; later forms in *o* (as in 8698 B) are due to Fr. (NED).

**bitraie* (-tra(h)ir) 8923.

*botten, 'bats,' 21513, 21593. BS. derive from OFr. batte and KL., though mentioning OE. batt, prefer the same derivation. Skeat, *Notes on Eng. Etymology*, s. v., prefers Eng. origin and the plural in *-n* somewhat strengthens this view. Later forms in *-s* imply Fr. influence.

bunnen, 'boundary,' (bunne) 1313.

cacchen (cachier) 31501, cahte 4547, icaht 10843.

canele, 'cinnamon,' (canele) 17745.

canones (canon) 21861, 24289.

cantel-cape, 29749, an ecclesiastical garment mentioned in *Chron. E.* 1070. Cantel is OFr. cantel; cape in Laȝ., as shown by cope of the later text, is < OE. *cāpa=ON. kāpa; cf. next word.

cape, 13097, 29559, capen, 7782, 30849. The usual derivation from OFr. căpe is doubtful. The form cope of the later text points unmistakably to OE. *cāpa=ON. kāpa. This > NE. cope, whereas Fr. căpe > NE. cape.

*cardinal (cardinal) 29497.

*castel (castel) 188, etc.; frequent in earlier texts; probably for this reason omitted from Morris' list.

catel, 'chattel,' (catel) 30673; also in the form caðel 10023, 10261, through influence of ēðel; cf. aðel=ēðel 20201.

changede (changer) 3791.

chapel (chapele) 26140.

cheisil, 'linen,' (chaisel) 23761.

**cheres*, 'countenance,' (chère) 18936.

cheueteine (chevetaine) 5879.

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[1] Laȝ. is pretty early.

*clærc, 9899, etc., borrowed early from Lat., the forms later coinciding with those from Fr.

cloke (cloke) 13097.

conseil (conseil) 2324.

contre (contré) 1282.

coriun, 'a musical instrument,' 7002. Wace has corun, choron (Madden, III, 473).

cri (cri) 11991, etc., *cry* 27034.

crune (corone) 4251, etc.

cruneden (coroner) 31935, *icrouned* 892.

delaie (delai) 17480.

**deolful* (doel-; -ful is Eng.) 6901, 11996.

dotie, 'dote,' 3294. KL., Skeat, and NED. explain ME. doten as = MDu. doten, whence according to NED. OFr. re-doter is borrowed.

dubben, to 'dub' a knight, (adober) 22497, dubbede 30105, idubbed 19578. Generally assumed to be Fr. (NED.); cf. Skeat, *Notes*, s.v.

duc (duc) 86, etc.

duszepers, *dosseperes*, 'the Twelve Peers,' (douze pers) 1622.

eastresse, 'territories,' (estre) 3583.

(h)æremite (eremite) 18763, etc., armite 18800.

*essel, 'bolt, bar,' (aissel) 18992.

eyr ((h)eir) 8990, 23115.

failede (faillir) 2938.

*false (fals) 31550, etc., ualsest 30182.

falsie (falser) 23967, *faulsede* 30406.

**feste*, 'feast,' (feste) 14425.

flum, 'river,' (flum) 542, 1299.

fol, 'fool,' (fol) 1442, etc.

folie (folie) 3024.

*gingiuere, 'ginger,' (gingibre) 17746.

ginnen, 'deceit,' (for engin = Fr. engin) 1323, etc. BS. compare ON. ginna, 'deceive.'

gisarme, 'halberd,' (gisarme) 1567, etc.
grace, (grace) 6616.
granti (granter) 14152, *grantede* 4789, etc.
guyse (guise) 19641.
gyle (guile) 3198, 16382.

**hardiere* 4348, **hardieste* 4181, 14470, comparative and superlative of hardi < OFr. hardie, which is of Teut. origin. *Hardeliche*, 1529, etc., given by Morris, may possibly belong here. Preferably, however, this word is derived, as by Mätz., from OE. heardlice. The forms in the later text result perhaps from a running together of Fr. and Eng.

hiue 790, apparently a ME. ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. Madden, III, 447, equates OFr. hui, huye, and translates 'sound.' This explanation Morris seems to have accepted. Stratmann refers hiue to OE. hēof and Mätz., s.v. hif, follows Stratmann.

honure ((h)onour) 6084.
hostage ((h)ostage) 8905, etc.
hurtes, 'blow, injury,' (hurte) 1837.

ire, *yr*, adj., 'angry,' 18597. For irre < OE. yrre, possibly influenced by Fr. īre (whence NE. ire). Mätz. is doubtful: "afr. *ire*, oder steht es für *irre*, ags. *yrre*, woneben afries. *îre* sich findet?" NED. reports no occurrence of ire before 1300.

istored, 'stored,' (estorer) 13412.

kablen, 'cables,' (cable) 1338.

lac, 'lake,' 1280. NED. derives from Fr. lac; KL. pronounce it an early Lat. loan-word = OE. lagu, 'ocean'; Mätz. remarks: "wenn nicht, wie fr. *lac*, entlehnt aus lat. *lacus*, wenigstens urverwandt mit demselben, und später mit ihm zusammengefallen." Cf. also Skeat, *Notes*, s.v. lake. The word seems to be OE., the sense 'lake' to be Fr.

latimer, 'Latiner, interpreter,' 14319. Though Madden prints latimer in the text, he has latinier in the glossary, in the list of French words, Vol. I, p. xxii., and in a quotation, Vol. III, p. 354.

The OFr. word was latinier, later corrupted into latim(m)ier (NED.); an Anglo-Fr. form latymer is listed by Skeat, *Notes*, p. 420.

lauede (laver) 7489. OE. had lafian, which in ME. became indistinguishably confused with a ME. lave < Fr. laver.

*legat (legat) 24501, 29735.

legiun (legion) 6024.

leon 1463, liun 4085, *lion* 4085 (leo(n)).

**lettre* (lettre) 4496.

licoriz (lycorys) 17746.

*lire (lyre) 7003; lire occurs in Wace, 3767. From this passage Laȝ. seems to have taken over bodily choron (see coriun above), lire, and satérion.

lof, 'luff,' (lof) 7859, etc. Cf. NED. Skeat regards the word as Eng.; ME. lōf.

machunnes, 'masons,' (machun, whence Fr. maçon) 15465, 15478. Skeat suggests Teut. origin.

mahum, 'god, idol,' (mahom) 230, etc.

male, 'mail(-bag),' (male) 3543.

manere (maniere) 894, etc.

mantel (mantel) 14755, 15274.

marbre-stone (marbre) 1138, 1317. The forms marme-, marmon- of the earlier text are < OE. marm-, marmon-, borrowed from Lat.

maumet 29221 = mahimet 14585 (mahumet); cf. mahum.

messagere (messagier) 8299.

montaine (montaine) 1282, 25673B.

nonnerie (nonnerie) 15642.

note (note) 7000.

olifantes, 'elephants,' (olifant) 23778.

paide, 'pleased,' (paier) 10535, *ipaid* 2340, 3265.

pais, 'peace,' (pais) 480, etc.

**paisinge*, 'peace' 11664.

paise, 'make peace,' 8783, 8839.

paradis (paradis) 24122.

parc 1432. OFr. parc, ultimately connected with OE. pearruc, 'enclosure,' (*Chron. A.* 918); cf. BS., KL., Skeat, *Principles of Eng. Etymol.*, I, p. 221, and NED.

passi, 'pass,' (passer) 1341.

pensiles, 'standards,' (pen(o)cel) 27183.

pilegrim (pelegrin) 30730, etc.

porses, 'purses,' (borse) 5927, occurs as early as 1050; cf. Kluge, *Eng. Studien*, XI, 65, 36, XXI, 335; and see putte below.

porz, 'ports,' occurs once in the phrase porz of Spaine, 24415. OE. port < Lat., influenced by Fr. spelling.

postles, 'posts,' (postel) 1316. Morris has only postes 28032 =OE. post < Lat.

pouere, 'poor,' (povre) 22715, *poure* 2565, etc., *pore* 22715, etc.

*prelat (prelat) 24502.

*primat (primat) 29736.

prisune (prison) 1016.

**priue-men* (privé) 6877.

processiun (procession) 18223.

*prude, 'pride,' (prut) 11715, etc, prute 19409.

*prute, 'proud,' 7682, etc., *proute* 8136, etc., pruttest 20870. Both noun and adj. occur in late OE.; perhaps for this reason omitted from Morris' list.

*purpras, 'purples,' noun (purpre) 2368, 5928.

putte, 'put,' 18092, 30780, occurs as early as 1000 (KL.); apparently < OFr. bouter. Phonology similar to that of porses above.

riche 128, etc., a running together in form and meaning of OE. rīce, 'powerful,' and OFr. riche, 'rich,' itself a borrowing from Teut.

riches occurs only in 8091 where Stratmann, *Eng. Stud.* III, 269, would read rēchels, 'incense' < OE. rēcels, rȳcels. So of course BS. This makes better sense than Madden's 'riches' < OFr. richesse. Nor does ȝeftes of the later text give any help; that seems rather=aðꝺeles madmes of 8094. Rich- of richesse is of Teut. origin.

rollede (roller) 22287.

route (route) 2598.

salteriun, 'psaltery,' 7001; adaptation of Wace's satérion; cf. s.v. lire, above; cf. OE. saltere.

sarui, 'serve' (servir) 3959, etc., *saruede* 4855, etc..

*scamoiene, 'scammony,' (scammonie) 17741.

scapie, 'escape,' (escaper) 826, etc., also a fuller form, *ascapede* 1611, etc., *achaped* 18269.

scare, 'mockery,' 5835, etc.; BS. with query derive from OFr. escar.

scarn, *scorn* (escarn) 17307, etc. Of Teut. origin. Scærninge 2791.

scurmen, 'fence,' 8144, probably OFr. (Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in ME.*, p. 128); cf. Anglo-Fr. eskermir (Skeat, *Notes*, p. 454). Here seems to belong *sceremigge* 8144.

seælleð, as-'sail,' (as-saillir) 6146.

seine, 'ensign,' (signe) 9282; cf. OE. segn < Lat.

seint (saint) 32, etc.

senaht (senat) 25388.

senaturs (senateur) 25337, etc.

seruise (servise) 8071, 8097 B.

seruuinge 8097, 8114; cf. s.v. sarui.

sire (sire) 22485.

siwi, 'follow,' (sewir) 1387, *siwede* 16437.

soffri, 'suffer,' (soffrir) 24854, *isoffred* 6268.

sot, 'fool,' (sot; occurs in late OE.) 1442, etc., sotten 17309, sottes 21806.

sot-liche 1970.

sot(h)-scipe 3024, 23178.

**spiares*, 'spies,' (derivative of espier, which is of Teut. origin) 1488, etc.

*streit, 'hostile' (Madden), (estreit) 22270.

sumunen, 'summon,' (somoner) 424.

timpe, a musical instrument, 'tympan' (Madden), 7003,= timpan 'drum' of BS.? Madden's reference to Roquefort, *Poësie Franç.* ed. 1815, p. 116, I have been unable to look up.

[*tr*]*esur*, 'treasure,' (tresor) 28834.

*trinetðes, 'Trinity's,' (trinité; cf. AF. trinitet, Skeat, *Notes*, p. 464) 29533.

truage, 'tribute,' (truage) 7189, etc.

tumbe, 'tomb,' (tumbe) 6080.

ture, 'tower,' (tur) 6056, etc., *tour* 19293, etc.

turne, 'turn,' (torner) 12734, *torne* 3069, *teorne* 25574, etc., *tornde* 46, etc., torneden 4586, *turnden* 1843, etc.; also late OE.

vrinal (urinal) 17724, 17727.

vsi, 'use,' (user) 10068, *vsede* 24293.

waiteþ (waiter) 23077.

*wasten (waster) 22575, etc.

weorre, 'war,' 170 etc., OFr. werre < Teut.; also as verb weorrede 20191.

ymages (image, AF. ymage) 18206.

Summary.—Counting all the words in this list, we have in the A text of Laȝamon, usually retained in B, 94 words of French origin; in the B text only, 64 words of French origin; a grand total of 158. From these figures, however, certain deductions are to be made: clærc and porz are better regarded as OE. borrowings from Latin; in the case of balles, botten, cape, *hardeliche*, and ire, weight of evidence favors native origin; riches is possibly a corruption. Hence these more accurate totals: in A and B, 87 words of French origin; only in B, 63; in all 150.

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NACHRICHT VON J. WIMPFELINGS DEUTSCHLAND

While collecting material for a republication of Jacob Wimpfeling's *Tutschland*, which Hansz Michel Moscherosch caused to be printed in 1648, one hundred and fifty years after it was written, I ran across an account of this defense of Strassburg and the Rhine by Adam Ritter, of the year 1752, which attracted my attention as an exceedingly rare bit of German philology for those days.

Ritter reviews Wimpfeling's *Germania*, giving a detailed outline of the work, and then adds a few remarks of his own about the language of Wimpfeling which I thought worthy of preservation.

Ernst Voss

University of Wisconsin

Nachricht
von
J. Wimpflings Deutschland
zur Ehre der Stadt Straszburg etc.
mit einigen Anmerk. zu der teutschen Sprache begleitet
von
Adam Daniel *Richter*,
Rector der Schule uff St. Annaberg. 1752.

(Altes und Neues von Schulsachen gesamlet von M. Joh. Gottl. Biedermann, R. Achter Theil. Halle, 1755. S. 28–41.)
Berlin, Nc. 4506.

Jacob Wimpfling, ein Theologus und Historicus, von Schlettstatt im Elsas, hat, nebst seinen verschiedenen gedruckten Schriften, auch eine Abhandlung von der Stadt Straszburg zurücke gelassen, welche, weil er solche schon im Jahre 1501 aufgesetzet, aber nicht selbst dem Druck übergeben, 147 Jahre hernach von Hansz Michel Moscheroschen zum Druck befördert worden. Wir wollen aus dieser kleinen Schrift, dann sie beträgt nicht mehr als 6 Bogen in Quart gedruckt, weil sie sich doch etwas selten gemacht, einen kurzen Auszug geben, und selbigen mit einigen Anmerkungen von unserer Muttersprache begleiten. Der Titel

dieses kleinen Werks ist folgender: Tutschland Jacob Wympfflingers von Schlettstatt zur Ere der Statt Straszburg vnd des Rinstroms. Unter disem Titel, auf dem Titelblatte, steht ein Wappen, in dem Schilde liegt ein Balken oben von der Linken bis unten zur Rechten, über demselben ist ein Helm oben mit einer Krone, zu beyden Seiten ist Laubwerk, über der Krone steht ein Federbusch, zu beyden Seiten neben diesen Wappen ist zur Linken eine Münze mit einem Engel, dessen Flügel zugethan sind; dieser hält ein Creutze gerade vor sich, desgleichen zur Rechten eine Münze, mit einem ausgeschlagnen Adlerflügel. Unter diesen Wappen stehet: Jetzo nach 147 Jahren zum Truck gegeben durch Hansz Michel Moscherosch, und zu Ende unter einer darzwischen geschlagenen Linie: Getruckt zu Straszburg bey Johann Philip Mülben und Josias Städeln, 1648. Moscherosch hat solcher kleinen Abhandlung eine Zuschrift an den Rath zu Straszburg vorgesetzt, darinnen er Wimpflingen lobet, dasz er treulich und einfältig schriebe, offenherzig und recht von einer Sache rede. Auch versichert er, dasz er des Verfassers Worte fleiszig in Obacht gezogen, und seines Wissens oder Willens nicht einen Buchstaben davon noch darzu gethan habe, dasz man also die zu Wimpflings Zeiten im Ober-Elsas gewesene *Mundart* daraus ersehen könne. Zu Ende der Zuschrift steht auf einer ganzen Seite wieder ein Wappen, welches darinne von dem auf dem Tittelblatte abgehet, dasz der Balken im Schilde schräg von der Rechten zur Linken liegt, dasz statt des Laubwerks hier zwey Löwen auf beyden Seiten den Schild halten, und dasz die Federn über Helm und Krone hier von einer Seite zur andern rund oben herum aufrecht ausgebreitet stehen.

Dergleichen Zuschrift an den Rath zu Straszburg hatte Wimpfling seiner Abhandlung selbst auch vorgesetzt unter folgendem Titel: Den Groszmächtigen, Edelen, Meyster und Rat der löbl. Statt Straszburg, winscht Jacobus Wimpfling von Sletstatt, Selikeit und Merung des gemeynen Nutzes. In der Zuschrift selbst nennet er den damaligen Rath solcher Stadt hoch beriemte Rathsherren, fürsichtige vnd Vernunftweise Herren, Meyster und Rath, und sagt, weil viele meyneten, es wäre Straszburg und andere Städte am Rhein ehemals dem Könige in Frankreich zuständig gewesen, auch viele Straszburger selbst mehr dem Könige in Frankreich, als dem deutschen Reiche, geneigt wären, so wolle er erst mit wahrscheinlichen Vermuthungen, ferner mit glaubwürdigen Zeugnissen, und denn mit den bewährtesten Geschichtschreibern darthun, dasz Straszburg und die andern Städte des Rheins, niemals den Franzosen zugehöret. Solche Zuschrift ist gegeben vsz dem Kloster des H. Sant Wilhelmen in der Vorstatt, vff den xiiii Tag Octobris MCCCCC. im Ersten.

Die Abhandlung endlich selbst ist in zwey Bücher abgetheilt. In dem ersten Buche beweiset er seinen Satz mit Vermutigung, darnach mit glaubwürdigen Gezügen, und dann mit den bewertesten Geschichtschreibern. Vorhero sagt er noch dasz nie kein Franzos römischer Kayser gewesen; er erzehlet ferner, aus welchem Lande die vorigen Kayser hergestamt, und dasz das Land, zwischen Frankreich und dem Rhein mitten inne, zu Deutschland gehöre. Die erste Vermuthung, welche er nun vorbringt, ist: Pipinus, Karoli M. Vater, könne kein Franzose gewesen sein, weil die Deutschen damals im Sprüchwort gesagt: Du magst das oder das Ding nit tun oder zu wegen bringen, wann du glich werst als wisz als Künig Pipis. Denn die Deutschen würden nicht den Namen eines Franzosen so ofte im Munde führen. Seine andere Vermuthung, dasz Karolus M. ein Deutscher gewesen, nimmt er daher, weil derselbe deutsche Bücher geschrieben, und den Monaten und Winden, auch seinen Söhnen und Töchtern deutsche Namen gegeben. In der dritten Vermuthung sagt er, Kayser Karl der Grosse hätte sich allezeit in Deutschland aufgehalten, daselbst Kirchen und Klöster gestiftet, Städte und Schlösser gebauet, hätte sich auch in Deutschland, vor sich und die Seinigen, sein Begräbnisz erwählet, welches er alles, wenn er ein Franzose, nicht würde gethan haben. In der vierten und letzten Vermuthung hält er für unglaublich, weil es die Schwaben, Bäyern und Franken nicht würden zugelassen haben, dasz die Franzosen jenseit des Rheins Städte erbauet, Herrschaften und Obrigkeiten gehabt, wol aber hätte Pipinus, Karoli M. Vater, ein Deutscher, über die Franzosen geherschet.

Nunmehro führet er sieben Zeugnisse, oder Gezügen an, mit welchen er seinen Satz noch weiter behauptet. Der erste ist *Innocentius III*, in dem Capitel *venerabilem, de Electio.* Die andern sind *Iustinianus in l. 1. ff. de Censibus. Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Vrbanus* II, in dem *Concilio* zu *Claremont*, *Eneas Sylvius* in seiner *Europa. Marcus Anthonius*, *Sabellicus* in der Geschichte der Venetianer, und *Cornelius Tacitus* von Deutschland. Von denen bewährtesten Geschichtschreibern nennet er den *Suetonium* in dem Leben *Augusti*, und beweiset aus dem selben, dasz an den Staden des Rinns, auf welchen Straszburg gelegen, niemals Franzosen gewohnet, und dasz also diese Gegend zu Deutschland, aber niemals zu Frankreich, gehöret hätte.

Zu Ende dieses Buchs hat er noch eine Entschuldigung der Gilgen halb in der *Mynz* angefüget. Denn weil etliche glaubten, dasz die Gilge, welche auf denen Münzen der Stadt Straszburg geprägt stünde, ein Beweis wäre, dasz Straszburg ehemals unter der Herrschaft des Königes von Frankreich gestanden, so antwortet er darauf, dasz niemand diese Vermuthung mit einem tüchtigen Zeugnisz würde bestätigen können; hernacher, dasz denen Französischen Münzen drey Gilgen, auf der Straszburger Münze aber nur eine geprägt, und dasz der König von Frankreich drey Gilgen in den Panern und Schilten, Straszburg aber nur eine in den Pfennigen führe. Straszburg habe auch ein ander Stritt Paner, nemlich ein rote Strosz durchgezogen und zerteilende ein, wisz schinende Felt. Auch wäre dieses Gepräge auf den Straszburgischen Münzen noch nicht gar alt, dieweil die Straszburger ehedem einen Engel, Adler, Vittich, oder sonst ein ander Bildnisz auf ihre Münzen geschlagen, deren noch viele vorhanden wären. Es hätten aber auch die römischen Kayser vielen Edelen in Deutschland Gilgen, manchen eine, andern auch mehrere, in Schild und Wappen gegeben, und ebenso könten sie, als Herren der Stadt Straszburg, denen Straszburgern eine Gilge in ihre Münze verliehen haben. Endlich wäre das Geschlecht Karoli M. bey den Franzosen, in dem Könige Ludwig, der Königs Lotharii Sohn gewesen, erloschen, und die Regierung auf einen Hauptmann, genannt Hugo Capucius, oder Zschappeler, den das gemeine Volk für eines Metzigers Sohn gehalten hätte, gekommen.

Nun folget das andere Buch, welches in sieben und zwanzig kleine Abschnitte getheilet ist, wir wollen eines ieden seine Ueberschrift hersetzen. 1) Von der Einhellikeit. 2) Von Lieb des gemeynen Nutzes. 3) Von Fürsichtikeit des Kriegs. 4) Von vermydung zu vil Stoltzikeit. 5) Von Früntschaft der Nachgebaren. 6) Von der Gerehtikeit gegen den Vszländigen. 7) Von der Behäblicheit zu der gemeynen Schatzkammer. 8) Von der Gerehtikeit in der Stat. 9) Von dryerhand Stadt, (Ständen) so in eyner Stat notturfftig sint. 10) Von Fürsichtikeit. 11) Etliche eins fürsichtigen Rattsherren Eigenschafft. 12) Von Järlichen Geschichten. 13) Ein mittliden mit den groben Vngelerten. 14) Die Nutzbarkeit der Latinischen sproch. 15) Von einer Vähtschul, darin die Kind, nachdem sie die ersten Ruchwerk der buchstablichen Geschrifft ergriffen, gelert würden anzesehen, (d. i. anzurichten). 16) Ein Ebenbild der Fürsten und ander Stett. 17) Von schaden des Müsziggands vnd Vngelergkeit. 18) Von dem Gotsdienst. 19) Von eim Cantzelprediger. 20) Was durch Lieb willen des Gotsdiensts zu straffen sig. 21) Von den guten Burgern. 22) Von Anwisung der Kind. 23) Von Ziehung der Döhter. 24) Der Edelen und Bürgers Sün, warin sie vnderwisen werden sollen. 25) Durch zwey Ding wurt Straszburg sellig, deren eins Doctor Johannes Keisersperg, vwer allerwisester vnd redlihster Prediger, dick an siner Predig bestymbt. 26) Die Vberträffung der Statt Straszburg. 27) In welchen weg Gott und sine Mutter dise Stat beschirmen werden.

Nach diesen Abhandlungen folget der Beschlusz von Wimpflings Zuschrift an den Rath zu Straszburg, darinnen er sagt, dasz er ihnen solche Schrift übergebe, mit vorhergegangenem Beyfall ihrer Mitbrüder vnd Süne, Herrn Jacob Merschwin und Sebastiani Brant, nicht dasz er einen Mangel an ihrem Regimente tadeln, sondern dasz er allen Städten und Gemeinden, und ihren Kindern, die solche Dinge lesen würden, nützlich seyn wollte. Auch erhellet zugleich aus diesem Beschlusz, dasz er diese seine kleine Schrift selbst hat wollen in Druck geben, da er schreibt, sie würden es nicht ungütig nehmen, dasz er dieses Lob ihrer Stadt und ihre Freyheit, ihren Bürger, Johanni Prysz, durch seinen Druck auszubreiten, nicht habe versagen wollen.

Zu Ende hat der Herausgeber, Hansz Michel Moscherosch, noch eine kleine Nachricht von Jacob Wimpflingen angehängt, welche Caspar Hedio, Doctor im Münster zu Straszburg, im vierten Theil seiner Chronick, am 722 Blatt erzehlet, aus welcher wir nur noch anmerken dasz Jacob Wimpfling zu Schlettstatt nicht wie sonst erzehlet wird, 1450, sondern 1449 gebohren, dasz er von Jugend auf in guten Künsten, erstlich zu Schlettstett, unter Ludewig Drigenberg, dem Schulmeister, hernach zu Freyburg etc. wohl erzogen, und unter seinen Schülern Jacob Sturm, von den Edelen, der fürnehmste gewesen. Pabst Julius habe ihn frey gesprochen, als seine Feinde ihn zu Rom verklagt, dasz er den Augustiner-Orden verachtet, und zwar habe solches der Pabst gethan auf Unterhandlung Jacobi Spiegels, Kaysers Maximiliani Secretarii, der des Wimpflings Schwester Sohn war. In seinem Alter habe sich Wimpfling zu Schlettstatt, bey seiner Schwester Magdalena, aufgehalten, wäre bey 80 Jahr alt worden, hätte oft die Worte gebetet: Du milter Jesus bisz gnädig mir armen Sünder, der ich des gemeynen nutzens, Einigkeit der Cristen, der H Geschrifft, vnd dasz die Jugend recht vferzogen, ein Liephaber bin, und wäre endlich den 16 Wintermonat 1528 gestorben.

Wir wollen numehro bey dieser kleinen Schrift einige Anmerkung wegen der deutschen Sprache, und zwar erstlich, was die Rechtschreibung derselben anbelangt, machen. Hier finde ich nun, dasz in den meisten Wörtern für den Doppellaut ei nur ein i stehet, als das Rich für Reich, schribt für schreibt. Deszgleichen ist in den meisten Wörtern für den Doppellaut ü der Doppellaut ie, und zwar am meisten vor dem h oder d, oder wenn der Mittlauter vor oder nach ein h haben solte, als: beriemten für berühmten, fiert für führt, Brieder für Brüder, Gemiet für Gemüth. In sehr vielen Wörtern stehen statt des Doppellauts au nur ein u, als das Husz für Hausz, der Gebruch für Gebrauch. Offte stehet ein a für e, als antweder fur entweder; ein e für ä, als hetten für hätten; ein e für a, als die Zel für Zahl; ein e für ie, ein i für ey, als Bispel für Beyspiel; ein i für ü, als er winscht für wünscht; ein i für ie, als dise für diese; ein i oder ie für ü, als vszgeschittet für ausgeschüttet, hietten für hütten; ein ou für au, als gloubten für glaubten, das Houbt für Haupt, ow für au, als die Frowen für Frauen, gehowen für gehauen; ein u für o, als die Sunne für Sonne, der Sun für Sohn, ein ü für eu, als früntlich für freundlich; hüt für heute; ein ü für ei, als verlüht für verleihet, uw für eu, als nuwe für neue; ein y für ein i oder ei, als gewynen für gewinnen, myn für mein, Nyd für Neid, y für ey, oder ü, als fryen für freyen, die Myntz für Münz, y für ie, als die Glyder für Glieder.

Hernach ist in denen Wörtern wo ein sch stehen soll, das ch ordentlich weggelassen, als der Smeichler für Schmeichler; oft steht ein d für t, als under für unter; ein d für th, als Dorheit für Thorheit, detten für thäten. Statt der Sylbe em steht meistentheils zu Anfange der Wörter, die Sylbe ent, als entpfangen für empfangen; g steht bisweilen für h, als früg für frühe; ofte ist es auch gar weggelassen, als Einhellikeit für Einhelligkeit, so wie das h in den meisten Wörtern, als meren für mehren, on für ohne. Vielmals steht nur das h wo ein ch seyn solte, als Fruht für Frucht, das Reht für Recht, Döhter für Töchter. So mangelt auch sehr oft das k, sonderlich wenn es für den Doppellaut ei hätte stehen sollen, als Nutzliheit für Nutzlichkeit. Wenn ein m̃ oder ñ seyn solte, ist ein mb, als stymbt für stimmt, nembt für nennet. Auch findet sich manchmal p für b, als liep gehept han für lieb gehabt haben, t für d, oder tt für t, als sint für sind, lutter für lauter, v für f, als der Vynd für Feind, v für au oder eu, als Vffruhr für Aufruhr, vch für euch, vw für eu, als Trvwe für Treue; w stehet bisz weilen für h, als die Ruw für Ruhe, und ze für zu, als ze werden für zu werden.

Nun wollen wir auch etliche alte Wörter, alte Endungen, Bedeutung und Wortfügung derselben mit anmerken. Ofte ist das Bindewort dasz weggelassen, viele vermeynen, vwer Stat etwan gewesen sin in Henden der Künige von Franckrich. So mangelt auch vielmals, wie in den angezogenen Worten, in Henden für in denen Händen, das bestimmte Geschlechtswort, oder das absonderliche Bestimmungswort zu, als: dasz auch wir selbs solchs fälschlich war (zu) sin vermeynen. Seit ist soviel, als sagt, sygen oder sigen, so viel als sind. Es kommen auch mit unter viele * *Verbeissungen* als Oberkeit für Obrigkeit, * *Einschiebsel*, als Vermuthigung für Vermutung, *Stutzungen, als ein Tütsch für ein Deutscher, *Vorsätze, als Gezier für Zierde. Die andere vermehrte Zahlendung hat ofte ein en, und solte auf ein t ausgehen, als: ihr hatten für ihr habet. Regniren ist für regieren, anfahen für anfangen; Abtilcken ist so viel als vertilgen, absetzen: die ir nochmals vszgetrieben vnd abgetilckt haben, etlich vnnütz Franckeisch Künig. Dick heiszt viel, Lütücher sind die Lytticher, lyt für liegt, vere für ferne, lutter heisst deutlich, Staden das Ufer, Stadt der Stand, ordo, Stat, vrbs, Lütt, die Leute, Sperrung heisst die Verhütung, Gilge die Lilie, Piefelvolck das gemeine Volk, dryg, dreye, eine Strosz, ein Balken, Behalffung, Beförderung, vszrichten, verderben, ist es geschehn vnd vszgericht vmb Künigrich. Profand ist Proviant, Beharrader ist baar Geld, nervus rerum gerendarum; den Krieg beharren heisst den Krieg fortsetzen. Die Vile, die Menge, das Nom, der Diebstahl von nehmen: dasz durch Roub vnd nom die rich werden mögen. Vffsatz, Aufruhr, Vffsetzer, Aufrührer, Wiedertriesz, Verdrusz, Behübliheit, Beförderung, Güldt, Vergeltung, Geschenke, die Geistlichen nämen in grosse Gült. Durächten ist verachten, offene Wesen, das gemeine Wesen, die Blüst, Blüthe, das angebürlich Teil, Erbtheil, von Geburt. Runt tragen, heiszt kund machen, Vffgand, das Wachsthum, wäger heiszt besser, wer es nit wäger dasz, etc. Gebresten, Gebrechen. Vähtschule, von vohen oder vahen, anfangen, ist eine Anfangsschule, darinnen die Leute im Lateinischen und andern Wissenschaften zu höhern Schulen und Academien zubereitet werden. Ruchwerk sind die ersten Anfangsgründe, die Ruchwerck der buchstäblichen Geschrifft. Ich gethan für ich darf, vester so viel als grösser: dasz die Zel der Pfaffen vester gemert werde. Rattsherschenstadt, Rattsherrenstand, flissen, befleissigen. Stupfer ist ein Verführer; welche sint Stupfer der vnluterkeit. Gedürren, sich getrauen, damit er öffentlich reden gedürr, d. i. sich zu reden getraue. Lyden heiszt die Glocken lauten, gebannender Obent, heiliger Abend. Entfor, Nachricht, damit sie dem Statthalter Christi entfor geben. Lugen, sorgen, die Eltern sollen lugen, dasz die Kind vnderwissen werden. Ferner ist abtügen abgewöhnen schampere Bildung, Putz im Anzuge, doraffter lauffen, herum laufen, dünen, thun, die Eltern die solchs dünt. Endlich heiszt gedürsten und getaren so viel als dürfen, vnd von dem die Myster nit abwichen gedürstn, d. i. dürften. Nit getar ich sagen, nicht darf ich sagen, Husz hübliheit, heiszt Hauszhältigkeit.

Bey der Wortforschung wollen wir noch folgende Herleitung der Wörter angeben. Der Rhein wird geschrieben Rin, und kommt also von rinnen, geschwinde fliessen. *Austrasia* heisst die hohe Strasse, und komt von oh, hoch, welches in au verwandelt, und dem Worte Strasse. Schöffen, die Schöpfen, von schaffen, machen, verrichten, die Böhmen sagen noch itzo: was schafft der Herr? Vberhangk, itzo überhand, von der Wage, wo die grössere Schwere der einen Schale überhangt. Hochfort die Hoffarth, von hochfahren, fürnehme Leute fuhren auf einem mehr erhabenen Wagen. Nachgeburen, nachbarn, von nach und buren, bauen, einer der hernach neben den andern sein Haus gebauet. Schüren, die Scheuren, von zusammeschüren, zusammeschütten. Vffrehtikeit, die Aufrichtigkeit, von uff, auf, und recht, reht, aufrichtig also, der auf das Recht sieht, sagt und gesteht, wie das Recht es fordert. Huffe, der Hauffe, daher kommen noch die Huffen bey den Feldern, eine oder viele Huffen Feld; weil, wenn einer ein nach einem gewissen Maasz angewiesenes Stücke ödes Feld gut machte, er an dem einen, oder an beyden Enden desselben die ausgegrabenen oder zusammen gelesenen Steine auf Hauffen zusammen schüttete, und dadurch solches Feld gleichsam reinigte. Ruchwerck Anfangsgründe, vielleicht von roh, als: er ist noch roh in dieser Wissenschaft. Die Freyht, auf die Freyht gehen, komt her von freyen kaufen, denn viel Töchter machten reich. Füroben, Feyerabend, von für und Abend, der vor dem heiligen Tage vorher gehet. Litferikeit, Leichtfertigkeit, von leicht und fahren, wenn einer leichte und dahin zu fahren verwegen ist, ohne Schaden und Unglück zu bedenken. Dorheit, Thorheit, von dem Gott Dor. Liberien, Liberey, Bibliothec, vielleichte von liber, das Buch, und etwan dem deutschen Worte reyhe, wo die Bücher nach der Reihe stehen.

Endlich sehen wir aus dieser ganzen Schrift, dasz der Verfasser ein geschworner Feind der Franzosen, und dasz zu seiner Zeit Johannes Keisersperg der weiseste Prediger in Straszburg, Friedrich Tunawer Ketzermeister daselbst, und ehemals Thomas und Vlricus zwey hochgelehrte Geistliche in Straszburg gewesen.

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LITERARY FORMS AND THE NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES[1]

In the summer of 1903 I found in the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1901* a brief paper[2] reviewing a new theory of the origin of species that at once arrested my attention. It was the now famous Mutation Theory of Professor Hugo DeVries. It dealt with certain features in the development of new species of plants strikingly similar to processes which I had reluctantly been forced by the evidence to assume as true of the origins of certain forms of the drama in mediaeval and early modern times. Not being a botanist, I could not judge of the soundness of the views of Professor DeVries, though the reasoning seemed to me valid and the experiments conclusive; but I took the first opportunity to consult the botanists and zoölogists I knew, and learned essentially this:[3]

That the way for DeVries's doctrine of mutations had been prepared by many investigators, who had demonstrated that the processes mainly relied on by Darwin for the transformation of one species into another could not produce the results;[4] that new species of plants had actually come into existence under DeVries's personal supervision; that his experiments had been successfully repeated by other investigators; and that his work marked an epoch in the history of natural science fairly comparable with that of Darwin.

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[1] This paper was first presented before the English Club of Princeton University in February, 1905, and later repeated at the University of Chicago.

[2] "The Mutation Theory of Professor DeVries," by Charles A. White, *The Smithsonian Report* for 1901, pp. 631-40.

[3] Many articles in the magazines have since expounded the theory of DeVries and presented the attitude of scientists toward it. The best discussion that I have seen, however, is that of T. H. Morgan, *Evolution and Adaptation*, pp. 287-99; see also pp. 340-413.

[4] See Morgan, *op. cit.*, especially chap. v and the references given there.

All of us know, when we stop to think of it, that the doctrine of evolution did not begin with Darwin. Long before his day students of the forms of life upon earth had held that all forms had been derived by differentiation from other forms, and that all went back ultimately to a simple form having infinite possibilities of development. This view had many adherents: botanists, zoölogists, geologists, and even poets, like Tennyson, adopted it. But it remained only a theory which intelligent men might believe if they would, until Darwin, on the basis of an unexampled collection of facts and with a simplicity and candor rarely approached, made it a doctrine that must be accepted by all men not already committed by age to other views of the processes of creation. Before him all had been vague. He called attention to definite variations which might result in change of species and indicated the cause that had determined the direction of the change. The variations were matters of everyday experience, and the cause, when pointed out, seemed so familiar that everybody became a Darwinian. Most people, indeed, after the fashion of most people, became more Darwinian than Darwin himself. In the first place, they gave to his views a simplicity and a certainty which his appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of the problem would have made it impossible for him to accept; in the second place, they gave to them a rigidity that would have been incomprehensible to him, and made of them, as it were, articles of faith.

In the vague, swirling chaos of genera and species and varieties Darwin distinguished two types of variation: one, that which is now known as "fluctuating;" the other, that which he called "chance variation," and which DeVries indicates more definitely as "mutation."[1] Fluctuating variation is that by which individual differs from individual, oak leaf from oak leaf, race-horse from cart-horse; that variation, in short, which makes one individual a little better than another and enables a careful breeder to improve his stock; that which has changed the original sixteen-petaled chrysanthemum of Japan to the huge blossom we see at the annual flower show. What Darwin called "chance variations" and DeVries "mutations" are those sudden and unaccountable differences which, occasionally occurring, lift the individual entirely out of his class. Darwin recognized that both sorts of variations occurred, but he ascribed no great importance to the latter; and, considering the state of science at that time, this was not only natural, but probably desirable. Mutations had been carelessly observed and treated as insignificant curiosities, whereas the work of gardeners, breeders of horses, breeders of dogs, breeders of pigeons, had been carefully recorded. The improvement possible by taking advantage of these fluctuating variations was then and is now astonishing. It is not strange, therefore, that Darwin laid stress almost entirely upon the possibilities of these scarcely perceptible variations, especially since his doctrine of natural selection seemed to make Nature as careful a breeder as Man.

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[1] For DeVries's theory in general cf., besides the works already cited, H. DeVries, *Die Mutationstheorie* (Vol. I, 1901; Vol. II, 1903) and *Species and Varieties; Their Origin by Mutation* (1905). For fluctuating variations, see especially *Species and Varieties*, chaps. xxv and xxvii, and Morgan, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

Since Darwin, many investigators have shown that the limit of fluctuating variations is quickly reached, and that in them lies no possibility of crossing the line that divides species from species. DeVries has gone a step farther. He has not only pointed out the distinction between species and hybrids and varieties, and the limitations of fluctuating variation; he has also developed a theory of the way in which new species come into existence and has verified his theory by actually observing the birth of the new species. The theory is briefly this:

> Mutation forms a special division of the kinds of variation. It does not occur flowingly, but in steps, without transitional stages, and it occurs less frequently than do the common variations, which are continuously and constantly at hand. The contrast between the two kinds at once appears if one conceives that characters of an organism are made up of definite elements or units (*Einheiten*), sharply distinguished from one another. These units combine in groups, and in related species similar groups recur. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group, and separates the new form sharply and definitely

as an individual species from the one out of which it has been produced. The new species is at once such, and originates from the former species without apparent preparation and without gradation. Each attribute or character of course arises from one previously present, not by normal variation, but by one small yet sudden change.[1]

But what has this to do with the development of literature? Literature is not a plant or an animal; it develops in accordance with the laws of its own existence.

No one, I think, is more ready than I to recognize that literature is not an organism of any kind; that principles true of the development of plants and animals have no necessary validity for works of art. But the whole process of human thought has, whether we like it or not, been transformed by the theories of Darwin. "Evolution," "adaptation to environment," "struggle for existence," "survival of the fittest," are not merely words: they are conceptions—powerful, dominating conceptions. We may misunderstand them, misuse them, deny them; the one thing we cannot do is to speak, or even think, as we should if they had never existed. We know that literature and art and social life are not plants or animals, and that they have their own laws of existence; but even if we try to keep steadily before us the fallacy residing in such terms as "organism" and "evolution," it is practically impossible to speak or think of any unified body of facts showing progressive change as men habitually spoke and thought before 1860. That we should still speak and think as if the needs of human thought could be met by a mere chronological record is not to be wished; but it is equally undesirable that in our attempts to understand the processes of life we should accept for our own particular problem a formula whose only claim to attention is that it seems to solve another problem. This we have been doing, even when we were not conscious of it.

Thus, when, some fifteen years ago, I began to study the origins of the modern drama, I was not conscious of the influence of Darwin; but I believed, as we all believed, that all things came into existence gradually, by almost imperceptible modifications of something that had existed before. The problem before me therefore seemed to be the problem of collecting the evidence of these gradual and scarcely perceptible changes. When all the evidence was in hand, it appeared that, in this case at any rate, the conditions of change had been very different from what the theory presupposed. There was no gradual accumulation of scarcely perceptible variations, changing the non-dramatic into the dramatic so insensibly that the moment of the change could not be indicated. On the contrary, there was a large amount of variation of non-dramatic form which, however wide the variation, never resulted in drama; and then with absolute suddenness came the drama, created at one moment, created without any reference to the futile variations that had preceded. These variations I call futile, not because they lack interest or possible significance, but because they did not and could not develop out of their own class. There was the ritual of the mass, capable, as many scholars—Alt and Schaff and Klein and Davidson[1]—have shown, of developing into drama. But it did not develop. There was epic poetry, which even in the days of the English *Cynewulf*, as Cook[2] has clearly shown, was dialogic and vivid, and dealt with material that later was made the subject of plays. There were sermons, which, as Rand[3] has pointed out, discussed the subjects discussed in the liturgical drama, and which used dialogue to heighten effect—sermons which would have been drama if they had not remained something else. But all these promising variations remained just what they were: the mass never became anything but the mass; epic poetry gained vividness, yet it remained epic poetry; sermons grew interesting, but they did not originate the drama; *estrif* and *debat* and epic comedy and tragedy almost crossed the line, but they did not actually cross it. There were many things which to us seem capable of becoming drama; the only valid test of development is what actually happened. Antiphones might become more antiphonal; sermon, epic comedy, *estrif*, *debat*, might develop a more lively dialogue; none of them, as a matter of fact, became drama; none of them varied beyond its class.

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[1] *Die Mutationstheorie*, Vol. I, Preface, translated by White, with modifications.

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[1] H. Alt, *Theater und Kirche*, pp. 328–53; P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. III, p. 534; J. L. Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, Vol. IV, pp. 10 ff.; C. Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, pp. 6 ff.

[2] A. S. Cook, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. IV, pp. 421 ff.

[3] E. K. Rand, *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 261 ff. For dramatic elements in the popular ballad, cf. G. M. Miller, *University of Cincinnati Bulletin*, No. 19 (Ser. II, Vol. II).

But these things look very much like the drama, and good men and true have been deceived by them. Perhaps the only way in which we can avoid deception is to begin with the mediaeval drama when it was unmistakably drama, and carefully go back to the time when it came into existence. We shall thus be able to see exactly what were the effective changes. If we begin with the fifteenth century, we find three generally recognized types of the drama: mystery, miracle-play, and morality. They begin at quite different times; they are sometimes confused in modern histories, but they are not confused in the records, and their separate histories can easily be distinguished. The morality did not exist much before the fifteenth century; the miracle-play is not to be discovered before 1100; the mystery, or liturgical scripture-play, is at least two centuries older. Its beginning can be clearly traced. By one simple and definite movement, which will be discussed in a few moments, it came into existence. Before that movement there was no liturgical drama; as soon as the movement occurred, the drama existed, simple and slight, to be sure, but as clearly drama as it ever became in the whole course of its development.

Let us retrace rapidly the development of the great dramatic cycles, commonly called mysteries. In England in the fifteenth century they consisted of three main groups of scenes: (1) certain scenes from the Old Testament, such as the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Death of Abel, the Deluge, the Sacrifice of Isaac, etc.; (2) a group of New Testament scenes concerning the Birth of Christ—e. g., the Annunciation, the Journey to Bethlehem, the Birth, the Visit of the Shepherds, the Three Kings (or Wise Men of the East), the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Presentation in the Temple; (3) a second New Testament group, concerning the Death and Resurrection, such as the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Capture, the Trial, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Walk to Emmaus, Doubting Thomas, etc. Special variations need not concern us now, for this is the general type. Tracing backward the history and form of these groups, we find that they are real groups, each developed for the most part out of a single germ. Similar investigations of the French and German cycles would show that, though structurally somewhat different from the fully developed English cycles, they go back to the same simple forms and are derived from the same germs. Of these germs or embryos, two—the play of the Three Kings[1] and that of the Visit of the Women to the Sepulcher—can be traced back to the tenth and eleventh centuries—the latter, indeed, to the very beginning of the tenth.[2] As absolutely no other forms of the drama are to be found so early in the Middle Ages, we may feel a high degree of confidence that in studying the origin of the Visit to the Sepulcher—i. e., of the Easter trope, "Quem quaeritis in sepulchro?"—we are studying the origin of the drama in mediaeval Europe.

The conditions under which this trope became drama may be briefly sketched. Under the impetus originated by Charlemagne there was a movement affecting almost all forms of human thought: the system of education was remodeled; new life manifested itself in the theory of music and in the practice of it; decorative art made especial progress in ivory-carving, in the illumination of manuscripts, in the decoration of church walls and pulpits and altars; above all things, as the intellectual life of the times was almost entirely confined to the clergy, the liturgy of the church was developed as it had not been for centuries and was not again for centuries to come. The service of the church was in the main fixed and unalterable; but there grew up a practice of unauthorized additions or elaborations, permitted in the churches, but never adopted by the church. These additions were at first elaborate melodies without words, attached to the final syllable of the Alleluia; later there were also introduced sentences interwoven with the authorized text of the ritual or introductory to certain parts of it. All these elaborations, musical or literary, are called

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[1] The germ of the Visit of the Shepherds is also very early, but as yet we lack evidence that its dramatic development preceded that of the Three Kings. In any event, it came into existence as a trope in the same way and apparently at the same time as the Easter trope, "Quem quaeritis in sepulchro?" Our main argument is therefore in no wise subject to doubt because of possible future discoveries concerning the development of the Visit of the Shepherds.

[2] For the origin and development of the Three Kings, cf. H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspielen;* W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana;* for the Visit to the Sepulcher, cf. C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, and L. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, or E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage.*

"tropes." The sole purpose in introducing them was to add beauty or lend emphasis to the portions of the service to which they were attached; and at various times and places every important feature of the mass was ornamented with them—Gloria, Kyrie, Sanctus, all received this decoration. Among these numerous additions is the one of special interest to us, a trope of the Introit of the Easter Mass. It was only one of several tropes of the Introit, and, though like most of them it was antiphonal, it seems not to have been dramatic, but only an antiphonal lyric, as long as it remained connected with the mass.

It consisted of only four sentences, sung in alternation by the two halves of the choir:

Int[*errogatio*]. Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae?
R[*esponsio*]. Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.
[*Responsio.*] Non est hic; surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.
RESURREXI.[1]

Although as yet only an antiphonal lyric, this trope clearly had the capacity for becoming drama, and this soon occurred. Early in the tenth century it was transferred from the mass to the service of matins and placed between the third Responsory and the Te Deum (which closes the service). At the same time was added the one element necessary to change it into drama; the sentences were sung, not by the two halves of the choir, but by two priests impersonating the angels at the tomb and three other priests impersonating the three Marys. The significant point is that here the drama came into existence at a single bound and not by insensible gradations. The elements composing it had existed in the church for ages; every sentence spoken by the women or the angels can be found in slightly different form in the liturgy, and antiphonal singing was almost as old as the church itself—perhaps older; but the change to drama was not caused by any gradual approximation of antiphon to drama. The possibilities were present, and it was, as we have seen, a time of change, of variation; and one of these variations suddenly produced drama.

Just here it needs to be remembered that definitions of the drama based on Sophocles and Shakspere and Molière will not serve for the drama in its simple, elemental forms. The features that seem essential to distinguishing it from other forms of literature, and the only essential features, are: the presentation of a story in action, and the impersonation of the characters concerned in the story. Dialogue, though important and usually present, is not essential; the pantomime makes no use of speech, the monologue develops its situation without the participation of a second actor.

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[1] *Resurrexi* is the beginning of the Introit; what precedes is the trope.

The form of drama thus developed grew almost beyond belief; it was enormously expanded as literature by the addition of words, antiphons, hymns, which, though greatly increasing the beauty and attractiveness of the performance, did not change its character; it was also enormously developed as drama by interesting and significant action; it joined with other dramatic nuclei to compose the most elaborate and extensive dramatic form the world has ever seen; but in character, in type, in essentials, it remained always, even to the end of its existence, seven hundred years later, precisely what it was in its origin. It did not change into anything else; no other dramatic form seems to have originated from it.

The second form of the drama that arose in the Middle Ages had a history as definite and as independent as that of the first. This form was the miracle-play, properly so called; that is, the dramatization of a legend setting forth the life, or the martyrdom, or the miracles of a saint. Before this type of drama appeared there had been recited, as regular features of the church service, narratives of the lives of the saints containing every feature later presented in drama. And attempts have been made by several scholars to show that out of the modifications to which these legends were constantly subject, particularly out of the farced epistle, the miracle-play arose. But the ordinary modifications of the legend and its presentation in the church have very definite limits, which, however wide their variation, they do not pass. None of these gradual variations caused legend or farced epistle to become anything other than legend and farced epistle. The change by which the miracle-play actually came into existence was simple and sudden and without visible preparation. The drama—the liturgical drama—had been in existence for two hundred years; it had been very effective in the presentation of its material; at the same time, legend was interesting and important to every person or organization that had a patron saint—and there was none without. Legend was therefore cast in dramatic form, and at once the new type of play, the miracle-play, came into being. So far as the evidence shows, there was no gradual transition of liturgical play to miracle-play, or of undramatized legend to drama. When once the necessary elements came together, the new species existed; a moment before, and there was nothing like it; the combination was made, and the new species was complete.

In all cases in which there is really the development of a new form of plant life, the change seems, as DeVries points out, to be accomplished, not by the insensible accumulation of minute differences, but by the addition of a definite unit. Forms fluctuate by small gradations through a wide range; they seem almost ready to change into something else; but if this is their principle, they invariably return to the type to which they belong. Change of species, when it really occurs, is due to the presence of a new unit, determining a new character.

This seems to have been true of the two forms of the drama we have thus far examined. It is perhaps even clearer for the form that next developed. Not very many years ago it was customary to derive the morality-play from the mystery-play; not because there was any evidence for it, for there was none; but merely because Darwinism had unconsciously imposed itself upon us. We disregarded chronology; we accepted superficial resemblances as vital—all because, as it now seems to me, we were so impressed by the beautiful simplicity and effectiveness of Darwin's two great ideas that we were ready to distort the facts in our own field of investigation into harmony with these great ideas. But for some such preconception no one would have attempted to explain the origin of the morality-play by citing as transitional forms mystery-plays a hundred years later than the morality.

In essential characteristics the morality is very simple, and its origin can be very definitely traced. During the last three centuries of the Middle Ages the ruling form of literature was the allegory. By this time the dramatic method had clearly shown, in both mystery and miracle-play, its capacity for reaching a large and miscellaneous audience and for moving it as no other form of literature could move it. The combination of this favorite form of literature with this most effective mode of presentation was made, and the immediate result was the morality-play.

The relation of this type of play both to that which preceded and to that which followed has usually been misunderstood because of failure to distinguish essential from unessential characteristics. This failure appears in the standard definition of the type of play. The definitions of Collier, Klein, Ward, and Creizenach are in practical agreement in regarding as the essential feature of the morality-play the fact that the dramatis personae are entirely, or at least principally, abstractions, personifications of virtues, vices, single traits of character. But such a definition obviously does not enable us to distinguish moralities from plays of entirely different types. Personifications of virtues, of vices, of nations, of classes of people, were used in the drama of the thirteenth century; they were treated in no way differently from the simple human beings who moved through the play. They did not in any respect modify or tend to modify the type of plays in which they appeared. In later times abstractions, personifications of single qualities, have been the special feature of plays that we can hardly, by any stretching of terms, call morality-plays. Ben Jonson's "humour" comedies are not morality-plays, but they contain scarcely a character that is not the personification of a single quality. Molière, Ibsen, Dumas fils—every man who writes a problem-play, marshals his abstractions, his simple men of a single quality. But their plays are not moralities. On the other hand, morality-plays exist in which some of the dramatis personae bear personal names, and are very vividly conceived, not as mere abstractions, but as living types of the qualities they embody; but no increase in the number of humanly named or vividly drawn characters could alone change a morality-play or an allegory into anything else. The Red Cross Knight and Una and her milk-white lamb are definite and charming, and some of their adventures are as exciting as any in the range of old romance: they have an interest apart from the allegory; but none the less, if you look to the allegory, it remains allegory, for all the interest and charm of the surface-meaning.

The distinction of the morality-play, as of all allegory, lies not in its dramatis personae, its characters, but in its technique. The specific quality is that nothing really is what it seems, or is presented as it actually occurred or would occur. Is Christian, the hero, weak in faith, full of gloomy doubts and fears, and beset by sharp temptations to evil and unbelief ? It is not so presented in the allegory; there he passes through the Valley of Humiliation, and Apollyon straddles clean across the whole breadth of the way and fights with him. There may be action in allegory, there may be action in morality-play—conceivably as much as in any other species of play whatever; but the action is always, from the very nature of the case, allegorical, symbolical; it is never direct, simple, actual.

Let us take the morality-play made familiar to us all of recent years by Mr. Ben Greet's company of players—the moral play of the *Somonynge of Everyman.* In it is set forth that, when a man dies, neither kindred nor friends nor riches, nor beauty nor strength of body or mind, will avail him, but only the good he has done and the mercy of God. Parts, if not the whole, of this theme may be capable of presentation simply, directly. The point to observe in regard to the presentation of it in the morality-play is that it is conceived under symbols, metaphors, and presented throughout by means of a symbolic technique. God calls Dethe and bids him summon Everyman to undertake a pilgrimage. Dethe does this bidding, warning Everyman to bring his account-books with him that he may make his reckoning before God. Everyman is afraid to go alone, but Felawship and Cosyn and Kynrede, greatly as they have loved him, refuse to bear him company when they learn his destination. Goodes (Riches) also says that he will not go, and avows that he has done Everyman much harm. Good-dedes would willingly accompany him, but cannot until Knowlege has led Everyman to Confession, who counsels him and gives him the "scourge of penaunce." As the blows of the scourge fall upon Everyman, Good-dedes is released from her sickness and weakness and is ready for the journey. Everyman then puts on the "garment of contrycyon," and starts out accompanied by Knowlege and Good-dedes. Dyscrecyon, Strengthe, Beaute, and Fyve-Wyttes set out also; but when they come to the grave, Beaute deserts him, and then Strengthe and Dyscrecyon and Fyve-Wyttes. Knowlege remains to direct him, but Everyman comes into the presence of God accompanied only by Good-dedes.

Symbolic technique is in use throughout: in the application to Felawship and Cosyn and Kynrede and their refusal, in the advice and guidance of Knowlege, in the garment of contrition. It is obvious that no introduction of concrete figures, no increased vividness of portrayal, no intensity or liveliness of action, could make this anything but a morality-play, unless at the same time the technique were changed—unless, for example, Everyman's change of heart after his interview with Confession were shown us by direct methods and not by the symbolic method of clothing him in the garment of contrition—and similarly throughout the play. Nor could the simple, direct presentation of the events of scripture and legend which constituted mystery and miracle-play develop into anything approaching this by the mere introduction of Contemplatio explaining the action and commenting on its significance in place of the holy doctor, St. Augustine, or by the introduction of Ecclesia and Synagoga as representing Christians and Jews, or even by that of Justice and Mercy, Truth and Peace, arguing before the throne of God the Father the question of the necessity of the damnation of the human race and the possibility of saving it by the vicarious atonement. So far as their use in these plays is concerned, Contemplatio is as real a figure as St. Augustine, Ecclesia and Synagoga as real as Moses and St. Peter, Justice and her sisters as real as God the Father or Jesus: the names they bear do not determine the nature of the characters. So long as such figures talked and acted in accord with the technique of mystery and miracle-play—that is, so long as their talk and action were to be interpreted in the first intention—so long these plays did not and could not give birth to the morality-play. The morality-play is dramatized allegory. The moment the single unit of allegory is added to drama as a formative unit, the morality-play comes into existence with its peculiar technique, with all its characteristic qualities.

I have devoted so much time to these three forms of the drama because in them we find pure, unmixed types, and because the facts in regard to their origins are so clear. It is rare indeed to find in literature forms or species so definitely distinguished as these from other species of the same genus. But in other instances in which the species is sharply and clearly distinguished from others, the origin seems to have occurred also by a single movement, by the addition of a single character-unit. It is thus with the pastoral drama, which came into existence in Italy in 1472 with the *Orfeo* of Poliziano. It is thus in France and England with the farce, which existed full-blown the moment of the first dramatization of a *fabliau*. It is thus with the romantic comedy of the sixteenth century; with the Chronicle History; even, I think, with modern comedy and tragedy as distinguished from classical. In later times the origins of certain forms of the novel can, I believe, be shown to be as sudden, as clearly due to a single definite mutation. And besides these literary types, certain other literary forms exhibit similar phenomena. Blank-verse did not come into existence gradually by the increasing carelessness of poets in regard to rhyme. It was created suddenly, by a single movement. The heroic couplet originated quite as suddenly. Chaucer wrote heroic couplets, and there they were. They were not prepared for by poems growing more and more "couplety" and more and more "ten-syllabled." Heroic verse has two distinguishing units or characters, "decasyllabicness" and "coupletness," and each is an absolute unit or character—that is, is incapable of degrees.

In the fact just stated lies, I fancy, the whole explanation of the phenomena we have been discussing. Certain literary forms, if they come into existence at all, must come by a single, simple mutation, for the entirely sufficient reason that their very existence depends upon the presence of an absolute unit. The doctrine of mutations—the new theory of the origin of species, not by the gradual accumulation of insensible differences, but by a sudden definite change—so far as it is true of literary forms, is true not because it has been demonstrated for species of plants, but because certain literary forms, like certain species of plants, owe their distinctive character to the presence of one essential element.

That other literary forms may not come into existence by insensible gradations I am not prepared to say. "Literary form" is a very vague term; "literary species" is equally vague. We know, of course, that after a literary form comes into existence it may undergo many and wide variations; whether these variations, if gradual, are always of the kind the botanists call fluctuating—that is, whether they never result in the production of a distinctly new form or species—I cannot say. The histories of literature, of course, teach us that they constantly do so result; but then the histories of literature teach us that it is only by such insensible variations that new species originate, and this we have just found to be untrue. The histories of literature were all written under the influence of a doctrine which caused the writers to overlook some of the facts and to distort others. He who would now study the origins of literary forms must re-examine the evidence; must inquire to what extent mutations have been confused with fluctuating variations; to what extent variations which bear some resemblance to the new form, but in reality have no genetic relation to it, have been forced into the line of its ancestry because the doctrine of evolution was supposed to need them. If it be true that in literature forms originate in both ways, let us find it out and proclaim it. It makes no difference to us whether both modes of origin are true for botany or not. We students of literature have in reality, as no doubt all of you have been insisting throughout this discussion, nothing whatever to do with botany; our problems are with the facts of literature. Our case is merely that we, like the thinkers in all fields of thought, have come under the pervasive, dominating influence of a great zoölogical theory, and under this influence have been blind to some of our facts, have distorted others, and have allowed ourselves to substitute catchy phrases for a real understanding of the processes that should have engaged our attention. We are now, in this discussion, using another great zoölogical theory to free ourselves, if it may be, from the one which has so subtly and powerfully distorted our thought. This new theory is admirably fitted to serve us as liberator. It denies categorically the fundamental ideas of the other; it offers us, as a substitute, a mode of origin not merely radically different from it, but in any particular case absolutely incompatible with it. A new form either comes into existence suddenly or it does not. In literature either mode seems possible. It is for us to find out in each case what are the facts.

But again you ask: "Could we not do this without the aid of DeVries's theory?" The answer, I fear, must be: No; the proof that we could not is that we did not. "Can we not lay aside all theories and merely collect the facts of literary development, and then inquire what they mean?" We cannot. The whole history of science tells us in unmistakable tones that no man who merely collected facts and then inquired their meaning has ever succeeded in dealing with any problem but the very tiniest. Theory, hypothesis, is absolutely essential, even if it were not unavoidable. Without it we cannot see all the facts. Again and again in the history of science a field of inquiry has seemed absolutely exhausted; there is not a bit of straw, much less a head of wheat, left for the gleaner; a man has then come along with a new theory, and suddenly the exhausted field has to be harvested anew, and it yields as abundantly as if it had never before been visited.

But even if we could free ourselves without aid from another science, it is well that we should free ourselves by a conscious effort, in order that we may perhaps remain free and not merely pass from unconscious subjection to one great theory to equally unconscious subjection to another. It is even well, I think, that we should know the theories of other sciences and consciously try to apply them to our own. They are at best but analogies, it is true, but they may be suggestive in the highest degree. By resemblance, or even by absolute difference, they may direct our attention to phenomena which the unaided eye might never see.

In conclusion let us spend a moment or two with the seven laws stated by DeVries; some of them are very suggestive. His fifth law is: The same new species is produced in a large number of individuals. Does this occur with literary forms? Surely; the same movement that produced the earliest form of the drama which we discussed, the liturgical play, or dramatic trope, of the beginning of the tenth century, produced other dramatic tropes of precisely the same species, but with different subject-matter;[1] and it is not probable that all miracle-plays or all moralities are derived by imitation from one original individual, or that only one man ever independently thought of dramatizing a *fabliau* and thus producing a farce. The seventh law is that mutations take place in nearly all directions. This was certainly the case when the dramatic trope came into being. It was an age of troping. Tropes—that is, insertions in the authorized liturgy—were composed by the hundreds, and of all conceivable varieties. Most of them had no such characteristic feature as to constitute a new form of art, and these perished without being recognized as anything but tropes; but some, as we have seen, became drama.

In connection with this law DeVries teaches us that natural selection acts, not as a directing, propulsive force, but as a sieve. It certainly does so in literature. The path of literary history is strewn with variations that left no progeny. It is even true that occasionally very beautiful forms stand absolutely isolated, because the conditions were not favorable for their reproduction. Such are, I believe, the plays of Adam de la Hale and the famous *Sponsus*. In these particular cases the unfavorable condition seems to have been the lack of other writers of sufficient skill and power to do the same sort of thing; for the moment you cease to deal with the kind of literature that any man and every man can produce, you have to take account of the presence or absence of genius.

Another interesting feature of the development of new species by mutation is the fact that particular species seem to have special periods of mutation. During these periods, variations, mutations resulting in new species, are produced in great abundance. At other times the species seems to be quiescent, producing no new species, but only the normal fluctuating variations which diverge from the original type only to return to it immediately. For this phenomenon, as indeed for the phenomenon of mutation itself, the botanists are not yet ready to assign a cause. In the field of literature we find an analogous phenomenon, and the cause of it almost suggests itself, it is so obvious. The age in which the drama originated from the liturgical trope was, as we have seen, an age of unexampled variation in the service of the church; the age in which the miracle-play originated saw the development of other new forms of treating the legends of the saints; the age which gave us the morality produced other types distinct from it, but carelessly grouped with it; in like manner the farce, the history-play, the pastoral, romantic comedy and tragedy were not isolated phenomena. And in each case we can find a probable cause of the period of productiveness, of variability, in the fact that each follows hard upon, and is part of, a great intellectual or artistic movement. The liturgical play originated, as we have seen, in the first intellectual revival of the Middle Ages, in the renaissance begun by Charlemagne and Alcuin. The miracle-play appears immediately after the great intellectual revival of the eleventh century; the morality originates not more than a generation after the fourteenth-century renaissance of France and England; the pastoral, the history, and the other species cited, all connect themselves with various phases of the dawn of modern culture.

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[1] The Christmas trope, "Quem quaeritis in praesepe," is the most interesting and important; cf. Anz, *op. cit.*

These and other generalizations and theories of sciences may be suggestive and valuable to us, if we use them only to stimulate our own thought and our perception of the facts in our own field; if we are careful not to substitute analogy for explanation of process, the application of a formula for real mastery of the phenomena; if we remember that the new combinations of literature are not strictly analogous to those of biology, for they are combinations of previously existing elements; nor to those of chemistry, for they always betray their components; nor to those of physics, for they are after all not merely mixtures of the old elements, but new substances with new qualities and characters.

Bearing these warnings in mind, we might consider other laws for literary forms drawn up in imitation of the seven given by DeVries for plants; but this paper is already too long. Moreover, its purpose has been fully accomplished if the analogies we have been discussing have aided us at all in freeing ourselves from the unconscious influences which distort our vision and our thought.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ITALIAN ON EARLY ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

The influence of Italian drama on the beginnings of regular tragedy and comedy in England has long been accepted as a general principle, but few attempts have yet been made to determine its precise extent and character. The problem is not an easy one, for English drama developed under complex conditions, and it may be difficult, or even impossible, to decide whether a particular element was suggested by a foreign model (and if so, by which) or arose independently. The comfortable view of a previous generation of scholars, that each nation created its own type of tragedy or comedy, and eschewed the dramatic experiments made by its neighbors, falls to the ground in the light of fuller knowledge. English drama followed in the main the same phases of development which had been previously gone through in Italy and France. We need not, of course, conclude from this that English dramatists merely imitated their predecessors on the Continent, but it seems worth while to inquire what progress the modern drama had made in Italy where it had its birth, and how far English drama was directly indebted to its example. So far as this article goes, I shall restrict the inquiry to tragedy and comedy; as to the Italian origin of the Masque I have already spoken in another place;[1] and the Pastoral Drama seems also to call for separate treatment.

I. ITALIAN TRAGEDY

The early history of Italian, as of English, tragedy includes on the one hand the Latin drama, and on the other the loosely knit popular plays in the vernacular made on the plan of the *Sacre Rappresentazioni;* but it would be difficult to establish any connection between Italian and English tragedy at this early stage. It was the later developments of Italian drama with which English courtiers and scholars came into contact. It has been usual to date the beginning of Italian tragedy based on classical models from Trissino's *Sofonisba* (1515); and its influence was undoubtedly great, but it was more on the literary than on the dramatic side. Although it was held in high esteem—praised, indeed, by a contemporary critic as superior to the *Œdipus Tyrannus*—it went through six editions before it received its first representation in 1562 at Vicenza on a stage designed by Palladio. Trissino's real claim to remembrance rests upon his invention of blank verse and its establishment as the characteristic measure of tragedy. "Voi foste il primo," writes to him Palla Rucellai, "che questo modo di scrivere in versi materni, liberi dalle rime, poneste in luce." The adoption of the unity of time was a precedent of more doubtful advantage, and in the main Italian tragedy developed under other hands and on other lines. *Sofonisba* is based on Greek models; the predominant influence of Italian tragedy before and after Trissino is undoubtedly that of Seneca. The dramatist who brought Italian tragedy back to its original bent was Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio, whose *Orbecche* (1541) was the first modern tragedy placed on the stage. In the collected edition of his tragedies he speaks of himself

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[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. xxii (1907) pp. 140 ff.

> come quegli che dopo tanti secoli hò rinovato l'uso dello spettacolo delle tragedie, il quale era poco meno che andato in oblivione; che ancora che il Trissino sia stato primo di tutti à comporre lodevole Tragedia in questa lingua, non fù però introdotta in scena la sua Sophonisba.

Giraldi openly declared his preference for the Roman as against the Greek model, and in the *Orbecche* he employed Seneca's sensational horrors and supernatural machinery (Nemesis and "Furies fell") with tremendous effect on audiences at home and abroad. Orontes dies on the stage, and Giraldi justified this departure from classical tradition, not by appealing, as he might have done, to the authority of Seneca, but by a special interpretation of the passage in Aristotle as to *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι*. Seneca's practice was, however, his plea for the restriction of the chorus to a lyrical interlude at the end of each of the five acts into which, again following the Roman custom, he divided his tragedies. It was, indeed, Giraldi's misfortune that as a classical scholar he was too submissive to the authority of the ancients. He was sometimes inclined, as he himself said, "to depart from the rules of Aristotle and conform to the customs of his own time;" but even in such departures he falls back on "the example of the ancients," and claims only as much liberty as Aristotle would himself allow. As early as 1543 he wrote a tragedy (*Altile*) with a happy ending, the action extending over two days. Of his nine extant tragedies, all but one of which seem to have been put on the stage, only two—*Cleopatra* and *Didone*—have classical subjects, and these are almost modern in the prominence given to the heroines and the importance of the love-element. Giraldi's subjects are, in fact, all of a romantic character. The plot of the *Arrenopia* is similar to that of Greene's *Scottish History of James IV*, being indeed taken from the same source, one of Giraldi's own novels (III. i in the *Ecatomithi*). But Giraldi had not the courage to treat a romantic subject with the freedom required for the romantic drama, or he would have filled a much bigger place in the history of Renascence tragedy. A university lecturer and secretary of state, he clung to the classical models admired by the court circle to which he ministered; and the consequence was that he never succeeded in creating a truly popular drama. It is not surprising that an audience which endured the tedium of Giraldi's tragedies for five or six long hours in a cold theater failed to conceive any great enthusiasm for the new form of art. Canigiani, the Medicean ambassador at Ferrara, who was present at such a performance in 1568, writes with bitter irony that the tragedy was perfect in every part, since it attained both the ends of tragedy set forth by Aristotle—anger and compassion; it inspired the spectators with anger at the poet and with compassion for themselves.

In spite of a certain stiffness in Giraldi's handling of his subjects and the aridity of his tragic style, it is surprising that no trace of direct contact between his plays and the Elizabethan drama has been discovered, especially as his novels were well known, and were laid under liberal contribution for dramatic purposes. Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* stands in the same case as Greene's *James IV:* it is founded on a story which Giraldi himself had dramatized, but the plot is taken from the novel, not from the play. I am far from being convinced of the soundness of the conclusion that Shakspere had seen Giraldi's dramatic version—an inference made by the late Richard Garnett "from a minute circumstance. Cinthio's play, not his novel or Whetstone's adaptation of it, has a character named Angela, whose name disappears from *Measure for Measure*, but who bequeaths Angelo as that of her brother, whom Cinthio calls Juristi, and Whetstone Andrugio." A parallel between Giraldi's *Cleopatra* and Shakspere's play on the same subject, first pointed out by Klein, and discussed more recently by Bilancini[1] and Milano,[2] seems also not beyond the bounds of coincidence. Yet that Giraldi's development of Renascence tragedy had an influence in England there can be no doubt; and a direct connection may be established through the work of Giraldi's successor and the continuator of his school of tragedy, Ludovico Dolce. Dolce, like Giraldi, "loved the Muses better than they loved him," as an Italian critic has said: he had even less of the divine spark than his master; but he was a persevering toiler for the erudite stage after the manner of Seneca, whose tragedies he translated. He was a diligent adapter of the classics, and among the tragedies he made over was the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, his own version bearing the title of *Giocasta*. This was in turn translated by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, acted at Gray's Inn in 1566, circulated in manuscript form (a copy still survives in the British Museum), and printed in the three editions of Gascoigne's works in 1573, 1576, and 1587. As is shown in the edition of the *Jocasta* just published in Messrs. Heath's "Belles Lettres" series, where the Italian and English versions are printed side by side, the English play is, except in the choruses, a literal rendering of Dolce, and it is not a little strange that it should have passed as a translation from the Greek of Euripides till 1879, when its true origin was pointed out by Professor J. P. Mahaffy. Its connection with the Greek text is not even at second hand; for there is little doubt that Dolce, who knew no Greek, used the Latin translation of Euripides[3] published at Basel by R. Winter in 1541. As a poet, Dolce seems to have been better known in England than Giraldi; for some of his sonnets were translated by Lodge, and *Gismond of Salerne*, acted at the Inner Temple in 1567–68, bears obvious signs of indebtedness to Dolce's *Didone*. I need not enlarge on this point, as ample proof was afforded in my paper on the subject in a recent issue[1] of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*. It is sufficient for our purpose to establish the fact that court tragedy in England was in its beginnings in direct contact with court tragedy in Italy, which had preceded it, and probably suggested it. The subjects and general style of treatment were due in part to Italian example, in part to the authority of Seneca, to which both were indebted. One feature in particular we may safely ascribe to the practice of the Italian court—the allegorical representations between the acts called by the English *dumb shows* and by the Italians *intermedii*. These preceded in Italy the rise of the vernacular drama in its more regular forms. We find them, for instance, at the performance of the *Menaechmi* at Ferrara in 1491—first, a Morris dance with torches; second, Apollo with the nine Muses; third, a Morris dance of peasants with instruments of labor. The Italians seem to have added these diversions to all comedies and to some tragedies, and they were an exceedingly popular feature of dramatic performances at the various courts; even so enlightened an example of Renascence culture as Isabella Gonzaga took more interest in the *intermedii* than in the plays. Indeed, they are held to have contributed to the downfall of the Renascence drama, and we find Grazzini at a later date (prologue to the *Strega*, 1582) complaining that, instead of *intermedii* being made to suit the comedies, playwrights were now called upon to make plays to suit the *intermedii*. By confining the *dumb shows* to tragedy, and connecting the allegory closely with the plot, the English courtiers gave them greater usefulness and significance; but there can be no question of their Italian origin. As a contemporary writer pointed out,[2] the *intermedii* were of interest to foreigners who did not understand the language of the play, and this feature of the performance would be likely to make more impression on their minds than any other.

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[1] *Giambattista Giraldi e la tragedia italiana nel secolo xvi: Studio critico* (Aquila, 1890).

[2] Attilio Angeloro Milano, *Le tragedie di Giambattista Cinthio Giraldi Nobile Ferrarese* (Cagliari, 1901). For the loan of this pamphlet, which I found difficult to obtain, I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Ferdinando Neri, whose *La tragedia italiana del cinquecento* (Firenze, 1904) is the best treatment of the whole subject I have seen.

[3] For evidence on this point see my Introduction to the edition of *Jocasta* just menioned, p. xxviii.

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[1] Vol. XXI, pp. 435 ff.

[2] See preface to d'Ambra's *Cofanaria*, acted at Florence in 1565. The passage is summarized by Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. II, p. 302.

II. COMEDY

The indebtedness of English to Italian comedy is more easily established, and may be dealt with more briefly. The references to Italian actors in Elizabethan England are almost always in connection with comedy, which would naturally form the main part of their repertory. One writer applauds the versatility of these Italian strollers; another condemns the lasciviousness of their plays. Probably most of the references are to the partly improvised *commedia dell' arte*, the influence of which on the Elizabethan stage awaits fuller investigation; but we have also recorded examples in England of the *commedia erudita.* Stephen Gosson, himself the author of "a cast of Italian devises called The Comedie of Captain Mario," in the days of his Puritan reformation (*Plays confuted in Five Actions*, 1582) complained of the "baudie comedies" translated out of the Italian which were corrupting the London stage. A passage in *The Schoole of Abuse* shows that Gosson appreciated the advance on Plautine comedy made by the new Italian comedy of manners:

> The lewdenes of Gods is altered and changed to the love of young men: force to friendshippe; rapes to marriage: wooing allowed by assurance of wedding, privie meetinges of bachelours and maidens on the stage, not as murderers that devoure the good name ech of other in their mindes, but as those that desire to bee made one in hearte. Now are the abuses of the worlde revealed, every man in a playe may see his owne faultes, and learne by this glasse, to amende his manners.

For this advance Ariosto was mainly responsible, and it was undoubtedly a great advantage for Elizabethan playwrights and the Elizabethan public to come into contact with his graceful and facile wit. Gascoigne was again the intermediary, his version of the *Suppositi* being acted and printed along with the *Jocasta*, at the dates given above. I am inclined to agree with Professor Gayley[1] and with Mr. John Dover Wilson[2] that sufficient importance has not been attached to the influence exercised by Gascoigne's translation of Ariosto's comedy. The fact that it is a translation is no doubt the main reason why it has been neglected; and it must be acknowledged that a close comparison of the English version with the Italian leaves Gascoigne little claim to originality. In the main he was content to select what he wanted from Ariosto's prose or verse—there are two versions in Italian—and the slight additions and alterations he made are not always improvements. But his prose is quick and easy, and it was no small merit to bring Ariosto's comedy within the reach of Elizabethan England in such attractive guise. Ariosto shared the reverence of his time for the ancients, but he was too true an artist and had too great natural wit to allow classical tradition to cramp his genius. He adapted himself to the form of classical comedy with marvelous ingenuity, and made the transition to modern conditions easy for his successors in England; for in Italy Renascence tragedy and comedy alike came to early decay. His characters are indeed types, but they are types of enduring interest and significance. The parent who marries his daughter for money and position; the aged suitor oblivious of his own defects; the indulgent and easily hoodwinked father who provides funds for his son's extravagances at college; the student who pays more attention to his love-affairs than to his classes; the knavish servant who aids and abets him in his follies—all these are dramatis personae who have not yet disappeared from the comic stage, because they have not yet disappeared from society. In Ariosto's comedy, and Gascoigne's translation of it, they lack individual traits, but they are consistently and truthfully drawn in their main outlines. The dialogue is sprightly, the jests well turned, the plot cleverly constructed. The "substitutions" or disguises which gave the play its Italian title (the English translation *Supposes* is a blunder) formed a staple device in English romantic comedy throughout its history.

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[1] *Historical View of English Comedy.*

[2] *Essay on John Lyly* (Cambridge, Eng., 1905).

CONCLUSION

In addition, then, to its characteristic means of expression—prose for comedy and blank verse for tragedy—and certain externalities of form—the five acts, chorus, and dumb show of tragedy—Elizabethan drama owed to Italian example other advantages not so easily particularized: in tragedy, restraint and dignity; in comedy, graceful and sprightly satire of contemporary life. The debt can best be realized by comparing the court tragedies founded on Italian examples with the looser contemporaneous plays of a more popular type, such as *Damon and Pythias;* and by placing our native English comedies, such as *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, or those founded directly on classical models, such as *Ralph Roister Doister*, alongside of Gascoigne's *Supposes*. The advance made in comedy is then evident enough; and it seems to have been sufficiently appreciated by the Elizabethans themselves, as the evidence adduced above shows. An even more striking proof is to be found in the fact that first the author of *The Taming of a Shrew* and then Shakspere in his redaction of the play turned to Gascoigne for motives and incidents which Ariosto had invented or made current on the modern stage.

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THE ENGLISH "PLANCTUS MARIAE"[1]

As early as 1874 Schönbach concluded his work on the German planctus with the words:

> Ich habe mit voller absicht mich von der untersuchung der französischen und englischen Marienklagen ferne gehalten, nicht als ob sie mir nicht wichtig genug erschienen und ihre untersuchung nicht lehrreich wäre, einfach deshalb, weil das vorliegende material auch nicht im entferntesten zureicht. es müssen daher die bezüglichen publicationen abgewartet und die lösung dieser für die vergleichende litterargeschichte gewiss bedeutungsvoller aufgabe muss einer späteren zeit vorbehalten werden.[2]

Since then E. Wechssler has made a study of the Romance planctus.[3] It is hoped that the present discussion of the English planctus may in the future help to make more easily possible a comparative study of the planctus as a class. It is, however, not the aim of the present discussion to establish relations between the English planctus and those of other languages, though such correspondences as I have noticed will incidentally be pointed out. Both Schönbach and Wechssler, in their treatment of the planctus in the vulgar tongues, began with the Latin as a starting-point; their work had to do largely with the discovery of the sources of the individual poems. Some work of this kind has already been done in connection with certain of the English planctus.[4] It is not the purpose of this paper to push forward the investigation along these lines. Nor have I attempted the still more difficult task of determining the relation of the English planctus to the earliest Greek planctus,[5] though certain peculiar agreements of phrase between it and some of the English planctus entice one to attempt to discover by what indirect and crooked ways such phrases ever made their entrance into the English poems. The larger and more general question still, the relation of the planctus as a form to the drama as a whole, lies beyond the limits of our study; their relation, as a form, to the contemporaneous[1] English drama naturally finds treatment here. The chief purpose of this study is to discuss the several nondramatic English planctus in their relation to each other, and more especially to ascertain the relationships of these to those portions of the miracle-plays which contain the laments of Mary for Christ.

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[1] For valuable suggestions and assistance in this study I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor John M. Manly.

[2] *Die Marienklagen*, p. 52.

[3] *Die romanischen Marienklagen* (Halle, 1893).

[4] See Planctus Nos. V and VI, pp. 4 and 5, of the present discussion.

[5] See Wechssler, *Die rom. Marienklagen*, pp. 7 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge* (Upsala, 1898), Introd., pp. clii ff.

SECTION I

Before proceeding to the discussion of relations, it seems advisable, in order to aid in some degree the comparative study constantly going on in the field of the planctus, to give a brief description of each of the English poems. They are arranged as nearly as possible in order of date.

A. NON-DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

I. *The Assumption of Our Lady*,[2] ll. 36–42 (Cambr. Univ. MS G 9. 4. 27. 2).—The lament of Mary is only a brief portion of the narrative, introductory to the *Assumption* legend proper, but its motives[3] stamp it as unquestionably belonging to the planctus genre. Among the ME non-dramatic and dramatic planctus it belongs by itself, and is related to the others only in so far as they all go back to a common and as yet undiscovered ultimate source. It is deserving of notice here, chiefly because it is, so far as I have been able to discover, the oldest planctus in English, the *Assumption* dating not later than 1250.[4] Heretofore, the long and better-known planctus of *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 23945–24658, has been considered the oldest[1] example. The date of this poem Fröhlich sets at "mithin schon ca. 1300."[2] The *Assumption* planctus is so brief that it may be quoted entire:

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[1] For the more general question of the planctus in its relation to the development of the drama, see Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, especially pp. 51 f.; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. I, 221, 239, 241, 242, 347, 350; Wechssler. especially pp. 98 ff.; Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*, pp. 92 ff.; Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, Vol. I, 58; R. Otto, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, p. 213; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 67 ff.; Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., pp. cxc ff.; Neil C. Brooks, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 415 ff.; Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 39, 75, 129; for other references see Chambers, Vol. II, p. 39, notes.

[2] Edited in 1866 by Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, EETS; re-edited in the same publications by G. H. McKnight, 1901. For the same version in the *Cursor Mundi*, and for other versions, see McKnight's edition, Introd., pp. lii, liii.

[3] See below, pp. 9 ff.

[4] McKnight, Introd., p. lvii.

Cambr. Univ. MS G 9. 4. 27. 2

"Alas my sone" seide heo
"Hu may ihc liue? hu may þis beo?
Hu may ihc al þis soreȝe iseo?
Ne cuþe ihc neure of soreȝe noȝt,
Mi leue sone, wat hastu þoȝt?
Hu schal ihc lyue biþute þe?
Leue sone, what seistu me?"

II. *The Sorrows of Mary*[3] (Fairfax MS).—Date, about 1300. Though in certain particulars not typical of the class of poems known sometimes as the *Dispute between St. Bernard and Mary*, this planctus must be considered as belonging to that type.[4]

III. "*Stond wel moder under rode.*"[5] (MS Harl. 2253).—Date, about 1307.[6] The two versions in MS Harl. and Digby vary considerably in arrangement of material. Böddeker[7] merely calls attention to two additional stanzas of Harl. not contained in Digby, and concludes from this that Digby must be the earlier version. The regularity, however, of the rhyme scheme in Harl. and the blunders in the rhyme of Digby lead me to conjecture that Digby is based on Harl.

This planctus, though about the most striking of all those in English, seems to have no close and direct relation to any of the later poems, dramatic or non-dramatic. Though not directly affecting the drama, it is to be noticed that it belongs to that form of poetry which, without actually becoming drama, is highly dramatic and is closely akin to the drama as a form—it belongs among the "estrif" or "debat" poems[1] so much in vogue at this date. Planctus Nos. V and VI belong also to this class, but *Stond wel moder* is the most typical representative of the class; in its perfectly regular apportionment of the first three lines of each stanza to Christ and the last three to Mary during the entire dialogue portion of the verse, it adheres more strictly than the other planctus to one of the conventions of the strife poems—the exact and even balance of part against part.[2]

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[1] Walter Fröhlich, *De Lamentacione sancte Marie* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 11 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. x.

[3] *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 23945–24658, ed. Morris, EETS. For the other MSS of the *Cursor* which contain this planctus, and for the discussion of their relation, dates, etc., see H. Hupe, *Cursor Mundi*, Part VII, pp. 59 ff., EETS.

[4] See p. 5, n. 1, below.

[5] MS Harl. 2253, ed. T. Wright, in *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, No. XXVII, Percy Soc., Vol. IV; and in Böddeker's *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. 206. MS Digby 86, ed. in *Anglia*, Vol. II, pp. 253 ff., and in *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II, p. 763, EETS.

[6] *Spec. Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, Pref., p. 1.

[7] *Altengl. Dicht.*

IV. *The Medytacyun of the Sorrowe that oure Lady had for the wunde in her sone Syde* (MS Harl. 1701).[3] Date about 1315–30.[4] The planctus in the English *Meditations* is to be found in the following portions of the poem: ll. 789–806, 809–18, 829–34, 837–39, 846–50, 835–944, 949–52, 975, 976, 991–1008, 1014, 1015, 1019–32, 1035, 1036, 1039–42, 1047–50, 1059–60, 1073, 1074, 1090–1110, 1115, 1116. There is no definite evidence of relationship between this and the other English planctus in verse. It agrees *closely*, however, with the scattered prose laments of Mary found in the translations of portions of Bonaventura's *Meditations*.[5] Certain agreements between this prose work and the planctus of the *Hegge Plays* point to the conclusion that either it, or some other translation of the *Meditations*, or the Latin original was in part the source[6] of the Hegge planctus.

V. *The Dispute between Mary and St. Bernard.*[7]—The date of MS Rawlinson, from which Fröhlich prints, is "die mitte des

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[1] *The Debate of the Body and Soul* is perhaps the best-known and most widespread example of the scores of religious poems in ME which took on this conventional form.

[2] For an interesting parallel see the *Dialogue between the Infant Christ and Mary*, in Balliol MS 354, *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 246, into which many planctus motives have unquestionably worked their way.

[3] *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and the Hours of the Passion*, by Bonaventura, drawn into English verse by Robert Manning of Brunne, ed. J. Cowper, EETS, pp. 25 ff. For other English translations and for the relation of the English *Meditations* to the Latin, see Cowper, Introd., p. xii; Boiss-Brahl, *Catalogue of MSS in Brit. Mus.*, pp. 163 ff.; see also *The Privity of the Passion*, ed. Horstmann, Richard Rolle of Hampole, *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff. For the planctus in Bonaventura's works see Wechssler, *Die rom. Marienklagen*, pp. 14, 27; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., p. clxiv; and for the entire *Meditationes Vitae Christi* as source of Arnoul Greban's *Passion Play* see Wechssler, pp. 66–76; for its relation to the Italian Laud, *Donna del paradiso*, see the same, pp. 49 ff.

[4] *Meditations of Bonaventura*, EETS, title-page.

[5] *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

[6] See below, p. 23 for further discussion of this.

[7] *De Lamentacione sancte Marie*, Walter Fröhlich, pp. 63 ff. For the discussion of authorship, editions, other English versions and their relation to Latin and French sources,

14. jahrh's."[1] This planctus bears no close relation to any other planctus except No. VI.[2]

VI. *Disputation between Mary and the Cross* (Vernon MS).[3]—Date, about 1350.[4]

VII. *Christ's Testament or Deed of Feoffment*[5] (MS Reg. 17, CXVII).—Mary speaks ll. 379–81, 387, 388, 400–412, 424–34. This planctus is especially interesting, as only in this one case does the form make its way into the *Testament of Christ*, of which there are in ME more than a hundred versions of various forms and of various lengths. It illustrates the fact that the planctus has by this time found its way into two independent forms of poetry: first into the *Assumption of Mary*,[6] and secondly into the *Testament of Christ.* It will not be surprising, therefore, to find that it has made its way also into the drama.

VIII. *I. Filius Regis Mortuus Est*[7] (Harl. MS 3954).—The date of the MS is 1420.[8] Refrain: "Filius Regis mortuus

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and for versions in other languages, see Fröhlich, pp. 5–36, 54 ff. For the discussion of the Latin and Romance planctus of this type see Wechssler, pp. 17 ff., 23 ff., 35 f., 49 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., pp. clxix ff.

[1] Fröhlich, p. 7; for the dates of the other MSS see pp. 7 ff. Fröhlich's discussion of the relations of the versions of the planctus of this particular type in English is in the main correct, but it is in one respect misleading. His statement is as follows: "Zwar haben wir schon in dieser ältesten englischen Marienklage die Form des Dialogs; allerdings noch nicht in der ausgeprägten Form der jüngeren, sondern entsprechend der lateinischen Quelle *erstreckt sich der Dialog nur über den Eingang des Gedichtes*, indem er hier bloss zur Einleitung ins eigentliche Thema dient: die Passion Christi, welche dann begleitet von den erneuten Schmerzensausbrüchen der Maria von dieser in ununterbrochener Folge vorgetragen wird. . . . . Noch ist der Anredende nicht als Person wie später der St. Bernhard eingeführt sondern der Dichter richtet gleichsam von sich aus die Rede an die Jungfrau Maria." The questioning of the imaginary person or writer, as it may be, does not, as Fröhlich suggests, appear only at the beginning of the poem, but continues throughout the entire *Cursor* version, though at less frequent intervals than in the other versions. The speeches of the questioner begin at ll. 23987, 24047, 24215, 24377, 24467, 24581, 24641.

[2] Wechssler, p. 22, refers to Richard Rolle's "Meditatie de Passione Domini," *Eng. Stud.*, Vol. VII, pp. 454 ff., as an English version of the same theme. I see no reason to believe, however, that Mary spoke any portion of Rolle's lament. He is possibly referring to the *Lamentacion of oure lady* (*Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. LXXIX, pp. 454 ff.). This belongs very evidently to the planctus class.

[3] *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Vol. II, pp. 612 ff., EETS. For the same in Royal MS, 18 A 10, see Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, EETS. See Brandl, *Pauls Grundr.*, Vol. II, p. 642, for Latin source. For this type in Latin and Italian see Wechssler, pp. 13, 36. For the relation of the English version to the "mittel-niederlandische" version see Holthausen, *Anglia*, Vol. XV, pp. 504 ff., and for the further relation of the English version to the Latin and Provençal versions see Holthausen, *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CV, pp. 22 ff: Holthausen seems to be unfamiliar with Wechssler's contributions on this point.

[4] Brandl, *Pauls Grundr.*, Vol. II, p. 642.

[5] *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. II, pp. 650 ff., EETS.

[6] See No. I.

[7] Edited by Furnivall, EETS, *Polit., Relig., and Love Poems*, pp. 204 ff., with a companion-piece bearing the same title; re-edited by him in 1903.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

est," during the first part of the poem. In the latter part it changes to "resurrexit non mortuus est."

IX. *II. Filius Regis Mortuus Est*[1] (MS Lambeth 853).—Date, about 1430. The planctus proper begins with l. 12, and continues throughout the remainder of the poem.

X. *The Lamentation of the Virgin*[2] (MS Camb., Pub. Lib. Ff. V. 48).—Date, fifteenth century.[3] The poem is marked by the refrain: "For now liggus ded my dere son, dere," with slight variations in stanzas 8, 9, 11. This is the best example in English of the elaboration into an independent poem of one of the most conspicuous and most frequently recurring motives[4] of the general planctus class.

XI. *The Compleynte of the Virgin before the Cross*[5] (MS Phillipps 8151).—Date, 1413–46.[6] The poem consists of an elaborate planctus, a monologue by Mary throughout. It is not especially similar to any of the dramatic or non-dramatic planctus. The author very frankly admits that the poem is a translation: "Ceste Compleynte paramont feut translatee au commandement de ma dame de Hereford, que dieu pardoynt!"[7]

XII. *A Lamentation of the Virgin*[8] (MS Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ff. 11, 38, fol. 47).—The planctus proper begins with stanza 2. The refrain of the first nine stanzas is, "The chylde is dedd that soke my breste;" in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth it is changed to, "The chylde is resyn that soke my breste." The spirit and tone of this planctus put it in a class by itself. The first stanza, unlike any part of any of the English poems, is illustrative of its general secular character. It runs:

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[1] Furnivall, EETS, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[2] *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Vol. II, p. 213. Another version of the same poem in different dialect is printed by Thomas Wright in the notes of the *Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 207, with the following remarks: "The lamentation of Mary is a common subject of English verse in manuscripts of various dates. One or two short examples will be found in the *Reliquiae Antiquae*. The two following, which have not been previously printed, will serve to give a notion of the manner in which this popular subject was treated." There is only one example in *Rel. Ant.* of a short planctus, and that one is the same poem as this, merely another version of it as here edited by Wright. Did he edit the two himself and not notice that they were the same? The only other piece of verse in the *Rel. Ant.* which contains a planctus is the *Burial of Christ*, Vol. II, p. 124. This is not a planctus, but a play containing one.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[4] See below, motive No. 12, p. 10. For another example of this tendency to expand one motive into a complete poem, see No. VI.

[5] *Hoccleve's Minor Poems*, Vol. I, p. 1, EETS. See for the same version with additional stanzas, Vol. III, Introd., pp. xxxvii ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 8. See *M. P. of H.*, Vol. III, Forewords, p. x, for French source.

[8] *Chester Plays*, Vol. II, p. 204, Shaks. Soc.

> Lystenyth, lordynges to my tale,
> And ye schall here of oon story
> Ys bettur than owthyr wyne or ale
> That ever was made in thys cuntre;
> How Yewys demyd my sone to dye,
> Eche oon a dethe to hym they dreste,
> Allas! seyde Mary that ys so fre,
> The chylde ys dedd that soke my breste.

The poem could almost be called a religious ballad, and would have taken well if it had been sung in the streets.

XIII. *Nowel, el el etc.*[1] (MS Sloan, No. 2593).—Date, about the time of Henry VI.[2]

XIV. "*Mary moder, cum and se.*"[3]—The MS containing this poem is assigned to the latter half of the fifteenth century.[4] For the most part similar to No. XIII.[5]

XV. *Mary Moder cum and see.*[6]—The date of the Balliol MS is early sixteenth century.[7] For the most part similar to Nos. XIII, and XIV.

XVI. *C. XXXVIII*[8] (Fairfax MS Add. 5465, Brit. Mus.).—Written not later than 1490 by Gilbert Banister.[9] The planctus consists of the sayings of Mary scattered through a poem written to be sung by three persons. The author in a dream sees the scene of the crucifixion and Mary weeping. Mary's words are directed sometimes to the author, sometimes to Christ. Refrain: "My feerful dreme neuyr forgete can I." The poem is very confused and obscure in design if read as a poem and not as a song adapted to singing by three persons.[10]

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[1] *Christmas Carols*, ed. T. Wright, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, No. VIII; ed. also by him in *Songs and Carols* (printed for the Warton Club, 1856), p. 65.

[2] *Christmas Carols*, Percy Soc., Vol. IV, p. 4.

[3] *Songs and Carols*, No. XXXIII, ed. T. Wright, Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII.

[4] *Ibid.*, pref., p. 1.

[5] See below, p. 16.

[6] "Die Lieder des Balliol MS 354," *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 240.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[8] "Die Lieder des Fairfax MS," *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 64.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[10] For its similarity to No. XVII in this respect and others, see below, p. 17.

XVII. *Who cannot wepe com lerne of me*[1] (MS O. 9. 38. Trin. Coll. Cambr.). Refrain: "Who cannot wepe com lerne of me." This planctus, like No. XVI, is confused in design, the confusion arising from the fact that, like No. XVI, it was perhaps intended to be sung by more than one person.[2]

XVIII. *Die Lieder des Balliol MS. 354, No. CII.*[3]—The date of the Balliol MS is the beginning of the sixteenth century.[4] Refrain:

> O! my harte is woo, Mary she sayd so
> for to se my dere son dye. And sones haue I no mo.

XIX. *Die Lieder des Balliol MS. 354, No. CIII.*[5]—The greater part of this short poem consists of the writer's lament for Christ. L. 8, however, and perhaps ll. 8–14, belong to Mary.

XX. *Die Lieder des Fairfax MS. C XXXIII.*[6]—Strictly speaking, this is not a planctus, for in it Mary has nothing to say. It contains, however, many details common to the class. If all the speeches of Mary were cut out of Planctus No. V or No. VI, we should have left in each case a poem very similar to this.[7]

B. DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

XXI. *York Plays.*[8]

a) Play No. XXXIV. *Christ Led up to Calvary*, ll. 143 ff., 202 ff.

b) Play No. XXXVI. *The Mortificacio Christi*, ll. 131 ff., 148 ff., 157 ff., 170 ff., 181 ff., 261 ff.

c) Play No. XLIII. *The Ascension*, ll. 179 ff., 202 ff.

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[1] *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, p. 126, EETS.

[2] See p. 17 for its relation to No. XVI; for its relation to No. XXV see p. 30.

[3] *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 262.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[6] *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 61.

[7] The influence of the planctus on poems not belonging to the general type, though difficult to determine with certainty or exactness, would be worth the study. Examples of the influence of the planctus upon poems of a different type are to be found in the dialogues between the *Infant Christ and Mary*, published in *Christmas Carols*, Percy Soc., Vol. XXIII, p. 50; *Songs and Carols* (published for the Warton Club), p. 48; *Anglia*, Vol. XXVI, p. 247; *The Legend or Life of St. Alexius*, p. 19 (EETS, in same volume as *Be Domes Daegé*). Some of the many laments of sinners scattered through the various collections of ME religious poetry and laments made by characters other than Mary in the miracle plays, contain echoes of the planctus.

[8] *The York Mystery Plays*, ed. Miss Lucy T. Smith

XXII. *The Towneley Plays.*[1]

a) Play No. XXII. *The Scourging*, ll. 315 ff.

b) Play No. XXIII. *The Crucifixion*, ll. 309 ff., 361 ff., 382 f., 406 f., 424 f.

c) Play No. XXIX. *The Ascension*, ll. 298 ff., 348 ff., 372 ff.

XXIII. *The Chester Plays.*[2]

Play No. XVII, *The Crucifixion*, ll. 239 ff., 331 ff.

XXIV. *The Hegge Plays.*[3]

a) Play No. XXVIII, *The Betraying of Christ*, p. 286.

b) Play No. XXXII, *The Crucifixion of Christ*, pp. 321, 322, 323, 326, 327, 328.

c) Play No. XXXIV, *The Burial of Christ*, p. 336.

d) Play No. XXXV, *The Resurrection*, pp. 347, 348.

XXV. *The Digby Burial of Christ*,[4] ll. 450 ff., 456 f., 470 ff., 477 ff., 515 ff., 556 ff., 565 ff., 567 ff., 603 ff., 612 ff., 793 ff., 802 ff., 813 ff., 820 ff., 823 ff.

SECTION II

Schönbach,[5] largely for the purpose of discovering the *Urtypus* of the German *Marienklagen*, begins his discussion of the subject by giving a list of the most common motives in the German planctus, with references to the particular poems in which they occur. It will be convenient to make a somewhat analogous list of the motives of the English planctus, with, however, a far different end in view. The great variety of types present in English, and the fact that the Latin sources so far discovered for certain of them[6] belong to distinctly different types, make it clear that the search for the *Urtypus* of the English is about the same as the search for that of the Latin planctus as a whole.[7] The list of motives[1] is given here rather with a view to facilitating a comparison of the English planctus each with each; with the added purpose of demonstrating with clearness and certainty the close agreement in general subject-matter of the non-dramatic planctus as a whole with those portions of the miracle-plays in which Mary laments for Christ.

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[1] Ed. Pollard, EETS.

[2] Ed. T. Wright, Shaks. Soc., Vol. I.

[3] *The Coventry Mysteries*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Shaks. Soc., Vol. II.

[4] *The Digby Mysteries*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shaks. Soc., Series VII, Vol. I, p. 171. Ed. also by him in EETS, and by Wright and Halliwell, *Rel. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 124 f.

[5] *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 2 ff.

[6] See Nos. V and VI.

[7] That Schönbach should have found in any one Latin planctus the *Urtypus* for the German is, when we consider the number of German planctus (see Schönbach, pp. 1 ff.), little short of miraculous. Wechssler fails to discover such for the Romance planctus as a whole. See his work, pp. 76 f., and 97. For this question see also R. Otto, *M. L. Notes*, Vol. IV. 213.

TABLE OF MOTIVES

1. John asks Mary to come and see Christ on the cross: XIII, 1 ff.; XIV, 1 ff.; XV, 1 ff.
2. Mary's narrative of the capture and trial of Christ: II, 24017 ff. V, 145 ff., 185 ff., 200 ff.; XVIII, 5 ff.
3. Allusions by Mary to the child Christ and his early history: VI, 63 ff.; VIII, 13 ff.; XI, 71 ff.; XXV, 630 ff., 718 ff.
4. Mary cries out to Christ about her sorrow and asks him to relieve her: II, 24179 ff.; VIII, 27 ff.; XI, 162 ff.; XII, 30 ff.; XXI (*b*), 261 ff.; XXII (*b*), 369 ff.; (*c*), 298 ff.; XXIII, 61 ff.; XXIV, (page) 322; XXV, 740 ff.
5. The wounds and suffering of Christ: II, 24083 ff.; III, stanzas i, iv, v; VI, stanzas i, ii, iv, v, vi, vii, xxiv, xxv, xxxi; IX, 88 ff.; XI, 127 ff.; XII, stanzas v, vi, viii, ix; XVII, 8 ff.; XXII (*b*), 309 ff.; XXIII, (page) 61; XXIV, (page) 326; XXV, 662 f.
6. Christ's innocence: VI, stanza iii; XXIV, (pages) 286, 321; XXV, 726 ff.
7. Christ's beauty: II, 24077 ff.; V, 305 ff.; VII, 411 ff.; XXII (*b*), 323 ff., 361 ff.; XXV, 643 ff.
8. The unthankfulness and unkindness of man to Christ: XI, 227 ff.; XVI, stanza ii; XXV, 709 ff.
9. How her mourning caused Christ his greatest sorrow: II, 24064 ff.; V, 262 ff.
10. Symeon's prophecy of the sword of sorrow which should pierce her heart: II, 24329, 24383; III, stanza ii; VI, 328 ff., 367 ff.; VII, 370 ff.; IX, 16; XI, 50 ff.; XXI (*a*), 147 ff. (*b*), 159 ff.; XXIV, (page) 287; XXV, 500 ff.
11. She never knew sorrow before: II, 24365, 24373; III, stanza vii.
12. No mother ever felt such sorrow: IV, 809 ff.; X, stanzas i ff.; XXV, 505 ff.
13. She was Christ's mother, father, brother, etc.: II, 24194 ff.; IV, 997 ff.; VI, 340; IX, 40 ff.

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[1] In preparing such a table it seemed best to adopt a principle of division which would include only the most common and frequently occurring motives; in no case is a motive listed which does not occur in at least two different planctus, however frequently it may occur in the Latin, German, or Romance poems.

14. Her sorrow for Christ—general: II, 23999, 24089, 24196, 24346, 24431, 24539; V, 233 ff.; VI, 352 ff.; VIII, 13 ff., 37 ff., 105 ff.; IX, 13 ff.; XI, 78 ff., 37 ff.; XVII, 7 ff., 21 ff., 25 ff.; XVIII, Refrain; XXI (*b*), 131 ff.; XXII (*b*), 383 ff.; XXIV (pages), 286, 321, 326, 336; XXV, 450 ff., 470 ff., 478 ff., 520 ff.

15. Allusion to Gabriel: II, 24526 ff.; IX, 45 ff.; XXII (*b*), 434 ff.; XXV, 490 ff.

16. Allusion to Judas: XII, stanzas ii, iii, iv; XXV, 526 ff.

17. Allusion to the Jews: II, 23996 ff., 24149 ff.; VI, 94, 221, 363; IX, 112 ff.; XII, stanzas v, vi, vii; XIX, stanza iii; XXII (*b*), 406 ff.; XXV, 648 ff.

18. Her wish to die: II, 24124 ff.; III, stanza iii; V, 313 ff., 333 ff., 345 ff., 632 ff.; VII, 429 ff.; VIII, 31 ff.; IX, 49 ff., 52 ff., 79 ff.; XI, 120 ff.; XV, stanza iv; XXI (*b*), 157; XXII (*b*), 424; XXIII, (pages) 61, 64; XXIV, (pages) 321, 323; XXV, 702 ff., 749 ff.

19. Her wish to kiss Christ: II, 24446 ff.; VI, 90 ff.; XXIV, (pages) 327, 336; XXV, 489 ff., 640 ff., 692 ff.

20. Christ comforts Mary: II, 24229 ff.; III, (in the first part of each of the first nine stanzas); V, 435 ff.; 490 ff.; IX, 32 ff.; XIV; XXI (*b*), 144 ff.; XXII (*a*), 321, (*b*), 447 ff.; XXIV, (pages) 323 ff.

21. Mary asks Mary Magdalene to help her: V; VII, 387 ff.

22. Mary asks the women to weep with her:[1] XI, 47 ff.; XXII (*b*), 395; XXIV, (pages) 347 ff.; general theme of X.

23. Narrative of the taking down of the body: II, 24479 ff.; IV, 560 ff.; XXV, 435 ff.

24. Mary caresses the body: II, 24493 ff.; IV, 625 ff.; XXV, 694 ff.

25. Mary requests that Christ shall not be buried: II, 24551 ff.; IV, 991 ff.; V, 658.

26. Mary refuses to leave the body: II, 24553 ff.; IV, 947 ff.; V, 400 ff.; XXI (*b*), 181 ff.; XXV, 555 ff., 567 ff., 580 ff., 800 ff.

27. Mary desires to be buried with Christ: II, 24555 ff.; IV, 999 ff.; V, 664 ff.; XXV, 700 ff., 806 ff.

28. Mary refuses to be comforted: XXI (*b*), 148, 170; XXIV, (pages) 326, 327; XXV, 612 ff.

29. Mary asks, "Where shall I go?": II, 24209; V, 361, 631; VII, 379; IX, 132; XI, 190 ff.; XXI (*c*), 189; XXV, 751.

30. Mary bids Christ farewell: IV, 1039 ff.; XXV, 826 ff.

31. Mary intrusts herself to John: IV, 1014 ff.; V, 465 ff.; XXI (*c*), 202 ff.; XXII (*c*), 372 ff.; XXIV, (page) 327.

32. The signs and wonders at Christ's death: II, 24410 ff.; V, 90 ff.; VI, 374 ff.; VIII, 44 ff.; IX, 124 ff.; XII, (page) 206; XVIII, stanza v.

33. Mary about Christ's resurrection: IV, 1003 ff., 1025 ff.; V, 449 ff., 635 ff.; XII, stanza xii; XXI (*c*), 179; XXII (*c*), 347 ff.; XXIV, (page) 348; XXV, 515 ff.

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[1] For the liturgical origin of this motive see Wechssler, p. 16.

SECTION III

There remains for consideration the discussion of the more close and intimate relationship, first, of the non-dramatic planctus, each to each, and, secondly, of certain of these to the dramatic planctus, Nos. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV. It is well to bear in mind that in a field of investigation such as this it is very difficult to arrive at very certain and definite conclusions as to relationship. When we consider how common and conventional a form of literature the planctus is in mediaeval literature, and how, owing perhaps to a common remote origin, certain similarities exist even among different planctus which could have had no possible influence upon one another, it is not difficult to understand why one should be exceedingly cautious about asserting direct and intimate relationship of poem to poem. Only in cases, then, where striking similarity both of detail and the expression of it, or similarity in the arrangement of details, is to be observed, are we at all justified in conjecturing a case of direct relationship. Even in such instances we have still to be uncertain of the exact relationship, since it is impossible, with our present knowledge of the subject, to say what Latin or French planctus as yet undiscovered may explain the agreements, or what other English planctus still unedited may stand as the intermediate step or steps between those planctus apparently most closely related.

A. RELATIONS OF CERTAIN OF THE NON-DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

Nos. V and VII.—Lines 345–400 of V agree closely in substance, and occasionally in phrase and rhyme, with VII. The version of VII, however, found in the Vernon MS[1] agrees far more closely with V than does that found in MS Rawlinson[2] edited by Fröhlich, and more closely also than does that of MS Tiber. E. VII.[3] The other versions of V are not accessible to me, but the agreements between VII and the Vernon version are of such nature as to indicate that there is a very close and intimate relation between the two. I quote the parallel passages from Vernon and VII side by side:

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[1] *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Vol. I, pp. 297 ff.

[2] See p. 4.

[3] Ed. Horstmann, Richard Rolle of Hampole, *Library of Early English Writers*, Vol. II pp. 274 ff.

Vernon MS Dispute

"I criede: 'Maudeleyn, *help* now—
Mi sone hath loued ful wel the:
Preie him that I dye now,
That I nout for-geten be!
Seost thow, Maudeleyn, now,
Mi sone is honged in a tre.
Git alyue am I thow,
And thou ne preyest not for me!'
"Maudeleyn seide: '*I con no red,*
Care hath smiten myn herte sore;
I stonde, I see my lord neih ded,
And thi wepyng greueth me more.
Cum with me! I wol the lede
In to the temple her be-fore.
Mi Mournynge is bothe feeble and fede,
ffor thou hast now I-wept ful sore.'
"Ich askede the Magdaleyn:
'Where is that place,
In pleyn in valeye or in hille,
(Ther) I mai me huyde for eny cas,
That no serwe come me tille?
He that al my Ioye was,
Now deth of hym wol don his wille;
Con I me no beter solas
Then for to wepe al my fille.'
"The Maudeleyn cumfortede me tho,
To lede me thenne, heo seide was best.
Care hedde smiten myn herte so
That i migte neuere haue no rest.
'Soster, whoderward that I go,
The wo of hym is in my Brest:
While my sone hongeth so,
His peyne is in myn herte fest.
"'I seih my sone, (my) ffader dere
Heige hongen vp-on a tre;
I hedde blisse whon I him bere,
And now deth for-doth my gle:
Scholde I leten him hongen here
And lete my sone al-one be?

Charta Christi

'Mary magdalan, *helpe thou me!*
hy do *my sone dye on yon tre.*'
Magdalan sayd: '*I can no nother rede*
I knele & se my lorde nere dede;
ffule *grete soro has smyten my harte,*
And git me rewes thi payn(e)s smarte;
ffor me were lewer to dy onone
than for to se the make this mone.
Cumme with me! I sall the bryng
ffro this wo & this mornyng
In-tylle a tempull here be-fore;
ffor thu has wepyd here full sore.'
My moder answerd to magdalayn:
'Walde thou af me a-way so fayn?
I had gret ioy wen I hym bare:
Suld I now lewe hym hanga(n)d thare,
And sofur hym so for to be,
that was my myrthe & al my gle?
Magdalan, for soothe vnkynde I were
to go away & lefe him there.
thefore the drose here lyf I wyll,
ffor hys syght had I neuer my fyll;
Sum-tyme wen he lokyd me on,
It was my most ioy of ilkon.
he was the fayrest that euer was borne,
& now es crowned with a garland of thorne!'"

VERNON MS DISPUTE

Maudeleyn, thenne vndkynde I
were,
Gif he schulde honge & I schulde
fle!
"'Vnder the Cros leuen I-schille
And seo my sone hongen ther-on;
Of sigt I hedde neuere my fille,
Whon I loke(d) hym vuon.'
I bad hem gon wher was heore
wille,
The Maudeleyn and eurichon:
'And my-seluen be-leuen I wole,
ffor I nil fle for no mon!"

I find, after comparing the two passages, that Horstmann has also noticed the similarity. He has little to say on the point. His words are: "the discourse with Magdalen, added by the poet. It was taken up by the Charta Christi in MS Reg. 17 CXVII."[1] Fröhlich,[2] discussing the relations of the various versions of the *Dispute between Mary and St. Bernard*, says in regard to this dialogue between Mary and Magdalen:

> Leider lässt sich nicht mit voller Sicherheit sagen, welche Fassung hier die ursprünglichere Lesart liefert, da die Vorlage für diese und die folgenden Strophen, d. h. also für das Zwiegespräch zwischen Maria und Magdalena, laut einer Anmerkung Horstmann's in seiner Ausgabe (EETS, 98, S. 314) die Charta Christi im MS Reg. 17 CXVII, gewesen ist, welches MS mir leider nicht zugänglich war.

Evidently Fröhlich interprets Horstmann's words to mean that the passage from MS Reg. is the original of the corresponding passage in the versions of the planctus. Horstmann does not say this in his note. On the contrary, since the dialogue in the St. Bernard poem is so much more elaborate than the MS Reg. dialogue, and the rhyme scheme seems to follow that of Vernon rather than the reverse, one might be led to suppose that if Vernon and Reg. do not go back independently to a similar original, Reg. is based on Vernon. The dialogue, moreover, occurs, as already mentioned, in MS Rawlinson;[1] it occurs also in MS Tiber. E. VII. The date of the version of MS Rawl. is probably earlier than 1350;[2] that of MS Tiber. about 1350;[3] while the Vernon MS version dates shortly after 1350. Since Vernon is the latest of the three, if the dialogue of the *Charta Christi* of MS Reg. were the source, we should expect Vernon to agree in its rhyme scheme with Reg. less closely than the earlier versions of Rawlinson and Tiber., whereas, as a matter of fact, it agrees more closely.

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[1] *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, Vol. I, p. 314.

[2] *De Lamentacione Sancte Marie*, p 21.

Nos. VIII and IX.—It is hardly necessary to mention the agreements between these two planctus, since Dr. Furnivall in printing them placed them side by side for comparison. They bear the same title: *Filius Regis Mortuus est.* These words constitute the refrain of IX throughout. The refrain of VIII is similar to that of IX in the first seven stanzas; after stanza vii it changes to "Resurrexit, non mortuus est," with a slight variation in stanza ix. Stanza i of IX agrees very closely with stanza i of VIII. The first line of stanza ii of IX is the same as the first line of stanza ii of VIII. A few phrases[4] of stanza iii of VIII are present in stanzas iii and v of IX. After this point the two become separate and distinct. IX becomes a regular monologue planctus. VIII, on the contrary, after line 49, takes on somewhat the character of the St. Bernard type, the author and Mary conversing together. It is difficult to determine whether it is to be classed as one of that type or with XVI and XVII, where the author also converses with Mary, but not in the regular balanced fashion of the St. Bernard poems.

Nos. VIII and XII.—The agreement in this case merely concerns the refrains. In VIII—as has just been mentioned—the refrain is "Filius regis mortuus est" for the first seven stanzas; after that point, "Resurrexit, non mortuus est." In XII the refrain is, for the first nine stanzas "The Chylde ys dedd that soke my breste." After stanza ix it changes to "The chylde ys resyn that soke my breste," with slight variations. To say that the writer of XII was familiar with VIII would perhaps be going too far, but l. 38 of VIII, which reads "For he is dede, that soke my pappe," in close proximity to the refrain "Filius regis mortuus est," l. 36, suggests that he may have been.[1]

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[1] See Fröhlich, p. 63.
[2] Fröhlich, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Cf. VIII, 28, 29, 32, with IX, 29, 30, 54, 55.

Nos. XII and XVII.—These two planctus are entirely unlike in substance and tone. They are characterized, however, by a very minor but striking agreement. XII, ll. 33–41, reads as follows:

O Yewys, evyr worthe yow schame!
Of my rycches ye have me *robbydd;*
Ye thoght ye had a full gode game,
When he my sone with buffettes *bobbydd.*
Yf he felte sore, nothyng he *sobbydd,*
For all yowre werkys full well he wyste.
My yoye, myn herte, ye all to-robbydd;
The chylde ys dedd that soke my breste.

XVII, ll. 7–11, reads:

Ihesus, so sche *sobbed*
So here sone was *bobbed*
And of hys lyue *robbed*
Seynge thys wordys as y sey the
Who can not wepe con lerne of me.

This same rhyme, *bobbed, robbed, sobbed* occurs at the end of each stanza of XVII, as part of the refrain. Whether the writer of either poem was familiar with the other it is impossible to say. The agreement may be a mere coincidence. Perhaps in both poems we have an echo of some well-known planctus of the day. It is barely possible, however, that if XVII is later than XII, XII in this particular directly affected XVII.

Nos. XIII, XIV, XV.—The first two planctus are so similar that they might very well be classed as different verses of one and the same poem. The Sloan MS 2593, in which XIII is preserved, is earlier[2] than the MS of XIV; but a comparison of the rhyme-scheme of the two leads me to believe that XIV is the basis for XIII, though it is possible that the reverse is the case. The rhyme-scheme of XIII is *aaab,* carried out consistently through the entire piece. The rhyme-scheme of the first stanza of XIV is also *aaab;* the other stanzas have the scheme *aaaa*, *bbbb*, *cccc*, etc., throughout. This, together with the fact that XIV contains practically all the subject-matter of XIII and three stanzas besides, suggests XIV as the source of XIII.[1]

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[1] For the further discussion of the refrains of VIII, IX, and XII in connection with XXV, see pp. 29 f.

[2] See above, p. 7.

Only in the first two stanzas does XV agree with XIII and XIV. The two stanzas read:

> Thys blessyd babe yat thou hast born,
> Hys blessyd body ys all to torne,
> To bye vs a gayn yat were for lorne,
> Hys hed ys crownyd with a thorn
>
> Crownyd! alas, with thorn or breer,
> for why shuld my sun thus hang here!
> To me thys ys a carefull chere.
> Swet son, thynke on thy moder dere!

It is XIII in this case which is apparently used as a source. Note the rhyme-scheme *aaaa*, *bbbb*. The stanzas obviously agree with stanzas ii and iv of XIII, and stanzas ii and iv of XIV. In using *Mary moder*, *cum and se* as a title, however, XV is like XIV, rather than like XIII. Perhaps the writer of XV was familiar with both XIII and XIV.

XVI and XVII.—The relationship in this case, though one rather of form than of substance, is so marked that we cannot afford to pass it by without comment. The first agreement lies in the fact that in XVI and apparently in XVII the vision of Mary[2] comes to the author. At the end of XVI the writer awakes; at the end of XVII Mary "vanyschyd a-way." Secondly both poems have an apparently confused and disorderly arrangement of subject-matter, the descriptive passages of the author and Mary's words being so mixed and jumbled that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which of the two is speaking. This is to be in part accounted for in XVI by the fact that the planctus is to be sung[3] by three voices. Furnivall does not say in his print of XVII whether it was written to be sung. Thirdly, each consists of four stanzas, of very unusual metrical form and rhyme-scheme.

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[1] The reference to John by *he* in l. 9 of XIII, when John has not been mentioned by name, would help to substantiate this hypothesis.

[2] See the first two lines of the stanzas quoted below.

[3] See *Herrigs Archiv*, Vol. CVI, p. 64.

It is in metrical form and rhyme-scheme that the most striking agreement is noticeable. I quote the first stanza of each.

XVI

My feerful dreme neuyr forgete can I
Me thought a madynys childe causles shuld dye.
To caluery he bare his cross with doullfull payne
and ther vppon strayned he was in euery vayne
A crowne of thorne as nedill sharpe shyfft in his brayne
his moder dere tendirly wept and cowde not refrayne
myn hart can yerne and mylt
when I sawe hym so spilt
alas all for my gilt
thoo I wept and sore did complayne
to se the sharpe swerd of sorow smert
hough it thirlyd her thorough oute the hart
so rype and endless was her payne
my feerful dreme neuyr forgete can I.

XVII

Sodenly A-frayd, halfe wakynge, halfe slepyng,
and gretly dysmayd, A woman sate wepyng,
With fauour in here face far passynge my reson;
And of here sore wepyng this was the encheson:
Here sone yn here lappe layd, sche seyd, sleyn by treson:
yf wepyng myȝt rype be, hit semyd then yn seson.
Ihesus, so sche sobbed,
so here sone was bobbed
And of hys lyue robbed;
Seynge thys wordys as y sey the,
" Who can not wepe, com lerne of me."

Finally, the general tone of XVI is similar to that of XVII.

That one man wrote them both is impossible; to say that the writer of the later planctus was familiar with the earlier would be indulging in mere conjecture; that they are, however, related, after some fashion, is very clear.

B. RELATION OF THE NON-DRAMATIC AND DRAMATIC PLANCTUS

In the discussion of the relationships of the various non-dramatic planctus it was difficult to reach positive conclusions; in the discussion of the dramatic planctus in their relation to the non-dramatic it is just as difficult to obtain definite results. In no case can we say with absolute certainty that any one of the non-dramatic planctus discussed in Section I has made its way into any of the miracle-plays. There are, however, correspondences of non-dramatic and dramatic planctus, which at least suggest that the dramatic are, in certain cases, drawn from the non-dramatic. We will therefore discuss, with a view to determining their relations to the non-dramatic planctus, each of the dramatic ones: Nos. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.

XXI–*York* and XXIII–*Chester.*—These planctus give evidence of no close relation to any other. If they were ever independent planctus, as they may very well have been, their form was in all probability different from what it is at present. They have become thoroughly assimilated by the plays of which they form a part, their stanzaic form and rhyme-scheme being similar to that of the matter immediately preceding and following. Whether they are adaptations of some Latin, French, or English poem, or whether they were composed by authors who were familiar with many planctus, yet followed none in particular, is a matter of speculation.[1]

XXII–*Towneley.*—The relationship of the Towneley laments to the non-dramatic planctus is, in part, similar to that of Chester and York. In the case of Towneley, as in the case of Chester and York, there is no evidence that any of the known independent planctus or any parts of them have made their way into the plays. I can discover no agreements in phrase or rhyme sufficiently significant to warrant the hypothesis that the writer or adapter of the Towneley laments was familiar with any of the particular non-dramatic English poems. Certain portions of the laments in Towneley, however, differ very considerably from Chester and York in one respect: they have not, on the whole, become so thoroughly assimilated by the plays in which they occur as to give us ground for supposing that they were composed by the author of the plays. In the case of Towneley, *a* and *b*, the general metrical form and rhyme-scheme of the play do not remain undisturbed by the occurrence of the planctus, as in Chester and York. It looks very much as if some independent planctus[1] had been incorporated in the play. The irregularities, moreover, of meter and rhyme in XXII *b*, and the very noticeable repetition of similar motives in different verse forms, suggest that we have there a combination of more than one planctus.

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[1] This theory conflicts with the generally accepted view that the planctus forms the starting-point of the Passion Plays. For the discussion of that point in connection with the English Plays, see below, p. 32.

XXIV–*Hegge.*—The planctus in the Hegge plays manifest even greater variety of stanzaic form and of rhyme-scheme than Towneley. And in this cycle more than in any of the others the planctus are, so to speak, fragmentary, being introduced in small portions at various points in the plays dealing with the subjects of the *Betraying of Christ*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Burial*, and the *Resurrection.* XXIV *b* and XXIV *c* are alike in stanzaic form; XXIV *c* and XXIV *d* are unlike *b* and *c*, and *a* is unlike *d.* XXIV *a* is the only planctus in Hegge which has the form of an independent lyric.[2] Its stanzaic form differs from that of the passage immediately preceding it. XXIV *b*, *c*, and *d*, consist of short speeches by Mary which fit in here and there in the plays, contributing to the running narrative of events. In the case of XXIV *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* there is a sufficient number of conventional planctus motives to enable one to say with certainty that they belong to the planctus type, but in them more than in York, Towneley, Chester, or Digby, is introduced matter not typical[3] of the planctus.

The Hegge planctus are therefore more unlike the independent lyrics than those of any other plays. And it is far more difficult to explain them as reworkings of one or more independent lyrics than in the case of those in the other cycles. It is, of course, possible to suppose that the author of the Hegge *Crucifixion* play, XXIV *b*, skilfully introduced planctus motives into the dramatic narrative; that because of the popularity of the planctus in this play he introduced other motives at unusual and out-of-the-way points of the narrative, such as those occupied by XXIV *a* and *d.*

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[1] Note the monologue character of XXII *b*, especially ll. 382, 406, 424, where Mary's speeches, though alternating with John's, are not in actual dialogue relation to them.

[2] Mary laments when Mary Magdalene informs her of Christ's capture; in no other English dramatic or non-dramatic *verse* planctus is Mary introduced speaking at this point of the narrative.

[3] In XXIV *b*, p. 322, immediately after Christ has spoken to the repentant thief at his side, Mary tells him that he has spoken to everyone except her. See also Ebert, *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Literatur*, Vol. V, p. 63; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., p. clxvi.

If such was the case, if without precedent in this the author of the Hegge plays in which the planctus occur adapted and arranged them as he did, he, in this respect, displayed very considerable inventive skill. But this is hardly probable.

There are reasons for believing that the Hegge planctus in their order and arrangement, and in part in their substance, were influenced by some Latin version of Bonaventura's *Meditations*,[1] or by some English prose or verse translation of it. As suggested above, there are two planctus in Hegge, XXIV *a* and XXIV *d*, which occur at a point in the gospel narrative at which no other dramatic or non-dramatic English planctus in verse occurs, and deal, moreover, with a theme not common to any of them. The first occurs at the end of the Hegge *Betraying of Christ*, where the capture of Christ is announced to Mary, and consists chiefly of a prayer of Mary to God to help Christ in his need.[2] In the *Meditations* (p. 202) she also prays to God the Father to help Christ; and, though the two prayers are not similar enough to warrant the supposition that the prose is the immediate source of Hegge, the similarity[3] of substance is somewhat suggestive. I quote the two passages:

RICHARD ROLLE'S TRANSLATION OF THE MEDITATIONS

Wirchipfull *fadir of heuene*, *ffadir of mercy* and of pete, I comend in to youre handes & your kepynge my moste dere sonne, Ihesu, and I beseke yow that ye be noghte cruelle to hym, for ye are to all othire benynge & mercyfull. *O endles fadire*, whedire Ihesu my dere sonne sall nowe be dede? Sothely he did neuer ill to be dede fore. Bot, *rygtwhise fadyr of heuene*, sene ye will the redempcyone of manes saulle, I *be-seke yowe*, *lorde*, that ye wolde ordeyne it one another manere than this: ffor all thyng es possibill to yowe. I pray yow, *holy ffadire*, if it be likynge to yowe, that my dere sone Ihesu be nott don to dede, but delyuer ye hym fro dede & ffro the handes of synners, and gyfe me hym agayne. For he for obedience and reuerence of yowe helpes nott hym-selfe, bot forsakes hym-selfe witterly, as mane that myght nother helpe hyme-selfe ne cowthe. There-fore I pray yowe, if it plese yowe, that ye wolde helpe hyme.

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[1] For the planctus in this form see pp. 4 f. The Latin version of this is not at present accessible to me. Of the many English translations but two are accessible; one, in verse, by Robert Manning of Brunne, and the other, in prose, supposedly by Richard Rolle. Each deals with about the same narrative material. The prose translation, however, carries the narrative past the point where the verse breaks off, and is therefore, for the purpose of comparison with Hegge, the more important. It includes the narrative of events concerned with Christ's death from his prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane to his talk with the pilgrims of Emmaus, and is interspersed with much dialogue, common in substance with the dialogues in Hegge which occur in the narrative of the same events.

[2] In VII, Mary prays to God to let her die with Christ, but does not pray to him for Christ.

[3] See the prayer of a similar character in the verse *Meditations*, l. 455, *Meditations of Bonaventura*, EETS.

HEGGE

O *ffadyr of hefne!* wher ben al thi behestys
 That thou promysyst me, whan a modyr thou me made?
Thi blyssyd sone I bare betwyx tweyn bestys,
 And now the bryth colour of his face doth fade.

O *good fadyr!* why woldyst that thin owyn dere sone xal sofre al this?
 And dede he never aȝens thi precept, but evyr was obedyent;
And to every creature most petyful, most jentyl, and benygn i-wys,
 And now for alle these kendnessys is now most shameful schent.

Why wolt thou, *gracyous Fadyr*, that it xal be so?
 May man not ellys be savyd be non other kende?
Yet, *Lord Fadyr*, than that xal comforte myn wo,
 Whan man is savyd be my chylde, and browth to a good ende.

Another Hegge planctus, XXIV *d*, deals also with a theme to be found only in the planctus of the Bonaventura type. It occurs in the play of the *Resurrection*, where Christ, rising out of hell, tells how he has "harrowed" it. Continuing without interruption, he turns to his mother and comforts her. Mary replies joyously. In the prose *Meditations*, p. 213, immediately following a section entitled, "How oure lorde went to hell; fyrste aftire his ded," occurs a section entitled, "The rysyng up of owre lorde Ihesu, and how he apperid firste to his modire, our lady, saynte Marie." In this section, after a prayer by Mary to Christ in which she asks him to come to her, Christ appears and addresses her. The two passages read:

MEDITATIONS

"Come agayne now, thou my wele-belouede sone. Come, my lorde Ihesu. Come, thou onely my hope. Come to me, my dere childe." And whylles scho prayed thus with louely teres: sodeynly come oure lord Ihesu in clothes whyte as any snawe, his fface schynyng as the sone, all specyouse, all gloryouse & all full of Joye, and said to his modire: "*Haile, holy modire.*" And as sonne scho turnede hir & said: "Art thou my dere sone Ihesu?" & with that she knelid downne & wirchyped hym: and he lowly Enclyned and toke hir vp, & said: "*My dere modire*, ya, *I am your sone, & I am resyne*, & I am with yowe." Then rose they vp to-gedire, & scho halsede hym & kyssede hyme, and tendirly and loueandly lened one hyme, and he tendirly & mekly helde hir vpe.

HEGGE

Salve, sancta parens! my modyr dere!
Alle heyl, modyr with glad chere!
ffor *now is aresyn*, with body clere,
Thi sone that was delve depe.
This is the thrydde day that I yow tolde,
I xuld arysyn out of the cley so colde,—
Now am I here with brest ful bolde,
Therefore no more ye wepe.

Maria.

Welcom, my Lord! welcom, my grace!
Welcome, my sone, and my solace!
I xal the wurchep in every place,—
Welcom, Lord God of myght!
Mekel sorwe in hert I leed,
Whan thou were leyd in dethis beed,
But now my blysse is newly breed,—
Alle men may joye this syght.

The agreement is, in this case, more marked than the one first cited, and suggests, when considered with other points of similarity between the entire prose translation and the Hegge plays XXVIII to XXXIX, that the author of the Hegge planctus, or the author of the sources from which he may have borrowed, was familiar with the *Meditations* of Bonaventura in some shape or form, or with some work based upon it.[1]

The many translations of Bonaventura indicate that his work was popular and well known in England before the days of the Hegge plays. If the Hegge plays were affected by Bonaventura's *Meditations* in the particular instances discussed above, the question at once arises: Does the influence of the *Meditations* upon Hegge extend beyond these instances?[2]

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[1] For an instance of another striking agreement, see *The Coventry Mysteries*, p. 282, the prose *Meditations*, p. 200, and the verse *Meditations*, ll. 377 ff., where an angel appears to Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and announces the result of *the conference in heaven* held concerning his death.

[2] No complete Latin version of the *Meditations* is accessible to me, but the incomplete outline of the work given by Wechssler, *Die rom. Marienklagen*, pp. 67-74, suggests some

XXV–*Digby.*—This is the highest development of the dramatic planctus in English; it is the only planctus which constitutes a play in itself, rather than a subsidiary part, and is suggestive of direct relations with several of the independent lyric planctus. It is with the last point that we are concerned here.

The author of Digby was probably familiar with a very considerable number of planctus. With just how many and with just which particular poems, it is of course impossible to say. Digby, by reason of its very numerous motives, very naturally agrees with hundreds of planctus in various languages, and there are also in Digby many vague echoes of other poems which it would be useless to cite here as proof of Digby's relationship with specific poems. Such agreements, as already suggested, count for next to nothing in establishing direct relationships between such highly conventionalized forms of literature, unless they are accompanied by further peculiar agreements of phrase or peculiar agreements of arrangement and order of motives. And such agreements both of thought and form, it seems, are to be detected upon comparing certain of the independent planctus with Digby. The independent lyrics which show most definite agreement with Digby are Nos. II, VIII, IX, XII, XVII.

The extent of Digby's indebtedness to No. II, if indebtedness it is, is more considerable than to any of the other planctus. No. II concerns itself with the events previous to, during, and after the crucifixion. Digby, on the contrary, deals with the events after the crucifixion. We should expect Digby, therefore, to resemble only the latter part of the *Cursor* planctus, say the part beginning with l. 24478, where Joseph and Nicodemus appear and take Christ down from the cross. This, however, is not the case; portions of the *Cursor* planctus preceding l. 24478 remind one much of Digby. The first and most obvious agreement between the two is Mary's attitude toward those who wish to bury Christ. Not once, but time and time again, does she beseech them to let her have him with her a little longer.[1] In both, her insistence on

notable agreements between the subjects and their arrangement in the entire cycle of Hegge and in the *Meditations*. Wechssler finds in the *Meditations* the source of almost the entire *Passion Play* of Arnoul Greban.

[1] This motive occurs in other planctus (see Table of Motives, p. 11), but is not emphasized.

this point[1] is marked in the extreme. It is not the mere occurrence of the motive in each, but its elaboration and the very striking emphasis placed upon it, which suggests close relationship.

The second agreement is the elaboration in each of another motive very common to the planctus type—Mary's wish to die.[2] Here again it is the special emphasis of the motive, and the peculiar method of its elaboration in each, which call for attention. In each Mary calls upon *Christ* to let her die with him, reproaches *Death* for not taking her with her son, and beseeches the *Jews* to slay her, each of the three subdivisions of the motive[3] receiving much emphasis.

CURSOR MUNDI (ll. 24128–87)	DIGBY (ll. 754–73)
mi dere sone na-thing sa squete. wiltow thi moder here for-lete. to dey grace thou me giue. Thou dede vn-meke with-outen make That carful folk is wone to take Thou spare me noȝt as frende. if thou me sparis I can na rede. lete me deye I prai the dede. me sone with for to wende. Na-thing mai pay bot thou. whith mi sone thou take me now. & late vs deye sammen. my squete sone mi leue mi life. harde hit is to dreye this strife. me liste ful litil gammen. na graither gate of gammen is here; bot late thi sorouful moder dere	O crewell deth! no lenger thou me spare! To me thou wer welcom, & also acceptabill; Oppresse me down at ons, / of the I haue no care. O my son, my saveyour, / & Ioye most comfortabill, Suffere me to dy, / with yow most merciabill! Or at lest lat me hold you / a while in my lape, Which sum-tym gaue yowe the milk of my pape! O ye wikkit pepill, with-out mercy or pitee! Why do ye not crucyfye & hinge me on the crosse? Spare not your nayles / spare not your crueltee! Ye can not make me to ron in greter losse

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[1] In the *Cursor* this occurs ll. 24553 ff., and 24578 ff.; in the last case it is elaborated very extensively. In *Digby* it occurs ll. 480 ff., 556 ff., 567 ff., 603 ff., 802 ff., 813 ff., 820 ff., 823 ff.

[2] See Table of Motives, p. 11.

[3] This peculiar elaboration of the motive probably has its origin in some Latin source, inasmuch as the same motive is elaborated in almost exactly the same fashion in the German planctus printed in Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 55 ff., ll. 151 ff.

CURSOR MUNDI

that ho with the mote wende
take me with the a-pon thi rode
syn we ar bath an flesshe & blode
lets us bath sammen ende.

ye iewes that kindelis al this care.
I prai you at ye me noȝt spare.
ye waful & ye wode.
sin ye my sone wirkis this wa.
dos me that ilk then ar we twa
nailed on a rode.

Aither on rode or other paine.
this wrecche moder to be slaine.
hit is na force I-wisse.
vn-reuthfulli ye wirk vn-riȝt.
the werlde ye reue the sunne of liȝt.
& blindes me mi blisse.

ye sla the life & hope of alle.
on quam sal I now cry & calle.
I redeles out of ro.
how salle I liue this waful life.
thus stikid in with stoure of strife.
quat is me best to do.

bot to the dede make I mi mane.
for haue I now na nother wane.
of bote ware thou me best,
walde thou be kene thi miȝt to kithe
thou slas mi childe sla me than squithe
Then migt thou make me rest.

bot dede allas qui dos thou squa.
qua yernis the thou fleis ham fra.
quen squete hit ware to squelt.
& folowes ham atte the walde fle.
& louis alle atte louis noȝt the.
this werlde vn-eyuen is delt.

DIGBY

Than to lesse my son that to me was so dere!
Why sloo ye not the moder / which is present her?
Dere sone! if the Iwes / yit will not sloo me,
Your gudnes, your grace, I besech & praye,
So call me to your merycy, of your benignitee!
To youre mek suters ye neuer saide yit naye;
Then may ye not your moder, in this cavse delaye.
The modere, with the child desires for to reste;
Remembere myn awn son / that ye sowket my breste

CURSOR MUNDI

Mi squete sone I on the cry
thi sorouful moder do now mercy.
that wont was to be milde.
be noȝt squa harde at thou ne here.
the mourning of thi moder dere.
& think thou art my childe.

thou do thi moder with the to deye.
& lete vs bath to-geder dreye.
bath our wa & wele.
muȝt I the anes welde in arme
hale me think of al mi harme.
that I ware ilka dele.

The third point of similarity consists of a somewhat similar treatment in each of an unusual motive, each planctus using in the development of the motive a somewhat similar touch of style or rhetorical device. The device consists of beginning a phrase or clause with the last word of the phrase or clause immediately preceding.

CURSOR MUNDI

(ll. 24188-93, 24206-8, 24353-58, 24490-93, 24503-8, 24515-23)

24187-93

muȝt I the anes welde in arme
hale me think of al mi harme.
that I ware ilka dele.

muȝt I the welde in armis mine.
& suffer sum part of thi pine.
ful wele me ware that sithe.

24206-8

ful wa is *me; me* is ful wa.
was neuer moder mare waful squa.
my hert is out of state.

24353-58

with-outen *cros. the cros* I bare.
that crossed was. was al mi care.

DIGBY

(ll. 694-716)

To kisse, & swetly *yow imbrace;*
Imbrace, & in myn armes *hold;*
To hold, & luke on your blessit *face;*
Your face, most graciose to *behold;*
To beholde so somly, euer I *wold;*
I wold, I wold, still with yow bee;
Still with yow, to ly in mold,
Who can not wepe, com lern at me!
My will is to dy, I wald not *leve;*
Leve, how suld I? sithen dede ar yee.
My lif were ye! noght can me greve,
So that I may in your presence bee.

Cursor Mundi

quen I on him be-helde.
thai stokid him with a spere with wrange
that thorou mi hert I felde hit strange
my-self I muȝt noȝt welde.

24491–93

Quen I him had in armis falde
that squete flesshe bath drye & calde
be-haldande on his woundis.

24503–8

on him mi heued I shoke & saide
vn-semeli leue sone artow graide
quat has thou saide or wroȝt.
quether euir thou did ani feloni.
or ani maner of pliȝt for quy.
nai nay ne dide thau noȝt.

24515–23

here in mine arme I halde the dede
allas quat is me best to rede.
I am a wrecche of alle.
allas quare is mi mikil mirth
of joy that I. had in my birth.
squa ferli doun to falle.

Me is ful *wa. wa* is me
to grete is turnid alle mi gle.
na blis mai make me blithe.

Digby

Me, your wofull moder, her may *ye se;*
Ye se my dedly sorow & payn,—
Who can not wepe, com lern at mee!—
To see so meke a lambe her *slayn;*
Slayn of men that no mercy *hadd;*
Had they no mercy, I reporte me *see;*
To se this bludy body, is not your hart *sadd ?*
Sad & sorowfull, haue ye no *pitee,*
Pite & compassion to se this *crueltee?*
Crueltee, vnkindness! O men most vnkind!
Ye that can not wepe, com lern at mee!

Other instances of the rhetorical device above mentioned occur in *Cursor,* ll. 24171 and 24542:

> "Thou *slas* mi childe *sla me* than squithe"
> "mi leue was *dede. dede* was mi life"

The fourth point of agreement between Digby and the *Cursor* planctus is only a slight one, perhaps of no importance if considered by itself, but taken in connection with the other agreements it is of some significance. The refrain, "Who can not wepe com lern at mee," used in Digby, ll. 669–715, may have been suggested by ll. 24440–41 of *Cursor Mundi.* The lines in the Cotton MS read:

> Qua ne wist forwit quat weping we(re),
> Do list to me and thai mai here,

The Fairfax MS reads:

> qua-sim of sorou nane has here.
> herkin to me & ye *mai lere.*

When the refrain is first used in Digby, it takes the form, "Who that can not wepe, at me *may lere*" (l. 637), and then changes to the form given above as the regular refrain.

Fifthly, the prevailing rhyme-scheme of Digby is similar to that of the *Cursor* planctus. The prevailing rhyme of the play is *aaab*, *cccb*, up to l. 112. After that point and including the planctus it is *aab*, *ccb*, which last is the rhyme-scheme[1] of the *Cursor* planctus.

Finally, Digby has more motives in common with this planctus than with any other.

With No. VIII Digby agrees slightly in two particulars. The first is an agreement merely of substance, but of substance so uncommon in the planctus type that it becomes a distinguishing characteristic of the poem in which it occurs. I quote the two passages, calling special attention to the lines in italics:

FILIUS REGIS (ll. 13–24)	DIGBY (ll. 626–35)
"The kynges sone," sche seyd, "is dede!	He shrank not for to shew the shape
Hyest in heuene his fader is;	*Of verreye man at his circumcision*
I am his moder thorowe his manhede,	And ther shed his blude for mannys hape.
In bedlem I bare your alderes blisse,	Al-so at my purification,
In circumsicion I saw hym blede,	*Of hym I made a fayre oblation,*
That prince present I-wys.	*Which to his fader was most plesinge.*
In *a tempille, as lawe gan lede,*	*For* fere, than, of herodes persecution,
Tirtildovys I offerid a-bouyn al this;	

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[1] There are variations of this rhyme in the Digby planctus, especially in those portions in which the refrain occurs, ll. 669 ff.

FILIUS REGIS	DIGBY
In-to egipt I fled, as m(o)der his, And lost hym, & fond hym at a fest Ther he tornyd water in-to wyn I-wis; *And nowe; filius regis mortuus est.*”	*In-till egip(t)e fast I fled* with him— His grace me gided in euery thinge,— *& now is he dede! that changes my cher!*

The second agreement concerns the possible source of a very remarkable refrain[1] of a portion of Digby:

> Yet suffer me to holde you here *on my lape*
> Which *sum tym* gafe you mylk of my *pape*

In *Filius Regis* occur the lines:

> What wonder is it thowe I be wo
> For he is dede that soke my *pappe?*
> His cors-is graue I come nowe fro
> That *sumtyme* lay quyke *on my lappe.*

Only twelve lines separate this passage from the one quoted above from *Filius Regis* as parallel with Digby, while the first occurrence of this refrain in Digby is in the line immediately preceding the Digby parallel. The two agreements, either of which without the other would mean little, suggest, when taken together, *Filius Regis*, No. VIII, as one of the possible sources of Digby.

No. XII merely illustrates the use of a refrain somewhat similar to the variation of the refrain used by Digby and just discussed at the end of the preceding paragraph. The refrain of XII runs: “The chylde ys dedd that soke my breste,” and “The chylde ys resyn that soke my breste.” The refrain in Digby runs: “Remembere my dere sone that ye sowkit my briste.”

No. XVII is characterized by the refrain: “Who cannot wepe com lerne of me,” used, as before mentioned, also in Digby.[2]

It is possible then that the author of Digby was familiar with the four independent planctus. The only fact that in every case makes against his familiarity with these specific examples is, that in that day old material, when adapted by an author, generally, in great part, retained its old form; we should therefore expect to find whole passages taken over bodily from any planctus used as a source. The author of Digby, however, possessed the gift of being able to give to old material a new form. And, indeed, certain portions of the planctus display very considerable rhetorical and stylistic skill, approximating real poetry more closely than anything else of the class in English. Of one thing we may be reasonably certain: the author was familiar with several planctus, and threw together two or more in order to make this unusually long one.[1] With just which ones he was familiar must be left for further study. But until other planctus come to light, which may help to make matters clear, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he probably did know some of these under discussion, and of these most probably some version of the *Cursor Mundi* planctus.

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[1] See ll. 625, 752, 759, with variation ll. 772, 779.

[2] See p. 29 for the possible source of this refrain in *Cursor Mundi* planctus. After noticing the agreement of the refrains of No. XVII and Digby, I found that it had been already noted by Dr. Furnivall.

CONCLUSION

The *Planctus Mariae* has contributed very generally to the growth and development of the passion-plays in English. In only a few instances, however, has it been possible to discover the particular planctus which directly affected the planctus portions of the drama. In York and Chester they became so thoroughly assimilated with the great body of the play in which they occur that it is not possible to say whether they were once independent lyrics, or were written, along with the rest of the plays, by a dramatist who was familiar with these themes in the religious poetry of the day. In Towneley it seems possible that independent lyric planctus were introduced, without being made to conform thoroughly, as in the case of York and Chester, to the rest of the play. In Hegge they have become more thoroughly part and parcel of the drama than in any of the other plays; the author introduces into them, besides the conventional motives, other turns of thought and fancy, as he sees fit, according to the need of the dramatic situation. In Hegge, however, more definitely even than in the case of Digby, the influence of a particular planctus is to be observed. Digby shows signs of having drawn from more numerous lyrics than the cyclic plays.

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[1] The constant repetition of similar motives argues for this. Still more suggestive are the various rhymes employed in the different portions: ll. 478–617 have one meter and rhyme; ll. 618–718, another; and ll. 719 ff., still another. After l. 833 the meter and rhyme fall back into the regular rhyme of the play, similar to that in ll. 478–617. Especially in the two portions, 618–718 and 719 ff., where the refrains come into use, is the rhyme irregular, the regular rhyme asserting itself only occasionally.

We may conclude with a word about the generally accepted theory that the planctus forms the starting-point of the passion-plays. Wechssler states this theory more positively and more sweepingly than the other historians of the drama.

> In Italien ist das vulgärsprachliches Drama überhaupt aus den Dichtungen der Laudesen und zwar speziell aus den Marienklagen erwachsen. Und in den Ländern, welche anders als Italien schon zuvor ein vulgärsprachliches geistliches Drama entwickelt haben, beruhen wenigstens die Passionsspiele auf unserer Litteraturgattung. Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die Marienklagen.[1]

Whatever the truth may be in other languages as regards the origin and development of the passion-plays, when considered in connection with the English plays as we have them, this theory cannot be accepted without at least certain qualifications. The date of composition of those plays in which the planctus are present is so late that it seems very improbable that it is, in its present form, the germ of the play around which other materials gathered. Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the planctus portion written along with the rest of it? Since at the time when the cyclic passion-plays and the Digby play were written this form of the lyric was already in vogue in England, it is very natural that those portions of the plays which dealt with Mary and Christ should be affected by it. In the case of Digby only do we seem to have the actual development of a planctus into a play. If the planctus are cut out of the cyclic plays, fairly complete plays are left; Digby would not be a play without the planctus. Yet even in the case of Digby we have, in all probability, not an instance of the planctus expanding[2] so as to include the narrative of events leading up to it. It is more probably the dramatization of some prose or poetical composition which included alike the preceding events and the planctus as well. Such a composition was the *Meditations* of Bonaventura.[1] Such was, in a sense, the Greek *Gospel of Nichodemus B.* itself. How many others of this kind existed in Latin or in the vulgar tongues during the early Middle Ages no one knows. From some such tracts as these it is easy to see how a play like Digby could directly or indirectly be produced. Indeed, the explanatory remark preceding the prologue of Digby, though not by any means conclusive proof that this is the case, certainly suggests it. It reads:

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[1] *Die rom. Marienklagen*, p. 98. See further on this point Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 241 ff.; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 67 ff.; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 40; Schönbach, *Die Marienklagen*, pp. 51 ff.; A. Linder, *Plainte de la Vierge*, Introd., pp., cxc ff.

[2] Chambers calls Digby an "elaborate planctus," *Med. Stage*, Vol. II, p. 129.

> "The prologe of this treyte or *meditatoun* off the buryalle of Christe and Mowrnynge therat."

The theory that the planctus forms the germ or the starting-point[2] of the passion-plays, though true perhaps when applied to the early periods of the drama in its development, does not seem to apply to such late compositions as the English plays. In certain instances it seems that the writer inserted into his compositions the lyrics ready-made. In certain cases he seems to have followed compositions which include the lamentations of Mary without being in themselves planctus. In no case is there any conclusive proof which goes to show that the planctus is, in the English passion-play, the original portion from which the rest of the play was expanded.

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[1] For others of this type see Wechssler, pp. 6 ff.; Linder, Introd., pp. cliv ff.

[2] Wechssler's most significant discovery of the *Meditations* of Bonaventura as the source of the *Passion Play* of Arnoul Greban does not harmonize with his own general theory.

THE SPENSERIAN STANZA BEFORE 1700[1]

This attempt at a history of the Spenserian stanza and its imitations began as a study in early Romanticism. Its justification must rest upon its fulness of treatment and upon the importance of two details. No one has hitherto made more than a tentative list of users and imitators of Spenser's stanza, and no one, not even Mr. Saintsbury in his *History of English Prosody*, Vol. I, has noticed the metrical interest of the "Mirrour for Magistrates." Nor, though many must have come upon the passage, has anyone seemed to have been impressed with Dryden's acknowledgment of his debt to Spenser.

The peculiar characteristics of the Spenserian stanza are its linked quatrains and its final alexandrine. Since Spenser's time, except for the Italian sonnet and the French ballade (both imported forms), the linking of quatrains has not been very popular in English verse. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, it was a frequent device. Chaucer used the *ababbcbc* in several poems, notably in the ninety-seven stanzas of his "Monkes Tale." Presumably Chaucer got it from the Old French, where it was a fairly common form, and he was followed in its use by Lydgate and others in the fifteenth century. C. Davidson notes also that the stanza was a favorite of the Coventry plays. Of Spenser's contemporaries, Samuel Daniel, in the dedication of his "Tragedy of Cleopatra," makes the only use of it that I have been able to find; Spenser himself does not use it, unless we count the first eight lines of "November" in the "Shepheards Calender." Spenser's followers, as we shall see, were almost certain, in cases where they did not keep his stanza exactly, to omit the linking of the quatrains; so that that feature of the Spenserian stanza which seems to have appealed to the nineteenth century as one of its chief beauties has been most often ignored by mere imitators.

The history of the final alexandrine is very different; its use is the most certain mark of Spenserian influence, even where that influence is at second or even third hand. Although Spenser was not the first to use a stanza ending with a line longer than the rest, he certainly set the fashion, and we may confidently ascribe to his example even such stanzas as Carew's "Good Counsel to a Young Maid," where the first lines are tetrameters, and the last a pentameter.

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[1] This paper presents only the general conclusions of a study which the writer hopes ultimately to publish at length, with full tables and references.

Outside of the "Faerie Queen," Spenser uses a final alexandrine only in the last stanza of "January" in the "Shepheards Calender;" in six of the sonnets prefixed to the "Faerie Queen;" and in sonnets X and XLV of the "Amoretti." Spenser's followers, however, tried the alexandrine on all sorts of stanzas: the elegiac quatrain, the familiar *ababcc*, the rhyme royal, the *ottava rima*, and even the sonnet.

The source of Spenser's alexandrine has not yet been traced satisfactorily. Professor Skeat, in the *Athenaeum*,[1] ascribes it to Surrey's use of it with the fourteener in Tottel's "Miscellany" (1557). A fatal objection to that source, it seems to me, is that in all the uses of the "Poulter's Measure" in Tottel the alexandrine is followed by the septenary, and is not a final longer line. For a prior use of alexandrines merely Spenser did not even have to go to Tottel, as he must have been familiar with Sidney's quatorzains in alexandrines.

Guest, in his *History of English Rhythms*, Book IV, chapter vii, says:

> In his "Lamentacyon" for the death of Henry the Seventh's Queen, written in 1503, Sir Thomas More uses the ballet-stave of seven, and often gives six accents to the last verse of the stanza. This verse always ends with the words "and lo now here she lies." It must have been often *convenient* to wedge this section into a verse of six accents; and as the poet's rhythm is in other respects loose, I consider the Spenser-stave owing rather to the tumbling rhythm of the period, than to any design of introducing novelty into English versification.

The poem in question consists of 12 rhyme-royal stanzas, each ending with a refrain "and lo now here I lye." In 8 of the stanzas the syllables preceding this refrain number either 4 or 5; in stanzas 6, 7, 9, and 10 the syllables number 6, as follows: "My palace bylded is;" "The mother's part also;" "Thy mother never know;" "Farewell and pray for me." Sir Thomas More wrote other poems in the rhyme-royal stanza, but never elsewhere ends with an alexandrine.

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[1] May 6, 1893, p. 574 *b*.

So far as I am aware, no one has hitherto commented on the forerunners of Spenser's stanza to be found in the "Mirrour for Magistrates." In the edition of 1559, "Henry VI," attributed to William Baldwin, is in forty absolutely regular stanzas, rhyming aab_6b_7. To be sure, this is not a stanza ending in an alexandrine, but it is a stanza ending in a longer line, and in a versification that cannot by any stretch be called "tumbling." Eleven other "legends" in this edition of 1559 are attributed to Baldwin, all of them in the rhyme-royal stanza, with a total of about 350 stanzas. These stanzas are also regular, not to say monotonous, in their scansion, for the variations number only five, namely, two Latin lines, one doubtful alexandrine, and two undoubted ones—all at the ends of stanzas. The regularity of the versification of these poems helps to put beyond a doubt the conclusion that the final septenary of the stanza of "Henry VI" was intentional.

In 1574 John Higgins issued an addition to the "Mirrour for Magistrates," with 16 legends, to which in 1575 he added another, "Lord Irenglas." In 1587 he republished his part, and added 24 legends (including "Burdet" in Part III). Of these 41 legends, numbering over 1,000 stanzas, 33 legends, with about 900 stanzas, have the rhyme royal rhyme-scheme. Like Baldwin, Higgins clung to the rhyme-scheme, although he varied his line-lengths and his measures. For example, in 2 short envoys the lines are all alexandrines instead of pentameters; in 2 legends he uses a perfectly regular anapestic tetrameter, one of them followed in the envoy by 3 stanzas which run $ababbc_5c_6$. Higgins also tried a few experiments in other stanza-forms; in 5 legends the rhyme-scheme is *ababbccc* (the rhyme royal with an added line—a rhyme-scheme sometimes used, as we shall see, by Spenser's followers); the 2 stanzas of "Laelius Hamo" rhyme *ababcc;* in "King Varianus" the scheme is *aabbcdcd;* in "C. C. Caligula," *ababbcbcb;* and in "Emperor Severus" he switches from *ababccc,* in the first 6 stanzas, to *ababbccc* in the remaining 17. Higgins was so obviously an experimenter in meters that it is worth while to see how far he was either systematic or consistent in carrying out his experiments.

Of the 41 legends, with their more than 1,000 stanzas, 28 items, numbering about 500 stanzas, are almost mechanically regular. In addition, 8 of the legends in the rhyme royal stanzas (about 150 stanzas) are practically regular, except that 22 stanzas end in an alexandrine, and 15 in an alexandrine couplet. There are left 8 legends in the rhyme-royal stanza, and 3 others, altogether about 400 stanzas, in which there is considerable irregularity.

Of the 309 stanzas in the 8 legends in rhyme-royal stanzas, 94 are erratic; that is to say, occasional alexandrines appear in stanzas that are pretty certainly meant to be in pentameter, or occasional pentameters in stanzas meant to be in alexandrines. Even these stanzas, however, tend pretty clearly to fall into four groups. The smallest group—of stanzas of uniform length of line—numbers 44 stanzas, of which 15 are erratic. The next group—stanzas with a long final line—numbers 65 stanzas, of which 22 are erratic. Stanzas ending in a long couplet number 92, with 22 erratic. The largest group—of stanzas which end with a shorter line or lines—numbers 102 stanzas, with 31 erratic.

The only one of these legends which is hard to scan is "Pinnar," the shortest of them, and in its envoy Higgins himself says: "Though thus unorderly his tale hee tell. . . . . No fyner fyled phrase could scape my handes." The other legends scan easily, and the lines are clearly and obviously pentameters, alexandrines, or septenaries, as the case may be. As a rule, where there might be some doubt about the scansion, Higgins has helped us out by his printing. For example, in a certain passage the *-ed* of the preterite and the past participle was spelled out in the sixteen cases in which it counted in the scansion; in the same passage the fact that this ending was not counted in the scansion was indicated forty-one times by *-de*, *-'d*, *-t*, *-te*, or *-d*. Other instances are "wandring," "enmies," "H'is," and "T'have sav'de."

The conclusion is unavoidable that Higgins knew how to write, and did write, regular meter, so that we must look upon his mixing pentameters, alexandrines, and septenaries in the same poem or stanza as either carelessness or experiment. When we consider in how many legends Higgins wrote regular, unvarying stanzas, and in how few he lacks regularity; when we remember that his looseness is (except in one short legend, for which he apologizes) a matter of length of line, and almost never of how a particular line shall be scanned, it seems to me that we must look upon Higgins as a deliberate experimenter. So far as I know, though my search has not been exhaustive, Higgins was the earliest versifier to take liberties with the rhyme-royal stanza. It is barely possible that Gascoigne had Higgins in mind when, in 1575, he wrote: "I will next advise you that you hold the just measure wherewith you begin your verses."[1]

Only 3 of Higgins' legends with the *ababbccc* rhyme-scheme have much variety of combination—"Londricus," "C. I. Caesar," and "Emperor Severus"—81 stanzas in all, of which 21 are regular pentameter, 55 end in a longer line, and only 4 (all in "Caesar") end in a long couplet. The one salient fact is that in these legends Higgins preceded Spenser in the device of adding a line to a stanza already popular, and in making that added line, in more than five-eighths of the cases, a longer line. It does not follow, of course, that Spenser owed his stanza to Higgins' example; even if we could show that he did, it would still be true that Spenser, and not Higgins, knew how to use an added alexandrine consistently and as a definitely artistic element of his stanza. The evidence is clear, however, that as early as 1574 at least one man in England was consciously, though more or less carelessly, experimenting with English stanzas in the direction in which Spenser was later to come upon our finest native verse-form.

Spenser's stanza was certainly not much used by his contemporaries. The only instance I have found is a poem of nineteen stanzas published in January, 1595, and called "Cynthia." Its author, Richard Barnefield, says in his preface that it is "the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet, Maister *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*."[1] John Davies of Hereford seems to have been attracted by Spenser's rhyme-scheme, for he used it in three poems between 1602 and 1607, to the number of 1,270 stanzas, but in pentameters throughout. In 1655 Robert Aylett twice gave the "Contents" of poems in single stanzas with Spenser's rhyme-scheme, but also in pentameters throughout. The only other poem of this sort that I know of is Tom Hood's "Plea of the Midsummer Fairies," published in 1827.

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[1] *Certain Notes of Instruction*, 3.

After "Cynthia," the next use of the regular stanza that I have found is by the Platonist, Dr. Henry More, who used it in 1642 in his "Song of the Soul," a poem of 1,099 stanzas. He accounts for his use of the stanza in his "Epistle" to his father, prefixed to his *Philosophical Poems*, by saying: "You having from my childhood tuned mine ears to Spenser's rhymes, entertaining us on winter nights, with that incomparable piece of his, *The Fairy Queen*, a Poem as richly fraught with divine Morality as Phansy."[2]

Though there were many contemporary criticisms of Spenser's poetry, comments on his stanza are as rare as uses of it. I have been able to find only two—one by Ben Jonson and the other by Gabriel Harvey. Drummond of Hawthornden reports that Jonson said of Spenser: "his stanza pleased him not, nor his matter." Harvey's comment is in his own handwriting in his copy of Gascoigne's *Certain Notes of Instruction*, now in the Bodleian. To Gascoigne's advice to "hold the just measure wherewith you begin your verse," Harvey added: "The difference of the last verse from the rest in everie stanza, a grace in the Faerie Queen."[3] Harvey, it may be added, did not once imitate either Spenser's stanza, or Spenser's sonnet.

It is rather remarkable that neither of the Fletchers, nor Browne, who were Spenser's chief followers in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, used Spenser's stanza, and that Browne, though as ardent and as obvious a Spenserian as any, did not even imitate his versification. His only approach to Spenser's stanza is a section in the fifth eclogue of the "Shepherd's Pipe" (ll. 47–136), where nine stanzas, in pentameters throughout, rhyme *ababbcbcdd.*

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[1] Arber, *English Scholar's Library*, Barnefield, p. 44.

[2] Second edition, Cambridge, 1647. This preface does not appear in the first edition, 1642.

[3] Cf. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 49 and 539.

Giles Fletcher's sole imitation of Spenser's stanza is the stanza of his "Christ's Victory and Triumph," which runs *ababbccc.* 56
Of the anonymous "Britain's Ida" Mr. Gosse says that it "is the only other known poem in that stanza."[1] Unfortunately for Mr. Gosse, Giles Fletcher himself wrote his earlier "Canto upon the Death of Eliza" in that stanza; his brother Phineas wrote in it "To my Beloved Thenot," and the second of his "Piscatory Eclogues;" T. Robinson used it in his "Life and Death of Mary Magdalene;" and Edmund Smith (d. 1710) used it in "Thales," first published in 1750 or 1751. In another comment on this stanza Mr. Gosse says that it is "the nine-lined one of Spenser, compressed into an octet by the omission of the seventh line, and so deprived of that fourth rhyme which is one of its greatest technical difficulties."[2] Mr. Gosse's supposition is plausible, but, considering that Spenser apparently formed his stanza by adding a line to a recognized form, and that Phineas Fletcher made a stanza by adding an alexandrine to the *ottava rima,* it seems just as likely that Giles Fletcher, following the example of five of the legends in the "Mirrour for Magistrates," simply added an alexandrine to the common rhyme royal.

In contrast with his brother Giles, Phineas Fletcher experimented with a final alexandrine in no fewer than thirteen stanza-forms, from the triplet to an elaborate ten-line stanza. He lengthened the last line of the triplet, of the rhyme royal, and of the *ottava rima;* and he added an alexandrine to the heroic quatrain, to the *ababcc* stanza, to the rhyme royal, and to the *ottava rima.* Moreover, he tested most of these forms by using them in long poems.

Phineas Fletcher is the only one of the Spenserian imitators I have noticed who made anything more than a sporadic use of feminine rhymes as an integral part of his stanza-structure. In his "Elisa," which rhymes *ababbcc,* all but four of the one hundred stanzas have feminine rhymes in the *b*-lines (though there are only thirty-eight feminine rhymes in the *c*-lines, and eight in the *a*-lines). A stanza from Milton's "Ode," followed by one from "Elisa," will show the effect of the feminine rhymes:

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[1] *Jacobean Poets,* p. 150.

[2] *Ibid,* p. 139.

This is the month, and this the happy morn,
Wherein the son of Heaven's eternal king,
Of wedded maid and virgin mother born,
Our great redemption from above did bring;
For so the holy sages once did sing,
That he our deadly forfeit should release,
And with his Father work us a perpetual peace.
—"On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," st. 1.

Look as a stag pierced with a fatal bow,
As by a wood he walks securely feeding,—
In coverts thick conceals his deadly blow,
And feeling death swim in his endless bleeding,
—His heavy head his fainting strength exceeding—
Bids woods adieu, so sinks into his grave;
Green brakes and primrose sweet, his seemly herse embrave.
—"Elisa," st. 1.

Toward the middle of the century Francis Quarles tried various Spenserian imitations, but, like so many others, did not once use the regular stanza. He perhaps preceded Phineas Fletcher in writing the triplet ending in an alexandrine (as a stanza, not as a variation of the couplet). Quarles seems also to have been the first to lengthen the last line of the then popular *ababcc* stanza. Of his other ventures, two are probably accidental variations of the lengthened *ottava rima* introduced by Phineas Fletcher.

In 1650–51, in the preface to "Gondibert," Sir William Davenant, speaking of Spenser's language, made a criticism which has often been repeated in one form or another: "the unlucky choice of his stanza, hath by repetition of rime, brought him to the necessity of many exploded words." Possibly Edward Philips had Davenant's objection in mind when he said, in 1675, in his *Theatrum Poetarum:* "How much more stately and majestic in epic poems, especially of heroic argument, Spenser's stanza . . . . is above the way either of couplet or alternation of four verses only, I am persuaded, were it revived, would soon be acknowledged."[1]

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[1] Preface, pp. 2, 3.

Dr. Henry More, Sir Richard Fanshawe, and Robert Aylett had all used Spenser's stanza, the latest of them twenty years before Philips wrote.

Two years later, in 1677, appeared "Ripley Reviv'd," by Eirenaeus Philalethes. If, as some have always thought, and as Professor Kittredge thinks extremely likely, Eirenaeus Philalethes was George Stirk (or Starkey), who died of the plague in 1665, "Ripley Reviv'd" must have been written before that year, and probably much earlier, for (again on the authority of Professor Kittredge, who kindly furnished these items) Starkey mentions "Ripley Reviv'd" specifically before 1654. In this book are many bits of verse, among them two imitations of Spenser, one in fifteen regular stanzas (p. 371), and the other (p. 88) in thirteen stanzas, whose formula is *ababcbcbb*. As the book is very rare, I give two stanzas from each passage[56]:

Now for a close of this most secret Gate,
Whereat few enter, none but they who are
By Gods grace favour'd; its not luck ne fate
That in disclosing this can claim a share:
It is a portion which is very rare,
Bestow'd on those whom the most High shall chuse,
To such the Truth I freely shall declare.
Nor ought through Envy to them shall refuse,
Nor with unwonted Riddles shall their hopes abuse.

Of uncouth subjects now shall be my Song,
My mind intends high wonders to reveal,
Which have lain hidden heretofore full long,
Each artist striving them how to conceal,
Lest wretched Caitiffs should these Treasures steal:
Nor Villains should their Villanies maintain
By this rare Art; which danger they to heal,
In horrid Metaphor veil'd an Art most plain,
Lest each fool knowing it, should it when known disdain.
—"An Exposition upon Sir G. Ripley's Fifth Gate."

And now my Muse, let it not irksome seem
To Thee of Natures Mysteries to sing
Those hidden mysteries which many deem
Nought but delusions with them for to bring.
This is th' opinion of the vulgar rude,

> To whom there's hardly any selcouth thing,
> But seems a Juggling trick, that would delude
> Their fancies with an empty wondering;
> Therefore against it they with thundering words do ring.
>
> There is a fiery Stone of Paradise,
> So call'd because of its Celestial hew,
> Named of ancient years by Sages wise
> ELIXIR, made of Earth and Heaven new,
> Anatically mixt; strange to relate,
> Sought for by many, but found out by few;
> Above vicissitudes of Nature, and by fate
> Immortal, like a Body fixt to shew,
> Whose penetrative vertue proves a Spirit true.
> —"An Exposition upon the Preface of Sir G. Ripley."

In 1679 Dr. Samuel Woodford used Spenser's stanza in the Epodā to his "Legend of Love," as he called his paraphrase upon the Canticles. He also experimented with two or three rhyme-schemes which had already been appropriated by the Spenserians. The rhyme-scheme of the "Purple Island" (*ababccc*) he used in four poems, each time varying the line-lengths. In two poems he used the *ababcc* stanza, with a final alexandrine; in "Si ignoras te," however, his lines run 545456, and in "David's Elegy," 545556. Aylett, Starkey, and Woodford seem to be the only men of the seventeenth century who used both the regular Spenserian stanza and imitations of it. Aylett and Woodford are interesting also as among the very few Englishmen between Milton and Warton who wrote sonnets.

Two passages from Woodford's preface are worth quoting:

> The Legend further of Love I have stiled it, for honours sake to the great Spencer, whose Stanza of Nine I have used, and who has Intituled the six Books which we have compleat of his Fairy Queen, by the several Legends . . . .
>
> Among the several other Papers that we have lost of the Excellent and Divine Spencer, one of the happiest Poets that this Nation ever bred, (and out of it the World, it may be (all things considered) had not his Fellow, excepting only such as were immediately Inspired) I bewail nothing me-thinks so much, as his Version of the Canticles. For doubtless, in my poor Judgment, never was Man better made for such a Work, and the Song itself so directly suited, with his Genius and manner of

Poetry (that I mean, wherein he best shews and even excells himself, His Shepherds Kalender, and other occasional Poems, for I cannot yet say the same directly for his Faery Queen, design'd for an Heroic Poem) . . . .

The noteworthy points in these sentences are the praise of the "Shepheards Calender," with which chiefly Spenser won his reputation in his own day, and the doubt of the greatness of the "Faerie Queen" as a "heroic poem"—i. e., an epic. Woodford's comment, indeed, leads us directly toward the attitude, not only of the early eighteenth century, but also of the Romanticists. The early eighteenth-century poets who used Spenser's stanza made it a vehicle for political satire—led thereto presumably by Spenser's use of allegory. Sir Kenelm Digby's "Observations on the 22d stanza in the 9th Canto of the IId Book" goes to show how ready men were to seize upon the political aspect of the allegory. The Romanticists, from Thomson down, although they have not used the stanza for satire, have also not used it for epic purposes, but have rather paid especial attention to its pictorial capabilities. When we talk today about the uses of the stanza since Spenser, we speak of the "Castle of Indolence," of the "Revolt of Islam," of the "Eve of St. Agnes," of the descriptive passages of "Childe Harold," or of the few stanzas at the beginning of the "Lotos Eaters." Indeed, may we not agree that the "Faerie Queen" as an epic is something of a *tour de force*, inasmuch as the qualities for which generation after generation has praised and loved it are not those qualities which are considered indispensable in an epic? To say, then, that Woodford's criticism of the "Faerie Queen" is also that of later centuries is not to claim for him any especial acuteness of perception; it is merely to point out that the critical judgments of the Restoration and Augustan periods were not so directly opposed to those of the nineteenth century as is generally assumed. The pseudo-Classicists were hardly more alive to the defects of the "Faerie Queen" than we post-Romanticists; they were only less appreciative of its really great qualities—qualities which would not have suited what those generations had to say, any more than the Spenserian stanza would serve as a substitute for the *ottava rima* in "Don Juan."

In 1687 appeared "Spenser Redivivus; containing the First

Book of the 'Fairy Queen.' His Essential Design Preserved, but his Obsolete Language and Manner of Verse totally laid aside. Delivered in Heroic Numbers by a Person of Quality." This Travesty has often been cited to show how little that generation thought of Spenser, but I think that its importance has been greatly overestimated. In 1729 James Ralph published a poem in heroics called "An Imitation of Spenser's Fairy Queen, by a Young Gentleman of Twenty." In 1774 appeared Canto I, "attempted in blank verse" to the length of eighteen pages; and in 1783, Cantos I–IV, also "attempted in blank verse." These four attempts to modernize Spenser's versification are, however, the only ones I have been able to find. Over against them we must put the many admiring references to him, as well as the really surprising number of poems both in his stanza and in variations of it.

John Dryden followed others, Davenant most closely, in thinking the stanza of the "Faerie Queen" unsuited to epic purposes. In the dedication to his translation of the *Aeneis* (1697) he says, apropos of Spenser and Cowley: "They both make hemistichs (or 1/2 verses), breaking off in the middle of the line. I confess there are not many such in the Fairy Queen; and even those few might be occasioned by his unhappy choice of so long a stanza." We may balance this, however, with one of the most interesting details of Spenser's influence in the seventeenth century—Dryden's specific acknowledgment that he got his alexandrine from Spenser. In this same dedication he says:

> In the meantime, that I may arrogate nothing to myself, I must acknowledge that Virgil in Latin, and Spenser in English, have been my masters. Spenser has also given me the boldness to make use sometimes of his Alexandrine line, which we call, though improperly, the Pindaric, because Mr. Cowley has often employed it in his Odes. It adds a certain majesty to the verse, when it is used with judgment, and stops the sense from overflowing into another line.

A few pages farther on Dryden recurs to the subject in the following passage:

> When I mentioned the Pindaric line, I should have added, that I take another license in my veases: for I frequently make use of triplet rhymes, and for the same reason, because they bound the sense. And therefore I

> generally join these two licenses together, and make the last verse of the triplet a Pindaric: for, besides the majesty which it gives, it confines the sense within the barriers of three lines, which would languish if it were lengthened into four. Spenser is my example for both these privileges of English verses; and Chapman has followed him in his translation of Homer. Mr. Cowley has given in to them after both; and all succeeding writers after him. I regard them now as the Magna Charta of heroic poetry, and am too much an Englishman to lose what my ancestors have gained for me.

Dryden's saying that "Spenser is my example for both these privileges" is puzzling, for in Spenser's "Mother Hubberds Tale" I can find no triplets and no alexandrines. If Dryden thought that in "May" of the "Shepheards Calender," Spenser was trying to write in heroic couplets, there is some slight warrant for his statement, inasmuch as in its 317 lines there are three triplets.

Dryden's mention of Cowley, and of "Pindaricks" as a common name for alexandrines, leads one to wonder if Cowley was not also indebted to Spenser. His Pindaric strophes commonly end with an alexandrine, and as he plainly declared he was not trying to reproduce either Pindar's words or his meter, but merely his general effect, we can hardly trace his alexandrines to Pindar. The only evidence I can find is an interesting, but for our purposes rather inconclusive paragraph from his essay "On Myself," which runs:

> I believe I can tell the particular little Chance that filled my Head first with such Chines of Verse. as have never since left ringing there: For I remember when I began to read, and to take some Pleasure in it, there was wont to lye in my Mother's Parlour (I know not by what accident, for she herself never in her life read any Book but of Devotion) but there was wont to lye Spencer's Works; this I happened to fall upon, and was infinitely delighted with the Stories of the Knights, and Giants, and Monsters, and brave Houses, which I found every where there: (Tho my Understanding had little to do with all this) and by degrees with the Tinkling of the Rhyme and Dance of the Numbers, so that I think I had read him all over before I was twelve years old, and was thus made a Poet as irremediably as a child is made an Eunuch.

In a little more than a century between the first publication of the "Faerie Queen" and 1698, my last entry before 1700, there were Spenserian poems or imitations in forty-seven different years, with only two long gaps, one of nine and one of fifteen years. When we consider that the disciples of a poet are rather more likely to show the master's influence in their style and phrase, and general attitude, than in mere copying of meters, such imitation in nearly half the years of the century is in itself a notable record. These poems, which are by forty-three different poets, number nearly one hundred and fifty. Twenty poems, including the "Faerie Queen," are in the regular stanza, and are by Spenser, Barnefield, More, and Fanshawe, who wrote only the regular stanza, and Aylett, Eirenaeus Philalethes, and Woodford, who wrote both the regular stanza and imitations of it.

Of the remaining poems, ten, by six poets, imitate only the linking of the rhymes; a dozen more, each by a different poet, end a short-line stanza with a pentameter, and John Donne once used a final septenary. We have left over a hundred poems in nearly fifty stanza-forms, by a score of poets, all of whom confined their imitations of Spenser's verse to the use of a final alexandrine.

In quantity, the number of regular stanzas is about equal to the number of stanzas which have the final alexandrine. Poems which merely link rhymes number about half as many stanzas; and the poems which have the final long line, not an alexandrine, number only 197 stanzas—about one-fortieth of the whole number.

The use of a given stanza in a long poem tests not only the poet's facility, but also the fitness of the stanza for continuous use. Fourteen of the poems in our list run to a length of a hundred or more stanzas each; five of them are regular Spenserian, four by John Davies of Hereford imitate the rhyme-scheme only, and the remaining five—Giles Fletcher's "Christ's Victory and Triumph;" Phineas' "Appollyonists," "Elisa," and "Purple Island;" and the anonymous "Miserere"—are each in a different stanza-form. It will be observed that all of these poems are, except for the final alexandrine, in pentameters, and that they are all in stanzas of seven, eight, or nine lines.

The true Spenserian stanzas of the seventeenth century are all but forgotten—I have no doubt that many of my readers are surprised at their number and length—and the work of the Fletchers is remembered rather than known. Indeed, the one Spenserian imitation in this century that can fairly be called both great and familiar to the present generation is Milton's "Hymn on the Nativity," which owes to Spenser only its concluding alexandrine. And yet, when Mr. Swinburne used Milton's stanza in his "Ode to Victor Hugo"—the only other instance I know of, except the lone stanza in Gray's "Ode for Music" (1769)—he carefully reduced the alexandrine to a pentameter in every one of his twenty-four stanzas.

That so little of this imitation of Spenser has proved of lasting greatness or popularity is not to be charged against the vitality of Spenser's influence. In the first place, we must not forget that, except for the sonnet, of all our verse-forms the Spenserian stanza is by far the most elaborate in common use. Indeed, when we stop to think, we find that, although our English stanza-forms number more than a thousand, the ones that have been much used in relatively long poems are very few. Outside of "Isabella" and "Don Juan" the *ottava rima* has been used most often in translations from the Italian; since the "Rape of Lucrece" the rhyme royal has been almost untouched; the "Venus and Adonis" stanza, for a century enormously popular as a vehicle for short songs, has been almost unused in extended poems; the elegiac quatrain, more used than any of the others, is so much shorter than Spenser's stanza that a comparison of use seems hardly fair. All of these stanzas go back at least to Elizabeth's time; to them we have added in later times the stanza of "In Memoriam," and perhaps that of Fitzgerald's "Omar." In fact, blank verse and the heroic couplet are now, as they have been for three hundred years, the standard forms for long poems, so that, although one might name a considerable list of successful long poems in other forms, it is hard to find more than a few instances of each kind. In such a list the Spenserian stanza would almost certainly stand first.

In the second place, because of the constantly increasing supply of current literature, and the considerable additions which each generation makes to the already large mass of what we call our "classics," all but the greatest writers of a past generation tend more and more to be forgotten. It follows that we are increasingly likely to judge of a generation, or even of a century, by the five or ten writers whose fame was greatest in their own day. It often happens, therefore, that we hastily assume that a minor poet of real sweetness and power was of as little importance to his own generation as he is to the present one.

I do not wish to be thought of as pleading for a revival of interest in hitherto neglected authors; I do not profess to have rediscovered even one poet or poem which the present generation culpably ignores. But I do wish to insist that we are too likely to dismiss as insignificant a man whose name is to most of us only a name; such a man, for instance, as Dr. Henry More, the Platonist. Of course, every student of seventeenth-century English literature knows his name, though relatively few of us are familiar with his work. Now, Dr. Henry More was a man of much repute in his own generation, and the fact that he chose to put his most serious work into the Spenserian stanza meant much more toward establishing or continuing a Spenserian tradition than even such a poem as the "Hymn on the Nativity." If, then, the men who imitated Spenser's versification during the seventeenth century were, many of them, of much more prominence in their own generation than they are likely to seem to us, it follows that a list of names such as we have here means that Spenser's influence before 1700 was as constant and as profound as that of all but Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

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SOME FEATURES OF STYLE IN EARLY FRENCH NARRATIVE POETRY (1150–70).—*Concluded*

IV. THE TIRADE LYRIQUE, OR COUPLETS IN MONORHYME

One of the noticeable characteristics of early French narrative poetry is the tendency to repeat the rhyme of one couplet in the following couplet or couplets. Usually this repetition is confined to two successive couplets, but occasionally three couplets, or even a larger number, are so connected. The natural supposition would be that the thought of the passage prompted this union, that the lines were connected by the same rhyme because they represented one idea, completed one and the same sentence. A glance at the poems, however, is sufficient to disprove this theory. The majority of couplets in monorhyme contain two sentences. A few hold even three. Therefore it is not continuity of thought which prompts continuity of rhyme. The cause is not to be sought for within. It lies without, in the conscious imitation of a literary fashion. The narrative poet is borrowing this feature of style from other forms of verse, from poems composed in strophes.

It is hardly necessary to recall that the primary form of a lyric strophe is a monorhyme, for the question of the primitive lyric form may not be pertinent in the third quarter of the twelfth century. What is essential in the present discussion is to notice that the epic strophe, which derives ultimately from the lyric, was in assonance or monorhyme in all mediaeval French literature. Popular songs in their original form may have been known to the educated classes of France who fought the Second Crusade. We have no proof either way. But it is certain that the same generation was familiar with a very large body of epic material, and it is therefore more than probable that the poets who began to narrate historical or pseudo-historical events toward 1150 were influenced by the epic style of verse. Back of them indeed, in the eleventh century or earlier, Romance narrative poetry followed at times the epic model. Witness the Provençal *Boethius*. So the *Passion* *du Christ* and the *Vie de St. Léger*, which are intended to rhyme in couplets throughout, are apparently affected by the same influence and, by linking two couplets together, offer occasional passages in monorhyme or assonance. So with a few specimens of romantic Latin poetry which belong to this early period. The octosyllabic quatrains of the *Verna feminae suspiria* (the verse of the *Passion*)[1] fail to preserve their independence against the inroads of the monorhyme *laisse*, while Marbodius' *Descriptio vernae pulchritudinis*[2] joins the hemistiches and verse-endings of two successive lines in what we might call "tirades lyriques." In these instances of Latin poetry which celebrate the return of spring we might perhaps see an imitation of the popular lyric strophe. The average testimony, however, points rather to the authority of the epic *laisse*.

For it is quite surely due to the pressure of the epic *laisse*, and not to the form suggested by a primary lyric strophe, that the two most important narrative poems of the first period of French literature—poems written, it would seem, by contemporaries of Marbodius—the *Vie de St. Alexis* and Albéric's *Alexandre*, were cast in the epic mold. And if we may safely argue from them, it is probable that the variations in the couplets of the didactic poetry of the first quarter of the twelfth century were due to epic influence directly, or to unknown Latin poems which may have transmitted that influence indirectly. Philippe de Thaun's verse, while surprisingly independent of this generally recognized suzerainty, yields occasional homage to it in passages of varying length (*Comput*, 715–18, 1123–26, 1891–94, 2161–66, 2187–96, 2345–54, etc.; *Bestiaire*, 237–40, 475–82, 509–12, etc.), while the *St. Brandan*, which now and then inclines toward assonance (21–24, 29–32, 44–47), more often seeks to connect its couplets by monorhyme verse (83–86, 281–84, 484–87, 754–57, 1280–83, etc.).

We cannot discern, however, in the few examples of the "tirade lyrique" which are scattered through the Latin and vernacular poetry of this early epoch, any intention on the part of their authors to employ assonance or monorhyme as a part of their style.

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[1] See *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XIV, pp. 492, 493.

[2] See Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. CLXXI, col. 1717. Marbodius died in 1123.

You would say that they stumble on its use by accident, led unconsciously to it by the dominance of the epic *laisse.* And when a whole generation has gone by and we reach the romantic revival which follows the Crusade of 1147, we find its first narrative poet, Geoffrei Gaimar, similarly indifferent in his treatment of monorhyme. A few examples of it may be found in his *Estorie des Engleis* (91–94, 149–52, 841–44, 961–64, etc.), but with one or two exceptions they are confined to the first and less artistic part of the chronicle—the first four thousand lines—and may be set down to the credit of convenience rather than to any deliberate purpose. Nor may any more serious reason be attributed to the presence of the two passages in the first translation of Marbodius' *Lapidarius*[1] (359–62, 371–74), or the one in the *Débat du corps et de l'âme* (839–42).

But with Wace and his *Brut* we enter upon a new conception of the "tirade lyrique." Wace was ever self-conscious; he took his vocation seriously; he studied his words and his rhythm; he strove after style. With the object of perfecting his poetic art, he gladly received every traditional component of literary expression and tried to improve upon it, to embellish it. For instance, there was no other reason for preserving the "tirade lyrique," at the time when the *Brut* was written, than an artistic one. By 1155 the weight of epic example had been decidedly lessened through the increasing importance of narrative, didactic, and lyric verse, and it had become the fortune of these kinds in turn to react upon the style of the epic. Its borrowings from them of transposed parallelism and dramatic dialogue show this. Therefore, when we find the author of the *Brut* making free use of couplets in monorhyme, we may be allowed to infer that he does so consciously, of his own express volition, and not through a negative concession to sterile imitation.

In the matter of direct repetition we saw that Wace made a means of expression his own which had been bequeathed to him by older poets. So again with his legacy of couplets in monorhyme. In his possession they became an important attribute of poetic style. He increased their artistic effect by subjecting them

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[1] Edited by L. Pannier in *Les lapidaires français au moyen âge* (Paris, 1882).

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Troyes.[1] All of these poets reveal a moderate use of the "tirade lyrique," corresponding to the manner of the *Brut* or *Thèbes.* Still it is clear that Gautier d'Arras found this feature of style less in favor when he wrote *Ille et Galeron* than when he composed *Éracle*, for there is a striking difference between these poems in the number of passages so treated. Furthermore, the fragments of Thomas' *Tristan*, which furnish perhaps fourteen instances all told, contain quite as many examples of the complex kind as of the simple.

With Chrétien de Troyes this leaning toward the variation established by the *Brut* or *Thèbes* is still more pronounced, while the proportion of both kinds taken together steadily decreases. If we set the total number of "tirades lyriques" in *Érec* at twenty-five, we note that fully three-fourths of them belong to the complex variety (cf. *Érec*, 209–12, 219–22, etc.). The amount of both kinds in *Cligès* is smaller than in *Érec*, and two examples only are of the simple rhyme (cf. *Cligès*, 969–72, 4209–12). This ratio rises in *la Charrette*, while the totals diminish still further. The lowering process continues in *Iwain* until of the twenty-five "tirades lyriques" of *Érec* but ten remain. Quite the opposite, however, is revealed by a study of the rhymes in *Guillaume d'Angleterre.* There we approach the proportion of *Érec*, not only in the total number of simple and complex passages, but also in the ratio of the two kinds to each other. This fact might be used as additional evidence in support of the contention that Chrétien's least romantic poem was written early in his career.

With the "tirade lyrique" as a basis a like inference might be drawn in regard to the chronological order of Thomas' *Tristan* and the Douce *Folie.* Over against fourteen instances, about equally divided between the two kinds, in the three thousand and more lines of *Tristan*, we set eight examples in the thousand lines of the *Folie*, of which five are in simple rhyme and three in complex. The relatively larger number of such passages in the *Folie*, together with the greater proportion of simple rhymes, might indicate the priority of the shorter poem.

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[1] I have been writing "Troies," but the usual spelling is now "Troyes," and should be followed.

Other romantic compositions of this period which show familiarity with the use of the "tirade lyrique" include the romance of *Floire et Blanchefleur*—both versions—where the proportion of both varieties and the relative proportion of simple and complex kinds approach the ratio of the *Brut*, and the verse *Roman des Sept Sages*, which shows a relatively smaller number of simple rhymes (simple: 2402–5, 3928–31; complex: 235–38, 1061–66, 2832–35, etc.). The *Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel*,[1] written by Guillaume de Saint-Pair about the year 1170, presents a fair number of these passages, almost without exception of the simple variety. On the other hand, the romance of the *Comte de Poitiers*,[2] of approximately the same date, divides its few examples (nine?) of the "tirade lyrique" quite impartially between the two kinds.

As is well known, this feature of style continued in use during the whole mediaeval period of French literature. But it never again enjoyed the popularity which it had possessed in the days of Wace and his contemporaries. The writers who flourished in the seventies of the twelfth century, as Marie de France, show it quite as much favor as was manifested by the authors of the *Brut* and *Thèbes*. Marie's *lais* contain a fair number of couplets in monorhyme, of which the larger part belong to the complex variety. Her *Espurgatoire*, however, which in certain respects seems earlier than the *lais*, prefers the simple rhyme. So does the anonymous *lai* of *Désiré*, uncertain in date.

The romantic poem of *Amadas et Ydoine*, which apparently furnishes a corrective to the superficial moral of *Cligès*, offers a considerable number of these passages, without making a distinct choice between their kinds, simple or complex. This mannerism forms also a noticeable feature of *Partonopeus de Blois*,[3] probably written during the eighties, and of *Ipomedon*,[4] its contemporary, a poem which borrowed the names of its characters from *Thèbes* and derived some suggestions for its style from *Énéas*. A general impression of the "tirade lyrique," gained from a survey of *Partonopeus* and *Ipomedon*, is that there is a return to the simple form of rhyme of the earlier period.

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[1] Edited by Fr. Michel (Caen, 1856).

[2] Edited by Fr. Michel (Paris, 1831).

[3] Edited by G. A. Crapelet (Paris, 1834).

[4] *Hue de Rotelande's Ipomedon*, published by E. Kölbing and E. Koschwitz (Berlin, 1889).

In summarizing, therefore, we may safely conclude that the notion of combining two or more couplets in rhyme was borrowed by narrative poetry from the epic *laisse*, in assonance or monorhyme. For a time this imitation undoubtedly observed an exact correspondence of the tonic syllable. The predominance of epic poetry would have enjoined this correspondence. When the influence of the epic became weakened through the rise of lyric and narrative verse after the Crusade of 1147, the poets of the new school in their seeking for artistic effect would have found a variation for the pure cadence of the line by bringing together rhymes on the same tonic vowel still, but tonic vowels which were preceded by *i*, instead of a consonant, or were followed by mute *e*. Wace may have been the inventor of this variation, though his claim to it could be disputed by the author of *Thèbes*. Wace might have received hints from the lines of Everard and Samson de Nanteuil. Whether he did or not, and whether he was the inventor or not, he cultivated the "tirade lyrique" with more enthusiasm than any other writer. In his *Rou* he even went to extremes. After the *Brut* and *Thèbes* the younger poets employed both simple and complex rhymes as they wished, and some openly preferred the variation to the original form. Chrétien de Troyes, however, did not care for either, and used the "tirade lyrique" less and less with each succeeding poem. But he could not destroy its popularity altogether, and couplets in monorhyme continued to appear, though with less frequency and with a preference for the simple consonance, throughout the whole period of mediaeval poetry.

V. THE BROKEN COUPLET

In the *Romania* of 1894 (Vol. XXIII, pp. 1–35) Paul Meyer published an important study on "Le couplet de deux vers." In this article he called attention for the first time to the two schools of narrative poets which flourished almost side by side in the third quarter of the twelfth century—schools which would be chiefly differentiated by their handling of the narrative couplet. The older, influenced more strongly by poetic tradition, considered the couplet as indivisible, expressing but one thought. The phrase which began with the couplet should end with it, or should end with the second line of some following couplet, and not with the first line of that couplet. In M. Meyer's words: "Il y a des phrases de deux, quatre, six vers, il n'y en a pas de trois, de cinq, de sept."

On the other hand, the other, and younger, school, struck by the monotonous regularity of rhythm which this fusion of thought and line produced, would seek to vary the monotony by breaking the traditional mold. A sentence begun with the first line of a couplet would be finished on the first line of the following couplet or couplets, or one begun with the second line would finish with the first or second line of succeeding couplets. In this way phrases of three, five, or seven lines would be formed, and incidentally overflow between the couplets would appear. The leader of this later school would be Chrétien de Troyes.

The truth of M. Meyer's discovery was so self-evident that his statements were neither called in question nor confirmed by more detailed investigations. And, indeed, the facts assembled in the preparation of this present paper show that practically nothing is to be added to his conclusions. But any study of poetic style during the sixth and seventh decades of the twelfth century would be quite incomplete without a reference to this striking feature of versification, and if reference is made at all, it should be fairly comprehensive. For this reason I take the liberty of supporting M. Meyer's arguments with additional statistics.

Absolute exactness in arriving at the number of broken couplets in any given poem seems to be impossible. Even an approximate calculation is quite unsatisfactory, because any two readers will certainly disagree with each other, and also with the editor of the text, whose opinion of its meaning is represented by his punctuation. Furthermore, the same person reading the same poem at different times will vary to some extent in his count, because he is often forced to give an interpretation to the author's meaning, and cannot maintain precisely the same exegetical attitude on all occasions. The power of subjectivity is too strong for scientific accuracy. Therefore I do not pretend to present other than relative results.

I have, however, attempted to combine with the study of the broken couplet the consideration of the sentence which follows the break in the couplet, and have roughly computed the proportion of three-line phrases thus formed to the whole number of sentences which follow the break, whether formed of an odd or an even number of lines. The results of this particular computation may aid in throwing light on the style of the individual author, even though they may be useless for general deductions as to literary style. If we assume that the original idea of the couplet was to express a thought in two lines, and afterward in four, six, or eight lines, we may suppose that, when this primary conception was abandoned by the poets, they would still show traces of its hold on them in their formation of sentences which contained an odd number of lines. The earliest phrase which consists of an odd number of lines would logically be the three-line sentence, or a slight extension of the primitive couplet of two lines. It would therefore seem probable that the earliest poems which use the broken couplet would present the greatest proportion of three-line sentences. Or, in other words, we might expect to find that the poems which show the lowest percentage of broken couplets would offer the greatest ratio of three-line phrases. As a matter of fact, this proves to be the case in the larger number of instances. But the exceptions are many, and a rule for the phenomenon cannot be formulated. The style of the author seems to be the deciding factor here.

If we now turn to the first period of French literature, we find that the poems which were composed in lines rhyming two by two, the regular narrative couplet, contain but scattered instances of the broken couplet. Philippe de Thaun's *Comput* might be credited with eleven breaks, of which six would be followed by sentences of three lines, while his *Bestiaire* would give five, four of which are followed by three-line phrases. As these poems run over three thousand lines each, the percentage of such forms—less in either case than six-tenths—is extremely small, and may be due to accident or to copyists. The same results are reached in an analysis of *St. Brandan*, where there appear to be but two broken couplets. Neither of these is followed by a three-line sentence. The principle of one couplet to one thought is clearly held by these early writers.

Not so with the authors of the literature after the Crusade of 1147, or those perhaps who just preceded it. The *Vie de Ste. Julienne*[1] has nine broken couplets—1.4 per cent.—of which five are followed by sentences of three lines. The *Vie de St. George*[2] contains four broken couplets, 1.7 per cent. It does not contain the three-line phrase. The *Débat du corps et de l'âme* may count up twelve broken couplets—2.3 per cent. One-third of the sentences following the break consist of three lines. The first translation of Marbodius' *Lapidarius* shows fifteen broken couplets—3 per cent. The three-line sentences following give a proportion of 33 per cent.

Much greater interest, however, is attached to Geoffrei Gaimar's treatment of the couplet. His *Estorie des Engleis*, the first long poem after the Crusade of 1147, has already afforded us a glimpse of artistic desire in the matter of transposed parallelism and direct repetition. Its handling of the couplet is quite as significant. The first 4,000 lines of the *Estorie* contain about 4.5 per cent. of broken couplets, with slightly over 37 per cent. of three-line phrases after the break. The last 2,500 lines rise to 7.8 per cent. of the former and fall to less than 33 per cent. of the latter. This increase of broken couplets may not be ascribed to chance. It is accompanied by another change in versification. In the first 4,000 lines we noted eight overflow verses to the thousand; in the last 2,500, only two and a half. These statistics, inconclusive as they may be each by itself, when taken together may be considered as indicative of a change of style on the part of Gaimar, under the pressure of external influences which entirely escape us.

Next in date to Gaimar comes Wace. Possibly his religious poems preceded his chronicles. The versification of two of them, at least—*St. Nicolas* and the *Conception*—would point that way. Each contains about 2 per cent. of broken couplets, and 50 per cent. of three-line sentences after the break. On the contrary, in the imperfect edition of *Ste. Marguerite*, we would count 7 per cent. of broken couplets, two-thirds of which are followed by three-line phrases—an unusually high ratio. Wace's chronicles, however, do not reveal any growing fondness for the new rhythm. The first 3,000 lines of the *Brut* yield 5.5 per cent. of broken couplets, with 30 per cent. of three-line sentences; and the remaining 12,000, 3.5 per cent. of broken couplets, and 37 per cent. of phrases in three lines. The octosyllabic part of *Rou*, later than the *Brut* by five years and more, reduces the percentage of broken couplets to 3, and of three-line sentences to 27.5. The sentences in *Rou* are noticeably long, but we may conclude from these figures that Wace adhered quite steadily to the use of the traditional couplet, despite a temporary vacillation.

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[1] Published by Hugo von Feilitzen in the *Ver del Juïse* (Upsala, 1883).

[2] Published by V. Luzarche with Wace's *Vie de la Vierge Marie* (Tours, 1859).

The *Roman de Thèbes* is a probable contemporary of the *Brut*. We have seen how its author developed the form of transposed parallelism. He remained satisfied with that effort, and shows but little interest in varying his rhythm. A proportion of 3 per cent. for broken couplets, and 52 per cent. for three-line sentences following the break, may be called normal, if we take Wace as a standard.

Other poems of the fifties or early sixties may include the *Vie du Pape Grégoire*, with a percentage of 5.5 in broken couplets and 42 in sentences of three lines; the *Sept Sages*, in verse, with 3.5 per cent. of broken couplets and less than 37 per cent. of three-line phrases; the Douce *Folie Tristan*, with its 3.4 per cent. of broken couplets and 35 per cent. of three-line sentences—in these particulars much like the *Sept Sages;* and the first version of *Floire et Blanchefleur*, with 5.5 and 29 per cent., respectively. On the other hand, the *Vie de Ste. Marie l'Égyptienne* furnishes but a fraction over 1 per cent. of broken couplets and 40 per cent. of three-line sentences; while Marie de France's *Espurgatoire*, with its rise from 2 per cent. of broken couplets in the first 1,000 lines to 4.6 in the last 300, and its fall from 70 per cent. of three-line phrases to 43 per cent. in the same sections (an average of 3.2 per cent. for the one, and 54 for the other for the whole poem), illustrates the persistency of the original conception of the narrative couplet.

In general, then, the poems already cited, whether dating from the early fifties, as Gaimar's chronicle, or from the late sixties, as Wace's *Rou* and probably Marie's *Espurgatoire*, show a relatively low percentage of broken couplets, 7 or under, and a relatively high percentage of three-line sentences which follow the break in the couplet, 27 per cent. or over. Consequently, whatever their exact date may be, we may safely treat them as products of the older school of versification, which still considered the couplet rhyming in pairs as a sentence complete in itself. They are the poems, also, which reflect the ideas of poetic rhythm that prevailed at the beginning of this the first Romantic School of French literature—ideas which they inherited from the earlier period of Henry I. Yet these very poems were contemporaneous in great part with other, and on the whole more romantic compositions, which either chafed against the old laws of rhythm or broke away from them entirely.

The longer works which endured with visible impatience the primary conception of the narrative couplet are but two in number, and yet they occupy a leading place in the literature of this period. They mark what may be called a transition between a fairly strict observance of the unity of the couplet and a free disregard of it. They are the *Tristan* of Thomas, and the *Énéas*. So far as the fragments of the former romance reveal the attitude of its author toward this feature of style, we may infer that he was held to the old ideas by the influence of his models, or by the poetic training of his early years. His poem would show 9.4 per cent. of broken couplets and 38 per cent. of three-line phrases following the break. The lines of the *Énéas*, however, indicate greater progress toward the free treatment of the couplet, with their 12 per cent. of broken couplets and their 35 per cent. of three-line sentences.[1]

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[1] The unreliability of such statistics is strikingly illustrated in the case of the first poem, *Tristan*. The brilliant editor of Thomas' verses, M. Joseph Bédier, cuts my percentage of broken couplets quite in half. Yet a second and a third reading of the text of M. Bédier's edition leave my count of broken couplets practically the same, though the percentage of three-line sentences rose from 18 in the first reading to 38 in the last. A second reading of *Énéas*, on the other hand, raised the percentage of broken couplets from 11.3 to 12.2—not a wide discrepancy—and reduced the proportion of three-line sentences from 40 to 35.4 per cent. Experience would show that the computation of broken couplets varies less with different readings than the count of three-line sentences. The great difficulty in determining what are sentences of three lines lies in weighing the strength of connectives, such as "car," "et," and "mais," which sometimes begin a new sentence, but more often

With these greater poems of the period of rhythmical transition may be classed the *lais* of Marie de France, which, however, do not come perhaps within our time limits. Taking the *lais* as a whole, we reach an average of about 10 per cent. for broken couplets and 34 per cent. for three-line sentences which follow the break. But, analyzing the *lais* separately, we find that the proportion of broken couplets ranges from 1.6 per cent. in *Chaitivel* to 16.5 in *Deux amants*, while of three-line sentences after the break *Chaitivel* offers none and *Laustic* 75 per cent. Among the more important *lais* the one of *Guigemar* shows 10 per cent. of broken couplets and 25 per cent of three-line sentences following the break; *Frêne*, 13 and 30 per cent. respectively; *Lanval*, 9 and 35; *Yonec*, 8 and 63; *Milun*, 13 and 50, and *Eliduc*, 10 and 38. The variation among the different *lais* in sentences of three lines is much greater than the variation in broken couplets.

The next stage in the evolution of the narrative couplet seems to be reached toward the year 1165 in the works of Gautier d'Arras and Benoît de Sainte-More, both of them court poets of the second generation. The first composition of Gautier's pen which has come down to us is the romance of *Éracle*. Notwithstanding a division of the poem into three parts by the author himself, each part controlled by a different purpose and apparently dedicated to a different patron, and notwithstanding the fact that the last part is supposed to have been written a number of years after the first two, there is no appreciable variation throughout the whole romance in the treatment of the couplet. The proportion of broken couplets constantly remains at 18.5 per cent., and of three-line sentences at slightly over 31. If we compare these figures with those derived from a reading of Gautier's other

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continue an old one. With so much latitude allowed, subjective interpretation of an author's meaning is bound to play a prominent part and influence the resultant reckoning. —After the statement made above in regard to the relatively wide difference between my count of broken couplets in Thomas' *Tristan* and the one made by its distinguished editor, I think it due to us both to print the lines where I still find breaks in the couplet, over and above those enumerated by M. Bédier on pages 33 and 34 of the second volume of his *Tristan.* These are: 2, 4, 16, 24, 75, 143, 343, 373, 425, 555, 597, 665, 667, 713, 911, 955, 957, 1098, 1112, 1120, 1148, 1203, 1229, 1245. 1249, 1253, 1255, 1313, 1331, 1359, 1417, 1461, 1551, 1607, 1623, 1715, 1735, 1737, 1763, 1773, 1811, 1829, 1841, 1859, 1869, 1891, 1941, 1945, 1947, 1995, 2003, 2005, 2027, 2035, 2051, 2077, 2191, 2223, 2281, 2283, 2349, 2375, 2393, 2473, 2529, 2553, 2563, 2611, 2635, 2659, 2663, 2754, 2971, 2997, 3045, 3113, 3135. I do not find breaks at 1741, 1777, or 2063. M. Bédier's 289 and 561 are evidently typographical errors for 287 and 551. I fail to identify his 1451 and 1453, which seem out of place.

romance, *Ille et Galeron*—assumedly later than the first two parts of *Éracle*, and differing from that poem in certain features of style, such as transposed parallelism—we find the percentage of broken couplets is identical with the percentage of *Éracle*, while the ratio of three-line phrases falls to 20 per cent. It should also be stated that, while *Éracle* offers as many as forty instances of overflow verse, *Ille et Galeron* presents barely ten. Consequently, a considerable difference may be said to exist between the versification of the two poems. Whether this difference was merely accidental, or was due to a change in the author's environment, cannot, of course, be determined.[1]

Gautier d'Arras, therefore, is fairly consistent in his treatment of the broken couplet, though not consistent in the matter of three-line sentences and overflow verse. But Benoît de Sainte-More, his contemporary, may rightly be accused of great vacillation, particularly in his *Roman de Troie.* So far as may be determined by the text of Joly's edition, that celebrated romance presents three phases of treatment in regard to the broken couplet. The first 8,000 lines show a ratio of 9.5 per cent.—or the proportion observed by the fragments of *Tristan*—with 34 per cent. of sentences in three lines. With the ninth thousand this percentage is raised to 15 for the one and falls to 20 for the other—not far from the rhythm of *Ille et Galeron.* Some 4,000 lines retain this average. The main body of the poem—lines 12,000 to 28,000—increases these figures to 21.5 per cent. for the broken couplets, and lowers them to 15 per cent. for the three-line sentences. The remaining 2,000 lines return to a percentage of 15 in broken couplets, and give the very low proportion of 11 per cent. for the sentences of three lines. The reasons for such exceptional variations are not apparent. It is possible that Benoît, of the generation next to Wace, properly belonged to the transition period of this feature of style, and should therefore be classed with Thomas, the author of *Énéas*, and Marie de France. But his avoidance of the three-line phrase, after the first fourth of *Troie*, is much more pronounced than any other poet's. It seems to be peculiar to him, individual, and not induced by outside influence. Unfortunately, the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* adds but a fraction to our knowledge of Benoît's manner. In that long narrative he quite steadily maintains a slightly lower percentage of broken couplets —13.7—than he had adopted for the closing lines of *Troie*, and one slightly higher—13—for the sentences of three lines.[1]

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[1] The figures given for *Éracle* were those obtained by a second reading. The first reading showed 0.5 per cent. less in broken couplets and 4 per cent. less in sentences of three lines

We now come to Chrétien de Troyes, to whom M. Meyer assigns the leadership in the new school of versification. And it is only necessary to glance at his *Érec* in order to assure ourselves that this primacy is well bestowed. For the first 2,000 lines of that poem we note a percentage of 15.5 of broken couplets and 28 of sentences of three lines. In these particulars, and in overflow also, we might find a likeness to Gautier's *Éracle*. But with the third thousand of *Érec* the ratio of broken couplets rises to 25.6 per cent., and the proportion of three-line phrases falls to 23 per cent. With the fourth thousand, and for the remainder of the poem—almost 4,000 lines—broken couplets form 37 per cent. of the whole, while the ratio of three-line sentences following the break is 20 per cent.[2]

The other poems of Chrétien which belong to the same period of his career as the *Érec* do not vary in their use of this feature of style from the manner observed in the last 4,000 lines of that romance. The average of broken couplets in *Cligès* is 33 per cent.

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[1] A re-reading of the first half of *Troie*, in the two volumes of M. Constans' edition, now at hand, changes these computations, particularly in regard to the three-line sentence which follows the break in the couplet. The first 7,000 lines of this critical text (instead of the first 8,000 in Joly) would show a percentage of 10.5 in broken couplets and 39 in the sentences of three lines which follow. In the next 3,000 lines the percentage of broken couplets rises to 16.8, and the percentage of three-line sentences falls to 27.6. In the next 5,000 lines (10,000-14,882) the percentage of broken couplets reaches an average of 21.2, while three-line sentences form 32 per cent. of all those which follow the break. The general conclusion as to Benoît's attitude toward the broken couplet, which is given above, would seem to be confirmed, but the inference that he avoided three-line sentences is quite surely a mistaken one so far as *Troie* is concerned. This poem would belong to the class represented by Gautier's *Éracle*.

[2] These figures were furnished by a second reading of *Érec*. They differ from the results of the first reading as follows: 0.5 per cent. less in broken couplets for the first 2,000 lines, 4 per cent. more for the third thousand, and 0.5 more for the remainder of the poem. The difference in the proportion of three-line sentences reached by the two readings is much greater, and illustrates again the uncertainty of such computations. For the first 2,000 lines it was 0.7 per cent. less at the second reading, for the third thousand 7 per cent. more, and for the rest of the poem 12 per cent. more. That the second reading may come nearer to the real manner of Chrétien would seem to be indicated by his subsequent handling of the couplet in his later poems.

(37 in the first 1,000 lines); in *la Charrette*, 34; in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 34, and in *Iwain*, 32. The percentage of three-line sentences in *Cligès* is 19; in *la Charrette*, 16 (but in the part ascribed to Godefroi de Laigni, 20); in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 20 (with a steady fall from 23 per cent. in the first 1,000 lines to 16 in the final 300), and in *Iwain*, 18. The ratio of overflow verses in these later poems is about the proportion observed by *Érec.* So that, if we make due allowance for errors and uncertainties, it is plain that, after a slight hesitation in the first 3,000 lines of *Érec*, Chrétien settled down to a definite scheme of varying the rhythm of the narrative couplet and deliberately broke every third one throughout his compositions. As to the length of sentence which should follow this break, he seems to have allotted to the three-line phrase a proportion of about one in five. His innovation becomes all the more striking when we compare his high percentage of broken couplets to the moderate increase made by Gautier and Benoît over the proportion of *Énéas.*

It would seem also that the other court poets of the time considered Chrétien too daring, and sided with temperate Gautier and Benoît. The author of the *Comte de Poitiers*, assigned to the years around 1170, observes an average of 17 per cent. for broken couplets and 27 per cent. for sentences of three lines.[1] A slightly higher percentage, but still one which remains within the limits set by Benoît, is found in *Amadas et Ydoine*, of uncertain date, but probably not many years younger than *Cligès.* Its proportion of broken couplets is 20 per cent.; of three-line phrases, 25. Overflow verse runs as high as twelve in a thousand, thus exceeding even the ratio of *Iwain.*

From the testimony of these few witnesses we may infer that Chrétien's pre-eminence as a versifier was not admitted by his contemporaries. Indeed, certain poems of the seventies or early eighties react quite decidedly against the liberty taken even by Gautier d'Arras and Benoît de Sainte-More. The *Roman du*

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[1] The *Comte de Poitiers* is thought to have been written by two different poets. The so-called second part of the romance presents 3 per cent. less of broken couplets than the first part, and 2.5 per cent. less of three-line sentences. It does not furnish any examples of overflow verse, while the first half rivals the ratio in *Érec.*

Mont-Saint-Michel (about 1170) reverts to the older manner entirely, with its 5.3 per cent. of broken couplets and 49 of three-line sentences. *De David la prophecie*[1] (1180) is still more traditional, with 2.5 and 52 per cent., respectively. *Partonopeus de Blois* allows but 4.5 per cent. to broken couplets, and 45 per cent. to sentences of three lines. *Ipomedon* is only less reactionary with its 10 per cent. of broken couplets and 32 per cent. of three-line phrases. Neither of these romantic poems indulges to any extent in overflow verse.

Finally, the Breton *lais* not ascribed to Marie de France belong in great measure to the older school, whether because of Marie's example in this respect, or because of the assumed reaction against too free a handling. *Melion* offers 3 per cent. in broken couplets and 87 per cent. in three-line sentences; *le Cor*, 5.7 and 17.5 per cent., respectively (a quite exceptional ratio between the broken couplet and the three-line phrase); *Tydorel* and *Graelent*, 7.5 and 55 per cent.; *Tyolet*, 9 and 48; *Désiré*, 10 and 42; *Épine*, 12 and 50; *Guigemar*, 15 and 33, and *Doon*, 17 and 32—variations in broken couplets which are all included between the minimum of *Rou* and the maximum of *Troie*. *Ignaure* and the *Mantel*, obviously much later, come under Chrétien's influence with 33 and 27 per cent., and 42 and 18 per cent., respectively.

From the facts thus obtained we would suppose the history of the narrative couplet in the twelfth century to read somewhat as follows: At first a strict adherence to the primary conception of one couplet for one thought; then, toward the fifth decade, a slight deviation from this conception in practice, but not in principle. Representatives of this state would be found in the *Ste. Julienne*, *St. George*, and Wace's *St. Nicolas* and *Conception*. With Geoffrey Gaimar we enter on a new era, which is marked by a desire to vary the monotony of the rhythm without destroying the mold in which it was cast. The proportion of sentences of three lines remains high, and would characterize the spirit which governed this innovation.

With Wace, on the other hand, there is no progress. After a temporary concession to Gaimar's idea—if it be his—at the beginning of the *Brut*, he returns to the old standard, and maintains it throughout the rest of that poem. In the *Rou* he shows himself an even stronger partisan of the traditional couplet, but lowers the ratio of three-line phrases through the adoption of longer periods. What he evidently wished to defend was the couplet in itself, not the general status of old-time versification. In this respect he was not so genuine a conservative as the author of *Thèbes*, whose proportion of broken couplets is low and of three-line sentences high, as they should be. We therefore consider this unknown poet a real exponent of the traditional manner, breaking the couplet only when necessary to give expression to a more extended thought. With him we would class the authors of the *Sept Sages*, *Floire et Blanchefleur*, the Douce *Folie Tristan*, and Marie de France's *Espurgatoire*—poems which probably cover the sixth decade of the century, contemporaries of Wace's later verse.

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[1] Published in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, pp. 189–234.

Meanwhile the notion of the couplet which had been championed by Gaimar was gaining headway, especially in romantic literature. In Thomas' *Tristan*, the *Énéas*, and the first part of Benoît's *Troie*, it presents what we might call a natural development—a larger, but still moderate, proportion of broken couplets, a constantly high ratio of sentences of three lines. With these poems may be classed Marie de France's *lais*. This stage marks the limit beyond which the old style of narrative verse could not safely go. The poets who belong to it vary their rhythm in order to emphasize their thought. They do not break the couplet wantonly.

But that an attempt was being made to do so, and that a conflict over the narrative couplet was in progress, seems clear from the vacillation manifested in the larger part of *Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-More. If the critical text which is being established by Constans does not seriously affect the worth of our data, we may see in *Troie* an author disturbed in his art by this literary strife, wishing to ally himself with the winning side, but uncertain as to the side. And so he breaks the couplet with increasing frequency and avoids the three-line period, until, either his judgment or his own artistic instinct prompting, he settles down to a fairly moderate employment of the broken couplet. But the concomitant of short sentences he never recovers.[1]

Benoît wavers. His contemporary, Gautier d'Arras, less ingenuous than Benoît, chooses his position and abides by it. Eclectic here as elsewhere, Gautier gives us the impression of a man who does not wish to offend anyone. His use of the broken couplet is considerably freer than its use with the common-sense school of Thomas and the *Énéas*, but in his first poem he maintains a high ratio of short sentences after the break in the couplet. And when he lowers that proportion in *Ille et Galeron*, without touching the percentage of broken couplets he had set for himself, we are quite sure he felt that the time was propitious for him to do so; for Benoît, and Wace even, had set the example. Who will not say that Gautier realized that the middle road to fortune was the safest for the honest traveler?

Now, what was this occult force which occasioned good Benoît's perturbations and kept the prosody of the fearful Gautier at an unusual level of consistency? Quite probably, it was the authority of Chrétien de Troyes, whose *Érec* had just found favor with the patrons of literature in France and England. For an analysis of Chrétien's versification reveals the fact that it was in *Érec* that he changed his position as a versifier. There from a radical representative of the modified old school he became the founder of the new. He begins *Érec* with a proportion of broken couplets which but slightly exceeds the ratio adopted by the author of *Énéas*. But no sooner does he have his subject-matter well in hand than he increases this proportion, and quickly reaches the ratio which he preserved for the remainder of his writings.[2] The same steadiness is noticeable in Chrétien's treatment of the three-line sentence which follows the break in the couplet. Should this supposition be valid—and it rests on quite as good a basis of validity as the larger part of our accepted theories regarding the literature of the twelfth century—then *Érec* would have come to

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[1] The first half of Constans' text indicates a normal use of the three-line sentence. See above, p. 16, note 1.

[2] It is understood that *Perceval* is not included in this analysis, because of the unreliability of the Mons MS, the only one which has yet been printed.

Benoît's notice while he was in the very midst of *Troie*, and would have preceded both poems of Gautier d'Arras. The presence of this sudden change in *Érec* would also furnish an argument for those who claim that *Érec* was Chrétien's first long poem.[1]

After Chrétien, and during his career, there are perhaps four ways of handling the couplet: the traditional way, which held its own for a time, particularly in didactic and historical poetry, and received occasional recruits from romantic literature; the developed form of the traditional way, as represented by *Tristan* and the *Énéas;* the moderate employment of the new rhythm established by Chrétien, which was adopted by Gautier d'Arras and the author of *Amadas et Ydoine;* and, finally, the blind imitation of Chrétien's excesses in prosody, which seems to be the standard for all kinds of verse in the first half of the thirteenth century. But during the great poet's literary career his followers were few in number, and it is not likely that his days were so prolonged as to enable him to witness the triumph of the rhythm he had so persistently advocated.

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[1] My own impression, from studying the literature of this period, is that Chrétien began his series of romances with one notion of composition firmly in mind, and this notion was to limit the length of court poems. *Thèbes*, *Énéas*, and *Tristan*—which I think are earlier than *Érec*—not to mention a chronicle like the *Brut*, all violated his conception of proportion. He intended to give them all a model in *Érec*. The idea of wrecking the traditional structure of the couplet and its accompanying short sentence would seem to have come to him afterward and during the process of composition. To this desire for symmetry in length I would ascribe the addition of the *Joie de la cour* episode to *Érec*, the extended introduction on Alexander and Soredamour in *Cligès*, and the moderation of Godfrey de Laigni in ending *la Charrette*. Gautier d'Arras follows him in this reform—it is hardly possible that Chrétien could have followed Gautier—follows him to the extent of making his two poems practically equal. *Amadas et Ydoine*, the answer to *Cligès*, exceeds it somewhat, but by this time Chrétien himself had wearied of his reform and was about to return to the old measure in *Perceval*.

STUDIES IN CERVANTES

I. "PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA"

II. THE QUESTION OF HELIODORUS

In my last article[1] I said that Cervantes had a more cogent reason for "daring to compete with Heliodorus" than the traditional one of merely aiming to follow some revered classical model. For he realized that the romance of *Theagenes and Chariklea* was, at the very time when the *Persiles* was being composed, hardly considered by the popular mind as the work of a noted ancient; in no sense did it take rank among the learned with those standard Greek and Latin writers who have always served in the study of classic literature. It was rather an intrinsic part of contemporary Spanish fiction, and so was classed with such romances as were current at the time. To confirm this, it will be best to begin with specific proofs, and then proceed to such generalities as may strengthen the conclusion reached.

In one of the most charming plays which have come from the pen of Lope de Vega, namely his amusing comedy *La dama boba*[2]—written about the time that Cervantes was busy with his *Persiles*—the plot turns on the wholly different character of two sisters, Nise and Finea.[3] The former is an excellent type of the bluestocking or *bachillera* of the times, though not by any means wholly without feminine charms; she is simply a devourer of all kinds of literature, with a marked predilection for romance and poetry—and young poets also. Finea, on the other hand, is wholly illiterate, and Lope, with his characteristic skill in portraying the nature of women, emphasizes this contrast at the first appearance of the sisters. Nise, the *bachillera*, has sent her maid out to fetch what is apparently her favorite book. This is no other than the romance of *Theagenes and Chariklea*, the work, as she tells her maid, of "Eliodoro, griego poeta divino." But the maid, who has taken a peep at the contents to learn what could be of such absorbing interest to her mistress, does not see why the author should be called poet. "Poeta?" she says, "pues, me pareció prosa." Such ignorance affords Nise an opportunity to extol the merits of the story, and her praise gives some idea of the popularity which the novel must have enjoyed among the readers of romantic tales.[1] And later, when the ignorant sister, the poor *dama boba*, has become clever and alert through the intervention of love, the father of the two girls hopes that Nise the learned may also have the benefit of a similar cure for her eccentricities. But he realizes that her particular infirmity cannot be remedied by such simple means; for nothing could be farther from the proper conception of a woman's duties than Nise's unwarranted fondness for novels, sonnets, and poets in general. The distracted father then gives a résumé of the *bachillera's* favorite books, and in the rather lengthy list our *Historia de dos amantes sacada de lengua griega* has the foremost place.[2] After weighing the manner in which Lope introduces this romance, is fair to assume that so prominent mention of it would hardly have been justified, had the story referred to not been well known to the audience to which Lope constantly appealed; no playwright has ever known better than he how to keep in touch with the varied interests of the masses for whose favor he chiefly wrote.

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[1] *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV (1906), p. 17.

[2] An autograph MS of the play is preserved in the Biblioteca nacional at Madrid. It is signed and dated April 28, 1613. All my citations will follow the reading of the MS, the punctuation being my own. The text in the edition of the "Biblioteca de autores españoles" is very incorrect. (Vol. I of *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega*, pp. 297 ff.)

[3] pues, Nise bella es la palma:
finea un roble, sin alma
y discurso de razon.
Nise es muger tan discreta,
sabia, gallarda, entendida,
quanto finea encogida,
boba, indigna y ynperfeta.
—Act I, vss. 122–28.

And the father says a little later:

resuelbome en dos cosas que quisiera;
pues la virtud es bien que el medio siga,
que finea supiera mas que sabe,
y Nise menos.
—Vss. 238–41.

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[1] The scene is near the beginning of Act I:

Nise y Celia, criada.
Nis | diote el libro? | *Cel* | y tal que obliga
a no abrille ni tocalle.
Ni | pues, porque? | *Celi* | por no ensucialle,
si quieres que te lo diga:
en candido pergamino
vienen muchas flores de oro.
Nis | bien lo mereze Eliodoro,
griego Poeta diuino.
Celi | poeta? pues, pareziome
prosa. *Ni* | tanbien ay Poessia
en prosa. *Celi* | no lo sabia:
mire el prinçipio, y cansome.
Ni | es que no se da a entender
con el artificio griego
hasta el quinto libro, y luego
todo se viene a saber,
quanto preçede a los quatro.
Cel | en fin, es poeta en prosa.
Nis | y de una Historia amorosa,
digna de aplauso y teatro.
ay dos prosas diferentes,
Poetica y historial:
la historial, lisa y leal,
cuenta verdades patentes
con frasi y terminos claros;
la Poetica es hermosa,
varia, culta, liçençiosa
y escura, aun a ingenios raros:
tiene mil exornaçiones
y Retoricas figuras.
Celi | pues, de cosas tan escuras
juzgan tantos? | *Nis* | no le pones,
celia, pequeña objecçion;
pero asi corre el engaño
del mundo. —Vss. 274-308.

[2] Otavio speaks:

No son graçias de marido
sonetos: Nise es tentada
de academica endiosada,
que a casa los ha trahido.
quien le mete a una muger
con Petrarca y garçilaso,
siendo su virgilio y Taso
ylar, labrar, y coser?
ayer sus librillos vi,
papeles y escritos varios;
pense que debozionarios,
y desta suerte lehi:
Historia de dos amantes
sacada de lengua griega,
Rimas de Lope de vega,
galatea de çerbantes,
el Camoes de Lisboa,
los Pastores de Belen,
Comedias de don guillen
de Castro, liras de Ochoa,
Canzion que Luis velez dijo
en la Academia del duque
de Pastrana, obras de Luque,
cartas de don Juan de Arguijo,
cien sonetos de Liñan,
obras de Herrera el diuino,
el libro del peregrino,
y el picaro de Aleman;
mas yo os canso: por mi vida,
que se los quise quemar.
—Act III, vss. 73-102.

Only a few years later than the date of the play *La dama boba*, another reference to the Greek romance can be found. It occurs in the already mentioned *novela*,[1] *Las fortunas de Diana*, also by Lope de Vega, written about 1620 for his mistress, Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo (the Amarilis of so many of his writings), and published in 1621. It is a story told solely for her entertainment, hardly more than a mixture of improbable episodes, and treated with no great skill. But its manner recalls some of the features of the Greek romances and their imitators. So much Lope himself admits, for in this particular story he first mentions Heliodorus and, indirectly, Achilles Tatius as fit models to be followed;[2] and a little later he asks the reader's pardon for the manner in which he develops the plot, justifying it by an appeal to the style and method of the author of *Theagenes and Chariklea*.[3]

The popular love for the Greek romance may be further manifest from other testimony;[4] for somewhat later than the period under consideration the influence of Heliodorus, at least, still made itself felt. In the third decade of the seventeenth century the poet Montalbán turned the adventures of *Theagenes and Chariklea* into a drama, and after him Calderón was also tempted to make a play out of the material which Heliodorus offered.[1] The Greek romance had thus been before the Spanish people in various forms for more than a hundred years. In the eighteenth century many readers continued to be fond of that type of story; perhaps because the age of reason did not penetrate into conservative Spain sufficiently to undermine the characteristic Spanish love for all literature of imagination and sentiment. This, at least, explains the fact that a wholly new translation of Heliodorus was printed,[2] while the version by Mena went through another edition.

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[1] In the previous article, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[2] "Asi, ahora en estas dos palabras . . . . se fundan tantos accidentes, tantos amores y peligros, que quisiera ser un Heliodoro para contarlos, ó el celebrado autor de la *Leucipe*, y el enamorado *Clitofonte*." (*Obras no dramaticas de Lope de Vega* ["Biblioteca de autores españoles,"] p. 2, col 2.)

[3] "Quién duda, ... que tendrá vuestra merced deseo de saber qué se hizo nuestro Celio, que há muchos tiempos que se embarcó para las Indias, pareciendole que se ha descuidado la novela? Pues sepa vuestra merced que muchas veces hace esto mismo Heliodoro con Teágenes, y otras con Clariquea (*sic*), para mayor gusto del que escucha, en la suspension de lo que espera." (*Op. cit.*, p. 10, col. 2.)

[4] In Cesar Oudin's reprint of Heliodorus (Paris, 1616) this testimony may be found in a prologue *al curioso lector:* " . . . . pues no auia para que cansarse en querer alabar una obra tan celebre y tan gustosa de suyo, que no aura nadie, por rustico y çafio que sea, que si una vez se diere a leerla, no se vaya comiendo los dedos por acaballa, y si vuiera necessidad de algun encarecimiento, no me faltaran palabras para ello," etc.

But it is possible to explain why the romance of Heliodorus became popular in Spain from the very character of fiction in the sixteenth century. Let us begin with the list of works which stood especially high in the esteem of Nise, the *bachillera* of Lope's play *La dama boba.* While there is no reason for believing that Lope made a deliberate selection of every title of that list, inasmuch as he may have been guided in part by the exigencies of rhyme, nevertheless, the popularity of the authors selected must, in some cases, have influenced his choice. In looking over the list, however, one is impressed at once by the predominance of verse. Of prose works which can be said to represent distinct types of fiction born on Spanish soil and reflecting the life of Spanish society, there is a single one, the rogue-story. But the *novela picaresca,* with that immense gap of almost fifty years between the appearance of the *Lazarillo* in 1554(?)[3] and Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* in 1599, had not become a literature of considerable dimensions at the turn of the century. Nor could it have gratified the different tastes of all the readers of fiction. As a realistic sketch or reflection of some elements of peninsular life in a bald, unidealized form, the rogue-story could not satisfy the craving, common to every form of society, for a kind of fiction which appeals to the heart and the imagination. Women especially have at all times—in Lope's no less than our own[1]—demanded a literature of sentiment. This the rogue-story was certainly not.

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[1] (*a*) *Segundo tomo de las Comedias del doctor Juan Perez de Montalban* (Madrid, 1638). The sixth play is entitled: *Teagenes y Clariquea* (*Los Hijos de la fortuna*); cf. Barrera, *Catalogo del teatro antiguo, etc.*, on Montalbán, p. 267. (*b*) *Tercera parte de Comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Madrid, 1664). The fourth play is his *Los Hijos de la fortuna;* cf. Barrera, *op. cit.*, on Calderón, p. 51. It does not seem to me that Calderón took even the suggestion to write his play from Montalbán. The romance itself may have been the first cause. Mena's translation says: "Qué fortuna ha sido la vuestra? dixo Theagenes. No querais que os la diga, señor, respondió Gnemon; . . . . dejemosla para los que representan tragedias," etc. (edition of 1787, Vol. I, p. 27). Lope also seems to have thought the material fit for the stage; cf. above p. 2, n. 1.

[2] By F. M. de Castillejo (Madrid, 1722). The prologue of the last edition of Mena's translation (1787) reiterates the praise which had been bestowed upon Heliodorus by Huet in his *Traité de l'origine des romans* (1671).

[3] Cf. Foulché-Delbosc's edition, in the "Biblioteca hispánica" (Barcelona and Madrid, 1900); *restitución de la edición príncipe.*

As regards the pastoral novel, which is represented in Nise's list by the *Galatea* of Cervantes, the conclusion is equally unsatisfactory. Here we have a type which is not only of foreign extraction, but one which never grew to be representative of Spanish society. As an exotic plant, and while there was nothing better to take the place of the romances of chivalry, the pastoral novel appealed to the cultured element in the peninsula, above all to the higher circles, which were more subservient to conventions and etiquette. But its unnatural sentiments, its limited interpretation of life, never gave it a far-reaching or lasting vogue; the very absence of all virility brought about its decline in popular favor.[2]

Two other prose works in the list are Lope de Vega's sacred pastoral, *Los pastores de Belén*, which stands quite alone in its religious character, and his *Peregrino en su patria.* The latter composition, which approaches a love-story in some particulars, must nevertheless be classed with the *romans d'aventure*, in which the love between hero and heroine is so frequently lost sight of amidst a host of unheard-of episodes. Thus the motley disposition of the main plot—the sequence of shipwreck, captivity, escape, and chance reunion, which characterizes the fate of the lovers—allies the *Peregrino* in type with the main work of Nise's library, namely that of Heliodorus. In placing the latter at the head of the list, Lope seems to have acted deliberately; for no other work of fiction of the sixteenth century surpassed the romance of *Theagenes and Chariklea* in genuine feeling or nobility of sentiment; no other story could have appealed with equal force to the numerous class of sentimental readers to which Nise and her kind belonged. It is not my purpose to extol unduly the novel of Heliodorus; for it is certain that, from the modern standpoint, few books of fiction are more tedious or less satisfying; few books derive their reputation so completely from the influence they once exerted upon great minds of the past, and through them upon the later course of the novel. Nevertheless, by comparison with the general literature of the sixteenth century during which the *Theagenes* took its place in the history of Spanish fiction, the excellence of that story of adventure, and its consequent influence, become manifest.

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[1] Lope is fond of presenting this type of woman, common in his time. In the *Fortunas de Diana* there is mention of a girl "que era en extremo bachillera y hermosa, y picaba en leer libros de caballerías y amores," etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 9, col. 1).

[2] The sterility and lifelessness of the pastoral novel were fully recognized in Cervantes' day. See his charming characterization of that type of fiction in his *Coloquio de los perros*, where Berganza contrasts the impossible existence of the shepherds of fiction with the real pastoral life. Cf. *Obras de Cervantes* ("Biblioteca de autores españoles"), p. 229, col. 1.

After a lapse of three and a half centuries, the long perspective allows us to observe two phenomena: the gradual falling-off of the older literature, and the effort to produce something new to give voice to the awakening spirit of the Renaissance in Spain. The former is shown by the decay of that greatest type of fiction, the romance of chivalry, and the second, by the natural effort unconsciously put forth by writers, to create something which would take its place in the affections of the people. Of all the efforts, the creation of a love-story—that is, one which appeals especially to the sensibilities of the reader—has a predominant interest; for the spirit which dictates it is based upon one of the fundamental needs of human nature, namely that of distraction and entertainment.[1]

Cervantes has said in an exquisite passage[2] explaining the spirit in which he offers his *novelas* to the public:

> Mi intento ha sido poner en la plaza de nuestra república una mesa de trucos, *donde cada uno pueda llegar á entretenerse* sin daño de barras: digo, sin daño del alma ni del cuerpo; porque los exercicios honestos y agradables antes aprovechan que dañan. Sí; que no siempre se está en los templos, no siempre se ocupan los oratorios, no siempre se asiste á los

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[1] Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la novela* (Madrid, 1905), p. ccxcvi; no one who reads this extraordinary book can fail to profit by its wealth in ideas and abundance of material; also p. v, of the *Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española*, by D. E. Fernández de Navarrete, Vol. II of *Novelistas posteriores á Cervantes*, "Biblioteca de autores españoles."

[2] *Obras*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

> negocios, por calificados que sean: horas hay de recreación, donde el afligido espíritu descanse: para este efeto se plantan las alamedas, se buscan las fuentes, se allanan las cuestas, y se cultivan con curiosidad los jardines.

Now, of all fiction which is confessedly written for entertainment, none is more in demand than the romance which tells of the love of man and maid; it is the one type which is reborn with a perennially fresh interest. But at the time of which I am writing, it was impossible to break entirely with the adventure-story which had captivated the imagination of the people for centuries. Therefore, no novels of the times are merely love-stories, and almost all are modifications of the adventure type. Even Cervantes never freed himself from that earlier manner of romancing, based upon irrational chance incidents. Nevertheless, he justly claims to have been the first to write short stories (*novelar*) in Spanish, because, out of the various types with which he appears to have experimented,[1] he first and most successfully evolved a novel truly Spanish, with sentiment predominating over adventure. Up to his day the *novela* had played only an unimportant part in fiction; a lack of conciseness in the portrayal of character, and flimsiness in presenting national customs or manners, frequently prevented it from being either artistic or alive. But the unsuccessful struggle of the *novela* during the sixteenth century to gain a thoroughly national existence proves that the genius of the Spanish Renaissance was incapable of confining itself within such limited dimensions. The manner of the romance of chivalry was not easily exchanged for the succinct style of Boccaccio. Therefore, the more characteristic love-stories which were written during the formative period of the sixteenth century were bound to take a lengthy form.

But were any efforts successful in filling the gap in fiction? Did the sixteenth century create any good specimen of love-story? The list of Nise would indicate that such was not the case and a search through the previous century bears Lope out in his choice. It seems certain that none of the better-known romances of the sixteenth century—such as the *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea*,[1] the *Queja y aviso contra amor*, or the *Selva de aventuras*—enjoyed a popularity as prolonged as that of Heliodorus. Nor were they sufficiently impressive or inspiring to serve as models[2] to others. There is a confusion of manners and sentiments in them; either they revert in spirit to the romance of chivalry, or the abundance and the nature of the adventures leave little room for any expression of genuine sentiment. Heliodorus, therefore, filled a gap in the development of sixteenth-century fiction, as far as was possible for a foreign work to do so; he appeared in a modern garb at a transition period when the older forms of fiction were beginning to lose their hold and no new form had sufficiently matured to take their place. This does not mean that the renascence of Heliodorus had an immediate far-reaching effect in Spain. His popularity begins to be more generally felt toward the end of the sixteenth, and it continues to grow during the first decades of the seventeenth century.[3] But the revival of the Greek romance has something more than common interest for the student of Renaissance fiction. It shows how a novel widely known in ancient times can reappear with fresh vigor centuries later, at the precise epoch when its own lineal descendants, the romances of chivalry,[4] are about to pass off the scene, and a new type of fiction is being born. Thus, Heliodorus contributed additional elements to the history of the *roman d'aventure*, and at the same time inspired or increased in fiction that sentimentality which characterizes almost all the love-stories of the Renaissance.[1]

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[1] It would be difficult to define the term *novela*, if it were taken as inclusive of every type contained in the collection by Cervantes. The best of the *novelas*—as a love-story—is, in my opinion, the *ilustre fregona*. In the *gitanilla* and the *española inglesa* episodes of the adventure type play a large part, while the *amante liberal* and the *dos doncellas* are good examples of a pure *conte d'aventure*, in which chance and everything that is unlikely are given a prominent share. In the *fuerza de la sangre* and the *señora Cornelia* erotic or sentimental traits predominate, but more after the Spanish fashion, while the *celoso estremeño* is an erotic tale of the more realistic Italian manner. *El Licenciado Vidriera*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, and the *coloquio de los perros* stand quite alone as types, while the crass and unrelieved realism of the *casamiento engañoso*—and of the *tia fingida*, if the story is by Cervantes—prevents their being classed with any of the others.

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[1] Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, pp. cccxxxix ff. The influence of Núñez de Reinoso on Cervantes—and not only in the *Persiles*—was apparent to me some time ago, but I did not see (previous article, p. 14, n. 1) the full extent of Núñez's indebtedness to Achilles Tatius, perhaps because I did not have at my disposal the fragmentary Italian version which the Spanish writer used.

[2] Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, on the *novela sentimental*, the most erudite treatment of the subject.

[3] This may be inferred not only from the testimony of fiction. The numerous Spanish editions of the *Theagenes and Chariklea* indicate that there was a demand for the book; and if we are guided by mere dates, its greatest popularity was attained about 1615, when three editions were printed. The esteem in which Heliodorus was held was probably responsible for the first Spanish issue (1617) of *Los mas fieles amantes, Leucipe y Clitofonte*, by Achilles Tatius. This epoch coincides with the completion of the *Persiles*.

[4] Cf. previous article, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The romance of *Theagenes and Chariklea* is, therefore, one of the important factors to be dealt with in any thorough consideration of the literatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not only in Spain, but throughout Europe. It would, however lead me too far afield to discuss all the translations of Heliodorus[2] which were made after the first issue of the Greek original in 1534; nor would it be particularly apposite to show how he influenced the greater lights, as, for example, in Italy a Tasso, ? Sp how he was devoured by Racine while still a lad at school, or how he was imitated by novelists such as Georges de Scudéry.[1]

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[1] Perhaps this is what is implied in an article by D. Julián Apráiz, which I have not seen, but which is quoted by J. L. Estelrich (*Revista Contemporánea*, July 15, 1900, p. 43): "Teágenes y Cariclea fué el modelo de todas las novelas del género amatorio, principalmente del siglo xvii." (In "Apuntes para una historia de los estudios helénicos en España," *Revista de España*, Vol. XLVI.)

[2] A word on the two earliest printed translations into Spanish may not come amiss. The first, namely the anonymous one published at Antwerp in 1554, of which I possess a good copy, is by far the more interesting, though not altogether the better in style nor the closer to the original. The translator never saw either the Greek original or a Latin version of it, but followed closely the wording of the French translation by Amyot. This fact lends his version a flavor and charm which other translations do not possess. On the other hand, the work by Fernando de Mena, printed at Alcalá de Henares in 1587, with all its boasted accuracy of translation, has a more academic tone, and is, therefore, less pleasant reading. It is difficult to say which version was read more about 1600. Lope, in *La dama boba*, plainly refers to the anonymous one. When Nise says (cf. n. 2, p. 2) that "whatever precedes the first four books is not known until the fifth, owing to the *artificio griego*," she merely quotes from the prologue of that version (p. 4). There we are told that the romance is full of "muchos dichos notables, y palabras sentenciosas, muchas oraciones y platicas, en las quales *el artificio de eloquencia* está muy bien empleado, etc. Y cierto la disposicion es singular, porque cōmiença en la mitad de la Historia . . . . y todauia los atrae [i.e., lectores] tambien con la ingeniosa leccion de su cuento, que no entienden lo que han leydo en el cōmienço del primer libro, hasta que veen el fin del quinto." Nise's theory that "la [prosa] historial, lisa y leal, cuenta verdades," etc., recalls: "la verdad de la historia [es] un poco austera . . . . a causa que deue recitar lascos as simplemente, assi como han acontescido" (p. 2_2). Which translation Cervantes knew, whether one or both, is difficult to determine. I am inclined to think that it was the earlier, of which a second edition had appeared at Salamanca in 1581. The prologue, also from the French of Amyot, discusses the character of fiction, and no doubt appealed to Cervantes. It says that "es menester, que las cosas fingidas para delectacion, sean cercanas de las verdaderas;" and again: "el artificio de la inuencion poetica . . . . consiste en tres cosas, primeramente en la Historia, de la que el fin es verdadero" (p. 3). In the *Persiles* Cervantes says (*Obras, etc., op. cit.*, p. 642, col. 1): "es excelencia de la historia [such as his romance], que cualquiera cosa que en ella se escriba puede pasar al sabor de la verdad que trae consigo." These similarities will be discussed in another article. Finally, at the beginning of the first translation is placed a *tabla de dichos graues y agudos* selected from the context. The *Persiles* is also filled with a number of aphorisms and pithy sayings, the character of which recalls some of the *tabla*.

Mena (*Prologo al lector*) claims to have used only the Latin and Greek texts as a basis for his version. I think he also used Amyot or the anonymous translation of 1554. The following passages from the French and the two Spanish versions will serve as examples of their style, and also show their relation in the wording. Amyot (1547): "Si vous estes les ombres & ames de ceux qui gisent ici mortz estanduz, vous auez tord de nous venir encore une autre fois molester, & troubler: car pour la plus grande partie vous vous estes deffaitz les uns les autres de voz propres mains. Et quant à ceux qui ont esté occiz par nous, vous sçauez que ç' a esté à bon droit, & selon la loy de iuste vengeance, pour repousser l'iniure &

From what has been said above, it may be clearer why Cervantes considered it a daring thing to issue his story of the north in competition with so popular a romance as that of Heliodorus; but, in

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l'outrage que vous atentiez faire à nostre pudicité: mais si vous estes hommes viuants, vous menez vie de brigandz, comme il semble à vous voir, & estes suruenuz oportunément. Si vous suplie que vous nous deliurez des maux & miseres qui nous enuironnent, & mettez fin à la tragedie de nostre malheureuse vie, en nous donnant la mort. Elle leur disoit ces pitoyables paroles," etc. Spanish (1554): "Si vosotros soys las almas y espiritus destos que estan aqui muertos, por cierto no teneys razon de nos venir, aun otra vez a enojar y turbar, porque por la mayor parte vosotros os matastes los vnos a los otros, y quanto a los que son muertos de nuestras manos, fue con justa razon y justicia, por vengar la injuria y vltraje, que con nuestra honrra queriades cometer: mas si vosotros soys hombres biuos, y que hazeys vida de salteadores, como parece en vuestro habito: por cierto, a mejor tiempo no podriades llegar, porque os suplico, que nos querays librar de tantos males y desdichas, como nos rodean, y pongays fin a la tragedia de nuestra desdichada vida dando nos la muerte. Ella les dezia estas piadosas palabras, etc." (p. 12_2). Spanish of Mena (1587): "Si vosotros soys las almas destos hombres que aqui estan muertos, por cierto que no teneys porque venirnos a desassossegar y molestar, porque todos o la mayor parte, os aueys muerto los unos a los otros. Y si algunos ay que lo han sido por nuestras manos, o por nuestra causa, ha sido con mucha razon y derecho, lo uno por defender nuestras personas, y lo otro, por librar de ofensa nuestra limpieza. Mas si soys hombres viuos, y hazeys vida de salteadores: como se parece en vuestro trage, no podiades venir a mejor tiempo. Porque os ruego todo quanto puedo, que nos querays sacar de tantos males y miserias como nos rodean, dandonos la muerte, con la qual porneys fin a la tragedia de nuestra vida. Estas piadosas palabras les dezia ella llorando," etc. (p. 4_2). The translation of 1554 has occasionally something not to be found in the French, while the version of 1587 now and then has a word found only in that of 1554. The original Greek has (II, chap. 30): φύλλα τινά σε καὶ ῥίζας τῶν Ἰνδικῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὠνούμενον ἑώρακα. The Latin has: "folia quaedam, et radices Indicas et Aethiopicas te emere vidi." Here Amyot translates τῶν Ἰνδικῶν by *des Indes*, and the 1554 version has *de las Indias*, which Mena also has. If he had not been following the anonymous translation, he might have written *la India* (in Asia) and not *las Indias*—i. e., America. Again, the 1554 edition has (p. 73): "es vno de los preceptos y mandamientos que nos enseñan nuestros sabios los que biuen desnudos [the latter idea not being in the original Greek, II, chap. 31] y que por esso son llamados Gymnosophistas," etc. Mena writes (Vol. I, p. 206, edition 1787): "es uno de los preceptos y mandamientos de nuestros sabios los Gymnosophistas," etc., and then puts in a footnote: "Los Gymnosophistas eran unos Philosophos que solian andar desnudos." These are but examples of the possible relations of the two versions.

[1] Cf. P. L. Ginguené, *Histoire littéraire d'Italie*, 2d ed., Vol. V (Paris, 1824), p. 413; Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen* (Berlin, 1851), pp. 14, 458; H. Koerting, *Geshichte des französischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert* (Oppeln u. Leipzig, 1891), Vol. I, chap. 2; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises* (Paris, 1897-98), Vol. IV, p. 441; Vol. V, p. 78 (XVII^{e} siècle); E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 472, n.; Michael Oeftering, "Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur," Vol. XVIII of *Litterarhistorische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1901). In the latter study (p. 70) Heliodorus's influence on John Barclay's *Argenis*, *Joannis Barclaii Argenis* (Parisiis, 1621), is touched upon. This novel must be considered in connection with Spanish fiction, as there were two translations made of it, and evidently much read in the peninsula; cf. Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca hisp. nova* (Matriti, 1783), Vol. I, pp. 505, 812; Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca esp.*, Vol. II, col. 586, Vol. III, col. 1108; Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Litteratur, etc.* (Frankfurt, 1854), Vol. III, p. 204; Koerting, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 137, n. 3.

order that it may be more manifest to what extent the mere framework of the two romances are similar, let us consider each in turn. Heliodorus divides his story into ten books. *Book I:* The reader is introduced *in medias res.* Scene: the banks of the river Nile, near one of its mouths. In the midst of remnants of a feast which had apparently come to a sudden end, and among the corpses of the former participants, a band of Egyptian robbers finds a wounded youth. A maiden of unusual beauty is trying to bring him back to life. As the robbers are about to claim their booty, they are attacked and driven off by another band; the youth and maiden are carried away to a retreat upon an island in one of the lakes near the mouths of the Nile. Theagenes and Chariklea—who are thus presented—are handed over to the care of a young Greek, Knemon, who helps them to forget the anxieties of the dreadful night by telling the story of his adventures. His tale is interrupted by the break of dawn. A division of the booty is now to be made, Thyamis, the captain of the band, claiming for himself only the beautiful maiden Chariklea. At this point the heroine announces herself and Theagenes as sister and brother who had been driven by ill fortune to the Egyptian coast. An offer of marriage made to her by Thyamis is not refused, but she succeeds in having its consummation put off. Here the first band of robbers reappears; Chariklea is concealed in a cave, while the battle between the newcomers and her captors is raging. Thyamis is routed, and, thinking Chariklea lost to him, he decides to kill her. After stabbing another female whom in the dark cave he mistook for Chariklea, he returns to the fight to die, but is captured alive. *Book II:* Theagenes and Knemon, in search of Chariklea, find her of course in the cave. Knemon's narrative of his adventures is then taken up again. He finally sets out for the village Chemmis, where Theagenes and Chariklea agree to meet him. Upon the road Knemon overtakes an aged Greek, who leads him to Chemmis, where both are lodged at the house of Nausikles. The latter happens to be absent, but the honors are done by a pretty daughter. While reclining at the meal, the old Greek tells Knemon the story of his life. He is Kalasiris, once a prophet at Memphis, but now for many years an exile from his country.

After many wanderings he had reached Delphi. Here he meets Charikles, the priest of the Pythian Apollo, and his foster-child, the beautiful Chariklea. At the Pythian festival a youth appears, excelling in stature and beauty. He is Theagenes, and the oracle prophesies a long series of adventures for him and Chariklea. *Books III, IV:* Hero and heroine meet and fall in love with one another. We learn further of their languishing; of the trick of Kalasiris to bring them together; of the birth and parentage of Chariklea who, when a child, had been exposed by her mother, queen of the Ethiopians. Kalasiris tells Chariklea of her real origin, and, with the consent of Apollo and Artemis, flight to Egypt is planned. Theagenes and his followers make a prearranged attack on the house of Charikles and abduct his daughter. *Book V:* The runaways set sail on a boat bound for Carthage, and their wanderings begin. At this point the narrative of Kalasiris is interrupted by the entrance of Nausikles, who, with his soldiers, has found Theagenes and Chariklea. The former is sent to Memphis; the latter is retained as a slave. Kalasiris, however, buys Chariklea, and then continues his interrupted story of the wanderings of the lovers, up to the time when they reach the mouth of the Nile. Their experiences include flights from pirates, capture by them, storm at sea, and a perilous landing. At a feast which follows, the leaders of the pirates quarrel over the possession of Chariklea; a bloody battle ensues, which ends with the death of all the crew. We have thus caught up with the opening of the story. *Book VI:* Knemon tells how he came to Egypt. In the meantime Theagenes has again fallen into the hands of Thyamis and his robber band; Kalasiris and Chariklea, disguised as beggars, go in search of Theagenes, Knemon remaining behind to wed the daughter of Nausikles. *Book VII:* With the help of Theagenes, Thyamis besieges Memphis in order to regain his rights to the priesthood, of which he had been deprived by the wiles of a brother. Peace is made, and the two brothers become reconciled through the efforts of Kalasiris, who arrives at the opportune moment and is discovered to be their father. Arsake, the wife of the satrap, now falls in love with Theagenes, and to gain her ends she is assisted by a crafty old woman, Kybele. But nothing can turn to Arsake the love which Theagenes feels for Chariklea only. *Book VIII:* Arsake, in her rage, orders Theagenes to be tortured and Chariklea poisoned; but, of course, nothing so terrible ever happens. Kybele drinks the poison by mistake; Chariklea is accused of murder and condemned to be burned, but she is saved by the miraculous power of a ring in her possession. She and Theagenes are then carried away at the command of the satrap, while Arsake hangs herself. Upon the road to Thebes the lovers are captured by scouts of the Ethiopian army, and brought to the king, Hydaspes. *Book IX:* We now learn about the siege of the city Syene and the battle between the satrap Oroöndates and Hydaspes. The former is defeated and captured, together with Theagenes and Chariklea. The latter, in reality an Ethiopian princess, defers making herself known to her parents, and both she and her lover are condemned to be sacrificed to the native gods, the Sun and Moon. *Book X:* Hydaspes returns to his capital. A great crowd has assembled to celebrate a festival at which the victims are to be sacrificed. Just as the immolation is about to take place, Chariklea discovers her identity to her parents, the king and queen of Ethiopia, and is spared. In the meantime, Theagenes, confessedly not her brother, performs some great feats of strength and skill by subduing a wild bull and defeating a huge athletic Ethiopian in single combat. This enhances his popularity with the crowd, which advocates his release; and when all the relationships are cleared up Theagenes is also spared, and the lovers are united amid general rejoicing.[1]

Let us now contrast with the plot of the foregoing story the general contents of the Spanish romance. As in the former story, we again begin in the midst of things. The hero, Periandro, has been captured by pirates; the vessel is wrecked; Periandro alone survives, and is taken up by another boat under the command of the Danish prince Arnaldo. The latter happened to be cruising in search of a maiden, Auristela, whom he had obtained from some pirates, but she had again been abducted by others. Periandro, who is also trying to discover the whereabouts of this same Auristela, acquaints Arnaldo with the object of his search, but gives himself out as her brother. In the disguise of a maiden he is then sold to some barbarians who inhabit an island upon which Auristela is presumably to be found. The savage, Bradamiro, falls in love with the supposed girl. Auristela—disguised as a man—and her old nurse are quite naturally found upon the island. When the lot of the captives is about to be decided, a quarrel arises among the savages, which ends in a general carnage and devastation of the island by fire. Periandro and Auristela, however, are saved and conducted to a cave, where their rescuer, a Spaniard who for a long time has been an inhabitant of the island, gives the history of his adventures. All then set out together for another island, where they meet an Italian, Rutilio, who also tells the story of his life. Shortly after the termination of his narrative a Portuguese singer is picked up, and we get another tale of adventure. The wanderers now reach an island, Golandia, where the whole party is well received. Shortly thereafter we make the acquaintance of several newcomers, whose arrival leads to the chance reunion of some long-separated wanderers. In the meantime, Prince Arnaldo again arrives upon the scene and demands Auristela in marriage from her supposed brother, Periandro. The reply is a vague acceptance, coupled with the request for a delay until Auristela has completed a pilgrimage to Rome in fulfilment of a certain vow. The wanderers therefore set out once more; another shipwreck follows, and Periandro and Auristela are again separated. By following the adventures of the latter, we hear of the experiences of various travelers who are met in the northern seas, and incidentally of the festivities held at the court of King Policarpo. Periandro, who had taken part in various games, astonished all the spectators by his superior skill, and especially impresses the daughter of the king. The very next shipwreck lands Auristela and her party on the island of King Policarpo, where all are again reunited. Complicated love-affairs follow, the telling of which by the author himself is interrupted several times by the narrative of Periandro, who recalls former adventures of himself and Auristela, both by land and sea, thus bringing the story up to that very moment of their wanderings. The king in the meantime plans to get possession of Auristela, but the whole party manages to escape to another island. Here there are numerous leave-takings; the hero and heroine together with a few of their friends finally set out for Lisbon, where they arrive without any further mishap. Here ends the more or less irrational first half of the romance. The pilgrims now enter on an interesting peregrination through Spain, France, and Italy. Numerous adventures, stories or short *novelas*, love-affairs, all told in a manner very characteristic of Cervantes, are introduced. In due time we hear of the early history and the true relation of Periandro and Auristela, together with the origin of their pilgrimage to Rome. Finally, Auristela having fulfilled her vow, and all other difficulties having been overcome, she and Periandro, who are in reality a prince and princess with the names Persiles and Sigismunda, are happily married and return to their northern home.

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[1] I have in part followed the excellent résumé given by Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 453 ff.

In order to limit myself strictly to the skeleton of each story, I have been obliged to pass over secondary episodes and minor characters. It is, therefore, to be expected that the résumé would be somewhat dry and lifeless. In the case of Cervantes especially, I feel that I have played into the hands of his detractors who think it were better had he never written his last romance. My object, however, is not to rehabilitate the whole work as a novel, but to show its vital importance in any thorough study of the mind of Spain's greatest writer. It will, nevertheless, be possible, from the bare framework of the two stories, to get a general idea of the extent to which Cervantes was inspired by his model. The chief points of similarity are apparent at once. As regards the bald machinery of adventure, a comparison of the two *romans d'aventure* includes, roughly speaking, only the first half of the *Persiles;* the second half has a tangible world for a background, while the spirit of its narrative finds a better parallel in the *novelas exemplares*, or in parts of the *Galatea* and of the *Don Quixote*, than in Heliodorus. Similarity of detail is also confined almost entirely to the first half. Let us now see which of the larger features of the two romances correspond.

From the résumé above it can be seen that Cervantes, like Heliodorus, plunges into the midst of the adventures which he is about to tell.[1] There is, however, a greater air of mystery about the identity of his hero and heroine, whose exalted origin is not disclosed until the end of the romance. Their career, as in the case of Theagenes and Chariklea, is made known piecemeal, and during the intermissions or respites inserted between the events which actually take place before the reader. At such intervals the story told by the protagonists themselves reverts to episodes of the past and gradually brings the events up to the time of narration. Stories of adventure are greatly multiplied in Cervantes; they are especially frequent while Periandro and Auristela are lost in the northern seas, blown from island to island, upon all of which they meet children of adverse fortune like themselves. In Heliodorus all the narratives are sections which, if put together in proper order, constitute the whole plot; in Cervantes an occasional short story, told in his best vein, is introduced for the mere pleasure of telling it, and by a character who has nothing to do with the main thread of the story. The manner of these digressions was not necessarily suggested by Heliodorus, because it was already old and well known in fiction. But, like the Greek romance, the *Persiles* is a sequence of episodes, whose chief fascination is the risk to which the lives of hero and heroine are constantly exposed. Both works show equally the whims and the powers of chance; both dwell almost *ad nauseam* on man's need of a blind faith in Providence which points the goal, smooths the rough road, and assures a safe outcome. In this sense both plots appeal to a peculiar power of imagination, to a childish love of illusions wholly incomprehensible today. To readers of the Renaissance, perhaps, the real charm of both romances lay in this fact, that in spite of the caprices of outrageous fortune, the protagonists surmount all adversity, thus lifting the reader as well as themselves into a higher world where everything does not constantly fade into the light of common day.

In drawing his chief characters, Cervantes has certainly not surpassed Heliodorus. Auristela even falls behind Chariklea; for, while the latter is alive and interesting, the former is hardly more than beautiful, modest, and long-suffering, all of which are qualities both flimsy and conventional. The minor characters of both romances are, as in practically all *romans d'aventure*, vaguely defined. In Cervantes especially the persons introduced are at times merely the pegs on which to hang some adventure, while his particular qualities are more easily recognized in those minor touches where he presents town-life in Spain, or gives some entertaining traits about his own people and their manners.[1] In both novels there is an occasional opposition between the powers of virtue and vice, of good and evil, personified in people who hazily cross the scene and leave little impression on the reader. Finally, the machinery of adventure of both stories is the same in such generalities as recurrent shipwrecks, abduction, separation, grief, hardships (*trabajos*), and ultimate sentimental chance reunion of the two lovers, *el día menos pensado.*[2]

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[1] In this order of the narrative, romancers have of course always had before them the great models, Homer and Virgil; cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 474. Cervantes had already tried it in the *Amante liberal*, which also begins in the middle of the hero's career.

As regards similarity in details, in no single case does an imitation by Cervantes follow the exact lines of the model. The following episodes show this most clearly.[3] In the Greek romance

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[1] Cf. for example, Book III, chaps. 8 and 10, of the *Persiles.*

[2] Cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 405; it is of interest to consider who was the first romancer to launch a loving couple upon the sea of these intricate wanderings. On Antonius Diogenes, cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[3] I select the salient points from the rather lengthy episode in Heliodorus, quoting from the earliest edition (1554). Kalasiris is telling the story; the pirates are feasting when Pelorus, second in command, begins the quarrel: "Que es lo que impide, señor Trachino, que no aya yo recebido el salario que se me deue por auer entrado el primero en la nao? Porque no lo has aun pedido, dixo Trachino entonces, y tambien no han aun partido el robo y presa. Yo pido pues (respondio el Peloro) la donzella presa. Demanda todo lo que quisieres (dixo Trachino), excepto a ella, y darsete ha" (p. 148) ". . . . Luego que vuo dicho estas palabras, vos dixerades, que era la misma mar en tempestad . . . . vnos haziendose del vando de Trachino, otros de Peloro. . . . . En fin Trachino alço la mano para herir a Peloro con la copa que tenia: mas Peloro que antes se auia apercebido, se adelanto, y le dio con vn puñal en los pechos: el golpe fue tan derecho, que Trachino cayo tendido muerto. Entonces se encendio entre los otros vna guerra sin piedad, y se matauan los vnos a los otros, sin perdonar a persona" (pp. 148_2, 149). (On pp. 9_2 ff. the slaughter is also described, and p. 33 Chariklea tells of it.) The robber band now comes up and carries off Theagenes and Chariklea. On the following day the second battle occurs: "Se veya muy bien como los enemigos prendian todos los que morauan a orillas del lago, y como ponian fuego a todas aquellas cabañas . . . : y como el viento era en extremo impetuoso, lleuaua la llama a las cañas y espadañas del lago, y las abrasaua de tal manera, que los ojos no podian sufrir la claridad que salia dellas, ni los oydos el gran ruydo, que la llama hazia" (pp. 39, 39_2). The enemy, after its victory, moves off: y viendo que la noche se acercaua, tuuieron miedo de mas quedar alli . . . . y despues de auer, como dicho es, puesto el fuego en toda la ysla, se tornaron para los suyos" (p. 43); and the opening of Book II: "Assi pues estaua toda la ysla ardiendo." Thyamis, before the fight, had commanded Gnemon, the Greek interpreter, to take Chariklea away for safety: "Tomalda, y metelda en la cueua que vos sabeys" (p. 37_2).

The condensed episode in the *Persiles* runs thus, quoting from *Obras etc.*, *op. cit.*: "el bárbaro Bradamiro . . . . llegándose á los dos, asió de la una mano á Auristela y de la otra á it is the striking scene at the beginning. Theagenes and Chariklea have arrived on the coast of Egypt in the hands of pirates. One of the leaders claims Chariklea as his booty; he is, however, at once slain by his rival; whereupon a fierce fight begins, in which all are killed save the hero and heroine. They are carried off by a band of robbers, but a second band comes up and gives battle for the spoils, while Chariklea, in charge of a Greek who acts as interpreter, is concealed for safety in a cave. In the meantime the whole island is consumed by flames. Near the beginning of the *Persiles* we learn that Auristela has been sold by pirates to some savages upon an island where Periandro, who is searching for her, also arrives. Each has landed in the disguise of the opposite sex.[1] The savage Bradamiro claims the supposed girl for himself.

Periandro, y con semblante amenazador y ademan soberbio, en alta voz dijo: Ninguno sea osado, si es que estima en algo su vida, de tocar á estos dos, aun en un solo cabello: esta doncella es mia . . . . Apenas hubo dicho esto, cuando el bárbaro gobernador, indignado é impaciente sobremanera, puso una grande y aguda flecha en el arco, y desviándole de sí cuanto pudo extenderse el brazo izquierdo, ... disparó la flecha con tan buen tino y con tanta furia, que en un instante llegó á la boca de Bradamiro, y se la cerró quitandole el movimiento de la lengua, y sacandole el alma . . . .; pero no hizo tan á su salvo el tiro . . . . porque un hijo de Corsicurbo . . . . en dos brincos se puso junto al capitan, y alzando el brazo le envainó en el pecho un puñal . . . . Cerró el capitan en sempiterna noche los ojos . . . .; alborotó los pechos y los corazones de los parientes de entrambos, puso las armas en las manos de todos ; . . . arremetieron los unos á los otros, sin respetar el hijo al padre ; . . . los que debian ser de la parcialidad de Bradamiro, se desviaron de la contienda, y fueron á poner fuego á una selva . . . .: comenzaron á arder los árboles y á favorecer la ira el viento; . . . . los gemidos de los que morian, las voces de los que amenazaban, los estallidos del fuego, no en los corazones de los bárbaros ponian miedo alguno . . . . Ya casi cerraba la noche . . . . y solas las llamas de la abrasada selva daban luz bastante para divisar las cosas, ... cuando un bárbaro mancebo se llegó á Periandro, y en lengua castellana, que dél fué bien entendida, le dijo: Sígueme, etc. [Periandro—it can be inferred—acts as interpreter for the rest who do not know Spanish.] . . . . habiendo andado como una milla . . . . se entró el bárbaro por una espaciosa cueva" (p. 565, cols. 2 ff.). The sequence of the events differs somewhat in Heliodorus, because the details are disclosed in part by a later narrative. Some of the material for such scenes already existed in Spanish literature. The numerous acts of piracy committed in the basin of the Mediterranean were quickly reflected in fiction, as is proven by the frequent pictures of havoc, abduction, shipwreck, separation, and the like. Cervantes tells us in chap. 41, Part I, of *Don Quixote*, that the inhabitants of the southern coast "*no se admirauan de ver cautiuos libres, ni Moros cautiuos; porque toda la gente de aquella costa está hecha á ver los vnos, y á los otros.*" As early as the fifth book of the *Galatea* Cervantes wrote a short *roman d'aventure*, with all the usual machinery. Another can be found in Lope's *Peregrino*, while *El amante liberal* is merely a novel of adventure in the form of a short story. In the particular scenes quoted above, however, the manner of the Greek romances is uppermost. Their influence is also probable in two other scenes of bloodshed in the *Persiles*, p. 608, col. 2; p. 612, col. 2—both on shipboard.

[1] Disguises are features of common occurrence in the pastoral novels of which I hope to speak later in connection with the *Persiles*. On a particular kind of disguise see an article by my colleague, Professor Hanns Oertel, "Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāḥmana to the History of the Brāhmana Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXVI (1905), pp. 310 f.

Hereupon his angry chieftain slays him on the spot, and a general slaughter ensues among the barbarians, some of whom set fire to the whole island. The wanderers are saved and under the care of a Spaniard, to whom Periandro can make himself understood, are conducted safely to a cave. Furthermore, in some minor episodes, Cervantes was probably influenced by an experience of Theagenes. As a model of loyalty and virtue, the latter resists the blandishments of the satrap's wife, Arsake.[1] Similarly the young Antonio is shocked on one occasion by the advances of Rosamunda,[2] and upon another by those of the old hag Cenotia;[3] Periandro likewise remains unshaken by the charms of the courtesan Hipólita.[4] But in the episodes of the *Persiles*, charms, witchcraft, magic potions, and go-betweens play an important part, thus making it more than probable that such contemporary fiction as was influenced by the Celestina literature must be taken into account also.

As far as minor similarities go, chiefly in manner, and occasionally in ideas, it is impossible to maintain any sequence on account of the sporadic appearance of the parallels. I have, therefore, grouped together related passages in an appendix, so that they may speak for themselves.[5] Not a few quotations from the *Persiles* may awaken a justifiable doubt about the propriety of ascribing their source to Heliodorus merely because they resemble traits of his romance. For not only had the spirit as well as some individual features of the Greek novel made themselves felt in contemporary fiction before the *Persiles* was composed, but similar traits can be found in such types as the romances of chivalry or the pastoral novels which antedate the earliest translations of Heliodorus. It seems, therefore, that apart from the "maquina de las peregrinaciones," to use an apt phrase from the *Persiles*, Cervantes assimilated from Heliodorus, for the most part unconsciously, only certain traits which were popular at the time, namely the romantic, the imaginative, the emotional, and, frequently, the sentimental. The recurrence of these qualities in his own as well as in the Greek romance may have led him to assert that he was competing with Heliodorus; but the meagerness of direct imitation should keep us from overstating the latter's influence.[1]

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[1] She had already failed in her attempts on Thyamis: "Arsace de ventura se hallo en el templo de Isis, y luego se enamoro deste mancebo honesto y hermoso, y que principalmente estaua entonces en la flor de su edad . . . ., y luego començo a le mirar impudica y deshonestamente, y a le hazer señas lasciuas, y mensajes de suzia concupiscencia. Los quales emplazos y llamamientos Thyamis no recebia (p. 172_2). Then she falls in love with Theagenes (p. 182_2), who is aware of it: "Theagenes juntando las palabras de Cybele con los gestos y meneos que auia visto hazer el dia antes a Arsace, ... y trayendo tambien a la memoria, como ella auia tenido siempre los ojos hincados deshonestamente en el, ... conoscio luego, que la salida de todo esto no podria ser muy buena" (p. 188); he tells Chariklea: "Entonces Chariclea le respondio: No sera menester por la primera vista, resistirle del todo, antes en el principio venir con su voluntad y desseo, y fingir, que quereys en todo y por todo cumplir lo que os quisiere mandar" (p. 194); Arsake fails, and her go-between tells her: "Nosotros trabajamos embalde, señora mia, porque este coraçon [i. e., of Theagenes] de marmol no se ablanda, antes esta cada dia mas osado, duro, y fiero, teniendo siempre esta Chariclea en la boca etc." (p. 216).

[2] Cf. p. 585, cols. 2 ff. of the *Persiles*.

[3] Cf. p. 602, cols. 1 ff.

[4] Cf. p. 669, cols. 2 ff.

[5] See end of article, pp. 22 ff.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Cervantes knew the story of *Theagenes and Chariklea* long before he composed the *Persiles*. The manner of that romance is too apparent in all his prose writings. When he first became acquainted with it is impossible to say. Perhaps the issue of 1581 (Salamanca) fell into his hands shortly after his return from captivity; though it is just as likely that, as a boy, he knew the earliest version. As regards the *Galatea* (1585) the parallel passages given in the notes above indicate, though not exhaustively, how Cervantes was influenced by Heliodorus at that early date. Not only the machinery of adventure is apparent in parts of the *Galatea*,[2] but at times it seems as though a phrase might have come bodily from Heliodorus.[3] In *Don Quixote* the manner of the Greek romance is rarely apparent; the subject did not warrant it. One reference, however, implies an acquaintance with the *Theagenes*. This is the statement made by Don Quixote about the *ginosofistas de Etiopia.*[1] Clemencin, after referring to Pliny and Apuleius, "who make India the home of the gymnosophists," says "no sé por donde pudo ocurrir ponerlos en la Etiopia." He had momentarily forgotten the *Historia ethiopica de Heliodoro*, where there are numerous references to those peculiar philosophers.[2] In the *novelas* there are also some passages which must be considered; a few have already been referred to, but the more important ones may be grouped together at this point.[3] There is hardly an episode in the old romance which has left as definite a trace in literature as the exposure and final recognition of Chariklea by her parents,[1] and it is therefore not surprising to find these motifs several times in the *novelas*. The remaining features which betray the manner of Heliodorus are generally such nonessential ones as had already become incorporated in the contemporary manner of a story of adventure. But there can be no doubt that Cervantes had a pronounced affection for the Greek novel from the beginning of his literary career, and that that affection culminated in his old age in a desire to write something in the same vein—something which might gain for him a permanent place among the favorite writers of romance.

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[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. viii, says: "El *Teágenes y Cariclea* . . . . tiene la gloria de haber inspirado el ultimo libro de Cervantes," which is qualified later by a remark on the *Persiles*, "donde la imitación del *Teágenes* es menor de lo que generalmente se cree y de lo que da á entender el mismo Cervantes" (p. cccxlii). A comparison of the two romances makes it clear also how different they can be in tone. One example from Heliodorus will suffice: "Entonces Gnemon y Thermutis, asiendo de vno de los carneros que yua delante los otros, le mataron, y cortando la carne, la assaron vn poco al fuego que los pastores para si auian hecho, y començaron a tragar della, que no pudieron sufrir que se acabasse de assar por la gran hambre que tenian, y engullauan los grandes pedaços de carne, como si fueran lobos hambrientos, assi a medio assar, de suerte que comiendola, la sangre les corria por los carrillos," etc. (p. 59).

[2] Compare, for example, the narrative of Kalasiris (Book V), pp. 134 ff., telling of his wanderings, with the story of Timbrio, beginning: "despues que la fortuna," etc. (p. 68, col. 1, of the *Galatea*).

[3] Cf.: "que de Nísida se podia creer y conjeturar, que por ver á Timbrio ausente se habría partido en su busca; y que si entonces la fortuna por tan extraños accidentes los habia apartado, agora por otros no menos extraños sabria juntarlos" (p. 38, col. 1).

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[1] Cf. Edition Clemencin (Madrid, 1894), Vol. IV (Part I, chap. 47), p. 168: "[soy] de aquellos que á despecho y pesar de la misma envidia, y de cuantos magos crió Persia, bracmanes la India, ginosofistas la Etiopia, han de poner su nombre en el templo de la inmortalidad."

[2] Some of the places are: "nuestros sabios los que biuen desnudos, y por esso son llamados Gymnosophistas" (p. 73); "ella se fue a los sabios Gimnosophistas, que morauan en el templo del Dios Pan," etc. (p. 258_2); p. 260_2; "en otro pauellon junto a el estauan . . . . las estatuas de los medios Dioses . . . . que los Reyes de Ethiopia tienen como a sus anteces, sores, y autores de su linaje. Estas ymagenes estauan en vn altar alto, y a sus pies auia vnos estrados, en los quales estauan sentados los sabios Gimnosophistas," etc. (p. 261); also pp. 264_2, 268, 283.

[3] The main features of the episode of exposure and recognition (Book X) are these: Chariklea is exposed as a babe; she is intrusted to her foster-father, Charikles, together with a necklace, ring, etc., and a cloth upon which her history is embroidered (Book IV). These are used later for her identification. When she sees her mother again. she is a mature, beautiful maiden: "Chariclea . . . . vino, echando sus ojos . . . . derechos a su madre Persina. De suerte que ella de verla tan solamente, se le reboluio toda la sangre en el cuerpo- y dando vn gran sospiro de lo mas intimo de su coraçon, dixo al Rey . . . . : que donzella aueys escogido para el sacrificio! . . . . A Dioses, y que gran lastima es, hazerla assi morir en la flor de su edad y hermosura. Si la hija que yo vna vez pari, y que tan desdichadamente perdi, estuuiesse agora biua, ella seria de la edad de esta" (p. 262). Chariklea shows the cloth to her mother: "La qual, luego que le vio, como vna persona fuera di si estuuo mucho tiempo mirando vna vez lo que en el estaua escrito, y otra a la donzella, ... y . . . . estaua en gran pena, como seria possible, hazer creer al Rey su marido vna cosa tan fuera de camino" (p. 267_2). The necklace and the rest are brought out (p. 268_2); "el Rey Hydaspes no supo mas que dezir, ni de que dudar, y estuuo vn gran tiempo pensatiuo;" Sisimithres then approaches Chariklea: "Mostrad vuestro braço desnudo, hija mia. Lo qual ella hizo, y se hallo, que tenia poco mas arriba del codo vn lunar negro, como una cuenta de hebano, etc. Entonces no se pudo tener la Reyna Persina, ... y fuesse con gran alegria a la abraçar y besar: y teniendola abraçada, las lagrimas le corrian por el rostro." Hydaspes is now persuaded that Chariklea is his daughter and embraces Persina, who had fainted through joy (pp. 270 ff.). Theagenes is finally considered: "Mas quien es aquel mancebo que fue preso con vos, y que agora esta junto a los altares para ser sacrificado?" Chariklea wishes to die with him: "Porque los dioses, ... han predestinado a este mancebo a biuir y morir junto conmigo" (pp. 273_2 ff.). Theagenes finally is declared of noble extraction and so becomes worthy of Chariklea, and considering "la su mucha firmeza en amar," the reward is assured them, and "los mas secretos misterios de las bodas fueron con mucha alegria cumplidos" (pp. 291_2, 292). A careful scrutiny of *La Gitanilla*, *Obras*, *op. cit.*, p. 116, col. 1, to the close of the story will show how much Cervantes was influenced by Heliodorus. See also the recognition scene in *La española inglesa* (p. 151, col. 1), beginning with "pusieron los ojos en Isabela;" in *La ilustre fregona* cf. the history of Costanza (p. 195, col. 1 ff.); a variation of the motif in Cornelia's recognition of her babe, p. 215, col. 1, of *La Señora Cornelia;* in the

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APPENDIX

The following excerpts from both romances will give an idea of the impression made upon Cervantes by Heliodorus. All passages are from the edition of 1554 of the latter, and from Vol. I of "Biblioteca de autores españoles," *Obras de Cervantes*.

1. Chariklea determines to remain chaste and deters Theagenes from breaking her resolution before she has reached the goal of her wanderings and laid aside the insignia of priestess: "Por tanto, señor Thiamis, yo os pido vn solo don . . . . que me permitays antes del casamiento que yo pueda yr a la mas cercana villa, o a otro qualquier lugar, adonde aya algun templo consagrado al Dios Apolo, donde yo me pueda despojar del cargo, y dexar las marcas, y señas de su religiosa" (p. 33_2); also: "Por lo qual yo no os dexare yr, hasta tanto que no solamente por el presente, mas aun por lo venidero Theagenes me jure y assegure, que no me conocera segun el vso de Venus, hasta que yo aya cobrado mi casa y parientes" (p. 116_2); and: "quando Chariclea sentia, que Theagenes se encendia demasiado, y se queria mostrar hombre, ella le refrenaua, trayendole a la memoria el juramento que auia hecho' (p. 124_2). She also recommends chastity to him as regards other women (p. 198_2).

Auristela makes a vow to remain chaste and not to marry until the object of her pilgrimage to Rome is accomplished: "[Arnaldo] la quiso hacer su señora [i. e., Auristela], ... pero ella si defendia, diciendo no ser posible romper un voto que tenia hecho de

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last two tales there are also the motifs of exposure; cf. also the last act of Cervantes' play, *Pedro de Urdemalas*. Other points to be considered are: the description of Ricaredo's "confusa madeja de cabellos de oro ensortijados" (p. 156, col. 2); mystery and secrecy of origin (p. 200, col. 2; p. 203, col. 2); the motif of *fingimiento y engaño* (p. 129, col. 2); the manner of telling stories: "dejemoslos ir por ahora," etc. (p. 184, col. 2), and "asi como dejó puesto á caballo á Pedro Alonso volvió á contar lo que les sucedió á Avendaño y á Carriazo," etc. (p. 185, col 1); same (p. 218, col. 1); story told after meal (p. 222, col. 2); consolation got from telling misfortune to others (p. 200, col. 2), and "si ya no os cansa oir ajenas desventuras" (p. 204, col. 1); monologue complaint (p. 200, col. 1); a proper display of grief permitted the hero and heroine to tear their hair in Heliodorus (pp. 43_2 and 161); cf. Cervantes, p. 201, col. 1; p. 204, col. 2; lovesickness of Ricaredo (p. 146, col. 1).

[1] Rohde (*op. cit.*, p. 472) does not believe, as Huet did and after him Dunlop-Liebrecht (*op. cit.*, p. 14), that the recognition scene of Guarini's *Pastor fido*, Act V, sc. 5, was influenced by that of Heliodorus. I do not believe that there can be any doubt that Guarini had some recollection of the final episode in the Greek romance when he wrote his play. Cf. Oeftering, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Cervantes knew the Spanish version: *El Pastor Fido, tragicomedia pastoral. De Baptista Guarini. Traduzida . . . . por Christoval Suarez de Figueroa, Valencia 1609.* Cf. *Don Quixote*, II, chap. 62.

guardar virginidad toda su vida," etc. (p. 562, col. 2); again Arnaldo says: "me la ofrecí por su esposo . . . : respondióme siempre que hasta verse en la ciudad de Roma, adonde iba a cumplir un voto, no podia disponer de su persona" (p. 581, col. 1); and: "estoy obligada á tener en perpetuo silencio una peregrinacion que hago, que hasta darle fin, ... soy forzada á guardarle" (p. 590, col. 1). Auristela seems unnecessarily on her guard in the presence of Periandro (p. 629, col. 1), but perhaps only in imitation of Chariklea. Cf. also Achilles Tatius, Book IV, chap 1. This ostentation of chastity is a trait of some of the shepherdesses in the pastoral novels. Cf. *Galatea*, p. 63, col. 1, about the cruel Gelasia.

2. Theagenes and Chariklea claim to be brother and sister: "Podria ser, que fuera mas decente y conuenible a este mi hermano Thagones(sic) responder" (p. 32); "porque fingir que yo fuese vuestro hermano, yo lo hallo lo mas sabiamente hecho," etc. (p. 35_2); cf. also pp. 202, 274. Periandro and Auristela do the same: "puesto que Arnaldo estaria seguro con el fingido hermanazgo suyo y de Periandro, todavia el temor de que podia ser descubierto el parentesco, la fatigaba" (p. 571, col. 1); cf. also pp. 563, 565, 597. This pretended relationship existed already in Nuñez de Reinoso's *Clareo y Florisea*, chap. vi (in *Novelistas anteriores á Cervantes;* cf. previous article, p. 14, n. 1). In the *Gitanilla* by Cervantes the same idea exists. The Gipsy girl says to her lover: "hasta entonces tengo de ser vuestra hermana en el trato" (p. 105, col. 1).

3. Chariklea pretends to accept another suitor, but asks for a delay: "Dezid nos agora, hermosa donzella [Thyamis says], vuestra voluntad, si me quereys por marido o no" (p. 31_2). She replies: "vos nos ofreceys casamiento, el qual yo de mi voluntad no rehuso" (p. 33). Theagenes asks for an explanation of her consent (p. 35_2), and Chariklea answers: "no tendriamos la libertad de hablar agora juntos, si yo no lo vuiera assi francamente acordado, y prometido," etc. (p. 36). Kalasiris also pretends to give Chariklea another suitor (pp.137 f.). Mena's translation adds a note on the *mentira oficiosa* advocated by Heliodorus (cf. p. 89, Vol. I, edition 1787) and imitated by Cervantes.

Auristela's suitor, Arnaldo, is put off by the same dissimulation; Arnaldo says to Periandro: "si yo fuese tan venturoso, que contigo hallase á tu hermana Auristela, ni tendria mal que temer," etc. And Periandro replies: "conmigo está, que los cielos, atentos á favorecer tus virtuosos y honestos pensamientos, te la han guardado," etc. (p. 580, col. 2). And later: "séte decir tambien, que si llegares al cumplimiento de tu buen deseo, llegarás á tener una esposa de ilustrisimo linaje nacida," etc. (p. 581, col. 2); cf. also p. 601, col. 1. Chariklea had even gone so far as to advise Theagenes to pretend acquiescence in Arsake's base desires (p. 198_2); in Achilles Tatius, IV, chaps. 6 ff., there is an example of a *mentira oficiosa;* also in Nuñez de Reinoso, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

4. Theagenes and Chariklea are of noble extraction: "Quanto a nosotros, de donde somos, has de saber, que somos naturales de Ionia, de vno de los mas nobles linajes y familias de la ciudad de Epheso" (p. 32); cf. also p. 77, about Theagenes and his descent from Achilles.

Periandro and Auristela are also of lofty descent, which is shrouded in mystery until the close (Book IV, chap. 12). This trait, however, of introducing some distinguished, but mysterious person, who turns out to be a prince or a princess, is common in the romances of chivalry.

5. In Heliodorus a stranger excites peculiar interest, and he is asked to declare his name, country, experiences, etc.; Chariklea is asked: "os ruego nos digays juntamente, quien, y de que parte, y de que parientes vos soys" (p. 31_2); again, concerning the heroine: "infinitos pensamientos me cayan en el entendimiento, de que parientes ella era nascida, y de quien la estimauan hija, y de quan grande distancia y interualo la auian apartado de su tierra y patria, y como fortuna le auia dado nombre de hija echada, despues de le auer quitado su real parentela" (p. 107_2); cf. also p. 61.

The same manner prevails in Cervantes: "La priesa con que Arnaldo quiso saber de Auristela no consintió en que preguntase primero á Periandro, quién eran él y su hermana, y por qué trances habian venido al miserable en que le habian hallado" (p. 563, col. 2); and: "Decidme, por vida vuestra, señor, si es casada esta peregrina, cómo se llama y qué padres la engendraron?" (p. 649, col. 1); also: "después de la tan breve como sabrosa comida, Arnaldo suplicó á Renato que les contase su historia" (p. 619, col. 1); other examples: p. 597, col. 1, p. 661, col. 1, p. 671, col. 1. Cf. Achilles Tatius, II, chap. 33, for the same manner. It also exists in the romances of chivalry and in the pastoral novels.

6. Chariklea, on being exposed by her mother, is given "un collar de piedras preciosas" (p. 73), and her marriage ring: "un anillo [que] es aquel que vuestro padre me dio, quando me despose con el" (p. 107). The latter is referred to repeatedly (pp. 130_2 ff., 225, 269).

Auristela's nurse, Cloelia, receives a cross with diamonds and two pearls before the wanderers leave home, and when she dies they are intrusted to Periandro (pp. 568, 573, 670, col. 2).

7. The beauty of Chariklea is that of a divinity: "Ella tenia la cabeça coronada de vna corona de laurel, y a las espaldas le colgaua el aljaba," etc. (p. 10_2). ". . . . vnos dezian ser la diosa Diana, otros la diosa Ysis," etc. (p. 11_2); for other long descriptions making her "divinely" beautiful cf. pp. 82_2 f., 147_2 f.

With Auristela it is the same: "levantóse en pie mi hermana, y echándose sus hermosos cabellos á las espaldas, tomados por la frente con una cinta leonada, ó listón, ... hizo de sí casi divina é improvisa muestra . . . . : todos . . . . decian: qué es esto? Qué deidad es esta," etc.? (p. 604, col. 2); and: "mi hermana . . . . mostró ser imagen sobre el mortal curso levantada" (p. 606, col. 1). Closely allied with this is the repetition *ad nauseam* of the heroine's beauty. But this mannerism exists in contemporary fiction, and goes back through the romances of chivalry into the Middle Ages. Cervantes is, however, the greatest offender, and after making his heroine divine, words seem to fail to express how beautiful Auristela is. The result is that she is nothing else. Heliodorus perhaps began it by calling Chariklea "vna donzellita de vna hermosura incomparable y diuina" (p. 72_2), in imitation, no doubt, of Homer's Helen. These are only a part of the examples from the *Persiles:* p. 563, col. 2; "la mas hermosa del mundo," p. 564, col. 1; "no la acertaron á comparar sino a sí misma," p. 575, col. 1; "incomparable hermosura," p. 592, col. 1; cf. also col. 2; "el abismo casi infinito de su hermosura," p. 595, col. 1; "hermosura divina, p. 605, col. 2. In Nuñez de Reinoso, *op. cit.*, p. 433, col. 2: "Narcisiana es tan hermosa y tiene tanta fuerza en el mirar, que mata en la misma hora que mira." The same exaggerations can be found in the *Galatea*, in the *Novelas exemplares*, and in *Don Quixote* (cf. p. 81, col. 2; p. 171, col. 1; p. 325, col. 1; p. 359, col. 2).

Theagenes is drawn thus: "en su vista el representaua no se que digno de Achiles, teniendo la cabeça derecha, los cabellos echados atras, roxos y crespos, como madejas de oro," etc. (p. 77_2); and: "el resplandor de su gracia, y hermosura nos turbaua" (p. 81_2).

Periandro is equally handsome: "luego le sacudieron los cabellos, que como infinitos anillos de puro oro la cabeza le cubrian" (p. 561, col. 1); "luego la hermosa presencia del mozo arrebató la vista, y aun los corazones de cuantos le miraron" (p. 588, col. 2).

8. Chariklea wails over the wounded Theagenes: "O Dioses, y es verdad que estays aun en vida, luz de mi atribulado coraçon? o si como con nosotros tambien con vos ha crecido el numero desta mortandad? . . . . En vos esta, o luz de mi alma, que yo biua, o no, y no ha auido en este mundo cosa, que me aya impedido hasta agora que yo no aya sido homicida de mi misma con esta espada, . . , . sino que yo os veya aun respirar" (p. 11).

Auristela weeps over Periandro: "no sé yo, desdichada, cómo busco aliento en un muerto, y cómo ya que le tuviese, puedo sentirle, si estoy tan sin él, que ni sé si hablo ni si respiro," etc., in which situation and tone are the same (p. 650, col. 2).

Compare also the following lamentations. Chariklea: "O Dios Apolo . . . . los males y trabajos passados no te bastan por suficiente satisfacion? . . . . auer sido presos por los cossarios de mar, auer sufrido tantos peligros de tormenta en ella, ... y la salida de todo esto tan obscura y peligrosa . . . . Adonde pararas tu, pues, la rueda, y curso de tantas miserias? Si es en la muerte, como sea con limpieza, dulce cosa es para mi," etc. (p. 15_2). Auristela: "Con qué prodigiosas señales me va mostrando el cielo mi desventura, que si se rematara con acabarse mi vida, pudiera llamarla dichosa; que los males que tienen fin en la muerte, como no se dilaten y entretengan, hacen dichosa la vida! . . . . Qué imposibles [caminos] son estos que descubro á cada paso de mi remedio?" (p. 587, col. 1); cf. also p. 565, col. 2.

Or these two passages: Gnemon, unable to sleep, leaves the room and wanders through the house; then: "el entreoyo la boz de vna muger, la qual . . . . se lamentaua. Pues caminando Gnemon hazia la camara de donde venia el sonido de aquella boz, acercando el oydo a la juntura de la puerta, estuuo atento escuchando sus lamentaciones, que hazia aun en esta manera. Yo desdichada, que pense auer escapado de manos de los salteadores . . . . Yo pensaua, ser escapada de perpetua seruidumbre, veys aqui torne a caer en ella. Yo juzgaua ser ya salida de prision, y soy agora metida en vna mas cruel" (p. 122_2). And from the *Persiles* (although the situation is very different): "no podia el sueño tomar posesion de sus sentidos, ni menos lo consintieron unos congojosos suspiros y unas augustiadas lamentaciones que a sus oídos llegaron, á su parecer, salidos de entre unas tablas de otro apartamiento, que junto al suyo estaba, y poniéndose con grande atencion á escucharlas, oyó que decian: En triste y menguado signo mis padres me engendraron . . . . Libre pensé yo que gozara de la luz del sol en esta vida; pero engañóme m pensamiento, pues me veo á pique de ser vendida por esclava," etc. (p. 562, col. 1).

9. Both heroines fall ill through love; Kalasiris calls the cause *mal de ojos:* "De lo qual os hará fe mejor que cosa ninguna el origen, y nascimiento del amor, porque toma su principio de las cosas vistas, las quales a manera de dezir lançan aquella passion dentro el alma por los ojos," etc. (p. 87_2); "Quien seria el niño . . . . que no conosciesse que es una passion del alma, y la enfermedad clara que se llama Amor?" (p. 104). Of Auristela it is said: "no era del cuerpo su dolencia, sino del alma" (p. 593, col. 1).

Both heroes are affected by the same ailment. Chariklea says of Theagenes: "dudo, no tenga la misma enfermedad que Chariclea" (p. 89_2). And of the illness of Persiles: "visitaronle médicos que, como no sabian la causa de su mal, no acertaban con su remedio; que como no muestran los pulsos el dolor de las almas, es dificultoso y casi imposible entender la enfermedad que en ellas asiste" (p. 676, col. 1).

10. Theagenes performs a great feat of strength and skill: "subio encima de vno de los otros cauallos, que no se auia desatado, ... y espoleandole con los talones, se puso a correr tras el toro que se auia desatado," etc. After some maneuvres: "el dexo salir su cauallo, y se lanço encima del cuello del toro, y despues puso su cabeça entre sus dos cuernos." Then he overpowers the bull (pp. 280_2 ff.).

Periandro subdues a very powerful savage horse (pp. 618, 620, col. 2).

11. A comparison of the manner of the two romances in telling stories, preambles, and the like is of interest; at all hours the story of one's life may be told, even at night, when there is need of repose. In this the influence of Heliodorus was far-reaching, and not only in the case of the *Persiles.* Gnemon, for example, is urged to tell his story to Theagenes and Chariklea, who have already had a hard day of it: "seria vn contrapeso de mucha carga a vuestros males, y muy fuera de tiempo, contar yo agora los mios, y mas, sabiendo, que el restante de la noche no bastaria, a os los contar, principalmente a vosotros que aueys menester reposo, por los muchos trabajos que aueys sufrido. Y como no le dexassen en paz, ... Gnemon començo en esta suerte," etc. (p. 17). Kalasiris is urged to tell his story by Gnemon: "pues que assí es, que vos desseays tanto oyr, y que no os podeys hartar de entender la narracion, tornemos a entrar en nuestro proposito . . . . a fin que . . . . podamos mejor, y mas seguramente passar vna parte de la noche en nuestros cuentos" (pp. 84 f.). And opening of Book VI: "Luego que lo demas de la noche fue passada mas presto que pensaron, por causa que el vanquete auia ocupado vna parte, y la prolixidad de los cuentos (de los quales no se podian hartar) la otra," etc. (p. 152).

In the *Persiles* the curiosity about a newcomer and the desire to hear a tale surpass every other need or wish: "Satisfacieron la hambre, y acomodaranse á dormir luego, si el deseo que Periandro tenia de saber el suceso del músico no lo estorbara" (p. 574, col. 1); or: "el deseo que tenian todos de saber los sucesos de los recien llegados les hacia parecer larga la comida . . . .; enmudecieron todos, y el silencio les selló los labios, y la curiosidad les abrio los oidos" (p. 577, col. 2); and: "[la] historia de los dos era la mas peregrina que se hubiese visto. El deseo de saberla, y el de repararse de la tormenta, si viniese, hizo á todos que encaminasen allá la proa" (p. 617, col. 1).

In Heliodorus the story is a source of consolation: "Y como . . . . le suplicassen ahincadamente, que se los contasse como passo, estimando, que les seria vna grande consolacion á sus desdichas oyr contar otras a ellas semejantes, Gnemon començo," etc. (p. 17).

Likewise in the *Persiles:* "si es, como decirse suele, que las desgracias y trabajos, cuando se comunican, suelen aliviarse, llégate aquí, ... y cuéntame los tuyos" (p. 562, col. 1); and: "Antonio dijo al bárbaro italiano que para entretener el tiempo, y no sentir tanto la pesadumbre de la mala noche, fuese servido de entretenerles contándoles los sucesos de su vida" (p. 571, col. 2); and: "pasaron la [calamidad] desta noche sin pesadumbre alguna, y mas con el alivio que Periandro les causó con volver por ruego de Transila á proseguir su historia" (p. 617, col. 1).

Though the exchange or swapping of stories is very old, the manner of the *Persiles* is more similar to that of Heliodorus: "Gnemon se marauillo mucho, ... y rogole, que le hiziesse entender de cabo a cabo lo que queria dezir. Vos me meteys en un labirinthio, respondio el buen viejo, y me quereys hazer entrar en vn mar de miserias y desdichas . . . . Mas vos, hermoso mancebo, dixo el viejo, adonde vays? y de donde venis? . . . . No hay razon ninguna, dixo Gnemon, paraque sepays vos mis fortunas antes de me hazer entender las vuestras, pues que yo os he requerido el primero" (p. 61). Cf. also Achilles Tatius, II, chap. 34.

In the *Persiles:* "el español dijo en lengua castellana desta manera: puesto que estaba en razon que yo supiera primero, señores mios, algo de vuestra hacienda y sucesos, antes que os dijera los mios, quiero por obligaros que los sepais, porque los vuestros no se me encubran despues que los mios hubiéredes oido" (p. 567, col. 1); cf. also p. 562, col. 2. As early as the *Galatea*, Cervantes shows the manner of Heliodorus, in the tendency of his characters to stay up all night to tell a story (cf. p. 38, col 1): "gran parte era ya pasada de la noche cuando los pastores acordaron de reposar el poco tiempo que hasta el dia quedaba," etc.

A similar manner prevails in the breaking-off and in the continuation of a story: "Por tanto, O Gnemon, cortemos aqui el hilo a nuestro cuento, y vamonos a reposar vn poco" (p. 121); cf. also p. 28_2. In the *Persiles*, to give one example, the story is interrupted and: "se fueron á reposar lo poco que de la noche les faltaba" (p. 568, col. 2). The manner of continuing is one of the tricks of Heliodorus: "Assi les començo a contar desde [el] principio, repitiendo sumariamente en pocas palabras lo que auia dicho antes a Gnemon passando algunas cosas . . . . y despues tomando el hilo de lo que le restaua, ... començo" (p. 134); cf. also pp. 49, 84; cf. in the *Persiles*, p. 608, col. 1; p. 610, col. 1; p. 611, col. 2; p. 617, col. 1; p. 620, col. 2; in the *Galatea* the manner is very similar: "procuraron recogerse . . . . donde . . . . pudiesen oir lo que del suceso de sus amores les faltaba . . . . tornando á repetir Teolinda algunas palabras de lo que antes habia dicho, prosiguió," etc. (p. 18, col. 1).

12. In the Greek romances dreams and portents are of frequent occurrence: "Thiamis . . . . començo a soñar sueños que le despertaron con gran sobresalto: y por tanto estaua despierto en grande agonia y pena, de no poder conjeturar ni adeuinar, que querian dezir estos sueños . . . . Pareciole, que passeandose por el templo de Ysis en la villa de donde era natural, llamada Memphis, veya reluzir todo el templo," etc. (p. 29); and: "Chariclea que reposaua dulcemente en el regaço de Theagenes, soño vn tal sueño. Paresciale que venia a ella vn hombre que tenia los cabellos erizados . . . . , y que dandole con una espada en el ojo derecho, se lo saco. De tal suerte fue turbada deste sueño, que despertando con sobresalto, començo á gritar: O amigo mio Theagenes, socorredme, etc. . . . . entonces dixo: yo soñaua . . . . no tengays ningun miedo. Theagenes torno en si . . . . y dixole: Vos teneys sanos vuestros dos rayos del Sol, como es razon que lo esten: mas que era lo que teniades? y que turbacion os auia caydo?" (p. 55_2); cf. also pp. 39_2, 95, 112, 139_2.

Compare in the *Persiles:* "[Mauricio] se quedó dormido encima de la cubierta de la nave, y de allí á poco despertó despavorido, diciendo á grandes voces: Traicion, traicion, traicion, despierta principe Arnaldo, que los tuyos nos matan. A cuyas voces se levantó Arnaldo, que no dormía, ... y dijo: qué has, amigo Mauricio? Quién nos ofende, ó quién nos mata? Todos los que en este navio vamos, no somos amigos? . . . . de qué temes," etc.? (p. 583, col. 1). Mauricio tells of his dream: "me pareció ver visiblemente que en un gran palacio de madera . . . . llovian rayos del cielo que le abrian todo," etc. (p. 584, col. 2). In the same place can be found an interesting criticism of these dreams; cf. also p. 568, col. 1, for a good example, as well as the *Galatea* (p. 9, col. 2).

Kalasiris has the gift of revelation and prophesy: "la principal causa que tambien me forçaua a salir de mi patria era, que la diuina sabiduria me auia muchas vezes reuelado, que mis dos hijos auian de auer combate juntos, por se querer matar el vno al otro" (p. 67). So does Mauricio, who finds his lost daughter through that gift: "si mi ciencia no me engaña, y la fortuna no me desfavorece, prospera habrá sido la mia con este hallazgo" (p. 577, col. 1); cf. also pp. 577, 582, 584, cols. 2, and *Don Quixote* (p. 525, col. 2).

As regards magic potions, poisons, witchcraft, and the like, there are some similarities. Kalasiris pretends to make a beverage which will cure the lovesick Chariklea: "contrahaziendo delante del tambien el magico, como delante Theagenes, [y] le rogue, que me diesse aquel solo dia de lugar, para pensar: que era menester hiziesse alguna composicion para sanalla" (p. 95_2); Kybele drinks the poisoned cup intended for Chariklea: "Antes que la acabasse de beuer, los ojos se le començaron a reboluer: y derramando en el suelo lo que le quedaua por beuer, le començaron a tomar desmayos, y passiones con tanta violencia, que todos los que estauan en la camara, fueron muy marauillados y espantados. Chariclea . . . . se forçaua a leuantalla, porque la ponçoña era mas fuerte," etc. (p. 217_2). On p. 168_2 occurs the scene of witchcraft, in which an old hag resuscitates her dead son to make him speak.

Auristela drinks a poison prepared by a Jewess (Book IV, chaps. 8-10); incidentally Cervantes explains "esta que llaman hechiceria, con que lo hacen las hechiceras, usando mezclas y venenos," etc. (p. 673, col. 2). As the *Persiles* has numerous references to magic and witchcraft, I shall merely refer to the werwolf episode (Book I, chaps. 8, 18); the illness of Antonio, caused by the spite of the witch Cenotia (Book II, chaps. 9, 10, 12). Finally, the old hag Cenotia attempts to secure Auristela for King Policarpo, which is reminiscent of the effort of Kybele, the old go-between, to win Theagenes for the satrap's wife, Arsake. In this, however, we touch also the Celestina literature.

13. The spirit which controls the wanderings of the protagonists in both romances is the same, namely, blind chance. In Heliodorus the τύχη is a well-defined power, and, in accordance with pagan beliefs, of great influence in that inscrutable concatenation of strange events. In the Spanish translation this causal force is called *fortuna*, the power which always leads astray. When Cervantes adopted the spirit of this *Fortuna* into his romance, he was bound to become inconsistent. As a fervent Catholic he had to cling to his belief in a divine Providence, but as a romancer he followed Heliodorus; yet "Fortune," or chance, and Providence are reconciled by allowing the former to dominate the wanderings or *trabajos*, while the latter controls and assures a happy issue. It is natural that the resulting product should be to us, at least, a thoroughly irrational one. But Cervantes attempts to make it seem less so by avoiding the frequent use of *fortuna*, a common word with Heliodorus, and characterizing the straits of his wanderers as *trances*, *casos*, *sucesos*, *trabajos*, *desventura*, and the like; indeed, he treats *fortuna* largely as a figure of speech. However all this may be in the particular case of Cervantes, the large part played by chance or coincidence in the novel of the Renaissance makes it necessary—for purposes of comparison—to recognize the predominance of τύχη or *fortuna* in the Greek romances; nor can there be any doubt that in this respect the influence of the latter upon the Renaissance novel was very marked. (Cf. the excellent treatment of this subject by E. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Litteratur," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. CXI (1902), pp. 89 ff.).

Heliodorus uses both *fortuna* and *fortunas;* in the singular it is either blind chance or a malignant force: "aueys sido tratados de la fortuna tan asperamente como yo" (p. 16_2); "el piloto fue forçado de dar lugar a la violencia de la tormenta y fuerça de la nao, dexando el gouierno della a la fortuna" (p. 33); "no puedo estar alegre, porque mi fortuna no es tal, que yo pueda tomar alguna alegria" (p. 61); "quise poneros a lo que la fortuna de vos ordenare" (p. 106_2) "fortuna le auia dado nombre de hija echada" (p. 107_2); "enojados contra la fortuna, que ella les embiaua vna tras otra tantas desdichas diuersas" (p. 126; cf. also p. 127); in the plural it is *hardships* or *adversity:* "no hay razon ninguna, ... paraque sepays vos mis fortunas" (p. 61); "las fortunas de Chariclea eran vn notable argumento" (p. 107_2); "os cansays de me escuchar tanto contar mis fortunas y desdichas" (p. 121; cf. also p. 123_2); the latter is the same as *infortunios* (p. 11); *miserias y infortunios*" (p. 124_2).

In the *Persiles*, *fortuna* is purely rhetorical: "esta que llaman fortuna, que yo no sé lo que se sea, envidiosa de mi sosiego, volviendo la rueda, que dicen que tiene, me derribó de su cumbre adonde yo pensé que estaba puesto, al profundo de la miseria en que me veo" (p. 567, col. 1); "esta que llaman fortuna, de quien yo he oido hablar algunas veces, de la cual se dice que quita y da los bienes, cuando, como, y a quien quiere, sin duda alguna debe de ser ciega y antojadiza, pues á nuestro parecer levanta los que habian de estar por el suelo, y derriba los que están sobre los montes de la luna" (p. 629, col. 1); cf. *Galatea*, p. 38, col. 1; p. 69, col. 2; *Novelas*, p. 169, col. 1; *Don Quixote*, p. 544, col. 1; Nuñez de Reinoso, *op. cit.*, p. 444, col. 2; p. 453, col. 1; p. 454, col. 2; Achilles Tatius, Book III, chap. 2; *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y aduersidades* ("Biblioteca hispanica," Vol. III), and p. 24: "a quanta miseria y fortuna y desastres estamos puestos los nascidos;" also *2a parte*, *cap. 2:* "al fin habian de pasar por mi mas fortunas de las pasadas;" in the sense of *storm;* the word is common in peninsular literature: "á pocas leguas corrieron fortuna," *El Donado Hablador Alonso*, etc., *Novelistas posteriores á Cervantes*, "Biblioteca de autores españoles," Vol. I, p. 530, col. 1; and in same collection, Vol. II, p. 574, col. 2: "no era esta la primera fortuna en que se habia visto" (in *Tarde llega el desengaño*, by Da Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor); cf. also Professor Henry R. Lang's erudite work on *El Cancioneiro Gallego-castelhano* (New York and London, 1902), p. 195, for a valuable note. In the earliest Italian translation of the *Persiles* (1626) the title reads: "istoria . . . . nella quale senza interrompere il filo dell' istoria si leggono molti casi d' Amore e di Fortuna," etc.; Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 574, n., thinks that Boccaccio used the word after the manner of the Greek romances: "la invidiosa fortuna, la fortuna non stabile" (first tale, fifth day). It may, however, have been inspired by classical uses.

14. Both romancers pause occasionally to philosophize about life, or fate, or adversity, etc: "hijo mio, una aduersidad venida de subito, es intolerable de sufrir, mas la antes sabida y proueyda es mas ligera de lleuar," etc. (p. 66, Heliodorus). The *Persiles:* "Paréceme, hermano mio, ... que los trabajos y los peligros no solamente tienen jurisdiccion en el mar, sino en toda la tierra; que las desgracias é infortunios asi se encuentran con los levantados sobre los montes, como con los escondidos en sus rincones" (p. 629, col. 1).

On the other hand the following must be a coincidence: "es pecado contra la Majestad Diuina, matarse a si mismo" (p. 71_2, Heliodorus), and: "les dije que la mayor cobardía del mundo era el matarse," etc. (p. 610, col. 2, *Persiles*).

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