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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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Modern Philology

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NUMBER I

SPENSER AND THE THEOLOGY OF CALVIN

A previous paper has discussed Spenser's relation to the Puritan propaganda. It is the aim of the present paper to determine the extent to which he was in sympathy with the theology of Calvin. It will remain for a third and final paper to discuss his sympathy with the inner and essential spirit of Puritanism.

Spenser's theological ideas underlie so much of his poetry that the exact determination of these ideas is essential to the understanding of his work. These ideas find their most complete expression in the hymns of heavenly love and beauty, in the initial book of the *Faerie Queene*, and in the *Mother Hubberds Tale*. *The Hymne of Heavenly Love* treats of the three persons of the Godhead, of the angels, and of the creation, fall, and redemption of man; the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, of God's revelation through the external universe and through the divine Sapience; the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, of man's repentance, training, and growth in the spiritual life; and the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, of the organization and life of the church.

There is a general correspondence between these poems and the successive books of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. This work is divided into four books: the first treats of the knowledge of God the creator; the second, of the knowledge of God the redeemer, in Christ, as first manifested to the fathers under the law, and thereafter to us under the gospel; the third, of the mode of obtaining the

grace of Christ, the benefits it confers, and the effects resulting from it; the fourth, of the external means or helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ and keeps us in it, in other words, of the church and of civil government. The two hymns are thus concerned with phases of theology variously considered in the first and second books of the *Institutes*; the *Legend of Holinesse*, with phases considered in the third book; and the *Mother Hubberds Tale*, with phases considered in the fourth. The examination proposed in this paper may well follow, therefore, this general correspondence.

In the doctrine of the Trinity Spenser shows himself in essential accord with Calvin. This in itself, however, implies no special predilection for Calvinism, since in this doctrine Calvin did not depart from the traditional Catholic theology. Arian and Socinian tendencies had as yet exerted but scant influence upon the mind of cultivated England; their adherents were to be found for the most part among the Anabaptists and other like sects. Another school of English thought was yet to arise ere these views could gain the advocacy of such men of intellect and letters as Milton, Locke; Newton, and Watts.

At first reading it might seem, to be sure, that the poet inclines to the Arian doctrine of the Son as of "like substance" with the Father; more careful scrutiny, however, disproves this. The passage involved reads as follows:

Before this worlds great frame, in which al things
 Are now containd, found any being-place,
 Ere fitting Time could wag his eyas wings
 About that mightie bound which doth embrace
 The rolling Spheres, and parts their houres by space,
 That High Eternal Powre, which now doth move
 In all these things, mov'd in it selfe by love.

It lov'd it selfe, because it selfe was faire;
 (For faire is lov'd) and of it selfe begot,
Like to it selfe his eldest sonne and heire,
 Eternall, pure, and void of sinfull blot,
 The firstling of his joy, in whom no jot
 Of loves dislike or pride was to be found,
 Whom he therefore with equall honour crownd.

With him he raignd, before all time prescribed,
 In endlesse glorie and immortal might,
 Together with that third from them derived,
 Most wise, most holy, most almightie Spright!
 Whose kingdomes throne no thought of earthly wight
 Can comprehend, much lesse my trembling verse
 With equall words can hope it to reherse.

Apart from the immediate context and from the remainder of the hymn, the words "like to it selfe" might well seem to show Arian sympathy; interpreted in the light of the context, however, they emphasize the essential unity, rather than the essential difference, of the Father and the Son, and mean that the Son, begotten of the Father before all worlds and of one substance with the Father, coeternal with him and sharing equally his reign, was essentially one with him. This interpretation is confirmed by a later stanza in which the creation of man is attributed indifferently to the Almighty, and to Christ as the Lord of Love.

Spenser's view here squares exactly with the definition of Calvin:

The Father, if he were not God, could not be the Father, nor could the Son possibly be Son unless he were God. We say, then, that the Godhead is absolutely of itself. And hence also we hold that the Son, regarded as God, and without reference to person, is also of himself; though we also say that, regarded as Son, he is of the Father. Thus his essence is without beginning, while his person has its beginning in God.¹

When we speak of the Son simply, without reference to the Father, we truly and properly affirm that he is of himself, and, accordingly, call him the only beginning; but when we denote the relation which he bears to the Father, we correctly make the Father the beginning of the Son.²

Spenser is likewise in agreement with Calvin in believing that the Holy Spirit is derived from the Father and the Son:

The mind of every man naturally inclines to consider, first, God, secondly, the wisdom emerging from him, and lastly, the energy by which he executes the purposes of his counsel. For this reason, the Son is said to be of the Father only; the Spirit, of both the Father and the Son.³

Spenser is also at one with the Catholic and Calvinistic doctrine of angels, common alike to the Catholic and to the early Calvinist, and shows none of the distrust of this doctrine which characterized

¹ *Institutes*, I, xliii, 25.

² *Ibid.*, I, xliii, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, I, xliii, 18.

the later Calvinistic thought. His stanzas descriptive of the nature and offices of the angels are substantially a poetical version of Calvin's prose statement:

There they in their trinall triplicities
About him wait, and on his will depend,
Either with nimble wings to cut the skies,
When he them on his messages doth send,
Or on his owne dread presence to attend,
Where they behold the glorie of his light,
And caroll Hymnes of love both day and night.

Thus reads the *Hymne of Heavenly Love*. The prose reads:

In Scripture, then, we uniformly read that angels are heavenly spirits, whose obedience and ministry God employs to execute all the purposes which he has decreed, and hence their name as being a kind of intermediate messengers to manifest his will to men. The names by which several of them are distinguished have reference to the same office. They are called hosts, because they surround their Prince as his court,—adorn and display his majesty,—like soldiers, have their eyes always turned to their leader's standard, and are so ready and prompt to execute his orders, that the moment he gives the nod, they prepare for, or rather are actually at work.¹

With the doctrines of the fall and atonement of man, Calvinism and Catholicism part company. As defined by the Synod of Dost, the "five points" of Calvinism are: absolute predestination, particular redemption, total depravity, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. Predestination is the eternal, inscrutable, and unchangeable decree of God concerning the salvation of individual men, whereby one portion of the race is elected to be saved, and the other portion is left to perish in sin. Redemption is particular in a twofold sense, first because the salvation of no one man could have been accomplished without the sacrifice of Christ, and secondly because each redeemed person has been the special subject of grace. Total depravity means that because of Adam's fall every man comes into the world in a condition of ante-natal forfeiture, is excluded from the energy of the Holy Spirit, and is positively inclined to evil. There is no goodness in him until the Holy Spirit puts it there. According to the doctrine of irresistible grace, God, at his good pleasure, exerts a new creative energy in certain souls, changing the normal character of the will of the subject and inclining it to

¹ *Institutes*, I, xiv, 5.

co-operate with God. Perseverance of the saints is the continuance in grace and certain salvation of those whom God has chosen.

The emphasis upon the doctrine of total depravity and of redemption in the *Hymne of Heavenly Love* shows how completely Spenser was in accord with these dogmas. Man's condition after the fall and Christ's redemptive act are thus set forth:

But man, forgetfull of his Makers grace
 No lesse then Angels whom he did ensew,
 Fell from the hope of promist heavenly place,
 Into the mouth of death, to sinners dew,
 And all his off-spring into thraldome threw,
 Where they for ever should in bonds remaine
 Of never-dead yet ever-dying paine;

Till that great Lord of Love
 Seeing him lie like creature long accurst
 In that deepe horror of despeyred hell,
 Him, wretch, in doole would let no lenger dwell,
 But cast out of that bondage to redeeme,
 And pay the price, all were his debt extreme.

In this hymn, as well as in the fourth hymn, the dreadful figure of a wrathful God, seated upon his throne, to be propitiated only by appeal to his "soveraine mercie," looms large. Unregenerate man is of the earth, wallowing "like to filthy swine," moiling his mind "in durty pleasures." "All other loves" save Christ are of "the world," meant to "blind weake fancies, and stirre up affections base." In its harshness and austerity, in its absolute denial of good in any earthly thing, this hymn is at one with the teachings of Calvin. One turns from the hymn to the chapter on the "Necessity of contemplating the judgment-seat of God, in order to be seriously convinced of the doctrine of gratuitous justification," and he breathes the same atmosphere:

The Lord weighs the hidden impurity of the heart in his balance. To examine ourselves properly, our conscience must be called to the judgment-seat of God. His light is necessary to disclose the secret recesses of wickedness, which otherwise lie too deeply hid. Then only shall we clearly perceive what the value of our works is; that man, so far from being just before God, is but rottenness and a worm abominable and vain, drinking in "iniquity like water."¹

¹ *Institutes*, III, xii, 5.

Spenser's complete denial in this hymn of any excellence in earthly things is the more significant because in the two earlier hymns he had lent himself with generous enthusiasm to the neo-Platonic doctrine of love; the neo-Platonic doctrine with its emphasis upon the spiritual source and character of physical beauty; the neo-Platonic doctrine, a flower that had sprung and matured in the congenial soil of Catholicism.

These doctrines of depravity and redemption will be met again in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, an allegory in which all of the fundamental Calvinistic doctrines are involved.

On a passage in this same hymn depends the interpretation of the poet's attitude toward the Eucharist, and, by implication, toward the sacraments in general. The stanza concerned reads as follows:

Him first to love great right and reason is,
 Who first to us our life and being gave,
 And after, when we fared had amisse,
 Us wretches from the second death did save;
 And, last, the food of life, which now we have,
 Even he himselfe, in his dear sacrament,
 To feede our hungry soules, unto us lent.

The Eucharist also figures as the tree of life in the *Faerie Queene*, and either the Eucharist or the sacrament of baptism, as the well of life. As the properties of the two are essentially the same—to cleanse from sin, to renew life, giving soundness to the sick and "long health" to all, and to overcome the ravages of death—it is of small moment, in determining the poet's attitude toward the efficacy of sacraments, whether the Eucharist and baptism are both involved, or only the Eucharist. The Eucharist also figures as the diamond box which Prince Arthur gives the Red Crosse Knight,

Wherein were cload few drops of liquor pure,
 Of wondrous worth, and vertue excellent,
 That any wovnd could heale incontinent.

In calling the Eucharist "the food of life . . . to feede our hungry soules," in stating that

Life and long health that gracious ointment gave,
 And deadly wovnds could heale, and reare again
 The senseless corse appointed for the grave,

Spenser seems to claim for sacraments an efficacy which Calvin would not allow, though it is true that the founder of Calvinism placed more emphasis upon the sacraments than did its later exponents. To Calvin the sacraments were "seals" which God placed upon his promises, since "they, by sealing it to us, sustain, nourish, confirm, and increase our faith"; mirrors, "in which we may contemplate the riches of the grace which God bestows upon us"; luminous intermediaries, since "it is easy for the Father of lights, in like manner as he illumines the bodily eye by the rays of the sun, to illumine our minds by the sacraments, as by a kind of intermediate brightness." Yet, though "the office of the sacraments differs not from the word of God, and this is to hold forth and offer Christ to us, and, in him, the treasures of heavenly grace," in reality sacraments are not indispensable, whereas the gospel is so, for, "this which is treasured up in Christ alone, we know to be communicated, not less by the preaching of the Gospel than by the seal of a sacrament, and may be completely enjoyed without this seal."¹

Spenser does not say which he regards as the more efficacious, yet in having Prince Arthur bestow the diamond box upon the Red Crosse Knight, and the Red Crosse Knight present in return

A booke, wherein his Saviours testament
Was writt with golden letters rich and brave,

he associates the word and the sacraments, as is so frequently done by Calvin:

First, the Lord teaches and trains us by his word; next he confirms us by his sacraments; lastly, he illuminates our mind by the light of his Holy Spirit, and opens up an entrance into our hearts for his word and sacraments, which would otherwise only strike our ears, and fall upon our sight, but by no means affect us inwardly.

In brief, while Calvin always attributes to sacraments a secondary office in the operation of divine grace, Spenser seems—though of this one does not feel sure—to attribute to them a primary office. For Calvin they are the "seals" of grace; for Spenser they seem to be, not the appended seal, but the very document itself. If this

¹ *Institutes*, IV, xiv, 14.

interpretation be correct, Spenser is not severely consistent, for there is no logical reconciliation of particular redemption and sacramentarianism, as Calvin partially recognized, and as his successors fully realized.

The *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* is very like the *Institutes* in treating of God's revelation of himself through the external world of nature, and parallels the chapter in Calvin on "The knowledge of God displayed in the fabric and constant government of the universe." The thesis in each is that to him whose spiritual eyes have been opened by divine grace, the beauty and majesty of the universe are an avenue of approach to joyous contemplation of the divine wisdom.

The essence of Calvin's noble chapter is contained in the three following quotations, the first opening the chapter, the second appearing in the middle of the chapter, and the third at its close.

Since the perfection of blessedness consists in the knowledge of God, he has been pleased, in order that none might be excluded from the means of obtaining felicity, not only to deposit in our midst that seed of religion of which we have already spoken, but so to manifest his perfection in the whole structure of the universe, and daily place himself in our view, that we cannot open our eyes without being compelled to behold Him. His essence, indeed, is incomprehensible, utterly transcending all human thought; but on each of his works his glory is engraven in characters so bright, so distinct and so illustrious, that none, however dull and illiterate, can plead ignorance as their excuse.¹

Hence it is obvious that in seeking God, the most direct path and the fittest method is, not to attempt with presumptuous curiosity to pry into his essence, which is rather to be adored than minutely discussed, but to contemplate him in his works, by which he draws near, becomes familiar, and in a manner communicates himself to us.²

In vain for us, therefore, does Creation exhibit so many bright lamps lighted up to show forth the glory of its author. Though they beam upon us from every quarter, they are altogether insufficient of themselves to lead us into the right path. . . . Wherefore, the apostle, in the very place where he says that the worlds are images of invisible things, adds that it is by faith we understand that they were framed by the word of God; thereby intimating that the invisible God-head is indeed represented by such displays, but that we have no eyes to perceive it until they are enlightened through faith by internal revelation from God.³

¹ I, v. 1.

² I, v. 9.

I, v. 14.

Spenser closely follows Calvin:

Those unto all he daily doth display,
 And shew himselfe in th' image of his grace,
 As in a looking-glasse, through which he may
 Be seene of all his creatures vile and base,
 That are unable else to see his face,
 His glorious face! which glistereth else so bright,
 That th' Angels selves can not endure his sight.

But we, fraile wights! whose sight cannot sustaine
 The Suns bright beames when he on us doth shyne,
 But that their points rebutted back againe
 Are duld, how can we see with feeble eyne
 The glory of that Majestie Divine,
 In sight of whom both Sun and Moone are darke,
 Compared to his least resplendent sparke?

The meanes, therefore, which unto us is lent
 Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
 Which he hath made in beauty excellent,
 And in the same, as in a brasen booke,
 To reade enregistred in every nooke
 His goodnesse, which his beautie doth declare:
 For all that's good is beautifull and faire.

Thence gathering plumes of perfect speculation,
 To impe the wings of thy high flying mynd,
 Mount up aloft through heavenly contemplation.

Thus does the poet, like the theologian, show how the believer may approach God through nature.

The *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* also makes clear the poet's acceptance of the doctrine of predestination, for though Sapiaentia pours riches in abundance upon him who is worthy, yet

None thereof worthy be, but those whom shee
 Vouchsafeth to her presence to receive,
 And letteth them her lovely face to see.

The first book of the *Faerie Queene* is an allegory of the religious life of man, his conversion, training, and growth in grace. In a sense, it is a poetical version of the third book of the *Institutes*, and illustrates all of the fundamental principles of Calvinism.

Inasmuch as holiness does not figure among the virtues in Aristotle "and the rest"—"the rest" being such writers as Piccolomini and Cinthio—there has been not a little discussion of Spenser's procedure in choosing, as the hero of the initial book of his allegory, the Knight of Holiness. The explanation seems to be found in the opening section of the sixth chapter of Book III of the *Institutes*, in which, introductory to the detailed discussion of the life of a Christian man, the author contrasts the "plainness and unadorned simplicity of the Scripture system of morals" with the affected "exquisite perspicuity of arrangement" of "mere philosophies," by making holiness the very derivation and central principle in the harmonious attainment of virtue:

As philosophies have certain definitions of rectitude and honesty, from which they derive particular duties and the whole train of virtues; so in this respect Scripture is not without order, but presents a most beautiful arrangement, one too which is every way much more certain than that of philosophies. The only difference is, that they, under the influence of ambition, constantly affect an exquisite perspicuity of arrangement, which may serve to display their genius, whereas the Spirit of God, teaching without affectation, is not so perpetually observant of exact method, and yet by observing it at times sufficiently intimates that it is not to be neglected.

The Scripture system of which we speak aims chiefly at two objects. The former is, that the love of righteousness, to which we are by no means naturally inclined, may be instilled and implanted into our minds. The latter is, to prescribe a rule which will prevent us while in the pursuit of righteousness from going astray. It has numerous admirable methods of recommending righteousness. Many have been already pointed out in different parts of the work; but we shall here also briefly advert to some of them. With what better foundation can it begin than by reminding us that we must be holy, because "God is holy" (Lev. 19:1; I Pet. 1:16)? For when we were scattered abroad like lost sheep, wandering through the labyrinth of the world,¹ he brought us back again to his own fold. When mention is made of our union with God, let us remember that holiness must be the bond; not that by the merit of holiness we come into communion with him (we ought rather first to cleave to him, in order that, pervaded with his holiness, we may follow whither he calls), but because it greatly concerns his glory not to have any fellowship with wickedness and impurity. Wherefore he tells us that this is the end of our calling, the end to which we ought ever to have respect, if we would answer the call of God. For to what end were

¹ Compare with the opening canto of the *Faerie Queene*.

we rescued from the iniquity and pollution of the world into which we were plunged, if we allow ourselves, during our whole lives, to wallow in them? Besides, we are at the same time admonished, that if we would be regarded as the Lord's people, we must inhabit the holy city Jerusalem (Isaiah 35:8, et alibi), which, as he hath consecrated it to himself, it were impious for its inhabitants to profane by impurity. Hence the expression, "who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness" (Ps. 15:1, 2; 24:3, 4); for the sanctuary in which he dwells certainly ought not to be like an unclean stall.

The better to arouse us, it exhibits God the Father who, as he hath reconciled us to himself in his Anointed, has impressed his image upon us, to which he would have us to be conformed (Rom. 5:4). Come, then, and let them show me a more excellent system among philosophers, who think that they only have a moral philosophy duly and orderly arranged. They, when they would give excellent exhortation to virtue, can only tell us to live agreeably to nature. Scripture derives its exhortation from the true source, when it not only enjoins us to regulate our lives with a view to God its author to whom it belongs; but after showing us that we have degenerated from our true origin, viz., the law of our Creator, adds, that Christ, through whom we have returned to favour with God, is set before us as a model, the image of which our lives should express. What do you require more effectual than this? Nay, what do you require beyond this? If the Lord adopts us for his sons on the condition that our life be a representation of Christ, the bond of our adoption, then, unless we dedicate and devote ourselves to righteousness, we not only, with the utmost perfidy, revolt from our Creator, but also abjure the Saviour himself. Then, from an enumeration of all the blessings of God, and each part of our salvation, it finds materials for exhortation. Ever since God exhibited himself to us as a Father, we must be convicted of extreme ingratitude if we do not in turn exhibit ourselves as his sons. Ever since Christ purified us by the laver of his blood, and communicated this purification by baptism, it would ill become us to be defiled with new pollution. Ever since he ingrafted us into his body, we, who are his members, should anxiously beware of contracting any stain or taint. Ever since he who is our head ascended to heaven, it is befitting in us to withdraw our affections from the earth, and with our whole soul aspire to heaven. Ever since the Holy Spirit dedicated us as temples to the Lord, we should make it our endeavour to show forth the glory of God, and guard against being profaned by the defilement of sin. Ever since our soul and body were destined to heavenly incorruptibility and an unfading crown, we should earnestly strive to keep them pure and uncorrupted against the day of the Lord. These, I say, are the secret foundations of a well-regulated life, and you will search in vain for anything resembling them among philosophers, who, in their commendation of virtue, never rise higher than the natural dignity of man.

According to Calvin, then, the discipline of life is primarily that we may obtain righteousness; therefore Spenser, obedient to the teachings of his theological master, makes the pursuit of holiness the first consideration and chiefest concern in "fashioning a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline."

Though man must obey the solemn command "Be ye holy, for I am holy," he is of himself impotent and can do nothing; he must therefore rely wholly upon God who can make of him whom he has chosen to elect, a new creature, and he must not ascribe any excellence to himself. Calvin says:

Everything good in the will is entirely the result of grace. . . . All the fruits of good works are originally and immediately from God. Hence the Psalmist, after saying that the Lord "hath made us," to deprive us of all share in the work, immediately adds, "not we ourselves." That he is speaking of regeneration, which is the commencement of the spiritual life, is obvious from the context, in which the next words are, "we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture." Not contented with simply giving God the praise of our salvation, he distinctly excludes us from all share in it, just as if he had said that not one particle remains to man as a ground of boasting. The whole is of God. . . . But since Scripture proclaims throughout that it is the free gift of God, it follows, that when men, who are with their whole soul naturally prone to evil, begin to have a good will, it is owing to mere grace. Therefore, when the Lord, in the conversion of his people, sets down these two things as requisite to be done, viz., to take away the heart of stone, and give a heart of flesh, he openly declares, that, in order to our conversion to righteousness, what is ours must be taken away, and that which is substituted in the place is of himself. . . . He could not more clearly claim to himself, and deny to us, everything good and right in our will, than by declaring, that in our conversion there is the creation of a new spirit and a new heart. It always follows both that nothing good can proceed from our will, until it be formed again, and that after it is formed again, in so far as it is good, it is of God, and not of us.¹

In the spirit of this theology, Spenser chooses as the hero of the first book "a tall clownish young man" who "rested him on the floore, unfitte through his rusticity for a better place," yet who, when clad in the armor of a Christian man, "seemed the goodliest man in all that company," so recreated was he by the grace of God.

It is thus the grace of God that converts this rustic into a professed knight of holiness, and likewise it is the grace of God alone

¹ II, iii, 7-8.

that establishes him as an actual knight of holiness. Thus trusting in his own strength, he is overcome of Orgoglio, and only released by Prince Arthur, the personification of the grace of God. Again he becomes the victim of religious melancholia, as he reflects how just it is for the sinner to die, and is only saved when Una—Truth—snatches the dagger from his hesitant hand, and reminds him that he is one of God's *elect*, and that "where justice growes, there grows eke greater grace." The lesson is driven home by the poet, who, in his own person, reflects:

What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might
And vaine assuraunce of mortality,
Which, all so soone as it doth come to fight
Against spirituall foes, yields by and by,
Or from the fieelde most cowardly doth fly!
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,
That thorough grace hath gained victory:
If any strength we have, it is to ill,
But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will.¹

It is the less necessary to examine in detail the entire book in the light of the Calvinistic system, inasmuch as the episode of the House of Holiness is a pictorial setting-forth in systematic form of the mode of obtaining the grace of God, and of Christian growth therein.

To this House of Holiness Una conducts the Red Crosse Knight that he may be trained. Arrived there, they find the door locked, but it is opened by the porter, Humilitie, for, according to Calvin, who borrows the words of St. Chrysostom, "the foundation of our philosophy is humility."²

Consider, first, that there is no access to salvation unless all pride is laid aside and true humility embraced; secondly, that that humility is not a kind of moderation by which you yield to God some article of your right, . . . but that it is the unfeigned submission of a mind overwhelmed by a serious conviction of its want and misery.³

Entered within a spacious court, they are met by a franklin, Zeal, for, as Calvin recommends, "Let this, then, be the first step, to abandon ourselves, and devote the whole energy of our minds to the service of God."⁴

¹ *F.Q.*, I, x, 1.

² II, ii, 11.

³ III, xii, 6. Note that the Red Crosse Knight had just had two crushing lessons in humility in his encounters with Orgoglio and Despair.

⁴ III, vii, 1.

Next they come to a hall and are received by Reverence, for "men are never duly touched and impressed with a conviction of their insignificance, until they have contrasted themselves with the majesty of God."¹

Next they are received by Coelia, who stands for the heavenly mysteries, as she is the Dame of the house, and the mother of the Christian virtues. As they converse,

Loe! two most goodly virgins came in place,
Ylinked arme in arme in lovely wise.

In like manner Calvin associates faith and hope, inasmuch as, "Wherever this living faith exists, it must have the hope of eternall life as its inseparable companion."²

Una now requests Fidelia to school her knight in heavenly learning and celestial discipline. Accordingly, Fidelia opens her book, that none untaught could read, and teaches of God, of grace, of justice, and of free-will—the very core of Calvinistic doctrine. The Knight is soon stricken with the consciousness of sin. That faith precedes repentance in point of time, and that repentance is induced by faith in point of experience is likewise Calvin's teaching:

That repentance not only always follows faith, but is produced by it, ought to be without controversy. . . . Those who think that repentance precedes faith instead of following from, or being produced by it, as the fruit by the tree, have never understood its nature."³

The Knight, bowed by a sense of guilt, and fearful that he cannot escape, is comforted by Speranza. "The Lord often keeps us in suspense," says Calvin, "by delaying the fulfillment of his promises much longer than we could wish. Here the office of hope is to perform what the prophet enjoins, 'Though it tarry, wait for it.'"⁴

Una reports the condition of her knight to Coelia who fetches the leech, Patience. Patience disciplines him by fasting and prayer, Penance and Remorse straiten him, and Repentaunce washes away his stain. So Calvin writes:

Moreover as hatred of sin, which is the beginning of repentance, first gives us access to the knowledge of Christ, who manifests himself to none but miserable and afflicted sinners, groaning, labouring, burdened, hungry, and thirsty, pining away with grief and wretchedness, so if we would stand

¹ I, i, 3.

² III, ii, 42.

³ III, iii, 1.

⁴ III, ii, 42.

in Christ, we must aim at repentance, cultivate it during our whole lives, and continue it to the last.¹

Thus restored, the Knight is presented to Charissa, who instructs him in love, righteousness, and well to donne, and then consigns him to the tutelage of Mercy. Mercy in turn conducts him through the hospital of self-denial and good deeds. Finally he ascends the hill of Contemplation, where the ancient sage points out to him first the steep, long path leading to the heavenly city, and then the very city itself. These concluding episodes closely parallel chapters seven, eight, and nine of Book Three, the first two giving a summary of the Christian life as expressed in self-denial and bearing the cross, and the last treating of the office of meditation on the future life. The hospital of Mercy illustrates the divine command to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, bind up the broken-hearted, care for the widows and orphans. Calvin makes Mercy the handmaid of Charity and summarizes the principle of good deeds, amplified into many pages, in the following words:

Let this, then, be our method of showing good-will and kindness, considering that, in regard to everything which God has bestowed upon us, and by which we can aid our neighbors, we are his stewards, and are bound to give account of our stewardship; moreover, that the only right mode of administration is that which is regulated by love.²

The chapter on meditation is an exhortation to the faithful to fix their eyes upon the celestial life, and "by raising their mind to heaven, become superior to all that is in the world."³

Thus it is seen how essentially Calvinistic is the first book of the *Faerie Queene* and how closely the theologian's exposition of the Christian life, and the poet's allegory of it, parallel one another.

The second book, while not primarily theological, shows how completely Spenser sympathized with Calvin's views on temperance, as unfolded in the tenth chapter of Book III of the *Institutes*, entitled, "How to use the present life and the comforts of it." The thesis of the chapter is that, since we are only to pass through the earth, we should use its blessings only in so far as they assist our progress, rather than retard it. It is the doctrine of the golden mean:

Let this be our principle, that we err not in the use of the gifts of Providence when we refer them to the end for which their author made and

¹ III, iii, 20.

² III, vii, 5.

³ III, ix, 6.

destined them, since he created them for our good, and not for our destruction. No man will keep the true path better than he who shall have this end carefully in view. Now, then, if we consider for what end he created food, we shall find that he consulted not only for our necessity, but also for our enjoyment and delight. Thus, in clothing the end was, in addition to necessity, comeliness and honour; and in herbs, fruits, and trees, besides their various uses, gracefulness of appearance and sweetness of smell. Were it not so, the Prophet would not enumerate among the mercies of God "wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine." Have done, then, with the inhuman philosophy which, in allowing no use of the creatures but for necessity, not only maliciously deprives us of the lawful fruit of the divine beneficence, but cannot be realized without depriving man of all his senses, and reducing him to a block. But, on the other hand, let us with no less care, guard against the lusts of the flesh, which, if not kept in order, break through all bounds. Where is the gratitude, if you so gorge or stupify yourself with feasting and wine as to be unfit for offices of piety, or the duties of your calling? Where the recognition of God, if the flesh, boiling forth in lust through excessive indulgence, infects the mind with its impurity, so as to lose the discernment of honour and rectitude? Where thankfulness to God for clothing, if on account of sumptuous raiment we both admire ourselves and disdain others? He who makes it his rule to use this world as if he used it not, not only cuts off all gluttony in regard to meat and drink, and all effeminacy, ambition, pride, excessive show, and austerity in regard to his table, his house, and his clothes, but removes every care and affection which might withdraw or hinder him from aspiring to the heavenly life, and cultivating the interest of his soul.

Need it be reiterated that this ideal of the golden mean finds constant illustration in the characters and episodes of the *Faerie Queene*: in the comely and courteous Medina, richly, yet modestly arrayed, who is contrasted with the cold and self-righteous Elissa, on the one hand, and with the frivolous and loose Perissa on the other; in Britomart, ardent and yet chaste; in the allegory of the castle of temperance; in Guyon's refusal of the wealth of Pluto, beyond his needs; and in the condemnation equally of extortion and of communism by Artegall, the Knight of Justice?¹ It may well be that Spenser's sensuousness sweeps him beyond the golden mean in certain characters and situations, characters and situations that M. Jusserand has not been slow to detect, but there can be no question as to what the poet held in theory.

¹ See the author's article on "Spenser's Arraignment of the Anabaptists," *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XII, 434.

However little the poet may have accepted the love of one's fellow-creatures, even the humblest, as an actual social program—and his toadyism and disdain of the common folk are sufficiently evident—like Calvin he accepted it as a theological postulate, and recommended it loudly:

Then next, to love our brethren, that were made
Of that selfe mould, and that selfe Makers hand,
That we, and to the same againe shall fade,
Where they shall have like heritage of land,
How ever here on higher steps we stand,
Which also were with selfe same price redeemed
That we, how ever of us light esteemed.¹

In his conception of church organization Spenser did not follow Calvin, but held to the prevailing English theory; as this has been fully treated in a preceding paper,² it need not be reviewed here.

No phase of Calvin's teachings exerted a greater influence than the very closing chapter on civil government. By removing the mediaeval check, and by teaching submission to princes, divinely appointed over temporal affairs and the guardians of worship, Calvin greatly strengthened the cause of royalty in the different nations of Europe. Spenser's political theory is compressed into the lines,

He maketh Kings to sit in sovereignty;
He maketh subjects to their powre obey;³

Calvin's, into the words of Solomon, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth."⁴

The theologian and the poet were one in their condemnation of that sect which, in the sixteenth century, was a by-word for disloyalty, the Anabaptists. To Spenser they are a "base rabble"; to Calvin "vain" and "furious." Theologian and poet are also one in regarding any political change as evil: Spenser says that "all change is perillous, and all chaunce unsound";⁵ Calvin, that "should

¹ Cf. Calvin, on the Second Commandment, II, 8.

² "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *Modern Philology*, XI, 85.

³ *F.Q.*, V, ii, 41.

⁴ *Institutes*, V, xx.

⁵ V, ii, 36.

those to whom the Lord has assigned one form of government take it upon them anxiously to long for a change, the wish would not only be foolish and superfluous, but very pernicious."¹

In certain minor matters Spenser differs from Calvin. Thus, he differs in recognizing the authority of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, since "care of both body and soul lyeth upon the Prince."² It is hard to say, however, whether he held to this view from conviction or for policy. He also differs in his preference for a celibate clergy, a point on which he seemed to feel very strongly,³ though Calvin calls this a "pestiferous tradition."

In the main, however, the comparison of these two writers impresses one with the very great extent to which the poet had conformed, through direct influence or indirect, to the teachings of the great theologian.

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¹ *Institutes*, IV, xx, 8.

² *View*, Globe ed., p. 680.

³ *Mother Hubberds Tale*, l. 475.

STUDIES IN *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*

II. THE BURDEN OF PROOF: THE TESTIMONY OF THE MSS; THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR

If, as I have pointed out in the article¹ to which the present one is a sequel, the theory of the single authorship of all the texts of *Piers the Plowman* has in its favor an initial presumption so strong as to place the burden of proof upon those who attack that theory, this presumption must rest upon some or all of the following grounds: (1) antecedent probability; (2) "tradition"; (3) the testimony of the MSS; (4) the evidence we have in regard to the name of the author. I have already tried to show that no presumption in favor of single authorship can be founded either upon antecedent probability or upon scholarly tradition. It still remains for us to inquire whether the testimony of the MSS and the evidence we have in regard to the author's name furnish any ground for a presumption in favor of the theory of single authorship. I shall include under the not very precise term "testimony of the MSS" not merely the evidence which external features of the MSS afford as to the relations of the various texts to each other, but also such evidence as the texts themselves furnish in regard to this point.

The question of the mutual relations of the texts is a threefold one, involving a consideration of the relation (1) of A¹ to A²; (2) of A¹ and A² to B; and (3) of B to C.

In a certain sense it is true that the A-text, consisting of the *Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (A¹) and the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest secundum Wyt et Resoun* (A²), is a literary unit, for the *Vita*, beginning:

Thus i-robed in russet romed I a-boute,

is so linked by its opening lines to the *Vision* that precedes it in the MSS that it is manifestly not an independent work complete in itself. But when we look at the A-text from the point of view of the *Vision*, the case is altogether different. The *Vision* taken by itself is a

¹ *Modern Philology*, XI, 177 ff.

complete literary unit; it neither promises nor needs a continuation. It is true that Dowel plays an important part in Passus VIII of the *Vision*, but there is no mention there of Dobet and Dobest, who, in the *Vita*, are scarcely less important than Dowel.¹ Moreover, the part which Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest play in the *Vita* is fundamentally different from that which Dowel plays in the concluding passus of the *Vision*. The theme of the *Vita* is the dreamer's quest of the three virtues—his search for their abiding-place and his pursuit of his inquiry as to what they really are. The three virtues constitute a problem, which the dreamer ceaselessly endeavors to solve. In the *Vision*, on the other hand, there is no problem at all as to the meaning of Dowel. "Dowel" is merely an abridged expression for the idea contained in the words:

. . . . dowel, and haue wel and god schal haue thi soule,²

which in turn are a paraphrase of the words of the pardon:

Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam.³

The poet's interpretation of the terms of the pardon is set forth in VIII. 1-89; we may sum it up by saying that the pardon is granted to those who fulfil the duties of the state of life to which God has called them. These, then, are those "qui bona egerunt"; to do this is "Dowel." There is no indication that the poet even considered the possibility of any other interpretation of Dowel, or that the dreamer was in the slightest doubt with regard to its meaning.

¹ Passus IX begins with the search for Dowel alone. The dreamer first inquires of two friars where Dowel dwells; one of them replies that he dwells with them and (after some further talk) defines Dowel as charity (A. IX. 41). The dreamer, professing himself unable to understand the friar's words, continues his search. Presently (at l. 58) he falls asleep and has a vision of Thought. The dreamer inquires of him where Dowel dwells, and Thought replies with a definition of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest (A. IX. 69 ff.). The dreamer is grateful for Thought's instruction, but is not satisfied, saying:

More kuynde knowynge I coueyte to here,
Hou Dowel and Dobet and Dobest beth on eorthe (A. IX. 103 f.).

The dreamer and Thought proceed then to Wit, disputing about Dowel as they go. When they meet with Wit, the dreamer (using Thought as a spokesman) asks:

Wher Dowel and Dobet and Dobest beoth in londe (A. IX. 117).

Wit's reply to this inquiry is a discussion of all three virtues, and occupies (with its digressions) the whole of Passus X. Finally, when the dreamer goes on to Clergy to pursue his investigations, he says that he has been sent by Wit and Study

To leorne at ȝou Dowel and Dobet after,
And setthen afturward to see sumwhat of Dobest (A. XI. 177 f.);

the conversation that follows concerns all three of the virtues.

² A. VIII. 97.

³ Following A. VIII. 95.

The dreamer's reflections (A. VIII. 132 ff.), which conclude the *Vision*, concern the truthfulness of dreams and the relation of Dowel to indulgences, and do not even remotely suggest that he was dissatisfied with the interpretation of Dowel which is set forth in the former part of Passus VIII. In short, though the *Vita* is obviously a continuation of the *Vision*, the *Vision* is complete in itself and contains no evidence whatever that its author contemplated a continuation or that the concluding passus of the *Vision* was intended to lead up to the *Vita*. This fact alone does not of course prove, or even tend to prove, that the *Vision* and the *Vita* were not the work of the same author. Neither does it lend any support to the hypothesis of a common authorship of A¹ and A².

The external features of the MSS of the A-text corroborate in the most unambiguous manner the inferences I have drawn from the texts themselves. The colophon which in all of the MSS stands at the junction between the *Vision* and the *Vita* shows that the A-text was regarded as consisting of two poems. This was recognized by Mr. Skeat from the first, for he said in his introduction to the A-text in 1867:

The whole poem is called "Piers Plowman" only by a certain latitude of phrase, and the Passus have been in this volume numbered from I. to XI. merely as a matter of convenience. Strictly speaking, this is *incorrect*. There are really *two* poems, each perfectly distinct from the other, with different titles, and separate prologues. . . . Each poem is complete in itself, and the concluding passages of each are wrought with peculiar care with a view to giving them such completeness, by stating, at the end of each¹ the result which in each case the author wished to bring out strongly. The only connection between them is that the second is a sort of continuation of the first, and supposes that the dreamer, not being wholly satisfied with the first result of his inquiries, sets out once more to renew and extend them. . . . This is very clearly shewn by the titles of the different Passus in the A-type MSS. In none of them is there any title to the Prologue to the first poem, but the succeeding Passus are numbered from I. to VIII. in MSS T, H, U, H₂, and D, except where a title is occasionally lost, or where (once only in H) it is miswritten. But the Prologue to "Dowel, &c." has the following titles:

Incipit hic dowel. dobet. and dobest V;

¹ At the time at which Mr. Skeat wrote these words he was of opinion that the *Vita* ended with the last line of Passus XI.

Explicit hic visio willelmi de Petro de Plouzman: Eciam incipit vita de do-wel dobet et dobest, secundum wyt et resoun T;

Explicit hic visio willelmi de petro plowman, Et hic incipit dowel dobet et dobest secundum wit et resoun U;

Explicit hic visio willelmi de petro the plouzman; Eciam incipit uita de dowel and dobest, secundum wit et reson H₂;

Vita de Dowel Dobet and Dobest secundum wyt and resoun D.

The last two Passus are called *Passus primus* (and *secundus*) *de dowel*, &c., in T and H₂ and the same in U, omitting the &c. In D the former of them has the very significant title, *Primus passus in secundo libro*.¹

The MSS of the A-text, therefore, and the texts themselves,² furnish no basis for a presumption in favor of the common authorship of A¹ and A².

The most casual examination of the B-text shows us that we have not before us a mere revision, but a thorough remaking of the earlier text. The *Vision* is expanded from 1,833 lines to 2,400; the *Vita* is expanded from 634 lines³ to 806, and is further amplified by the addition of more than 4,000 lines which have no counterpart in A². The thoroughness of this remaking obliges us to consider the hypothesis that the B-text is not the work of the author (or authors) of the

¹ *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part I, pp. xxiv, xxv. The Duke of Westminster's MS has at the beginning of Passus IX the rubric: "Sequitur prologus de dowel, dobest, et dobest" (Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, E.E.T.S., Part IV, p. 854). MSS Harleian 3954; Trinity College, Dublin, D. 4. 12; Lincoln's Inn 150; and Harleian 875 are lacking at this point. For information in regard to the other MSS I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. Thomas A. Knott. MS Digby 145 has: "Explicit Visio hic Incipit vita de dowell dobett & dobest secundum witt & Resoun." MS Rawlinson Poet. 137 has: "Explicit hic visio willi de petro &c Et hic incipit vita de dowel. dobet. & dobest. secundum wit & resoun." MS Ingilby has: "Explicit visio willelmi de Petro Plowman Hic incipit vita de dowele dobet & dobest secundum wit & resoun." MS Ashmole 1468 has: "Hic incipit vita de dowel dobet & dobest."

Mr. Chambers is unquestionably correct in concluding that this colophon was present in the archetype of all the extant A-text MSS (*Modern Language Review*, VI, 313). When Mr. Jusserand, in a desperate effort to find evidence to support his contention that the A-text is a unit, says: "MSS containing the three episodes of Meed, Piers Plowman properly so called, and Dowel, begin thus: 'Hic incipit liber qui vocatur pers plowman'; and end thus: 'Explicit tractatus de perys plowman'" (*Modern Philology*, VI, 278), referring to colophons in two different MSS, he ignores the fact that the first of these MSS (Rawlinson Poet. 137) clearly distinguishes the *Vision* from the *Vita* by the colophon already quoted, and that the second of the MSS (Harl. 3954), besides being a mixture of the A- and B-texts, omits A. VIII. 114-IX. 97. Lacking the point of juncture between the *Vision* and the *Vita*, it necessarily lacks the colophon which occurs there in all the other MSS that are complete up to this point. This information as to the lacuna in Harl. 3954 I owe to Mr. Knott.

² It will be understood that I am considering here only such evidence as bears upon the question whether the A-text consists of one work or of two, not evidence of a purely internal character.

³ For reasons that will be set forth later, I regard all of Passus XII as the work of John But and therefore ignore it in this reckoning.

original work. I do not know how this hypothesis can be ignored except upon the assumption that a mediaeval writer never appropriated and expanded in this fashion literary material that was not of his own composition.

The solution of the problem of the A- and B-texts will depend to a considerable extent upon the conclusions that scholars reach in regard to the authorship of A¹ and A². If A¹ and A² are proved to be the work of the same writer, it will be difficult (I should think) to prove that the B-text is not the work of the same man. But if A¹ and A² are proved to be the work of different writers, there will be at least two hypotheses to be considered with regard to the authorship of the B-text. The writer of the B-text was either the author of A², or else he was one who had no share in the composition of the A-text.¹ The texts themselves (apart from purely internal evidence) furnish little ground for a choice between these two hypotheses, but the MSS of the A-text contain a hint that we cannot afford to ignore. The title *Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wyt et Resoun* appears in all but three of the MSS which contain the beginning of the *Vita* and may very well (upon the evidence of the genealogical relations of the MSS) be an original feature of the text.² If not an original feature of the text, it must have been introduced very early in the process of MS transmission. It is difficult, however, to conceive how this title should have been added to the text after it had left the author's hands. If the title were *Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wyt et Clergie*, we could readily understand how a scribe might have supplied it out of the text, for *Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest* are the subject of the poem, and *Wyt* and *Clergie* are the characters who take the largest part in the discussion of the three virtues. But *Resoun* is not even mentioned in A²; he does not appear until we meet with him in *Passus XI* of the B-text.³ It seems most

¹ It is a mere possibility that the author of the B-text was the author of A¹ but not of A², but I cannot regard the hypothesis as one that deserves very serious consideration.

² For the evidence see note 1, p. 22, and the passage previously quoted from Skeat. It is certain that this title was in the archetype of the large and important group of MSS which Chambers and Grattan (*Modern Language Review*, IV, 357 ff.) call the TU group. The Lincoln's Inn MS (which Chambers and Grattan believe to be independent of both the two chief groups of MSS, TU and VH) does not contain this part of the text. The reading of the common original of the VH group cannot be determined, for MS Harl. 875 ends at A. VIII. 144. The Vernon MS has only, "Incipit hic Dowel Dobet and Dobest."

³ B. XI. 367.

probable, therefore, that the title originated with the author of A². If so, it is clear at least that in Passus IX–XI of A he did not execute all that he had planned of *Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest*.

Even if we grant, however, that the author of A² had planned a more extensive work than he actually executed, it by no means necessarily follows that the writer of A² was the writer of B. It is possible that some other writer, finding in the text this hint of the author's plan, undertook to complete his work and followed out his suggestion by introducing Resoun in Passus XI. This hypothesis is to me less satisfactory than the hypothesis that the author of A² himself carried out the plan he had formed, first revising all of the A-text, the *Vision* as well as his own first draft of the *Vita*. But from the evidence we have before us we cannot definitely accept or reject either of these hypotheses. If we are unable to obtain additional direct evidence, our decision in favor of one or the other of them must be guided by the internal evidence of the texts.

For solving the problem of the C-text we must depend upon internal evidence alone, for the texts and MSS furnish us with no direct evidence whatever. Since we have to deal with a fresh redaction of the material of the B-text, a redaction which, though less radical than that which B made of the A-text, introduces innumerable small changes and numerous important ones, we must give equal consideration to both the hypotheses that are open to us, for a priori considerations are of no value for deciding whether the C-text is the work of the author of the B-text or whether it is the work of a different writer. In the absence of external evidence there is no presumption in favor of either hypothesis; it is a problem for investigation.

The results of the foregoing examination of the MSS and texts may be summed up briefly in the statement that they contain no evidence whatever in favor of the hypothesis that all the texts of *Piers the Plowman* are the work of a single author. We have found nothing that is inconsistent with the hypothesis that at least three writers were concerned with the composition of the texts. The two works that make up the A-text may very well have been the work of two different men, and the C-text, so far as the evidence shows, may very well have been composed by a man who had no share in the

writing of the A-text. The evidence we have so far considered is equally consistent with either of these two hypotheses, single authorship or multiple authorship. We have, however, found evidence that suggests that the B-text was written by the author of the *Vita* of the A-text. But this evidence cannot, with the facilities that are available for testing its precise value, be accepted as conclusive.

Our examination of the evidence we have in regard to the name of the author of *Piers the Plowman* will be facilitated by considering first the evidence for the name Will, and afterward the evidence for combinations of a Christian name with a surname.

In the first place, though the texts of A², B, and C unquestionably give to the dreamer of these visions the name Will, the text of A¹ does not unquestionably do so. The only passage in A¹ that affords any ground for accepting Will as the name of the dreamer is the following:

Thenne were marchaundes murie	thei wopen for ioye,
And zeeuen wille for his writynge	wollene clothes;
For he copiede thus heore cause	thei couden him gret thank
	[A. VIII. 42 ff.].

Mr. Skeat interpreted these lines as evidence that the dreamer (or author) is called Will in A¹ as well as in the later texts.¹ It cannot perhaps be absolutely proved that this interpretation is wrong and that the writer of A¹ did not intend to give to the dreamer the name Will, but if this was his intention he expressed his meaning in a very obscure manner. For it cannot be denied that grave difficulties are involved in the interpretation Mr. Skeat gave to the passage. Mr. Manly has pointed out that nowhere else in A does the author speak of himself in the third person; and that, though Will is represented as copying the pardon in the passage just quoted, the dreamer represents himself, fifty lines farther on, as looking over the shoulders of Piers and the priest in order to see what the pardon contained.²

¹ *Piers Plowman*, Pt. IV, p. 184.

² *Modern Philology*, VII, 141, note. The passage Mr. Manly refers to is as follows:
 And Pers at his preyere the pardon vnfoldeth.
 And I bi-hynden hem bothe bi-heold al the bulle.
 In two lynes hit lay and not a lettre more,
 And was i-writen riht thus in witnessse of treuthe:
Et qui bona egerunt, etc. [A. VIII. 92 ff.].

Mr. Chambers, in the *Modern Language Review*, V, 30, seems to acknowledge the force of Mr. Manly's second objection, for he says: "These lines [A. VIII. 42 ff.] cannot refer to . . . the figure who stands behind Piers and peeps over his shoulder at the charter. . . . The lines have no meaning unless they mark the name of the *writer* of the vision." Does Mr. Chambers mean to argue that the passage does not prove that the dreamer in A¹ is named Will, but that it does prove that the author of A¹ bore this name? If so, his position seems to me, so far as I can understand it, to be an absolutely untenable one.

The difficulties Mr. Manly points out are such grave ones that, if they do not render quite untenable Mr. Skeat's interpretation of A. VIII. 42 ff., they at least make it impossible to use that interpretation as a basis of argument. We must therefore refrain from the assumption that the author of A¹ represents the dreamer as bearing the name Will.

A much more important piece of evidence in regard to the name of the author of A¹ is the colophon between A¹ and A², which (as we have seen) gives to A¹ the title "Visio Willelmi de Petro Plowman." This might seem, at first sight, strong evidence (or even proof) that the author of A¹ was named William. So indeed he may have been, but before we assume the fact as a basis for argument we must make sure that we are not arbitrarily ignoring other possibilities. The title "Visio Willelmi de Petro Plowman" has the same weight of MS authority as the phrase "secundum Wyt et Resoun" in the title given to the *Vita*.¹ It certainly occurred in the archetype of the large group of MSS which Chambers and Grattan call the TU group,² and it may have occurred in the archetype of all the extant MSS of the A-text.

The value of the title as evidence of the author's name depends upon who first wrote it and what were his sources of information. The title "Visio de Petro Plowman" (without "Willelmi") might have been given to the poem by any early reader or scribe, for it obviously requires for its composition only a knowledge of the text itself. With the word "Willelmi" the case is not necessarily different, for there are a number of possibilities as to its origin: (1) It originated with the author of A¹. (2) The title (or the word "Willelmi" in the title) was introduced into the text, not by the author of A¹, but by someone who had first-hand information in regard to the authorship of the poem. (3) The title (or the word "Willelmi") was introduced into the text by an early reader or scribe who, like Mr. Skeat, interpreted A. VIII. 43 as evidence that the author's (or dreamer's) name was Will. (4) The title (or the word "Willelmi")

¹ For the evidence see note 1, p. 22, and the passage previously quoted from Skeat.

² See note 2, p. 23, above. Two MSS which testify to "secundum Wyt et Resoun" do not testify to "Willelmi," but the MSS that do contain this reading are so distributed among the subgroups that there can be no doubt as to the reading of the original of the TU group.

was introduced into the text, after A² was attached to A¹, by an early reader or scribe who noticed that in A² the dreamer is called Will.¹ I cannot see that any one of these four possible explanations is superior in probability to any other. If (1) or (2) is the correct explanation, we have strong evidence that the name of the author of the *Vision* was William. If (3) or (4) is the correct explanation, we have no evidence at all. In a word, this piece of evidence turns out on examination to be thoroughly ambiguous.

Though the text and the title of the *Vision* furnish us with no trustworthy evidence as to the name either of the author or of the dreamer, the text of the *Vita* unequivocally names the dreamer Will, for Thought introduces him to Wit with the words:

Wher Dowel and Dobet and Dobest beoth in londe,
Oure Wille wolde i-witen ȝif Wit couthe hym techen.²

Do these lines prove that the author of A² was named William? The question is not an easy one, for it is complicated by the fact that A², as we have seen, is not an independent work but a continuation of A¹, which is possibly of different authorship. If the author of A² was not also the author of A¹, it is quite possible that the name of Will was not the choice of the author of A². He may (like Mr. Skeat) have understood from A. VIII. 42 ff. that the author of A¹ called himself (or his dreamer) Will; or A¹ as he found it may already have had attached to it the title "Visio Willelmi de Petro Plowman." In either of these cases the name Will would not have been the choice of the author of A² and would therefore have no significance as evidence of his own name. If the name Will was not suggested or predetermined by the text or title of A¹, but was the free choice of the author of A², the most probable explanation of his choice of the name would perhaps be that, writing in the first person, he gave to the dreamer his own Christian name. But though this may seem the most probable explanation, we cannot ignore the fact that scholars so widely different in their opinions as Whitaker, Wright, Jack, and

¹ Though we cannot prove that A¹ circulated separately before A² was attached to it, the supposition that it did so circulate is a perfectly possible one and may properly be used as material for hypothesis, though not as a premise for argument.

² A. IX. 117, 118. This is the only direct reference to Will in A², exclusive of those in Passus XII, which (as I believe) is all the work of John But. If, however, the references to Will in Passus XII are the work of the author of Passus IX-XI, the present argument is not affected thereby.

Macaulay have been disposed to regard the dreamer as an imaginary character and the name Will as a fictitious one.¹ The task of condemning as valueless evidence that others have accepted as trustworthy is always an ungracious one, and the temptation is strong to relax at times the severity of our criticism and to admit evidence that is equivocal. But such evidence cannot really help us. Our reliance upon it can only vitiate the results of our investigation. If investigation of this problem is to rest upon a solid basis, it must recognize that the evidence we have considered does not justify the assumption that the author of A² was named William.

The only passage of the B-text which can be cited as evidence of the author's name is the celebrated "Long Will" passage:

"What is Charite?" quod I tho. "A childissh thinge," he [Anima] seide;
"Nisi efficiamini sicut paruuli, non intrabitis in regnum celorum;
 With-outhe fauntelte or foly a fre liberal wille."
 "Where shulde men fynde such a frende with so fre an herte?
 I haue lyued in londe," quod I "my name is Longe Wille,
 And fonde I neuere ful charite bifore ne bihynde!"²

If the author of the B-text merely called the dreamer Will in the manner of A², we could draw no inference from his continuance of a practice which he perhaps did not originate. But "Long Will" is found only in the B-text and looks like a real name. It differs from the colorless "Will" of A² in being definite and striking, and we are justified in regarding it as significant. But of what? I know of only two explanations of the name, one, of course, being that "Long Will" was a cognomen of the author. Of this explanation Mr. Manly, after quoting the passage I have quoted above, says:

What then is the relation of l. 148 [the Long Will line] to the rest of the passage? How does the mention of the author's real name emphasize the declaration that he never found charity? Surely in no possible manner.

¹ Whitaker, in his note on C. VI. 1, says: "William, the dreamer of all these dreams, is a purely imaginary personage." Wright (*Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*, L, 1856, I, ix, note) says: "I do not think . . . that the name *Wil*, given in the poem to the dreamer, necessarily shows that the writer's name was *William*." For Jack's views see *Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, 393 ff. Macaulay (*Modern Language Review*, V, 195) says: "The text of the poem gives us William (or 'Wille') as the name of the dreamer, and the MSS call the poem 'Visio Willelmi,' but this is by no means conclusive as regards the name of the author, who may very well have been speaking in a fictitious character, or at all events under a fictitious name." These writers (except Whitaker, who had in mind particularly the C-text) are not discussing the question with reference to any particular text of the poem.

² B. XV. 145 ff.

"I have lived in land" is clear enough; it means "I have lived in this world, I have had experience." But the name? its significance? Surely we have here not a real name but a popular locution implying *long* experience and observation. We have here only the equivalent of B. XIV. 97, 98:

"Where woneth Charite?" quod Haukyn. "I wiste neuere in my lyue
Man that with hym spake; *as wyde as I have passed.*"¹

This exegesis has fared hardly at the hands of Mr. Manly's critics, but it cannot be denied that it gives to the latter half of line 148 a meaning which is greatly superior to any which it can have if Long Will is merely a personal name. According to Mr. Manly's interpretation the latter half of the line is closely parallel to the former half; according to the other interpretation it has no logical relation at all to the former half. But though Mr. Manly's interpretation has intrinsic excellence, it rests wholly upon the evidence of the context, for no other instance has been cited in which the name Long Will is used with the sense which he would give to it in this passage. The other interpretation is a possible one, but it gives to the latter half of line 148 an inferior sense with reference to the rest of the passage. A definite choice of one of these interpretations to the exclusion of the other seems to me impossible to make. Both are possible, and neither can be said to be superior in probability to the other. We cannot, therefore, accept the passage as evidence that the author of the B-text was named Will; he may have been so named, but to assert that he actually was so named would be to beg the question.

We have no evidence in regard to the Christian name of the author of the C-text. He omits the reference to Long Will, changing the line to

Ich haue lyued in London meny longe zeres,²

and changes

Here is Wille wolde ywyte yf Witte couthe teche hym³

of B to

Her is on wolde wite yf Wit couthe teche.⁴

We can of course draw no inference as to the author's name from the fact that in two passages of the received text the dreamer is addressed

¹ *Modern Philology*, VII, 97.

² C. XVII. 286.

³ B. VIII. 124.

⁴ C. XI. 124.

as Will,¹ for this name had been associated with the dreamer for some thirty years before the C-text was written. The writer of the C-text conformed to a tradition which he had not necessarily inaugurated. Nor can we draw any inference as to his Christian name from the colophon which occurs (for example) in MS Phillipps 8231: "Hic explicit uisio willelmi de petro plouhman. Incipit uisio eiusdem Willelmi de dowel."² This colophon is merely a variant of that which appears at the corresponding point of the A-text and can prove nothing in regard to the authorship of the C-text, composed many years later.

The various references to Will (or William) in the texts and in the colophons of MSS, therefore, furnish us with no evidence for deciding whether the three texts are the work of one or of several authors,³

¹ C. II. 5 (where MSS Ilchester and Bodley 814, however, read *son*, as in the A- and B-texts); and C. XI. 71 (where MS Laud 656 reads *wel*, as in the A- and B-texts).

² Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, Part III, pp. 176, 179. Substantially the same colophon occurs in at least four other MSS, exclusive of those containing the reading *Willelmi W.* which is reserved for later discussion. The only B-text MS which Skeat indicates as having a colophon containing the words "Visio Willelmi" is MS Camb. Univ. Lib. Ll. 4. 14, and in this MS the colophon is in a later hand (*Piers Plowman*, Part II, p. 121).

³ One of the most promising of all the arguments that have been made for unity of authorship is that which Mr. Chambers (*Modern Language Review*, V, 29 ff.) makes on the basis of A. IX. 61 ff., B. XV. 148 (the "Long Will" line), and C. VI. 23 ff., each of which he takes as an indication that the author (or at any rate the dreamer) was a tall man. "It is surely strange," he says, "that B and C, whose additions, according to the separators, are 'tangential' and off the point, should have developed in quite different parts of the poem the hint afforded by A. Or did A, B, and C happen all to be tall men, and all fond of referring to their height?" But in the A² passage, when the writer, introducing Thought, says:

A much mon, me thouhte lyk to my-seluen,
Com and clepede me be my kuynde nome,

there can be little doubt that the likeness of Thought to the dreamer is in his mental and spiritual faculties, not his physical qualities, and that the author had no intention of representing the dreamer as a "much mon." Cf. B's reading:

A moche man, as me thouzte and lyke to my-selue.

The expression "lyk to my-seluen" is precisely parallel to the expression we find in A. X. 6, where Wit tells us that Kuynde (the Creator) has made a castle (Caro or Man) and has inclosed therein Anima,

A louell lemmon lyk to him-self,

i.e., made in God's image. In the C passage the dreamer tells Reason, who has asked what kind of work he can do, that he is

. . . . to walk to worche with sykel other with sythe,
And to long, leyf me lowe for to stoupe,
To worchen as a workeman eny whyle to dure.

But in ll. 7 ff. just above, the dreamer has confided to us that he had health and limbs to work with but liked to take things easy, with nothing to do but drink and sleep. The lines I have quoted no more prove that the dreamer was really a tall man than that he was really in weak health. He was only too tall to work.

or for establishing the Christian name of the author of A¹, A², B, or C. We have still, however, to consider the testimony of John But, who appended to the A-text the conclusion which we find in Passus XII.

How much of Passus XII is the work of John But it is impossible to ascertain with any very high degree of certainty, but both the internal and the external evidence indicates that at least the last 19 lines of the passus are of his composition.¹ This passage, which follows immediately upon Fever's injunction to the dreamer to live the life that is appointed for him and do according to Dowel, begins:

Wille [wiste] thurgh in-wit (thou wost wel the sothe!)
 100 That this speche was spedelich and sped him wel faste,
 And wrouz̄te that here is wryten and other werkes bothe
 Of Peres the Plowman and mechel puple al-so;
 And whan this werk was wrouz̄t ere Wille myz̄te a-spie,
 Deth delt him a dent and drof him to the erthe,
 105 And is closed vnder clom Crist haue his soule!
 And so bad Iohan But busily wel ofte,
 When he saw thes sawes busily a-legged
 By Iames and by Ierom by Iop and by othere,
 And for he medleth of makyng he made this ende.

The rest of the passage contains nothing of importance for our purpose except the indication of date furnished by a prayer for King Richard.

¹ Most critics, if not all, are now agreed that these lines are John But's (for statement of opinions see note 1, *Modern Philology*, XI, 188). Mr. Chambers, in discussing the extent of John But's addition, admits the impossibility of deciding the question by internal evidence alone and argues that we should be guided by the evidence of the MSS. These, as he points out (*Modern Language Review*, VI, 322 ff.), offer us a choice of two stopping-places. One is at the end of Passus XI, the other at the end of l. 88, where the Ingilby MS ends. Mr. Chambers offers very strong arguments for assigning the whole of Passus XII to John But, but inclines to adopt the other view because of a difficulty in understanding why the Ingilby scribe should have ended with l. 88 if his original contained all of Passus XII. He is confirmed in his opinion by the fact that he finds at l. 89 a decided break in the thought, and he regards this combination of external and internal evidence as establishing l. 88 as the most probable end of the composition of the author of Passus XI. This seems to me, however, to ignore one important fact. Assuming that the Ingilby scribe had before him the full text of Passus XII as found in the Rawlinson MS, he found there what was manifestly a spurious conclusion. These scribes were in only too many cases not mere copyists but editors as well. Now what does an editor do when he discovers a spurious conclusion? He ignores it and tries to leave the text as nearly as possible in the condition in which the original author left it. This is what Mr. Skeat did in his Parallel Text, not printing, even in his footnote, the lines which he took to be John But's. Why should not the Ingilby scribe have done the same? And if he was looking for the break, why should he not have decided in favor of the point at which Mr. Chambers finds a break in the course of the thought? If this suggestion be accepted, the most probable opinion would seem to be that John But wrote all of Passus XII.

Of the various arguments that have been based upon this passage, we need consider only that of Mr. Chambers.¹ Interpreting "what is here written" (l. 101) as the complete A-text, and the "other works" (ll. 101, 102) as the B-text, Mr. Chambers drew from John But's statement the inference that "Will" was the author of A¹, A², and B.² But, even accepting John But as a reliable witness in regard to the authorship of *Piers the Plowman*, Mr. Chambers' argument seems to me to be open to two very serious objections. In the first place, how are we to know that "what is here written" *must* mean the whole of the A-text, and cannot mean A² alone? In the second place, if John But knew that the author of A² had completed his poem by writing the B-text, what motive could But have had for attaching to A² a conclusion of his own? In the face of these objections Mr. Chambers' argument seems to me to be of very doubtful validity, to say the least.

But can we, after all, accept John But as a reliable witness in regard to the authorship of *Piers the Plowman*? It seems probable, in view of certain details in the text to which Miss Rickert has recently called our attention, that John But was the king's messenger of that name who is mentioned in various documents between 1378 and 1387.³ If the identification is correct, he was no doubt, as Miss Rickert says, a responsible person. As a messenger, yes. But our interest is with John But as a bibliographer. Is he to be accepted as a responsible witness in that capacity? His opportunities for

¹ The argument (*Modern Language Review*, V, 206 ff.) by which Mr. Bradley, on the basis of John But's testimony, sought to prove that A¹ and A² are the work of the same author but that B and C are of different authorship, has been examined by Mr. Chambers in a very thorough and able manner, and has been shown to be untenable (*Modern Language Review*, VI, 302 ff.). Miss Rickert (*Modern Philology*, XI, 107 ff.) accepts, with slight modifications, Mr. Bradley's argument, but does not attempt seriously to meet the very weighty objections which Mr. Chambers has made to it. Her most important modification of Mr. Bradley's argument is her very ingenious interpretation of A. XII. 107 f. Her interpretation may possibly be correct, but it is unsupported by evidence; no argument of value can be based upon an interpretation which obliges us to accept, without evidence, the "James, Jerome, and Job" of l. 108 as the "alliterative equivalent" of the modern "Tom, Dick, and Harry." The hypothetical argument which Mr. Bradley (*Modern Language Review*, VIII, 88) tentatively offered as a means of proving that the C-text is not the work of the author of the A-text assumes as one of its premises that the C-text cannot have been written earlier than 1387. But inasmuch as Mr. Manly has pointed out that the C-text *may* have been written as early as 1386 (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 34), the assumption necessary to Mr. Bradley's argument cannot be granted, and the argument is therefore inconclusive.

² *Modern Language Review*, VI, 318.

³ *Modern Philology*, XI, 107 ff.

acquiring general information of various sorts would of course, if he were a messenger of the king, be excellent. But mere general information will not suffice for making a reliable witness in the case in which John But's testimony is offered. The witness must have had exact and authoritative information in regard to the authorship of the A-text, if we are to accept the statement that "Will wrought what is here written" as proof that "Will" wrote A¹ as well as A². For, on the hypothesis that the author of A¹ was not the author of A² (and unless at every turn we take this hypothesis into account the investigation of the problem becomes a farce), the author of the *Vita* virtually appropriated the work of his predecessor by attaching to it his continuation. The A-text, as I have already said, is from one point of view a unit, and there is the greatest probability that the whole of it would be attributed to the author who was known to have composed the second of the two works of which it is made up. Assuming that the author of A² was not the author of A¹, it is easy to understand how fairly well-informed persons should attribute to him the whole of the A-text. If, therefore, we are to accept John But's statement as reliable evidence that the author of A² was also the author of A¹, we must concede to him such direct and exact information in regard to the literary work of the author of A² as would render him immune from such vulgar errors. But that he had such sources of information we have no evidence whatever.

Moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that John But's statements occur in a piece of imaginative literature, not in a historical document, and that we cannot use them with the same confidence with which we use documents that purport to be plain statements of fact. We have no evidence that John But knew any more about the author of A² than we ourselves know. His statement that Will was dead and buried may have no more relation to fact than his account of Will's conversation with Fever. His use of the name Will certainly cannot be accepted as evidence that this was the name of the author of A², for the dreamer was already called by that name in the text to which John But attached his conclusion. In view of all these considerations, we cannot accept John But's testimony as reliable evidence either in regard to the authorship of the texts or in regard to the name of their author.

Our examination of the evidence in regard to the Christian name of the author or authors of *Piers the Plowman*, therefore, has yielded nothing but the conclusion that all of the evidence for the name Will is thoroughly equivocal. We have now to discuss the evidence for combinations of a Christian name with a surname; in this discussion we shall take up in succession the names William W., Robert Langland, and William Langland.¹

The name William W. appears in a colophon attached to certain MSS of the C-text. This colophon, which is found in MSS Ilchester, Douce 104, Digby 102,² and B. M. Additional 35157,³ is as follows: "Explicit visio Willelmi .W. de Petro le Plowman. Et hic incipit visio eiusdem de Dowel."⁴ The four MSS which contain the colophon appear to belong to one group,⁵ and one of them, B. M. Additional 35157, is said to have been written in the fourteenth century.⁶ This colophon must therefore have been present in the archetype of these four MSS, a MS written before the end of the fourteenth century, and is therefore a piece of contemporary evidence. Yet it is not a very useful piece of evidence, because it is of an extremely ambiguous character. Its value is seriously impaired by the fact that it is merely a variant of the colophon which (as we have seen) was a very early, if not an original, feature of the MSS of the A-text,⁷ the only difference important for our present inquiry being that the A-text MSS have "visio Willelmi" and that the Ilchester MS and its fellows have "visio Willelmi W." Moreover, at least four C-text MSS contain the colophon in virtually the same form as that which appears in the A-text MSS.⁸ It is therefore clear that a scribe or editor of a certain C-text MS, finding in it a colophon which described the poem as "visio Willelmi," changed the description to "visio Willelmi W." Why should he have made this change? Upon our answer to this question will depend our estimate of the

¹ The attribution of *Piers the Plowman* to John Malverne cannot claim serious consideration, for it cannot be traced farther back than 1580, rests upon the sole authority of John Stow, and first occurs in connection with a gross error as to the date of the poem. See Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, Part IV, p. 867.

² Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, Pt. III, p. xxxvii.

³ *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS of the B.M., 1894-1899*, pp. 192, 193.

⁴ Skeat, *Piers Plowman*, Pt. III, p. xxxvii.

⁵ Skeat, *ibid.*, and *Catalogue of Additions*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Catalogue of Additions*, *loc. cit.* ⁷ See above, p. 22, note 1. ⁸ See above, p. 30, note 2.

reliability of the Ilchester MS colophon as a source of information. The change may be accounted for in various ways. It may have been the result of mere accident, for an erasure immediately before the word *de* in the colophon may have been interpreted by a copyist as a blurred *W*. The change may have been made by a person who had actual information about the author of the C-text, or about the author of the A- or B-text. Finally, the change may have been made arbitrarily by a person who had no more information about the authorship of the poem than that which he found in the colophon of the MS he was copying; "Willelmi W." may have been written as a mere random guess. Any of these explanations is probable enough to be the true one, and it really matters very little which one we accept. For even if the change should have proceeded from a person who had information in regard to the authorship of the poem, the information he gives is too indefinite to be of any value. The initial *W* may stand for any English name, either a surname or a local name, beginning with that letter. In spite, therefore, of its fair show of authority, this colophon is really valueless as a source of information. It may mean anything or nothing.

In 1550 Crowley, in the preface to his edition, made the following statement:

Beynge desyerous to knowe the name of the Autoure of this most worthy worke (gentle reader) and the tyme of the writynge of the same: I did not onely gather togyther suche aunciente copies as I could come by, but also consult such mē as I knew to be more exercised in the studie of antiquities, then I my selfe haue ben. And by some of them I haue learned that the Autour was named Roberte langelande, a Shropshire man borne in Cleybirie, aboute viii. myles from Maluerne hilles.¹

Mr. Skeat, in 1869, appended to this statement the note, "Without doubt, Crowley's authority was John Bale," and this opinion has been generally accepted up to the present time. It appears, however, to be incorrect, for Bale seems not to have acquired his information about the author of *Piers the Plowman* early enough to have been Crowley's informant. Bale's *Illustrium maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*, published in July, 1548, contains no reference to Langland,² and he did not begin until about 1548 to

¹ *Piers Plowman*, Part II, p. xxxii.

² For this information I am indebted to my friend Mr. Carleton Brown, who kindly examined the volume for me.

collect the materials for his larger work, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannię . . . Catalogus*, published in 1557.¹ Moreover, Bale's *Index* (the MS notebook in which he collected the materials for his *Catalogus*) contains strong evidence that the information about Robert Langland was not one of the earliest pieces of material that Bale gathered in his search. No one (so far as I know) has called attention to the fact that the *Index* contains, in four different places, four distinct entries relating to *Piers the Plowman*. These are as follows, each entry being accompanied by the number of the folio on which it occurs and by Bale's own indication of the source from which it was derived:

Uisio Petri Ploughman, edita per Robertum Langlande, natum in comitatu Salopie, in villa Mortymers Clybery in the cley lande within viij. myles of Malborne hylles, li. i. 'In quodam estatis die cum sol caleret,' etc.

*Ex collectis Nicolai Brigam.*²

[f. 186]

Robertus Langlande, natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortymers Clyberi in the cleyelande within viij. myles of Malborne hylles, scripsit, Peers ploughman, li. i. 'In a somer sonday [*above sonday is written seson*] whan sote [*above sote is written warme*] was y^e sunne.'

*Ex collectis Nicolai Brigam.*³

[f. 204b]

Robertus Langlande, a Shropshyre man, borne in Claybery about viij. myles from Maluerne hylles, wrote Peers plough man,

li. i. 'In a somer season whan set was the sunne,' etc.

*Ex domo Guilhelmi Sparke.*⁴

[f. 276]

Robertus Langlonde, sacerdos (vt apparet) natus apud Clybery prope Maluernum montem, scripsit Peers plowghman opus eruditum ac quodammodo propheticum. Claruit A.D. 1369, dum Ioannes Chichestre pretor esset Londini.

*Ex Ioanne Wysdome medico.*⁵

[f. 277]

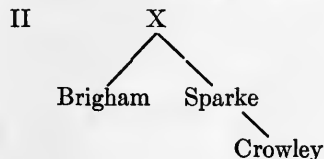
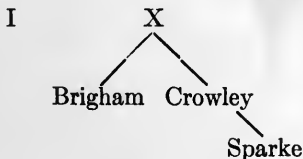
If these items were among the earliest Bale collected, they would naturally have been recorded in that portion of his notebook, ff. 153-64, which at the outset he had assigned to the letter *R*,⁶ under which (according to his principle) the name Robert Langland was entered. None of these items, however, occurs in that part of the book. The

¹ *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Reginald Lane Poole, Oxford, 1902, pp. xx f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 383. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 383. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 509. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 510. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

second occurs on one of the folios which Bale appropriated for the letter *R* after the original *R* space had given out.¹ The first appears among entries relating to other *Visions*, on one of the folios assigned to the letter *V*. When he obtained this piece of information from Brigham, Bale evidently found it convenient to make a double record of it, once under the letter *R*, and again among the *Visions* under the letter *V*, just as he recorded the *Visio seu reuelatio monachi de Euesham* both in the space assigned to *M* and also among the *Visions* on f. 186.² Bale's third and fourth items relating to Robert Langland appear on the last two folios of the notebook, in a part of the volume devoted to various miscellaneous uses.³ In view of these facts it seems scarcely possible that Bale, having begun his notebook about 1548, should have acquired his knowledge of Robert Langland early enough to have supplied Crowley with the information which the latter printed in 1550.

Bale's information about Robert Langland was obtained, then, from Brigham, Sparke, and Wysdom, and Crowley's was obtained from certain unnamed persons, of whom Bale was not one. Now it is obvious that Brigham's, Sparke's, and Crowley's notes (as we shall call them) about Robert Langland are derived from a common original. They are not only identical in substance and very similar in wording, but they agree in a common error (eight for some larger number) which can only be explained on the hypothesis of derivation from one original. Moreover, it is obvious that a particularly close relation exists between Sparke's note and Crowley's; they are identical in wording and to a large extent also even in spelling. It is clear, therefore, that the relation of Brigham's, Sparke's, and Crowley's notes to their common original (which we may call X) must be one or other of those indicated in the following diagrams:



We must therefore answer the question: Did Crowley reproduce Sparke's note, or did Sparke derive his information about Robert

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. viii, ix.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 470, 481.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. xvii, xviii.

Langland from Crowley's preface? The *incipits* given by Brigham and Sparke supply us with evidence for answering this question. Brigham's is, "In a somer sonday [or *seson*] whan sote [or *warme*] was y^e sunne"; Sparke's is, "In a somer season whan set was the sunne." Now Sparke's reading of the line is one which has not been found in any MS, but which is found in Crowley's edition. It is probable, therefore, that Sparke's note was derived from Crowley's edition of *Piers the Plowman*, and that the first of the diagrams given above represents (at least approximately) the relations in which the three notes stand to X, their common original.¹

I fear that the relation between X and Wysdom's note cannot be ascertained. Wysdom's note does not share the common error contained in X, for it has "prope Maluernum montem" instead of "within viij. myles"; it may therefore be a piece of independent testimony, having no documentary relation to X or any of the notes derived from it. We are not justified, however, in assuming that this is the case. We cannot accept Wysdom's note as a faithful transcript of an actual record, because Wysdom has clearly doctored his source of information. His "sacerdos (vt apparet)" and his "opus eruditum ac quodammodo propheticum" judge him out of his own mouth. But for the very contrast it makes to the plain, unembroidered statements of Brigham and Crowley, Wysdom's note is of value.

In regard to the contents of X, we are fortunate in having ample evidence. As to its substance we have the testimony of both Brigham and Crowley, but as to its exact language we must depend less upon Crowley than upon Bale's transcript of Brigham's note, and it is therefore an important circumstance that of this transcript Bale has furnished us with no less than three copies. For we have, in

¹ If Brigham was one of the persons from whom Crowley derived his information about Robert Langland, the diagram might be constructed in this way:



The argument that follows is (*mutatis mutandis*) equally consistent with either of these theories of the relations of the notes to each other—that expressed in the diagram just given, or that expressed in Diagram I above.

addition to the two in his *Index*, the note which he wrote in MS Ashburnham 130: "Robertus Langlande, natus in comitatu Salopie in villa Mortimers Clybery in the Clayland and within viij miles of Malvern hills, scripsit piers ploughman, li. In somer season, &c."¹ This agrees word for word (except for the insertion of "and") with the entries "ex collectis Nicolai Brigam" which we find in Bale's *Index*, and we may therefore accept the three copies as a faithful (though not literal) reproduction of Bale's source.

But what was the document from which Brigham derived his information? In MS Laud 581 [B-text], on the first page, are written, in a hand dated by Mr. Madan about 1570-80, the words: ". . . Robart Langeland, borne by malverne hilles,"² and at the end of the MS, in a different hand, occurs among other entries the note: "Raffe Coppinges. Mem. y^t I haue lent to Nicholas brigham the pers ploughman w^{ch} I borowed of M. Le of Addyington."³ Now it has been suggested that this note about Robert Langland was the source of the information Brigham transmitted to Bale. If this be so, Brigham must merely have guessed that Langland was born at Cleobury Mortimer, or else he must have ascertained the fact from some other source. If Brigham was merely guessing, he was highly successful in imposing upon Bale, for it is clear that Bale regarded his thrice-copied note as a piece of genuine information. But we have really not the slightest ground for assuming that Brigham was guessing. The many items of information that Bale copied from Brigham's collections into his *Index* prove that Brigham was a bibliographer, a diligent searcher of MSS, and that he was in the habit of making systematic notes of the authors, titles, *incipits*, and dates of the works he met with. The evidence for this is abundant and easily accessible, and it will suffice to give two examples, taken at random, of the nature of the information Bale derived from him:

Ioannes Fylton, vicarius ecclesie diue Marie Magdalene extra muros Oxonij, composuit,

¹ *Piers Plowman*, Pt. I, p. xxxv.

² *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. vii. For an opinion as to the date of the writing I am indebted to Mr. Madan's courteous reply to my written inquiry.

³ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. vii, viii.

Sermones dominicales per annum, li. i. 'Penuria studentium.'
Atque alia nonnulla. Claruit A.D. 1440.

*Ex collectione Nicolai Brigan.*¹

Alexandri prioris de Esseby liber festiualis sic incipit, 'Duo preclara diuine pietatis dona.'

*Ex collectaneis Nicolai Brigan.*²

As an example of his notes on English writers, I shall give the following note on Gower, also taken at random:

Ioannes Gower, prædictus, ante obitum cæcus erat, vt ex his versibus eius apparet,

Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus,
Quo mihi defecit visus ad acta mea, etc.

*Ex venationi Nicolai Brigan.*³

There is not a trace in Brigham's notes in the *Index* of that loose guessing and ornamental padding which we have observed in Wyndom's note on Langland. He had exceptionally good opportunities for discovering information about the author of *Piers the Plowman*, for there can be no doubt that MSS were accessible to him which have since been destroyed, and I believe that we are justified in inferring from the character of his collections that the note he gave to Bale was not an irresponsible guess but a memorandum which he had found in a MS. For the fact that MS Laud 581 was at one time in Brigham's possession cannot be accepted as evidence that the note now found in that MS was Brigham's source. The note, in the light of all the facts, is with greater probability accounted for on the hypothesis that it was written by M. Le, the owner of the MS, after it was returned to him, and that the information it contains was derived (probably by oral communication and perhaps at second hand) from Brigham himself.

We must inquire, however, as to the intrinsic probability of Brigham's note. It is true that it has not been corroborated by any local record of Robert Langland at Cleobury Mortimer, but very little is known anyhow about the undertenants of this manor; the records by means of which the existence of Robert Langland might be discredited or established do not exist.⁴ That Cleobury Mortimer is

¹ *Index*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁴ "The affairs of the manor [Cleobury Mortimer] were settled in the local Court, hence we know very little of the under tenants of Cleobury" (*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Series 3, Vol. VI, p. 141).

said to be eight instead of eighteen miles from the Malvern Hills,¹ cannot be regarded as discrediting Brigham's note, for one of the commonest errors in the transcription of MSS was the dropping of an *x* or *v* in the copying of numbers written in the Roman notation. In fact, the error is one more evidence that Brigham was following an earlier authority; if he had merely guessed that Cleobury Mortimer was Robert Langland's birthplace, he would have been likely to aim at accuracy at least in the one particular in which his note was susceptible of easy verification. A more weighty objection, however, to the acceptance of this note as a trustworthy authority has been the fact that the name of Langland is unknown in Shropshire. It was never a common name except in Somerset, Dorset, and Devon and occurs with extreme rarity in other parts of England. Bardsley's note upon the name is, "Langland.—Local, 'of Langland.' I cannot find the spot."² But there is evidence that the village of Longeley (or Langley) in Shropshire, not far distant from Cleobury Mortimer, was also known by the name of Longelond. In the Fine Roll 113, m. 26, 8 Edward II, occurs the following record:

De terris captis Quia Willelmus Burnel de Longelond qui de Rege tenuit
in manum Regis. in capite diem clausit extremum ut Rex accepit man-
datum est Iohanni Abel Escaetori Regis ultra Trentam
quod omnes terras et tenementa de quibus idem Willelmus fuit seisitus in
dominico etc. sine dilacione capiat in manum Regis et ea saluo etc. donec etc.
Teste Rege apud Berwicum super Twedam viij. die Julii.

This document is sufficient to account for the occurrence of the name Langland in Cleobury Mortimer and nullifies the only weighty objection that has ever been made to the contents of Brigham's MS note.

Before we can estimate, however, the value of the evidence in favor of this attribution to Robert Langland of the authorship of *Piers the Plowman*, we must take into consideration the note written in MS Ashburnham 130. The note is in a hand of the fifteenth century and states that "Robert or william langland made pers plough-

¹ The Rev. S. Forbes F. Auchmuty, A.K.C., vicar of Cleobury Mortimer, kindly informed me that the Malvern Hills are just about eighteen miles distant from Cleobury, though certain hills which might be spurs of the Malverns are nearer.

² *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, L, 1901, p. 467.

man."¹ That this note cannot have been the source of Brigham's communication to Bale is clear, for the arguments that have been made against accepting the note in MS Laud 581 as Brigham's source apply a fortiori against accepting this note as his source. The note which Brigham discovered and this note in the Ashburnham MS are therefore independent testimony in favor of Robert Langland's authorship of the poem. We meet here, however, with the complicating circumstance that the Ashburnham MS gives us William as an alternative to the name Robert. Now either Robert or William must be an error, for it is highly improbable that two different men bearing the uncommon name Langland should have been concerned in the composition of the poem. We must therefore weigh the evidence for both names and reject the less probable one.

The external evidence for the two names is pretty evenly balanced, but inclines rather to Robert than to William. From the fact that the writer of the Ashburnham note gives precedence to the name Robert it might be argued that he regarded this name as having the greater weight of authority, but the argument would not be of much value. The note is clearly of a composite character, a blending into one statement of two contradictory pieces of information, and if its writer did regard Robert as the better attested name, he may have done so upon insufficient or erroneous grounds. We must therefore accept this piece of evidence as counting no more for one name than for the other. We have then to weigh the authority of Brigham's note against that of the note in the Dublin MS which attributes *Piers the Plowman* to William Langland, the son of Stacy de Rokayle of Oxfordshire. The note in the Dublin MS was written some time in the fifteenth century, and I can see no objection to conceding as early a date to the note Brigham discovered, or at least to the original from which it was copied. But whatever may be the relative dates of the two notes, Brigham's is the more trustworthy. It is a thoroughly credible document; it is self-consistent, contradicts no known facts, and does no violence to probability. The credibility of the note in the Dublin MS will very soon become the subject of our examination, and I shall have to take for granted at the present stage of our inquiry the results of that examination.

¹ *Piers Plowman*, Pt. II, p. xxii.

I believe that they will amply justify us in conceding to Brigham's note (and therefore to the name Robert) a greater weight of authority than to the testimony of the Dublin MS in behalf of William.¹

But even if the external evidence for the names Robert and William Langland were so evenly balanced as to give us no basis for a choice between the two, the name Robert would be decidedly preferable on grounds of general probability. If Robert Langland wrote *Piers the Plowman*, it is not hard to understand how the poem should have come to be attributed to William Langland. The dreamer being called Will in the text of A², B, and C and in colophons of various MSS of all three texts, the temptation would have been irresistible to some persons to substitute for the name Robert the name which seemed to have the sanction of the MSS. But if William Langland wrote the poem, it is hard to understand how it should have come to be attributed to Robert Langland. Mr. Skeat suggested that the opening line of the *Vita de Dowel*,

Thus i-robed in russet romed I a-boute,

would account for the substitution of the name Robert for the true name William.² No one can deny that the word *i-robed*, which in one MS is written *y-Robt*, with a stroke through the *b*, might have been read as "I Robert," and we may even admit that such a misreading of the line might have given rise to a notion that Robert was the author's Christian name. But this does not account for the attribution of the poem to Robert *Langland*. If William Langland wrote the poem, the name Robert must deliberately have been substituted for the true name in ascriptions of authorship. Is it probable that a copyist or reader of the poem should have made this substitution of Robert for William on the basis of his misreading of the first line of Passus IX of the A-text, and should have ignored the fact that the last line of the very same passus,

Oure Wille wolde i-witen ȝif Wit couthe hym techen,

¹ The "Long Will" line in B cannot be counted as evidence for the name William *Langland*, for Mr. Manly (however we may regard his explanation of "Long Will") has conclusively shown that the first half of the line cannot be accepted as having any connection with the surname Langland. See *Modern Philology*, VII, 96, 97. I may take this occasion of stating that my indebtedness to this article of Mr. Manly's is by no means to be measured by the number of instances in which it has been possible for me to record a specific obligation to it. I am indebted to Mr. Manly also for several suggestions which he made to me in personal conference and which I have incorporated in this article.

² *Piers Plowman*, Pt. IV, p. 207; Parallel Text, II, 131.

gave evidence that corroborated that part of the attribution of authorship that he was obliterating? All we can say is that the thing *may* have happened, but that, as an explanation of the facts, it is much more difficult and less probable than the explanation we can give of the substitution of the name William for Robert if Robert Langland was the author of the poem. Now if William Langland was the author, the name Robert must have been substituted for that of William, not once, but twice—once in the original of Brigham's note and once in one of the originals of the note in the Ashburnham MS. It cannot be denied that the hypothesis of William Langland's authorship of the poem makes heavy demands upon our faith. On the other hand, there are no such difficulties inherent in the hypothesis of Robert Langland's authorship. In the light of both external evidence and antecedent probability, Robert Langland (if any man of that name was concerned in the composition of these texts) has decidedly more chances than William of having been the author of *Piers the Plowman*. We can prove neither name to be the true one, but if we are going to guess (and for practical purposes we must make a choice of names) we may as well guess with the chances in our favor.¹

The note in the C-text MS D. 4. 1, Trinity College, Dublin, is as follows:

Memorandum quod Stacy de Rokayle pater Willelmi de Langlond qui Stacius fuit generosus et morabatur in Schipton vnder Whicwode tenens domini le Spenser in comitatu Oxoniensi qui predictus Willelmus fecit librum qui vocatur Perys plowman.

There can be no doubt that the Stacy de Rokayle named in this note is the Stacius or Eustace de la Rokele or Rokail' whose name appears in various Oxfordshire documents between 1328 and 1361. In 1328 Roger de Nowers brought suit against "Statium de la Rokele" for a debt of £40.² On January 21, 1331, Eustace son of Peter de la Rokele acknowledged that he owed to Peter son of Eustace de la

¹In this conclusion, and also in some of the arguments by which I have been led to it, I have been anticipated by Mr. Macaulay's note in the *Modern Language Review*, V, 195, published in April, 1910.

²De Banco Roll, 274, Trinity, 2 Edward III, rot. 175; also do. 275, Michaelmas, 2 Edward III, rot. 197. My information about the case here cited is very incomplete, for I have not had the records of it transcribed, but from its being designated "Oxfordshire" I infer that the Rokele concerned in it was a resident of that county.

Rokele £100, to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in the county of Oxford.¹ On March 20, 1349, Eustachius de la Rokeille was a juror in the inquisition post mortem held at Shipton, Oxfordshire, upon the death of Hugh le Despenser.² On October 22, 1360, Eustace Rokaille "of the county of Oxford" and other persons became mainpernors for Mathew de la Villa Nova, who was appointed keeper of the priory of Mynsterlovel, about five miles from Shipton under Wychwood.³ On May 19, 1361, Eustacius Rokail' was one of the jurors in an inquisition ad quod damnum which was held in order to determine whether Thomas de Langeleye should be permitted to enfeoff certain persons with his bailiwick of the forest of Wychwood.⁴ The statement in the note that Stacy de Rokayle lived at Shipton under Wychwood is sufficiently corroborated by the fact that three of the records I have just cited relate either to Shipton or to its immediate neighborhood. The statement that Rokayle was a tenant of Lord le Despenser is corroborated, not only by the fact that the Despensers held the manor of Shipton from the year 1322,⁵ but also by the fact that his father was an adherent of the Despensers. The father of Stacy de Rokayle (as we see from the second of the records cited above) was Peter de la Rokayle, who,

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1330-33, p. 178.

² Inquisition post mortem, 23 Edward III, Pt. 2, No. 169 (12).

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1358-61, p. 474.

⁴ Inquisition post mortem, 35 Edward III, Pt. 2, second numbers, No. 32.

⁵ On December 6, 1307, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, granted for life to his half-sister, Isabella de Clare, his manors of Shipton and Burford, in the county of Oxford; Isabella afterward married Maurice de Berkeleye, and the two manors were forfeited to the king with the other lands of Berkeleye, who was of the party of Thomas de Lancaster (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1327-30, p. 46; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 223; 768, index). On June 10, 1322, these two forfeited manors were granted in fee to Hugh le Despenser the younger and Eleanor his wife and her heirs (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1321-24, p. 132). These manors remained in the possession of the Despenser family during a long term of years, for they were held by Hugh le Despenser in 1344 and 1346 (Inquisition post mortem, 18 Edward III, second numbers, No. 11, File 269; *Feudal Aids, 1284-1431*, IV, 185); passed into the possession of his wife and co-tenant at his death in 1349 (Inquisition post mortem, 23 Edward III, Pt. 2, No. 169, File 105); and were ordered on July 6, 1359, to be delivered to Edward le Despenser, the next heir (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1354-60, p. 582). For some other records in regard to Despenser holdings in Shipton, see *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1337-39, p. 359; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 525; and *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1330-34, p. 132; *Placita in Cancellaria*, File 11, No. 21; *Coram Rege Roll* 271, Hilary, 2 Edward III, rot. 100. For records of a suit brought by Isabella de Clare against Hugh le Despenser, see *De Banco Roll*, 222, Easter, 11 Edward II. My information in regard to the unprinted records cited in the two sentences immediately preceding is very incomplete, for I have not had them transcribed.

in turn, was the son of Eustace de la Rokayle. Peter de la Rokayle was a resident of Buckinghamshire and is repeatedly mentioned in Buckinghamshire documents between 1304-5 and 1331.¹ He is described as living about the year 1327 in Wotton, Bucks,² and in 1327³ as holding lands in Bourton. He is frequently described as the son of Eustace de la Rokayle,⁴ and Eustace de la Rokayle (who was alive in 1311)⁵ is referred to as Eustace de la Rokayle of Wotton⁶ or of Bourton.⁷ Peter de la Rokayle's connection with the Despensers is proved by two records of the year 1327 or thereabouts. In one of the early years of Edward III's reign, James Grusset petitioned for remedy against Piers de la Rokell who had held his lands in Bourton for twelve years "par le maintenaunce Hue le Despenser le fiz & le pere."⁸ On April 23, 1327, Peter de la Rokele was pardoned for adhering to Hugh le Despenser the younger and other enemies of the king, before the king had assumed the governance of the realm.⁹ There is reason to believe that Stacy de Rokayle was a younger son,¹⁰ it is therefore not difficult to understand why

¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, I, 141; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1330-33, p. 178. The father of Stacy had interests in Oxfordshire, but I have found no evidence that he ever lived there. For evidence of his Oxfordshire interests see *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1323-27, pp. 347, 351.

² Jurors testified (Assize Roll 715, Oxfordshire, 15 Edward III, m. 5) that Roger de Nowers and others came after the coronation of the king [to] Wotton iuxta Bernewod and entered the house of Peter de Rokele and took away certain of his goods. The reference here to the coronation of the king shows that the theft took place some years before the year 1341-42 in which the testimony was recorded.

³ In an uncertain year of Edward III, James Grusset petitioned the king and his council for remedy against Piers de la Rokell, who held lands in Bourton of the heritage of the said James and had detained his rent for twelve years, by the maintenance of Hugh le Despenser "le fiz & le pere" (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, 392). The reference here to the Despensers, both of whom died in 1326, shows that the petition belonged to one of the early years of Edward III's reign; in fact it was probably presented at the very beginning of the reign.

⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1313-18, p. 451; *ibid.*, 1323-27, p. 347; *ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 556; *ibid.*, 1330-33, p. 178.

⁵ A record of June 11, 1311, states that Eustace de la Rokele, of Wotton near Brehull, came before the king on the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, and sought to replevy his land in Westcote, which had been taken into the king's hands (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1307-13, p. 353).

⁶ See preceding note.

⁷ On January 27, 1317, Henry Feteplace acknowledged that he owed 100 marks to Peter son of Eustace de la Rokele of Bourton (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1313-18, p. 451).

⁸ See note 3, above.

⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1327-30, p. 100.

¹⁰ In 1313-14 Peter, son of Peter de la Rokele, acknowledged that he owed to Peter, son of Eustace de la Rokele, 100 s (Coram Rege Roll, Trinity, 7 Edward II, m. 4, an entry relating to Bucks). Since this reference is about fifteen years earlier than the first reference we have to Stacy de Rokayle, it is a natural inference that Stacy was younger than Peter.

he might have left his native county and have become a tenant of the manor of Shipton which came into the possession of his father's patron, Hugh le Despenser the younger, in 1322.¹

The facts in regard to Stacy de Rokayle which I have set forth in the preceding paragraph, while they corroborate a part at least of the contents of the Dublin MS note, at the same time render untenable the theory by which Pearson sought to reconcile with the contents of that note the statement that the author of *Piers the Plowman* was born in Cleobury Mortimer. Pearson called attention to the fact that there are in the manor of Acton Burnel, Shropshire, two neighboring hamlets, Langley and Ruckley, or Rokele, and that there was connected with this manor a family of Langleys who were in the service of the Burnels. Pearson conjectured that the poet's father was named Stacy de Langley and that he removed from Shropshire to Oxfordshire, taking (from the hamlet in or near which he had formerly lived) the name of Rokele in order to avoid confusion with a more important family of Langleys who also held lands in Shipton under Wychwood.² Pearson's theory has always been under the disadvantage of requiring the assumption that the poet's true name was Langley and that the very uncommon name of Langland was substituted for the true name, an assumption that has against it a great weight of evidence. Now, however, this theory is seen to contradict known facts, since Stacy de Rokayle's family had no connection with Shropshire, but belonged to Buckinghamshire, where it can be traced back for at least three generations.³ Nor is there any other probable hypothesis by which we can reconcile the note in the Dublin MS with that which Bale copied from Brigham's collectanea. Not only can we trace no connection between Stacy de Rokayle and Shropshire or Cleobury Mortimer; we are also unable to account for his son's having borne the name of Langland, which, either as a surname or as a local name, is unknown in Oxfordshire or Buckinghamshire.

¹ See note 5, p. 45, above.

² *North British Review*, April, 1870, pp. 125 ff. Pearson recognized the fact that Stacy de Rokayle's family must have been quite distinct from that of these Langleys, who, as he shows, had been established in the vicinity of Wychwood forest for a number of generations.

³ I have not tried to trace the genealogy of the family beyond Eustace de la Rokayle of Wotton.

The seeming contradiction between Brigham's note and that in the Dublin MS therefore constitutes a difficulty that has not heretofore been sufficiently recognized. We cannot reject the Dublin MS note as false testimony, for the circumstantial statements it makes in regard to Stacy de Rokayle are fully substantiated by contemporary records in regard to him. Nor can we reject Brigham's note as false testimony, for, as we have seen, it is a circumstantial statement, is derived from a trustworthy source, contains nothing that is contrary to probability, and is corroborated by the note in the Ashburnham MS and by the fact that the vicinity of Cleobury Mortimer is one of the few districts in England where we can account for the occurrence of the rare name of Langland. Nor should we be free from difficulty even if we could dismiss Brigham's note from consideration. In the Dublin MS note itself we are confronted still with the difficulty of explaining why Stacy de Rokayle's son should have been called Langland. The Dublin MS note itself, trustworthy though it seems to be in other respects, does violence to probability in giving to Rokayle's son a name which has no connection either with the family or with the district to which he belonged.

These difficulties can be solved by means of a simple hypothesis. We have seen that the note in the Ashburnham MS is, on the face of it, a composite, a combination into one statement, "Robert or William Langland made *Piers Plowman*," of two partly inconsistent pieces of information. I believe that the note in the Dublin MS is also a composite—that the writer of the note had before him two pieces of information, one to the effect that William Langland was the author of *Piers the Plowman*, the other to the effect that its author was the son of Stacy de Rokayle, and that these two statements were combined by him into the single statement that has been preserved. I can see but one ground for rejecting this hypothesis; that is, a refusal to recognize the fact that in the case of *Piers the Plowman* we are dealing with a body of texts that may quite as well be the work of two authors as of one.

If this hypothesis is true, *Piers the Plowman* was attributed in the fifteenth century to two different persons, to Robert Langland, a Shropshire man, and to an Oxfordshire man, a son of Stacy de

Rokayle. This hypothesis, however, though it is far more probable than any hypothesis that will enable us to accept Langland and Rokayle as one person, is still only a hypothesis. The double attribution, therefore, that we seem to have is not conclusive proof that *Piers the Plowman* was the work of two men. Nevertheless, I think it must be admitted that double attribution is so probable as to furnish a strong basis for argument in favor of at least a duplex authorship of the *Piers the Plowman* texts.¹

We have now completed our review of the external and quasi-external evidence which bears upon the problem of the authorship of the *Piers the Plowman* texts,² and may sum up briefly the results that we have attained. We have found no evidence that tends either to prove or to disprove the theory that A¹ and A² are the work of a single author. We have found some evidence, however, that points toward the conclusion that the author of A² was also the author of the B-text, namely, the argument based upon the colophon describing A² as the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wyt et Resoun*. Upon the problem of the authorship of the C-text we have no evidence whatever; the latest redaction of the poem may, so far as we have seen, be the work either of the author of the B-text or of some other writer.

We have found, however, not a single piece of evidence in favor of a single authorship of all the texts. The evidence that has been appealed to by upholders of the theory of single authorship has been shown either to be hopelessly ambiguous, or else to point in a direc-

¹ As to the Christian name of the Rokayle to whom *Piers Plowman* is attributed, we have (if we regard him as a different person from Langland) no trustworthy evidence, for the records, so far as I have examined them, give no information in regard to Stacy de Rokayle's children. Possible sons of Stacy de Rokayle are Geoffrey Rokele and Roger Rokayle. Geoffrey Rokele, clerk, is recorded in 1371 as having been indicted for robbing a servant of a student of Oxford (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1369-74*, pp. 238, 512). See also *ibid.*, 1374-77, pp. 39, 320. He is recorded also as holding a message in the parish of St. Thomas, Oxford (*ibid.*, p. 320). Roger Rokayle of Middleton appears in 1391 in connection with the transfer of a meadow in Shipton under Wychwood (*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, II, 385*).

² It has been my purpose to consider all of the evidence that is not of a purely internal character. It has not seemed worth while, however, to include a consideration of the evidence of local allusions found in the various texts. These are made easily accessible by the indexes in Skeat's edition, and my examination of them has convinced me that no conclusive argument can be based on them. A, B, and C all appear to have been more or less familiar with London, the central midland, and Hampshire; but this fact is as easily reconcilable with the theory of multiple authorship as with the theory of single authorship.

tion exactly opposite to that in which it was alleged to lead us. The evidence of the texts, except in so far as it indicates a common authorship of A² and B, is not in the least inconsistent with a theory of the separate authorship of A, B, and C. The evidence we have in regard to the author's name, so far from supporting the theory of a single authorship of all the texts, is seen on examination to point rather to the conclusion that at least two persons, Rokayle and Robert Langland, were concerned in the composition of *Piers the Plowman*. The presumption that has been claimed in favor of the theory of single authorship does not exist.

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WILLIAM HEMINGE AND SHAKESPEARE

No one, so far as I can discover, has suspected that William Heminge's tragedy, *The Fatal Contract*, 1637, is in a large measure a plagiarism from the works of Shakespeare. Yet, in the whole scope of the Tudor-Stuart drama, perhaps, there is no such striking case of indebtedness to the great master, for language, imagery, ideas, and even in part for characters and plot.

This indebtedness, I think, may be directly traced to Heminge's closet study of Shakespeare's collected works as issued in the First Folio.¹ The influence of the Folio upon contemporary dramatists must have been far greater than is now commonly realized. Although the extent of this influence has not been made the subject of a special investigation, in the case of some authors it has been specifically noted. For example, Professor Neilson, writing in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (VI, 212), observes: "The works of the master . . . could now be brooded over and assimilated in the study"; and he discovers in the plays of Ford and Shirley evidence of such a closet study. Exactly this seems to have been the case with Heminge. He thoroughly saturated himself with the dramas of Shakespeare; and then, drawing wholly on his memory, adorned his own writing with innumerable quotations and reminiscences of the earlier playwright's work.

In recording these quotations and reminiscences, I have had to rely almost entirely on my own verbal memory of Shakespeare's plays. My friend Mr. John W. Hebel has called my attention to about a dozen passages that escaped me, and I feel sure that additional passages could readily be pointed out by anyone familiar with Shakespeare's work. I have, however, gathered enough to show how extensively Heminge borrowed from the great playwright.

I. *Hamlet*

Hamlet, I, ii, 198-203:

In the dead waste and middle of the night
. . . . A figure like your father,
Armed at points exactly, cap-a-pe,

¹ He draws upon plays that were first printed in that volume.

Appears before them . . . thrice he walk'd
By their oppress'd and fear-surprised eyes.

Fatal C., p. 29:¹

Thy brother's Ghost, young *Clovis* Ghost in armes
Has thrice appear'd to me this dismall night.

Hamlet, I, ii, 255:

My father's spirit in arms!

Fatal C., p. 30:

My brother's spirit in arms.

Hamlet, I, ii, 226:

Ham. Arm'd, say you ?

Mar. }
Ber. } Arm'd, my lord.

Fatal C., p. 30:

Was it in Armour, said you ?

Hamlet, I, i, 60-61:

Such was the very armour he had on
When he the ambitious Norway combated.

Fatal C., p. 30:

Yes in that Armor he was us'd to wear
When we have run at tilt.

Hamlet, I, i, 47:

Together with that fair and warlike form.

Fatal C., p. 28:

Appearing in his Brother's warlike form.

Hamlet, I, v, 40:

O my prophetic soul.

Fatal C., pp. 19, 48:

O my prophetique soul.

My prophetique soul.

Hamlet, I, ii, 125-26:

No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day
But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell.

Fatal C., p. 5:

And the Canon speaks health.

Hamlet, I, iv, 7-13:

[*A flourish of trumpets and ordnance shot off within.*]

Hor. What does this mean, my lord ?

Ham. The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,

¹ The arabic numerals after *Fatal C.* refer to the pages of the first edition, 1653.

The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge.

Hor. Is it a custom?

Ham. Ay, marry, is't.

Fatal C., p. 7:

Dum. Hark, the thunder of the world, how out of tune.
This peace corrupting all things makes them speak.

What means this most adulterate noise?

Lam. Why, are you ignorant?

This is a night of jubile, and the King

Solemnly feasts for his wars happie succeſſe.

Hamlet, I, iv, 38:

Look, my lord, it comes!

Fatal C., p. 29:

Oh see, it comes!

Hamlet, I, ii, 245:

I'll speak to it though Hell itself should gape.

Fatal C., p. 43:

What is it, Eunuch? Though death stood gaping wide
to swallow me, I would not shrink nor fear.

Hamlet, I, i, 46:

What art thou that usurp'st this time of night?

Fatal C., p. 29:

What art thou that usurp'st this dead of night?

Hamlet, I, iv, 84-85:

Unhand me, gentlemen.

By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.

Fatal C., p. 23:

Unhand me, *Charles*, and render me my self,
Lest I forget myself on thee.

Hamlet, I, v, 86:

Leave her to heaven.

Fatal C., p. 66:

let her sin

Be punish'd from above, i'l wait heavens leisure.

Hamlet, II, ii, 627-32; III, ii, 87:

The spirit that I have seen

May be the devil

Abuses me to damn me.

It is a damned ghost that we have seen.

Fatal C., p. 30:

This is a damned spirit I have seen

And comes to work my ruine.

Hamlet, II, ii, 576-80:

Is it not monstrous that this player here,
But in a fiction, in a dream of passion,
Could force his soul so to his own conceit
That from her working all his visage wann'd,
Tears in his eyes, etc.

Fatal C., p. 27:

As a good Actor in a play would do,
Whose fancy works (as if he waking dreamt)
Too strongly on the Object that it copes with,
Shaping realities from mockeries;
And so the Queen did weep.

Hamlet, II, ii, 617:

About, my brain!

Fatal C., p. 32:

About, my brain!

Hamlet, III, ii, 297:

I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound.

Fatal C., p. 49:

I'll take thy word, *Eunuch*, for the Kingdom's wealth.

[Spoken by the King immediately after having received proof of the Eunuch's statement of the Queen's falseness.]

Hamlet, III, ii, 286-91:

Ham. Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers—if
the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me—with
two Provincial roses on my razed shoes, get me a
fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

Hor. Half a share.

Ham. A whole one, I.

Fatal C., p. 27:

Land. Most true, you wept.

Queen. As a good actor in a play would do,
Whose fancy works (as if he waking dreamt)
Too strongly on the Object that it copes with.

. . . . By this good night

I think I could become the Stage as well

As any she that sels her breath in publique.

[In each case, the passages quoted were spoken in the exhilaration following the success of prearranged acting.]

Hamlet, III, iii, 73-95:

With Hamlet's avowed desire to kill his uncle in his sins "that his soul may be as dam'd and black As hell whereto it goes," compare the following:

Fatal C., p. 41:

If (in her proud desire) I do prevent
Her lust this second time, before the third
She may repent and save her loathed soul,
Which my revenge would damn.

Hamlet, III, iv, 118:

And with the incorporal air do hold discourse?

Fatal C., p. 28:

Qu. O do not look on me, be gone, be gone.

Clot. Whom d'ee hold discourse with, with the air?

[In both cases the question is addressed to a person who was "holding discourse" with a ghost.]

Hamlet, III, iv, 139-41:

Ecstasy!

My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time
And makes as healthful music.

Fatal C., p. 37:

I am no spirit; tast my active pulse,
And you shall find it makes such harmony
As youth and health enjoy.

Hamlet, V, i, 99-101:

Did these bones cost no more the breeding, but to play at
loggats with 'em?

Fatal C., p. 31:

King, thou hadst better far have strook thy Father,
Dig'd up his bones and plaid at logats with them.

Hamlet, V, ii, 317:

Why, as a woodcock to mine own springe, Osric.

Fatal C., p. 55:

Behold, my Lord, the Woodcock's in the Gin,
Here lies the great *Landrey*.

Hamlet, V, ii, 326:

Laertes [to Hamlet, whom he has poisoned]. In thee there
is not half an hour of life.

Fatal C., p. 60:

Eunuch [to the Queen and Landrey, whom he has poisoned].
There's not an hour's life between ye both.

Just as Hamlet, on the point of death, requested Horatio to report his "cause aright" lest he leave "a wounded name" behind, so Clothair, dying at the end of the play, makes a somewhat similar request, of his two friends, Brissac and Dumain, "lest you inforce

posterity to blast My name and Memory with endless curses." The whole concluding scene is reminiscent of *Hamlet*.

Hamlet, I, ii, 12:

With mirth in funeral and dirge in marriage.

Fatal C., p. 36:

Your dirges into sprightly wedding airs.

Hamlet, IV, vii, 86:

He grew unto his seat,
And to such wondrous doing brought his horse,
As had he been incorps'd and demi-natur'd
With the brave beast.

Fatal C., p. 65:

So Centaur-like he's ankor'd to his seat,
As he had twin'd with the proud steed he rides on;
He grows unto his saddle, all one piece.

Hamlet, III, iii, 411-12:

let not ever
The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom.

Fatal C., p. 55:

What *French* Neronian spirit have we here?

Hamlet, I, ii, 129-30:

O that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew.

Fatal C., p. 48:

And the discreet composure of the world
Melt and dissolve to nothing.

Hamlet, I, ii, 149:

Like Niobe, all tears.

Fatal C., p. 27:

Did not I seem a *Niobe* in passion
A deluge of salt tears?

[Spoken by the Queen, after a false display of love for her sons.]

Hamlet, I, v, 29-30:

As swift as meditation, or the thoughts of love.

Fatal C., p. 24:

As swift as thought.

Hamlet, III, ii, 408-10:

now could I drink hot blood,
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on.

Fatal C., p. 48:

create
A spirit of horror in me, apt me to look
Upon such deeds nature would tremble at.

Hamlet, IV, v, 123:

There's such divinity doth hedge a king.

Fatal C., p. 25:

as thy king,
Divinity doth prop him.

Two young lords of France, Lamot and Dumain, are represented (p. 9) as having been absent as students at Wittenberg when, before the opening of the play, the Queen's brother was murdered.

Some of the indebtedness of the plot to *Hamlet* may be gathered from the passages that have been quoted. I may indicate briefly some further indebtedness.

Aphelia, as the name indicates, was suggested by Ophelia. She has a father, Brissac, who, like Polonius, is an "old man" and the king's counselor:

You'r weary of my counsell, and my place
May better be supplied by greener heads.

And in his youth, like Polonius, he had "suffered much extremity for love." Aphelia has also one brother, Charles, who seeks to preserve his sister's honor, and later to avenge her; to this extent he resembles Laertes. Aphelia is beloved by the Prince. At first old Brissac takes this to be a dishonorable love; when, however, he discovers that the Prince is genuinely in love, he behaves very much as did Polonius. He regrets that Aphelia is not at home when the Prince calls (p. 20):

This puling baggage
May lose herself for ever, and her fortunes,
For this hour's absence.

Aphelia's kinship to Ophelia is further indicated by various details. For instance, when the Eunuch places Aphelia to wait for the Prince, he says (pp. 20-21):

I will go call him, please you rest yourself:
Here lies a book will bear you company.

And the stage direction is: "Aphelia reads in the book." The king enters from behind, sees her reading, and comments on her beauty.

In some respects, however, Aphelia resembles Desdemona. The general indebtedness of the plot to *Othello* may be inferred from the quotations that follow.

II. *Othello*

Othello, III, iii, 165:

O beware, my lord, of jealousy.

Fatal C., p. 39:

beware of jealousy;

I would not have you nourish jealous thoughts.

Othello, I, iii, 293-94; III, iii, 206:

Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see:

She has deceived her father, and may thee.

She did deceive her father, marrying thee.

Fatal C., p. 39:

Though she has broke her faith to me, to you

Against her reputation shee'l be true.

[These words were spoken by the villain with the same purpose that inspired

Iago: "I have incenst the king with yellowness, With doubtful phrases on Aphelia's fame"—p. 42.]

Othello, III, iii, 330-31:

Not poppy, nor mandragora,

Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world.

Fatal C., p. 19:

The drowsie Poppie, cold Mandragora,

Or all the sleepee sirrops of the world.

Othello, III, iii, 431:

I'll tear her all to pieces.

Fatal C., p. 43:

I'll tear him all to pieces, then.

Othello, III, iii, 341:

I found not Cassio's kisses on her lips.

Fatal C., p. 44:

Kiss me, sweet. [*Kisses her.*]

There's no deceit lies here.

[Moreover the king, though rendered jealous by the villain, is confounded, like Othello, at the sight of his wife—pp. 43-44.]

Othello, V, ii, 64-65:

And makest me call what I intend to do

A murder, which I thought a sacrifice.

Fatal C., p. 67:

It is not murder, tender-hearted fool,

Which thou commits, rather a sacrifice.

Othello, V, ii, 124:

Commend me to my kind lord.

Fatal C., p. 62:

Commend me to my Lord.

[Spoken by Aphelia when dragged in to a cruel death, prepared for her by her husband.]

Othello, V, ii, 291-94:

Lod. O thou, Othello, that wert once so good

What shall be said to thee.

Oth. Why, any thing:

An honourable murderer, if you will.

Fatal C., p. 72:

Call me an honourable murtherer.

Othello, V, i, 12-14:

Now, whether he kill Cassio,
Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
Every way makes my gain.

Fatal C., p. 20:

Clovis inrag'd perhaps will kill the king
Or by the king will perish; if both fall,
Or either, both waies make for me.

Othello, III, iii, 355-56:

And, O you mortal engines, whose rude throats
The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit.

Fatal C., p. 7:

Hark, the thunder of the world.

Othello, I, i, 91:

Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.

Fatal C., p. 11:

They had the Devil [i.e., Moor] to their Grand-father.

Othello, II, iii, 160:

Who's that that rings the bell? [*A bell rings.*]

Fatal C., p. 24:

Ring out the larum Bell. [*Rings the bell.*]

[Shouted by the villain, when Clovis and Clothair fall to fighting.]

III. *Miscellaneous Plays*¹

Romeo and Juliet, II, ii, 119:

Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be
Ere one can say "It lightens."

¹ I omit a number of passages in which the verbal simiarity is not striking. I feel sure, however, that these omitted passages were inspired by Shakespeare.

Fatal C., p. 31:

like lightning
Flash and away, dead e'er we say it is.

Romeo and Juliet, I, i, 117-18:

He swung about his head, and cut the winds,
Who, nothing hurt withal, hiss'd him in scorn.

Fatal C., p. 64:

I'll force a gentler nature in the steele
Which as it dies, should hiss it self to scorn.

King Lear, III, iv, 21-22:

O, that way madness lies, let me shun that;
No more of that.

Fatal C., p. 63:

No more of that, it tends to madness.

King Lear, III, iv, 30-36:

Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides
. . . . O, I have ta'en
Too little care of this!

Fatal C., p. 59:

Poor unfed sides that passe along the street,
I now am sensible of what ye want.

King Lear, III, iv, 140:

The prince of darkness is a gentleman.

Fatal C., p. 54:

The Prince of darknesse is a Gentleman.

Richard III, I, ii, 1:

Set down, set down your honourable load.

Fatal C., p. 35:

Set down, set down your honourable load.

Richard III, I, ii, 12-13:

Lo, in these windows [i.e., wounds] that let forth thy life,
I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes.

Fatal C., p. 35:

Let me bedew thy Herse [=corpse] with pious tears,
Balm to wounds.

Richard III, IV, iv, 231:

Till that my nails were anchored in thine eyes.

Fatal C., p. 11:

Within the cloathed circle of mine eyes,
Anchor thy fingers; alas, thy nails are par'd.

Richard II, II, iii, 85-87:

Boling. My gracious uncle—

York. Tut, tut!

Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle.

Fatal C., p. 18:

Cha. My noble Father—

O. Bris. Tut, tut, tut! Noble me [no] nobles, nor Father
me

No Fathers.

Richard II, III, ii, 155-57:

Let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings:
How some have been depos'd; some slain in war.

Fatal C., p. 71:

Yet we may sit
And gaze upon each other, tell sad tales of ruin'd Princes.

Richard II, V, i, 74-75:

Let me unkiss the oath 'twixt thee and me;
And yet not so, for with a kiss 'twas made.

Fatal C., p. 39:

A long farewell to love, thus do I break
Your broken pledge of faith; and with this kiss,
The last that ever *Clowis* must print here,
Unkiss the kiss that seal'd it on thy lips.

Richard II, V, ii, 7-9:

Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed,
Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know.

Fatal C., p. 65:

A bounding Courser, who is therefore proud
To be so back'd, as knowing whom he bears.

Coriolanus, IV, v, 240:

Peace is . . . a getter of more bastard children than war
is a destroyer of men.

Fatal C., p. 6:

This bastard getting peace.

Coriolanus, I, ix, 42-43:

When drums and trumpets shall
I' the field prove flatterers.

Fatal C., p. 8:

The Drums and Trumpets are turn'd flatterers.

As You Like It, III, iv, 16-17:

He hath bought a pair of cast lips of Diana.

Fatal C., p. 12:

sure thou hast bought
A paire of cast lips of the chast Diana's.

Julius Caesar, II, i, 166:

Let us be sacrificers, not butchers.

Fatal C., p. 25:

Let thy [hand]¹ sacrifice not butcher him.

Heming's other extant play, *The Jewes Tragedy*, of an earlier date, is also indebted to Shakespeare, although to a much less extent. *The Shakespeare Allusion Book* (which fails to mention *The Fatal Contract*) prints two scenes from *The Jewes Tragedy*, one a faint echo of Hamlet's soliloquy "To be, or not to be," the other an imitation of the watch in *Much Ado*. It fails to observe that the clownish soldier, Peter, imitates Falstaff in a soliloquy on the battlefield (p. 51):

Call ye this Honour? a pox of honor.

Nor does it observe that throughout the text there are frequent echoes of Shakespearian passages.²

This extensive plagiarism (if the word be not too harsh) we may readily pardon when we consider the intimate relations that existed between Shakespeare and the Heminge family.

The long friendship between William's father, John Heminge, and Shakespeare is one of the pleasant chapters in the all too slender biography of the great dramatist. For a period of nearly twenty years these two men were closely associated in the same theatrical organization, and acted on the same stage; and Heminge, beyond a doubt, assumed a conspicuous rôle in virtually all of Shakespeare's plays.³ Moreover, just as Shakespeare was prominent in the troupe for touching up and writing plays, Heminge was prominent in managing its pecuniary affairs.⁴ It was natural, therefore, for these two men, in their common interests, in their rehearsals and performances, and in their travels about the country, to develop for each

¹ The word "hand" is inserted in the third edition printed in 1687 with the title *The Eunuch*. This edition was printed from a different original manuscript. I am indebted to Mr. John W. Hebel for this note.

² Since this article was written, *The Jewes Tragedy* has been reprinted by Mr. Heinrich A. Cohn in Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*.

³ Malone says that in a certain tract (the name of which, unfortunately, he has failed to preserve) Heminge is stated to have been the original performer of Falstaff.

⁴ He was commonly named first in documents of the day, as in the following: "To John Hemynges and the rest of his companie."

other a warm friendship. Evidence of this is not lacking. We find Shakespeare in his will leaving to Heminge the sum of 26s. 8d., with which to buy a memorial ring;¹ and some years later we find Heminge, with the assistance of Shakespeare's other actor-friend, Condell (but Heminge seems to have been the leader), collecting and publishing the dead poet's work, "without ambition either of self-profit, or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend & Fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare." Ben Jonson, in his *Timber*, said of Shakespeare: "I loved the man and do honor his memory, on this side idolatry as much as any." The final clause, "as much as any," is significant, for it implies the existence of some who loved Shakespeare over well. May we not suspect that Heminge was among those whom Jonson had in mind?

Heminge at his death in 1630 left one surviving son, William (the author of our plays), as the sole executor of his will and inheritor of his shares in the Globe and the Blackfriars playhouses. Yet William was not, it would seem, an actor; and shortly after his father's death he sold his shares in the playhouses to the actor John Shanks. In a lawsuit which resulted from this sale, the specific statement is made regarding the younger Heminge that "he never had anything to do with the said stage."² We know that he had been well educated, first at Westminster School, and later at Christ Church, Oxford, where he received his Master's degree in 1628. The two actors³ who published *The Fatal Contract* in 1653 say in their preface: "This *Poem* was composed by a worthy Gentleman at hours of his recess from happier employments." It seems obvious from this that Heminge was not a common actor; but what his "happier employments" were we cannot now determine. We know only that he took enough "hours of recess" to compose several plays. One, *The Courting of a Hare, or the Mad Cap* (licensed for the Fortune Playhouse, March, 1632-33), was destroyed by Warburton's cook. But two others, *The Fatal Contract* and *The Jewes Tragedy*, were printed

¹ Perhaps it is significant that Heminge is named first: "To my fellowes John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, xxvj. s. viii. d. a peece to buy them ringes."

² Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, ed. 1885, p. 276.

³ A[ndrew] P[ennycuicke] and A[ntony] T[urner]. For the identification of these persons I am indebted to Mr. John W. Hebel, who is preparing to publish this play shortly.

shortly after his death; and these remain as the sole literary monuments of the Heminge family. It should be observed, however, that the editors of *The Fatal Contract* say further of the author: "At his death he left greater Monuments of his worth and abilitie." What works are here referred to we do not know; apparently they have not come down to posterity.

When Shakespeare died, William Heminge was a lad of fourteen. Doubtless he had spent much of his time about the playhouse, and perhaps he had occasionally assisted in the presentation of a play. It is likely, therefore, that he came to know his father's friend personally; and it is even possible that he formed a boyish attachment for the "gentle" playwright. If this be so, we may readily believe that his later intensive study of Shakespeare's work was in some measure inspired by a personal liking.

Is it too rash to inquire why in 1602 the actor, John Heminge, should christen one of his sons with the name "William"? We might suspect that Heminge intended this as a compliment to his "Friend & Fellow," who was now at the summit of his fame. If so, we might further suspect that at the christening, Shakespeare played the genial rôle of godfather. If he had been chosen as godfather for one of Ben Jonson's sons, why not also for one of Heminge's? That he performed this rôle with good-nature, we may infer from a small item in his will: "To my god son, William Walker, xx.^s in gold." William Heminge's devoted study of Shakespeare's plays in later years may lend some plausibility to this supposition.

Whether these surmises be true or not, the friendship of the Heminge family, father and son, to the "gentle Shakespeare" cannot be well doubted. And the history of that friendship as revealed in this paper furnishes pleasant thought for those "sweet silent" sessions in which we attempt to "summon up" the shadowy London life of the great poet.

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POETS AS HEROES OF EPIC AND DRAMATIC WORKS IN GERMAN LITERATURE

In 1790, Goethe's *Schriften* appeared at Leipzig, published by Georg Joachim Göschen. The sixth volume contained *Tasso, ein Schauspiel* and *Lila*. A. W. Schlegel reviewed these in the *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* in the number of June 12, 1790. Concerning *Tasso* Schlegel said, among other things:

Die Idee, den Charakter eines wirklichen Dichters zum Gegenstande der dichterischen Darstellung zu machen, hat so etwas Natürliches und auffallend Anlockendes, dass man sich wundern muss, sie nicht häufiger benutzt zu finden. So wie ein Dichter am fähigsten ist, einem Andern auszulegen, wie er oft einen dichterischen Zug mit lebendigem Gefühl auffasst, der Andern nur verworrene Ahnungen erregt, so wird er auch tiefer ergründen, wie sich in einer Dichterseele die Triebe zart in einander weben, feiner belauschen, wie da die Regung sich allmählig zur That bildet; hiebey vorausgesetzt, dass der Dichter, dessen Charakter dargestellt werden soll, nicht ein gewöhnlicher Mensch im Leben sey; dass die individuelle Beschaffenheit seines Genies sich auch in Eigenthümlichkeiten der Denkart und Lebensweise äussere. Dies war gewiss [bei] Torquato Tasso, den Goethe zur Hauptperson eines jetzt zum erstenmal gedruckten Schauspiels gemacht hat, in hohem Grade der Fall.

Schlegel then shows how Goethe not only gave a faithful picture of Tasso's character, but also alluded to certain of his poems as well as to various episodes in his life, episodes related by Tasso's best and most recent biographer, Serassi, whom Goethe followed, and not related by one of his other biographers, Manso, whom Goethe did

not follow. He says also that *Tasso* will not be appropriate for the stage, since the abundance of fine details and Attican urbanity of language will make an impression on the reader, while the absence of striking scenes will not move the spectator.

Though there are more than two hundred instances in which a German poet has, in good faith, made another poet of German or other nationality a speaking character in an epic or dramatic work, and has given him or her an important if not the leading rôle, and though a number of these antedate 1789, Goethe's *Tasso* is the first important work in a long list of works of this sort, while Schlegel's criticism, naturally the first of its kind with reference to *Tasso*, and possibly the first of its kind in general, has, significantly enough, remained also one of the last.¹ Since, then, the dramatizing and novelizing of poets in German literature is manifestly a theme replete with possibilities, and since the theme has fared such a Cinderella-like fate² at the hands of investigators, a brief, introductory discussion of it, with a fairly complete catalogue of the works in question, can hardly be unwelcome.

For the retaliatory good of human kind, it occasionally happens that the worm turns, compelling, for example, the judge to go to jail, the preacher to hear someone else preach, and the poet to be poetized by a brother in Apollo. The difference between the retroactive happening to the poet and his brethren of less afflatus is essentially one of time: they must be utilized while still among men; he, on the contrary, cannot be effectively novelized or dramatized until buried

¹ The various editors and critics of *Tasso* simply look upon it as a historical drama and pass over the idea of the poetization of the poet. Kuno Fischer alone, in his monograph, *Goethes Tasso*, discusses the theme indirectly as follows: "Wenn Henrik Ibsen einen Torquato Tasso geschrieben hätte, so würde er bemüht gewesen sein, das Elend und die Leiden des italienischen Dichters nach der Natur abzuschildern: wir würden seinen Tasso als bettelhaften Flüchtling in abgerissenen Kleidern, als Melancholikus in den Anwandlungen des Wahnsinns und zuletzt unter Wehklagen in der Zelle des Annen-hospitals erblicken. Ich wundere mich, dass sich Ibsen bis jetzt diesen lockenden Gegenstand versagt hat."

² There are, at present, four monographs that bear on this subject, as follows: Richard Ackermann, *Lord Byron. Sein Leben, seine Werke, sein Einfluss auf die deutsche Litteratur* (Heidelberg, 1901, 188 pages); Paul Weiglin, *Gutzkows und Laubes Literatur-dramen* (Berlin, 1910, 173 pages); Amalie Zabel, *Lutherdramen des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1911, 68 pages); Paul Rlesensfeld, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen in der deutschen Literatur* (Berlin, 1912, 359 pages). All of these pay but little attention to the poets' side of the case; they look upon their heroes as historical characters and attempt to point out the relation of the epic or drama to the actual life of the poet treated. The most modern novels by Molo, Stilgebauer, and Ginzkey, on Schiller, Heine, Walther von der Vogelweide, respectively, will naturally receive conventional reviews.

out of sight of men. Karl von Holtei did, to be sure, write to Jean Paul in 1823, two years before the death of the author of *Titan*, asking him if he might base a comedy on his life and works. As was to be expected, the plan died in infancy. In fact, all durable epics and dramas, and nearly all lyrics, that use other poets as characters, have been written after the death of the poets in question, and generally not until hoary time has woven its irrefutable legends around those mortal crudities and realities that so tenaciously cling to the living but are so kindly forgotten of the dead. And those few lyrics that have been written on living poets, aside from occasional effusions by the members of the Berlin-Jena Romantic school, are often of subordinate merit, sometimes satiric, sarcastic, and scornful in tone, sometimes in the manner of the memorable *Xenien* and *Invectiven*. It is, of course, quite common for the poet to address his poem to another poet and thereby give it a title; but this does not mean that the poem treats the addressee. Goethe's list of poems *An Personen* is long; and among these persons we find various poets (Schiller, Herder, Iffland, Gotter, Carlyle), but they are addressed to these people only as a letter on some extraneous matter might have been addressed to them.

The death of a poet, however, usually provokes immediate lyric laudation from his contemporaries in the muse. The living poet is moved by the going away of his friend and gives vent to his feelings in lyric form. Was there indeed ever an instance in German literature when the death of a poet failed to evoke at least one poem on his life and death? Writing poems on the death of poets became a sort of pastime with Emanuel Geibel. The poet is, in the very nature of the case, extremely sensitive to, and capable of, emotion, and death fans emotion, for emotion means full of life. Wilhelm Müller, Chamisso, Heine, even Zedlitz and Meissner, wrote real poetry on the death of Lord Byron.

There is still another phase of the matter: German poets have frequently written poems on poets long since dead. In 1832, Immermann introduced Wolfram von Eschenbach, Dante, and Novalis into his *Merlin*. In 1826, Goethe wrote his peculiar poem entitled "Bei Betrachtung von Schillers Schädel." The poem is typical, in one way, of many of those attempts to conjure up the spirits of those

of long ago in that it has next to nothing to do with its title-hero. At the close of the poem Goethe makes the only point that he wished to make, namely, that all matter is eventually dissolved into spirit and that only the spirit-begotten survives. But the master at exhuming the dead was Wilhelm Schlegel. He wrote many poems on poets of centuries ago—Luther, Paul Flemming, Shakespeare, and the late mediaeval Italian and Spanish poets. But what Schlegel did was to read these poets and criticize their works and then couch his criticism in verse rather than prose, so that it would be at once critical and creative. In Dante, for example, he saw the author of a great work that fathomed and proclaimed the meaning of the universe from high to low. This impressed Schlegel and he condensed his ideas so that he could express them in a single sonnet, perfect in form and instructive, if not poetic, in content. In short, German literature abounds in poems that owe their initial inspiration to the lives and works of other poets in whom their authors were interested at the time of composition. To read the complete works of Rückert, quantitatively Germany's greatest lyric writer, and Paul Heyse alone would be equivalent to taking an incoherent course on comparative literature, so many poems have they written on the members of their fraternity. The subject can, however, not be treated here in detail owing to the wealth¹ of material and its irrelevancy, worded as this theme is.

Poets as heroes of German epics are, aside from the abundance of material, an uncommonly grateful theme. In the first place, from *Ruodlieb* in the beginning to Molo's *Schiller* now, the epic has been the most read and the least studied of the three main forms of literature, so that there is more reason for research. Also, according to Aristotle, an epic must be on a great and noble theme; it must be one in itself. Since it is audacious to attempt to refute Aristotle, who would dare suggest that an immortal poet cannot consistently be made the hero of an epic just as well as a notorious individual, or a noted citizen of any calling, or a beautiful woman, or an illustrious general, or an anointed king, or a legendary person born of poetic imagination, or a god the outgrowth of folk-fancy? When one considers Aris-

¹ It is rather peculiar that R. M. Werner, in his book of 638 pages on *Lyrik und Lyriker*, never touches this phase of the matter. He tabulates no fewer than 256 different kinds of lyrics without a word about poetry or poets.

totle's definition, the propriety of the poet in the epic becomes ultra-evident. And aside from Aristotle, the epic is a matter of objective narration so that the author has a rare opportunity to set forth the life of his, in the very nature of the case, interesting hero.

To begin at the beginning, Gottfried von Strassburg wrote his *Tristan und Isolde* about 1215. We have in this epic a striking example of the introduction of poets as characters, though not as speaking ones. In chapter eight,¹ "Tristans Schwertleite," Gottfried leaves his love-lorn pair and poetizes five poets. Of these, Hartmann der Ouwaere, Steinahe Blikêr, diu von der Vogelweide were then living; von Veldeken Heinrich and diu von Hagenouwe were dead.

At first blush this appeals to us as an interruption and therefore seems inexcusable. What should we think, for example, of Klopstock, if he had stopped in the middle of his *Messias* and given us his personal opinion as to the real and relative worth of the works of Bodmer and Breitinger, Gottsched and Gellert, and Hagedorn? It does not, of course, suffice to say that as time goes on the architecture of books improves. It was a common custom among mediaeval poets to discuss other poets in their works, and this instance in Gottfried is one of the happiest. There is nothing digressive or otherwise culpatory about it. Gottfried tells how Tristan dressed up for his dubbing. He gives a superb picture, though a brief one, of Tristan's courage and costume, and then refuses to say anything more for two reasons: so much has been said on this subject² and there are others³ who can do it, or could have done it, so much better than he. The

¹ Ll. 4619-4818.

² Ll. 4614-18:

jâ ritterlîchiu zierheit
diu ist sô manege wîs beschriben
und ist mit rede alsô zertriben
daz ich niht kan gereden dar abe,
dâ von kein herze frôude habe.

³ Ll. 4689-95:

Noch ist der vârwaere mêr:
von Steinahe Blikêr
diu sinu wort sint iussam.
si worhten frouwen an der ram
von golde und ouch von siden,
man möhte s' undersniden,
mit kriecheschen borten.

entire chapter, when read in its proper connection, does not give the impression of a digression, certainly not in the choice of words. Tristan, for example, is richly dighted. And then we hear, concerning Hartmann von Aue, that he uses pure crystal words, woven together like flowers when wisely set and statefully arranged. And Blicher von Steinach is also spoken of as a *värwaere* in words. It is the language of embroidery and embellishment, whether describing Tristan's wardrobe or Hagenau's vocabulary. There are many other passages in Middle High German where poets are poetized, though not always favorably; indeed, in this same work Wolfram gets a few side thrusts for his unclear and diffusive style. Whether the Romanticists took their cue in this respect from their forbears of six hundred years ago is not certain. That it would be but a short step from introduction in the third person to introduction in the first person is perfectly plain.

And then, to leap over six centuries, Tieck published his *Dichterleben, eine Novelle*,¹ in 1829. The leading characters of the first part are Robert Green and Christoph Marlowe; the leading character of the second part is William Shakespeare. Tieck was admirably prepared for such a work. He had supervised the translation of Shakespeare's plays and had had them performed. His public readings from Shakespeare, during his stay in Dresden from 1819 to 1840, attracted thousands of visitors. He was one of the first critics to insist upon dividing the plays into two classes, the diffuse historical ones and the precise mythical ones, just as he was also the first to claim that there runs throughout all of them an unbroken thread of irony. He had, indeed, planned early in life to make his *magnum opus* a definitive study of Shakespeare. Unable, however, to find the time for such a study, he wrote *Dichterleben* instead, in which he elevated the poet to the vertiginous height of seership and named him Shakespeare. It was, namely, his lifelong belief that a poet is a seer and that Shakespeare was the greatest of seers.

¹ Some of the less important characters of both parts are: Thomas Nash, Gabriel Harvey, George Peele, Thomas Lodge, Surrey, the members of Shakespeare's family, and Philip Henslow. The works of various poets are discussed: Chaucer, Spenser, Lyly, Sidney. Of fictitious characters, there are but few, possibly none. Arthington, Coppinger, Haket, the Count of Southampton, Professor Cuffe, Camden, Smith, Wilton, Baptista, Ellis, and the Squire of Eschentown could, in all probability, be run down.

Though Tieck's *Dichterleben* is long,¹ Friedrich Kummer² gives the plot in thirty-five words as follows: "Die jungen kraftgenialen Dramatiker des Elisabetischen Zeitalters, Christoph Marlowe und Green gehen trotz ihrer Genialität zu Grunde, im Gegensatz zu Shakespeare, der als Mensch wie als Dichter ein harmonisches Gleichgewicht seiner Seelen- und Geisteskräfte behauptet." Brief, but, so far as plot is concerned, not too brief. The plot of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* can be told just as briefly. In some works the plot is everything and requires time to tell; witness some of the recent "best sellers." In others it is merely a sort of mark giving the names of sender and receiver and indicating the nature of the contents. Many such plotless but much-importing works were written by the Romanticians.

The story opens in an inn. Marlowe and Green are talking and drinking. A cultured nobleman, not a poet, joins them, for "wer sich nicht selbst als Dichter zeigen kann, der wird wenigstens dadurch geadelt, wenn er die Werke edler Geister versteht und liebt." It means much to an ordinary mortal to talk with a living poet. Marlowe is not so certain of this, but the nobleman assures him of his merits, for "wo haben wir nur etwas Aehnliches, wie Eure Uebersetzung des Ovid oder des Musäus? Ihr macht unsere Sprache erst mündig, dass sie die Töne der Kraft, Bedeutsamkeit und Tiefe lieblich aussprechen lernt. Eure Lieder sind zart und wohllautend, Eure Tragödien donnernd, und in allem, was Ihr dichtet, regiert ein Ungestüm, ein Sturm der Leidenschaft, der uns auch wider unsern Willen in fremde Regionen hinüberreisst, was mir eben das wahre Kennzeichen eines echten Dichters zu sein scheint."

The book abounds in *memoranda poetica*. We are told how it is impossible for a born poet to be only a local patriot; why exotic themes frequently have an attraction that native ones do not; why satire is the shortest-lived of all kinds of literature. Then Henslow puts in a plea for the playwright and the poets throw radiant light, in reply, on the English stage in the year 1600. And the whole town is thrown in an uproar by a play, *Romeo and Juliet*, by one of Henslow's comedians, "ein gewisser Shakespeare." Let him who is bold

¹ There are 223 pages in the work as edited by Heinrich Welti in the Cotta edition.

² *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, p. 117.

search for better criticism of this play than that given by Marlowe to Green in Tieck's *Dichterleben*. And let both the bold and the trepid search for more readable criticism of Shakespeare's plays on the whole than those given by himself in the second part of this story. And, to return to the plot, let no one hope for a more rarified refutation of the venerable thesis that poetic genius and moral insolvency go hand in hand than Tieck has given in his portrayal of Shakespeare's character. He had a thorny road to travel. When he came to London, the punsters called him Shikkebue, Schicksalbar, Schuckelbier, Schicklichbar, Schichklaspir, Scheckigspier, Schüttelspeer, and so on, but to all such taunts he was dumb. Coils and traps were set for him, but he either gracefully walked around them, or, if into them, he poetized his experience for the good of his thankless contemporaries and the undying delight of all posterity. He loathed his own mean characters and loved his amiable ones. Nothing was made, everything grew. In her *Corinne* Madame de Staël said: "I learned life from books." Tieck did too and this one shows it. That is, however, nothing against *Dichterleben*. Some men experience real episodes, others fanciful ones—books, for example; Tieck belonged to the latter class.

In 1912 Siegfried Krebs published his *August Daniel von Binzer, oder das Ende der Romantik, ein Roman*, with a motto from Hans Brandenburg about having one's laughing head drunk with one's own blood. There are no invented characters. The leading ones are Binzer, his fiancée Emilie von Gerschau, Jean Paul, Gustav von Parthei, and Schleiermacher. Practically all of the Romantic poets and philosophers are at least referred to. The time is from 1819 to the outbreak of the cholera in Berlin and the consequent death of Hegel in 1831. The plot is important and is as follows:

The Herzogin von Kurland and her three daughters give, in the summer of 1819, one of their annual house-parties at their country-place, Löbichau in Sachsen-Altenburg, this time in honor of Jean Paul. It has been difficult to get him, but he comes after much persuasion, with his poodle, in untidy attire, incessantly talking, and under the influence of alcohol all the day. It is a big affair: a hundred beds have been arranged for the guests. Tiedge, of *Urania* fame, and Schink, the author of *Faust*, are there. Theodor Körner used to

come. The hero of the occasion, however, is August Daniel von Binzer, a man without a will but with much knowledge of Romanticism and some promise. It is said, namely, that he is writing a book that will be epoch-making. The heroine of the occasion is Emilie von Gerschau, adopted daughter of the Herzogin von Sagan, an eighteen-year-old girl of half Russian parentage and unwholesome attraction. The people amuse themselves by playing skat, discussing Romanticism, and making fun of Jean Paul. Cupid is not invited, but he comes and starts an affair between Binzer and Emilie. All oppose it on the ground that it would clip Binzer's poetic wings and that Emilie is anything but steady. They all try to persuade him that she was intended for a man with money, but to no avail. They become more or less husband and wife. Schleiermacher is consulted, but it is difficult to get him to oppose such unconventionality. The unmarried couple have their troubles. She fears that she is keeping him from writing his book; he assures her that he does not intend to write a book. But worst of all they need money, and need it badly and at once. Binzer does some hackwork, writes some articles for an encyclopedia, but that is slow. Emilie has a better plan: she enters into a scheme for the counterfeiting of money—but is duly placed in jail. Then the cholera breaks out, people become more considerate of human needs, and Binzer gets a position in a chemical laboratory. When Emilie has done her time, Binzer takes her to his so-called home, and now they need money worse than ever. To secure this, he steals a valuable platinum pot from the laboratory and pawns it. When the theft is discovered, the police and the populace storm his house. Parthei is among them to render last aid to his old friend, but when they force the door, they find two suicides lying on the ottoman.

Told in this cold, curt way, that seems like a sterile plot; but it is only the skeleton of the work. Dress it up with the flesh of a life-story and the complexion-giving blood of trenchant, though frequently erratic, observations, and we get a rather readable romance. The trouble with it all is, Krebs has given a most distorted picture of his hero and heroine. Each¹ was just the opposite of what we have

¹ August Daniel, Freiherr von Binzer, born May 30, 1793, at Kiel, died March 20, 1868, at Nelsse. The son of a cultured Danish major-general, he was blessed with gifts and graces. Musically talented, the author of at least two famous poems, "Wir hatten

here. Nothing so "romantic" was ever written by the orthodox Romanticists. If Krebs wished to lay emphasis on the subtitle, "Das Ende der Romantik," then Hoffmann, or Werner, or Grabbe, or Waiblinger would have suited his purpose much better. And if he wished to write "Das Ende eines romantischen Lebens," he should have said so and done so. The novelizing and dramatizing of poets by German poets is unquestionably becoming fashionable. But woe to the children of the muse if they are all to be treated as Krebs¹ has treated Binzer! A work more untrue to life is, in all probability, not to be found in the appended catalogue.

When we come to the drama, this whole subject becomes more suggestive, skeptical though we may be about the availability of the poet for the stage. The drama is a matter of action superinduced by dual claims ultimately provoking a conflict. Unendowed persons lead a conflictless life, and the other way around. A poet is a man of gifts, and gifts mean collision of interests. Think of the conflicts in Goethe's life and the renunciatory spirit that acted as a sort of *deus ex machina* in their solution! E. T. A. Hoffmann was a man of split talents, and his works show it. Throughout nearly all of them there runs a motive of irrepressible conflict between life and art, a conflict as real and irritating as ever existed between the party of Brutus and the party of Cassius, so that Brentano was led to speak of Hoffmann's great dramatic ability. What does this mean? Hoffmann never even started a drama. It means that Hoffmann himself had to fight such a perpetual struggle between the real and the imaginative things of life that his characters move in two diametrically opposite worlds. All great poets are torn by this contrast between the real and the unreal. We are told by an eminent authority that it requires more strength to rule one's own spirit than it does to take a city. Poets do not take cities; they do, or do not, conquer

gebaut ein stattliches Haus," and "Stosst an, Jena soll leben," for the latter of which he also wrote the music, Binzer lived an eminently respectable life. He edited for a while *Die Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, was coeditor of the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, translated Franklin's *Autobiography*, and part of Young's *Night Thoughts*. His favorite poet-friend was Zedlitz. His wife, Emille von Gerschau, was also a woman of talent and character. With her assistance he wrote three volumes of tales and novelettes.

¹ In response to inquiry, Herr Krebs very kindly informed the writer that he did not try to portray the historical Binzer at all, and that, in view of Binzer's personality, his novel was not a happy way to solve the problem he had in mind.

their own spirits. Melpomene should therefore feel kindly disposed toward the devotees of Apollo Musagetes, whether they operate actively or retroactively. But so far as the passive spectator is concerned, the dramatizing of the poetic conflict is big with difficulties. The superiority of the psychic as over against the physical struggle is manifest; but the mind's eye is often blind even to things that are, in themselves, so eminently worth beholding. Dramatically speaking, Goethe has never won the real stage with his *Tasso*, possibly the most noteworthy of the dramas appended.

One thing, however, concerning *Tasso* is certain: Goethe was not simply poetizing a poet in the abstract, and poetry; he was fundamentally interested in the affairs of his title-hero. Had he not been, he would undoubtedly have named his characters, as he did in *Die natürliche Tochter*, simply Der Herzog, Die Prinzessin, Die Gräfin, Der Dichter, Der Secretär. A good deal has been written about the conflict between the man of affairs and the man of fancy in this work, but the conflict between Tasso and the Princess, as brought out in the second act, is the most important phase of this drama. Also, we know that Goethe did not simply read, or peruse, Serassi's biography; he studied it carefully and utilized it as fully as his theme would permit. In short, Goethe was interested in the Italian poet and, with an originality that is most refreshing, he showed this interest by his drama. There is reasonableness in A. W. Schlegel's unique observation.

The drama most similar to Goethe's *Tasso*¹ is Grillparzer's *Sappho*, written in three weeks in 1817, performed in 1818, published in 1819, in the third edition in 1822, soon translated into Danish, French, and English, and at least three times parodied. Again we have the conflict between the poet creating and the poet living and loving. Though Grillparzer plainly intended to dramatize not only the Sappho of two and a half thousand years ago, about whom we know just a little more than Novalis knew about Ofterdingen, but also a woman in the abstract who happened to be a poet, it is a vote in favor of this subject to learn that the first thing he did after Dr. Joel

¹ Concerning *Tasso*, Grillparzer said: "Felsenfest wurde meine Liebe für Goethen durch Tasso'n. Konnte diese Dichternatur dem Dichter fremd sein? Ich selbst glaubte es zu sein, der als Tasso sprach, handelte, liebte."

suggested the theme to him was to read Sappho's poems, one of which he freely translated and incorporated in his drama.

Grillparzer shows us here the disparaging obligations of greatness in general and of poetic exaltedness in particular. We are reminded of Annette von Droste, who said, in substance, that every syllable of her verse meant a drop from her veins. We are assured by an indubitable authority that the bay, though an unvenal embellishment in the eye of the burgher, is a thorn in the flesh of its qualified wearer: it excludes him, and ten times more her, from the life of the great, dull majority. We are made to see that mortals never are at ease when among immortals, and that immortals cannot taste, not even sip with immunity, of the life of mortals. Royalty bowed before this poetess and her every look was declinatory; this poetess bowed before commonalty, and commonalty turned away and to its own. Taste is indispensable in a concordant life and consonance must not fail in mating. Whatever Grillparzer may have wished to say in this drama about the *malheur d'être poète*, it could, nevertheless, be called the song of songs of harmony. All of which makes delightful reading for the poetically inclined; but can the others see and feel the conflict in Sappho's soul? And a drama without a visible conflict is like a novel without any sort of story.

On May 6, 1884, there was performed for the first time, in the Königliches Hoftheater in Hannover, *Christoph Marlow*, "Trauerspiel in vier Akten, von Ernst von Wildenbruch." Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Green, Peele, Lodge, Nash, and Shakespeare are the poet-characters. Sir Thomas Walsingham, Francis Archer, and Henslow are some of the other characters easy to locate. The first two acts take place in Cambridge, the last two in London. This is an interesting, though improbable, tragedy of poetic megalomania. It failed on the stage, some say because the critics came off so ill. That may have helped; but there are other reasons patent to anyone. Though the spectator is regaled with the troubles of people real even in name, he is asked to believe in the consistency of action just a bit more probable than is to be found in dramas confessedly resting on a fairy basis. This is what takes place:

Marlowe, the poor son of a poor father, is brought up in the home of Sir Thomas Walsingham, with whose daughter, Leonore, he falls

in love, and she with him. Tired of home-made glory, Marlowe runs away, joins the navy, and, after his poetry has made him famous, is, according to rumor, killed in an engagement at sea. But he returns home, only to find Leonore, in accordance with her father's wish, engaged to a steady sort of person, Francis Archer. Marlowe wins back her love and persuades her to run away with him, which act of filial indiscretion the father does not survive. In London they attend a performance of a new play, *Romeo and Juliet*, by an unknown author. The critics ascribe the wonderful creation to Marlowe. This misdirected praise so embitters him against everybody that he curses everybody, including Leonore, who, he thinks, admires only the poet in him. News of the death of her father, and the asinine ravings of her poet-lover cause Leonore to swoon. Marlowe is about to look up, and if possible annihilate this Shakespeare who has so fatally interfered with his leadership among poets. But Francis Archer arrives on the scene, a duel ensues, Marlowe is mortally wounded and dies, resigned to his fate, in Leonore's arms with Shakespeare standing by his side repeating Ophelia's words: "Oh what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!"

While the plot of this drama is queer, though some of these things actually happened, Marlowe's character is impossible. It is to be doubted whether a poet ever seriously dramatized a more absurdly conceited character than Wildenbruch's Marlowe. Just one specimen of his ravings must suffice. He once had a vision; he was in Elysium:

. . . . Und auf dieser Wiese,
 Da wandelten, wie Götter anzuschau'n,
 Homeros und die grossen Dichter alle,
 Die je der Menschheit trunkenes Ohr entzückt.
 Und als zu ihnen Christoph Marlow trat,
 Da bebte das Elysische Gefilde,
 Da wandten sich die heil'gen Häupter alle,
 Da streckten alle Arme sich nach mir!¹

It is a pity that Wildenbruch did not more conscientiously perform his grateful task. Marlowe was, at the time of his *Tamburlaine*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Edward II*, easily England's first poet,

¹ Act II, scene vii.

Shakespeare not excepted. But the Marlowe of Tieck, who gave Wildenbruch his initial inspiration, is the more interesting and reasonable of the two—except for those who take sheer delight in the improbable.

In 1891, Wilhelm von Polenz finished his *Heinrich von Kleist, ein Trauerspiel*. The poet-characters are Kleist and Fouqué, the other historical characters are Adam Müller, of *Abendblätter* fame, Henriette Vogel, and her husband. The scene is laid in Berlin, the time is from October 18, 1811, to November 11 of the same year—which is possibly a misprint for November 21. The drama is in prose, there are four *Akte*, though the fourth is divided into two *Aufzüge* with nine scenes in the first and three in the latter. With the exception of Kleist's tentative engagement, in the eleventh hour, to Marianne Paltzow, the daughter of a man who was once a good bricklayer and who is now a retired, rich, stuck-up, boorish Philistine of Berlin, the things that happen are nearly those told by Kleist's biographers.

Kleist is living in a wretched pension in Berlin, the manager of which, Frau Bartels, would like to get rid of her boarder because he does nothing but sleep, talk to himself, and postpone the payment of his debts. Adam Müller and Fouqué visit him, lend him some money, and try to put him on his feet generally. Kleist balks; life is a lie, death is the truth. Then Adam Müller introduces him to the Paltzow family, the father of which looks upon him as a shabby fool; but the fact that he is known at Court interests the Paltzows, so Marianne becomes more or less engaged to him, when Henriette Vogel interrupts, reminds Kleist of his back promise, and the Wannsee tragedy ensues.

Another change rung on the misfortune of being a poet. The ones above discussed became famous while living; the tributes paid to Kleist were posthumous; his dramas were played and applauded after his death. The question has been raised: Who killed Kleist—Goethe or Kant? This drama elaborates the thesis that the German critics, sick over Germany's degradation brought on by Napoleon's blood-shedding hosts, paid for the pistol that shot the life out of Kleist at Wannsee. This is the perpetual theme. In Act I, scene viii, the officer comes to seize Kleist's property for debts, and we read the following:

Exekutor (einen Stoss Papiere emporhebend): Das hier—

Kleist: Sind Manuskripte! Wertlos, völlig wertlos—wie ihm die deutsche Kritik erklären wird, guter Mann.

Exekutor (die Hand auf einen anderen Stoss legend): Und das hier?

Kleist: Drucksachen. *Michael Kohlhaas—Penthesilea—Prinz von Homburg*. Makulatur—alles Makulatur! Frage Er nur die deutschen Theaterdirektoren, wieviel man dafür bietet.

Exekutor: Also alles wertlos?

Kleist: Wertlos, alles wertlos, mein guter Mann. Schrieb mir's denn nicht neulich erst Cotta, als er mir mein "Käthchen" zurückschickte: und seht—Cotta, der muss es doch wissen.—Also, brave Leute, ihr seht wohl nun ein, dass bei mir nichts zu holen ist. Ihr habt mir zuviel zugetraut; dank im übrigen für die gute Meinung.

And then Fouqué paid the bill, fifty *thaler* in all. To the initiated, this drama¹ will prove thoroughly enjoyable; to the others, it will prove at least instructive.

It is, however, not so much this or any other of these works that is instructive; it is the development of the entire "movement" that throws light on the development of German literature as a whole. A glance at the subjoined list shows that there have been eight rather distinct periods during which the writing of epics and dramas on poets took a rather distinct turn: (1) During the Middle Ages it was common for the poet to step aside and discuss another poet. This is possibly owing to the fact that the mediaeval German poet was not particularly anxious about being original; *er sang gern nach der Weise von dem und dem*. (2) From 1525 to 1625, Martin Luther was, for evident reasons, more poetized than anyone else. (3) From 1625 to 1765, there was a break in this matter; those were also gloomy years for German literature as whole. (4) From 1765 to 1800, the influence of the Romanticists, negative and positive, became apparent. That Goethe wrote his *Tasso* in 1789 is no mere accident; to

¹ Of this drama, Adolf Bartels says: "Ich halte es für unmöglich, Heinrich von Kleist auf die Bühne zu bringen, so sicher er eine echt tragische Gestalt ist, nur etwa im Roman, eher vielleicht noch durch ein fingiertes Tagebuch wäre es, wie ich glaube, möglich, den Charakter des unglücklichen Dichters und die Seelenzustände, die seinem Selbstmorde vorangingen, dichterisch darzustellen. Ganz ungeschickt ist Polenz' Drama jedoch nicht, jedenfalls der Beste unter den mancherlei Versuchen, die den Stoff behandeln."

In a different vein Adolf Stern says of this drama: "Dieser Kleist mit allen wilden Hohnphrasen der Schopenhauerschen Philosophie und den wilden Zornausbrüchen der letzten Weltüberwindung ist ein moderner Poet im engsten und unerfreulichsten Wort-sinn und hat mit unserem grossen Dichter wenig gemeinsam."

the poets of that time, the poet was the most real of men. (5) From 1800 to 1825, such works were produced in great abundance, and, following the lead of the Romanticists, the late mediaeval Romance writers were most frequently utilized. (6) From 1825 to 1850, German literature was in a most peculiar condition; indecision, lack of a fixed type or tendency, characterized the age. The poets of Young Germany alone wrote with more or less singleness of purpose. Raupach's tragedy on Tasso, Sternberg's short story on Molière, Laube's novel on Byron, and Bettina's epistolary effort on Goethe, all in 1835, argue the lack of solidarity. (7) From 1850 to 1880, these literary works began to be produced in great numbers, the majority of them written by minor poets on major ones. (8) And lastly, from 1880 to the present, beginning with Bleibtreu's Byron-dramas, the novelizing and dramatizing of poets has plainly become a literary fad in Germany.

It has indeed always, with a few conspicuous exceptions, been a fad in Germany; a survey of these works brings out, namely, some peculiar facts. All told, the poetization of poets, though it has attracted some of the greatest writers—Goethe, Grillparzer, Hoffmann, Ludwig, Wildenbruch—has attracted many of the smallest ones—Deinhardstein, Henle, Henzen, Knigge, Schaden. The dramas outnumber the epics. According to Hofmannsthal's *Ueber Charaktere in Roman und im Drama, ein imaginäres Gespräch zwischen Balzac und Hammer-Gurgwall (Purgstall)*, in which the former defends the epic as over against the drama, on the ground that the great thing in life as well as in literature is not contrapuntal *Katastrophe*, but elaborated *Schicksal*, this is unfortunate. Despite the possible seriousness of the plan, comedies frequently occur where we should least expect them; Schiller's and Platen's lives were not comic, yet comedies have been based on them. There is frequent manifestation of group psychology in letters, a theory that certainly holds good for Germany: as soon as one writer based an epic or drama on the life of another, another epic or drama on the same writer soon followed. Some are rigidly true, some wholly untrue to life. A goodly number of the works here listed are so inferior that one's unhappiness would be abysmal if one were obliged to read them for reading's sake. And they are very numerous.

They are, in all probability, more numerous in Germany than in England or France for three reasons: (1) From about 1770 to about 1870, the Germans were enormous readers and writers, translators, and assimilators; they became acquainted with many poets. They studied their kind, whether native or foreign, ancient, mediaeval, or modern. Tieck, for example, was first a student then a poet of Shakespeare. It is, however, not probable that the French during these same years made such a careful study of the poets and poetry of England and Germany, just as it is not probable that the Englishman during these years made such a careful study of the poets and poetry of Germany and France. We know that the translations of English and French into German are numerous and frequently of high order, while those from German into French, or English, are, with a few beacon-like exceptions, of subordinate merit. (2) There were the Romanticists. They did not write for the real stage; they shied at the boards that signify the world. But their immediate offspring, the Young Germans, reacted; they strove to reunite poetry and life on the stage, to reconcile poetry and dramatics, the poet and the actor. And, journalistically inclined as they were, they tried to make their poets speak to the world from the stage as from a pulpit or lecturn. To do this, they introduced the poet in the first person, and the efforts of Gutzkow and Laube and their imitators cannot be said to have been total failures. France had also, to be sure, *La jeune France*, but its adherents worked along different lines. England was entirely without a similar movement. (3) Also, German poets, introspective as they are—and retroaction is born of introspection—have doggedly and persistently concerned themselves with the problems of the human heart. They have cared for their colleagues. One German poet has tried to see the soul of another, and the result of his effort has been a creative work based on the subject examined. That one poet should use another poet as a theme is, so far as piety goes, right and proper.

It is the retroactive feature of this theme that makes it at once attractive and difficult. There are ramifications without end¹ and

¹ There are two phases of this theme that call especially for detailed study: (a) A well-introduced and carefully annotated collection of about three hundred poems on German poets and poetry would constitute at once an instructive chrestomathy and a pleasing anthology. German literature abounds in such poems as Goethe's "Gedichte

subdivisions without number. When one poet writes a biography of another, as Wilbrandt did with Kleist and Hölderlin and Reuter, and Gustav Schwab with Schiller, and Karl Gutzkow with Börne, he makes, in a sense, a poet his hero. When a poet retouches an old chap-book, as Goethe did with Faust and Tieck with Genoveva, he does, in a sense, the same thing, for these books, though ownerless, are not authorless. When one poet writes a letter to another and discusses still a third, he frequently does the same thing. When a poet puts a historical drama within an epic, as Arnim did with Schiller's *Maria Stuart* in his *Hollins Liebeleben*, or a drama within a drama, as E. A. Lütner did with Shakespeare's *Othello* in his own *Othellos Erfolg*, he does the same thing. The changes that can be rung on the theme are almost as numerous as sermons on the Sermon on the Mount. Schiller wrote his *Huldigung der Künste* and Goethe his *Maskenzüge*. All branches of art show this boomerang tendency. Painters give us their self-portraits with palette in hand and easel before them. And when Philipp Veit painted his "Einführung der Künste in Deutschland durch das Christentum," and Friedrich Overbeck his "Triumph der Religion in den Künsten," they painted painting. In actuality Mendelssohn was working along the same line when he wrote his wordless songs and Hugo von Hofmannsthal was following suit when he wrote his *Künstler-Drama* on "Der Tod des Tizian." There are, in short, a number of Muses, gracious and graceful creatures, whose lofty mission it is to inspire the gifted along various lines of artistic endeavor. And each of these has, in turn, been framed and chiseled and painted and sung, composed and danced and mimicked, it in each case depending upon whether her devotee was an architect or a sculptor or a follower of some other branch of art.

sind gemalte Fensterscheiben," Schiller's "Teilung der Erde," Marie von Eschenbach's "Ein kleines Lied, wie geht's nur an," Justinus Kerner's "Poesie ist tiefes Schmerzen," poems in which a poet has graciously consented to tell us, who are not poets, precisely what a poem is like, whence it comes, how it disports itself, and where it is supposed to go. In 1854, Freiligrath published a booklet entitled *Dichtung und Dichter*, containing "was Dichtermund über andere Poeten gesungen." This is, of course, out of date. And in 1888, Adolf Stern published his *Die Musik in der deutschen Dichtung*, a collection of German poems on music and musicians. The collection is interesting, but it concerns only musicians and their art. (b) A monograph on oppositional literature to German Romanticism would throw radiant light on the most comprehensive movement in German literature. The study would discuss such creations as Kotzebue's *Esel*, Arndt's *Storch*, Tieck's *Waldeinsamkeit*, Blomberg's *Confunculus*, and so on. This has never been done. To throw light on the dark side of a question is to make the bright side effulgent.

In compiling the list of works in question, then, the process of selection offers an interesting difficulty. In the first place, the very terms "poet," "epic," "drama," "literature," "hero"—terms so clear, apparently, to the initiated—are generally more or less relative and at times decidedly vague. Were Luther, Beaumarchais, and Ulrich von Hutten "poets"? And what should we do with such instances as Byron in Goethe's *Faust* or Justinus Kerner in Immermann's *Münchhausen*? What should be said of such triple alliances as *Cyrano de Bergerac*, *Rostand*, and *Fulda*? What should be done where the poet makes another poet a hero, but only as a human, historical character? Is Else Rema's *Voltaires Geliebte, ein Lebensbild* (1913), a novel or a biography? Other and similar questions arise. The most expeditious way to get at the matter is to exclude all artist-works, unless they also introduce poets,¹ all autobiographies, biographies, borrowings, criticisms direct and implied, editions with introductions, imitations, letters, operatic librettos, except Wagner's *Musik-Dramen*, obituary eulogies, stage-adaptations, and translations whether fantastic, free, or literal that concern poets and emanate from German poets, and adhere to the plan imposed by the title of this paper. But since this would eliminate some works that indirectly belong here, let us arrange first a list of miscellaneous epics and dramas, and then those that unquestionably fit into the scheme.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1215—Gottfried von Strassburg: *Tristan und Isolde*. Lines 4619 to 4818 treat Hartmann der Ouwaere, Steinaher Blikêr, Heinrich von Veldeken, diu von der Vogelweide, and diu von Hagenouwe, with indirect reference to Wolfram von Eschenbach.
- 1216-87 (ca.)—Anonymous: *Der Wartburgkrieg*. Unknown author (or authors) introduces Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Walther von der Vogelweide, Heinrich der tugendhafte Schreiber, Biterolf von Eisenach,

¹ There would, to be sure, be but little point in classifying all German epics and dramas according to whether the leading character is a lawyer, a physician, a doctor, and so on through the entire list of human occupations. That would result in a series of studies too much like Franz Leppmann's *Kater Murr und seine Sippe* (München, 1908). But to pick out for separate treatment those creative works that introduce other poets who also wrote creative works is an entirely different matter. There are countless monographs on historical characters such as Richard II, Wallenstein, Maria Stuart, and so on; why not have one, or a number, on such historical characters as Calderon, Goethe, Voltaire, Kleist? Why not study their availability for epic and dramatic treatment?

- Reinmar von Zweter, and Klingsohr. The title, "Sangerkrieg auf der Wartburg," has been given the work by later editors, after the fashion of "Der Heiland."
- 1325 (ca.)—Hugo von Trimberg: *Der Renner*, a didactic poem of 24,611 verses, after the fashion of the English *Cursor Mundi* (1320, ca.). The work derived its title from Trimberg, who said: "Renner ist ditz buoch genant, wanne ez soll rennen durch die lant." Introduces "Her Walther von der Vogelweide, swer des vergeze der tete mir leide," and Heinrich von Morungen, Der Windsbecke, Reinmar von Zweter, Conrad von Wurzburg, Marnar, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Vergil, Juvenal, Seneca, Terence, Ovid, Freidank, St. Gregory, St. Augustin, Aristotle, Socrates, Demosthenes, Pliny, Hippocrates, Esop, Cicero, Donatus, as well as various stories of wide circulation, such as "Barlaam und Josaphat." Sometimes the writers are simply quoted, sometimes their works are discussed. Freidank is mentioned the most frequently.
- 1776—Lenz: *Petrarch, ein Gedicht aus seinen Liedern gezogen*. A long poem in three cantos in which Petrarch's life and works are reviewed.
- 1783—Johannes Aloys Blumauer: *Abenteuer des frommen Helden Aeneas, oder Virgils Aeneis travestiert*.
- 1783—J. A. Blumauer: *Prolog zu Herrn Nicolais neuester Reisebeschreibung*.
- 1788—Ignaz Aurelius Fessler: *Sidney, ein Trauerspiel in drei Aufzugen*. Fessler was a Hungarian historian, and, in all probability, his drama treats Sidney the general, not Sidney the author.
- 1798—Wilhelm Schlegel: "Die Sprachen. Ein Gesprach uber Klopstocks grammatische Gesprache." The opening article, and one of the best, in the *Athenum*. A conversation is carried on among: Poesie, Grammatik, Deutscher, Franzose, Grieche, Deutschheit, Englander, Romer, Italianer, Grille.
- 1808—Goethe: *Erklahrung eines alten Holzschnittes, vorstellend Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung*. Appeared in 1808, though certainly written earlier. The idea of *Sendung* was suggested to Goethe by Wieland in 1776.
- 1810—Kleist: *Michael Kohlhaas*. Introduces Martin Luther.
- 1814—Fr. J. H., Reichsgraf von Soden: *Das Bild von Albrecht Durer, Schauspiel in drei Akten*.
- 1820 (ca.)—E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Walter Scott und Byron, eine Erzahlung*.
- 1820 (ca.)—E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Zacharias Werner, eine Erzahlung*. Both works are sections from the *Serapionsbruder*; neither really introduces the poets as active characters.
- 1822—J. H. A. von Schaden: *Jacob Callot, genannt der Fratzenmahler, historisch, romantisch, phantastisch Original-Gruppenspiel*.
- 1824—Moritz Thieme: *Der kleine Cornelius Nepos, Spiel fur die Jugend bei festlichen Gelegenheiten*.

- 1825—J. N. A. von Schaden: *Mozarts Tod, ein Original-Trauerspiel, in drei Akten.*
- 1825—Adam Weise: *Guido, Lehrling Albrecht Dürers, eine Ich-Erzählung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert.*
- 1825 (ca.)—Hauff: *Othello, eine Novelle.* Revolves around a performance of Rossini's *Otello* with frequent allusions to Shakespeare's *Othello*.
- 1826 (ca.)—Hauff: *Der Mann im Monde, oder der Zug des Herzens ist des Schicksals Stimme, von H. Claren.* A satirization of Claren's *Mimili-Manier*.
- 1827—Hauff: *Controverspredigt über H. Claren und den Mann im Monde.* A poetic satirization of Claren in answer to the charges brought by him against Hauff for misusing his name in the *Mann im Monde*. Many other poets are discussed by way of contrast with Claren: Jean Paul, Vergil, Tasso, Homer, Novalis, Hoffmann, Tieck, Schiller, Scott, and Goethe.
- 1827—G. K. R. Herlossohn (Herloss): *Der Luftballon oder Hundstage in Schilda.* On Claren. The situation is much the same as with Hauff. In 1827, Herloss published his novel *Emmy* under the name of H. Claren; then he wrote against Claren the dramatic satire here listed.
- 1828—Karl von Holtei: *Lenore, Schauspiel mit Gesang in drei Akten.* Meyerbeer suggested to Holtei the possibility of writing a libretto on Bürger's *Lenore*. Holtei changed the plan and interwove also the motives of *Die Pfarrerstochter von Taubenhain*. The important characters are: Pastor Bürger, Günther, ein junger Prediger aus der Nachbarschaft, Lenore, and Wilhelm. The time is 1761.
- 1829—Immermann: *Der im Irrgarten der Metrik umhertaumelnde Cavalier, eine literarische Tragödie.* On Platen.
- 1830—Waiblinger: *Drei Tage in der Unterwelt. Ein Schriftchen, das vielen ein Anstoss seyn wird, und besser anonym herauskäme.* An idea of the number and names of the poets whom Waiblinger meets in the lower world can be gotten from this paragraph: "Da schrie's, von welcher Profession? Romantiker, Orientalist, Göthianer, Schlegelianer, Tiekianer, Rossinianer, Weberianer, Mozartianer, Supranaturalist, Rationalist, Schleiermacherianer, Schellingianer, Kantianer, Fichtianer? und so fort und fort, bis mir die Ohren sausten und ich Unglückseliger am Ende nichts mehr als Yaner und Yaner hörte."
- 1832—Gutzkow: *Hamlet in Wittenberg, dramatische Phantasie in drei Scenen.* The leading characters are: Hamlet, Horatio, Faust, Mephistopheles, Ophelia.
- 1832—Karl von Holtei: *Goethe's Todtenfeier.* A drama divided into *Abtheilungen*. There are about forty characters, all taken from Goethe's own list of created characters.

- 1834—Eichendorff: *Dichter und ihre Gesellen, ein Roman*. The following poets are discussed or in some way introduced: Shakespeare, Goethe, Mozart, Cervantes, Sebastian Brant, Tasso, and Eichendorff himself. His *Krieg den Philistern, dramatisches Märchen in fünf Abenteuern* could be put in the same class.
- 1836—Laube: *Das junge Europa, Roman in drei Büchern, Die Poeten, Die Krieger, Die Bürger*. A number of people carry on a correspondence. In the first part, "Die Poeten," poets and poetry are discussed. Uhland, Shakespeare, Tasso, Goethe, Le Sage, Sterne, Claren, Camoens, Heine, Scott, Börne, Rousseau, Herder, Schlegel, Champollion, A. H. L. Heeren, Raupach, Kotzebue, Hugo, Byron, and Wilhelm Müller and their works form the basis of the correspondence.
- 1838—Gutzkow: *Götter, Helden, Don Quixote*. Under the first heading, Gutzkow discusses in peculiar, semi-creative fashion, Shelley, Buechner, Grabbe; under the second, W. Schadow, Fr. von Raumer, Rehfuës, Immermann, Varnhagen, Leo, Diesterweg, Heine, Mundt, Laube, Schlesier; under the third, Minckwitz, Joel Jacoby, F. A. Löffler, Henrik Steffens.
- 1839—Ignaz Franz Castelli: *Raphael, Lustspiel in Alexandrinern in einem Akt*.
- 1839—Immermann: *Münchhausen, eine Geschichte in Arabesken*. Immermann introduces "der bekannte Schriftsteller Immermann" as a regular character.
- 1849—Anastasius Grün: *Pfaff vom Kahlenberg, ländliches Gedicht*. In a vague way, Grün has treated Neidhart von Reuenthal.
- 1855—Mörke: *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag, eine Novelle*. Introduces indirectly also Mozart's librettists.
- 1855—Hebbel: *Michael Angelo, ein Drama in zwei Akten*. Artist-characters are also Raphael, Bramante, Sangallo.
- 1859—F. M. von Bodenstedt: *Das Festspiel zur Schillerfeier*.
- 1860 (ca.)—Heribert Rau: *Mozart, ein biographischer Roman*.
- 1871—C. F. Meyer: *Huttens letzte Tage*. Erzählung in Versen.
- 1882—Armin Stein: *Georg Friedrich Händel, ein Künstlerleben*. "Was Poesie an meinem Büchlein ist, ist nur die Form, der Inhalt ist wirkliche Geschichte."
- 1884—Wilhelm Henzen: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*.
- 1887—Ed. Alex. Lütner: *Othellos Erfolg. Schwank in einem Aufzug*. Based on Shakespeare's drama; a certain actor plays the rôle. Shakespeare is not a speaking character.
- 1888—Helene Böhlau: *Ratsmädchengeschichten*. Based on members of the Weimar circle in the days of Goethe and Schiller.

- 1895—Georg Hirschfeld: *Dämon Kleist, eine Novelle*. Though Kleist is not a speaking character, this is a true poetization of him.
- 1907—Svend Leopold: *Goethes Katze, ein Roman*. Goethe and Napoleon are the human characters. The work was suggested to Leopold by E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Kater Murr*. It was translated into German in 1908.
- 1912—Karl Söhle: *Sebastian Bach in Arnstadt, ein musikalisches Kulturbild aus dem Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*. A new edition.

PURELY LITERARY EPICS AND DRAMAS

- 1522—Thomas Murner: *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren wie in Doctor Murner beschworen hat*, etc. Written in rhymed couplets. "Murner sah in der gewaltigen Bewegung, die Luther entfesselt hatte, den Umsturz des Bestehenden und in Luther den gefährlichen Catilina oder den 'grossen lutherischen Narren.'"
- 1523—Hans Sachs: *Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall*. Long poem on Luther.
- 1560—Hans Sachs: *Esopues, der Fabeldichter, ein kuerzweillig Spiel mit 8 Personen*.
- 1593—Zacharias Rivander: *Lutherus Redivivus, eine neue Comoedia von der langen und ergerlichen Disputation bey der Lehre vom Abendmahl*.
- 1600—Andreas Hartmann: *Erster Teil des Curriculi Vitae Lutheri*. "Hartmann beginnt eine dramatische Biographie Luthers. . . . Er war der Erste, der diesen Stoff in ein Drama zu bringen versuchte."
- 1602—Christian Schoen: *Der kleine Catechismus des heiligen Mans Gottes Herrn Doctoris Martini Lutheri, heiliger Gedächtniss*. *Reimweise verfasst*.
- 1613—Martin Rinckhart: *Der Eisslebische Christliche Ritter, eine neue und schöne Geistliche Comoedia*, etc. "Rinckhart wollte in sieben Stücken die Geschichte Luthers und der Reformation darstellen. Erschienen sind nur drei davon, ausserdem ist ein ganz kleines Bruchstück eines vierten erhalten."
- 1617—Heinrich Kielmann: *Tetzelocramia, eine lustige Komödie*, etc. "Er stellt Tetzels Ablasshandel dar und knüpft erst zum Schluss an Luthers Wirken an."
- 1617—Balthasar Voidius: *Echo Jubilaei Lutherani. Eine Comedia*. "Es kam Voidius darauf an, Luther in der Glorie des Jubilirers zu zeigen, und dadurch wird die Ernsthaftigkeit seines Kampfes gegen den Papst und somit die eigentlich dramatische Handlung von vornherein beeinträchtigt."
- 1617—Heinrich Hirtzwig: *Lutherus, ein Drama*. In Latin. "Sein 'lutherus' umfasst den ganzen Riesenstoff. Das Drama beginnt mit Luthers Berufung nach Wittenberg und endet mit seinem Tode."

- 1618—Martin Rinckhart: *Indulgentiaris Confusus oder Eislebische Mansfeldische Jubel-Comoedia*, etc. Really the third in Rinckhart's intended series; the second did not appear.
- 1624—Andreas Hartmann: *Lutherus Redivivus, eine Comoedia*. "Nur ein Wiederabdruck des ersten Teils."
- 1625—Martin Rinckhart: *Monetarius Seditiosus sive Incendia Rusticorum Bellica*, etc. "Es erschien 1625, hundert Jahre nach dem Bauernkrieg, den es zum Gegenstande hat." On Luther.
- 1765—Johann Jakob Bodmer: *Gottsched, oder der parodierte Cato, ein Trauerspiel in Versen*. "Bodmer hat fast alle Grösseren späterer Zeit: Lessing, Gleim, J. G. Jacobi, Gerstenberg, Herder, Voss, Bürger, Stolberg satirisch angegriffen."
- 1773—Goethe: *Götter, Helden und Wieland. Eine Farce*. The poet-characters are Wieland and Euripides and the characters created by them, especially those of Wieland (Alceste, Admet).
- 1774—Goethe: *Clavigo, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. On Clavijo y Fajardo and Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais.
- 1775—Lenz: *Pandaemonium germanicum, eine Skizze*. Poet-characters are Goethe, Hagedorn, Lenz, Lafontaine, Molière, Rousseau, Rabener, Rabelais und Skarron, Klotz, Chaulien und Chapelle, Wieland, Jacobi, Weisse, Michaelis, Schmid, Lessing, Herder, Shakespeare, and Klopstock.
- 1775—Lenz: *Voltaire am Abend seiner Apotheose, ein Drama*.
- 1787—Schiller: *Körners Vormittag, ein dramatischer Scherz*. Körner and Schiller are two of the characters.
- 1789—Goethe: *Torquato Tasso, ein Schauspiel*.
- 1790—Kotzebue: *Dr. Bahrdt mit der eisernen Stirn, oder die deutsche Union gegen Zimmermann*. Kotzebue impudently published this work under the name of Adolph Freiherr von Knigge. The characters are Bahrdt, Biester, Gedike, Büsching, Campe, Trapp, Boie, Klockenbring, Lichtenberg, Nicolai, Kästner, Hippel, Leuchsenring.
- 1793—Franz Alexander von Kleist: *Sappho, ein dramatisches Gedicht*. Kleist is related to Ewald and Heinrich. Grillparzer made some use of this drama for his own work of like name.
- 1793—Johann Joseph Huber: *Sappho, ein Melodrama*.
- 1799—Kotzebue: *Der hyperboreische Esel, oder die heutige Bildung*. A lampoon on the Berlin-Jena Romanticists, especially Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis. Kotzebue satirized frequently the writers of his day. *Die deutschen Kleinstädter* is a diatribe against Romanticism in a sense.
- 1800—August Wilhelm Schlegel: *Ehrenpforte und Triumphbogen für den Theaterpräsidenten von Kotzebue bei seiner gehofften Rückkehr ins Vaterland. Mit Musik*. Really the reply to Kotzebue's *Esel*.

- 1801—Novalis: *Heinrich von Ofterdingen, ein Roman*. (Ofterdingen is looked upon, in this paper, as a historical character. There is more evidence that such a poet actually lived than there is against the assumption.)
- 1801—Joachim Perinet: *Mozart und Schikaneder, ein illustriertes Gespräch über die Aufführung der Zauberflöte. In Knittelversen*.
- 1803—Kotzebue: *Expectorationen. Ein Kunstwerk und zugleich ein Vorspiel zum Alarcos*. The characters are: Göthe, der Grosse; Falck, der Kleine; A. W. Schlegel, der Wütende; Fr. Schlegel, der Rasende.
- 1805—Karl Anton Gruber, Edler von Grubenfels: *Torquato Tasso, Drama in Prosa*.
- 1806—Engeline Christine Westphalen: *Petrarca, dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Akten*.
- 1806—Sophie Mereau: *Sappho und Phaon, oder der Sturz von Leukate, ein Roman nach dem Englischen*.
- 1807—Georg Ludwig Peter Sievers: *Lessings Schädel, Original-Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen*.
- 1807—Zacharias Werner: *Martin Luther, oder die Weihe der Kraft*.
- 1809—Saul Ascher: *Rousseau und sein Sohn, oder der Selbstmörder zu Ermenonville, ein Familienroman*.
- 1809—E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Ritter Gluck*. Short story. Characters are Gluck and Hoffmann. Gives Hoffmann's ideas of music. Gluck died in 1787.
- 1812—Christian Friedrich Rassmann: *Paul Gerhard, eine dramatische Poesie*.
- 1814—Zacharias Werner: *Die Weihe der Unkraft, ein Ergänzungsblatt zur deutschen Haustafel*. On Martin Luther.
- 1814—Joseph August Eckschläger: *Sappho, ein Melodrama*.
- 1816—Johann Ludwig Ferdinand Deinhardstein: *Boccaccio, dramatisches Gedicht in zwei Akten*. "Deinhardstein war einer der Hauptbegründer des sog. 'Künstlerdramas,' welches Persönlichkeiten der Literatur- und Kunstgeschichte in dramatischer Situation vorzuführen sucht." Deinhardstein also wrote dramas on Salvator Rosa, Stradella, and David Garrick.
- 1816—F. W. Gubitz: *Sappho, ein Monodrama, in Musik gesetzt von B. A. Weber*.
- 1816—Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger: *Correggio, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. Retained here because of its great influence on later *Künstlerdramen*.
- 1817—Heinrich Schorch: *Luthers Entscheidung, nebst Vorwort und einem Prolog. Dramatisches Gedicht in vier Akten*.

- 1817—Johann Nepomuk Adolph von Schaden: *Theodor Körners Tod, oder das Gefecht bei Gadebusch, dramatisches Gedicht in einem Akt.*
- 1818—J. N. A. von Schaden: *Dr. Martin Luthers geheimnisvolle Reise ins Augustiner Kloster, Original-Novelle.*
- 1818—Anonymous: *Seppherl, Melodrama. On Sappho.*
- 1818—Grillparzer: *Sappho, Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen.*
- 1819—J. N. A. von Schaden: *Die moderne Sappho. Ein musikalisch-dramatisches Durcheinander, ohne Sinn und Verstand.*
- 1819—E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Der Kampf der Sänger, one section of the Serapions-Brüder.* The poet-characters are: Wolfframb von Eschimbach, Walther von der Vogelweid, Reinhard von Zwekhstein, Heinrich Schreiber, Johannes Bitterloff, and Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Bürger ze Eisenach. The time is 1208.
- 1819—Wilhelm Smets: *Tassos Tod, Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen.* Heine wrote a criticism of about five thousand words on this drama.
- 1819—Georg Döring: *Cervantes, Drama in vier Akten.*
- 1819—E. T. A. Hoffmann: *Das Fräulein von Scudery, eine Erzählung.* Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) published a long list of works, some under an assumed name, in which she too introduced other poets. In her historical novel, *Artamène, ou le grand Cyrus* (1650), she speaks of herself as Sappho. Victor Cousin discovered the complete key to all her characters.
- 1820—Christoph Kuffner: *Cervantes in Algier, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen.*
- 1821—Immermann: *Petrarca, Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen.*
- 1823—Ludwig Halirsch: *Petrarca, dramatisches Gedicht in drey Aufzügen.*
- 1825—Tieck: *Das Fest zu Kenelworth. Prolog zum Dichterleben.* On the boy Shakespeare.
- 1825—George Döring: *Gellert, eine Comödie in einem Akte.*
- 1825—Christoph Kuffner: *Die Minnesänger auf der Wartburg, ein Schauspiel.* The significant characters are: Otto von Veldek, Walter von der Vogelweide, and Heinrich von Ofterdingen.
- 1826—B. S. Ingemann: *Tassos Befreiung, ein dramatisches Gedicht, aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von Hans Gardhausen, mit einer poetischen Einleitung von Fouqué.*
- 1826 (ca.)—Wilhelm Blumenhagen: *Luthers Ring, oder die Fingerzeige des Himmels, eine Erzählung.* The story begins in the year 1551.
- 1827—Alexis: *Schloss Avalon, ein Roman.* Introduces Thomas Otway as an important character. Alexis' indebtedness to Scott is well known. Scott likewise introduced (or discussed) poets in his novels: Chaucer, Cowley, Waller, and Cotton in *Peperil of the Peak*, and Shakespeare in *Kenilworth*.

- 1827—Henriette Claren: *Die Familie Claren, oder nichts als Claren, ein Possenspiel in zwei Akten.*
- 1828—Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein: *Hans Sachs, Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen.*
- 1828—Fouqué: *Der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg. Ein Dichterspiel.* The poet-characters are: Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Walter von der Vogelweide, Heinrich der tugendhafte Schreiber, Biterolf von Eisenach, Reinmar von Zweter, and Wolfram von Eschenbach.
- 1829—Platen: *Der romantische Oedipus, Komödie in fünf Akten.* On Immermann.
- 1829—Willibald Alexis: *Aennchen von Tharau, Drama in drei Akten.* On Simon Dach.
- 1829—Grabbe: *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, eine Tragödie in fünf Akten.* Introduces, as a speaking character, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, as the author of the *Nibelungenlied.*
- 1829—Tieck: *Dichterleben, Novelle in zwei Teilen.* Poet-characters are Marlowe, Green, Shakespeare, and others.
- 1832—Wilhelmine von Chézy: *Petrarca, Künstler-Drama in fünf Akten.*
- 1832—J. L. F. Deinhardstein: *Die rothe Schleife, Lustspiel in vier Akten.* On Voltaire.
- 1832—Alexis: *Cabanis, ein Roman.* Takes place in the Berlin of Frederick the Great, and Ramler is an important character.
- 1832—Caroline Helene Friederike Lessing (niece by marriage of G. E. L.): *Marie und Boccaccio, historischer Roman.*
- 1833—Tieck: *Tod des Dichters, eine Novelle.* On Camoens.
- 1833—Laube: *Grillparzer, eine Reisenovelle.*
- 1833—Zedlitz: *Kerker und Krone, Schauspiel in fünf Akten.* On Torquato Tasso.
- 1834—Alexander von Sternberg: *Lessing, eine Novelle.*
- 1834—A. Bürck: *Der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg, eine romantische Erzählung.* Introduces Heinrich von Ofterdingen and the other poets traditionally associated with him.
- 1835—Raupach: *Tassos Tod, Tragödie in fünf Akten.*
- 1835—Alexander von Sternberg: *Molière, eine Novelle.*
- 1835—Laube: *Lord Byron, eine Reisenovelle.*
- 1835—Bettina von Arnim: *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde, seinem Denkmal.* Bettina met Goethe in 1807, in 1811 their "acquaintance" was discontinued. He did write her some letters, not love letters, and they were returned to her from his *Nachlass.* She polished them and revised them, added to them and changed them generally, so that this work is neither all truth nor all poetry.

- 1837—Halm: *Camoens, dramatisches Gedicht in einem Aufzug.*
- 1839—H. J. König: *Williams Dichten und Trachten, ein Roman.* Shakespeare is the hero. The work had reached its fourth edition in 1864.
- 1839—E. A. Willkomm: *Lord Byron, ein Dichterleben.* Included in a series of *Zivilisationsnovellen.*
- 1839—I. F. Castelli: *Das Duell eines Dichters, eine Erzählung.* On Alfieri.
- 1839—Gutzkow: *Richard Savage, oder der Sohn einer Mutter, Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen.* The poet-characters are Richard Savage, "berühmter Dichter," and Richard Steele, "Journalist, sein Freund." "Mit diesem Trauerspiel begann eine neue, moderne Dramatik in Deutschland."
- 1840—Bettina von Arnim: *Die Gunderode, ein Roman.* Karoline von Gunderode (1780—1806) wrote under the pseudonym of "Tian" a collection of *Gedichte und Phantasien* (1804) and *Poetische Fragmente* (1805).
- 1840—Karl von Holtei: *Shakespeare in der Heimat oder die Freunde, ein Schauspiel in vier Akten.* In his preface, Holtei admits that this drama is based on Tieck's *Dichterleben.*
- 1843—Hermann Kurz: *Schillers Heimatjahre.* "Kurz' erster grosser Roman."
- 1843—Christoph Kuffner: *Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen.*
- 1843—Richard Wagner: *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg.* Poet-characters are: Tannhäuser, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walter von der Vogelweide, Biterolf, Heinrich der Schreiber, Reinmar von Zweter.
- 1844—Gutzkow: *Das Urbild des Tartüffe, Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen.* The comedy plays in Paris, the time is 1667, and Molière is the leading character.
- 1844—Bettina von Arnim: *Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz, in Briefen, ihm geflochten, wie er selbst es schriftlich verlangte.* A sort of *Brief-Roman*, with Clemens Brentano as the hero.
- 1845—Otto Müller: *Bürger, ein deutsches Dichterleben, ein Roman.*
- 1845 (ca.)—J. L. F. Deinhardstein: *Pigault Lebrun, Lustspiel in fünf Akten.* Charles Antoine Guillaume Pigault-Lebrun (1753—1835) wrote a number of novels and more than twenty plays, the first of which appeared in 1787.
- 1846—Laube: *Gottsched und Gellert, Charakterlustspiel in fünf Akten.* The action occurs in Leipzig in 1762.
- 1846—H. T. Oelckers: *Goethes Studentenjahre. Novellistische Schilderung, Roman in zwei Teilen, sieben Abschnitten.*
- 1847—Laube: *Die Karlsschüler, Schauspiel in fünf Akten.* On Schiller.
- 1847—Rudolf Gottschall: *Lord Byron in Italien, ein Drama.*

- 1849—Gutzkow: *Der Königsleutnant, Lustspiel in vier Akten*. Written on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Goethe's birth.
- 1850—Elise Schmidt: *Der Genius und die Gesellschaft, ein Drama*. On Lord Byron. She was a disciple of Hebbel. "Die Charakteristik ist reich an trefflichen Zügen; der Genius und die Gessellschaft verrät aber den Einfluss Gutzkows."
- 1850—S. H. Mosenthal: *Ein deutsches Dichterleben, ein Drama*. On Bürger. Really a dramatization of Müller's novel on Bürger.
- 1850—Adolf Widmann: *Tannhäuser, ein Roman*.
- 1851—J. L. F. Deinhardstein: *Fürst und Dichter, dramatisches Gedicht in vier Akten*. The leading characters are Goethe and Karl August.
- 1852—Johann Nestroy: *Tannhäuser, eine Zukunftsposse*. Parody on Wagner's opera, suggested by H. Wollheim, music by Karl Binder.
- 1852—Alexis: *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht. Ein Roman*. The time is 1806 and Jean Paul is an important character.
- 1853—Alexander Lacy: *Santa Casa. Episode aus Goethes Jugendzeit. Eine Novelle*. "Santa Casa, d. i. das heilige Haus, pflegten Merk und Wieland das Goethehaus, im Freundeskreise, zu nennen." "Es wäre unendlich schwer, ja unmöglich schier, Johann Wolfgang Goethe zum Helden eines Romans zu machen. Das vermöchte wohl nur ein sublimier Geist wie Goethe selbst (1913)."
- 1853—Friedrich Hermann Klencke: *Die Karschin, ein Roman*.
- 1855—Otto Horn: *Ferdinand Raimund, Roman aus Wiens jüngster Vergangenheit*.
- 1855—Scheffel: *Ekkehard, eine Geschichte aus dem 10. Jahrhundert*. "Auf Veranlassung des Heidelberger Germanisten Adolf Holtzmann begann der Dichter im Winter 1853/54 die Uebersetzung des von Ekkehard I. verfassten, von Ekkehard IV. überarbeiteten lateinischen Epos 'Waltharius manu fortis,' und bei dieser Arbeit reifte vollends der Ekkehardplan."
- 1856—Johannes Scherr: *Schiller, ein kulturhistorischer Roman*. Not to be confused with Scherr's scientific work on Schiller (1859).
- 1856—Ferdinand Kürnberger: *Der Amerikamüde, ein Roman*. On Lenau.
- 1856—Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter: *Heinrich Heines Höllenfahrt, eine Satire*.
- 1856—David Kalisch: *Tannhäuser, oder der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg*. A parody on Wagner.
- 1857—Joseph Pape: *Friedrich von Spee, ein Trauerspiel*. Reached its third edition in 1857. Pape also wrote *Der treue Eckart, eine epische Dichtung*.

- 1857—A. E. Brachvogel: *Narziss, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. The leading characters are Madame de Pompadour, Diderot, and actors and actresses.
- 1858—Theodor Goldammer: *Petrarca und Laura, Schauspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1859—Albert Grün: *Friederike. Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*. Friederike Brion is the heroine, Goethe the hero; the other poet-characters are Jung-Stilling and Lenz.
- 1859—Julius Leopold Klein: *Moreto, ein Schauspiel*. On Lope, Calderon, and Moreto. "Das Stück selbst ist eine Wiederspiegelung des spanischen Dramas überhaupt." Klein's chief work of scholarship is his *Geschichte des Dramas* in 12 volumes (1865-76).
- 1860 (ca.)—Luise Mühlbach (Klara Müller Mundt): *Goethe und Schiller, ein historischer Roman*. "Im Laufe von 36 Jahren hat sie den Büchermarkt mit nicht weniger als 290 Bänden überschwemmt."
- 1860 (ca.)—Karl Siebel: *Tannhäuser, eine Dichtung*.
- 1860—F. W. Hackländer: *Der Tannhäuser, ein Roman*.
- 1860—Elise Henle: *Aus Goethes lustigen Tagen. Original-Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen*. The first act plays at Ilmenau, the third at Tiefurth, the second and fourth at Weimar. The time is 1776, and the characters, aside from Goethe, are from the Weimar circle. Henle was born at München in 1832. The date, 1860, is only a calculated one.
- 1860—Wohlmuth: *Mozart, Künstler-Drama in vier Akten*. On Mozart, Haydn, and Schikaneder. Written about 1860.
- 1860—Auguste Cornelius: *Platen in Venedig, Original-Lustspiel in einem Aufzug*. Written about 1860.
- 1860—Wilhelm Henzen: *Martin Luther. Reformationsdrama in fünf Aufzügen und einem Vorspiel*. The prologue and each act has its own list of characters. Lukas Cranach, Ulrich von Hutten, and Dr. Johannes Eck are introduced. The action extends from October, 1517, to March 6, 1522. The drama had a goodly number of successful performances in its day.
- 1861—Otto Müller: *Aus Petrarca's alten Tagen, ein Roman*. Müller also wrote novels on Goethe's Frankfurt ancestors and on historical actors, Ackermann and Ekhof.
- 1862—W. R. Heller: *Hohe Freunde, ein Roman*. On Goethe and Karl August.
- 1862—Heribert Rau: *Hölderlin, culturhistorisch-biographischer Roman*. "Rau hat die deutsche Literatur um ganze 103 Bände bereichert." He wrote novels also on Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Alexander von Humboldt (then living), Shakespeare, Jean Paul, Theodore Körner, and others.

- 1863—K. T. Zianitzka: *Der Roman eines Dichterlebens in drei Bänden.*
On Goethe.
- 1864—Karl Kösting: *Shakespeare, ein Drama.*
- 1864—Karl Siebel: *Zur Shakespearefeier, eine Dichtung.*
- 1864—Heribert Rau: *William Shakespeare, ein kulturhistorisch-biographischer Roman in vier Büchern.* Published on the three-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's death; the poet's contemporaries are also speaking characters; there are 966 pages in the work.
- 1864—Albert Lindner: *William Shakespeare, ein Schauspiel.*
- 1864—Adolf Calmberg: *Theodor Körner, dramatisches Gedicht in vier Aufzügen.* Toni Adamberger, the actress, and Andreas Streicher are also introduced.
- 1865—A. E. Brachvogel: *Baumarchais, ein Roman.* Brachvogel has also written a drama on *Hogarth* and a novel on *Schubart und seine Zeitgenossen.*
- 1866—Laube: *Der Statthalter von Bengalen, Schauspiel in vier Akten.* On Sir Philipp Francis and Lord Sackville, the two possible authors of the *Junius Letters.*
- 1866—Martin Greif: *Hans Sachs, ein Drama.*
- 1867—Wagner: *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg.* On Hans Sachs.
- 1867—Friedrich Gessler: *Reinhold Lenz, ein Drama.*
- 1867—Max Ring: *John Milton und seine Zeit, ein Roman.* "Max Ring (1817-1901) hat weit über hundert Bände Erzählendes, auch Gedichte und Dramen geschrieben." The date is only calculated.
- 1869—Eduard Grisebach: *Der neue Tannhäuser, eine Dichtung.*
- 1870—A. Mels: *Heines "Junge Leiden." Charakterbild in drei Aufzügen.* The characters are Heine, his relatives, and acquaintances. The date is only calculated.
- 1870—C. B. L. A. M. Schücking: *Luther in Rom. Ein Roman.*
- 1870—Richard Wagner: *Eine Kapitulation. Lustspiel in antiker Manier.* Victor Hugo is the hero.
- 1870—Otto Ludwig: *Das Fräulein von Scuderi, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten.* The heroine is the same as in Hoffmann's work of like title.
- 1871—Wilhelm Bennecke: *Reinhold Lenz, eine Novelle.* Aside from Lenz, Nicolai, Ramler, Goethe, and other well-known characters of Lenz's time are speaking characters.
- 1873—Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter: *Das Haus der Brentano, eine Roman-Chronik.* A new edition appeared in 1913 with an introduction by Franz von Brentano.
- 1875—Eduard Grisebach: *Tannhäuser in Rom.*

- 1875—Hans Koester: *Luther, ein Drama*. Koester (1818–1900) wrote this work about 1875.
- 1875—Heinrich Moritz Horn: *Goethe in Strassburg und Sesenheim, eine Dichtung*.
- 1875—Hugo Lubliner: *Die Modelle des Sheridan, Schauspiel in vier Akten*. On R. B. B. Sheridan as author of *School for Scandal*.
- 1877—Margaretha Spörlin: *Vater Jung-Stilling und Fräulein Katharina. Eine Erinnerung aus Badenweiler*.
- 1880—Karl Bleibtreu: *Der Traum. Ein Roman*. "Die Jugend Byrons in Anlehnung an Disraelis *Venetia* schildernd."
- 1880—Daniel Spitzer: *Verliebte Wagnerianer, eine Novelle*. This is the fifth edition; the first was of course written earlier.
- 1880—Julius Wolff: *Tannhäuser, ein Minnesang*. "Wolffs zwei Bände vereinigen beinahe alle Ereignisse und Personen, mit denen Osterdingen in Beziehung gebracht worden ist." Wolff looks upon Osterdingen as the author of the *Nibelungenlied*.
- 1880—G. Kastrop: *Heinrich von Osterdingen, eine Mär*.
- 1882—Fulda: *Christian Günther, ein Trauerspiel*. Fulda's first work.
- 1882—Max Grube: *Christian Günther, Schauspiel in fünf Acten*.
- 1883—Hans Herrig: *Luther, ein kirchliches Festspiel*.
- 1883—Wilhelm Henzen: *Martin Luther, ein Drama*.
- 1883—August Trümpelmann: *Luther und seine Zeit, ein Volksschauspiel in Bildern*.
- 1883—Otto Devrient: *Luther, historisches Charakterbild in sieben Abtheilungen*.
- 1884—Wildenbruch: *Christoph Marlow, Trauerspiel in vier Akten*.
- 1885—Friedrich Maschek: *Ein bezähmter Wagnerianer, humoristische Novelle*.
- 1886—Adolf Stern: *Camoens, ein Roman*.
- 1886—Karl Bleibtreu: *Lord Byrons letzte Liebe, ein Drama*.
- 1886—Karl Bleibtreu: *Meine Tochter, ein Drama*. On Byron.
- 1887—Armin Stein (H. Nietschmann): *Das Buch vom Doktor Luther, ein Roman*. "Auch hier wieder habe ich zu meiner biographischen Darstellung die Methode gewählt, welche das historische Material in novelistische Form giesst. Dass der geschichtlichen Treue dadurch Abbruch geschehen sei, wird kein Sachkundiger behaupten" (Vorrede).
- 1889—Adolf Bartels: *Johann Christian Günther, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1890—Otto Haupt: *Hans Sachs; vaterländisches Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*.
- 1890—Armin Stein: *Hans Sachs, ein Roman*.

- 1890—Max Trausil: *Richard Wagner. Eine Künstler-Novelle.*
- 1891—Wilhelm von Warteneck: *Der Ring des Ofterdingen. Lustspiel in vier Aufzügen und einem Vorspiel.*
- 1891—Wilhelm Henzen: *Schiller und Lotte. Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen.*
- 1891—Wilhelm von Polenz: *Heinrich von Kleist, ein Trauerspiel.*
- 1892—Friedrich Wilhelm von Hindersin: *Martin Luther, ein Drama.*
- 1892—Paul Lindau: *Der Komödiant, ein Schauspiel in drei Abteilungen und fünf Aufzügen.* On Molière. "Ein Künstlerstück, das sich den schon vorhandenen Molièrestücken würdig anschliesst."
- 1896—Peter Hille: *Des Platonikers Sohn, eine Erziehungstragödie.* On Petrarch.
- 1896—Ludwig A. Ganghofer: *Die Sünden der Väter, ein Roman.* "Sein Roman *Die Sünden der Väter* schildert Heinrich Leuthold." The novel reached the seventh edition in 1902.
- 1897—Fritz Lienhard: *Gottfried von Strassburg, ein Drama.*
- 1898—Karl Müller-Rastatt: *In die Nacht. Ein Dichterleben.* This novel poetizes the life of Hölderlin with strict accuracy as to historical details.
- 1898—C. F. Meyer: *Petrus Vineia*, published by Langmesser from Meyer's *Nachlass* as drama and short story. Vineia is credited by some scholars with having been the father of the Italian sonnet.
- 1899—Rudolf Huch: *Mehr Goethe.* Seems to be a bit of poetry; written under the pseudonym of A. Schuster.
- 1900—Karl Bleibtreu: *Byrons Geheimnis, ein Drama in fünf Akten.*
- 1902—Adolf Paul: *Der Fall Voltaire, eine heroische Komödie.*
- 1903—Königsbrun-Schaup: *Unsterblichkeit, dramatisches Gedicht.* On Petrarch.
- 1903—Adolf Bartels: *Martin Luther, eine dramatische Trilogie* (Der junge Luther, Der Reichstag zu Worms, Der Reformator).
- 1903—Fritz Lienhard: *Thüringer Tagebuch.* On Heinrich von Ofterdingen. "Was Lienhard von Ofterdingen erzählt ist nicht geschichtlichen Ursprungs, sondern fließt aus rein poetischer Quelle, die Scheffels Frau Aventure mit ihrer romantischen Wünschelrute aufgedeckt hat."
- 1904—G. H. Schneideck: *Heinrich von Ofterdingen, ein deutsches Spiel in vier Akten.*
- 1905—Georg Fuchs: *Manfred, eine Tragödie in vier Aufzügen.* Heinrich von Ofterdingen is the motif-giving character.
- 1905—Wildenbruch: *Die Lieder des Euripides. Schauspiel mit Musik.* "Ein Gedicht von Dichtersehnsucht, Dichtermacht und Dichterentsagung."
- 1905—Julius Riffert: *Luthers Abschied von der Wartburg, ein Schauspiel.*

- 1906—Fritz Lienhard: *Eine dramatische Wartburg-Trilogie* (Heinrich von Ofterdingen, 1903; Die heilige Elisabeth, 1905; Luther auf der Wartburg, 1906).
- 1906—Johannes Dose: *Der Held von Wittenberg, Unterhaltungsroman*. On Luther.
- 1906—Ferdinand Saar: *Sappho, eine Novelle*.
- 1908—Adolf Rest: *Tannhäuser, ein Sagendrama in sieben Bildern*. Amalgamates Tannhäuser and Ofterdingen. Tannhäuser explains himself by saying: "Ich bin ein Ofterdingen."
- 1910—Rud. Hans Bartsch: *Schwammerl, ein Schubert-Roman*. The hero is Franz Schubert. Grillparzer, Goethe, Moritz von Schwind, Beethoven, Mozart, the members of Schubert's family, old Italian painters, the poets whose poems Schubert set to music, are introduced in one way and another.
- 1910—Jul. Fel. Humpf: *Der Tannhäuser, eine Tragödie in fünf Akten*. Tannhäuser, Ofterdingen, Biterolf, and Der Tugendhafte Schreiber are characters.
- 1910—Paul Friedrich: *Das dritte Reich. Die Tragödie des Individualismus*. On Nietzsche and Wagner and their circle. Time is from 1874 to 1888.
- 1912—Franz Karl Ginzkey: *Der von der Vogelweide. Ein Roman*. "Ein Roman, der einen so ausgesprochenen Helden hat, einen Helden von so feingestimmtem Wesen, bietet dem Autor immer grosse Vorteile. Ginzkey hat sie redlich genützt."
- 1912—Siegfried Krebs: *August Daniel von Binzer, oder das Ende der Romantik. Ein Roman*.
- 1913—Edward Stilgebauer: *Harry, ein Roman aus der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. On Heine.
- 1913—Hauptmann: *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen*. Introduces Fichte, Hegel, and Heinrich von Kleist.
- 1913—Walter von Molo: *Ums Menschentum, ein Schillerroman*.
- 1913—Walter von Molo: *Im Titanenkampf, ein Schillerroman*. Second part.
- 1913—Klara Hofer: *Alles Leben ist Raub; Der Weg Friedrich Hebbels, ein Roman*.
- 1914—Walter von Molo: *Den Sternen zu, ein Schillerroman*. Third part.

This is the list of epic and dramatic works in German literature that have poets as leading characters. It is undoubtedly incomplete, but even so it is long. And there is but one way to make it shorter: to exclude the works on Luther, on the ground that they treat primarily Luther's conflict with Catholicism, while his literary activities

receive but slight if any attention; and to exclude the works on Offerdingen and Tannhäuser, on the ground that their historicity remains unconfirmed, that their names connote now a legendary personage, now one whose exact relation to real men and real poets is indeterminable. There is evident argument, however, against exclusion in any of these three cases. The list should remain as it is, or be added to by those who know of other instances of the same sort. And since it is plain that this type of literature is increasing (to reason chronologically, 1916 will see a number of additional creative works on Shakespeare), the question arises whether the life of a poet is a good theme for a creative work. Was Klara Hofer, for example, really justified in writing a novel on Hebbel, with its delightful bit of impressionistic criticism, but with reality and fiction intermingled? To attempt to answer such a question is to waste space and time. The cynical and pedantic will answer in the negative; they will say that Hebbel's life is not adapted to dramatic treatment, and that instead of writing an epic work of pure fiction on Hebbel, one should write an *interesting* study that adheres to the facts. But not all are cynical and many are unpedantic.

When, about 1815, critics and readers were wondering why Fouqué's *Undine* was such a success, Goethe calmly said: "Es war ein guter Stoff." But whether Goethe himself makes a good hero of an epic or dramatic work depends largely upon his creative admirer. And whether conventional themes are becoming scarce in Germany in an age of peace and consequent monotony for those who feed on the exciting and the thrilling, and in an age, at the same time, of abundant literary productivity, in an age when the number of creative writers has been suddenly almost doubled by the participation of women writers—no one can answer such a query. Concerning the entire situation, only two things are wholly certain: the poet is better adapted to epic than to dramatic treatment, and German poets have written, and are writing, some exceedingly strong and some extremely weak epic and dramatic works that poetize other poets.

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NOTES ON WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE

1. The text of the poet, adopted by Wilmanns in his large edition of Walther's poems in the *Germanistische Handbibliothek*, Halle, 1883, p. 404, corresponding to Lachmann 121, 33 f., reads as follows:

Die grisen woltenz überkomen,
diu werlt gestüende trüreclfcher nie
Und hete an fröiden ab genomen.
doch streit ich zorneclfche wider sie,
Si möhtens wol gedagen,
ez wurde niemer wâr.
mir was ir rede swâr.
sus streit ich mit den alten:
die hânt den strît behalten
nú lenger denne ein jâr.

Wilmanns would interpret this approximately in this manner: "Graybeards have *aimed to prove* [?] that the world was never in a sorrier condition [than now] and that its joys have dwindled. Yet I used to oppose them in anger, urging them *to hold their peace* [maintaining] that it would never turn out to be true. Their words grieved me [depressed my spirits]. Thus I argued with the graybeards: they have had the better of the argument now for more than a year."

Bearing in mind now that by common agreement of scholars the Paris MS C, the Heidelberg MS A, the Weingarten MS B, and the Würzburg MS E are of prime importance in determining the textual form of Walther's works, we recall the fact that of these MSS C and E present as first line of the passage just quoted:

Die grisen wolten mich des überkomen,

which would mean: "Graybeards have tried to convince me." While Wilmanns calls attention to this in a footnote and adds: "vortrefflich nach dem Sinn aber gegen den Vers," he seems to me to attach far too little importance to the fact that "Die Verbindung *ez überkomen* in dem Sinn von 'es dartun, beweisen,' etwa nach dem Muster von *ez scheiden, ez suenen* (Gr. 4, 334) ist nicht belegt."

Lexer defines *überkomen* as *gewinnen, in die Gewalt bekommen, überwinden, überreden*. Wilmanns rejects, therefore, *metri gratia*, a reading in harmony with other observed Middle High German usage, that fits the obvious meaning of the context and is supported by two of the most important MSS, in favor of a conjectural idiom for which he can adduce no parallels. Furthermore, the sixth edition of Karl Lachmann's Walther-text, an unchanged reprint of Karl Müllenhoff's redaction of the work, which appeared in 1875, presents the reading:

Die grîsen hânt mich's überkomen,

"Graybeards have convinced me." But in the very next breath Walther denies this result of their argument and asserts his opposition to their contention, continued, he says, until something over a year before the date of the *Spruch*. Hence the choice of the monosyllable, *hânt*, in place of *wolten*, since it sacrifices a clear and acceptable meaning to metrical regularity and makes the poet sponsor of a thought denied by him in the very next words, is surely not in harmony with his facility in poetic expression, and is probably the error of a careless scribe or of a metrical emendator. In view of such considerations, the reading of C and E:

Die grîsen wolten mich des überkomen,

with the objectionable five arses of the line, seems to me to be the work of a scribe who resolved the older *mich's* of Walther's line:

Die grîsen wolten mich's überkomen

into the syntactically unobjectionable *mich des*. Hermann Paul in his edition of Walther's works, Halle, 1883, adopts this, which seems to me the most natural and acceptable reading of the verse.

Wilmanns reads, in harmony with MSS C and E, the fifth verse of the strophe already quoted:

Si möhtens wol gedagen,

although he remarks in a footnote: "Der Bau der Strophe fordert hier einen Reim auf *alten*. Wackernagels Vermutung *vol gealten*, 'sie möchten vollständig darüber alt werden, es würde doch nicht wahr,' genügt der Form, aber schwerlich dem Sinne. Denn wie

kann die Behauptung, die jetzige Zeit sei schlechter als die vergangene, durch ein hohes Alter der Greise beeinflusst werden?" But Wilmanns' rejection of Wackernagel's emendation is not justified by the words just quoted; for Wackernagel supposes that the poet here assures the graybeards that they might maintain their pessimistic point of view until they had reached the climax of old age, without proving their contention. This is like the colloquial English "You may argue thus *till the horn blows*, without proving your point," and deserves serious consideration as possibly a restoration of the poet's meaning. With it we should compare the conjecture of Pfeiffer-Bartsch, who substitute for *wol gedagen, wol gewalten*. *Einer rede gewalten* means "to vouch for" or "maintain a thing" (statement). The adoption of this emendation would make the poet urge that the graybeards might well maintain their contention, without ever proving the truth of it. The passage would then read:

Die grîsen wólten michs úberkómen,
 diu werlt gestúende trúreclîcher nie
 Und hete an fróiden ab genomen.
 doch streit ich zorneclîche wider sie,
 Si móhtens wol gewalten (gealten?),
 ez wurdę niemer wâr.
 mir was ir rede swâr.
 sus streit ich mit den alten.
 die hánt den strît behalten
 nú lenger denne ein jâr.

"Graybeards tried to convince me that the world was never in a sorer condition [than now] and that its joys have dwindled. But I used to oppose them in anger, urging that they might well maintain their contention, without ever proving the truth of it [or, that they might maintain their contention until the climax of old age, without proving the truth of it]: their words grieved me. Thus I argued with the graybeards: they have had the better of the argument now for more than a year."

2. Two poems of Walther, *Sprüche* concerning a certain Gerhart Atze, were published by Lachmann, following the lead of the MSS, in the reverse of their logical order. In the natural sequence, restored by Pfeiffer-Bartsch, these passages run as follows:

[Lachmann, 104, 7 ff.]

Mir hât hêr Gêrhart Atze ein pfert
 erschozzen zIsenache.
 daz klage ich dem den er bestât:
 derst unser beider voget.
 Ez was wol drifer marke wert:
 nu hoeret frömde sache,
 sit daz ez an ein gelten gât,
 wâ mit er mich nû zoget
 er seit von grôzer swaere,
 wie min pferit maere
 dem rosse sippe waere,
 daz im den finger abe
 gebizzen hât ze schanden.
 ich swer mit beiden handen,
 daz si sich niht erkanden.
 ist ieman der mir stabe ?

[Lachmann, 82, 11 ff.]

Rît ze hove, Dietrich.
 'hêre, i'n mac.' waz irret dich ?
 'i'n hân niht rosses daz ich dar gerfte.'
 Ich lîh' dir ein'z, und wilt dû daz.
 'hêre, gerfte al deste baz.'
 nu stant alsô noch eine wîle, bîte.
 Wed'r rîtest gerner eine guldîn katzen,
 od einen wunderlîchen Gerhart Atzen ?
 'semir got, und aeze ez hôi, ez waere ein
 frômdez pfert.
 im gênt die ougen umbe als einem affen,
 er ist als ein guggaldei geschaffen.
 den selben Atzen gebet mir her: so bin ich
 wol gewert.'
 nu krümbe dîn bein selbe dar, sit du Atzen
 hâst gegert.

The meaning of the first of these passages is clearly: "Sir Gerhart Atze shot a horse of mine at Eisenach. I enter complaint with him whose vassal he is—that man is the liege lord of us both [i.e., the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia]. It was well worth three marks of silver: now listen to a strange plea with which he puts me off, when the question of damages is at stake. He talks of great

hardship, of how my noble horse was a relative of the steed that bit his finger off to his disgrace. I swear with both hands up that they [i.e., the horses] were not even acquaintances. Is anybody here to administer the oath?"

The lines thus translated are the logical preface of the second passage, which contains two words which have hitherto baffled the commentators. Leaving these words untranslated for the moment, we may reproduce the meaning of the rest of the context as follows: "Ride to court, Dietrich." "Sir, I can't." "What prevents you?" "I have no horse on which to ride there." "I'll lend you one, if that's your wish." "I shall ride [then] all the better, Sir." "Now hold on then just a moment, wait! Which would you rather ride, a *guldin katzen* or a queer fish of a Gêrhart Atze?" "By Jove, even if it ate hay it would be a freak of a horse. His eyes roll about [in his head] like those of an ape; he is shaped like a *guggaldei*. Give me this fellow Atze: that will be a great favor." "Now be your own horse [i.e., ride Shank's mare] on this trip, since you've chosen Atze."

The two expressions, *guldin katzen* and *guggaldei*, have remained hitherto unexplained and are the subject of this note. Wilmanns says in his large edition: "Was die goldene Katze soll, und wie Walther dazu kommt, die Wahl zwischen ihr und Atze zu lassen, ist unerklärt." Now Moritz Haupt, in his redaction of Lachmann's edition of Walther von der Vogelweide, points to one *Gerhardus et frater ejus Henricus cognomine Atzo*, witnesses in a document of the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, dated 1196, which is proof, at least, that Gêrhart Atze was the name of one of Walther's German contemporaries and not an invention of the poet. We have just read Walther's epic introduction to the dramatic dialogue, in which he gives his servant the choice of two steeds. We learn here of Walther's grievance: the loss of his horse, his inability to collect damages, and the absurd excuse of the defendant. The alleged worth of the horse, three marks of silver, suggests a purse full of money. An ancient German designation for purse, booked by Adelung and noted by the authors of various German dialect-dictionaries, like the *Aargauer Wörterbuch*, the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, and others, is *Katze* or *Geldkatze*. The term is plainly derived from the

name of the animal whose skin was used as the material of the purse or girdle (*Geldgürtel*). Grimm's *Wörterbuch* assigns to the eighteenth century the first appearance of the word *Katze* "to designate a hollow leather girdle, serving as a money-purse"; but the use of the word to designate a money-purse, without explicit indication of the form, reaches far back into the Middle Ages. Lexer cites in his large *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* under the heading, *Katze*; the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* for the years 1376-87, published by Weiszäcker, Munich, 1867, as illustrating this meaning of the word. The *Aargauer Wörterbuch* by J. Hunziker, Aarau, 1877, p. 145, defines the word *Chäz* as *Geldgurt* and the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, Frauenfeld, 1895, assigns the word *Katze* in the sense of *Geldgürtel von Leder um den Leib getragen* to Glarus and to Zürich. The well-known tendency of German dialects to preserve indefinitely old forms of speech and to adopt but very slowly changes of vocabulary, syntax, or idiom makes it seem doubtful that the statement of Grimm's *Wörterbuch* is correct, in regard to the earliest date of the "hollow-leather-money-girdle" meaning of *Katze*. Our knowledge of this tendency makes it appear antecedently probable that a term occurring in the imperial German laws for the decade 1376-87 was part of the vocabulary of the German people long before this, certainly in the time of Walther von der Vogelweide.

Now *ein guldn berc* in the sense of a mountain full of gold is cited by Lexer under the caption *guldn*. By analogy the inference from the foregoing seems warranted, that *ein guldn Katze* means a purse full of gold, as well as a golden cat. Hence the first of the alternative steeds, offered by the poet to Dietrich, is a humorous embodiment of the money damages, left unpaid by Gêrhart Atze: an absurdly insignificant steed, to be sure, for the double reason that the unpaid fine would fill but a very slender purse—a very lean *Katze*—and that the cat has been from early times to the present a proverbially humble member of the German household. The contemptuous expression: "Das ist für die Katz" is typical of numerous similar sayings, collected by Wander in his *Sprichwörterlexikon* and by other scholars, all of which emphasize the low place in the scale of domestic animals assigned by the German to the cat.

Concerning the second of the two words here under consideration, *guggaldei*, evidently used by Dietrich as a term of opprobrium, Lachmann and his successors, Haupt and Müllenhoff, are silent. Pfeiffer-Bartsch remark in a footnote: "*guggaldei*, Kuckuck, ein in seiner zweiten Hälfte noch rätselhaftes Wort (vgl. *Mhd. Wörterbuch*, I, 22)." Wilmanns is equally brief: "*guggaldei*, gleichfalls unerklärt; s. *Lexer I*, 1114." Paul in his edition of Walther's works, 1882, suggests interrogatively as the equivalent of *guggaldei* the word, Kuckuck. Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, in their *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, regard the word as made up of two elements, *gugg-*, cuckoo, and the suffix, *-aldei*, to be identified with the Swiss *adei* or *âda*, used in the sense of *immer*, *allezeit*, and to be traced back, therefore, to the phrase, *alle Tage*. *Guggaldei*=Kuckuck, "der in einem fort rufende Vogel?" *Lexer* rejects this conception of the alleged suffix and adopts Weinhold's view, expressed in his *Bairische Grammatik*, § 207, that *guggaldei*, *hoppaldei*, *kotzoldei*, *fakuldei*, etc., "sind auf das aus *walt* entstandene uneigentliche Suffix *-olt* zurückzuführen." But he fails to define the meaning of the word under consideration. If now we omit the last two letters, *-ei*, of the word, there remains the word *guggald*, which strikingly resembles the English word *cuckold* (*Hahnrei*). Now Murray follows Skeat in regarding the Middle English *cukeweld*, *cokewald* as an adaptation of an Old French word which appears according to Godefroy in a document of the year 1463 under the form *cucuault*, pointing to an earlier **cucualt*, from the Old French *cucu* . . . with the appellative and pejorative suffix *-ald*, *-auld*, *-au*, which would correspond to the Italian *-aldo*, the German *-walt*. This Old French word clearly has the meaning, *mari trompé*, "cuckold," like the modern French *cocu*. It points to the existence of a mediaeval German word of presumably the same meaning, which would be identical in form with the word *guggald*, for an earlier **gugg-walt*. The first syllable of this compound is, of course, an imitation of the clear cry of the cuckoo. Early popular observation of the habit of this bird to shift parental responsibility by laying its eggs in other birds' nests led to the use of its name, coupled with an indication of its home (*walt*), to designate the human victim of similar parasitism. The Germanic dialects abound in such expressions, as "Wenn der Kuckuck Eier legt, muss

man ein fremdes Nest herhalten"; "Einem ein Kuckucks ei ins Nest legen," etc.; cf. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon*, II, 1697 f. And the word *Kuckuck* is used in certain modern German dialects for the more common *Hahnrei*, "cuckold." We may infer then that *guggald-ei* means "cuckold-egg," i.e., bastard. In the light of these considerations Dietrich's description of the second alternative steed becomes intelligible: "By Jove, even if it ate hay it would be a freak of a horse. His eyes roll about in his head like those of an ape; he is shaped like a son-of-a-gun [bastard]. Give me this fellow Atze: that will be a great favor." To prefer an ignoble creature of this sort to a *guldin katze*, however humble the cat in the eyes of the community and however lean the present specimen, is Walther's whimsical justification for withdrawing his alternative offer and for charging his servant to execute the commission now on foot.

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GOETHE'S ABFALL VON DER GOTIK

“Die dritte Wallfahrt nach Erwins Grab” (Juli 1775) zeigt Goethe noch ganz im Bann des Gotischen. Gotisch zeigt sich sein Geschmack auch noch in Weimar.¹ Aber am 8. Oktober 1786 bricht er in Venedig beim Anblick eines Gebäckstückes vom Tempel des Antonius und der Faustina in die Worte aus: “Das ist freilich etwas anderes, als unsere kauzenden, auf Kragsteinlein übereinander geschichteten Heiligen der gotischen Zierweisen, etwas anderes als unsere Tabakspfeifen-Säulen, spitze Türmlein und Blumenzacken; diese bin ich nun, Gott sei Dank auf ewig los!”

Was war inzwischen vorgegangen?

Nach den ersten wilden Monaten in Weimar nimmt Goethe sein gewohntes Zeichnen—meistens Landschaften—wieder auf. Er schliesst sich auch wieder inniger an Oeser an. Als Kunstlichhaber bringt Goethe die Silhouettenkunst nach Weimar und fährt fort, Kunstsammlungen für sich und andre anzulegen. Interessant ist hierbei die Wahl der Bilder, die fast durchweg deutsch oder niederländisch sind. Auf litterarischem Gebiet wird der Hamann-Herdersche Traktatenstil beiseite gelegt; altdeutschem Leben in Hans Sachs noch ein Denkmal gesetzt. Die Wertherstimmung ist überwunden und wird 1777 in “der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit” persifliert.

Frau von Stein, “die Besänftigerin,” tritt ihr mildes Regiment über ihn an.² Auch war das Verhältnis zu dem Herzog ein festes geworden, eine “Ehe,” die schwere Verpflichtungen mit sich führte. Diesen Pflichten kommt er gewissenhaft nach und zwar in solchem Masse, dass Herder spottet: “er ist Aufseher des Bauwesens bis zum Wegbau hinunter,” er ist “das Faktotum der Weimarischen.”

Es stellte sich mit dem ernsthafteren Gang seines äusseren Lebens ein Verlangen nach Mass, nach geregelter Lebensweise ein. In den festen Verband der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft eingefügt, musste er auch als verantwortungsvoller Beamteter, seinen Unter-

¹ Vgl. An Oeser, d. 15. Januar 1778.

² Vgl. An Charlotte von Stein, d. 2. Juni 1778.

gebenen gegenüber auf Ordnung und Pünktlichkeit bestehen. In solchem Amt kommt man mit Empfindung und Gefühl nicht aus und der Dichter konstatiert, dass die Zeit der "Träumerei" vorbei sei.

Dieser erwachende ernsthafte Zug zeigt sich nirgends schlagender als in seinen Briefen an seinen Schützling Krafft,¹ wo er sich nicht nur väterlich ernst, sondern wie Faust im Spaziergang vor dem Tor vom Elend der Menschheit tief ergriffen zeigt. Als ein ferneres Zeugniß für diesen Wandel mag noch ein an die Mutter gerichtetes Wort aus dieser Zeit hier stehen: "ich habe alles was ein Mensch verlangen kann, ein Leben in dem ich mich täglich übe und täglich wachse, und komme diesmal gesund, ohne Leidenschaft, ohne Verworrenheit, ohne dumpfes Treiben, sondern wie ein von Gott Geliebter, der die Hälfte seines Lebens hingebracht hat und, aus vergangenem Leid manches Gute für die Zukunft hofft."²

Das alles zeigt sich auch bald in seiner Kunstanschauung. Mit dem Subjektivismus wird aufgeräumt. Wenn es im Tagebuch heisst: "Viel Liebe zur [klassischen] Baukunst"; wenn er anfang des Jahres 1779, *Iphigenie* in Angriff nimmt, wenn er im selben Jahr sich sehr für den Hofbildhauer Claren und die Plastik interessiert; wenn er 1781 Müller, seines Aufenthalts in Rom wegen, beneidet, so heisst das alles: Hinweg vom Subjektivismus und vorwärts zum Gesetzmässigen in *Kunst und Dichtung!* Mitte 1778, setzt auch die Lektüre von Mengs Schriften ein. Von seiner bisherigen gefühlsmässigen Schwärmerei für Landschaftsgemälde wendet er sich ab. Dafür beginnt er sich in einer "richtigeren" Zeichnung zu üben. Anstatt sich wie früher in seinen Versuchen zu *vergnügen*, sucht er sich nun zu *schulen*. Mit einem Wort, er wendet sich zu einer formalen, objektiven Kunstbetrachtung. Das Formal-Schöne tritt an Stelle des malerischen effekts, der ihm bisher z. B. an den Niederländern so gewaltig imponiert hatte.

Bezeichnend für seine neue Denkweise ist es, als er 1778 beim Anblick der Alpen bemerkt: "Man fühlt, hier ist nichts Willkürliches, alles langsam bewegendes, ewiges Gesetz," wie ihm ja auch von nun ab in Sachen der Kunst nicht mehr zuwider war als die Willkür.

¹ Vgl. An Krafft, d. 2. November 1778.

² An Frau Rat Goethe, d. 9. August 1779.

Die ersten Weimarer Jahre sind ja wohl die dünnen Jahre in Goethes dichterischer Laufbahn, waren sie ja auch in der Wirklichkeit nicht die erfreulichsten. Der Mann rettete sich bald aus dem Hofleben. Wohin? In sich selbst, in die Natur, in seine paar Freunde. Nun galt es für Goethe den Künstler, dasselbe zu tun, denn 1780 versiegte die Poesie. Zum Neujahrstag, 1781, schreibt er an Frau von Stein: "Keine Reime kann ich Ihnen schicken, denn mein prosaisch Leben verschlingt alle diese Bächlein wie ein weiter Land, aber die Poesie, meine Beste, zu lieben kann mir nicht genommen werden."

Auch für die bildende Kunst war trotz vielfachen Zeichnens nicht recht viel geschehen. Der Subjektivismus seiner Jugend war er überdrüssig geworden. Wohin sollte er sich retten? Zur Antike! Sein dieszeitiges Lösungswort "Natur und Antike!" heisst wohl künstlerisches Schaffen auf Grund der Natur, nach den ästhetischen Grundsätzen der Antike. Zur Antike also! Sehr wohl, nur dass dem Dichter in Weimar die Anschauung der Antike fast gänzlich mangelte. Er wendete sich vorerst zur Natur. Natur aber nicht mehr im früheren idyllischen Sinn. Nun ist ihm "nichts so gross als das Natürliche," und das Erstrebenswerteste scheint ihm "gut und böse sein wie die Natur."

Um aber die Natur zu ergründen, dazu gehört mehr als in der Natur zu empfinden; sie will studiert werden. Er vertieft sich in die Cosmogonie, Osteologie, Mineralogie, Farbenlehre, u.s.w. Das alles "rast jetzt bei uns." Durch dies Studium hofft er sich vorzubereiten auf die Betrachtung und den Genuss der antiken Kunst, die er nun als Schüler Winckelmanns, Oesers, und Mengs für die einzig grosse und wahre hält.

Auch Raphael macht ihm viel Freude und er treibt "allerhand Bildnerei."¹ "Wenn Raphael und Albrecht Dürer auf dem höchsten Gipfel stehen, was soll ein echter Schüler mehr fliehen als die Willkürlichkeit." "Nach meinem Rath müssten Sie eine Zeitlang sich ganz an Raphaeln, die Antiken und die Natur wenden."²

Ueber die Wahl der Motive denkt Goethe noch wie in *Nach Falconet und über Falconet*: "Das Aug des Künstlers aber findet sie

¹An Merck, d. 5. August 1778.

²Au Müller in Rom, d. 21. Juni 1788.

[die Stimmung] überall. Er mag die Werkstätte eines Schusters betreten oder einen Stall, er mag das Gesicht seiner Geliebten, seine Stiefel, oder die Antike ansehen, überall sieht er die heiligen Schwingungen und leise Töne, womit die Natur alle Gegenstände verbindet."

"Es kommt nicht darauf an, was für Gegenstände der Künstler bearbeitet, sondern vielmehr in welchen Gegenständen er nach der Natur das innere Leben erkennt und welche er wieder nach allen Wirkungen ihres Lebens hinstellen kann."

Das Dilletantenmässige in Goethes Kunstbestrebungen zeigt sich darin, dass er, ohne in irgend einem Fach etwas zu leisten, sich in allen: Porzellanmalerei, Radieren, Giesskunst, u.s.w. herumtreibt. "Gott segne dich für deine Freude an meiner Künsteley. Ich kanns nicht lassen, ich muss immer bildeln."¹

Mit der Abneigung gegen die "Schnitz- und Kritzpossen" der deutschen Kunst und der Erhebung der Antike fällt zeitlich zusammen, dass Goethe seine Blicke und Wünsche nach Italien richtet, nach dem goldenen Land der Kunst, wohin sein Vater ihn schon als kind gewiesen, wohin er selbst schon einst unterwegs gewesen, und das von alters her das Mekka jedes deutschen Künstlers war, wo er auch schon Tischbein und seinen Schützling Müller weiss. "Wie sehr beneide ich sie," schreibt er Müller, "um Ihre Wohnung mitten unter den Meisterstücken." "Ich beneide dich um die Ruhe deines Zustandes und um die Nachbarschaft der Raphaels."²

Ferner wichtig zur Charakteristik seines damaligen Entwicklungsganges ist die ausgesprochene Freude an einem Abguss des vaticanischen Apolls, den ihm der Herzog von Gotha geschenkt (d. 16. Januar 1782), sein Lob der Mengsschen Schriften (d. 26. Februar 1782). Oesers stille Künstler- und Weltmanns Klugheit imponiert ihm (d. 21. November 1782). Tischbein wird in Rom ein echter Künstler werden (d. 17. Februar 1783). Er studiert die Kunst des Giessens und interessiert sich eingehend für die Plastik (d. 12. November 1784). Auf den letzten nordischen Winter stärkt er sich durch den Anblick von Tischbeins *Konradin*, "einem über den Alpen gefertigten Werke."

¹ An Lavater, d. 3. November 1780.

² An v. Knebel, d. 26. Februar 1782.

Mit einer fast pathologischen Sehnsucht verlangt er hinweg von dem Lande "wo so wenig Sommer ist," wo die Gegend gemein ist von den "verfallenen Hütten, Höfen und Schweinställen," hinweg, nach den "Meisterwerken von denen wir in unserem kargen Lande nur durch Tradition eine neblickte Ahnung haben also gar weit zurücke bleiben müssen."

Es kommt die Zeit, da er an die Abreise denken darf. Kaum vermag er mehr ein lateinisches Buch aufzuschlagen vor Sehnsucht nach dem gelobten Lande, ja er verzweifelt geradezu diese Sehnsucht auf geradem Wege jemals befriedigen zu können.

Diese zweite Wertherepoche—Verzweiflung um seine Liebe zu Frau von Stein, die verlorene Dichtkunst, zerrüttete Gesundheit—durchbricht er fast gewelthätig und entflieht! Das goldene Land der Kunst liegt offen vor ihm.

Vorübergehend entrichtet er in München Dürer und den Niederländern den gewohnten Tribut. In Regensburg wird der Stil der Jesuitenkirchen gelobt, dagegen der herrliche gotische Dom links liegen lassen. Die Antiken daselbst lässt er ziemlich unbeachtet, denn: "ich wollte nicht verweilen und Zeit verderben"; "ich habe gesehen, dass meine Augen auf diese Gegenstände nicht geübt sind."

In Vicenza nötigt ihm Palladio das stolze Urteil ab: "Er ist ein recht innerlich und von innen heraus grosser Mensch gewesen."

Zwar kommen ihm über Palladio noch Zweifel, denn Säulen und Mauern zu versöhnen, schien ihm noch zu gewagt, hatte er dies doch in *Von deutscher Baukunst* von Grund aus verworfen. An den Bauten Palladios studiert er daher eine zeitlang herum ohne zu einem befriedigenden Schluss zu gelangen. Und doch war für Goethe die Kunst der italienischen Renaissance der geeignetste Punkt, von wo aus er sich allmählig von dem modernen Standpunkt zum Verständnis der Antike hinaufzuarbeiten vermochte. Palladio war ein grosser Bewunderer der Antike gewesen. Um zwei Jahrhunderte stand er der Antike näher. Auch er war "von der Existenz der Alten durchdrungen und fühlte die Kleinheit und Enge seiner Zeit, in die er gekommen war, wie ein grosser Mensch der sich nicht hingeben, sondern das Uebrige soviel als möglich nach seinen edlen Begriffen umbilden will." *Er* ist der Antike nahe gekommen.

Goethe folgt ihm, um an seiner Hand die ersten Schritte ins Altertum zu tun.

Doch kommt er mit seinem "selbstgeschnitzten Massstab" nicht weit. Erst als er die Werke Palladios kauft und studiert "fallen ihm die Schuppen von den Augen" und er lernt "schwimmen."

Nun rückt das Studium der Baukunst und aller Kunst. Zwar hatte er in Vicenz geschrieben: "Was mich freut ist, dass keine von meinen alten Grundideen verrückt oder verändert wird," aber es geht nun doch eine "Revolution" und eine "Wiedergeburt" an. "Palladio hat mir den Weg zu aller Kunst und Leben geöffnet." Auch steigt ihm die Baukunst "wie ein alter Geist aus dem Grabe entgegen"; und ein tieferes Verständnis für die Plastik wird ihm zu Teil.

So wird ihm Palladio die Brücke, die ihn von der modernen zur antiken Welt hinüber trägt. Hinter ihm liegt die Gotik der er auch in Italien nicht ausweichen konnte: "ich finde auch hier leider gleich was ich fliehe und suche nebeneinander."

In dem Hause Farsetti in Venedig kommt es beim Anblick eines Stückes des Frieses vom Tempel des Antonius und der Faustina mit seiner "vorspringenden Gegenwart" zur Entladung des alten Grolls in jener oben angeführten fürchterlichen Abschwörung der Gotik. Er ist dieselbe nun "Gott sei Dank auf ewig los."

Was war es nun an der Gotik, das ihn abschreckte? Nicht nur das Willkürliche, das Regellose, "die enge Denkweise" tadelt er an der Gotik, auch das Düstere hasste er und rügte es selbst im hohen Alter, nachdem ihm das Verständnis für die Gotik aufs neue aufgegangen. Besonders seitdem ihn das Studium des menschlichen Körpers gefesselt, konnte ihm die Gotik mit ihren meistens primitiven Leistungen in der Plastik nicht mehr genügen—denn das Beste das wahrhaft Grosse, was die Gotik an Skulpturen geleistet, kannte Goethe damals nicht. Auch das Studium der architektonisch strengen Formen des Palladio und der Bauten im antiken Geschmack überhaupt, mussten ihm die Gotik nur noch mehr entfremden.

Diesen Wandel in Goethes Kunstanschauung zu erklären und zu beleuchten wollen wir hier die Hauptpunkte, wie sie uns aus der Lektüre der gesammten, Goethischen Schriften und Gespräche

sowie der einschlägigen Fachlitteratur zugeflossen sind, zusammenfassen.¹ Erstens hat Goethe hinter der Kunst das Leben gesucht "poetischer Gehalt ist Gehalt des eigenen Lebens." "Man muss was sein um was zu machen." "Wir bewundern nicht die Kunst des Dichters sondern seine Kultur." Das deutsche Mittelalter, das 16. Jahrhundert, die grossen Kunstepochen Deutschlands waren ihm "düstre Epochen." Diese edlen Gestalten (Abgüsse der Antiken in Frankfurt) waren eine Art von heimlichem Gegengift, wenn das Falsche, Maniererte über mich "zu gewinnen drohte."² Wir Deutschen sind von gestern her, äusserte er sich einst und dachte dabei an die ältere Kultur anderer, besonders antiker, Völker. "Es ist in der altdeutschen düstern Zeit eben so wenig für uns zu holen, als wir aus den serbischen Liedern und ähnlichen barbarischen Volkspoesien gewonnen haben. Der Mensch wird überhaupt genug durch seine Leidenschaften, und Schicksale verdüstert als dass er nötig hätte dieses noch durch Dunkelheiten einer barbarischen Zeit zu tun."³ Zudem: "Der Mensch sehnt sich ewig nach dem, was er nicht ist." "Der Künstler muss sich aneignen was ihm fehlt."

Ferner ist Goethes allzuhohe Meinung von der antiken Kunst als ein Ergebnis der deutschen Kunstrenaissance des 18. Jahrhunderts anzusehen. Die gewaltige Woge dieser Renaissance trug Goethen als Nachfolger Winckelmanns mit sich fort. Als Dilettant in der Kunst folgte er den Winckelmann-Oeser-Mengs-Meyerschen Lehren nur allzu bescheiden und genau. Anstatt in den bildenden Künsten, wie auf anderen Gebieten des Wissens seine empirische Methode anzuwenden überliess er sich dem Urteil anderer. Bekanntlich erregte dieser, "Winckelmann-Goethische Irrtum" seiner anti-deutschen Tendenz wegen grossen Anstoss. Bedenken wir jedoch was die Kunst Goethen bedeutete, betrachten wir sie ebenfalls mit derselben Hingabe, so ist schon viel gewonnen. Beden-

¹ Wer sich über die einschlägige Litteratur Aufschluss holen will, dem sei unter den vielen Schriften—bei Goedeke stehen sie auf 7 Seiten aufgezeichnet—besonders Folgendes empfohlen: Herm. Grimm, *Goethes Verhältnis zur bildenden Kunst*, iv, +356 S.S., Berlin, 1871; Th. Volbehr, *Goethe und die bildende Kunst*, vii +244 S.S., Leipzig, 1895; O. Harnack, *Essays und Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte*, Braunschweig, 1899; C. von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries: A Contribution to the Study of Goethe's "Italienische Reise"*, xv +157 S.S., Chicago, 1907.

² *Italienische Reise*, I, 32, 324.

³ Gespräch mit Eckermann, d. 3. Oktober, 1828.

ken wir ebenfalls, dass Goethe trotz seiner Mängel in Sachen der bildenden Kunst dieselbe doch sein Lebtag kräftig förderte, dass er z. B. lange vor den Romantikern, die Liebe zur Gotik neu erweckte, dass er im Verein mit anderen in Weimar die ersten Schritte zur Hebung des allgemeinen Kunstverständnisses seiner Nation tat, so werden wir nicht—wie zu Zeiten geschehen—über seinen Dilletantismus spotten, vielmehr werden wir auch hier seine anhaltende Tätigkeit, seine Hingabe nur bewundern können.

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ZUR LITERATURGESCHICHTE DER MARK BRANDENBURG

I. ALLGEMEINES

Nach Walter Pater ist "das Höchste, was man von einer kritischen Tätigkeit sagen kann, dass sie einen neuen Sinn, ein neues Organ aufgedeckt habe." Wendet man das auf die deutsche Literaturwissenschaft der letzten Jahrzehnte an, so ergibt sich hier ein Mehr an zwei "Neuheiten": den Gedanken der Generation und der landschaftlichen Zusammengehörigkeit. Beide Gedanken sind für die Literaturgeschichte fruchtbar gemacht worden, jener im Anschluss an die moderne Geschichtsschreibung und dieser im Zusammenhang mit der Volkskunde und wohl auch der "Heimatkunst," und beide Gedanken geheim mit einander verbunden.

Die Generationenlehre hat Leopold von Ranke angeregt, Ottokar Lorenz weiter ausgeführt, und schliesslich Friedrich Kummer mit manchem Erfolg in seiner *Deutschen Literaturgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Dresden, 1909) auf die moderne Literatur angewandt.

Was in Rankes *Erklärung des Begriffs der Generation*¹ steckt, ist auch in dem Begriff der Landschaftseigentümlichkeit enthalten, nämlich "ein Ausdruck für gewisse . . . wirksame Ideen." Die Generationsgeschichte denkt an die ideelle Zusammengehörigkeit "im Menschenalter," die "provinziale" Geschichte an die "in der Landschaft." Die Hauptsache bei beiden ist die Feststellung der für die Generation oder die Landschaft charakteristischen Ideen und für die Landschaft noch besonders gemeinsamen der einheitlichen Gefühle.

Damit wird natürlich nicht, weder durch das Betonen der Generation, noch durch das der Landschaft, die Bedeutung und Leistung des Einzelnen aufgehoben.² Dem grossen Geheimnis des Individu-

¹ O. Lorenz, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft*, u. s. w., 1891, II, 137, 139, 140.

² *Ebenda*, S. 180 ff. Das Wort über Goethe in diesem Zusammenhang ist für jeden Forscher lehrreich. Man vgl. auch Otto Hintze, *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, 1908, IV, 9.

ums ist man begrifflich nicht näher gekommen. Und schon Ranke konnte (1873) fragen: "Täglich erweitert sich unsre Kenntnis und Aussicht über die Weltgeschichte. Wer enthüllt Kern, Natur, lebendes Wesen des Individuums?"

Die geistige Eigenart ist also geblieben. Nur die alte individualistisch-biographische Methode hat wohl oder übel weichen und einer mehr kollektivistischen Betrachtungsweise Platz machen müssen. Welch grosser Unterschied besteht z.B. methodisch zwischen einer der Charakteristiken Erich Schmidts und dem Aufsatz Oskar F. Walzels aus dem *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1906: "Goethes Wahlverwandtschaften im Rahmen ihrer Zeit."¹ Uns liegt eben heut "das grosse Geheimnis der Geschichte allemal in dem Verhältnis, in welchem der einzelne Wille, die einzelne Absicht zu dem Gesamtwillen, zu der allgemeinen Tendenz steht."² Die Gesellschaftslehre (Sociologie), besonders Sozialethik und Sozialästhetik, und die angewandte Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Sinne Karl Lamprechts haben auch die Literaturwissenschaft gut beeinflusst, und die Volkskunde ist uns immer nötiger geworden.³

Die landschaftliche Literaturbeschreibung nun ist erst lange nach Karl Goedeke grundsätzlich gefordert worden, nämlich von August Sauer in seiner Rektoratsrede *Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde* (Prag, 1907), und zwar aus dem vollen Verständnis für den lebendigen Zusammenhang der deutschen Literatur mit dem deutschen Volkstum. Aber gewirkt hatte vorher schon Wilhelm Scherers ständiger Hinweis darauf, den germanischen Volkscharakter in der Literatur Deutschlands zu studieren. Scherer selber hat mit Ottokar Lorenz die literarischen Stimmungen des Elsasses gesammelt und "die Schicksale eines bestimmten Landstriches wie die allseitige Entfaltung einer einheitlichen Persönlichkeit darzustellen gesucht."⁴ Die schöne Entwicklung der Kulturgeschichte im allgemeinen und

¹ Man lese von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus Oskar Walzel, *Vom Geistesleben des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Gesammelte Aufsätze, Leipzig, 1911.

² O. Lorenz, a. a. O., S. 136; vgl. O. Hintze, a. a. O., IV. 5. Wenn Jakob Grimm von der "Volksseele" spricht, meint er gewiss dasselbe.

³ A. Sauer, *Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde*, Rektoratsrede, Prag, 1907, S. 15 ff. Vgl. auch Erich Schmidt, *Deutsche Volkskunde im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*, Berliner Dissertation, 1904.

⁴ Vorwort zu O. Lorenz und W. Scherer, *Geschichte des Elsasses*, Berlin, 1872; auch Richard M. Meyers hübsches Buch, *Deutsche Charaktere*, Berlin, 1897, besonders S. 3 ff., verdient im diesem Zusammenhang der Erwähnung.

Volkskunde im besonderen, der provinziellen Geschichte wie auch der vergleichenden Erdkunde (Landeskunde) hat diesem grossen Versuch Recht gegeben. Unter allgemeinromantischen und Walter Scott-Einflüssen ist dann der Begriff: "Land und Leute" durch W. H. Riehl, G. Freytag, und Theodor Fontane zur öffentlichen Anerkennung gelangt. Ganz von selbst hat der Gesichtspunkt landschaftlicher Sonderart auch zum unzuverlässigen Lokalpatriotismus geführt, zu einer Gefahr, die die Lokalgeschichte mit der (falschen) Heimatkunst teilt. Was z.B. noch Jakob Baechtold für die "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz" gelang (Frauenfeld, 1892), sollte Rudolf Krauss bei seiner *Schwäbischen Literaturgeschichte* (1897-99) nur noch in grossen Teilen geraten. Den andern schwäbischen *Offenbarungen des stammheitlichen Volks- und Sprachgeistes*, wie es im Titel einer der vielen Schriften heisst, glauben wir nicht mehr bedingungslos.

Damit ist selbstverständlich nichts gegen die Literaturgeographie als Wissenschaft gesagt. Als Sauer seine anregungsvolle Rede hielt, konnte er bereits auf Siegfried Robert Nagels wertvollen *Deutschen Literaturatlas* (Wien, 1907) hinweisen. Inzwischen nun hat seine eigene Anregung gewirkt und eine neue Literaturgeschichte gezeitigt: Josef Nadlers *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften* (I. Band: "Die Altstämme 800-1600," Regensburg, 1912; II. Band: "Die Neustämme von 1300, die Altstämme von 1600-1780," Regensburg, 1913). Dieses grosszügige Werk eines kühnen jungen Forschers, der sich der ständigen Hilfe seines Lehrers Sauer erfreuen darf, ist sicherlich verdienstvoll, wenn es auch den lebendigen Tatsachen Gewalt antut und manche Schwierigkeiten, wie z.B. in der Gau- und Stammesgeschichte, vorschnell löst. Ein Blick auf O. Bremers *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* (in Pauls *Grundriss*, 2. Auflage, 1905) verrät die Grösse dieser Probleme. Stichhaltig dürfte auch Nadlers Vorstellung von der Mark Brandenburg als einer "fast reinen fränkischen Landschaft" nicht sein, was wohl noch im ausstehenden III. Band seiner *Literaturgeschichte* stärker begründet werden soll. Im ganzen hat es sich Nadler m.E. methodisch leicht gemacht. Anstatt präziös hingeworfener Aphorismen vor und in dem Buch¹ wäre eine eingehendere Erörterung der Grundbegriffe

¹ Erich Schmidts Einfluss "bis zu Einzelheiten im Stil" wird von Nadler bekannt!

“Stammesart” und “Landschaftscharakter,” sowie eine tiefere und ernstere Darlegung des Sinns und Wesens der Literaturgeographie angebrachter und nötiger gewesen. Denn was eigentlich die landschaftliche Literaturbeschreibung, wie sie Sauer gefordert und Nadler bei allen Mängeln praktisch sehr gefördert hat, leisten will, das weiss man immer noch nicht bestimmt und eindeutig genug, um Einwände dagegen zu entkräften.

Hier kann nur ein kurzer Hinweis auf einige Gegnerschaft am Platz sein.

Der vergleichende Literaturgeschichtler ist in besonderer Gefahr vor seinen grossen und breiten völkerpsychologischen Problemen wie “das 18. “Jahrhundert” oder Goethe, der Deutsche,” “Deutschland,” u. s. w. die anscheinend engeren, aber dafür nicht minder tiefen Probleme der provinziellen Literaturgeschichte zu übersehen. Was die vergleichende Literaturforschung nach aussen tut, das führt auf dieselbe Weise die landschaftliche, nur nach innen aus. Sollten sie sich nicht so und nur so gegenseitig treffen und vereinigen?

Auch der Philologe sollte sich der Folgerungen nur freuen, die sich für die Literaturgeschichte aus seiner Stammesgeschichte ergeben haben; denn was die Stammeszusammengehörigkeit und der Dialekt für die reine Sprachgeschichte bedeuten, das ist die Landschaft für die literarische Kritik. Nur dass hier noch ein erschwerender Umstand hinzukommt. Bedeutend mehr als der im besten Falle anempfindende Historiker der Sprache hat es der Ästhetiker mit dem Gefühlsleben zu tun, das mit feinem Sinn auszudeuten ist und dessen schwerste Probleme “erfühlt” werden müssen. Damit ist zugleich die Schwierigkeit für den ausländischen Literarhistoriker angedeutet, wofern er nicht in ständigem lebendigem Zusammenhang mit der deutschen Sprache *lebt*, nämlich dass er die zumeist zu erfüllenden Unterschiede in Temperatur und Temperament bei den verschiedenen deutschen Landschaften unterschätzt oder gar nicht spürt. Die kulturhistorische Charakteristik der Kunstwerke und ihrer Urheber ist aber ohne tiefe Kenntnis der Landschaft, von “Dichters Lande” nicht möglich.

II. DAS MÄRKERTUM

Was wir heute die Mark Brandenburg nennen, ist eine verwaltungspolitische Einheit des Königreichs Preussen: eine Provinz,

und zwar seit dem 20. April 1815, als die preussische Monarchie neu eingeteilt wurde. Bei dieser preussischen Gleichmachung ist auf die alte überlieferte Grenze der Landschaft keine Rücksicht genommen worden. So gehört jetzt z.B. die sogenannte Altmark, die Heimat der drei Geschlechter Bismarck, Schulenburg, Alvensleben, zur Provinz Sachsen. Und doch empfinden wir die Heimatluft, die aus Theodor Fontanes Tangermünder Geschichte *Grete Minde* weht, als echt märkisch-brandenburgisch. Das heisst also: der Landschaftscharakter wird nicht durch verwaltungstechnische Begrenzung eingeschränkt.

Wie kommen wir nun zum Begriff der *märkischen Landschaft*?

Es ist uns hierbei nicht um eine geologisch-geographische Beschreibung der Mark Brandenburg zu tun, sondern um eine Schilderung der "Kulturlandschaft," d.h. nach Friedrich Ratzels Erklärung¹ einer Landschaft, "die voll ist von den Zeichen der Arbeit, die ein Volk in seinen Boden hineinrodet, hineingräbt und hineinpflanzt." Und der Anfang der Kultur bedeutet hier der Anfang der Kolonisation. Wir befinden uns überall in der Mark auf germanisiertem Slawenland. Damit hat die Mark an einem grösseren Gebiet: Ostelbien teil.

Doch ehe wir uns mit der eigentlichen Geschichte des Märkertums beschäftigen, muss von den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Land und Leuten gesprochen werden. Denn die Geschichte der Literatur muss wie die allgemeine Geschichtsforschung, wie die Volkskunde und Volkswirtschaftslehre damit rechnen, "dass es natürliche Ländergebiete mit bestimmtem Charakter gibt, dass ihre Erhebung, ihr Klima, ihre Lage und Nachbarschaft, ihr Boden auf Menschen, Pflanze und Tiere einheitliche Wirkungen ausübt, dass sich daraus dauernde Folgen für die Geschichte der Völker ergeben."²

Schon rein geographisch gehört die Mark zum norddeutschen Tiefland und damit notwendig zum einheitlichen Kulturgebiet: Norddeutschland. Die Zweigliederung Deutschlands in eine Nord- und Südhälfte ist eine kulturgeschichtliche Tatsache, die bedeut-

¹ Friedrich Ratzel, *Deutschland: Einführung in die Heimatkunde*, Leipzig, 1898, S. 255. Vgl. A. Kirchhoff in Hans Meyer, *Das deutsche Volkstum*, Leipzig, 1898, S. 42.

² G. Schmoller, *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Leipzig, 1900, S. 130.

same Schlüsse zulässt.¹ Der Unterschied der Lage zwischen dem Norden und Süden mit dem Gegensatz von Tiefland und Hochland, mit den verschiedenen klimatischen Eigentümlichkeiten und Raumaufgaben, die die Verschiedenheit des Bodens stellt, bedingt, und erklärt z.T. die politische Zweiheit und den Wechsel im Volksleben.

Zu diesem grossen nordsüdlichen Gegensatz kommt ein ostwestlicher, der durch die ebenso verbindenden wie trennenden deutschen Flüsse deutlich wird. Wie der Rhein beispielsweise seit alten Zeiten Nord- und Süddeutschland verbunden hat, so hat die Elbe umgekehrt trennend gewirkt. Das Königreich Preussen ist noch heute fast zu zwei Dritteln ostelbisch.

Mit dem ganzen Gebiet Norddeutschland ist die Mark Brandenburg mit allen ihren Lebensinteressen auf das anliegende deutsche hauptsächlich nordostdeutsche Tiefland angewiesen, daher eine *Landschaft der Mitte* von allgemeiner gemässigter ausgleichender Art, von Mittelklima auch im geistigen Leben.²

Als im grossen und ganzen sandiges Binnenland hat die Mark nur die bescheidenen Reize einer nordischen Natur³ aufzuweisen, was zum oft wiederholten Spottnamen von "des heiligen römischen Reichs Streusandbüchse" Anlass gegeben hat. Man darf trotzdem nicht "jenes märkische Landschaftsbild" suchen, von dem Theodor Fontane einmal in seinen *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg* sagt, dass es "im allgemeinen weniger in der Wirklichkeit als in der Vorstellung der Mittel- und Süddeutschen existiert."⁴ Mit einer feineren Art von Natur- und Landschaftssinn findet man hier überraschende Mannigfaltigkeit im Bau der Landschaft und geographische Reize, die wieder Fontane wie folgt zusammenfasst: "Weite Flächen, Hügelzüge am Horizont, ein See, verstreute Acker-

¹ F. Ratzel, a. a. O., S. 214 ff.; Kirchhoff, a. a. O., S. 69 f.; J. Kutzten, *Das deutsche Land*, 2. Auflage, I, 52 f.; V. Hehn, *Gedanken über Goethe*, 6. Auflage, S. 10 f.

² J. Kutzten, a. a. O., 4. Auflage, S. 35; auf die Bedeutung von Brandenburgs "zentraler Lage" für seine Wirtschaftsgeschichte weist Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, IX, 144 f. In Th. Fontanes Roman "Der Stechlin" heisst Brandenburg das Land des "Mittelzustands."

³ Goethe (Brief an Schiller vom 17. XI. 1803) redet noch von der "Niedertracht nordischer Umgebung"! Und selbst Th. Fontane leiden manche Gegenden der Mark (z.B. um Frelenwalde; vgl. *Wanderungen*, Wohlfeile Ausgabe, II, 47) an Monotonie.

⁴ Th. Fontane, *Wanderungen*, I, 460; vgl. II, 60: "Der Sinn für die 'schöne Landschaft' ist wie die Landschaftsmalerei von sehr modernem Datum. Namentlich in der Mark."

felder, hier ein Stück Sumpfland, durch das sich Erlenbüsche, und dort ein Stück Sandland, durch das sich Kiefern ziehn."¹

Andrerseits hat der in vielen Teilen sehr sandige Boden den Bauer—um von der ursprünglichsten Menschenart zu reden—beweglicher und behender gemacht als den Landmann auf schwerem Boden, der alles mit einer gewissen Langsamkeit behandelt.² Das weite flache Land ohne Schranken nach Osten und Westen gibt nicht nur der persönlichen Tüchtigkeit, sondern auch dem Nachdenken ein freieres Feld.

Eng schliesst sich an diese Landschaft ihre Geschichte. "Die Natur scheint hier ganz besonders intensiv der politischen Entwicklung vorgearbeitet zu haben, indem sie die grossen Linien der Landschaft zog, auf welchen sich allmählich der politische Bau erheben sollte."³

Der wirklich bedeutende Beginn der Geschichte, d.h. der Kolonisation Brandenburgs liegt in einer Zeit, in der nicht mehr jeder Stamm (Baiern, Sachsen, Franken) auf eigene Faust kolonisierte, sondern in der die Kolonisten verdeutschten! In der Mitte dieses 12. Jahrhunderts nimmt man auch die Entstehung des europäischen Bürgertums an. Also ein glücklicher, bedeutsamer Anfang!

Zur Frage der märkischen *Stammbevölkerung* lässt sich mit Gustav Freytag vorsichtig sagen, dass es hier "unsichere Spuren eines Zusammenhangs zwischen der deutschen Vorzeit und der deutschen Besiedlung im Mittelalter" gibt.⁴ In germanischer Urzeit können wir in Brandenburg den germanischen Stamm der Semnonen⁵ annehmen, der bei der allgermanischen Völkerwanderung nach Schwaben abwanderte und dessen Nachfolger im alten Gebiet die slawischen Wenden wurden. Diese Wenden, die auf keiner niedrigen Kultur-

¹ Th. Fontane, *Wanderungen*, III, 38; Kirchhoff, S. 106; Kutzen, 2. Auflage, S. 182. Man denke auch an die ein wenig kühle, herbe Schönheit der Landschaften Max Lelstikows.

² Kutzen, 4. Auflage, S. 525.

³ E. Zache, *Die Landschaften der Provinz Brandenburg*, Stuttgart, 1905.

⁴ G. Freytag, *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, 1867, S. 161. Vgl. W. Schwartz in *Märkische Forschungen*, XX, 128.

⁵ Ich erinnere an die berühmten *Semnonen-Bilder* des märkischen Malers Carl Blechen u. a. und an Gedichte von August Kopisch (in H. Spero, *Das poetische Berlin*, I *Alt-Berlin*, München, 1911, S. 112) und Th. Fontane, *Gedichte*, S. 74; auch Werke (Nachlass), IX, 164.

stufe standen,¹ setzten sich recht fest und machten den germanisierenden und christianisierenden Kolonisatoren viel zu schaffen. Alle Eroberungen der Karolinger und Ottonen gingen bei dem grossen Wendenaufstand von 982 verloren und blieben es, bis die Askanier mit Albrecht dem Bären (1134) ihre kraftvolle Kolonisationstätigkeit begannen. Ihre Hauptstadt wurde der alte Bischofssitz *Brandenburg* an der Havel² während die Sachsen unter Otto I. Magdeburg zur Operationsbasis genommen hatten, was Havelberg, die andere alte Bischofsstadt, zum ostelbischen Brückenknopf machte.

Unter den Askaniern (bis 1319) wachsen langsam die einzelnen Teile und Landschaften zu dem Ganzen zusammen, das heute "die Mark" heisst. Die Prignitz, das Land zwischen Elbe, Dosse, und Mecklenburg, war der zuerst besiedelte Strich. Dann kam die Zauche, südlich von der Mittelhavel, und das Havelland mit der Stadt Brandenburg, endlich Barnim und Teltow an der Unterspree, die sehr fruchtbare Uckermark, die zwischen Oberhavel und Unteroder liegt, das Land über der Oder und Lebus zwischen Spree und Oder. Für das Land jenseits der Oder entstand bald der Name: Neumark, die Gebiete zwischen Oder und Elbe wurden die Mittelmark, links der Elbe die Altmark genannt.³

Die Heimat der Kolonisten in der Mark ist nicht sicher festzustellen. Jedenfalls haben Niedersachsen⁴ den starken Sauerteig abgegeben. Am Fläming (in der Südwestecke von Brandenburg) und überhaupt übers ganze Land verstreut sind Leute vom Niederrhein, von Holland, Brabant, und vor allen Flandern.⁵ Wie auch im einzelnen die Mischung sein mag, das Neuland wurde dem *nieder-*

¹ Vgl. Fontanes Kapitel "Die Wenden in der Mark," *Wanderungen*, III, 3 ff. In letzten Resten leben Wenden noch jetzt im Spreewald.

² Brandenburg ist "die Stadt der alten Kirchen" noch heute: Zache, a. a. O., S. 84, 249; G. Wendt, *Die Germanisierung der Länder östlich der Elbe*, Liegnitz, 1884, 1889, I, 41.

³ Zache, S. 68 ff.; 1547 umfasste Brandenburg die Teile: Altmark (Stendal), Prignitz, Grafschaft Ruppin, Mittelmark, Uckermark, Neumark, Teile der Niederlausitz (Kottbus); Fontanes *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*, das hervorragendste Werk der märkischen Heimatskunde, sind in vier Teile geteilt: I, Die Grafschaft Ruppin; II, Oderland, Barnim-Lebus; III, Havelland. Die Landschaft um Spandau, Potsdam, Brandenburg; IV, Spreeland. Beeskow-Storkow. Barnim-Teltow.

⁴ Zache, S. 25 f., 65, 123, 137; Schwartz, a. a. O., S. 129; K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III, 350.

⁵ Lamprecht, III, 328 f., 350, 366; F. Ratzel, S. 215 f.; Wendt, a. a. O., I, 91; II, 17, 34 ff., 69; B. Guttman, *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, IX, 395 ff., 430 ff. Schon 1815 interessiert sich v. Wersebe für "Niedersächsische Kolonien" in der Mark.

deutschen Sprachgebiet angegliedert. Das märkische Platt, eine ziemlich komplizierte Sonderart des Niederdeutschen, ist noch heute in grossen Teilen der Mark lebendig, natürlich als Volks- und Umgangssprache.¹ Die Grenze zwischen den heutigen Provinzen Sachsen und Brandenburg (von der Saalemündung abwärts) ist auch ungefähr die Sprachgrenze zwischen Mittelddeutsch und Niederdeutsch.

In der Mark Brandenburg, lebt und webt *Norddeutschland*. Der beste Beweis dafür liegt in der Geschichte seiner städtischen Kultur, die—mit Karl Lamprecht zu reden—den "Typus norddeutsch-kolonisatorischer Stadtanlage" geschaffen hat. Aber dieses Norddeutschtum ist aus den Kolonisationsvorgängen des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts erwachsen. Man nennt deshalb den "spezifisch norddeutschen" richtiger den "*kolonialdeutschen* Charakter, als dessen edelste Spielart der Typus des Märkers gelten kann."² Wetterfestigkeit und trotzigte Stärke, germanische Härte und Ausdauer ist dieser neuen Schattierung des deutschen Charakters eigen,³ dazu ein besonderer, anfangs durch keinerlei geistige Kultur gemässigter Egoismus, den jedes koloniale Leben mit sich bringt, und eine Tüchtigkeit, die nur aus eben diesem starken Egoismus und dem Instinkt des Vorteils hervorgeht.⁴

Weiter liegt in der Bezeichnung "kolonialdeutsch" das *Nordostdeutsche*, das Viktor Hehn im ersten Kapitel seiner "Gedanken über Goethe" gekennzeichnet hat: im Gegensatz zu Südwest, dem Bannkreis Goethes. Die Entwicklung des kolonialdeutschen Charakters in der Mark bedeutet einen ständigen Einfluss slawischen Wesens. Mit Recht nennt deshalb Theodor Fontane den Märker geradezu "einen Norddeutschen mit starkem Beisatz von wendischem Blut." Der ehrbare Ernst und die herbe Kühle des phlegmatisch-schweren germanischen Lebens mit einer ausgesprochenen Neigung

¹ Als *Schriftsprache* besteht das Hochdeutsche in Berlin schon seit Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts, in den meisten märkischen Städten hat sich das Niederdeutsche mehrere Jahrzehnte länger gehalten. Frankfurt und der Südosten der Mark waren lange vor Berlin hochdeutsch. Vgl. A. Lasch, *Geschichte der Schriftsprache in Berlin*, Dortmund, 1910, besonders S. 133 und 154. In märkischem Platt ist z.B. der "Richtsteig Landrechts" (1335); Hintze, a. a. O., II, 47 f., 33 ff.; *Märkische Forschungen*, XX, 128 Anm.

² K. Lamprecht, III, 301 f., 366, 368.

³ Schon der Dichter des "Kaplides," F. D. Schubart hat in seinem Gedicht "Deutscher Provinzialwerth" die Zeile: "Der Sachs ist fein; der Brenne (=Brandenburger) stark."

⁴ Th. Fontane, *Wanderungen*, II, 41, 52, 436.

zur Innerlichkeit erhält grössere Bewegung, leichtere Impulse, und heissere Sinnlichkeit. Vom zähen wendischen Urelement können wir "jene misstrauensvolle Vorsicht" herleiten, die den märkischen Stamm zum Guten und Schlechten hin so sehr charakterisiert, und auch Eigensinn und die Neigung "zu querulieren," während allgemainslawische (oder polnische) Weichheit und Beweglichkeit bis auf den heutigen Tag einwirken und umso mehr, je leichter im 19. Jahrhundert die Verkehrsmöglichkeiten geworden sind. Der preussische Staat mit seinem riesigen Beamtenkörper bringt ausserdem die einzelnen Provinzen und Landschaften von Osten westwärts ziemlich durcheinander.

Ein glänzendes Beispiel für das *Nordostdeutsche* im Märkertum ist *Heinrich von Kleist*, den Wilhelm Dilthey in seinem tiefen Buch "*Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*" Lessings Nachfolger genannt hat, nämlich als "norddeutsches Genie, das in die Poesie mit norddeutscher Art zu empfinden mächtig eingriff." Kleist ist ganz auf Nordost oder besser "Wildost" gestimmt. Er hat erstaunlich viel von dem ungestümen Slawenblut, slawische Wildheit des Hasses und der Liebe, und ein übertriebenes Schwanken zwischen höchsten Lebenshöhen und schmerzlichsten Tiefsten, was mit zu seinem qualvollen frühen Tod beigetragen hat. Er hatte "einen echt märkischen Breitkopf und vorspringende Backenknochen," wovon Theodor Fontane z.B. bei Valtin in *Grete Minde* spricht und den die Miniatur Krügers oder die Zeichnung Karl Bauers deutlich macht. Wenn es wahr ist, dass der romantische Zug in der Seele der östlichen Stämme Deutschlands ein slawisches Erbteil ist, dann ist Kleists Schwanken zwischen Schwerfälligkeit im Gefühlsausdruck und überspannter Selbsthinopferung, seine gesamte Philosophie des "instinktiven Triebes," sein Verhältnis zum Weib, seine Todeserotik und seine Sehnsucht nach einem Todesgefährten leichter zu erklären. Dann ist es weniger Krankhaftigkeit als solche und blosser unerklärliche Eigenart, als vielmehr schroffe und unglückselige Einseitigkeit des märkischen Stammescharakters. Achim von Arnim, Kleists Freund und Mitkämpfer, traf den Nagel auf den Kopf, als er von Kleist sagte: "Eine sehr eigentümliche, ein wenig verdrehte Natur, wie das fast immer der Fall ist, wo sich Talent aus der alten preussischen Montierung durcharbeitet."

Im Kampf mit äusseren und inneren Feinden ist Brandenburg gross geworden. Nach dem Aussterben der Askanier in Brandenburg (1320) rissen die Nachbarn von allen Seiten Teile des Landes ab. Eine Demetriustragödie, "der falsche Waldemar" brachte den Bürgerkrieg.¹ Unter den interesselosen bayrischen und luxemburgischen Markgrafen geriet die Mark in schlimme zustände. Unter den Raubrittern, die damals die Existenz der aufblühenden Städte gefährdeten, haben Hans und Dietrich von Quitzow durch Ernst von Wildenbruch literarische Berühmtheit erlangt. Schrecklich und doch inhaltsleer verging das 14. Jahrhundert. Eine Wandlung zum Bessern kam mit den Hohenzollern ins Land, als Burggraf Friedrich VI. von Nürnberg als Statthalter eingesetzt und 1417 mit der Mark Brandenburg belehnt wurde. Aber auch die ersten Hohenzollern haben nicht viel Zeit für ihr neues Land gehabt und auch nicht viel Freude erlebt. Sie waren als "höfische" Franken gehasst und vergalteten das mit ebensolchem Hass gegen die rohen Sitten der Märker, die in den blutigen Hussitenkriegen (1419–1436) besonders verwilderten. Dieser Gegensatz zwischen den Hohenzollern und den Märkern ist noch öfter hervorgetreten, weil er ganz natürlich auf einem Wesensunterschied zwischen dem Fränkischen und dem nordostdeutschen Märkertum beruht. Ganz allmählich nur haben sich die Hohenzollern an die neue Landschaft und ihr Volk gewöhnt: "angeglichen."²

Die Kolonisation hat noch Jahrhunderte angedauert. Die Besiedlung des platten Landes ist erst unter Friedrich dem Grossen tatkräftig betrieben worden.³ So erhält z.B. Brandenburg in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts einen Einschlag aus den verschiedensten Teilen Deutschlands. Schwerer wiegt der französische Zuzug, den die Mark der Aufhebung des Edikts von Nantes 1685 verdankt. Zu den damals 10,000 zählenden Bewohnern Berlins

¹ Ueber Achim von Arnims und Fouqués Waldemar-Tragödien vgl. Max Hartmann, *L. A. von Arnim als Dramatiker*, Breslau, 1911, S. 73 ff., und Erich Hagemeister, *Fouqué als Dramatiker*, Greifswald, 1905, S. 53 ff.

² Besonders scharf anti-märkisch war Albrecht Achilles (1470–86). Vgl. auch A. Lasch, a. a. O., S. 104 ff. Noch Friedrich der Grosse (Hintze, III, 19) sagt in seiner "Aufstellung von provinziellen Charaktertypen" vom Märker etwas wegwerfend, er habe "weder den feinen Verstand der Ostpreussen, noch die Soldtät der Pommern," dagegen freilich vom märkischen Adel: "davon die Rasse so gut ist, dass sie auf alle Weise meritiret conserviert zu werden."

³ Vgl. Fontanes erstes Kapitel vom Oderbruch, *Wanderungen*, III, 14 ff.; Zache, S. 35.

z.B. kommen mit einem Schlage 5,000 Refugiés. Diese französischen Einwanderer sind nicht nur ein Ereignis für die Entstehung des echten "Berlinertums" geworden, sondern bedeuten mit den zahlreichen Nachschüblern der nächsten Jahre einen grossen geistigen und gesellschaftlichen Einfluss für die ganze Mark Brandenburg,¹ wenn auch nicht eine unmittelbare tiefe Änderung, jedenfalls eine allgemeine Belebung des Märkertums—etwa so wie die verschiedenen fränkischen Einflüsse das Schwere des sächsischen Wesens leichter gemacht haben.

Im grossen und ganzen sind damit die Wesensteile des Märkertums erklärt worden. Ein märkisches "Stammesgenie" gibt es nicht, wohl aber eine durchaus eigentümliche Art das Leben zu sehen und zu führen. Gemeinsame wirtschaftliche, politische, und soziale Interessen und Erlebnisse haben Alteingesessene und Zugewanderte mit einander verbunden und auf dem märkischen Boden zusammen heimisch gemacht. Das Gefühl landschaftlicher und staatlicher Zusammengehörigkeit hat schliesslich ein märkisches Heimatsgefühl zwischen Prenzlau und dem Fläming, zwischen Landsberg an der Oder und Havelberg hervorgebracht, und die urmärkischen Charaktereigenschaften haben sich nach dem Gesetz der Seelenübertragung von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht forterben können.² Zusammenfassend kann man auch hier mit den Worten des feinsten Kenners der Mark Brandenburg, Theodor Fontanes, sagen: "Die Märker sind gesunden Geistes und unbestechlichen Gefühls, nüchtern, charaktervoll und anstellig, anstellig auch in Kunst, Wissenschaft und Religion, aber sie sind ohne rechte Begeisterung und vor allen ohne rechte Liebenswürdigkeit."³ Nur die letzten beiden Worte wird etwas einzuschränken haben wer dem Märkertum in der deutschen Literatur liebevoll nachgeht.

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¹ Vgl. Hintze, I, 176. Samuel Grosser in seinen *Lausitzischen Denkwürdigkeiten* (V. Teil, S. 22) lobt schon 1714 die Hugenotten.

² Kirchhoff, S. 109; Th. Fontane bekennt, *Wanderungen*, II, 398: "Fleiss und Energie, einmal wach gerufen, vererben sich welter von Vater auf Sohn."

³ Th. Fontane im Aufsatz "Die Märker und des Berlinertum," Werke II. Serie Bd. IX, S. 295 ff. Vgl. auch G. Freytag, *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes* Leipzig, 1862, S. 353 ff. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch der Hinweis auf meinen Aufsatz erlaubt: "Theodor Fontane als Märker," *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, Mai, 1914.

ZUR AUFKLÄRUNG ÜBER "ISOLDES GOTTESURTEIL"

Mein Buch *Isoldes Gottesurteil, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte*, wie ich es getauft hatte, ist wider Erwarten schnell gedruckt worden. Mein Freund R. Schmidt besorgte gütigst die Korrektur, und zu meiner grössten Überraschung war das Ganze schon fertig gesetzt, als meine nachträglichen "Besserungen" in Deutschland ankamen. Dabei hatte der Verleger, wie ich zu spät erfuhr, noch eigenmächtig den Titel geändert, das Werk in jene erotische Serie eingereiht und die dem Manuskript vorgelegte Inhaltsübersicht einfach in den Papierkorb, statt mit in die Druckerei wandern lassen. So hat das Buch einen fremden, irreführenden und mir unangenehmen Gesichtszug erhalten und sein wissenschaftlicher Charakter und Wert eine empfindliche Einbusse erlitten. Die Inhaltsübersicht gab die ganze Gliederung der Schrift mit den Seitenzahlen in die kleinsten Einzelheiten hinein, und deshalb schien mir im Texte selber die typographische Abgrenzung in Kapitel u. s. w. unnötig. Da aber in dem gedruckten Werke jener Wegweiser fehlt, so findet man sich nur mit Mühe zurecht und kann man Einzelnes schwer wieder auffinden. Ja, ein Beurteiler hat sogar die ganze erste Hälfte der Schrift als "Einleitung" angesehen und erklärt, sie habe mit dem eigentlichen Inhalt nichts zu tun. Dafür kreidet er mir als böse Unterlassungssünde an, dass ich über verschiedene Dinge völlig schweige. Aber grade diese Dinge gehen *mein* Buch gar nichts an. Dieses umfasst nämlich die folgenden zwei Teile: I. Isoldes Gottesurteil in seiner Bedeutung für den höfischen Minnebegriff. Dieser Abschnitt in Gottfrieds Dichtung ist ein Kulminationspunkt mittelalterlicher Liebesanschauung, und man hat ihn bisher nicht richtig aufgefasst. Zum wahren Verständnis namentlich der Stellung, die der Dichter selber hier einnimmt, gebe ich zunächst eine Darlegung über Art und Wesen der höfischen Minne überhaupt und dann einen Umriss von Gottfrieds Liebesdogmatik. Neues Material herbeizufördern konnte ich nicht unternehmen, die *Beleuchtung* aber, in die ich den Gegenstand rücke, dürfte sich doch wesentlich von der hergebrachten

unterscheiden. Der zweite Teil ist: Isoldes Gottesurteil, oder der zweideutige Eid in seinen Parallelen. *Alle* Entsprechungen aufzuführen war da nicht nötig, wohl aber die irgendwie wichtigeren. Wie weit mir das gelungen ist oder auch nur gelingen konnte, das steht leider auf einem andern Blatte. Konnte ich mir doch die nötigen Hilfsmittel öfters nicht verschaffen. Es geschieht nun wohl den Benutzern meiner Schrift ein Dienst, wenn ich die durch ein tückisches Schicksal nicht mit gedruckte Inhaltsübersicht hier mitteile. Ein Sonderabzug steht jedermann, der sich an mich wendet, kostenfrei zur Verfügung.

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3. Geringe Wertschätzung weiblicher Tugend, S. 10–12.
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15. Die aufs "Reale" gerichtete Liebesansicht des Mittelalters, S. 23 ff.
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THE SOURCES OF THE IDYLS OF JEAN VAUQUELIN DE LA FRESNAYE

One English commentator has ventured to suggest that it was Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye (1535[?36]-1607) who made Phyllis a fashionable name among our English pastoral poets.¹ But there can be little hesitation in dismissing this speculation as baseless. Had Vauquelin been read to this extent, some other more substantial traces of his influence would surely exist; yet a wide reading of our pastoral poetry enables me to say that there is not the smallest trace of the influence of this French poet to be found there, if we except the case of Drummond of Hawthornden, who, as will be seen, appears to have been acquainted with Vauquelin's method of "composition," and to have followed him to some extent in this direction. But of influence in the usual sense of the word, no trace is to be found.

In a recently published French anthology² I find Vauquelin described as the French poet of the sixteenth century "who has best felt the charms of Nature, or, to speak more exactly, who has best translated the life at once rustic and poetic of a gentleman." This

¹ Mr. Sidney Lee, in his introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets*, Constable, 1904, p. lxxvii. This suggestion does not appear in Mr. Lee's later work, *The French Renaissance in England*. If we are to look for a modern source for this name of Phyllis, we ought rather to refer to Italy, where the name occurs frequently in pastoral poetry; Tasso, Sannazaro, and Varchi have it. But of course the name is to be found in classic pastoralists such as Theocritus and Virgil. Mr. Lee assigns the *Idyls* to the year 1560. In this he is quite wrong. Lodge's *Phyllis Honoured with Pastoral Sonnets*, London, 1593, must be granted priority.

² Fonsny and Van Dooren, *Anthologie des poètes lyriques français*, Verviers, Hermann (preface dated 1903).

feeling for Nature, as I am about to reveal, does not truly belong to Vauquelin, but is borrowed. However this may be, I think that the rustic muse of Vauquelin, had it been at all widely known in England, must have left some effect upon our pastoral poets.¹

It is through his *Idyls* that Vauquelin can best lay claim to the title of a poet. These idyls are divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the love story of Philis and Philanon. An agreeable writer, the Baron Pichon, conceived the idea that in this collection of pastorals the poet is relating his own love story. Vauquelin, writes this biographer,² knew from childhood the young Anne de Bourgueville, daughter of the sieur de Bras, lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Caen, author of the *Recherches et Antiquités de Neustrie*. One of the seigneuries of M. de Bourgueville was situated on the banks of the Orne, and the two families met frequently.

If one must take literally what Vauquelin says in his love poems on Philis (a name under which he has sung mademoiselle de Bourgueville), he fell deeply in love with her, probably on his return from Poitiers [where he had been studying the law]; but he dared not tell her so. Philis, remarking his pallor, his sadness, pressed him to make the cause of it known to her. Philanon (that is the name which Vauquelin gives himself in his *Amours de Philis*) avowed to her that he was in love. She strove in vain to make him tell her the name of the one whom he loved, but ended by obtaining that he should show her her portrait. One day when they were together in the valley of the Orne, Philis pressed Philanon to keep his promise. They were seated by the edge of a spring. Look into this limpid water, said Philanon to her,

¹ Dealing with the poet's connection with England, it is of interest to note that the following passage occurs in his satire "A son livre":

Si l'on s'enquiert à toy, Quel homme je puis estre,
Et dont je fus extrait, et quand je vins à naistre:
Di, Que peut estre vint mon nom du Val-d'Eclîn,
Qu'au langage du temps on nommoit Vauc-Elin.
Dont Vauquelin se fist, en la belle contree
Que Cerés et Pomone entre toutes recree.
Des ce temps mes Majeurs desja nobles vivoient:
Et nos Ducs genereux en leurs guerres suivoient:
Mals Vauquelin du Pont, Vauquelin de Ferieres,
Capitaines portoient gouffanons et banieres,
En passant l'Océan, quand leur grand duc Normant
Alla contre l'Anglois tous ses sujets armant:
Et planterent leur nom en Glocestre et Clarence,
Dont il reste aux vieux lieux mainte vaine aparence:
Là sont peints et bossez nos Ecus et Blasons,
Tels que nous les portons encor en nos maisons.

According to Baron Pichon, Vauquelin's claim of having had ancestors in the army of William the Conqueror is baseless. See Moréri, *Dictionnaire*, 1759 ed., under "Vauquelin."

² Article on the poet in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1845, p. 512, and 1846, p. 721.

you will see there the features of her whom I love. The naïve Philis leans over, looks; but,

O grand' pitié! Philis nicete
S'estant veue en l'onde clairette,

departs quite annoyed or feigning to be so, and afterwards constantly avoided Philanon. In desperation, he "led his flocks to feed elsewhere," or in other terms quitted the district and went to study at Bourges. . . . After three or four years' stay at Bourges, he returned to his native place, and obtained a short time after his return the charge of king's advocate for the bailiwick of Caen. . . . He remained all the time in love with mademoiselle de Bourgueville; on her side, she repented keenly of having so much ill-treated him. The two lovers were soon in accord. If we are to believe it, one fine day when

Les Elements estoient pleins de Ris et d'Amour,
they swore an eternal love, then:

. . . . Philanon proche d'elle -
Lui donne un doux baiser, ou bien il le receut;
Car si pris ou donné, point on ne l'aperceut,
Il fut pris et receu d'une grace si belle
Qu'une fois il sembloit un baiser de pucelle,
Il sembloit l'autrefois pris de telle façon
Qu'on l'eust dit le baiser d'un amoureux garçon.

Finally, on the 5th July, 1560, he espoused Anne de Bourgueville. This union was happy. Jean Vauquelin remained tenderly attached to his wife, but then he had discovered that the anagram of his name was: *Lieu n'ay qu'à une*, and that of hers *D'un gré louable unie* (*Idyls*, I, 76).

This interpretation of the idyls is accepted as true by Travers, the editor of the poet's works;¹ later it is elaborated by Dr. Lemercier in his biographical study of the poet.² The whole tale is built up on a composite name, "Anne-Philis," used by Vauquelin in his idyls.³ From this identifying title I assume that we are merely to gather that the poet, whose idyls were published when he had been married for some forty years, was anxious to make it plain to his readers—and his wife—that his pastoral beauty, Philis, was only an ideal,

¹ *Les diverses poésies de Jean Vauquelin sieur de la Fresnaie*, publiées et annotées par Julien Travers, Caen, Le Blanc-Hardel, 1869, 2 vols.; and a complementary volume by the same editor, *Œuvres diverses en prose et en vers*, Caen, 1872. These are exquisitely printed volumes. M. Baudement (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1870, p. 81) remarks of this edition: "The material execution makes of it one of the most beautiful that the province can oppose to the Parisian press." It is to this edition that I refer throughout.

² A. P. Lemercier, *Étude littéraire et morale sur les poésies de Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye*, Paris, Hachette, 1887. As thesis, Nancy, Sordollet, 1887.

³ *Idyls*, Book II, No. 66, etc.

a fiction. As will be seen, the whole romance founded on the idyls is undermined when we come to consider Vauquelin's sources.

Before considering these, it is of interest to note the opinions which have been passed upon the idyls by some critics. Speaking generally of his poems, one authority¹ has said that they are to be sought after more for the thought, than for beauty of expression. Pichon, in his essay on the poet, observes that Vauquelin has often, and with foundation, been accused of being too facile and prosaic.² These two writers were unconsciously condemning the poet in the only light left in which we can now view him, namely, as a translator. Tasso, Sannazaro, and Guarini, for instance, three of his leading models, could scarcely be accused of these faults. Travers, writing of the idyls, says that several of them are worthy of living, despite the out-of-date language³— another unwitting hit, of a gentler nature, at Vauquelin. As a whole, Vauquelin's poems fall very far beneath those which he took as models. He boasts that he is not a "scrupulous translator,"⁴ which is true in more senses than one.

Of the poems which I have not touched upon in this paper—the *Art poétique*, the satires, and the sonnets—I am convinced that there is not a single passage, not a single line, containing any idea worth expression, which will not in due course be found to be borrowed. I except the vapid *Foresteries*, which appear to be "original" commonplaces, written mainly under the influence of the poets of the Pléiade. It is already known, indeed, that the *Art poétique* is largely taken from Horace, Aristotle, and a number of others; while Pro-

¹ Rigoley de Juvigny, *Les bibliothèques françaises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier* . . . , Paris, 1772, I, 601.

² *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1846, p. 727.

³ Essay on the life and works of the poet, incorporated in the poet's works, p. lxxvii.

⁴ The avowal is made in his *Oraison, de ne croire légèrement à la calomnie*, where, speaking of his choice of subject, he says: "Je say bien que plusieurs pourront remarquer qu'entre les œuvres de Lucian, Sophiste Grec, il se trouvera une oraison faite Latine par Melancton quasi de semblable argument, lequel aussi plusieurs auteurs anciens ont traité bien au long: Mais je say d'autre part, que je suis né François, et que prenant le fil de ces auteurs estrangers, pour ourdir la toile de mon sujet, je n'en suis pas moins louable, n'estant esclave ni scrupuleux traducteur, ains libre et franc imitateur: diversifiant mon ouvrage de tant de couleurs, qu'il seroit malaisé à ceux mesmes desquels elles sont empruntees, de les pouvoir reconnoistre, voyant leurs habits si bien appropriez à la Française" (*Œuvres diverses*, ed. Travers, p. 191). He is here, however, only speaking of the task in hand. Although he knew Du Bellay's famous *Defence* off by heart, he appears to have paid little heed to the injunction, "n'espacier point hors des limites de l'auteur," and might well be regarded as one of those translators blamed by Du Bellay who "with galety of heart (as it is said) undertake such things lightly."

fessor Vianey has discovered that most of the satires are taken from a collection entitled *Sette libri di satire, di Lod. Ariosto, Ercole Bentivoglio raccolti per Franc. Sansovino*, Venice, 1560 or 1563. Vauquelin has even appropriated the preface to this volume.¹ Pichon says that Vauquelin knew Spanish. I do not know on what ground this statement rests; the reference to the *Diana* of Montemayor in the *Art poétique* does not, of course, imply that Vauquelin was acquainted with that romance in the vernacular.²

Idyls 1 and 2 are merely prefatory. In Idyl 3 we meet with the two models which have suggested to Vauquelin the outlines of his story of Philis and Philanon. These models are Sannazaro and his imitator Tasso. I give those passages from Vauquelin which have any substance, along with the corresponding Italian.

Philanon amoureux de la grace parfaite,
Des rayons flamboyants des yeux de
Philinete,

Avoit avecques elle et mille et mille
fois

Passé le temps aux champs, passé le
temps aux bois,

Si fort ensemble unis, qu'entre deux
tourterelles

Ni furent onc d'amours si fermes ni
fidelles.

Leur âge estoit conforme et conformes
leurs mœurs,

Conformes leurs pensers, conformes
leurs humeurs.

. . . . che fra due

Tortorelle più fida compagnia

Non sarà mai, nè fue.

Congiunti eran gli alberghi,

Ma più congiunti i cori;

Conforme era l'etate,

Ma 'l pensier più conforme

(Tasso, *Aminta*, Act I, sc. 2).

¹ Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier*, Paris, Hachette, 1896, pp. 67 ff. (citation borrowed from Tilley's *French Renaissance*). Vauquelin confesses in his introductory satire:

Je pren tantost du Grec et tantost du Romain
Ce qui me semble bon: essayant de confire
Avec leur sucre dous, soit Epistre ou Satire:
Et quelquefois je pren des vulgaires voisins,
Pour mettre en mon jardin, des fleurs de leurs jardins.

I suspect that the "Roman" borrowings in these satires include pilferings from the Italian neo-Latinists also.

² Du Bellay, in his *Defence et Illustration*, had recommended as models "les bons auteurs grecz et romains, voyre bien italiens, hespagnolz et autres." The *Diana* of Montemayor was so popular that six French translations appeared in eighty years (Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *De l'usage des romans*, Paris, 1734, II, 24). The first of these translations, by Nicole Colin, a laborious translator, appeared in 1578; another edition of this version was published in 1587. A translation by S.-G. Pavillon, with Spanish text, was issued by Anthoine du Bruell in 1603. The reference to Lenglet-Dufresnoy I cite at second hand. I may mention here that this paper has been written from Dublin, where resources for the composition of such a paper as this are far from adequate.

Fust que l'Aube au matin, avec ses
doigts de roses,
Les barrieres du Ciel au Soleil eust
decloses,
Fust que Vesper au soir eust le jour
enfermé,
Et les flambeaux luisants des astres
allumé,

Ils menoiert leurs troupeaux aux
pâtis delectables,
Les ramenoient tousjours ensemble à
leurs etables:
S'ils peschoient du poisson, s'ils
chassoient aux chevreux,
La proye et le plaisir estoient com-
muns entre deux.

• • • • •
Cependant comme une Aulne au bord
de son ruisseau,
Philis tousjours croissoit, belle fleur
admiree,
Des jeunes pastoureaux à l'envi desirée:
Qui, fiere et dedaigneuse et le joug
refusant,
Alloit d'un vain espoir les bergers
abusant:
Alors que Philanon ayant veu sur
Menale
Les Faunes emboucher la flutte pas-
torale,
Revint pour enseigner en sa contree
aux siens,
Du flageol à sept voix les accords
anciens.
Mais revoyant Philis, à peine il l'eut
reveu
Qu'Amour d'un feu nouveau son ame a
toute emeue.

Noy alguna volta in su il fare del
giorno, quando appena sparite le stelle,
per lo vicino sole vedevamo l' oriente
tra vermegli nuvolecti rosseggiare,
n' andavamo in qualche valle lontana
dal conversare dele genti, et quivi
. . . . tendevamo la ampia rete
(Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, 8th prose
passage, Scherillo's ed.,¹ p. 134).

Seco tendeva insidie con le reti
Ai pesci ed agli augelli, e seguitava
I cervi seco e le veloci damme;
E 'l diletto e la preda era comune
(Tasso, *Aminta*, Act I, sc. 2).

Nacque a Sileno una fanciulla poi,
Che in età crebbe, ed in bellezza,
ed arse
Di mille pastorelli i cori e l' alme
• • • • • E se ne giva
Per questi prati, e selve altera, e sola,
Di nullo amante, e da ciascunò amata.
• • • • •
Un giovine pastor, di nome Aleippo,
• • • • • come pria vide Amarilli bella
• • • • •
Mirolla intento, e più d'ognun s'accese
Di quella fiamma, onde ciascuno ardea
(Tasso, *Opere*, folio ed. of
Florence, 1724, II, 358, *Convito
di pastori*).

Of Idyl 4 Travers says, "These images of Cupid lighting his torch with the rays from a beautiful countenance were not only an importation from Italy, they are to be found in the *Anthology* and

¹ *Arcadia di Jacobo Sannazaro*, ed. Michele Scherillo, Turin, 1888. Scherillo, in his very exhaustive preface on the sources and imitators of the *Arcadia*, has failed, like Torraca (*Gl'imitatori stranieri di J. Sannazaro*), to note Vauquelin as an imitator.

Theocritus (Idyl 14).” It is, however, probably from Italian sources that Vauquelin borrowed. Travers has failed to note that the conclusion of this idyl is from the conclusion of an epigram by Philodemus in the Greek *Anthology*:

Φεύγωμεν, δυσέρωτες, ἕως βέλος οὐκ ἐπὶ νευρῇ·
μάντις ἐγὼ μεγάλης αὐτίκα πυρκαϊῆς.¹

The original of Idyl 5 is in Tasso (p. 364, No. 9).² As will be seen, these short poems of Tasso have been the favorite resort of the French poet. This idyl possibly inspired Parny with his affecting lines on the death of a young girl:

Son âge échappait à l'enfance
Riante comme l'innocence
Elle avait les traits de l'Amour.
Quelques mois, quelques jours encore
Dans ce cœur pur et sans détour
Le sentiment allait éclore.
Mais le ciel avait au trépas
Condamné ses jeunes appas.
Au ciel elle a rendu sa vie,
Et doucement s'est endormie
Sans murmurer contre ses lois.
Ainsi le sourire s'efface,
Ainsi meurt, sans laisser de trace,
Le chant d'un oiseau dans les bois.

Here are some lines from the version by Vauquelin, along with Tasso's original.

La Pastourelle Philinette,
Toute belle, toute simplette,
Ne sçait encor que c'est qu'Amour:
Et si n'a point la connoissance
Des traits poignants, de la puissance,
Dont ses yeux blessent nuit et jour.
Elle porte en son beau visage
Tousjours d'Amour un dous message:
Elle ne voit qu'en son beau ris
Elle surprend les belles ames,

La bella pargoletta
Ch' ancor non sente Amore,
Nè pur noto ha per fama il suo valore,
Co' begli occhi saetta,
E col soave riso,
Nè s'accorge, che l' arme ha nel bel viso.
Qual colpa ha nel morire
Della trafitta gente,
Se non sa di ferire?
O bellezza omicida, ed innocente!

¹*Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Dübner, cap. v, No. 124.

²My references to Tasso apply throughout to the second volume of the edition of Florence, 1724.

Et ne sentant d'Amour les flames,
Ceux qu'elle en brule en sont marris.

Vous estes, ô mignarde Infante!
Homicide, mais innocente.

Tempo è, ch' Amor ti mostri
Omai nelle tue piaghe i dolor nostri.

Il est temps que l'Amour vous montre
De quels traits, à toute rencontre,
Il vient par vous nous offenser.

This is typical of Vauquelin's method of translation. He has bestrewn all his idyls with his darling diminutives;¹ but beyond this his originality nearly always consists in destroying the finer points of his models.

In Idyl 7 we have the culminating point of the romance of Philis and Philanon. It has been treated by Pichon, Travers, and Lemerrier, as an incident drawn from the love story of Vauquelin himself: it is strange that no French critic has so far disposed of this theory. Lemerrier, at all events, a student of Sannazaro, might have perceived that the poem is nothing but a rhymed version of the leading incident in the 8th prose passage of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.² As this idyl is

¹ Édouard Turquety in an article on the poet Olivier de Magny in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for 1860, pp. 164-8, regrets the diminutives which the French language has unhappily, and forever, lost. "I find a singular example of them," he says, "in one of the volumes of Christophe de Gamon (*Le Jardin de poesies*, 1600). It is a question of a lady's pin:

Espingle au petit béquillon,
Espinglette au ferme aiguillon,
Espinglelette reluisante,
Espingletelette attachante.

What think you of the crescendo? Is it not the *chef-d'œuvre* of its kind?" Vauquelin's transgressions in this respect have been dismissed lightly also by another critic (M. Th. Baudement, in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1870, p. 77): "Il ne sut pas échapper d'avantage à l'abus des diminutifs et des mignardises. . . . Ainsi les nymphes, n'ayant pas sans doute un assez joli nom, s'appellent *nimphettes* et même *ninfelettes*. On n'a dans ce pays-là que des cœurs *mignardelets*, que de *tendrelets enfançons*. L'onde, plus que *clairiette*, devient *argentelette*, par la vertu de la rime; et il ferait beau voir que l'émeraude ne fût pas *verdelette*, ni la rose *vermeillette*, ainsi que l'Aurore? Quant à Lycoris, comment lui résister? Elle a, pour nous affriander, une *bouchelette sucine*, et, pour nous attendrir, des *larmelettes*."—I observe that Professor Nyrop, in his fascinating *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, III, 70, mistakenly attributes this passage to M. F. Brunot. Professor Nyrop reproduces (*ibid.*, p. 389) a long defense of diminutives put forward by Mlle Le Jars de Gournay, the "fille d'alliance" of Montaigne. This defense was evidently inspired by an attack delivered by Malherbe. Mlle de Gournay was an ardent admirer of the *Pléiade* poets; her attendant, Jamyn, was, it may be recalled, a natural daughter of Amadis Jamyn, the poet-page of Ronsard.

² Vauquelin, of course, is not to be credited with having himself conceived the idea of versifying Sannazaro's prose: this passage was frequently worked up by Italian, French, and Spanish poets of the time. The *Arcadia* was translated into French by Jean Martin in 1544. Vauquelin's idyls were published in 1605.

not unreadable, I give the main passage to show how Vauquelin has accomplished the task of versifying Sannazaro's poetical prose:

Un jour qu'elle estoit seule allee
 Avecque luy dans la vallee
 D'Orne tortue, ou seuls, à part
 Des autres pasteurs à l'ecart,
 Ils regardoient une fonteine,
 Qui murmuroit la douce peine
 De l'amour des jeunes garçons
 Dont elle aprenoit les chansons:
 Là tous deux ensemble s'assirent,
 Et sur les eaux se rafraichirent,
 Ecoutant les chants gracieux
 De mille oiseaux delicieux:
 Quand renouvelant sa priere,
 Philis prie en douce maniere
 Philanon luy montrer aux bois
 Le pourtrait promis tant de fois:
 Le beau pourtrait de cette amie,
 Qui fait gemir ta chalemie,
 O Philanon, montre-le moy,
 Je te promets en bonne foy
 N'en dire rien, en tesmoignage
 J'appelleray de ce bocage
 Les Nymphes, qui dedans ce val
 Se vont mirant au beau cristal
 De cette fonteine argentine,
 Dont la reverence divine
 Fait que les prophanes troupeaux
 N'osent aprocher de ses eaux:¹

Lors Philanon en ces alarmes
 Versant un grand fleuve de larmes
 Tout pitoyable soupirant,
 Mesme à grand' peine respirant,
 Luy disoit, d'une voix tremblante,
 D'une parolle begayante,
 Que vrayment quand il luy plairoit,
 Qu'à la Fonteine elle verroit
 Le beau pourtrait de sa deesse,

. . . . Advenne una volta che doppo
 molto ucellare, essendo yo et ley
 soletti et dagli altri pastori rimoti, in
 una valle ombrosa, tra il canto di forse
 cento varietà di belli ucelli, y quali
 di lloro accenti facevano tucto quel
 luogo risonare, quelle medesime note
 le selve iterando che essi exprimivano,
 ne pusimo amboduo ad sedere ala
 margine d'un fresco et limpidissimo
 fonte che in quella surgea; il quale
 nè da ucello nè da fiera turbato, sì bella
 la sua chiarezza nel selvatico luogo
 conservava, che non altramente che
 se de purissimo lacte christallo stato
 fusse, y secreti del translucido fondo
 manifestava. Et d'intorno ad quella
 non si vedea di pastori nè di capra
 pedata alguna, percio che armenti gia
 may non vi soleano per riverenza de
 le Nymphes acostare. Nè ve era quel
 giorno ramo nè fronda veruna caduta
 da' sovrastanti alberi, ma quietissimo
 senza marmorio o rivoluzione di broc-
 tezza alcuna, discorrendo per lo herboso
 paese, andava sì pianamente che ap-
 pena avresti creduto che si muovesse.
 Ove poy che alquanto hebbimo re-
 frigerato il caldo, ley con nuovi prieghi
 mi rencominciò da capo ad stringere et
 scongiurare per lo amore che yo gli
 portava, che la promessa effigie gli
 monstrasse, adiungendo ad questo col
 testimonio degli Dij mille giuramenti,
 che may ad alguno, se non quanto ad
 me piacesse, nol redirebbe. Ala quale
 yo da abundantissime lachrime sovra-
 giunto, non già con la solita voce ma
 tremante et summessa, rispusi che
 nella bella fontana la vedrebe. La

¹ These last six lines remind me of certain stanzas in the *Solitude* of Théophile de Viau (1591-1626). I may point out, however, that the chief—and unmistakable—model of Théophile's picture of a solitude à deux is Ronsard's poem "Quand ce beau printemps je voy" (ed. Blanchemain, I, 220). Théophile seems to have been pilfering also from Tahureau (*Sonnetz, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, pp. 98 ff.).

Le beau pourtrait de sa Maistresse,
 Pourtrait dedans l'eau tout ainsi
 Qu'en son cœur il estoit aussi.

Philis entendant ce langage,
 Afin de voir ce bel image,
 Simple et nice, sans y penser,
 Vers l'eau va ses yeux abbaïsser:
 Mais rien ne vit dans cette glace,
 Que le beau pourtrait de sa face:
 Elle vit son visage beau
 Pourtrait dans le miroir de l'eau.

O grand' pitié! Philis nicete,
 S'estant veue en l'onde clairette,
 Se troubla toute promptement,
 Et deux tourments fist d'un tourment!
 De sorte que, presque pamee,
 Elle tomba dans l'eau blamee!
 Apres d'un courage irrité
 Sans dire mot elle a quitté
 Le bon Philanon qui, des l'heure,
 Comme un tronc immobil demeure.

quale (si como quella che desiderava molto molto di vederla) semplicemente senza più avante pensare, abassando gli occhy nele quiete acque, vide se stessa in quelle dipenta. Per la qual cosa (si yo mal non mi ricordo) ella si smarrì subito et scolorisse nel viso per maniera che quasi ad cader tramortita fu vicina; et senza cosa alguna dire o fare, con turbato viso da me si partì (*Arcadia*, ed. Scherillo, p. 140).

With the succeeding idyl ("Comme on voit le tureau, qui s'afflige et se cache") we may compare a passage in the *Arcadia*, "Ho veduta la innamorata vaccharella," etc., 7th prose passage, p. 123, of the edition of Scherillo. Laumonier cites among the sources of this passage the piece by Flaminio, "Ut quondam nivei correpta cupidine tauri";¹ this piece also probably influenced Vauquelin. The poet, however, in this case seems to have recalled the classical source, indicated by Travers, Virgil, *Georgics*, III, ll. 224-36. The succeeding sonnet ("Philanon seul disoit: Vous, solitaires lieux") is a rendering of a sonnet by Molza, "Schietti arboscelli, e voi, bei loci aprici."² Idyl 10 ("Pasteur, qui lis dessus l'ecorce") is a 36-line extension of a sonnet by Varchi ("Pastor, che leggi in questo scorza e in quella"). No. 11 is, on the other hand, a compression of a sonnet by Varchi. I give the parallel:

Poure Philanon que je suis,
 Quand mon mal mesme je poursuis!
 Pleust aux Dieux qu'avec ma rebelle,
 Ma dedaigneuse pastourelle,
 Je fusse etroitement lié:
 Comme je voy que ce lierre,

Così sempre fuss' io legato e stretto
 Con Fillide ver me tanto sdegnosa,
 Com' è quest' edra a questa quercia
 annosa,
 Che l'avvinciglia il piè, le braccia e 'l
 petto.

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 1016.

² *Poesie*, ed. Classici Italiani, Milan, 1808, p. 155, Sonnet 77.

Ce chesne vieux embrasse et serre.
Depuis le haut jusques au pié.

Desja, par plus de mille fois,
Aux loups j'ay laissé dans les bois
Mon troupelet seulet en proye,
Quand pour elle je me fourvoye.
L'autr' hier encor un Loup glouton
Me devoit une chevrete,
Chacun mon dommage en regrette,
Elle en rioit, ce me dit-on.

Mira com' anco senz' alcun sospetto
Quella vite a quell' olmo in grembo
posa:

Me Fillide ognor fugge, e non è cosa
Che più che 'l suo fuggire abbia in
dispetto.

Mille fiato ho già senza custode
Lasciato solo il mio bel gregge ai lupi,
Che ne fanno ogni dì prede sicure.

Un capretto l'altr' ier da queste rupi
Vid' io portarne, e piansi, ed ella pure
Superba stassi, e del mio pianto gode.

Idyl 13 ("Vous estes, ô Philis, fort belle") is from ⁷Tasso (p. 375, No. 111, "Voi sete bella, ma fugace, e presto"). Travers cites the original source, Horace, *Odes*, i. 24. Idyl 15 is, I think, taken from Navagero.¹

Idyl 16 is an interesting poem. Lemercier, after reading it, exclaims: "Is it Vauquelin who speaks to Anne de Bourgueville, or Paul to Virginia?" To which the answer is, it is neither; the voice is the voice of Charino, an afflicted shepherd in the *Arcadia* of San-nazaro. I quote an extract:

Adieu nos jeux, au bois nous n'irons plus
Tendre aus oiseaux nos filets ni la glus.
Vollez oiseaux, assurez en vos aises.
Nous n'irons plus seulet cueillir des fraises.
Je n'iray plus chercher dans les taillis,
Des nids d'oiseaux pour vous donner, Philis:
Des nouveutez des saisons de l'annee,
Vous ne serez de moy plus etrenee.

Adieu les fleurs dont, de ma propre main,
Je vous parois et le chef et le sain.
Las! mille fois vous tenant embrassee,
Vous ay-je pas les lieux fangeux passee?
Sans vous oser regarder ni parler,
Quand une peur vous faisoit m'accoler:
Que vostre face estoit sur moy panchee
Et vostre joue à la mienne aprochee?

The entire poem is nothing but a repetition of the description of the youthful bird-snaring in the *Arcadia* and the farewell pronounced by Charino, who asks the spirit of his faithless love whether she has

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, p. 41, "O formosa Amarylli. . . ."

forgotten the first lilies and the first roses, which he always brought to her from the countryside ransacked by him. He concludes his farewell with "Addio, rive; addio, piaggie verdissime et fiumi" (*Arcadia*, ed. cit., p. 151). Travers, unaware of the borrowing from Sannazaro, has, in this case as in others, given as the source of the French poet the source of the Italian original. In this case the classical source is Theocritus, i. 113 ff. It appears to me beyond doubt that Théodore de Banville, that *poète ronsardisant*, had Vauquelin's poem in mind when he wrote his affecting lines "Nous n'irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés." Theocritus—Sannazaro—Vauquelin—Banville; that is an interesting poetic chain.

Idyl 17 ("Quand Philanon, Philis, ne t'aimera") is, at first sight, merely an indifferent specimen of a thousand lover's oaths to be found in the Italian and French poetry of the period. But even in such a trifling composition, I find that Vauquelin is not original; for this commonplace is evidently based upon a similar oath to be found in Tasso (p. 380, No. 154, "Tirsi sotto un bel pino").

Idyl 18 ("Philis novice au beau temple d'Amour") is a series of pastoral commonplaces strung together. I give borrowings from Tasso:

Ce qui apprend à voler aux oiseaux,
Ce qui enseigne à combattre aux
taureaux
Aprit Philis à sentir la pointure
De l'éguillon de la douce Nature.

Je sentoy bien au cœur je ne sçay
quoi,
Qui me faisoit approcher pres de toy,
Et te chercher, et ne me sçavoy plaire
Qu'avecque toy, compagne volontaire.
Mais je promets que je ne pensoy pas
Que l'Amour fust meslé dans nos ebats
Quand tu fus pris en sa traitresse
embuche
Ou maintenant, Philanon, je trebuche.

Quel che insegna agli augelli il canto
e 'l volo,
A' pesci il nuoto, ed a' montoni il
cozzo,
Al toro usar il corno,
(Tasso, *Aminta*, Act II, sc. 2).

Seco tendeva insidie con le reti
Ai pesci ed agli augelli
Ma, mentre io fea rapina d' animali,
Fui, non so come, a me stesso rapito:
A poco a poco nacque nel mio petto,
Non so da qual radice,
Com' erba suol che per sè stessa
germini,
Un incognito affetto
Che mi fea desiare
D'esser sempre presente
Alla mia bella Silvia

(*ibid.*, Act I, sc. 2).

The latter passage of the *Aminta* is based upon the *Arcadia*.

Idyl 21 ("Une autrefois encor, ô champestres Bocages") we may, perhaps, present to Vauquelin as "original." The threatened suicide of the lover in Idyl 22 ("Philanon apres ses voyages") is a feature probably borrowed from the *Arcadia*.

Idyl 23 ("En ce lieu se trouva seuleté") is a rendering of a pretty sonnet by Remigio Fiorentino, "Qui venne al suon de la sampogna mia."

Of Idyl 24 we have an English version by Philip Ayres.¹ There is, therefore, probably an Italian original.

Idyl 25 is a borrowing from Varchi:

A peine je pouvois atteindre
Aux plus basses branches des bois,
Quand petite en cueillant des nois,
Tes yeux premier me firent craindre,
Quand je te vi, petit garçon,
Garcete dire une chanson:

Quand je te vis avec ta mere,
Qui par la main te conduisoit,
Et qui des fraises t'avisoit
Comme à sa fille la plus chere:
Des lors je me senty vrayement
Tout ravi, je ne sçay comment.

Je puisse mourir si des l'heure,
Tout petit garçon que j'estois,
Je changé plus de mille fois
De couleur en couleur meilleure;
etc.

Appena potev' io, bella Licori,
Giunger da terra i primi rami ancora,
Quando ti vidi fanciulletta fuora
Gir con tua madre a coglier erbe e fiori:
Possa io morir, se di mille colori
Non sentii farmi tutto quanto allora;
Nè sapea ancor che fosse amor; ma ora
Ben me l' anno insegnato i miei dolori.
Già viss' io presso a te felice e lieto;
Ore a te lunge mi distembro e doglio,
Testimon questa selce e quel ginebro.
Pur vo pensando; e in questo sol
m' acqueto,
Che cangiar tosto deggio, non pur voglio,
L'Osoli e l'Arno a l'Aniene, e l'Tebro.

Varchi in this sonnet is evidently imitating a favorite model of his, Tasso (Act I, sc. 11, of the *Aminta*). Tasso has taken the idea from the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro. The classical sources are Theocritus, xi. 25, and Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 37-41.

According to Travers, Idyl 27 is a development of an epigram by Meleager in the *Anthology* (cap. xii, No. 60). Vauquelin's model seems, however, to have been some Italian poem which suggested to Drummond his lines commencing "Bright meteor of day."

Idyl 28, with its mixture of similes, is probably an "original" effort, the outcome of a diligent perusal of Italian models.

¹ Saintsbury, *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, II, 339.

Idyl 30, a comparison between Phyllis and the Dawn, is, in the opinion of Lemerrier, a delicious *aubade*. Such comparisons are frequent in the Italian poetry of the time. Vauquelin depends upon his favorite Tasso (p. 370, No. 68).¹

A ce matin, ce doux Zephire,
 Qu'on oit par ce bocage bruire,
 Et cet air frais et doucelet,
 Qui nous le donne? Est-ce l'Aurore?
 Ou si ce plaisant ventelet,
 Vient voir ici sa dame Flore?
 Ha c'est Philis qui vient, qui mene
 Amour enchêné d'une chène
 Faite de roses et de fleurs:
 Elle arrive comme Deesse,
 Arriere ennuis, arriere pleurs,
 Le Ris la suit et l'allegresse.

Forse è cagion l' aurora
 Di questo bel concerto
 Che fan le fronde, e i rami, e l' acque,
 e 'l vento?
 O con sì dolce modo
 Il Ciel Tarquinia onora?
 E per lei della terra s' innamora?
 I' odo (o parmi) i' odo
 La voce: ella è pur dessa,
 Ecco Tarquinia viene, Amor s' appressa.

Idyl 31 is, according to Travers, a development of an epigram from the *Anthology*.² Vauquelin in his translation is, however, following an Italian intermediary. I believe there are versions by Celiano and Bianciardi.

Lemerrier describes Idyl 32 ("Comme me brulez vous ainsi") as a masterpiece of bad taste. This idyl is a bungled translation of a conundrum which was propounded to some fair one by Tasso (p. 367, No. 34, "Come sì m' accendete"). "How," the Italian poet demands, "how do you burn me so, if you are all ice? And at the fire, which you impart to me, you, being ice, why do you not melt? From ice you turn to stone. O miracle of Love beyond Nature, that ice should burn another, and at fire become hard!" Drummond has also tried his hand at this piece with not much more success than Vauquelin.³

Idyl 34 ("En une fontaine clairete") is a fairly literal translation of Tasso (p. 379, No. 149, "In un fonte tranquillo"). Idyl 35

¹ Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1255-1300) has a sonnet commencing:

Chi è questa che ven, ch' ogn' om la mira,
 È fa tremar di claritate l' a're,
 E mena seco Amor (ed. Ercole, p. 266).

² *Anthologia Palatina*, cap. v, No. 142.

³ Both Ward and Kastner, in their successive researches, have failed to detect some of Drummond's imitations of Tasso, including this poem. "The Miracle," a version by Suckling (*Works*, ed. Hamilton Thompson, 1910, p. 66), is rather more remote from the Italian, and is possibly transcribed from some French intermediary.

("Philanon mirant son visage") is also from Tasso (p. 379, No. 148, "Sovra un lucido rio").

Idyl 36 ("Amour, tay toy: mais pren ton arc") is in all likelihood a happy version of an epigram by some Italian poet, probably Latinist. Idyl 37, a weak epistle, addressed to Baïf, appears to be original, although the theme—an appeal to his brother poet to teach him some sweet language to overcome the rigor of his Philis—is a commonplace in the poetry of the time. Idyls 38 and 39 are avowedly from the Latin of Du Bellay (our poet only kept concealed his indebtedness to Italian poets). Idyl 40 is entitled "From the Greek"; Travers gives the 1st ode of Anacreon as the model for the concluding half.

Idyl 42 "a pretty piece, inclosing reminiscences of Theocritus and Virgil," according to Travers, is in reality a borrowing from Varchi:¹

Toy, qui peux bien me rendre
heureux,

Pourquoy te rends-tu si hautaine,
Philis, di moy? Car si tu veux
Tu rendras heureuse ma peine.

Je sçay que je ne suis des beaux:
Mais aussi je ne suis sans grace,
Aumoins si l'argent de ces eaux
Me montre au vray quelle est ma face.

Nul plus que moy n'a de troupeaux,
Ni plus de fruiets ni de laitage:
Chez moy ne manquent les chevreaux,
Ni le Salé, ni le fourmage.

Je voudroy seulement ici
Dedans ces bois tout franc d'envie,
Sans des villes avoir souci,
Vivre avec toy toute ma vie.

Las! Philanon, qui te conduit
En t'egarant en cette sorte?
Vois-tu point ton troupeau, qui fuit
Le Loup, qui ton mouton emporte?

Filli, io non son però tanto deforme
Se 'l vero a gli occhi miei quest' acqua
dice,

Che tu, che sola puoi farmi felice,
Non dovessi talor men fera accorme:

Non pascon de le mie più belle torme;
Nè ha più grassi agnei questa pendice;
Ben già, ma non l' intesi, una cornice
Predisse il fato al mio voler disforme.

Io vorrei, Filli, sol per queste valli,
Senza punto curar d' armento o gregge,
Vivermi teco infino a l' ora estrema.

Con cui parli, meschin? Che pur
vanegge?

Non vedi un lupo là fra quei duo calli,
Da cui fugge la mandra, e tutta trema?

¹ Varchi may have been acquainted with the classical sources, but he had also probably read the passage in the *Amita*, Act II, sc. 1:

. . . non son io
Da disprezzar, se ben me stesso vidi
Nel liquido del mar.

The ultimate classical source is Theocritus, vi. 31, and iii. 8.

Idyl 44 I find among the Latin poems of Girolamo Amalteo:

Anxia quid nitidos fletu corrumpis ocellos?
 Et Pandioniam perdita quæris avem?
 Non dominam effugit, nemorum colit illa recessus,
 Dum volucres doceat nomen, Hyella, tuum.¹

The same piece also figures among the *Carmina* of his brother Giovanni Battista Amalteo:

Quid toties fletu nitidos corrumpis ocellos,
 Et profugam toties anxia quæris avem?
 Non dominam effugit; nemorum colit illa recessus,
 Dum doceat volucres nomen, Hyella, tuum.²

The diffuseness of Idyl 46 ("Quand, Philine, quelque courroux") might well lead us to pronounce it original. The poem is, however, a paraphrase of an epigram in the first book of those hendecasyllables of Pontanus, which awoke the enthusiasm of Du Bellay.³ The epigram is entitled "Ad Bathyllam":

Cum rides, mihi basium negasti
 Cum ploras, mihi basium dedisti,
 Una in tristitia libens benigna es,
 Una in lætitia volens severa es,
 Nata est de lachrymis mihi voluptas,
 De risu dolor. ô miselli amantes
 Sperate simul omnia, et timete.⁴

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italarum poetarum*, I, 73.

² *Actii Sinceri Sannazarii . . . Opera Latine scripta. Ex secundis curis Jani Broukhusii. Accedunt Gabrielis Altillii, Danielis Cereti et Fratrum Amaltheorum carmina*, Amsterdam, 1728, p. 441.

³ "Adopte moy aussi en la famille françoise ces coulans et mignars hendecasyllables, à l'exemple d'un Catulle, d'un Pontan et d'un Second: ce que tu pouras faire, si non en quantité, pur le moins en nombre de syllables" (Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse*, book 2, chap. iv, "Quelz genres de poèmes doit elire le poëte francoys"). Upon this strange and obscure piece of advice, see the note by Chamard in his edition of the *Deffence* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904). The contention of Person, in his edition of the *Deffence*, that Du Bellay was referring here to the Flemish neo-Latinist poet, Peter de Ponte, is, to my mind, completely disposed of by the one fact alone that, in his *Art Poétique* (which shows many other signs of an acquaintance with the *Deffence*), Vauquelin makes a reference to "les doux vers de Catule, de Pontan, de Second" (p. 70, ed. of Travers).

⁴ *Pontani Opera*, Aldus, Venice, 1533, folio 193 verso. Desportes has given a neater translation of this epigram (*Œuvres*, ed. Michiels, p. 443).

Despite the reference to the Orne, Idyl 48 is nothing but a literal translation of some verses by Flaminio:

Desja le point du jour
Ecarte l'ombre humide,
On voit tout alentour
L'Aube qui le jour guide,
Les oiseaux de leurs voix
Vont saluant les bois.

Philine, levez vous,
Menez vos brebis paistre
Aupres des ombres dous
De quelque ombrageux hestre:
Philis, ne pareissons,
Joyeux nos ans passons.

Aux beaux vallons ombreux
Pour aujourd'hui je mene
Mes vaches et mes bœufs
Pres de la grand' fontene:
Il fera si grand chaud
Que chercher l'ombre il faut, etc.

Iam fugat humentes formosus Lucifer
umbras,
Et dulci Auroram voce salutat avis,
Surge Amarylli, greges niveos in pascua
pelle;
Frigida dum cano gramina rore
madent.
Ipse meas hodie nemorosâ in valle
capellas
Pasco; namque hodie maximus
æstus erit, etc.¹

There is also a slight reminiscence here of Passerat's lines on a May morning: "Laissons le lit et le sommeil."²

Idyl 50, commencing

Cette vie est la forest
Ou seul Philanon se plaist:
Cette ombre et cette verdure
Est l'Espoir qui peu luy dure,

is imitated from Tasso,

Questa vita è la selva; il verde, e l' ombra
Son fallaci speranze, etc. (p. 371, No. 70).

In the *Phoenix Nest*, published in 1593, we find an English version of this allegory, written by "T. L. Gent" (that is, Thomas Lodge), commencing:

Like desert woods with darksome shades obscured
Where dreadful beasts, where hateful horror reigneth,
Such is my wounded heart, whom sorrow paineth.

In *England's Helicon*, another almost identical version is attributed to Sir Edward Dyer.³ But the rhyming of these English versions

¹ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italarum poetarum*, I, 1010.

² Passerat is mentioned by Vauquelin in his *Art poétique*, ed. Travers, p. 106.

³ *England's Helicon*, ed. Bullen, London, 1899. See pp. 128 and 239.

(*abb, abb, abb, abb, acc*) convinces me that they are borrowed from some other Italian model.

Idyl 52 is a very happy turning of a little piece by Tasso (p. 374, No. 104):

Si ces Epines, ces haliers,
Ces buissons et ces aiglantiers,
Estoient des fleches bien poignantes:
Et que ces feuilles et ces fleurs,
Philis, fussent flames, ardeurs,
Et fournaises toutes ardantes:
Pour m'aprocher aupres de vous,
Je ne craindroy fleches ni coups,
Ni la flame plus violente:
Je passeroy parmi les dards,
Parmi les feux, par tous hasards,
Pour courre à vous, Nymphé excelente.

Se tutte acuti strali
Fossero queste spine:
E tutte queste frondi, e questi fiori
Paoresser vive fiamme, e vivi ardori,
Il frondoso confine
Tenteria di passar la destra ardità,
Senza temer di foco, o di ferita,
Sol per toccarti or, che non vede alcuno,
Tra sì bel verde, e bruno.

Travers says that Idyl 53 incloses "the movement of Ode 14 of Anacreon with another sense." Vauquelin's real model is probably to be found among the Italian Latinists.

Idyl 54 is a paraphrase of some lines by Pontanus, "De Focillæ puellæ oculis":

Depuis qu'Amour sied dans tes yeux,
Le caut d'un art ingenieux
Commence à player tout le monde
De mille traits, dont il abonde.
Et si plus ne darde enflamez
Ses traits jadis accoutumez
Ni de sa flame accoutumee,
Ne nous est la flame alumee:
Mais alors que tes yeux ecarts
Vont voletant de toutes parts,
Que tu fais en mille manieres
Des rais et des belles lumieres,
A l'heure ce trompeur enfant
De tels darts s'en va triomphant
Dessus les ames amoureuses,
Qui par tes yeux sont langoureuses.

In tuis Amor insidens ocellis
Mira cœpit ab arte vulnerare,
Nec suetas pharetra iacit sagittas,
Nec tendit veterem recurvus arcum,
Sed quum lumina, petulosque ocellos
Huc illuc agis, et subinde rides,
Istis utitur ille tunc sagittis,
Istis corda quatit, feritque amantum,
Isti spicula sunt, facesque ocelli.
Quoscunque aspicias ipsa, vulnerantur,
Omnes vulnerat, aspicias quot ipsa,
Omnes ustulat, ipsa quos tueris. . . .¹

The concluding three lines quoted from the Latin piece apparently account for the succeeding Idyl 55:

De tous ceux la que tu regardes
Le cœur de mille traits tu dardes.

¹ *I. Pontani . . . Opera*, ed. of Bâle, 1556, IV, 3484.

Idyl 56 is, I take it, a borrowing from some Latinist. In any case, we find much the same idea in Tahureau.¹ Idyl 57 ("Dessous un pin au feuillage pointu") was possibly suggested by Tasso (p. 398, No. 315, "Pria muteranno il corso").

Idyl 59 is another sonnet by Varchi:

Ton Philanon t'envoie, ô Philis,
cette cage,

Ou de l'ouvrier ne manque aucun
gentil ouvrage:

Voy le mignard auget, voy de quelle
façon

Estpendupourleboireunvidelimaçon:

Voy ce Serin dedans venu de Bar-
barie,

Qui de mille fredons, mille beaux chants
varie!

Mais je te pri' pour luy (car il n'ose
chetif

Luyesme te prier, tant fort il est
craintif)

Qu'il te plaise venir demain la mati-
nee,

Si tost que le Soleil ouvrira la journee,
En cette belle Pree ou ton ceil le blessa,
Quand premier entre vous vostre amour
commença.

Seule medeciner tu peux sa maladie,
Seule rendre tu peux son ardeur
attiedie:

Seule tu le peux faire heureux ou
malheureux,

Et la mort à la vie echanger tu luy peux.

D'ou c'est que vint son mal luy
viendra son remede:

Car son mal et son bien ta volonté
possede.

Je le feray, Tyrsis, là demain je seray,
Et mesme si je puis, son mal j'apaiseray.

Le lendemain au Pré, sincere en sa
promesse,

A son cher Philanon elle osta la tristesse
Par sa douce presence et content et
joyeux

Il tint son heur egal à l'heur des demi-
dieux.

Nape, questa vezzosa ornata gabbia
Con un bel raperin che sale al dito,

Carin ti manda, ed io per lui t' invito,
Ch' ei non osa a gran pena aprir le
labbia,

Che ti piaccia venir, come il sole
abbia

Diman portato il giorno, in quel fiorito
Prato, ove amor l' ebbe per te ferito,

Ond' ei, che muore ognor, vita riabbia.

Solo il vederti a lui può dare aita;
Solo un guardo di te può toglir morte;

Sola far lo puoi tu lieto e felice.

Ben lo farò, Damon; così partita

Facesse via più tosto, e 'n via più corte
Ore scoprisse il sol questa pendice.

¹ *Sonnets, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, p. 88.

I first made my acquaintance with Vauquelin in the pages of Crépet's anthology,¹ the first two volumes of which afford such an excellent introduction to early French poetry. Among the poems reproduced there is Idyl 60. When I read this poem, I exclaimed, "Why, this poet seems capable of turning out lovely little pieces!" Crépet also includes Idyl 52, already cited, and a portion of the 7th from the second book of idyls. It was the reading of these three pretty pieces that determined me to make a further acquaintance with our poet. As I will show, they are all taken from Tasso. It was gratifying to discover afterward that my selection consisted of those pieces: nor did I for a moment think of bracketing, as Sainte-Beuve has done, these three pieces with translations from Varchi and from the Italian Latinists. Moreover, I found that my instinct was right in that I had preferred the pieces taken from Varchi to those taken from the Latinists.

Here is this happy little piece, Idyl 60. Although a translation, it is about as near an inspired poem as anything I know in French poetry. The reference in Tasso is p. 377, No. 129:

Entre les fleurs, entre les lis
Doucement dormoit ma Philis,
Et tout au tour de son visage
Les petits Amours, comme enfants,
Jouoient, folastroient, triomfants,
Voyant des cieux la belle image.
J'admiroy toutes ses beautez
Egalles à mes loyauitez,
Quand l'esprit me dist en l'oreille:
Foul, que fais-tu? le temps perdu,
Souvent est cherement vendu,
S'on le recouvre c'est merveille.

Alors je m'abbaissé tout bas,
Sans bruit je marché pas à pas,
Et baisé ses levres pourprines:
Savourant un tel bien, je dis,
Que tel est dans le paradiso
Le plaisir des ames divines.

Dolcemente dormiva la mia Clori
E 'ntorno al suo bel volto
Givan scherzando i pargoletti Amori.
Mirav' io da me tolto
Con gran diletto lei,
Quando dir mi sentii: Stolto, che fai?
Tempo perduto non s'acquista mai.
Allor io mi chinai così pian piano,
E baciandole il viso,
Provai quanta dolcezza ha il paradiso.

Drummond has given us an inferior translation of Tasso's lines—inferior, at all events, in form—under the title "Stolen Pleasure":

¹ Eugène Crépet, *Les poètes français: Recueil des chefs-d'œuvre de la poésie française*. Paris, 1861.

My sweet did sweetly sleep,
 And on her rosy face
 Stood tears of pearl, which beauty's self did weep;
 I, wond'ring at her grace,
 Did all amaz'd remain,
 When Love said "Fool, can looks thy wishes crown?
 Time past comes not again."
 Then did I me bow down,
 And kissing her fair breast, lips, cheeks and eyes,
 Prov'd here on earth the joys of paradise.¹

Vauquelin had introduced into Idyl 16, as an original feature, the dog Turquet. But from Idyl 61 ("Philis, ne crains Turquet ton chien") we find that the dog's name was originally Grechino, and that it had belonged to an Italian shepherdess who figures in the pages of Tasso (p. 373, No. 90, "Isabellina, non fuggir Grechino").

Idyl 62 was admired by Sainte-Beuve. It is from Varchi:

Pasteurs, voici la Fonteinete
 Ou tousjours se venoit mirer
 Et ses beautez seule admirer,
 La pastourelle Philinete.
 Voici le mont ou de la bande
 Je la vi la dance mener,
 Et les nymphes l'environner
 Comme celle qui leur commande.

Pasteurs, voici la verte Pree
 Ou les fleurs elle ravissoit,
 Dont apres elle embellissoit
 Sa perruque blonde et sacree.

Ici folastre et decrochee
 Contre un chesne elle se cacha:
 Mais paravant elle tacha
 Que je la visse estre cachee.

Dans cet Antre secret encore
 Mile fois elle me baisa:
 Mais depuis mon cœur n'apaisa
 De la flame qui le devore.

Donc à toutes ces belles places,
 A la Fontaine, au Mont, au Pré,
 Au Chesne, à l'Antre tout sacré,
 Pour ces dons je rends mile graces.

Questo è, Tirsi, quel fonte, in cui
 solea
 Specchiarsi la mia dolce pastorella:
 Questi quei prati son, Tirsi, dov' ella
 Verdi ghirlande a' suoi bei crin' tessea:
 Qui, Tirsi, la vid' io, mentre sedea:
 Quivi i balli menar leggiadra e snella:
 Quinci, Tirsi, mi rise, e dietro a
 quella
 Elce s'ascose sì, ch' io la vedea:
 Sotto quest' antro alfin cinto d' allori
 La mano ond' ho nel cor mille ferite
 Mi porse lieta, e mi baciò la fronte.
 A l' antro dunque, a l' elce, ai prati,
 al fonte,
 Mille spargendo al ciel diversi fiori,
 Rendo io di tanto don grazie infinite.

Some Latin lines by Angeriano apparently suggested Idyl 64.²

¹ *Poems*, ed. Ward, II, 140.

² *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, Venice, 1548, p. 46, "Dispeream nisi"

Idyl 66 ("Sainte Venus, qu'en Cypre et qu'en Cythere") is taken from Tasso (p. 398, No. 313, "Se, o Dea, che reggi Cipri, e 'l terzo Cielo").

Idyl 67 must be borrowed from some Italian source. The idea of this pastoral is not unlike that contained in a passage in Johnson's *Sad Shepherd* (Act II, sc. 4). Idyl 68 ("En vostre bouchette vermeille") is from Tasso (p. 364, No. 7, "Ne i vostri dolci baci").

De Bourgueville, the father-in-law of the poet, approved completely, we are told, the idyl commencing "Jamais le beau Soleil n'ouvrit un plus beau jour" (No. 69). He had reason. For, as a matter of fact, it is taken from one of the prettiest passages in Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. I quote the passage from Guarini and some corresponding lines from Vauquelin:

Jamais le beau Soleil n'ouvrit un
plus beau jour:
Les Elements estoient pleins de Ris et
d'Amour:
Tous les vents se taisoient aux monts,
aux vaux, aux plaines,
Aux Etangs endormis, aux courantes
fontaines,
Quand Philanon jettant sur Philis son
regard
Puis regardant le Ciel aussi d'une autre
part,
Disoit: j'atteste Pan, les Faunes et
Driades
Et toy, luisant Phœbus, qui nous vois
et regardes,
Que cependant qu'en l'air les oiseaux
voleront,
Et tant qu'en l'Ocean les poissons
nageront,
Tousjours Philis sera de Philanon
aimee.
Philis luy redisoit: Tandis que la
ramee
Sera l'honneur des bois et seront blancs
les lis,
Tousjours aimé sera Philanon de Philis.
Ils se baillent la main, comme un
gage fidelle
De leur loyale foy: Philanon proche
d'elle

Oh giorno pien di maraviglie! oh giorno
Tutto amor, tutto grazie, e tutto gioja!
O terra avventurosa! oh ciel cortese!

Oggi ogni cosa si rallegrì: terra,
Cielo, aria, foco, e 'l mondo tutto rida.

Selve beate,
Se sospirando in flebili susurri
Al nostro lamentar vi lamentaste;
Gioite anco al gioire, e tante lingue
Sciogliete, quante frondi
Scherzando al suon di queste
Piene del gioir nostro aure ridenti.
Cantate le venture e le dolcezze
De' duo beati amanti.

Oh se tu avessi
Veduta la bellissima Amarilli,
Quando la man per pegno della fede
A Mirtillo ella porse,
E per pegno d'amor Mirtillo a lei
Un dolce sì, ma non inteso bacio,
Non so se dir mi debbia o diede o tolse;
Saresti certo di dolcezza morta.
Che porpora! che rose!
Ogni colore o di natura o d' arte,
Vincean le belle guance,
Che vergogna copriva
Con vago scudo di beltà sanguigna,
Che forza di ferirle

Luy donne un doux baiser, ou bien il le
 receut:
 Car si pris ou donné, point on ne
 l'aperceut.
 Il fut pris et receu d'une grace si
 belle
 Qu'une fois il sembloit un baiser de
 pucelle:
 Il sembloit l'autre fois pris de telle
 façon,
 Qu'on l'eust dit le baiser d'un amour-
 eux garçon.
 O de quel beaux oeillets, de quelles
 belles roses,
 Cette couleur vermeille, ô Honte, tu
 composes!
 Ce vermeillon de vierge, en sa face
 expandu,
 Le beau teint de Philis avoit plus beau
 rendu!
 Estant de Philanon au baiser pour-
 suivie,
 La rougeur tesmoignoit qu'elle en
 estoit ravie:
 Et l'ayant octroyé par un refus ainsi,
 La defence montrait une semonce
 aussi.

Al feritor giungeva:
 Ed ella, in atto ritrossetta e schiva,
 Mostrava di fuggire
 Per incontrar più dolcemente il colpo;
 E lasciò in dubbio, se quel bacio fosse
 O rapito o donato;
 Con sì mirabil arte
 Fu concesso e tolto: e quel soave
 Mostrarsene ritrosa,
 Era un no che voleva; un atto misto
 Di rapina e d'acquisto;
 Un negar sì cortese, che bramava
 Quel che negando dava;
 Un vietar, ch' era invito
 Sì dolce d' assalire,
 Ch' a rapir chi rapiva era rapito;
 Un restar e fuggire,
 Ch' affrettava il rapire.
 O dolcissimo bacio!
 Non posso più, Corisca:
 Vo diritto diritto
 A trovarmi una sposa:
 Che 'n sì liete dolcezze
 Non sì può ben gioir, se non amando
 (Ergasto describing the betrothal
 of Amarillis and Mirtillo, *Pastor*
Fido Act V, sc. 8).

Idyl 71 is noted by Travers as a rendering of an epigram from the Greek *Anthology*.¹

Though nearly all his poetry is taken from foreign sources, Vauquelin evidently did not forget the advice of Du Bellay that old French poetry should not be wholly neglected by the poetic aspirants of the French Renaissance.² It was this behest, I think, which made Vauquelin drag in the reference to the *Romant de la Rose* in Idyl 73 ("Le Bouton vermeil, dont composé"). But the idyl itself

¹ *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Dübner, cap. v, No. 79.

² "De tous les anciens poëtes francoys, quasi un seul, Guillaume du Lauris et Jan de Meun, sont dignes d'estre leuz, non tant pour ce qu'il ait en eux beaucoup de choses qui se doyvent immiter des modernes, comme pour y voir quasi comme une premiere image de la langue francoyse, venerable pour son antiquité" (*La Deffence*, etc., Book II, chap. ii). Étienne Pasquier paraphrases this opinion, stating that "Guillaume de Lorry and Jean de Mehum" (the successive authors of the *Romant*) were held by some in France to be worthy of comparison with Dante (*Recherches*, Book VII, chap. iii, ed. 1723, I, col. 690). Sibilet, in his *Art Poëtique*, also eulogizes the poem. Ronsard puts it in the same rank as Petrarch; a judgment faithfully repeated by his follower Balf.

is a confused reminiscence of a short piece by Tasso (p. 364, No. 15, "La natura compose").

Having described the scene in which the lovers plighted their troth, Vauquelin must, of course, like Guarini, conclude his pastoral romance with an epithalamium. The romance being a rustic one, the epithalamium need not be over nice; and Vauquelin decides to translate into the vulgar tongue a Latin piece by Pontanus.¹ In Idyl 74 ("La lune avoit marqué les mois") we have the result.² Idyl 75 is a pretty thing, an appeal distantly resembling Burn's "Flow gently, sweet Afton." The theme is common enough;³ but I have come across no model sufficiently near to deprive Vauquelin of the credit of having produced in this a passably original and neat poem.

Idyl 76 is a free imitation of Theocritus, XII. Lines 19 and 20,

Ainsi qu'un Rossignol dans un touffu bocage
Surmonte tous oiseaux par son plaisant ramage,

are again reminiscent of Passerat's ode on a May morning:

Viens, belle, viens te pourmener
Dans ce bocage,
Entens les oiseaux jargonner
De leur ramage.
Mais escoute comme sur tous
Le rossignol est le plus doux.

Idyl 77 is a translation of some Latin lines by Flaminio,⁴ translated in turn from a sonnet by Claudio Tolomei, "Gelidi fonti in fresca valle ombrosa," which Vauquelin appears to have also read.

¹ *Pontani Opera*, Aldus, Venice, 1533, first book of hendecasyllables. Fol. 195 ro., "De nuptiis Ioannis Branchati, et Maritella."

² Lemerrier, thinking that this idyl was composed by the poet himself upon his own marriage, expresses some natural astonishment at its tone. The question of the identification of the poet's wife, Anne, with the Philis of the Idyls, presents some baffling points. In the idyl under discussion, Vauquelin departs from his model in order to insert a date, the 5th of July, 1560, which does not tally with the date of his own marriage contract, the 21st of August, 1559 (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1845, p. 520, footnote 10). Yet, possibly with a view of avoiding criticism, as I have already suggested, he at times clearly identifies Anne with Philis; for instance, in the next idyl but one. Idyl 64, Book II, supports the theory that Vauquelin wished to forestall criticism by inserting his wife's name. I deem the reference to her in Idyl 66, Book II, to have been interpolated; the heading of this "idyl" suggests that when it was written the publication of a collection of idyls was not contemplated.

³ Cf., for example, p. 103 of the *Sonnets, odes et mignardises* of Tahureau, ed. Blanchemain, and Tasso's lines "Selva lieta, e superba" (p. 337, No. 13).

⁴ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italorum poetarum*, I, 1015, "Irrigui fontes . . ."

Idyl 78 I also attribute to the study of Flaminio; Idyl 79 ("Desja venant herissonné") is from the same poet's lines "Ad seipsum, de adventu Hiemis" ("Iam bruma veniente præterivit").¹

Idyl 80 purports to be a rendering of the 1st Eclogue of Virgil, formerly translated by Marot in 10-syllable measure. In Idyl 81 ("Fraiches ombrettes, dous Zephire") Vauquelin again returns to Flaminio, borrowing the Latin poet's address "Ad agellum suum" ("Umbræ frigidulæ, arborum susurri").² Idyl 82 ("Las! quand pourrai-je accomplir mon desir") breathes the sentiment of Du Bellay's celebrated lament over his *Petit Lyré*.³ The first book of Vauquelin's idyls concludes with a sonnet ("Philis, quand je regarde au temps prompt et leger") for which I have found no parallel; but the poem strikes me as being too sound not to have been borrowed wholesale from some Italian source.

Having reached the end of the "Idyls and Pastorals of the love of Philanon and Philis," I now proceed to dispose more summarily of what our poet is pleased to distinguish as the "Idyls of the Love of divers Shepherds." Idyl 1 of this second book is a sonnet quite empty enough to be original. For Idyl 2 ("Ce Reposoir et ce plaisant Bôquet") we have to turn to Tasso's series of love sonnets (p. 283, Sonnet 160, "Questo riposto bel vago boschetto"). Idyl 3 ("Dans un Buisson couvert de beaux ombrages") is also a sonnet by Tasso masquerading in another form (p. 298, Sonnet 245, "In un bel bosco di leggiadre fronde"). Idyl 4 ("Tytire, au beau sein blanchissant") is also from Tasso (p. 369, No. 55, "Nel dolce seno della bella Clori").

Idyl 5 ("O Vent plaisant, qui d'aleine odorante") is a sonnet of which Sainte-Beuve says, "It is of the small number of those in

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, p. 112. Vauquelin uses the language of Tahureau. Cf. the piece "Quitton, ma belle maitresse" in the *Sonnetz*, etc., ed. Blanchemain, p. 98.

² Gruterus, *op. cit.*, I, 994.

³ Lemercier, I observe, remarks on the resemblance which another sonnet by Vauquelin bears to Du Bellay's sonnet. He concludes that Vauquelin is not borrowing from Du Bellay, since the borrowing would accuse him of too much indiscretion and audacity. To my mind, taken in conjunction with the further resemblance noted by me above, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Vauquelin was imitating Du Bellay in both cases. Chamard, in his thesis on Du Bellay (p. 241), observes of that poet's *Élégie sur la mort de Gélonis*: "Whoever will read it will be surprised to discover in it an *avant-dessein*, as it were, of the *Consolation à du Périer sur la mort de sa fille*; by the ideas, by the images, Du Bellay anticipates Malherbe." The observation is of interest in conjunction with the strong resemblance which has been remarked between a sonnet by Vauquelin and the same verses of Malherbe.

which sentiment triumphs over the *bel esprit*, in which the form gives relief to the sentiment, and of which one would be tempted to say without epigram that they are worth a long poem."¹ Vauquelin, indeed, has shown some discrimination in his choice of models. In this case he is translating a fine sonnet by Giovanni Mozzarello, "Aura soave, che sì dolcemente." Idyl 6 is avowedly an imitation of Ode 23. 1, of Horace. Idyl 7 I at first attributed to a study of the 5th and 7th songs of Catullus, combined with the beautiful epigram of Plato:

Ἄστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς ἀστήρ ἐμός. Ἐῖθε γενοίμην
Οὐρανός, ὡς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω.²

However, I was wrong in this assumption; for I find that the whole piece is merely an elaboration of a sonnet by Tasso (p. 292, Sonnet 210), worked up on the two classical sources I have mentioned. I reproduce the extract given by Crépet, along with the Italian model:

Comme une fleur au Renouveau
Ainsi fleurit vostre âge beau:
Vivons, aimons nous, belle Iolle,
Comme un oiseau le temps s'envolle:
Je seray l'arbre, et vous serez
La vigne qui m'embrasserez:
Ainsi d'Acanthe on environne
Le chapiteau d'une colonne:
Ainsi l'ierre tout autour
Grimpe colé contre une tour.
Baison-nous donc, et que le conte
De nos baisers ardants surmonte
Les grains du sable de la Mer,
Et qu'aucun n'en puisse estimer
Le nombre, s'il ne conte encore
Combien la nuit jusqu'à l'Aurore
Il luit d'estoiles par les cieux:
Pléust à Dieu que j'eusse autant
d'yeux
Pour contempler plus à mon aise
Vos beaux Printemps quand je vous
baise

Viviamo, amiamci, o mia gradita Jelle,
Edra sia tu, che il caro tronco abbraccia:
Baciamci, e i baci, e le lusinghe taccia
Chi non ardisce annoverar le stelle.
Bacinsi insieme l'alme nostre anch'
elle:
Fabro sia Amor, che le distemprì, e
sfaccia,
E che di due confuse una rifaccia
Che per un spirto sol spiri, e favelle.
Care Salmace mia, come s'innesta
L' una pianta nell'altra, e sovra l'orno
Verdeggia il pero, e l'un per l' altro è
vago;
Tal io n' andrò de' tuoi colori adorno:
Tal il tuo cor de' miei pensier si vesta,
E comun sia fra noi la penna, e l' ago.

¹ *Tableau de la poésie française au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Charpentier, p. 115.

² *Anthologia Palatina*, cap. vii, No. 669. Vauquelin has a rendering of the Greek epigram in his epigrams (*Œuvres*, II, 627, "D'un regard"). Saint-Gelais makes use of the epigram twice in his works; probably he borrowed it from some Italian intermediary.

Drummond of Hawthornden also took this sonnet by Tasso and turned it in like fashion into an irregularly rhymed piece of eleven lines.¹ This coincidence, combined with the fact that Drummond has also selected for translation other poems by Tasso that Vauquelin had translated, convinces me that Drummond was acquainted with Vauquelin. The further fact that he should have composed his *Flowers of Sion*, consisting of a series of religious poems, just as Vauquelin (imitating the Italian fashion) wrote a series of religious sonnets, confirms me in this belief.

Idyl 8 ("Au temps que sous la Canicule") is à borrowing from Girolamo Amalteo, "De Acone, et Leonillâ" ("Ut fugeret fervorem æstus sub sidere Cancrici").² The original of Idyl 9, a "sweet scene of interior à la Bernardin de Saint Pierre," as Lemer cier calls it, is to be found in the *Lusus Pastorales* of Flaminio. The parallel is worth reproducing.

O Galatee (ainsi tousjours la Grace
Te face avoir jeunesse et belle face)
Avec ta mere apres souper chez nous
Vien t'en passer cette longue serree:
Pres d'un beau feu, de nos gents separee
Ma mere et moy veillerons comme vous.

Plus que le jour la nuit nous sera belle,
Et nos bergers, à la claire chandelle,
Des contes vieux en teillant conteront:
Lise tandis nous cuira des chataignes:
Et si l'ebat des jeux tu ne dedaignes,
De nous dormir les jeux nous garderont.

Sic tibi perpetuam donet Venus alma
iuventam,
Ne faciem nitidam ruga senilis aret:
Post cenam cum matre tuâ dulcique
Lycinna
Ad matrem Pholoë cara venito meam.
Hic simul ad magnum læti vigilabimus
ignem;
Candidior pulchrâ nox erit ista die.
Fabellas vetulæ referent; nos læta
canemus
Carmina; castaneas parva Lycinna
coquet.
Sic noctem tenerisque iocis, risuque
trahemus,
Dum gravet incumbens lumina nostra
sopor.³

Idyl 10 ("Galatee est un liet d'Amour") is an expansion of a short piece by Tasso (p. 373, No. 94, "Letto è questo d' Amore, o pur di Flora"). Idyl 11 is an amalgam of lines taken from Tasso's *Aminta*, Act IV, scene 2 (conclusion), and the conclusion of Act V:

¹ See the madrigal "To Thaumantia," I, 167 of Ward's edition. Professor Kastner has already noted this borrowing by Drummond from Tasso in the *Modern Language Review*, October, 1911, in an article on the Italian and French sources of Drummond, p. 465.

² Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italarum poetarum*, I, 72. A slightly different version appears in *Actii Sinceri Sannazarii . . . Opera Latine scripta*, etc. (as already cited), p. 370.

³ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italarum poetarum*, I, 1011.

Adieu pasteurs, adieu rivages,
Adieu plaines, adieu bocages,
Adieu vous dis, fleuve coulant,
Disoit la Nimphe en s'en allant.

Elle s'ecrie, et de grands cous
Elle se bat en son courrous.
Après tombant elle se couche
Dessus son corps, bouche sur bouche
Versant de pleurs par ses beaux yeux
Un grand orage pluvieux:
Dont l'eau fait lors telle efficace
Qu'arrosant du Pasteur la face,
Il revint comme du trepas,
Jettant du cœur un soupir bas.

And so on.

Our poet has incurred the charge of having wrecked more than one feminine heart by such idyls as No. 12, where he holds out persuasions to a fresh charmer of the name of Francette. In point of fact this idyl, admired by Sainte-Beuve, is a poem by Navagero, "Ad Leucippam," of which Ronsard has produced a better translation.¹

Si tost qu'on mettra les troupeaux
Hors de l'estable en ces hameaux,
J'iray demain, belle Francette,
Au marché vendre un bouvillon:
J'acheteray de la sergette
Pour vous en faire un cotillon.
J'acheteray de beaux couteaux,
Une ceinture et des ciseaux,
Un peloton, une boursette
Pour vous donner: Mais cependant
Baisez moy donc, belle Francette,
Deux ou trois fois en attendant.
Venez querir demain au soir,
Quand la nuit prend son manteau noir,

Addio, pastori;
Piagge, addio;—addio, selve;—e fiumi,
addio!

(Act IV, sc. 2).

. . . . In guisa di Baccante
Gridando, e percotendosi il bel petto,
Lasciò cadersi in sul giacente corpo,
E giunse viso a viso, e bocca a bocca.

Poi sì come negli occhi avesse un fonte,
Innaffiar cominciò col pianto suo
Il colui freddo viso; e fu quell' acqua
Di cotanta virtù, ch' egli rivenne,
E, gli occhi aprendo, un doloroso oimè
Spinse dal petto interno

(Act V, end).

Cum primum clauso pecus emittetur
ovili,
Urbs, mea Leucippe, cras adeunda
mihi est.
Huc ego venalemque agnum, cen-
tumque, Chariclo,
Ipsa mihi mater quæ dedit, ova fero.
Afferi tibi vis croceos, niveosque
cothurnos?
Anne colum, qualem nata Lyconis
habet?
Ipse feram quæ grata tibi. tu basia
iunge,
Gaudia Leucippe nec mihi grata nega.

¹ Ronsard's ode, "Si tost, ma doucette Ysabeau," is to be found in the edition of Blanchemain, II, 485. Laumonier, I observe, has already detected this borrowing by Vauquelin. This commentator writes of Ronsard's version: "Ronsard . . . remained a *poète campagnard* despite his prolonged sojourn at the Court and his admiration for the artificial *Arcadia* of Sannazaro. This 'humble' style, this sincere accent will scarcely be found any more after him. It is in vain that Vauquelin will try to preserve them in his idyls" (Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 443).

Mes beaux presents, belle Francette,	Cras, ubi nox aderit, odiosæ elabere
Dans ce taillis, ou ce sera	matri:
Que vostre Mere, qui nous guette,	Hasque inter corylos ad tua dona
Jamais là ne nous trouvera.	veni. ¹

For Idyl 13 Travers refers us to an epigram by Archias in the *Anthology*.² In all likelihood, however, Vauquelin had some intermediate model. Idyl 14 ("Je fuyois par les herbettes") is in Tasso (p. 383, No. 188, "Sovra l'erbette e i fiori"). Idyl 15 ("Comme le cerf frappé d'un dard") is also from Tasso (p. 383, No. 189, "Qual cervo errando suole"). So, too, with Idyl 16 ("Pour à jamais seul me retraire"), which corresponds with a piece commencing "Fuggia di poggio in poggio" (p. 384, No. 191). Idyl 17 ("Au mois de May reverdoyant") Travers refers generally to the *Anthology*, but in reality the poem is taken from Tasso (p. 378, No. 141, "Giammai più dolce raggio").

Idyl 27 ("Dafnis faisoit à sa Musette") is a very remote copy of Tasso (p. 384, No. 199, "Ha gigli, e rose, ed ha rubini, ed oro"). In the *Lusus Bucolici* of Navagero we find the original of Idyl 28 ("Philin ce hestre et ce beau chesne"):

Et quercum, et silvam hanc ante omnia Thyrsis amabit:
 Et certo feret his annua dona die:
 Dum poterit memor esse, quod hac primùm ille sub umbrâ
 Ultima de carâ Leucade vota tulit.³

The original of Idyl 29 ("Pasteur, qui veuX rallumer d'aventure") we find in one of those poems by Tasso in which there is a play upon the name "Laura" (p. 381, No. 165, "Pastor, che vai per questa notte oscura"). Idyl 30 is attributed by Travers to the beautiful lines by Theocritus on Helen, xviii. 87. He also gives as a source the *Anthology*, but I am strongly inclined to think that Vauquelin borrowed his theme from the first book of the hendecasyllables of Pontanus, where are some lines entitled "De Fanniæ labellis":

Si quæris Venerem, Cupidinemque
 Dulcis Fanniolæ labella quæras:
 Hic sedem posuit suam Cupido,
 Hic lætas agitât Venus choreas.⁴

¹ *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, Venice, 1548, p. 26.

² *Anthologia Palatina*, cap. v, No. 59.

³ Version as given in an edition of the *Lusus* published with *Cymba Amoris* (attributed to Secundus), Utrecht, 1540.

⁴ *Pontani opera*, Bâle, 1556, IV, 3469.

The succeeding idyl, No. 31 ("Si tu ris, tu ris tousjours") is a rendering of some lines by Pontanus, "Ad Focillam" ("Si rides, Veneres Focilla rides"),¹ rendered in the manner of Tahureau.² Idyl 32 ("Tyrasis disoit, Forest, proche de ma maison") is to all appearance a sonnet written under the influence of Ronsard. In reality it is a reconstruction of a piece taken from the *Lusus Pastorales* of Flaminio ("Intonsi colles, et densæ in collibus umbræ").³

Idyl 35 is a *baiser*, the outcome of a study of Pontanus and Secundus.

Idyl 37 is a *baiser* in the vein of Tahureau. The central idea possibly was adopted from some lines by G. B. Amalteo, "Ad animum suum," concluding thus:

Ah ne iterum male caute, iterum ne basia quære:
Non etenim iam animus, sed novus ignis eris.⁴

Idyls 38 and 39 may also be attributed to a study of such models as Pontanus, Secundus, Tahureau, and Magny.

Idyl 41 is "imitated from the Greek" of Bion. Vauquelin would probably have read the version by Ronsard.⁵ Idyl 42 is also taken from the 4th idyl of Bion, numerous translations of which would be available.

I imagine that Vauquelin was rather proud of having constructed Idyl 48 ("Meline, belle pastourelle"). As a whole, it certainly has no counterpart; but if we take it asunder there is nothing for which there is not a parallel. Nérée urging Méline to meet her lover at the *fontaine Valombree* is Corisca, in the *Pastor Fido*, proposing to Amarillis that she should meet her lover; on the other hand, Méline "entrant en l'Avril de ses mois" is the Amarillis "nel vago april de' suoi verd' anni" of Tasso's *Convito di Pastori*, from which the conclusion of Vauquelin's idyl is borrowed.

For Idyl 50 ("Belle Angeline, donne moy") we are indebted to Tasso (p. 365, No. 17, "Bella Angioletta dalle vaghe piume"). Idyl

¹ *Pontani opera*, Bâle, 1556, IV, 3487.

² Tahureau appears to have steeped himself thoroughly in the hendecasyllables of Pontanus. Thus these lines by Vauquelin find a fairly close parallel in Tahureau, *Sonnets, odes et mignardises*, ed. Blanchemain, p. 118.

³ Gruterus, *Delitiæ CC. Italorum Poetarum*, I, 1010.

⁴ *Benedicti Lampridii, necnon Io. Bap. Amalthei carmina. Venetiis apud Gabrielem Iolittum de Ferrariis*, 1550. Fol. 84 recto.

⁵ Ed. Blanchemain, II, 360.

51 ("T'ayant dans ce bois rencontrée") is also from Tasso (p. 380, No. 158, "Quando intesi il bel nome, io ben credea").

Idyl 53 ("Tyrasis regardant les beaux yeux") is from the same source (p. 365, No. 19, "Tirsi morir volea").¹ Idyl 54 is "imitated from the last of Theocritus."

Idyl 56, as Travers points out, is a version of the 11th ode of Anacreon. Idyl 58, consisting of acrostics, may be debited to our poet.² In Idyl 59 ("Nous sommes filles de village") we are, according to Lemerrier, introduced to the feminine neighbors and friends of the poet, those who should shortly accompany "Anne-Philis" to the altar. In reality, the poem is to be found in Tasso (p. 369, No. 56, "Le più belle zittelle del contado," and the succeeding piece, No. 57, "Non men candido il cor, che puro il viso").

In Idyl 66 we find the story of the precocious lover of the *Arcadia* and the *Aminta*. The idyl is chiefly a borrowing from the 7th prose passage of Sannazaro's pastoral, in which Sincero relates his early love.³

<p>Las! quantesfois, voyant les chesnes enlassez Du lierre gravissant qui les tient embrassez,</p>	<p>Tra li quali alguna volta trovando mi yo et mirando i fronzuti olmi circundati dale pampinose vite, mi corre amaramente nel' animo, con</p>
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¹ I may point out that in the *Musica Transalpina* (1588) there is a very literal English translation of Tasso's madrigal; see p. 67 of Bullen's *Shorter Elizabethan Poems*.

² In Idyl 76, Book I, we were given a specimen of the anagram. Thus does Vauquelin duly carry out the dictates of Du Bellay's *Defence*, where half a chapter is devoted to the vindication of these puerilities.

³ As I have already suggested, there is always the likelihood that the French poets, in thus converting the prose of Sannazaro into verse, were following the example of some Italian poet. Laumonier in his *Ronsard, poète lyrique* (p. 457, footnote) has asserted that Ronsard's pretty sonnet, "Je mourrois de plaisir voyant par ces bocages" (ed. Blanchemain, I, 216), is "directly imitated" from this passage in the *Arcadia*. I do not altogether agree; for Saint-Gelais has a piece in *terza rima*, "O que d'ennui à mes yeux se presente" (ed. Blanchemain, II, 182) which bears a marked resemblance to Ronsard's sonnet. Evidently Ronsard's chief model was the Italian poet, unidentified up to the present, who supplied Saint-Gelais with his version. It is strange that Laumonier overlooked this parallel, for he was, I think, acquainted with the lines by Saint-Gelais. Professor Vianey has noted that Du Bellay in the 84th sonnet of his *Olive* has been guilty of a happy larceny from this same passage (*Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle*, p. 90).—In this idyl Vauquelin assures his friend, Bernardin de Saint François, Bishop of Bayeux, that he fell to dreaming of a visionary nymph while still but a mere boy, "un garçonnet." Perhaps he did; but it is regrettable to record, for our poet's originality, that Ronsard, in his poems on the forest of Gastine and in the lines addressed to his friend Pierre Lescot (the architect of the Louvre), had already described, in almost identical fashion, how he had indulged in precocious musings of the same nature (ed. Blanchemain, II, 159, IV, 347, and VI, 188).

Et les ormes feuillus, ou les vignes
branchues

Ont naturellement leurs branches
etendues,

J'ay souhaité d'avoir un tel embrasse-
ment

Que ces arbres qui sans aucun senti-
ment.

Las! aussi quantesfois ay-je, triste
d'envie,

Desiré des Ramiers la bienheureuse vie,
Les voyant roucouler, murmurer leurs
amours,

Et tremousser de l'aile et faire mille tours,
Se baiser bec à bec, puis espoints de
Nature,

Après tant de caresse, assouvir leur
painture.

Vraiment je leur disois, ô Colons bien-
heureux

D'avoir si doucement vos plaisirs
amoureux:

Puisse estre longuement longue la
Destinee,

Qui fait que vostre amour si douce
est demenee!

Soient longues vos amours, ô bien-
heureux Colons,

Soit long vostre desir et soient vos
plaisirs longs:

Afin que seul ici dans ces bois solitaires,
Seul je puisse estre ainsi plein de
longues miseres.

angoscia incomportabile, quanto sia
lo stato mio disforme da quello del'
insensati alberi, y quali dale care vite
amati, dimorano continuamente con
quelle in gratiosi abbracci: et yo per
tanto spacio di cielo, per tanta longin-
quità di terra, per tanti seni di mare,
dal mio disio dilungato, in continuo
dolore et lachrime mi consumo. O
quante volte e' mi ricorda che, vedendo
per li soli boschi li affectuosi colombi
con suave mormorio basiarsi et poy
andare desiderosi cercando lo amato
nido, quasi da invidia vinto ne piansi,
cotali parole dicendo: O felici voy,
ali quali senza suspecto alguno di
gelosia è concesso dormire et veghiare
con segura pace! lungho sia il vostro
dilecto, lunghi siano y vostri amori:
acio che yo solo di dolore spettacolo
possa ad viventi rimanere (*Arcadia*, ed.
Scherillo, p. 121).

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MISCELLANEA HISPANICA

1. GLOSSES FROM RIPOLL MS 59

This MS, dating from the middle of the tenth century, is one of a pair of copies of Priscian, which were already at the convent of Santa Maria de Ripoll in the following century, since they are certainly the two codices of that author mentioned in the catalogue of 1047 A.D. Indeed we may be sure they were written in that monastery's scriptorium, and there they remained till removed with the other components of this collection to their present resting-place, the Barcelonese Archivo. These two codices and a third of the same epoch in the Escorial are plastered over with commentary and glosses, interlinear and marginal: they thus give us eloquent evidence as to the state of learning in mediaeval Catalonia. It would be a highly meritorious work for some mediaevalist to publish and digest these glosses: for many a time words, ideas, and points of view must necessarily crop out in such texts, that are not otherwise traceable.

The series of notes here published is derived from an appendix, consisting chiefly of lexicographical observations by the various scribes of the MS. At first we have glosses to words in Priscian's own text; then notes to Virgil (quite desultory) dealing with the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aen.* i-vi, thus testifying to a study of these portions of the poet's works; then we have a very remarkable phenomenon, nothing less than a Greco-Latin lexicon, showing that somebody at Ripoll was studying Greek, that is to say the monastery must have had at least elementary instruction in Greek as well as a fair school of Latin; finally a set of odds and ends gathered chiefly from Isidore, that great Spanish authority and general encyclopedist for the Middle Ages.

An examination of these glosses in their entirety convinces me that the Latin part rests on an archetype in some sort of semiuncial, and as there are very evident traces of Provençal influence, that semiuncial must have been of the usual or Roman type as distinguished from the Insular or Hiberno-Celtic. The Greek words show

the errors of transcription which characterize the cursive hands of about the year 700: so that the monastery must have had, or at least its monks must have had, access to a Greco-Latin glossary of the character here mentioned.

A page from this MS is to appear in one of the future numbers of *Palaeographia Iberica*. As for the abbreviations in the following word list, Gl.E. means the *Glossae Emendatae* of the famous *Corpus Glossariorum* of Goetz and Schoell, K the 1907 edition of Körting's Lexikon, ML the similar work by Meyer-Lübke (1911-), while Th.L.L. means the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

1. BRACA, glossed BELUA MARINA. This seems to be the βραγός of K 1540, ML 1264 (starred). A *belua marina* would be met with in the slime of *brevia*, or shoals near the shore.

2. BRADIUM for BRACHIUM occurs in: *Pelops. deus qui habuit bradium eburneum*. Here we have the Low Latin form; see K 1536, ML 1256.

3. BUTUS DICITUR INDOCTUS ET INSPIENS. This occurs immediately after a note on IMBUTUS. Now it is perfectly possible that this is one of those artificial products of the mediaeval glossator's brain, in his effort to discover an origin or an etymology; but it is at least as likely that the word is genuine and stands in close relation to BUTIO, K 1668, ML 1424.

4. CANICULUS. DECURSIO AQUARUM. This is either a new word or a contamination of *canicula* with *canalis*.

5. CANTARE acts as an adjective in the gloss OPIPARE.CANTARE. Probably the word, if genuine, has something to do with *canēre*; cf. another gloss CUNEBANT (i. e., *canebant*).SPLENDEBANT.

6. CAPIUM and GARRIUM occur in glosses on AUSPICIUM and AUGURIUM: specimens of the inventive ability of the grammarian referred to under No. 3.

7. CAPRIFOLIUM, 'white honeysuckle' occurs in: *Ligustra.caprifolium est.habens album florem*. Incorrectly starred K 1892, but not ML 1652; the word is catalogued in Th.L.L.

8. CARDUS as against CARDUUS (starred K 1933, but not by ML 1687; occurs in Th.L.L.): *Cardus herba quae crescit in tectis domorum grossa folia habens*.

9. CERASIA.POMA. Has a star K 2084, though not ML 1823; in Th.L.L.

10. CERVISA (in Th.L.L.) is a gloss to FERMENTO; ML 1830, starred K 2111.

11. CLIDAS is glossed CRATES. This is the source of the words so frequent in French and the Provençal group, listed by ML 1988; K 2258 starred.

12. CORDEX.QUI BONUM COR HABET. Harper's *Lexicon* could already quote *cordicitus*. *Cordax*, formed on the analogy of *audax*, is found in Th.L.L., with the note that it has a variant *cordex*.

13. CORNULA means 'a cornel berry' in the gloss: CORNA (K 2521). UULGO DICUNTUR CORNULAE. Whether this be a new word, or for *cornulea*, or to be identified with *cornulaca* (Th.L.L.) is uncertain.

14. CORVUS MARINUS (K 2550, ML 2269), is a gloss to MERGES.

15. CUNGRUM, glossed PISCIS, is Low Latin for CONGRUM (nom. *congrus* or *conger*). See ML 2144. 1, and K 2418 starred; cf. Gl.E. *Congrus*.

16. CYTAREHATOR is a gloss to IOPAS. A new word, to be added to our future mediaeval Latin Lexicon.

17. DRACOGA is found in the phrase: DRACONTA. DRACOGA UEL HERBA. This word is probably due to a Low Latin (or Romance) form *draga* (whence 'dragon') over which was written *co* as a correction: the transcriber then made a very common error, that of copying both the mistake and the correction. As for the addition of *herba* to the comment, that is due to a contamination with *tragacanthum* or *tragacanth*; see Gl.E.

18. ERPITIAE. A new word. It is a note to RASTRI, and is related to the word variously spelled with or without *h* and with *e* or *i*, the source of Fr. *harce*, *harceler*, etc.; see K 4576, ML 4141.

19. EXCORICARE is found in this note: GLOBERE (i. e., *glubere*). CUTEM DETRAHERE. UEL EXCORICARE. Here we have a choice of theories: this maybe (and I think is) a new word, or it stands for *excoriare*, or again it is to be changed to *excorticare*. For this last cf. K 3377, ML 2988 (starred by both).

20. FICA (feminine) for 'a fruit' occurs in the comment: PALATE (i. e., *palathae* in Gl.E.). FICE CONFECTAE.

21. GALETRO is glossed GLUTTO. Seems to be new.

22. GARRIUM. See above, No. 6.

23. GIMALUM, a word for 'glass,' appears in this statement: VITRUM ENIM GIMALUM DICUNT. It must be connected with Gl.E. HYALINUM. *g* here has the palatal value, elsewhere in this MS written *i* (in IENERE).

24. HIPPI TARE. OSCITARE. Same note recorded by Gl.E.

25. IGNOMONIA is explained as NON GLORIA. Another invention.

26. LATTAS in the gloss: ASSERES. PALI UEL PAXILLI SEU LAPILLI IDEST PETRE MINUTE SIUE LATTAS; K 5468, ML 4933.

27. LEURARIUS, as a gloss to LEPOS, furnishes us the etymon for French *lévrier*, etc.; K 5533, ML 4988.

28. LICISCA, equated with CATULA in one note and spelled LICISTA in another, with the explanation *Licista canicula ex lupa et cane*, is already in classical Latin: see Dictionaries; K 5765 (starred).

29. LINCIOLUM is the Low Latin form for LINCÉOLUM, and appears in this codex in explanation of PEPLUM; K 5629, ML 5070.

30. LUSTRUM is found for ROSTRUM (also RUSTRUM) in this note: *Proboscida. lustrum elefanti dicunt*. Perhaps the verb *lustrare* in the sense of 'survey,' 'examine' may have influenced the word; note, however, that Gl.E. has ROSTRAT ἐπιζήτει.

31. MAIOR in the sense of *maximus* occurs in this gloss: *Draco maior est cunctorum serpentium.*

32. MANSIO is explained (with the addition of *parua*) as TUGURIUM. See K 5898, ML 5311; this meaning is confined to the Franco-Provençal territory.

33. MANTILE furnishes another bit of evidence of Provençal influence occurring in: *Gausape.mantile quod ponitur in mensa* (elsewhere used for 'handkerchief').ML 5325.1, K 5915 (starred).

34. MERCATA, neuter, instead of *mercatus*: TRINUNDINUM.TRIA MERCATA; cf. K 6102, ML 5516.

35. Interest in the Greeks, and the possible source of the Greek glosses are disclosed in the following: *Minorca et Maiorca.insulae iuxta Hispaniam. ubi pars Grecorum est.*

36. A very important word, MUSARE, turns up in the following remark: *Triuim est.ubi multae uiae conueniunt.ibi solebant rustici pastores musare.* See K 6411 (starred).

37. NOMINIA *dicitur gloria.* Another invention.

38. PALPO furnishes a puzzle in this observation: PALPO.AUICULA; and on another occasion we are told that it is TALNA, for which our scribe then proposes to read *talpa*. Perhaps we have in the latter case the intermediate form between TALPA and Italian *topo*. In the former note, PALPO is a mistake for PAPILO.

39. More examples of new and perhaps artificial forms are furnished by a pair of glosses in which appear PENISSIME, PENTISSIMA, and PROPISSIME.

40. RARISCUS appears as the exegesis to LAMPOS. A *new* word? Or *coruscus*? We may also suppose an error for *asteriscus*.

41. RAUSETA (Provençal influence again manifest) is the gloss to CARECTA: K 7815.

42. RUMICE is offered in explanation of TRIBULE (cf. K 8199). RUMICA is already, in G.L.E., the equivalent of κόκκυξ.

43. SALSITIA, the gloss to LUCANA, is the source of Fr. *saucisse*, etc.; K 8298.

44. SAURA (Provençal again) is equated with FULUA; K 8391.

45. SIRGUBA.CISTERNA UETUS creates difficulty. I think *sirguba* must be connected with *gurges* and stand in close ancestral relation with Italian *ser-* or *sor-gozzone*; K 4401.

46. SOCCUS as gloss to UOMIS is welcome as explaining *souche*, etc. Discussed by K 8833.2.

47. SPICOR in the etymology of *circumspicor* is another evidence of the tendency to etymologize *à la Ménage*.

48. SUPPEDIUM explained as AUXILIUM may be a genuine *new* word.

49. TEMPLA glossed as equivalent to TEMPORA is the long-sought Low Latin word starred by K 9432.

50. TRICABILIS, with its gloss MOROSUS, seems to give us another *new* word. Here MOROSUS must have the first syllable short; being derived from *mōra*, not *mōres*: the *tricae* stop and delay people.

51. VARIOLA, gloss to UARIX, removes the star from K 10004.

52. UUADIO as the equivalent of PIGNORE gives us another case of *di* for the modern English *j*-sound; and the word also enables one to remove the star from K 10329 (*wadjan*).

2. CODEX MATRITENSIS V 191

This MS of the twelfth century (its new number is 7514) is according to its back-title a copy of the Glosses of Isidore, but is in reality the dictionary of Papias. It is only mentioned by Von Hartel-Loewe, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, tom. I, p. 447. An earlier numbering is *Caj. I. Ord. 3^a. Num. 33*, with the additional note *Tiene 114*; bound in green. These facts, together with the peculiar yellow parchment, make it probable that it was part of the collection brought to Spain by Don Felipe V, and that it is from Messina. This is the oldest copy of Papias that I have ever seen, and deserves the attention of any future editor of that Lexicon.

At the close, in a hand saec. XIII, is an interesting note in line with that series of labeling statements so current in antiquity and not yet out of current usage today: we remember *Punica fides*, how the Greeks and Gauls were to the Romans a set of liars, etc. This series resumes the traditions and current beliefs of the mediaeval epoch in a way worth recording.

De uiciis gentium. Inuidia Iudeorum. perfidia persarum. Astucia egiptorum. fallacia grecorum. Seucia saracenorum. Leuitas caldeorum. Varietas affrorum. Gula gallorum. Vana gloria Longobardorum. crudelitas hunorum. Inmundicia sueuorum. Ferocitas francorum. Stulticia saxonum. Duricia pictorum. Luxuria guascanorum. Libido scottorum. Vinolencia hispanorum. Ira britannorum. Spurcicia sclauorum. Rapacitas normannorum.

De uirtutibus gentium. Hebreorum prudentia. Persarum stabilitas. Egiptiorum sollertia. Grecorum sapientia. Romanorum grauitas. Caldeorum sagacitas. Affrorum ingenium. Gallorum firmitas. Francorum fortitudo. Saxonum instancia. Guascanorum agilitas. Scottorum fidelitas. Hispanorum argutia. Britannorum hospitalitas. Normannorum communia. Grecus ante causam. Francus in causam. Romanus post causam. Francus grau us (?) Affer uersipellis. Tullius marcus

dixit.callidus affer eris.semper romane disertus.semper galle piger.semper hiberne celer.

Isti fuerunt christi predicatorum et discipulorum.predicatorum fidei.et doctores gentium.qui ad predicandum missi has sortes proprias acceperunt. Petrus romam. Andreas albaniam. Jacobus hispaniam. Johannes asiam. Thomas indiam. Mattheus macedoniam. Philippus galliam. Bartholomeus licaoniam. Simon zelotes egyptum. Mathias iudeam. Jacobus frater domini.ierosalem. Judas frater iacobi mesopotamiam. Paulo apostolo cum ceteris apostolis nulla sors propria data est (?) quia in omnibus magister est et predicator electus.

(Once or twice the reading is uncertain, since the note extends to the very tight binding and is somewhat blurred.)

3. CODEX MATRITENSIS M 62 (1569), *saec. XIII ineunt.*

This MS is an oblong copy of Ovid, on the fly-leaf of which is a note in Catalan, worth recording as showing first of all the provenance of the MS, and in the next place, as exhibiting a very early attempt at a system of Romance grammar:

Nominatiuus el maestre.gen.t del maestre. Datiuus.al maestr(e). Accusatiuus lo maestre. Vocatiuus.o tu maestre. Ablatiuus ablo maestre.

JOHN M. BURNAM

THE INFLUENCE OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES ON FERREIRA'S *CASTRO* AND BERMÚDEZ' *NISE LASTIMOSA* AND *NISE LAUREADA*

It is a well-known fact that the ten tragedies of Seneca¹ were looked upon as models for tragedy in the early Renaissance, and that the first Renaissance tragedy, Mussato's *Ecerinis* (ca. 1280), was a definite imitation of Seneca, particularly of *Thyestes*. However, it is to the credit of Giangiorgio Trissino, the creator of Italian tragedy, that he chose Sophocles and Euripides rather than Seneca as models in composing his *Sofonisba* in 1515. His use of *versi sciolti* of eleven syllables as the nearest approach to the Greek iambic trimeter catalectic, with occasional lines of seven syllables, was of the greatest importance in the development of Italian tragedy.

The tragedies of Seneca were not only known in Spain, but had been translated into Castilian by the beginning of the fifteenth century.² The Marqués de Santillana refers to them in the introduction to his *Comedieta de Ponça* and proves in his *Inferno de los Enamorados* that he had read *Phaedra*.³ There is no evidence, however, that the study of Seneca called forth any imitations, either in Latin or in Castilian, at this early period. The plays were chiefly interesting to the scholars of the time because of the philosophy which they were thought to contain, rather than as models of tragedy.

It is not probable that Greek tragedy was known in Spain outside of a restricted circle of scholars in the first half of the sixteenth century. Fernán Pérez de Oliva, rector of the University of Salamanca, made a free translation in prose of the *Electra* of Sophocles, published in 1528 with the title *La Venganza de Agamemnon*, and also a version of Euripides' *Hecuba* with the title *Hecuba triste*, which was not published until 1586.⁴ In 1543, Boscan translated one of the

¹ It is unnecessary to consider here the question of authorship of these plays. In the sixteenth century they were all attributed to Seneca.

² For some account of the early Castilian translations of Seneca, see Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Paris, 1905, p. 130.

³ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, V, cxxx.

⁴ Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, 510. Both translations may be read in Sedano's *Parnaso español*, VI.

plays of Euripides, but his version was not published. Pedro Simon Abril, the translator of Terence, is said to have translated the *Pluto* of Aristophanes and the *Medea* of Euripides in 1570.

The study of classical tragedy seems to have had little effect upon the development of the Spanish drama in the early part of the century. In Micael de Carvajal's *Josefina*, the only evidence of imitation of the classics is in the appearance of a chorus of *Tres doncellas* at the end of each act.¹ Not one of the *mil tragedias*, in which the Sevillian Juan Malara is said by Juan de la Cueva to have adapted classical tragedy to modern requirements, has been preserved, so that it is difficult to determine his influence on the drama. 'Conscious imitation of ancient tragedy is most clearly seen in the plays composed in Latin and Castilian which were represented in the Jesuit schools and convents.'² It is surprising, however, in view of the interest shown throughout Europe in the revival of Greek and Latin studies, that not a single tragedy is known to have been composed in Spain on definitely classical lines until 1577, the date of publication of the *Primeras tragedias españolas* of Bermúdez, and even in this case, the inspiration came from Portugal.

The tragedies of Seneca were known in Portugal at least as early as 1453,³ but classical tragedy was not imitated until after the triumph of the Italian School under the leadership of Sâ de Miranda who, on his return from Italy in 1526, completely changed the course of Portuguese literature. Shortly afterward, Coimbra became the center of classical influence, chiefly owing to the famous Scotch humanist, George Buchanan, who not only encouraged the students to represent the plays of Seneca and Euripides, but also showed his interest in the drama by composing two tragedies, *Jephtes* and *Joannes Baptista*, which were represented at Coimbra in 1542. It is to these college performances that we owe Ferreira's *Castro*, the first Portuguese tragedy composed according to classical models.

Antonio Ferreira was born at Lisbon in 1528 and attended the University of Coimbra, where his interest in the classics was stimulated by the celebrated scholar, Diogo de Teive. Besides two

¹ *La Josefina* was probably composed about 1535. It was republished by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, 1870.

² Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, II, 543-50; note by Gayangos.

³ Theophilo Braga, *Historia do Theatro portuguez*, II, 5.

comedies, *Bristo* and *Cioso*, based upon classical and Italian comedy, he wrote a considerable amount of verse in the Italian manner, which entitled him to rank second only to Sâ de Miranda among the poets of his time. His chief claim to distinction, however, lies in his having composed not only the first, but also the finest tragedy in the Portuguese language. In writing his tragedy, he did not seek his material in Livy, as was so often done in Italy, but ventured for the first time in Europe of the sixteenth century to compose a play based upon the history of his own country. The chronicles told the sad story of Inez de Castro who suffered cruel death because of her love for the Infante Pedro, and who *despois de ser morta, foi Rainha*, and Camoens, who immortalized the story in the third canto of *Os Lusíadas*, refers to the living tradition in a superb stanza of his epic.¹

The play was written between the years 1553 and 1567, when Ferreira relinquished his duties as professor of law at Coimbra to assume the position of judge of the Court of Appeal at Lisbon, and it was performed by the university students under the personal direction of the author. The interest of the performance was doubtless enhanced by the proximity of the places described in the play. From the hill overlooking the *saudosos campos* of the Mondego, the students could see the old Santa Clara Convent where Inez de Castro was interred before that solemn translation to the cathedral of Alcobaça, and also the lovely Quinta das Lagrimas and the tall cypress trees sheltering the Fonte dos Amores, where the lovers were wont to meet, and where, two hundred years before, Inez was put to death by the hand of assassins.

Ferreira died of the plague at Lisbon in 1569. His tragedy was not published until 1587, although it had circulated freely in manuscript before that time. It appeared in a second edition, *novamente acrescentada*, in 1598.² The first edition of the play is so exceedingly rare that it is impossible to determine what constitute the changes made in the second edition.

¹ Canto III, cxxxv. Not less than ten Portuguese plays are known which are derived from this story, and four Spanish plays, the best known of which is Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir*.

² Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos and Theophilo Braga in *Gröber's Grundriss*, II, 2, p. 312. Ferreira's son states in the prologue to the *Poemas lusitanos*, 1598, that the play was composed before 1558, but this date is not considered certain. It was translated into English by Musgrave, in 1826.

"The critics are unanimous in considering Ferreira's *Castro* an imitation of Greek tragedy. Theophilo Braga, who has studied the play more carefully than anyone else, says emphatically: "Pela *Castro*, conhece-se que Ferreira imitava directamente as formas gregas, sem recorrer a Seneca, como então se usava na Europa."¹ I shall attempt to show later that a considerable part of the play, especially in the choral odes, is derived from Seneca, but it must be admitted that the spirit of the play more closely resembles Greek than Latin tragedy. The style is dignified and elevated, but rarely stilted. There is less declamation and more poetry than in Seneca. Nothing could be more charming than the opening dialogue between Inez and her attendant. Seneca was incapable of developing a conversation with such unaffected simplicity, nor could he have created a heroine whose only claim to pity was her weakness and timid womanliness. The horrors in which Seneca gloated are absent. The death of Inez occurs behind the scene while the chorus looks on, as in Euripides' *Medea*. Whether it was due to Ferreira's study of the Greek drama or to his innate good taste, the play is marked by a restraint which is truly refreshing to anyone who has waded through the bloodshed and carnage which one finds in Seneca, Argensola, Virués, and the Italian tragedies composed after the *Orbecche* of Giraldi Cinthio.

Ferreira's use of the chorus seems to be a compromise between the manner of Seneca and that of Greek tragedy. Its function is not merely to fill in the intermissions with choral songs, as in Seneca, but also to act as sympathetic advisers to the chief characters. Inez is usually accompanied by a band of maidens of Coimbra who are deeply interested in the fate of the heroine, and who bitterly reproach the king in the fourth act for his weakness in consenting to her death, while the prince is also attended by a chorus of knights who advise him to obey his father's wishes. This active participation of the chorus in the action is Greek rather than Senecan, and yet it does not appear in the fifth act, in the manner of Seneca, nor does it appear in the second act, except at the end. With the exception of the laments for the death of Inez at the close of the fourth act, probably an imitation of the Greek *commus*, the choral songs are only remotely

¹ *Manual da Historia da Litteratura portugueza*, Oporto, 1875, p. 277.

connected with the subject of the play. Some of the choral odes are composed in strophic form, in the manner of the Greeks, while others are written in unrimed lines.

Ferreira probably imitated Trissino in using *verso solto* of eleven syllables with occasional lines of seven syllables throughout the play, except in the lyric portions. Also to Trissino's influence may be ascribed his use of the *canzone* strophe in the first and second chorus at the end of the first act. The first chorus of the second and third acts is composed of nine and eight sapphic stanzas or strophes, respectively, of four lines each, the last line of each strophe being an adonic. This meter was used by Seneca in *Medea*, 579-606.¹ In the second chorus of the second and third acts, he used *verso solto* of seven syllables. The first chorus of the fourth act is composed of six *sestinas* with *ripresa*. The second is composed of thirty-eight lines of sapphics with adonics in the twenty-fourth and last lines. This also may have been taken from Seneca. In *Troades*, 814-60, we find a series of sapphics broken up into stanzas of irregular length by the insertion of three adonics, and in the same play, ll. 1009-55, the chorus contains one adonic.

A study of the play will show that Ferreira was far more indebted to Seneca in the content than in the form.² The first act opens with an invocation to the sun in lyric form, addressed by Inez to her maidens. It may have been suggested by the famous hymn to Phoebus in Euripides' *Ion* or by Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 310-25. The song is charming in its simplicity and serves as a keynote to the first half of the first act. The exposition, which is conducted in the manner of Sophocles rather than Seneca, and recalls the opening scene of Trissino's *Sofonisba*, consists of a dialogue between Dona Inez and her attendant. The unfortunate girl appears that day more hopeful of the future than ever before, yet there is an undefined sadness in her heart, and tears spring to her eyes. The poet makes use of the situation to inform the spectators of the love of the prince for Inez and the obstacles to their complete happiness. The part played by the attendant (*Ama*) is, of course, frequent in classical tragedy. Stichomythia, or conversation in alternate lines, which was frequently

Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his work *Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, II, 304, attributes these meters to imitation of Horace.

used on the Attic stage and by Seneca, is employed here as elsewhere in the play when the speakers are engaged in animated discussion. The act ends with a dialogue between the prince and his secretary, in which the latter declares the dangers to which the country is exposed if he persists in his affection for Inez. The prince replies rather rhetorically:

Não cuidem que me posso apartar donde
 Estou todo, onde vivo: que primeiro
 A terra subirá onde os Ceos andam,
 O mar abraçará os Ceos, e terra,
 O fogo será frio, o Sol escuro,
 A Lua dará dia, e todo Mundo
 Andará ao contrario de sua ordem
 Que eu, ó Castro, te deixe, ou nisso cuide.¹

Extravagant figures of this kind are common in Seneca. Compare *Thyestes*, 476 ff.; *Octavia*, 222-24; *Phaedra*, 568-73, and *Herc. Oet.*, 1583 ff. These arguments only serve to strengthen the resolution of the Infante, and he angrily bids his secretary to retire.

The first chorus sings of the beneficent power of Love, apparently inspired by Seneca's *Phaedra*, 461-75 and 574-75. The second chorus laments the evil which Love has caused in the world, and concludes with a reference to the fatal passion of the prince. The following stanzas are paraphrased from *Phaedra*, 188-203:

Antes cégo Tyranno
 Dos poetas fingido,
 Cruel desejo, e engano
 Deos de vam gente, de ocio só nascido.
 Geral estrago, e dano
 Da gloriosa fama,
 Com sua séta, e chamma
 Tirando a toda parte
 Ardendo fica Apollo, ardendo Marte.
 Vay pelos ares voando;
 Arde cá toda a terra,
 E d'aljaba soando
 O tiro empece mais, quanto o mais erra.
 Tem por gloria yr juntando

¹ I have used the version of *Castro* contained in *Poemas lusitanos do Doutor Antonio Ferreira*, Lisbon, 1771.

Estados diferentes:
 Os mais convenientes
 A Amor, e iguaes aparta.
 Nunca de sangue, e lagrymas se farta.

The third stanza is also a paraphrase of *Phaedra*:

No tenro, e casto peito
 Da moça vergonhosa,
 Tempo esperando, e geito,
 Entra com força branda, ou furiosa.
 O fogo já desfeito
 Da cinza outra vez cria,
 No frio sangue, e fria
 Neve outra vez se acende.
 Dos olhos no meo d'alma o rayo prende.

Compare *Phaedra*, 290-93:

iuvenum feroces
 concitat flammas senibusque fessis
 rursus extinctos revocat calores,
 virginum ignoto ferit igne pectus.¹

The fifth stanza is a close translation from *Phaedra*:

Quem a ferrada maça
 Ao grande Alcides toma?
 E quer que assi aos pés jaça
 Da moça, feito moça quem liões doma?
 Quem da espantosa caça
 Os despojos famosos
 Lhe converte em mimosos
 Trajos de Dama, e o uso
 Das duras mãos lhe põem no brando fuso?

Compare *Phaedra*, 317-24:

natus Alcmena posuit pharetras
 et minax vasti spolium leonis,
 passus aptari digitis zmaragdos
 et dari legem rudibus capillis;
 crura distincto religavit auro,
 luteo plantas cohibente socco;
 et manu, clavam modo qua gerebat,
 fila deduxit properante fuso.

¹ I have used Leo's edition of Seneca, Berlin, 1878.

The first four lines of the sixth stanza are also derived from *Phaedra*:

Jupiter transformado
 Em tam varias figuras,
 Deixando desprezado
 O Ceo, quam baixo o mostram mil pinturas!

Compare *Phaedra*, 299-300:

induit formas quotiens minores
 ipse qui caelum nebulasque fecit.

The last two stanzas tell of the ills which befell Troy and Spain because of Love, and praise the man who can defend himself against the wiles of the cruel Cupid.

In the second act the king praises clemency in rulers and declares that it is better for a monarch to govern himself than the whole world. This monologue is distinctly in the Senecan manner, and was probably suggested by a passage in *Hercules Furens*, 739-46. Coelho and Pacheco urge the king to consent to the death of Inez as the sole means of insuring peace to his kingdom, and Affonso is finally persuaded by their arguments. The dialogue resembles the scene in the *Troades* in which Pyrrhus seeks to gain Agamemnon's consent to the death of Polyxena. The king's soliloquy which follows, extolling the life of the poor farmer who lives happily in his fields, expresses an idea frequently repeated by Seneca, but seems more closely related to the *Beatus ille* of Horace, so dear to the poets of the Renaissance. The second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of the first chorus of the second act are derived from Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 102-107; 57-61; 90-96, and 72-76, respectively.¹

At the opening of the third act, Inez appears, her heart already filled with a presentiment of her fate, and addresses her children in words which recall Andromache's farewell to Astyanax in *Troades*, 770-85. She relates a terrible dream which she has had to her attendant, who tries to calm her fears. The dream of impending danger is very frequently found in classical and Renaissance tragedy, and may have been suggested in this case by Andromache's dream

¹ Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his admirable work *Horacio en España*, II, 43, mentions this chorus as an imitation of Horace's *Regum timendorum in proprios greges*, first ode of the third book. Ferreira's familiarity with Horace cannot be questioned, but a comparison of the texts shows a closer resemblance to Seneca.

in *Troades*, 437 ff. The chorus then enters, bringing the news that Inez has been condemned to death. She exclaims that her forebodings have been realized and calls upon the maidens of the chorus to protect her. The choral song which follows on the brevity of human life resembles a chorus in *Hercules Furens*, 174-91, but Seneca's Stoical philosophy has here a decided Christian coloring.

In the fourth act, Inez, accompanied by the chorus, pleads with the king for her life, affirming her innocence and imploring mercy for the sake of the Infante and her children. In spite of the opposition of Coelho and Pacheco, her eloquent appeal enlists the king's sympathy and he commands that her death sentence be revoked. After Inez retires, the ministers reproach the king for his weakness, and present their arguments so convincingly that he bids them do their will. The chorus then charges the king with cruelty and injustice. He weakly tries to justify himself, and finally declares:

Affronta-se minha alma. O quem pudéra
Desfazer o que he feito!

This scene is far from convincing. The vacillating course of the king in respect to the murder is historical, but it seems somewhat absurd for him to repent of his reluctant consent, and yet make no effort to prevent the execution of his order. The death of Inez is not represented *coram populo*, and we only know that the murder is accomplished by the laments of the chorus which immediately follow. The following lines of the second chorus are borrowed from the description of the dominion of Love in *Phaedra*.

Assi a região, que vê nascer o Sol,
Como a região, onde o Sol se esconde,
Assi aquella, que ao fervente Cancro,
Como aquell'outra, que á fria mór Ursa
Estão sogeitas, esta mágoa chorem.

Compare *Phaedra*, 285-90:

quaeque nascentem videt ora solem,
quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas,
si qua ferventi subiecta cancro,
si qua Parrhasiae glacialis ursae
semper errantes patitur colonos,
novit hos aestus.

In the fifth act, the prince laments the absence of Inez and a messenger enters bringing the sad news. After the usual suspense, he tells how Inez has been murdered by the ministers of his father:

Arrancando as espadas se vão a ella
 Traspassando-lh'os peitos cruelmente;
 Abraçada c'os filhos a matáram,
 Que inda ficáram tintos do seu sangue.

This resembles somewhat the account of the messenger in *Troades* who relates the death of Polyxena. The prince, in an outburst of grief, mourns her death in rather rhetorical lines and swears vengeance upon his father, and also upon those who had committed the deed.

It has been frequently noted that the play has certain defects and that Ferreira did not take full advantage of the opportunities which the subject afforded him. The father and son do not appear together on the stage. The struggle between love and duty in the heart of the prince is not fully developed. There is too much declamation, and the language of the characters is not sufficiently differentiated. It is to the author's credit, however, that he did not conceive of tragedy as merely a succession of horrible scenes, and that his borrowings from Seneca are confined, for the most part, to the lyrics, in which the Latin dramatist alone shows capacity for real poetry. In spite of the defects, whoever reads the play must agree with Creizenach that it is far superior to the French, English, and Italian tragedies composed at the same period.¹

With the exception of the *Elisa Dido* of Virués, which was not published until 1609, the only Spanish tragedies of the sixteenth century based definitely on classical models are *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada*, published at Madrid in 1577 with the title *Primeras tragedias españolas de Antonio de Silva*.² It is well known that the name Antonio de Silva is a pseudonym, and that their author was Gerónimo Bermúdez who composed the plays while reader in theology at the University of Salamanca. They were completed by the year 1575, the date of the dedication to the Count of Lemos. Bermúdez, who was born about the year 1530 in the province of Galicia, spent some

¹ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, III, 475.

² Both of these plays were republished by Sedano in *Parnaso español*, VI, and by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, I.

time in Portugal, and, during his residence there, read Ferreira's play in manuscript and translated it almost line for line, giving it the new title, *Nise lastimosa*, an anagram of Ines. A comparison of the Spanish version with the Portuguese original is of some interest, since it is evident that some of the changes introduced by Bermúdez are derived from Seneca.¹

'The Spanish version follows closely the account given in the Portuguese text and adds no new incidents. The rôle of the chorus is restricted and its function is confined in the main to the singing of choral odes in the intermissions. Bermúdez wisely omitted the scene at the close of the fourth act of Ferreira's play in which the chorus reproaches the king for his weakness in consenting to the death of Inez. 'The dialogue is more diffuse in certain parts and the general tone is more didactic.' A few changes were made in the arrangement of scenes. The charming song and pathetic dialogue between Inez and her attendant with which the Portuguese play begins, are replaced by a monologue of the prince, lamenting the absence of his lady. Martínez de la Rosa² suggested that the change was made in order to make clear at the outset why the prince did not intervene to save Inez; but if verisimilitude was gained thereby, the new version lost a charming scene.

'Bermúdez omitted entirely the praise of Love contained in the first chorus of Ferreira's first act, doubtless considering such sentiments unsuited to a student of theology. 'He translated freely Ferreira's second chorus' as his first chorus, but added certain lines taken from Seneca. The opening lines are a paraphrase of a passage in *Phaedra*:

Este Cupido, de poetas Marte,
hijo del alma Venus, engendrada
en los amargos senos de Neptuno,
¡ó con quanta cruieza y osadía
sus flechas contra todo el mundo arroja!

¹ The comparison between the versions of Ferreira and Bermúdez must necessarily be uncertain, since the latter probably used the version of *Castro* published in 1587, of which not a single copy is known to exist. The discovery of a copy of this first edition might show that some of the changes which seem to be due to Bermúdez were found in the earlier version.

² Quoted by Braga, *Historia do Theatro portuguez*, II, 99.

Compare *Phaedra*, 274-78:

Diva non miti generata ponto,
quam vocat matrem geminus Cupido,
impotens flammis simul et sagittis,
iste lascivus puer et renidens
tela quam certo moderatur arcu!

The five lines which follow, describing the extent of the dominion of Love, are borrowed from *Phaedra*, 285-90, and were used by Ferreira in the last act of his play. He mentions Apollo among the gods who had fallen victims to the wiles of Cupid:

¿Apolo rojo, quién te dió cayado,
con pastoril zurrón por atavío,
y rústica majada por albergo?

Compare *Phaedra*, 296-98:

Thessali Phoebus pecoris magister
egit armentum positoque plectro
impari tauros calamo vocavit.

The rest of the chorus agrees with the Portuguese text.

The second chorus of Bermúdez is derived from the same chorus of *Phaedra*, 331-45. It is an evidence of good taste on the part of Ferreira that he did not translate this absurd passage, which describes the pangs of love suffered by various animals.

Tambien el mar sagrado
se abrasa en este fuego:
tambien allá Neptuno
por Menalipe andubo,
y por Medusa ardiendo.
Tambien las Ninfas suelen
en el humido abismo
de sus cristales frios
arder en estas llamas;
tambien las voladoras
y las músicas aves,
y aquella sobre todas
de Jupiter amiga,
no pueden con sus alas
huir de amor, que tiene
las suyas más ligeras:
¡Qué guerras, qué batallas

por sus amores hacen
 los toros! ¡Qué brabeza
 los mansos ciervos muestran!
 ¡Pues los leones bravos
 y los crueles tigres,
 heridos de esta yerba,
 ¡qué mansos que parecen!

In a few other minor respects, the Spanish version differs from the Portuguese, but they are of little consequence. No line by line comparison, however, can give an adequate idea of the immense superiority of Ferreira's version over that of his translator. The poetry and grace of the original are replaced by platitudes and verbiage. The work of the scholar, derived from his love for the classics, is nearly always pleasing but when the humanist puts on cassock and cowl, the result is less attractive

Nise laureada, also published in 1577, is a continuation of *Nise lastimosa*. Bermúdez showed himself in the first play capable of writing fairly smooth verse, not a difficult task when one considers the fidelity with which he followed his original and the kinship between Spanish and Portuguese, but he displays his shortcomings as a dramatist in the second play in which he was obliged to rely upon himself for inspiration. The theme is the disinterment and coronation of Inés de Castro immediately after Pedro's accession to the throne, and the horrible death which he inflicted upon her murderers. In the development of his material, he deviated from the historical account, since royal honors were not accorded Inés until 1361, four years after Pedro became king. This was done in order to give the play the appearance of unity of time which, however, is not strictly observed. The chief objection to the play is that it has no dramatic interest. The fate of the murderers is a foregone conclusion, and each act is filled up with 'wearisome monologues' and interminable dialogues until the *exitus horribilis* at the close. Unlike most of the dramatists of the period, he does not attempt to enlist our sympathy in behalf of the victims, and the reader merely breathes a deep sigh of relief when they finally meet their death.

In form, the play is a compromise between the manner of Seneca and of Greek tragedy. It is divided into five acts, and the chorus

not only serves to fill in the intermissions with choral songs, but also declaims within the acts and occasionally engages in dialogue with the chief characters. The choral songs are only remotely connected with the action. The classical 'nurse' appears as the attendant of the three children of Inés and Pedro. The characters all speak in the same bombastic fashion, with frequent allusions to Greek mythology and biblical story. The perverse tendency to preaching and moralizing, of which evidence is given in *Nise lastimosa*, is here carried to excess, and the ever recurring line of the chorus:

Conviértete á tu Dios, ó mundo ciego,

shows that the play has a definite moral purpose. The restraint and simplicity, which constitute the chief charm of Ferreira's work, are entirely lacking.

I have found but little evidence of direct translation from Seneca in *Nise laureada*, but a study of the play shows that it is wholly in the Senecan manner. The wearisome monologues, long dialogues in which the action is stationary, lack of restraint in the expression of grief and anger, far-fetched figures of speech, sententiousness, love of moralizing, the stoicism of the prisoners in the face of death, and the atrocious murders committed on the stage, all point to a close study of the Latin dramatist. The author shows himself as incapable as Seneca of expressing himself in simple, natural language.

The first act opens with the return of Pedro as king to Coimbra, the city which awakens so many sad memories in his heart. The scene afforded an excellent opportunity for dramatic treatment, but his monologue is a farrago of commonplaces and extravagant rhetorical figures. The bishop who meets him expatiates on the theme that this world is merely a preparation for eternal life, and recounts the creation and fall of man and the blessings which a ruler may bring to his people. The king is non-committal as to his intentions, but breaks out in laments when he sees his children and the nurse who had witnessed the death of Inés. His chamberlain reproaches him for his excessive grief and urges temperate action, which the king quite naturally characterizes as "pesado aviso de filosofia."

In the second act, the constable mourns the dangers which threaten Portugal, and after a choral song, the king engages in an

animated discussion with the Spanish ambassador and with the constable who opposes the exchange of three fugitives from Spain in order that the murderers of Inés be delivered into the hands of Pedro. The king exclaims in Senecan style that he would rather die than give up his plan of vengeance. The constable retaliates by extolling virtue in the most pedantic fashion and urges clemency. The king will not listen to reason, and declares that he will not only put the murderers to death, but that the honors due a queen must be accorded to the body of Inés.

In the third act, the chamberlain and chorus announce that the day for the coronation of Inés has arrived and the king expresses in rhetorical fashion his grief for the loss of his wife, thus leading up to the coronation scene, in which the constable swears allegiance to the corpse. Pedro's mourning is too pretentious to awaken much sympathy either for Inés or himself. One realizes even better the difference between declamatory rhetoric and real poetry when we compare the scene with this superb stanza of Camoens:¹

Assi como a bonina, que cortada
 Antes do tempo foi, candida e bella,
 Sendo das mãos lascivas maltratada
 Da menina, que a trouxe na capella,
 O cheiro traz perdido e a cor murchada
 Tal está morta a pallida donzella,
 Seccas do rosto as rosas, e perdida
 A branca e viva cor, co'a doce vida.

The act closes with an epithalamium, sung by the chorus, and perhaps suggested by Seneca's *Medea*, 56 ff.

At the opening of the fourth act, Coello and González appear in prison. The dialogue is even more bombastic and ridiculous than elsewhere. González addresses the jailer as "Plutónico ministro," and the latter shows his acquaintance with the classics by thus apostrophizing the prisoners:

¿ De qué Caúcaso monte acá salistes ?
 ¿ De qué nevada Scitia habeis venido ?
 ¿ Qué Hircanas tigres os han dado leche ?

¹ Os *Lusiadas*, Canto III, cxxxiv.

The executioner and jailer indulge in gruesome jokes at the expense of the victims, who bear the torments to which they are subjected with the utmost fortitude. González tries to justify himself, and borrows an extravagant figure from *Thyestes*, 476-82:

la noche oscura día será al mundo:
 quietas estarán Scila y Caribdis,
 reposarán con Eolo Neptuno,
 del mar se cogerán maduras mieses,
 el cielo caerá sobre la tierra
 primero que las muertes, o las vidas,
 las esperanzas grandes, o los miedos,
 los ruegos blandos, o las amenazas
 del Rey cruel, o tuyas, o del mundo
 nos haga desmentir un solo punto
 del que guardamos siempre de constancia, etc.

In the fifth act, after the king has wearied of torturing the prisoners, he commands that their hearts be torn from their bodies. The order is carried out on the stage and the chorus adds ghastly details. After the bodies are taken out to be burned, the king indulges in a monologue expressing his desire for eternal life, and the chorus moralizes on the vanities of earthly things and urges that man turn to God.

It is not likely that the plays of Bermúdez had any definite influence upon the development of the Spanish drama. The dominant influence in Spanish drama in the decade of 1580-90 was Juan de la Cueva, and it is a well-known fact that he deliberately violated many of the rules of classical tragedy. It is true that spasmodic attempts were made after that date to write plays according to classical models, but they were completely overshadowed by the New Comedy of Lope de Vega. The study of Bermúdez' plays, however, and particularly of his use of Seneca, offers an interesting chapter in the history of the Renaissance in Spain.

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HISPANIC NOTES

1. ACER

Spanish has, besides *agre* < *acre*¹ and *agro* < *acru*, the word *agrío*, which is perhaps derived from *acrior* or *acrius*. On account of the difference in stress, these comparative forms were not closely associated with *acriore*, and one or both of them may have been preserved when *acriore* was lost. After the derivatives of *magis acre* and *magis acru* were firmly established, the derivatives of *acrior* and *acrius* could have been mistaken for mere variants of *agro* < *acru*, *agos* < *acros*. It is also possible that at an earlier time the existence of *acriust* = *acrius est*, beside *acrust* = *acrum est* and *acrest* = *acre est*, caused *acrius* to become the masculine form corresponding to a neuter **acriu* (*acrust* : *acru* = *acriust* : **acriu*). For *agrío* < *acrior*, compare Italian *sarto* < *sartor* beside *sempre* < *semper*; we might however assume *agrío* < **argrío* < **agrrior*, with double displacement followed by a dissimilative loss of *r* as in *arado* < *aratru*.

Portuguese *agre* is historically the same as Spanish *agre*; *agro* may correspond to both *agrío* and *agro*, since *i* has been lost in *adro* < *atriu*. Provençal *aigre*² and French *aigre* represent earlier **agrío*, with *i* displaced as in *airo* = *aire* < **aria* < *area*. The retention of *g* in French does not necessarily imply that *aigre* is a book-word. We can assume that *acrior* developed through **argrío* to **agrío*, with a dissimilative loss of the first *r* after *g* had become a fricative in the derivative of *lacrima*, and after *ala* had changed to or toward *ele*.

2. ATRU

In Michaelis' Portuguese-English dictionary, the adjective *adro*, meaning "sad," is described as a figurative use of the noun *adro*, which means "place" or "square." Evidently the two words are historically separate: one came from *atru*, and the other from *atriu*, as is shown by the dialectal form *aidro*.³ For the meaning of the

¹ Lacking in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary.

² Lacking in Meyer-Lübke's dictionary.

³ *Revista lusitana*, V, 164.

adjective, compare *negro* "sad" and "dark." The persistence of *atru* in Hispanic seems to have been generally overlooked by etymologists.

3. CAMBIARE

Italian has lengthened *b* in *abbia* < *habeat* as in *labbra* < *labra*; from the difference between *capra* < *capra* and *sappia* < *sapiat*, it would seem that hiatus-*i* may be even more of a consonant than *r*. Therefore it is doubtful whether we have a right to call Spanish *cambiar* abnormal¹ by reason of the seeming disagreement with *lamer* < *lambere*. Spanish has kept *b* before a consonant in *sombra*, and added it to *hombre* < *homine*, *hombro* < *umeru*. Probably we ought to consider *cambiar* regular, hiatus-*i* being equivalent to a consonant; we may however call *camiar* regular too, with regard to the loss of *b*. The older form of *camiar* was *camear*, which Menéndez Pidal would explain by assuming² an early "vacilación entre *-ear* y *-iar*." It is true that in Spanish dialects *-ear* and *-iar* are often confused; but the usual tendency is to change hiatus-*e* to *i*. Where the opposite development has occurred in recent times, it can be considered the result of over-correctness: if a person says *-iar* where the written language has *-ear*, an artificial alteration of *i* to *e* may affect words with historic *i*. But such artificiality was not common in mediaeval times.

The reason for the *e* of *camear* is probably to be found in an early Romanic development: we may assume that the *i* of *cambiare* became *e*, parallel with *timere* > **temere*. When proparoxytones disappeared from the present tense in Spanish, **cámbeo* changed to *cámbo* with normal *b* before consonant-*i*, and to *caméo* with a normal loss of *b* before a vowel. Under the influence of *caméo* and other such forms, *camear* was developed as a variant of normal *cambiar*, and produced later *camiar*. The form *cambéo* < **cámbeo*, with the *b* that belongs to *cambiar*, has been preserved or reconstructed in American Spanish.³

Asturian has *llamber* < *lambere*, so that its *b* is normal in *cambear*. Likewise Portuguese keeps *b* in *lamber*, and in *cãubar*, *cambar*, *cambiar*. The relation of these three forms is not entirely clear. An early

Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist. española*, Madrid, 1905, § 47.

² *Ibid.*, § 106.

³ Bello, *Opúsculos gramaticales*, II, Madrid, 1891, p. 350.

hiatus-*e* (or its derivative *i*) was regularly displaced after a single labial, as in *raiva* and *ruivo* beside Spanish *rabia*, *rubio*. But after a group of consonants it might disappear: *adro* < *atriu*, *soberba* < *superbia*. Likewise a late hiatus-vowel is lost in *tërmo* < *terminu* beside *fêmea* < *femina*. Apparently *cāiba* is a normal development from **cābea* or *cābia*; but if the change of *ā* to *ām* (before *b*) was nearly contemporary with *adro* < **adreo*, it is clear that *camba* could also be called normal. The ordinary modern form *cambiar* may perhaps be held to show that hiatus-vowels were less readily altered before the stressed syllable than after it.

4. *ERGO

In modern Tuscan a stressed vowel is regularly short before a consonant of the same syllable. In classic Latin there was apparently no such mechanical rule for checked vowels, yet there was a distinct tendency to shorten them, in accord with the later Italian practice. Italian *detto* requires *dīctū* beside *dīco*; the *i* of Spanish *dicho* may be analogic, or due to a mixture of **dīto* < *dīctū* and **decho* < *dīctū*. The stem of *mītto* (> Spanish *meto*) represents earlier **smīd-t-*, corresponding to English *smite* (< **smīd-*) with the addition of a suffix. The short vowels of *përna* and *uëntus*, attested by Spanish *ie* in *pierna* and *viento*, came from long *e*.¹ The Romanic derivatives of *uindemia*, a compound of *uīno-*, show that the first vowel was shortened in or before the classical Latin period.

We might therefore reasonably assume *ērigo* > **ërgo* as a normal Latin development, owing to the general absence of *ē* before any consonant-group beginning with *r*. A possible objection to this theory is, however, to be found in Italian *erta*, which has close *e*. It is true that the quality of *e* has undergone change in many Italian words, but the general tendency is to make checked *e* open, so that *erta* has probably retained the historic close *e* of *ērigo*. We might say that Italian and Spanish represent two different forms of spoken Latin, one keeping long *e* in **ergo* until the time when quality was independent of quantity, while the other did not do so. But it would perhaps be simpler to explain Spanish *yergo* as being due to *yerto*. The stressed *e* of *erectu* was short; or if it was not short in

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 89.

classic Latin, it could have become open at a later time under the influence of *rego*. When analogic **erctu* replaced *erectu*, the stressed vowel may have been adapted to that of *erĕctu* in some localities, and to that of **ĕrgo* in others (if we reject theoretic **ĕrgo* with open *e*): this would explain the difference between Italian *erta* < **ĕrcta* and Spanish *yerto* < **ĕrctu*.

5. GRAMEN

In Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary, Spanish *grama* is given as a derivative of *gramen*. This is presumably to be understood as meaning *grama* < *gramina*; but even so, the development calls for comment. The change of **gramna* to **gramra*, in accordance with *lumne* > **lumre*, was followed by the elimination of *r*, as in *aratru* > *arado*. The evasion seen in **aramne* > *alambre* did not occur in **gramra*, for early Spanish disliked initial *gl*; *glera* may be explained by assuming a variant **grela*, which could not lose *g*. The development of **gramra* to *grama* is apparently the only evidence showing that **lumre* existed for a considerable time, in spoken Spanish, intermediate to *lumne* and *lumbre*.

Portuguese has *grama* corresponding to Spanish *grama*. If the foregoing theory of the Spanish word is correct, we may consider Portuguese *grama* a dialectal variant of a lost **gramea*, parallel with *duza* = *dúzia*, *rava* = *raiva* < **ravea* < **rabia*.¹

6. IUGU

In Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary, Portuguese *jugo* and Spanish *yugo* are needlessly marked as book-words. The treatment of *g* is normal, agreeing with *chaga* = *llaga* < *plaga*. The Spanish *y* can be explained as belonging to some southern dialect that disappeared when the Moors invaded Spain; a similar dialectal *y* is seen in the kindred word *yunta*, beside normal *junto* < **iūntu* < *iūnctū*. In a large portion of France initial *y* became *dʒ* at an early period, but many of the Gascon dialects lack this development,² and it is equally possible that in some regions of Spain *y* was kept, not only before stressed *a*, but before *o* and *u* also. The only apparent ground

¹ *Revista lusitana*, IX, 173; X, 239.

² Millardet, *Études de dialectologie landaise*, Toulouse, 1910, p. 178.

for Meyer-Lübke's theory is the change of *ũ* to close *u*. This development was due to analogic influence. A normal *u* was formed in the Hispanic derivative of *iũngit*,¹ and it changed *o* (or earlier open *u*) to close *u* in the noun. Similarly in some portions of Southern France, the derivative of *iugu* has acquired a nasal consonant from the verb, for example *djounç* (*džunʃk*) in the dialect of Nice.

In spoken Latin, *v* or the bilabial fricative β replaced intervocalic *b* at an early time. Likewise in western Romanic the dental fricative δ was developed from *d*: in Northern France it has been lost, farther south it is generally represented by *z*, while in Hispanic it is sometimes kept (Spanish *nido*) and sometimes lost (Portuguese *ninho* < **nio* < *nidu*). Probably the velar fricative γ was developed from intervocalic *g*, in all the Romanic dialects that formed δ from *d*. Provençal has *g* in *plago* < *plaga*, but perhaps it represents an older γ : in *avoust* (< *aost*?) < **agustu*, γ was changed or lost because it had nearly the same tongue-position as the following vowel; in **playa* it was kept (and afterward changed back to *g*), for here it was more distinct from the adjacent vowels, and its loss would have left an unusual word-form. In some of the Sardinian dialects that have lost intervocalic voiced fricatives, final *-aa* has become *-ae*,² as *fae* < *faba*, *pieae* < *plaga*, although Sardinian vowels are in general very conservative.

In Andalusian the words *llaga* and *yugo* are commonly pronounced with γ ; in Castilian the sound is often nearly like our occlusive *g* in *go*. In Portuguese *chaga* and *jugo*, *g* may be incompletely occlusive.³ An old formation of γ , not only in *chaga* and *xugo*, but also in words like *logo* < *locu*, *pagar* < *pacare*, is implied by the Galician development $\gamma > \chi$, which occurred at the time (and under the influence) of the general Castilian unvoicing of fricatives.⁴ An early formation of γ may also be assumed to explain *yuwo*, an old variant of *yugo* given in the Academy's *Diccionario*. The sounds *w* and γ have almost the same tongue-positions, so that in the development of **yuwo* from *yuyō* there was simply an extension of the

¹ *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.

² Wagner, *Lautehre der südsard. Mundarten*, Halle, 1907, p. 25.

³ Vianna, *Pronuncia normal portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1892, p. 33.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, IV, 280.

lip-rounding, combined with a very slight lessening of the tongue-elevation. A further change of a similar kind produced *yuβo*, written *juwo*. Corresponding forms with *v* are found in some of the dialects of Italy, as Emilian *zov* and Sicilian *juvu*.

7. LONGE

Baist supposes that the diphthong of Spanish *lueñe* was due to the influence of normal *luengo* < *longu*.¹ Menéndez Pidal assumes that *lueñe* < *longe* was parallel with *bueno* < *bonu*, and that a variant of *longe* with long *o* is needed for French *loin*, Provençal *lonh*, dialectal Spanish *lloñe* and *lonni*² (in which *nn* meant the sound *ñ*, or perhaps *ññ*). Both of these scholars have overlooked a matter of some importance: in preliterate Castilian, open *o* became close before a palatal, and close *o* sometimes became *oi*. In *cicōnia* > *cigüeña*, *uerecundia* > *vergüeña*, close *o* changed to *oi* on account of the following *ñ*: likewise in the derivative of *lōnge*, close *o* developed through *oi* to *ue*. *Lueñe* agrees with *agüero* < **agoiro*; the variant *luen* has *n* in accord with *desdén* beside *desdeñar*. The *t* of *luent* may have come from the *g* (palatalized *g*) of **loñge*, or it may have been due to the influence of *allén* = *allent* = *allende*, which had a similar meaning. The *luen* of the *Cid*, changed to *luon* by Menéndez Pidal³ to harmonize with *o*-assonances, should be written (if we adopt modern spelling) *loñe* or *loin*.

French has *bon* beside dialectal *buen* < *bonu*, *pont* = Spanish *punte* beside *dont* = Spanish *donde*, *don* < *dōnu* beside *flour* < *flōre*.⁴ The difference between *cuelt* < *cōlligit* and *loin* < **loñ* < *lōnge* is due to nasality: neither *don* nor **loñ* tells us anything about the Latin quantity. Early Provençal *lonh* has the variants *luenh* and *luonh*, requiring a basis with open *o*. If the *o* of *lonh* was close in some regions, so was that of *bon*, but we cannot for this reason assume *ō* in *bonu* or *longe*. The formation of close *o*, before a nasal, is proved

¹ Baist, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 2d ed., p. 889.

² Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Madrid, 1911, p. 462.

³ Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 1127.

⁴ The *ou* of early French, which assonated with checked *o* < *u*, was a diphthong like Catalan *ou* in *roure*. Portuguese dialects have *ō* and *ōu* for *ou* (Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 52), and likewise French *ou* changed through *ōu* to *ō* (*flōr*). The diphthong of our *flower*, representing older *ū*, shows that there was a dialectal change of *ou* to the sound *u* in early French, parallel with the similar developments in later *moudre* < *moldre*, *poudre* < *poldre*.

by the sound *u* in modern *boun* (*bun*) and *bou* (*bu*), corresponding to the *bon* (*bon*) of Mistral's dialect. An *o* in dialectal Spanish derivatives of *longe* does not imply a primitive close *o*; it shows merely that *o* did not become *oi* before *ñ* everywhere in Spain.

Sardic *frundza* < **frundia* indicates that *fronde* had a variant with *u*¹ in Latin. Likewise the *o* of *longe* became *u* in some portions of Italy, so that *u* may be called normal in Tuscan *lungi*, as in *giunge* < *iŭngit*.² But Catalan *lluny*³ < *lŭnge* is normal, with *u* < *uo* as in *full* < *fŏliu*, *ull* < *ŏcuku*. There is no evidence of a long *o* in *longe* or *longu*, at least in the literary derivatives; Provençal *luenh* (> *liēn*) and *luonh* (> *lionh*), Sicilian *lonnu*,⁴ and Spanish *luengo* prove clearly that the *o* was open in early Romanic.

8. NAUIGIU

In his *Gramática histórica española*, Menéndez Pidal gives as examples of harmonic vowel-change the words *cirio*, *vendimia*, *jibia*, *vidrio*, *pelliza*, *erizo*, *tiña*, *navío*, *mido*, *viuda*, *mingua*, with *correa*, *vezo*, *ceja*, *mancebo*, *mengua*, and other cases like these as "excepciones inexplicadas" (§ 11). In my article on the Romanic vowel-system, published in *Modern Philology* (XI, 347), I have shown that *correa* and *vezo* are normal, intervocalic *gi* and *ti* having lost their hiatus-vowels before the principle of harmony was active. The same chronology applies to *ceja* < *cīlia*. From the agreement of *ceja* with *troja* (=Portuguese *troha*) < *trullea*, it is clear that intervocalic *li* became *λλ* in the third period of Hispanic vowel-development—that is, after the general changes of *ĩ* to *e* and of *ũ* to *o*—whereas *mucho* (=Portuguese *muito*) shows that Hispanic developed *λt* at an earlier time, and that this *λ* changed open *u* to close *u*.⁵ The word *mancebo* represents **mancīpu*. In spoken Latin, **mancīpius* replaced the neuter form, either on account of its meaning, or because *mancīpia* was mistaken for a singular. The vocative was **mancīpi* in both

¹ Not close *o*, as assumed by Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 47. Stressed close *o* makes *o* in all Sardinian dialects.

² *Modern Philology*, XI, 352.

³ Not "llunj" as given in Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary.

⁴ De Gregorio, *Saggio di fonetica siciliana*, Palermo, 1890, p. 91. Long *o* makes *u* in Sicilian, and *ŋ* makes *ŋŋ*, parallel with *nd* > *nn*, *mb* > *mm*.

⁵ *λ* = Portuguese *lh*.

numbers. In the vocative singular, analogic **mancipe* was adopted for the sake of clearness. This **mancipe*, with stressed open *i*, produced the nominative **mancipus*, which corresponds to Spanish *mancebo*.

The agreement of *mengua* with *lengua* implies that both are normal, and that *mingua* is based on *minguar*, or more probably that *mingua* and *minguar* were dialectal (compare Asturian *llingua*); for the difference between *cigüeña* < **cegoña* < **cegoña*¹ and *vergüeña* seems to indicate that checked *e* is normal in *menguar*. The difference between *lengua*, *mengua*, and *viuda* may likewise be ascribed to the checked position; Portuguese *língua* formerly had a free nasal vowel, without a following nasal consonant. Menéndez Pidal's assumption of an early Romanic **viwda* cannot be justified. From early French *vedve* and Provençal *vezoa*, which agree with Italian *vedova* and Rumanian *văduă*, it is plain that *uidua* developed *e* in all the western Romanic tongues; afterward the Hispanic *e* was changed to *i* before coming in contact with *u*.²

Portuguese *meço* is normal; Spanish *mido* < **medo* < **meço* owes its *i* to forms like *recibo* < **recibio*, in which the hiatus-vowel was normally kept after a labial, though finally removed by analogy (*recibe* : *recibo* < **recibio* = *vee* : *veo* < *veyo*). The *i* of *tiña* was due to *ñ*,³ not to the hiatus-vowel, which was lost earlier than that of *cibia*. The various Romanic equivalents of *erizo* and *pelliza*, including Emilian *rets* and *pletsa* (beside *finé* < *finitu*, *le* < *illíc*, *rek* = *ricco*, *vest* = *visto*), represent Latin forms with close *i*. Bookish *cirio* shows that vowel-harmony was a relatively late development.

On account of *correa*, it is evidently wrong to consider *navío* a normal Hispanic derivative of *navǵiu*. Spanish *navío* and Portuguese *navio* must have come from some dialect of Italy. The most likely source seems to be Sardinian *navtu* < *navǵiu*, with normal *i* as in *btere* < *bibere*, *corrta* < *corrǵia*. But other dialects might have developed words similar to Spanish *navío*. Sicilian has normal *i* < *ǵ*

¹ With a double nasal rather than a simple *ñ* as I wrote in *Modern Philology*, XI, 350; compare Italian medial *ññ* (spelled *gn*).

² *Modern Philology*, XI, 348. In § 10 of Zauner's *Altspan. Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1903), *vebda* is given as a variant of *viuda*, but other scholars question this assumption.

³ *Modern Philology*, XI, 349.

in *biviri*, *curria*, and could have formed **naviu* from *navǵiu*. A change of λ to y is found in Venetian *fio* < *filiu*, and apparently in Genoese *figgio* (*fidžu*): either dialect may have possessed a form corresponding to Tuscan *naviglio*. This Tuscan word is a singular remade from the derivative of **navilia*, on the analogy of nouns like *labbro* beside *labbra*.

9. *PAUCE

The dialect of Elvas, in eastern Alentejo, has *poke* and *poš* (with close *o*) as synonyms of literary *pouco*.¹ The form *poš* seems to have come from **pauce* or *pauci*, and would be *pouç* or *pouz* in historic spelling, *ou* having become a simple vowel in southern Portugal.² Apparently *poke* represents a composite of *paucu* and the other form, with *e* added to the general adjective-stem.

10. *RETRUNIA

In the *Bulletin hispanique*, X, 200, Bourciez describes Spanish *redruña* as a derivative of **retroneus*. If the word was borrowed from Catalan, *u* < *uo* < *ō* would be regular; but native stressed *u* < *o* cannot stand before *ñ*, except by an analogic change, as in *muño* for **mueño* < **moiño* < *moneo*. Latin perfects in **-ōmnī* and **-ōnnī* would make **-uñe*—if there were any. As a Castilian development, *redruña* would require a basis with *ũ* or *ū*; open *u* would have become close before *ññ* < *ni*.³

11. *TENEGO

In Castilian the spoken form of the word *entrado* varies between *entrađo* and *entrao*. On account of such variation in a great many words, the sound δ (similar to English voiced *th*) is sometimes added, by persons who imagine they are speaking correctly, to words not written with *d*, as *Bilbao* > *bilbado*, *paseo* > *paseđo*.⁴ A similar artificiality would explain Spanish *tengo* for **teño* < **teñño* < *teneo*. The idea that *tengo* might have come directly from **tenio* is certainly

¹ *Revista lusitana*, X, 252.

² *Vianna*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³ *Modern Philology*, XI, 350.

⁴ Araujo, *Estudios de fonética castellana*, Toledo, 1894, p. 67.

wrong. Latin nouns, such as *arana* and *uinea*, have never developed *g* < *i* in Spanish, so that the formation of *g* in *tengo* must be connected with the use of *teneo* as a verb.

In Latin poetry a final vowel was regularly dropped before a word beginning with a vowel, and the elision of vowels is common in Italian. We may therefore assume that the Romans did not generally say *pono ego*, when the pronoun was added: they said **pon ego*, and at a later time **ponego* without stress on the second element. The change of *ego* to **eo* produced **pon *eo*, **poneo*, **ponio* (>Portuguese *ponho*) as variants of **ponego*, and conversely **tenego* as an over-correct form of *teneo*. From *tēneo* came Spanish **teño* (=Portuguese *tenho*), with normal close *e* before *ñ*. Since *lōngu* makes *luengo*, **tenego* should have made **tiengo*: the form *tengo* has borrowed the close *e* of **teño*.

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FALSTAFF

In Shakespeare criticism, as in most things Anglo-Saxon but sport, there has been little professionalism. The best as well as the worst of our scientists and artists have done their work without learning how to do it, and our critics, like our soldiers, have won their Waterloos on cricket fields. For two hundred and fifty years Englishmen and Americans have been writing about the character of Falstaff, and hardly three or four of these have been students of the stage. Since 1777 they have followed in the steps of Maurice Morgann,¹ a country gentleman of philosophic bent and literary taste who seems to have known little of the acted drama and to have loved it less. In reading Shakespeare he is not reminded of Plautus or Terence, of Fletcher or Molière. We all know what sort of opinions, in ignorance of technique and historic development, were entertained in Morgann's time by men so delicate in sensibility as Walpole and Shelley, concerning Greek sculpture, Italian painting, and Gothic architecture; and is it likely that his opinion concerning Falstaff, though in England and America it has stood now for much more than a century, should be less fallible? Time establishes institutions, not truth. But though still we may hear that pointed construction was the immediate expression of the gloom and aspiration of the Middle Ages, and that groined vaulting and pillared aisles were devised in imitation of God's first temple, the over-arching

¹ *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, often since reprinted, and twice within the last ten years.

forest, Anglo-Saxons have had their eyes opened to the technique of art as not to the technique of the play. What might be called the external history of the drama has been explored, but technique has been neglected, and still anybody ventures to write on Shakespeare who has a style and taste. Few among these would appreciate the remark of Stevenson that to read a play is as difficult as to read musical score. And to read an old play is as difficult as to read old score.

Morgann reads like a true Romantic, and discovers in the effect of Falstaff upon us in the two Parts of *Henry IV* an opposition between feeling and the understanding. "Shakespeare has contrived to make secret impressions upon us of courage in favor of a character which was to be held up for sport and laughter on account of actions of apparent cowardice and dishonor." Falstaff's conduct is cowardly; his character, that subtler essence, is courageous.¹ Contrary to what we might expect, the cowardice and dishonor, which are perceived by the understanding, are the obvious traits, those "thrust forward and pressed upon our notice"; and the favorable mental impressions are attained to in the case of Morgann himself, not by the mystical faculty alleged, but through deliberate conjecture and devious ratiocination, that is, by the understanding, too. Whatever the process, the direct effect of the incidents of Gadshill and Shrewsbury, of Falstaff's confessions, and of the downright ridicule of him by the Prince, Lancaster, and Poins, is counteracted, he thinks, by inferences from the incidental testimony of characters such as Doll Tearsheet, Shallow, Lord Bardolph, and the Chief-Justice, and by such circumstances as his earlier "familiarity" with John of Gaunt, a "dozen captains" calling him to court, and his appearance once on the eve of battle in the presence of the King. At times the critic goes farther, and, in the faith that Shakespeare's characters are "essentially different from those of other writers," considers Falstaff as if he were an "historic rather than dramatic being,"² inquiring adventurously into his hopeful youth, his family, and his station, and inferring from these that he must have had the

¹ Cf., among many, Professor Bradley, *Oxford Lectures, The Rejection of Falstaff*, p. 266: "sometimes behaves in a cowardly way, but that does not show that he was a coward."

² Ed. 1820, pp. 61, 66.

constitutional instincts of courage although he had lost the principles which ordinarily accompany them.¹ So firmly has this notion of Falstaff as a real person taken hold of him that now and then he breaks out into exclamations against the "malice" from which Falstaff's reputation suffers, appeals to the reader's good nature to right him, and when confronted with the more unequivocal acts and utterances of his favorite can but call them "unfortunate," and, as if he were a friend in trouble, deplore his loquacity in soliloquy and "imprudence" in deed.² In this spirit of unaesthetic kindness, and in accordance with his principle of preferring to the prominent and obvious what is latent and obscure, he discredits the testimony of Lancaster and Poin as prompted by envy and ill-will, and the Prince's as given in raillery, makes much of the compliment implied in the surrender of that "famous knight and most valorous enemy" Colville of the Dale, and is of the opinion that a man who takes captives, and jests and dallies on a battlefield, has not got so frightened as to lose his presence of mind. Love of humor is the mainspring of his character: he falls flat at Shrewsbury for a jest and none of his lies and braggadocios is intended to deceive. The escapade of Gadshill, which in the story Shakespeare puts first, Morgann considers, as the "source of much unreasonable prejudice," last, and even if it must be thought an exhibition of cowardice holds it to be a single exception. The virtue of the jest afterward at Eastcheap is in the "reproof of the lies," which are but humor, and not in the exposure of the cowardice, which is a venial and momentary aberration.

In sum and substance and often in minute detail these views have been reproduced by English critics since³—by Coleridge and Swinburne, by Hazlitt, Lloyd, and Maginn, who make a jest even of the flight from Gadshill, and most elaborately, though most subtly of

¹ There is excellent comment on this trick of Morgann's and its effect on Shakespeare criticism since, in Mr. A. B. Walkley's *Drama and Life: Professor Bradley's Hamlet*. I cannot help thinking, however, that the fallacy would have prevailed even had Morgann never perpetrated it.

² Critics have kept something of this tone of the apologist to the present day, as Professor Bradley, *Oxford Lectures*, pp. 266, 268, note.

³ This is my only justification for paying so much attention to the ingenious but unpalatable arguments of a critic so far removed in time; this, and the stamp of approval laid upon them by Swinburne, Professor Bradley, and perhaps most remarkable of all, the student of roguery, Professor F. H. Chandler, in his introduction to *Henry IV* in

all, by Professor A. C. Bradley. His main achievement is the development, after Röttscher and others, of Morgann's notion of Falstaff as a "military freethinker" into that of one who by his humor dissolves away into words and airy nothings not only honor but those other obstacles and "nuisances"—truth, duty, devotion to one's country, the terrors of death and religion, everything in short that makes life real and earnest, thereby "lifting us into an atmosphere of perfect freedom."¹ Among the Germans Falstaff the philosopher has passed unchallenged, but among these students of the technique and history of the drama he has generally had to bear the badge of a coward too.

Johnson scoffed at his friend Morgann's innovation, and critics since have been disposed to pay him back in his coin. But they would hardly have been so quick to do it to Dryden, though twice explicitly and without qualification he calls Falstaff liar, coward, glutton, and buffoon.² And Thomas Fuller, Oldmixon, and all the seventeenth century with them take it for granted that he is nothing else.³ Since then the world had moved on a bit; yet a critical opinion on the drama propounded amid all the vagaries of the heyday of Romanticism, by one neither a dramatist nor a student of the drama, is on the face of it quite as questionable as the contrary opinion which till then had stood unimpeached.

Not only is Morgann strangely confused and contradictory in that, finding the circumstances creditable to Falstaff thrown into the background, and the "follies and the buffoonery" thrown into the foreground, he calls us, who attach greater importance to the latter, the dupes of our wisdom and systematic reasoning, but thus the Tudor edition. Even the Germans, as I suggest below, owe more to Morgann than they may be aware. Among English critics two conspicuous exceptions are Mr. Courthope (*History of English Poetry*, IV, 114) and Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Red Letter Shakespeare*, introduction to *Henry IV*, Part II); but they give no reasons and permit themselves no more than an oracular sentence.

¹ *Oxford Lectures*, pp. 262-63.

² *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (Every Man's Library), p. 43: "old, fat, merry, cowardly, drunken, amorous, vain, and lying"; Ingleby's *Shakespeare Allusion-Book* (ed. Munro), II, 246: "a liar, a coward, a Glutton, and Buffon, because all these qualities may agree in the same man."

³ Ingleby, *op. cit.*; Fuller, I, 486, "make-sport in all plays for a coward"; II, 43, "coward," "Buffoone"; Oldmixon, II, 431; George Daniel, I, 507; cf. Captain Alexander Smith, *Compleat History of the Lives and Robberies, etc.*, 1719, I, 1 f., who takes it that Shakespeare intended him for "a grand coward," and what Mr. Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, p. 175, says about his thinking Falstaff none, has to do only with the Fastoff of history and legend.

and otherwise he betrays a total misapprehension of dramatic method, whether of his own or of an earlier time. It is all too plain that he cannot read score. To him, as to many another philosopher and literateur, Shakespeare is not score to be played, but a book to be read; and a really great dramatist is one who dupes us, deliberately misplaces the emphasis, transcendently baffles men's wits. Yet of all dramatists down to Dumas and Ibsen—and even of them—the contrary is the case. What is in the foreground is important; what is in the background is less important, and, in Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, often epically, rather than dramatically and psychologically, in keeping.¹ And what stands first in the play, as the cowardly flight from Gadshill, is most important of all and dominates the whole. Besides these simple principles of dramatic emphasis and perspective, which in our discussion will constantly be illustrated, Morgann and his followers ignore the various hints of the poet as embodied in the established conventions of the time—the confessions in soliloquy, the comments and predictions of important undiscredited characters like the Prince and Poins, and various devices and bits of "business," like Falstaff's roaring as he runs and his falling flat in battle. All these are as much means of expression as the Elizabethan vocabulary of the text, and yet they are treated as if they had no fixed and definite meaning—as if, as someone has said, the book had dropped from the skies; and the playwright and his time vanish from his play. So far has this gone that, as we have seen, inquiry presses coolly by him to the character's lineage, financial and social experiences, and his past as a whole. It was but yesterday that an Elizabethan scholar contended that we had a right to do this, and that characters in plays, particularly in Shakespeare's, were not unreal like statues and paintings. They can think, talk, and walk—they are bits of real life, not art!

On the principle that what is most prominent is most important surely there is no need to dwell: of art it is the beginning and end. Of the correlative principle that the first impression is designedly the dominant one there is in the case of Shylock a remarkable illustration which I have exhibited elsewhere,² and even in the plays of

¹ See my article "Hamlet and Iago," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913).

² See in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1911, my article "Shylock," pp. 240-41.

Ibsen we have only apparent exceptions to the rule. If Helmer in the *Doll's House* is not the heroic character, and Nora not the frivolous one, they may at first appear to be, that first impression is corrected not by "secret" impressions and insignificant details such as Morgann discovers, but by subsequent revelations which loom large and for which every preparation has been made. They do not counteract and contradict; they consummate and fulfil; and the same character moves and wavers, discloses itself and shrinks together again, before our eyes. Ibsen makes us the dupes, not of our wisdom but of our stupidity, and then for no more than moments. Such plays, however, are not Shakespeare's; his involve processes which unfold primarily not character but events; and at the end, except for casual conversions, his characters are pretty much what they were at the beginning. Falstaff is as much of a coward sprawling on Shrewsbury Field as running down Gadshill. What, then, do these facts mean? as Mr. Bradley asks after having detailed the "secret impressions." "Does Shakespeare put them all in with no purpose at all, or in defiance of his own intention?" He never defies his own intention, I suppose, save in the hands of us critics. The incongruities, as I hope presently to show, are either necessarily or traditionally involved in the type of the *miles gloriosus* which he is here undertaking to exhibit; or they are incidental to the current convention of the professional comic person on the stage; or else they are such contradictions and irrelevancies as Shakespeare, writing for the stage and not for the study, slips into continually, examples of which in one play have, with admirable discernment, been collected by Mr. Bradley himself.¹

Meantime we take it that, standing first, "this unfortunate affair" of Gadshill is *meant* to prejudice us. In itself it is an example of the old device of a practical joke on the stage, not disdained by Molière and Goldoni, Goldsmith and Sheridan, any more than by the Elizabethans, and in farce not extinct today. According to Elizabethan usage a foolish character—a braggart, or a coward, or a conceited ass like Malvolio, or even a merry misogynist like Benedick

¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 265-68. The contradictions involved in Shakespeare's time-references, again, are without number; since the days of Wilson they have been turned into a miracle of art.

—is, by conspiracy, fooled to the top of his bent, and in the end made aware of it and jeered at. Of this there are many instances in the comedies of Shakespeare, as in those of Marston, Chapman, Dekker, and the rest of the craft. Always the expectations of the practical jokers—as here in Falstaff's cowardly conduct and "incomprehensible lies"—are fulfilled, and the victim's ridiculous sayings and doings cast in his teeth. (Sometimes he loses temper, like Malvolio and Benedick; sometimes he takes to his wits to cover his retreat, like Falstaff. But at the outset he steps into the trap laid for him, unawares. There is no instance of a character making a fool of himself on purpose—playing the coward on purpose¹ and then playing the ludicrous braggart afterward. To an audience such an ambiguous situation would have been incomprehensible. In Part II, when the Prince and Poins overhear Falstaff slandering them, they force him this time to admit that he did not know them as well as the Lord that made them. In neither incident could he have played a part any more than Parolles when he slanders and, as he thinks, betrays his master and all the leaders of his army;² in either case we have a convention, a bit of stage language, we might say, almost as precise and ascertainable in meaning as any old word or phrase in the text, but then current in the same acceptation on the Continent and in after times as well. The overhearing and confronting of the backbiter or plain-speaker is a device employed in *Le monde où l'on s'ennuie*³ as in the *Fourberies de Scapin*.

There are indeed some few instances of the victim, not a fool as thought, detecting the trap; but he gets even, like the Merry Wives of Windsor, not by stepping into it with a still smile, but by leading

¹ Unlike many, Morgann and Mr. Bradley do not think that Falstaff runs away on purpose, though they do think that his lying afterward is in jest. Others think that he takes the hint and turns earnest to jest in the midst of his buckram story:

Prince: Prithee let him alone: we shall have more anon.

Fal.: Dost thou hear me, Hal?

Prince: Ay, and mark thee too, Jack.

Fal.: Do so, for it is worth listening to.

The first speech is certainly an aside—by the second that is clearly indicated. If at the last speech Falstaff sees that he is detected, still he does not save his reputation or cleverness, about which the critics are concerned, for he has been tripped up repeatedly already; and the cardinal stupidity lies in the tale as a whole.

² *All's Well*, IV, 1, 3.

³ III, 1. Darkness here takes the place of disguise, as mistaken identity does in the *Fourberies* where Zerbinette has her say about Geronimo to his face.

the joker into it or setting one of his own. In that case the victim makes his detection of the trap quite clear to the audience in aside or soliloquy. Whenever in Elizabethan drama a character is feigning we are informed of it. That Prince Hal is playing the roysterer on purpose he himself tells us twice over,¹ but that Falstaff is playing coward, liar, or thief on purpose is intimated neither by him nor by anyone else.

That thus we read Shakespeare, not by his own light only, but also by that of his contemporaries, appears from the parallel situation in the second and third acts of the First Part of Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*.² Attacked in the fields by Bess in the disguise of a man, the boasting and swaggering Roughman shows the white feather, but afterward boasts to her of his deeds, is led on by her simulated interest and sympathy, entangled and tripped up in his lies, and finally put to confusion when all the facts are laid bare. Like Falstaff he incurs ridicule, if not for counting noses and telling buckram from Kendal green when it is so dark that he cannot see his own hand, at least for justling with the enemy for the wall in mid-field. Like Falstaff he tells how and when he "took" the blows and "put them by." "I was never so put to it" (I never dealt better). "I think I paid him home" (seven of the eleven I paid). "Scap'd he with life?" (pray God, you have not murder'd some of them). "Ay, that's my fear: if he recover this," etc. (nay, that's past praying for). That Roughman is a coward no one can doubt, "for he himself has said it";³ and manifestly the whole point in the "reproof of his lies," as of Falstaff's, is the ignominy of cowardice. The two things are inseparable; no dramatist—no one but a metaphysician—would think of separating them, or of having a liar confuted who is lying for fun.

Falstaff's cowardice appears still more clearly when the Gadshill incident is viewed in detail. There is the testimony of the Prince, Poins, and Falstaff himself. Four times the Prince flatly calls him coward to his face.⁴ The only time Falstaff attempts to deny it—on Gadshill—the Prince replies, "Well, we leave that to the proof";

¹ Part I, I, ii, 160, 218-40.

² Published in 1631; probably written before 1603.

³ *Fair Maid*, Part I, III, i, 296 (*Works*, 1874).

⁴ Part I, II, ii, 69; iv, 268, 542; Part II, II, iv, 353.

and it comes speedily. Poins's estimate of his character has been subjected to the most undramatic and hair-splitting comment imaginable:¹ "Well, for two of them, I know them to be as true-bred cowards as ever turned back; and for the third, if he fight longer than he sees reason, I'll forswear arms" (I, ii, 205). Certainly the latter half of the sentence contains no praise, however faint; it is followed by the remark about "the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us." Here or anywhere Poins, or Shakespeare himself, is not the man to distinguish between conduct and character, principles and constitution, a coward and a courageously consistent Epicurean; and this can only be a case of understatement and irony. Falstaff himself admits that he was a coward on instinct,² and at Shrewsbury says to himself, "I fear the shot here," "I am afraid of this Percy," and makes his words good by stabbing the corpse. Against such an interpretation Morgann and his followers murmur, bidding us remember his age and his peculiar philosophy, the corrupting example of his associates, the odds against him, and the suddenness of the assault; but on the Elizabethan comic stage, or any popular stage, where of course there are no relentings toward cowardice (there being none even toward things beyond control, as cuckoldom, poverty, physical ugliness, or meanness of birth), nobody confesses to fear but a coward, a child, or a woman. All of Shakespeare's cowards, like his villains, bear their names written in their foreheads, and his true men, like Don Quixote in the eyes of Sancho, neither know nor understand what fear or dismay is.

How little Morgann regarded dramatic method and stage-craft is nowhere more evident than at this early moment in the episode:

Peto: How many be there of them?

Gadshill: Some eight or ten.

Fal.: Zounds, will they not rob us?

Prince: What, a coward, Sir John Paunch?

Fal.: Indeed, I am not John of Gaunt, etc.—II, ii.

but yet no coward, Hal
A 41 A B

This he finds to be hardly more of a confession³ than the Prince's own remark to Poins as they plan their trick in the second scene of Act I: "Yea, but I doubt they will be too hard for us." The latter

¹ By Morgann first, and, without the hair-splitting, by many after him, including Swinburne and Bradley.

² Part I, II, iv, 300-301.

³ P. 126.

remark is casual, being meant only to call forth Poin's comment (quoted above) on their companions' timorous natures, whereas Falstaff's speech is uttered after the limelight has been turned full upon him—the audience has been apprised of his cowardice, the business is afoot, and the booty at hand. Thus everything has been nicely calculated to give his abrupt exclamation full comic value and “bring down the house,” as anybody would see but one who on principle had already blurred dramatic perspective and jumbled “values.”

That Falstaff is not dissembling is still more evident from the management of the ensuing scene. Immediately after the robbery of the travelers he calls Poin and the Prince cowards, and swaggers. Now the coward charging the brave with cowardice,¹ like the coward boasting of his courage,² is a perennial situation, on the stage or off it. Parolles, Panurge, the two Jodelets of Scarron, and the cowards of the “character”-writers are examples; and in our time an audience knows as well what it means when such a charge comes from the lips of one already discredited as when a drunken man declares that he is not drunk. To clinch the business, immediately upon his words follows the ironical dramatic reversal and traditional comic situation of the robbery of the robbers,³ and the fat rogue roaring and running away. What dunce in the audience could now fail to follow the drift? And when Falstaff, with his craven crew, bursts in, sweating to death, upon Hal and Poin at the inn, he still cries out on cowards, again and again, as he drinks. Then, when he has caught his breath, come the “incomprehensible lies” of the men in buckram and Kendal green, the acting out of the combat—wards, blows, and extremities—and the swindling exhibit of battered buckler, bloodied garments, and hacked sword. And just like the coward denying his cowardice and the drunken man denying his drunkenness, he now cries, “I tell thee what, Hal, if I tell thee a lie, spit in my face, call me horse!” “Wilt thou believe me, Hal?” he says on a like

¹ Basillisco, *Soliman and Perseda* (1588), II, ii, 67–80; III, ii, 30; Parolles, *All's Well*, IV, iii, 321; Jodelet, *Maitre-Valet*, I, iii and v; Jodelet *Duelliste*; Panurge, Rabelais, IV, chap. 24. John Earle, *Microcosmography* (1628), The Coward: “A coward is the man that is commonly most fierce against the coward.”

² All cowards in the drama boast. Cf., besides those cited above, the popular types, Capitano, Harlequin, Scaramouche. Cf. Maurice Sand, *Masques et Bouffons*, II, 258.

³ Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person*, pp. 151–52.

occasion, again much misdoubting in his bluster; "three or four bonds apiece and a seal ring of my grandfather's." We have seen him fighting, we know his "old ward" and how he "bore his point," and at these we laugh as at the "eight-penny matter" of the bonds and ring. Even if we should suspect him of saying it all for fun, on the spur of the moment, we now learn from blushing Bardolph of "his monstrous devices"—that like the cowardly Dericke of the *Famous Victories of Henry V*¹ he had persuaded them all to tickle their noses with speargrass, and to hack their swords with their daggers. As the precious coward Parolles, who thinks also of cutting his garments and breaking his Spanish sword, plans to do, he had given himself some hurts, though "slight" ones, and now swears he had "got them in exploit."² Here are all the conventional and traditional tricks of cowardice,³ and on the exposure of cowardice the comic effect of the scene depends as much as on the reproof of the lies.

Ah! je le veux charger ce maistre fanfaron:
On ne peut l'estre tant, et n'estre pas poltron.

Just there is the point of twitting him with his boasting lies and excuses; but twice in the scene the Prince calls him coward into the bargain, and casts it up to him that he "hacked his sword and then said it was in fight."⁴ "What a slave art thou!" Hal says truly.

Nor by his shifts and evasions, "I knew ye" and "instinct," does he come off safe and sound. Throughout the rest of the scene and even in Part II he is twitted with them.⁵ "No more of that, Hal," he cries, "an thou lovest me"; and that is not the tone of triumph. Even in the midst of this scene his cowardice breaks out spontaneously anew. "Zounds," cries Poins, "an ye call me coward, I'll stab thee." And the fat man sidles off, comically enough

¹ 1585-88. As is well known, Shakespeare was acquainted with the play, and drew from it the traits of Falstaff's cowardice, thievishness, and loose living, the touches of repentance and sanctimoniousness, and his friendship with Hal.

² See *All's Well*, IV, 1, for all these details; cf. Pistol, *Henry V*, V, 1, 93-94:
And patches will I get unto these cudgell'd scars,
And swear I got them in the Gallia wars.

³ Aside from the other instances cited, there is that in Theophrastus, *Characters*, cap. XXV, iii, where the coward "smears himself with another's blood to show," etc.

⁴ II, iv, 288: "Coward": lines 268, 542.

⁵ II, iv, 332-35.

giving the words just on his lips the lie: "I call thee coward! I'll see thee damned ere I call thee coward,"¹ etc. Just so he falters and his bluster rings loud but hollow when in Part II the Servant of the Chief-Justice begs leave to tell him that he lies in his throat. "I give thee leave to tell me so! If thou gettest any leave of me, hang me!"²

Through the rest of the play his cowardice is, as Morgann drolly confesses, still "thrust forward and pressed upon our notice."³ Shakespeare will have him a coward if Morgann won't. When he hears the news of the uprising he ingenuously asks the Prince whether he is not horribly afeard, and in reply is told that the Prince lacks some of his instinct. When ordered off to the North he wishes this tavern were his drum; and on the eve of the fray he whimpers, "I would 'twere bed-time, Hal, and all well,"⁴ and then says his catechism of dishonor. Standing by as Hal and Hotspur come together, he proves to be as good at encouraging others to fight as the white-livered Moron and Panurge.⁵ Then he falls flat and feigns death like clowns and cowards in the hour of danger, not in England only but in contemporary Germany, Spain, and Italy,⁶ and above all sets the seal on his cowardice by the dastardly blow and by hatching the scheme to take the honor of killing Hotspur to himself. "I'll swear I killed him," he says, "nothing confutes me but eyes and nobody sees me"; and could anything more effectively contradict the opinion that he "stood on the ground

¹ II, iv, 160.

² Part II, I, ii, 99; cf. II, iv, 344.

³ Pp. 3, 47.

⁴ "This articulated wish is not the fearful outcry of a coward, but the frank and honest breathing of a generous fellow, who does not expect to be seriously reproached with the character" (Morgann, p. 83). Even in our day, on the stage or off it, a character of Falstaff's reputation would not risk the confession with impunity. How much less in more rough-and-ready times!

⁵ *Princesse d'Elide*, I, iii, where, perched in a tree, Moron urges on the archers to kill the bear; and Rabelais, II, chap. 29, where Panurge cheers on his master.

⁶ *Locrine* (1586), II, vi, Strumbo; Beolco (Ruzzante), First Dialogue; see Creizenach, IV, 340, for both; Cicognini, *Convitato di Pietra* (published before 1650), sc. 7, where Passarino falls flat to save himself, though not by feigning death; Calderon, *Principe Constante*, I, xiv, Brito, the gracioso; and for this "business" in contemporary Germany cf. Creizenach, *Englische Comödianten*, p. cv. In *Have with You to Saffron Walden* (1596), moreover, Nash, referring to an epigram of Campion's on Barnabe Barnes, and much exaggerating the tenor of the text, remarks: "He shewes how hee bragd when he was in France he slue ten men, when (fearfull cowbaby [coward]) he never heard peice shot off but he fell flat on his face." And in the character of the "coward" Nicholas Breton (*The Goode and the Badde*, 1616) says that he "falls flat on his face when he hears the cannon."

of natural courage only and common sense, and renounced that grinning idol of military zealots, honor,"¹ than his undertaking, like the pitiful poltroons, Pistol, Parolles, and Bessus,² to filch "bright honor," which the man fallen at his feet had boldly plucked? Such wreaking of one's self on a dead body, moreover, is, like his "playing possum," one of the established *lazzi* of the coward on the stage. Moron beats the bear once it is dead; the Franc Archier de Baignollet (c. 1480) beats the scarecrow once he recognizes it as such, and in Shakespeare's time clowns played pranks on corpses both in England and in Germany.³ Here in the battle, then, is a little heap of situations, *lazzi*, or bits of business, all stamped as those of a coward, not only intrinsically, but by immemorial custom; and it is difficult to see how Shakespeare could have effaced that impression even had he tried.

In the Second Part the "satyr, lecher, and parasite" in Falstaff are uppermost, and the captain rests on his laurels. But we all know how they were won, and cannot take to heart his reputation for valor with certain ladies of Eastcheap, Justice Shallow, or even the enemy at Shrewsbury and at Gaultree Forest. The effect of Dame Quickly's and Doll Tearsheet's praise of his prowess in stabbing and foining would be inconsiderable even if, with most of the English critics, including Professor Bradley himself,⁴ we failed to detect the palpable double entendre.⁵ And what a witness is

¹ Morgann, p. 103.

² Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*. He declares to the audience that he will swear that the knife in his hand is all that is left of the sword which he had vowed to make his enemy eat. For Pistol and Parolles see above, p. 75.

³ *Princesse d'Elide*, Interm.; Recueil Picot et Nyrop, line 355. Their motives, of course, are different, for Falstaff's is his fear that Hotspur may come to life and his craving for the honor and profit of killing him; cf. Creizenach, *Englische Comödianten*, p. cv; *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i, 145 (Creizenach). In *Soliman and Perseda* Piston robs a corpse (II, i).

⁴ *Oxford Lectures*, p. 266.

⁵ Part II, II, i, 15; II, iv, 252. For the former cf. Schmidt's *Lexicon* under *stab*, and *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 277. As for the second reference, *foin* must be used with the meaning evident in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Loyal Subject*, I, iv; *Thierry and Theodoret*, II, iii. So Part II, II, i, 21-22, *thrust*; cf. the frequent instances of *double entendre* in the words *pike*, *lance*, *target*, etc. Their equivalents are to be found contemporaneously in foreign languages, as Italian; for such jokes are international. And the obscene joke so certain in *stab*, *foin*, and *thrust*, which immediately precede and follow Quickly's remark that "a' cares not what mischief he does if his weapon be out" (l. 16), casts grave suspicion even on its simplicity and honesty of purpose, though not in Mr. Bradley's eyes (*ibid.*).

Shallow, whose "every third word is a lie," whose every word is ludicrous! Well might Falstaff break Skogan's head ("some boisterous fencer," thinks Morgann, but really Court Fool) on that day in the calendar when Shallow himself fought Sampson Stockfish, fruiterer!¹ That was a day that ended "without the perdition of souls." And a ballad, as Falstaff says, not sober history, is the place for his capture of Colville and drubbing of Pistol. The Ancient ran from him like quicksilver; and Colville surrendered "more of his courtesy," says Lancaster, "than your deserving." Our knight's reputation for valor had been as lightly won as that of Bessus, though he has not Bessus' reason to lament it.² Obviously Lancaster and the audience know more about that and his character, too, than Colville, and if Shakespeare had had any notion of redeeming him in our eyes, he would not have had his "pure and immaculate valor" snubbed by his chief.

The famous soliloquy which follows, on sack as the cause of all wit and valor, is the epilogue to the old reveller's military career and an epitome of his character. It is an old saw and familiar fact that wine makes cowards brave,³ and Falstaff speaks out (though behind his hand) when he says that men are but fools and cowards without it.

After this running comment on the two Parts of *Henry IV* we might, if it were necessary, further strengthen the case against Falstaff's courage by considering how Shakespeare's character continues and develops⁴ the dramatic and legendary tradition concerning Sir John Fastolf, or Falstaff,⁵ and Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. As is well known our knight bore the name Oldcastle in the original draft of Part I, like the cowardly, thievish loose-liver

¹ For the coward fighting a coward, see below, p. 83. Stockfish was "haddocke or hake beaten with clubbes or stockes," and a fruiterer was at least as tame as a tailor.

² *A King and No King*, III, ii. Like Falstaff's it is not of his earning, and it embarrasses him with challenges. Falstaff indeed complains of his name being terrible to the enemy, but there he is frankly joking.

³ Somerville, *The Wife*, l. 27. It is a notion found in popular lore, as in the story of the mouse which, after drinking split brandy, cries, "Now bring on that cat!" On the stage, Lady Macbeth confesses that she has drunk wine to stiffen her nerves; and the heroine in *La Tosca* actually drinks it.

⁴ For this see W. Baeske, *Oldcastle-Falstaff bis Shakespeare*.

⁵ In plays at least the name is spelled both ways. See J. Gairdner, *Studies in English History*, pp. 64-65.

in the *Famous Victories*. These traits as well as the rags and tatters of piety which both have about them are taken from the Lollard as traduced in monkish chronicle and popular song. And when, at the complaint of the contemporary Lord Cobham, Shakespeare was moved to make amends to the martyr in the epilogue to Part II, and change the name to Falstaff in the text, he dropped one coward of popular and dramatic tradition only to take up another. In the *First Part of Henry VI*, Act III, scene ii, Sir John Fastolf, who in fact lost a battle in France, runs ignominiously away to "save himself." In real life both Sir Johns were brave and worthy fellows;¹ they are thus overwhelmed with obloquy because in the popular imagination one charge, as this of heresy² or that of cowardice, brings every other in its trail;³ but all that concerns us here is that in Shakespeare they are cowards because they were that before. Our poet always stands by public opinion, and his English kings or Roman heroes are to him what they were to his age. Even to the dramatist of our day, as Mr. Archer observes, "a hero must be (more or less) a hero, a villain (more or less) a villain, if accepted tradition so decrees it . . . Fawkes must not be made an earnest Presbyterian, Nell Gwynn a model of chastity, or William the Silent a chatterbox." *Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino*.

I have suggested that many of the "secret impressions of courage" are contradictions inherent in the type of the braggart captain. For to this type Falstaff unquestionably belongs. He has the increasing belly and decreasing leg,⁴ the diminutive page for a foil, the weapon (his pistol) that is no weapon, but a fraud,⁵ as well as

¹ For Falstaff previous to Shakespeare see Gairdner, the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oldcastle and Fastolf), and Baeske.

² As has been remarked, I think, by others, the Lollard Oldcastle as buffoon is a parallel to the "Christian" as a stock comic figure in the late Greek mimus.

³ See below, p. 80.

⁴ Part II, I, ii, 204.

⁵ Aristophanes' Kleonymus is of enormous size; Pyrgopolonices has long spindling legs, and most of the braggart soldiers have these, or a big paunch, or, like the Maccus of the atellans and sometimes Polichinelle, both the one and the other. Like the two latter characters and the English Punch, strange to say, Falstaff, in Morgann's time and perhaps earlier, was represented with a hump behind as well as before; for (p. 26) he recalls with horror the "round tortoise-back," produced by "I know not what stuffing or contrivance." Sancho Panza begins as a *miles*, for (I, chap. 9) he has a big belly, short figure, and long legs, though afterward we hear no more of them. For the weapon see below. Their courage being called in question, as is the case with the above characters and with Falstaff and Sir Tophas, it is in the spirit of ancient and Renaissance comic art, which delighted in physical contrasts, that their size of itself should almost be sufficient

most of the inner qualities of this ancient stage-figure—cowardice and outlandish bragging, gluttony and lechery, sycophancy and pride. Also he is a recruiting officer and (though in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*) a suitor gulled.¹ All these traits are manifest, except his sycophancy, which appears in his dependence on the Prince and his cajoling ways with him; and except his pride, which appears in his insistence on his title on every occasion,² and in his reputation for a proud jack among the drawers.³ Lyly's Sir Tophas, Jonson's Bobadill and Tucca, Beaumont's Bessus, Chapman's Braggadino and Quintiliano,⁴ Ralph Roister Doister, Ambidexter, and Thersites, as well as Shakespeare's Pistol, Don Armado, and Parolles, have most or many of these traits; and these descend to them, if not from the classics directly, from the Italian popular *miles*, Capitano Spavento.⁵ The English and Italian specimens differ from those of Plautus in that they are impecunious, the unwelcome parasites of tailor, barber, or landlady, not the patrons of parasites. Falstaff is both the one and the other.⁶ Unlike most braggart captains, however, he is not silly and affected—those qualities were reserved for Pistol—but is a jester and a wit. It is this circumstance no doubt that has made critics, even of late, declare that the impression of his character is quite different, and is therefore not that of a coward. But all the other traits save paunch and spindle-shanks are also the traits of famous clowns—Panurge, Sosie, Folengo's Cingar, Scarron's Jodelet—and even now a clown not a coward is a rarity on the stage. In that day of unanalytical but prodigally copious characterization, whereby on the stage, or, as in the case of Machiavelli, Luther, or Oldecastle himself, in popular tradition, a

to substantiate the charge. "When did you see a black beard with a white liver," says Heywood, "or a little fellow without a tall stomach?"

Capitano Spavento has a *paggio*; Ralph Roister Doister, Dobinet Doughtie; Sir Tophas, Epiton; Don Armado, Moth. (Reich.). Generally, like Falstaff's, the page is pert and impudent.

¹ Both features are in Pyrgopolinices.

² Part II, II, ii, 118.

³ Part I, II, iv, 11.

⁴ See Creizenach, IV, 350. For some details of the type I am indebted also to H. Graf, *Miles Gloriosus* (Rostock dissertation, 1892).

⁵ Other names: Spezzafer, Fracasso, Matamoros, Spezza-Monti, Giangurgoio, Vappo, Rogantino, etc.; Sand.

⁶ He has his landlady and tailor; has his gull Shallow as Quintiliano has his Innocentio and Giovanelli, and Bobadill has his Matthew; and yet he keeps Bardoiph and perhaps Peto and Nym.

villain engrosses all criminal traits and a professional comic character all vicious ones,¹ Falstaff (as clown) already a cheat, a liar, a boaster, a glutton, a lecher, and a thief, could hardly help being a coward as well.

Much has been said about Falstaff being done from the life—even with George Peele or Henry Chettle for a model—but except in tone or in tricks of manner it is now evident that this could not be. The whole man or the tittle of him never trod the earth. Much, too, has been said of the Capitano and the Matamore arising out of intestine turmoil in Italy and the Spanish invasion, of the *miles gloriosus* arising out of the Roman wars in Asia and Africa, and of the Alazon out of the Alexandrian conquests. Something similar has been said of the *servus fallax* of Roman comedy, but Sellar's remark fits not only this case but the others. "Though a wonderful conception of the humorous imagination, it is a character hardly compatible with any social conditions."² Nothing is so rare as realism—nothing in itself so hateful to the public or by name so dear. The braggart captains, the valets who beat and bamboozle their masters, the nurses and chambermaids who scold them and thwart them in every wish, the women who put their husbands in bodily fear, and the timid and pure-minded maidens who upon provocation make love, and in men's clothing seek the beloved through field and forest in lands remote,³—all please only by their rarity or unreality, being incompatible with conditions under which women and servants knew no liberty, and a soldier stood or fell by his personal prowess alone. He sees deeper who finds that the marvelous exploits

¹ See below, p. 104. Jodelet has been called: "insolent, lubrique, hâbleur, et pardessus tout poitron." Of the vices of Panurge Rabelais (II, chap. 16) gives a famous catalogue, including lewdness, cozening, drinking, roystering, and thieving, but forgetting the rest of them—boasting, cruelty, and cowardice. Cingar and Pulci's Margutte have a still more formidable array of merry sins. And the same lavish style appears in other characters of the old Italian popular comedy than the Capitano, as the Bucco of the atellans, who was "suffisant, flatteur, fanfaron, voleur, lâche"; and Pulcinella, who besides these qualities inherits those of the Maccus, "vif, spirituel, un peu féroce" (Sand, I, 126). Compare in the sixteenth century the popular mythopoeic characterization of Machiavelli among the northern nations, especially in the drama, and of Luther among the southern.

² *Poets of the Republic* (Oxford, 1889), p. 170.

³ Those acquainted with the criticism of Shakespeare and Mollère will remember that both a free-spoken soubrette, Tolnetto or Dorine, and Rosalind, with her gallant curtleaxe upon her thigh, have been thought representative of their times. Yet for a century before in the *novelle* and comedies of Italy and Spain, where maidens were guarded jealously, they, too, go seeking their lovers in male attire.

of Alexander provoked a boasting spirit of irony and satire in the Athenian public and playwrights.¹ Hence—directly out of the humorous imagination—these creations so extravagant and improbable.

The braggart captain, indeed, is incompatible with himself. Cowards do not go to war, or, if driven to it, do not become captains. Or if even that is not beyond the compass of chance and their own contriving, the clever ones do not boast so extravagantly as to rob themselves of credence and engage themselves in undertakings which it is farthest from their wish to fulfil. The huge and delectable contrasts of the old comedy involve contradictions as huge, and the spectators blinked fact—if indeed they were not blind to it—in the throes of their laughter. After Gadshill a fellow so clever would neither have let his lies grow on his hands nor—except on the defensive—have undertaken to lie at all. But how tame for an Elizabethan, to whom what is “gross, open, palpable” was a delight! Bulthaupt seriously wonders why Falstaff went to war, and concludes that he went exalted through his humor above all fear,² and as we have seen, Morgann (and many a critic since) has thought it fine and brave of him, and has dwelt fondly on the Prince’s preference of him to others for a charge of foot, on a dozen³ bareheaded sweating captains knocking at taverns and asking everyone for Sir John Falstaff, or on Falstaff’s leading⁴ his men where they are peppered. He might as well wonder why a monster of a miser like Harpagon keeps a coach and horses, a cook and a troop of servants, and conclude that he must be generous and open-handed after all. It is on the stage—it is in a comedy—and he keeps his servants to stint them, and the horses to get up nights and steal away their oats.⁵ And Falstaff goes to the wars to say his catechism, brandish a bottle for a pistol, fall dead, joke, cheat, and

¹ O. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, pp. 32–34.

² *Dramaturgie*, II, 74. He has reached a state of philosophic calm. “Er scheint seiner selbst so sicher dass er seine Ruhe oder die Freiheit seiner Seele auch in der kritischsten Lage nicht zu verlieren fürchtet.” Bradley speaks of his having “risen superior to all serious motives.”

³ A ballad-like exaggeration such as Shakespeare indulges himself in when it costs the company nothing. Like Capulet’s “twenty cunning cooks” they “stay at door”—do not tread the stage.

⁴ Mr. Bradley comments on the fact that it is “led” not “sent.”

⁵ A point made by Sarcey.

lie. In that day of prodigious contrasts and unchartered mirth a coward who does not rob on the highway or follow the wars—is no coward. To impute it to Falstaff's courage that he is in demand on the eve of war and goes to war without murmuring would mean that we must do the like to Parolles, who yearns for the wars in Italy and persuades his master to take him there; and to those "true-bred cowards" Ancient Pistol, Lieutenant Bardolph, and Corporal Nym, who, in the later play, follow the heroic young king into France. Falstaff goes to war to furnish matter for comedy, the Prince gives him a charge to get him to the war, and the dozen captains come sweating to fetch the laggard to his charge.¹

Two situations in which Falstaff is placed are connected with the *miles gloriosus* traditionally. The coward taking a captive is an incongruous and mirth-provoking situation which Shakespeare repeats in *Henry V* when Pistol, who, according to the Boy, has not a tenth of even Nym's or Bardolph's valor, captures Monsieur le Fer; and it appears before that in the fine old French farce of *Colin, fils de Thenot le Maire*, where the hero, boasting of a prisoner, is afraid to fetch him in because of his iron-bound staff, though he turns out to be a German pilgrim, not a Turk. Even so, Colin, like Falstaff and Pistol, might well "thank thee for thee." In all of these instances, moreover, there must have been much comic "business" furnished by the actors to remind us that the captor is a coward.² It is unthinkable that Pistol with his Frenchman should have been no funnier at the Globe than he is in the text.³

The other situation is that of the soldier who keeps his appetite,

¹ It matters not that the charge was given in Part I and that he was fetched in Part II. The situation is quite the same—on the eve of departure to the war.

² Morgann denies that Falstaff roared as he ran away because there is no stage direction, though the roaring is remarked upon by both Poins and the Prince. He might have supplied it. See Creizenach, *Englische Comödianten*, p. xcviil, for evidence, if that were necessary, that stage directions as we have them are very incomplete. So they are in printed plays today, and vastly they diminish in quantity as we go back through three centuries. At this point we should recall Viola pitted against Aguecheek as we have seen them on the stage, or the more explicit text of *L'Avantureux* (1521). "Ils reculent toujours pour prendre du champs et crient: À mort! à mort!" Cf. *Henry V*, II, i, Nym and Pistol. Colville, of course, is no coward, but is comically mistaken.

³ The more general situation of the coward fighting the coward, or a woman, is common with the type: Falstaff fights Pistol and has a row with Quickly and her constables; Rolster Doister is beaten by women; Thersites and Ambidexter fight with these and with snails and butterflies; and Giangurgolo, the Calabrian, gets into a rage with poor inoffensive people and fights with eunuchs (Sand, I, 202). Cf. Graf, p. 35.

though scared. Another contradiction, though to the ancients and the men of the Renaissance it betokened not coolness and presence of mind but a base and besotted nature, dead to name and fame.¹ Falstaff sleeps and snores while the watch seek for him and has his bottle on the field, just as Sosie, after he has run and hidden in the tent, drinks wine and eats ham.² And the putting of a bottle in his case for a pistol is a stranger contradiction still. According to our notions a coward would go armed to the teeth,³ but earlier art is prone to ignore analysis and present character in an outward and typical way.⁴ Time and again in Renaissance drama the coward finds his sword rusted in,⁵ or, drawing it, can show but the half of a blade, or, like Basilisco, a painted lath. Capitano had a spider's web around his sheath, and Harlequin, like the Greek beardless satyr,⁶ Pulcinella, at times,⁷ and the English Vice, wore as the symbol of his cowardice a wooden sword, not out of keeping with the rabbit scut⁸ in his hat. M. Jusserand has remarked upon the use of signs and symbols in mediaeval drama and painting—God on the stage in the habiliments of pope or bishop, and St. Stephen painted with a stone, not on his crown, but in his hand, St. Lawrence toying with his gridiron, or Samson being shorn in the lap of Delilah with the ass's jawbone still in his hand! Even in Goldoni's *Locandiera* the chicken-hearted Marchese's sword is rusted in, and when out is no

¹ In "*contempt of glory*," says Hazlitt (ed. 1864, p. 190), determined, as always, to make him superior to circumstances. Cf. his suggestion that Falstaff may have put the tavern-reckoning in his pocket "as a trick." And when he falls asleep, I suppose, he is feigning once more. On the contrary, his falling asleep may be no more than a device of the dramatist's to get his pocket picked without his knowing it.

² *Amphitryon*, I, ii. In Falstaff's case the wine may be there to bolster him up, or only to cool his thirst on a hot day. Cf. Part II, I, ii, 235.

³ Sometimes, indeed, the Matamore was so represented. Cf. Sand, I, 197. This later realism appears in *L'Avantureux*, and in *Jodelet Duelliste* when the coward takes all unfair precautions by securing the most formidable weapons and wearing concealed a cuirass and a steel cap (II, vii). Falstaff himself seems to appreciate the uses of a sword when he refuses to lend his to Hal, though this, again, may be no more than a device of the dramatist's to introduce the practical joke of the pistol.

⁴ Cf. the delight in discordant sounds attributed to the Malcontents Malevole and Jaques.

⁵ T. Jordan, *Pictures of Passions* (1641), *A Plundering Coward*: "A heavy iron sword, which fondly grows to the kinde scabbard." Cf. Middleton's *Witch*, v. i. The coward Aberganes cannot draw, and does "not care to see it—'tis only a holiday thing to wear at a man's side."

⁶ *Grande Encyclopaedie*, s.v. "Arlequin."

⁷ Sand, I, 132.

⁸ Sand, I, 68.

more than a stump; and in this case, as in the others, the point is not that the character is afraid of cold steel, or "naked weapons," but that his martial profession is a burlesque and fraud. In the *miles* it is a touch in sympathy and keeping with the whole extravagant and external scheme.

Further consideration of Falstaff's cowardice depends on the "incomprehensible lies" of the buckram story and the problems which they involve. By most English critics they are thought to be no lies but mere "waggery" to amuse himself or the Prince;¹ by some Germans they are considered to be a case of unconscious exaggeration.² No one, so far as I know,³ has suggested that Falstaff undertakes to deceive, and yet without intending a jest falls into the preposterous exaggerations and contradictions of a sailor or fisherman spinning a yarn. Still a scamp, he is no longer a wit. As for the intention to deceive, that in the light of what we have already said about the Elizabethan practical joke should, to any student of the period, be apparent. Poins's prediction is fulfilled to the letter—"how thirty at least he fought with; what wards, what blows, what extremities he endured"—and is further confirmed by the purposed fraud of his "monstrous devices." And as for the unconscious exaggerations and contradictions, he is like the Playboy of the Western World, who at first says that he riz the loy and let fall the edge on his father's skull; later says that he halved his skull; then that he split him to the knob of his gullet; then that with one blow he cleft him to the breeches belt.⁴ Only, in Christy Mahon's case, the intervals between these exaggerations are so wide, the motivation provided in them by the admiration of his hearers and his own waxing enthusiasm so subtle and complete, that his reputation for

¹ Morgann, Hazlitt, Lloyd, Maginn, Wetz (p. 406), Bradley (p. 264), Professor Matthews (p. 129), though it does not seem like him.

² Wolff, I, 426; but like most of the Germans he refuses to entertain the notion that Falstaff also meant to deceive. Bulthaupt (II, 72-73), troubled with the inconsistency of the character, seems to take the middle course of having Falstaff half in earnest, half in jest.

³ Gervinus (Lon., 1863, I, pp. 452, 453) and Wolff (I, 425) seem to approach it, but probably mean no more than "witty myself and the cause that wit is in other men" (Part II, I, II, 11). And by that Falstaff means only that he furnishes others matter for mirth by his personal appearance.

⁴ Such a comparison is not illegitimate. Synge abounds in old farcical material, dating back to the fabliaux, though, as here, treated with modern delicacy.

intelligence hardly suffers. Falstaff piles up his exaggerations pell-mell, despite the interrupting jeers of the Prince and Poins, and turns at once from wit to butt.

Here lies an incongruity¹ greater than any we have met, and to understand it we must look about us, as the commentator does when he is puzzled by a phrase of the text in contemporary drama. The situation is the same as that in Heywood's *Fair Maid* cited above. The only difference is that between great art and small; for in the same period a great popular artist and a mediocre one use the same means of expression—"business," situations, and types. That is to say, the difference is in the touch. In both cases before us there is the cowardly action deliberately misrepresented in the report by means of gross exaggerations and contradictions,² satirically noticed by the hearer but without effect upon the speaker. Roughman is not witty, to be sure, nor, once started, does he let his numbers grow. But, like Falstaff not a fool, he too makes a fool of himself with his story.

That Falstaff the wit should thus turn into a butt involves a lack of unity and consistency in the portrayal which in higher art is nowadays impossible but was then not rare. He was the comic character—men asked no more. Contradictions enough we have found already in the *miles*. According to Reich,³ moreover, the Hindoo *Vidusaka*, the Roman *scurra*, and the Greek *γελωτοποιός* were often not only wits who jested at others' and their own expense, but like the court fool were the butts of others' jokes, practical and verbal. And the same may be said of the Elizabethan stage fools and clowns.⁴ With some of his Shakespeare goes as far as with Falstaff, though turning the character not so much into a butt as into a buffoon.

Launce, for instance, is quick and expert at jest and repartee, punning and word-splitting, gets the better of Speed and others who

¹ Bulthaupt has felt it, and stated it more clearly and fully than anyone else, but he undertakes no explanation.—*Dramaturgie*, II, 72-73.

² Morgann (p. 138) makes much of the circumstance that Falstaff's braggadocios are after the fact, not before it. But this is the case with a number of cowards. Ruzante in Beolco's First Dialogue, getting up from the ground, brags about what he would have done if his rival had been there alone instead of "one of a hundred"; Swash, in Day's *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green*, echoing Falstaff, declares, "I very manfully killed seven of the six," though the rest carried away the money; Robin in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*; Protaldy in *Thierry and Theodoret*, II, iv.

³ *Mimus*, pp. 24, 736, 866, etc.

⁴ Eckhardt, p. 255.

are pitted against him, and sees through his master's perfidy when others fail. Yet at times he confounds¹ words in the style of Malaprop and Partington, "misplaces" and talks contradictory nonsense like the Shakespearean constables,² craftily withholds information one moment and unconsciously blabs it out the next,³ and, like Sosie,⁴ when he undertakes to tell of his parting with dramatic directness and exactitude gets his tale hopelessly tangled and muddled. Similarly in *Measure for Measure* Pompey Bum has to his credit some of the shrewdest sayings in the play,⁵ and yet confuses words like *respect* and *suspect*, *suppose* and *depose*, *instant* and *distant*, and, like Dogberry, wanders and flounders in his story of Mistress Elbow and Master Froth without the wit to suspect it. "Why very well," he cries delighted, "I hope here be truths!" These and other clowns Professor Eckhardt, also bent upon unity, has been under the necessity of interpreting as stupid intentionally, laughing, like the canonical Falstaff, in their sleeves.⁶ Of this there are instances, no doubt; but on the Elizabethan stage, as we have seen, feigning is, as it begins, explicitly indicated, or else is manifest from the situation and the sudden change of tone; and without such warrant it seems unscientific to have recourse to this method of obviating a contradiction or harmonizing a discord.⁷ As Professor Eckhardt himself has remarked and perhaps everybody has noticed, in many Elizabethan plays all the comic characters are witty, and of those classes into which Professor Eckhardt has ranged all the professional clowns and jesters of Elizabethan drama, by far the largest are those who are only "prevailingly" wits and jesters and those who are only "prevailingly" clowns and dolts. As in *Harlequin*⁸ and the "patch" in the circus-ring, wit mixed with stupidity is the quicker to tickle the public taste. Nor does the one blend with or leaven the other. Launce and Pompey are both wits *and* clowns.

¹ *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, III, 4, etc.

² II, III, 11 and 13 (cf. *Measure for Measure*, II, I, 90). Cf. Elbow, Dogberry, Verges, Dull.

³ III, I, 265.

⁴ *Amphitryon*, I, I.

⁵ I, II; II, I, 234 ff.

⁶ Eckhardt, pp. 255, 411. From this exhaustive work most of the facts used in this paragraph are derived.

⁷ Cf. below, another instance—and another method—with Polonius.

⁸ "Un mélange d'ignorance, de naïveté, d'esprit, de bêtise, et de grâce" (*Sand*, I, 75).

Such is Falstaff; nor is this *naïveté* missing at other times, as in his remorse. In the first scene in which he appears Falstaff falters in his jollity and vows that he will give over this life, being now little better than one of the wicked. "Where shall we take a purse tomorrow, Jack?" "Zounds!" he shouts, "where thou wilt, lad!" On a blue Monday at the Boar's Head he is for repenting once more as he moodily contemplates his wasting figure. Bardolph complains of his fretfulness. "Why, *there* is it. Come sing me a bawdy song; make me merry!" If in this he be self-conscious, how annoying and unnatural! Those numerous critics who to keep for Falstaff his reputation as a humorist have him here play a part, seem to do so at the expense of their own. It is not to be wondered at in Hegel and some few German critics¹ that, with philosophy in their every thought, they should shake their heads at the unenlightenment of Aristophanes, and turning their backs on Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Molière should proclaim the highest species of humor to be intentional and conscious; but it is to be wondered at in Englishmen. What joke could be made of this equal to the unconscious comical effect of the old sensualist plunged in penitence, and spontaneously buoyed up again, as by a specific levity? "Peace, good Doll"—and here, too, he is not jesting but saying it with a shudder—"do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." The pith of the humor lies in the huge appetite for purses, or mirth, bursting in an instant the bonds of his penitence; just as it lies in his thirst swallowing up the memory that his lips are not yet dry. "Give me a cup of sack! I am a rogue if I drunk to-day!"² He is as unconscious as inconsistency has been on the comic stage ever since—as Molière's philosopher who declaims against wrath and presently gives way to it, or the duennas of Steele and Sheridan, who deprecate love and marriage for their nieces at the moment when they seek it for themselves.

Naïve, then, as well as witty, and quite as much the cause of mirth in other men when he is least aware, Falstaff is less "incomprehen-

¹ Ulrich, etc., but not Gervinus; cf. Wetz, pp. 402-3; Hegel (cited by Wetz), *Ästhetik*. III, 576.

² Such instances Wetz (p. 406), under the influence of Lloyd, considers intentional jokes, despite his insistence on Falstaff's *naïveté*. Bradley and other English critics agree.

sible" both in his lies and, as we shall presently see, in his conduct generally. His wit is expended, not in making himself ridiculous for the sake of a joke unshared and unuttered, but, by hook or by crook, in avoiding that. Dryden long ago remarked as his special accomplishments his shifts and quick evasions; and Jonson, his "easy scapes and sallies of levity." "His wit lies in those things he says *praeter expectatum*, unexpected by the audience; his quick evasions when you imagine him surprised, which, as they are extremely diverting of themselves, so receive a great addition from his person."¹ Morgann, Lloyd,² Maginn,³ and even Mr. Bradley⁴ find this all too simple, and, wrenching both plot⁵ and character in the process, have him lie in no expectation of being believed, step into traps for the fun of wriggling out, and bid for gibes at his own expense. Losing is as good as winning, and Falstaff is out for exercise and his health! But from Aristophanes and Plautus down through the Renaissance to the present-day Eloquent Dempsey of Mr. William Boyle there is a continual succession of characters who are well content to use their wits as they may to keep from smarting for their follies. Particularly is this the case with cowards and braggarts, with Panurge,⁶ Capitano Spavento, and the various Elizabethan specimens of the Captain—

¹ *Dramatic Poesy*, p. 43.

² *Essays* (1875), p. 223; as when he says "When thou wilt, lad," etc., or "I'm a rogue," etc.

³ P. 51: "It was no matter whether he invented what tended to laughter or whether it was invented upon him." It is true that he is not resentful or sulky, but what clown is?

⁴ *Oxford Lectures*, pp. 264-65. In treating Falstaff's mendacity Mr. Bradley fails to observe distinctions which, as it seems to me, are required by the exigencies of dramatic technique and which then would have been observed by an audience instinctively. Falstaff's braggadocios and his vowing himself a rogue if he had drunk today, are, though lies, very different in spirit and purpose from the shifts and evasions by which, like Aristotle below, he turns all to merriment and half saves the day. Still another sort of lie is that which serves no practical purpose—offends no idealistic scruples—his jest about his corpulence being due to sighing and grief and his voice being cracked by singing of anthems. But Mr. Bradley rhetorically asks those who think that Falstaff expected to be believed in his buckram story whether he expected to be believed in these other cases as well. To make Falstaff, if a whole-hearted liar in one case, a whole-hearted liar in all, is like making Iago a liar even in soliloquy.

"I suppose they consider that Falstaff was in earnest," he continues, "when, wanting to get twenty-two yards of satin on trust, he offered Bardolph as security." That is not a lie at all—is a case in no sense parallel to the others; but certainly he was as much in earnest as when he cheated Quickly and Shallow. He afterward makes it plain that he had expected to get the satin (Part II, I, ii, 48-50). "Or even when he sold his soul on Good Friday to the devil for a cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg." And that Falstaff never says, but the jeering and jesting Poin.

⁵ See below, p. 90.

⁶ Book IV, chap. 67, where he blames for his condition the famous cat Rodilardus.

Parolles,¹ Bobadill, Bessus, Braggadino, and Sir Tophas. After saving their bacon their dearest desire is to save their face. Even those romancing liars whose cowardice is not in grain, Peer Gynt and Christy Mahon, are far from courting failure and discredit.

Some of the most famous of Falstaff's shifts are in other plays actually duplicated. In *Look about You*, printed in 1600, Fauconbridge, having in ignorance of her presence spoken slightly of his wife, avails himself of the evasion to which, when it is suggested, Falstaff scorns to resort for a second time, having still another at hand:

*I knew thee, Moll; now by my sword I knew thee;
I winked at all; I laughed at every jest.—Sc. 28.*

And like Falstaff he is laughed at for it more than his jest. In Middleton's *Family of Love* it is the woman that is caught, and she knew thee as well as the child knows his own father—"I knew him to be my husband even by very instinct." So in Cicognini's *Don Juan*, Passarino, still more cowardly than his equivalent Leporello or Sganarelle, when surprised in a soliloquy far from loyal to his master, cries in panic, "Faith, I saw you coming and I was only joking."² Beaumont's Bessus, again, when taken to task declares that "Bessus the coward wronged you, and shall Bessus the valiant maintain what Bessus the coward did?" And to a man who beats him he confesses that he "shall think him a valiant fellow for all this." For the three English sayings this is the model:

Why thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true prince. Instinct is a great matter; I was now a coward on instinct. I shall think the better of myself and thee during my life: I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince.

Thus before or after him, some of Falstaff's shifts, like his "monstrous devices" and his *lazzi* on the battlefield, were the recognized property of a double-dealer and poltroon.

If Falstaff steps into the trap on purpose and is, as Mr. Bradley says, aware that his slanders upon the Prince will be repeated to him, and, as most Englishmen say, went to Gadshill only for a lark, and, as Lloyd and Maginn suspect, actually knew the Prince and Poins,

¹ *All's Well*, I, i, 215, and see above.

² *Il Convitato di Pietra*, sc. 28: "A v'haveva vist alla fè, e per quest a burlava cosl."

ran and roared to hold the good jest up, and hacked his sword and bloodied his own and his companions' clothing on the certain calculation that he should be betrayed,¹ little enough would depend on his evasions. Actually, as with all stage cowards, here lies the center of interest.² The Prince and Poins press him hard:

Prince: What trick, what device, what starting-hole canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and apparent shame?

Poins: Come, let's hear, Jack; what trick hast thou now?—Part I, II, iv, 293.

Prince: I shall drive you to confess the wilful abuse, and then I know how to handle you.

Poins: Answer, thou dead elm, answer.—Part II, II, iv, 338.

At times his embarrassment is as manifest as their glee, and he turns from bluster to coaxing and wheedling:

Falstaff: No abuse, Hal.

Poins: No abuse?

Fal.: No abuse, Ned, i' the world; honest Ned, none.³—Part II, II, iv, 290–94.

In his wit lies the only difference between his evasions and those of Bessus, Bobadill, or Jodelet. Theirs, comical often without humor like those of Bacchus and Xanthias in the *Frogs*, are mere excuses and do not save them;⁴ Falstaff's are as unplausible and far-fetched as theirs, but, as Poins forbodes, they deliberately "drive the Prince out of his revenge and turn all to a merriment." They are laughed at, but often they turn the laugh. They are jests for profit, as Burckhardt⁵ would no doubt have called them, for profit and delight, and little akin to that pale species reared by philosophy and philanthropy, which craves no hearing but, like virtue, is its own reward. They are such jests as those of Shakespeare's clowns or fools when they beg or are threatened, those of Sancho Panza and Panurge, Eulenspiegel and

¹ Quoted freely from Lloyd, p. 224; Maginn, pp. 47, 51.

² As for the Capitano, see Herman Grimm, *Essays* (1859), p. 165; for other braggart cowards see Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du Théâtre: La Comédie*, p. 258.

³ Cf. a similar passage, Part I, II, iv, 260–64.

⁴ *Every Man in His Humour*, IV, v, "Sure, I was struck with a planet thence"; IV, vii, "I was fascinated, by Jupiter" (so Ruzzante suffers from enchantment); *A King and No King*, III, II; *Jodelet Maître-Valet*, IV, vii, "Quoi! c'est votre neveu? Je ne me bats pas!" etc.

⁵ *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1890), p. 157.

Kalenberg, or those in the old fabliaux. In one of these last, indeed, the celebrated *Lai d'Aristote* of d'Andeli, there is an evasion, remarkably like some of Falstaff's, of which the purpose and effect are specifically indicated. We remember: "Thou knowest that in the state of innocency Adam fell; and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villainy? Thou seest I have more flesh than another man," etc. Again we remember: "I dispraised him before the wicked that the wicked might not fall in love with him; in which doing, I have done the part of a careful friend and a true subject," etc. In the same spirit Aristotle when, having rebuked Alexander for giving way to carnal pleasures, he is discovered as he goes bridled and saddled and ridden by the vindictive damsel through the garden, cries to his jeering sovereign:

Sire, fait-il, vos dites voir!
 Mais or poés vos bien savoir:
 J'oi droit que je doutai de vos,
 Car en fin jovent ardés tos
 Et en fu droite jouenece,
 Quant jo qui sui plains de viellece
 Ne puis contre amor rendre estal
 Qu'ele ne m'ait torné a mal
 Li grant com vos avés véu.
 Quant que j'ai apris et léu
 M'a desfait nature en i eure
 Qui tote science deveure
 Pus qu'ele s'en veut entremetre;
 Et se jo voil dont paine metre
 A vos oster de sa prison,

So he too turns all to merriment. Alexander congratulates the damsel on the revenge she had furnished them, but

tant s'en fu bien escusés
 De ce que il fu amusés
 Qu'en riant li rois li pardonne.

So Falstaff seeks neither to "amuse the Prince" nor to excuse himself, but does both together as the better way of reaching either end.

All this reasoning is founded, I hope, on what is simple and sensuous, and therefore truly of the stage. The fatal objection to the theory that Falstaff is feigning and literally "looking for trouble"

is that he keeps his joke to himself. There are no such jokes on the stage. At least it must have got into a soliloquy—in Shakespeare's time it must needs have been thrust upon the notice of the Prince and Poins and have covered them with confusion. In Shakespeare the battle is to the strong, success never looks like failure, or honor like dishonor, and for him and his audience it is not a humorous thing to keep one's humor hid. Perhaps there was never a more amazing transformation in the history of criticism than this of our fat knight into a sort of Andrea del Sarto,—

I, *jesting* from myself and to myself,
 Know what I do—am not moved by men's blame
 Or their praise either.

Now this principle of a looser unity, which is the main thread we have been tracing—of identity in the dramatic function and tone rather than in mental quality and processes—explains much else in Falstaff. The quickness and readiness with which he faces about, which prompts Bulthaupt to think that in his boasting he is not sincere, is due simply to the fact that here he is wit again, not buffoon. It is required of him to be entertaining rather than plausible. And this explains his so-called presence of mind, his joking amid carnage and in the teeth of death. It is not that he is a Mercutio, game to the last, but that he jokes regardless of psychological propriety, as Elizabethan clowns do whether in battle or in the house of mourning, or as Sosia does, trembling before Mercury,¹ or the gracioso Guarin does, in Calderon's *Puente de Mantible*,² though much frightened, with the giant, or the cowardly Polidoro, in *El Mayor Monstruo*, though threatened with immediate hanging.

Looser unity, moreover, irrelevancy, or carelessness of detail—it matters not which, for probably Shakespeare seldom conceived his characters apart from the plot—explains quite as well as the tradition of the *miles* the fact that in other ways Falstaff ceases for moments to be a coward. His fighting with Pistol, from which Mr. Bradley says a stock coward would have shrunk, and his capturing Colville and exchanging a blow or two with Hal and Poins on Gads-hill are like the conduct of the gracioso Brito in Calderon's *Principe*

¹ *Amphitryon* of Plautus and of Molière, sc. 1.

² II, x and xi.

Constante,¹ who, after falling and feigning death like Falstaff, starts up and secures a fresh comic effect by chasing off the stage the two Moors who come to rob his body; or of Ambidexter, in *Cambyses*, who beats Huf, Ruf, and Snuf before he himself is beaten by the women; or of Sganarelle, who, after his pigeon-livered soliloquy cited below, appears, crying out upon his enemy, in full armor—to keep off the rain! or of Panurge and Cingar, who, though cowards, having many vices besides, exhibit them, as Falstaff does his thievishness and his bibulousness on the battlefield, as if their cowardice were quite forgotten. Though “of blows he was naturally fearful,” in the campaign against the Dipsodes Panurge is as bold as brass and as cool as a cucumber.² And Pulcinella, we have seen, is both *lâche* and *féroce*.

Elsewhere as well Shakespeare does not keep strictly to his scheme. Shylock is conceived in prejudice, doomed to ridicule and dishonor, yet is given now and then a touch of incompatible tenderness.³ Polonius is sensible enough at first, yet in the second act he is indeed an “ass.”⁴ And as for the “indecorum” of Falstaff’s presence unabashed and unreprieved before the King at Shrewsbury, of which Morgann and his followers complain (unless indeed it be granted them as an intentional compliment to his valor, or evidence of his being an established courtier and “counsellor of state”),⁵ why in Elizabethan drama are fools⁶ and clowns forever elbowing kings or emperors without a ghost of a pretext or excuse? To jest, and Falstaff jests. “Peace, chewet, peace!” cries the Prince to our “counsellor” once really, according to Elizabethan notions,

¹ I, xiv and xx.

² In Book II, chaps. 27, 29, he gives a cry of pleasure at the approaching conflict, and he creeps among the fallen and cuts their throats. Yet see at the close of chap. 21 his fright when blows are threatened; (IV, chap. 5) when Dingdong draws his sword; (IV, chaps. 19, 23, 24) when there is a storm at sea; (chaps. 66, 67) when there is cannonading.

³ See my article “Shylock” (cited above), p. 276.

⁴ See Mr. A. B. Walkley, *op. cit.* Urged by the craving for unity, as usual, critics have found the wisdom of Polonius in I, iii, jejune and insipid. So is the Duke’s, then, in *Measure for Measure*, III, 1, and that of many another moralist in Shakespeare. And even if jejune and insipid, “hard and unvital,” it is not silly, not asinine, and the character is not much more of a unit than before. Coleridge, urged by the same craving, finds him too wise to be meant for a comic character!

⁵ Morgann, pp. 43–44.

⁶ In this case, of course, there is often the reason that they belong to the household.

the decorum is broken. About as much is to be made of Falstaff's presence in the council as of his "familiarity" with John of Gaunt and Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Once upon a time he joked with the one, and in his youth he was page to the other. In Elizabethan drama anybody jokes with a king and a king jokes with anybody, and Falstaff wins little credit with us for once having tried it with John of Gaunt in the Tiltyard. What does it matter, moreover, whether, as Morgann and Maginn will have it, he is a gentleman? So is Panurge,¹ and a coward, and "a very dissolute and debauched fellow if there were any in Paris." The pith and root of the matter is that criticism has no right thus to insist upon details and follow them up further—his seal ring worth forty mark, his bonds, and his pension² (if ever he had them) as tokens of respectability—for in the treatment of these Shakespeare and his fellows were even more self-contradictory and unplausible than we have already seen him to be in matters of capital importance. Sancho rides his stolen ass again before he has recovered her, and Comus, as he welcomes "midnight shout and revelry" and "the secret flames of midnight torches," now finds the star "that bids the shepherd fold" at the top of heaven.³ What then could be expected of one who was not writing for print?

So far nothing has been said of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* because of the prevalent opinion that this Falstaff is another man. Here he is a butt and no mistake. But Mr. Bradley himself says that there are speeches in the play recognizable as Falstaff's in quantity sufficient to fill one side of a sheet of note-paper. Moreover, the figure of the braggart captain who came into Shakespeare's hands from Plautus or from the *Comedy of Masks* would have been incomplete if he had not appeared as the suitor gulled.⁴ Yet all that I care to insist upon is that in this play as in *Henry IV* the supreme comical figure is again both butt and wit. Again for purposes of mirth he fails to see through the tricks played upon him, and yet, though

¹ Book II, chap. 9: "Nature hath extracted him from some rich and noble race."

² Morgann, p. 59. The pension, of course, he is only expecting—or *says* he is expecting.

³ I am aware that "top" has been made to mean not top but "fairly high up" in the heavens; which shows how much more precious in the eyes of a commentator is consistency than the gift of expression. There is no meaning to the phrase unless it be that time has passed and the star in the western sky is now higher than it was.

⁴ This is the lot of both Pyrgopolinices and the Capitano.

he is clever enough, surely nobody will have him feigning and dissembling, or trying to "amuse" himself or the women of Windsor by chivalrously falling in with their vindictive schemes.

A coward, then, if ever there was one, has Falstaff a philosophy? Military freethinking has been attributed to him to lift the stigma on his name. Believing not in honor, he is not bound by it. And by the Germans¹ and Mr. Bradley, as we have remarked, the scope of his philosophy has been widened, and he has been turned into a practical Pyrrhonist and moral nihilist, to whom virtue is "a fig," truth absurd, and all the obligations of society stumbling-blocks and nuisances. In various ways, by the English and the Germans alike, he has been thought to deny and destroy all moral values and ideals of life, not only for his own but for our behoof. So in a certain sense he is inspired by principle—of an anarchistic sort—not void of it.

Only at one ideal—honor—does Falstaff seem to me to cavil, and that he is only shirking and dodging. How does he, as Mr. Bradley thinks, make truth absurd by lying; or law, by evading the attacks of its highest representative; or patriotism, by abusing the King's press and filling his pockets with bribes?² Or matrimony (logic would not forbear to add) by consorting with Mistresses Ursula, Quickly, and Tearsheet, thus lifting us into an atmosphere of freedom indeed? It fairly makes your head turn to see a simple picaresque narrative like that of Panurge or Sir Toby Belch brought to such an upshot as that.

As it seems to me, his catechism on the battlefield and his deliverances on honor³ are to be taken not as coming from his heart of hearts but from his wits and to cover his shame.⁴ Like disreputable characters in mediaeval and Renaissance drama and fiction without number, he unconsciously gives himself away. His "philosophy" is but a shift and evasion, and in his catechism he eludes the claim of honor when put by his conscience just as he does when put by the

¹ In various degrees by Ulrich, Gervinus, Rötcher, Vischer, Graf, and Bulhaupt. The only one who explicitly dissents is Wetz. Wolff (I, 422), though he finds in Falstaff no depths of philosophy, does not look upon the "catechism" as a confession of cowardice.

² *Oxford Lectures*, pp. 262-63.

³ Part I, V, i, 127-43; iii, 61-65; iv, 110-30.

⁴ Cf. Wetz.

Prince and Pains. When he declares discretion to be the better part of valor there is no more philosophy in him than in Panurge and the Franc Archier de Baignollet when they avow that they fear nothing but danger, or than in himself when he swears that instinct is a great matter, and purse-taking no sin but his vocation. When he cries "Give me life" and "I like not the grinning honor that Sir Walter hath," there is no more Pyrrhonism or Epicureanism in him than there is idealism when, in defending his choice of the unlikeliest men for his company, he cries, "Give me the spirit, Master Shallow," meaning, "give me the crowns and shillings, Mouldy and Bullcalf." Here as there, he only dodges and shuffles. As in his fits of remorse we have seen, he is not "dead to morality" or free from its claims; neither does he frankly oppose them, or succeed in "covering them with immortal ridicule"; but in sophistry he takes refuge from them and the ridicule rebounds on his own head.

Half a dozen egregious cowards in Shakespeare's time, at any rate, talk in Falstaff's vein when in danger, and yet are not, and cannot be, thought philosophers for their pains. The coward and braggart Basilisco, with whom Shakespeare was acquainted, goes through a catechism before action, too, on the power of death and the futility of love and honor in the face of it.¹ What is at the back of his mind a child could see. The nearest other parallels are independent of Shakespeare, but are fashioned by the same ironical and satiric spirit. In Molière's *Cocu imaginaire*, Sganarelle subtilizes on death and a husband's honor much as Falstaff does on death and a soldier's honor. Discretion is his pet virtue too.

Je ne suis point battant, de peur d'être battu,
Et l'humeur débonnaire est ma grande vertu;

and if in this faith he should waver, once play the bold fellow, and get for his virtue a villainous thrust in the paunch—

Que par la ville ira le bruit de mon trépas,
Dites-moi, mon honneur, en serez vous plus gras ?

"Give me life," once more, not grinning honor—

Qu'il vaut mieux être encor cocu que trépassé;

¹ *Soliman and Perseda*, V, iii, 63-95. The parallel being well known, I do not dwell on it. Shakespeare's acquaintance with the play is proved by *King John*, I, i, 244.

and therefore he considers whether loss of honor can damage the limbs as Falstaff considers whether the winning of honor will mend them:

Quel mal cela fait-il? la jambe en devient-elle
Plus tortue, après tout, et la taille moins belle?

Before the scene is over he confesses his cowardice explicitly and in scene xxi, as we have noticed, it becomes apparent in deed.

Another arrant coward, also self-confessed, Jodelet in Scarron's *Jodelet Duelliste* (1646),¹ inveighs against honor as a silly thing, causing much inconvenience, and considers the damage done because of it to various parts of the body, through the least puncture in which the spirit may escape—through puncture in heart, liver, kidney, lungs, or an artery—gods! the very thought takes his breath! And he "likes not" death because it is stupid,² and too "forward" with a fellow,

Et sans considérer qui la veut ou refuse,
L'indiscrète qu'elle est, grippe, vousît ou non,
Pauvre, riche, poltron, vaillant, mauvais et bon (V, i).

So in the earlier play, *Jodelet Maître-Valet*, when he considers:

Que le corps enfin doit pourrir,
Le corps humain, où la prudence
Et l'honneur font leur résidence,
Je m'afflige jusqu' au mourir.
Quoi! cinq doigts mis sur une face! (IV, ii).

For, as in the later play, he has had his ears boxed, and the better part is discretion.

Thus continually in the popular farces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cowardice coquets with prudence, discretion, or philanthropy, but in thrusting back the claims of honor only betrays, as in Falstaff, terror at what comes in its trail. It gives itself away by an irony which recoils like a boomerang. Falstaff's discretion, Moron's "bon sens," Parolles' "for advantage,"³ and even humaner

¹ Cited in Despois, *Molière*, t. II, 198-200, where also is cited the parallel of Falstaff's catechism. Cf. also M. de Pourceaugnac (III, ii), who disclaims the fear of death as he flees from the law in the garb of a woman, but thinks it "fâcheux à un gentilhomme d'être pendu."

² "Camuse."

³ *All's Well*, I, ii, 215.

sentiments are the subterfuges of cowards on the popular stage in Venice and Nürnberg as in London and Paris. In the old farce *L'Avantureux*, Guillot has fled from Marolles but retired at his ease as far as—to Pontoise!—for a soldier who is quick to strike

Se doit bien tenir loin.
Jamais je n'eus intention
De faire homicidation.¹

Likewise the Franc Archier de Baignollet retreats (for to him as to Sancho retreating is not fleeing) only a trifle, from Angers to Lyons. And Ruzzante in Beolco's First Dialogue is even of the opinion, born of immediate experience, that to run and hide takes a lot of courage.² Possibly the closest parallel to Falstaff's gammon about honor appears in a fifteenth century Fastnachtspiel, in which the faint-hearted knights excuse themselves from following the Emperor into battle. The Second Knight says:

Scholt ich mich da geben zu sterben,
Das ich da mit solt er erwerben,
Was möcht mir die er gefrumen
Wenn ich nit mocht her wider kumen?
Wann ich hab selbs daheim er und gut
Und ain schöns weib, das gibt mir mut.³

Somewhat like are the others, and the Fourth Knight stipulates that he shall be permitted to ride to the charge behind the Emperor, because to ride before does not beseem him, and

ich will eben zu sehen
Von wem euch schaden sei geschehen.

On both Emperor and Ausschreier all this makes but one impression—and at the end they say as much—that of cowardice unalloyed. Somewhat the same are the sentiments of Panurge, and the ironical method is more obvious in him than in any:

Let's whip it away, I never find myself to have a bit of Courage at Sea: In Cellars and elsewhere I have more than enough: Let's fly, and save our Bacon. I do not say this for any Fear that I have; for I dread nothing

¹ *Ibid.*, II. 130–40. The same sentiment is a pretext of Ruzzante (cited below) to explain why he brings no booty home from war.

² (Venezia, 1565) f. 5: "le un gran cuore chi se mette muzzare."

³ Keller (1853), No. 75.

but Danger, that I don't: I always say it, that shouldn't. . . . We'll lose no Honour by flying; Demosthenes saith, That the man that runs away may fight another time.—IV, chap. 55 (cf. chap. 23).

All these cowardly characters have a burlesque "philosophy" comparable to Falstaff's, which in their case cannot extenuate the shame and therefore should not in his. Like Falstaff they but make of it a veil of dissimulation, and drolly peep from behind it. Here lingers mediaeval satire as we find it in capital form in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, or in the old farce of the widow who hears, as the bells toll for her husband's death, the heavenly admonition

Pren ton valet, pren ton valet;¹

and as people were clever enough to take that for nothing but the unconscious confession of a lascivious spirit, so they took Falstaff's and these other fellows' discretion and prudence and aversion to grinning honor and stupid death, not by any means for what to our eager sympathy they seem to be. That in all its transparency this satiric and ironical understatement is not foreign to Shakespeare's method with Falstaff in general appears not only in many of his evasions, as we have seen, but in his famous talk with Bardolph, alluded to above:

—virtuous enough, swore little, dined not above seven times a week, went to a bawdy-house not above once in a quarter—of an hour, paid money that I borrowed three or four times.

And as elsewhere it is used in Shakespeare, in Shylock's outcries—

I would my daughter were dead at my foot—and the jewels in her ear. Would she were hearsed at my foot—and the ducats in her coffin . . . ²

and used by Molière or by Sheridan, or by so recent a dramatist as Robertson, the humor, like that involved in Falstaff's "incomprehensible lies" and his remorse, seems meant to be unconscious, not intentional.³

¹ *Robinet Badin*. Le Roux de Lincy, t. III, 142.

² See my article, "Shylock," p. 274. This punctuation is mine.

³ *Malade imaginaire*, I, ix, near end, Béline's similar after-thoughts; *School for Scandal*, IV, iii, "who never in my life denied him—my advice"; *Rivals*, V, iii, "He generally kills a man a week, don't you Bob? Acres: Ay—at home!"; *Caste*, III, i, 239, *Eccles*: "Nothing like work—for the young," etc.

One reason why in Falstaff we fail to penetrate this mask of unrealistic and malicious portrayal, and take his words to heart, is that they are in soliloquy. A man does not banter himself. But on the stage in those times and before them a man did, and all soliloquy is phrased more as if the character were addressing himself or the audience than as if he were thinking aloud. Hence in comic soliloquy¹ allowances are to be made, just as later, when Falstaff holds forth on sack as the cause of valor, which is another underhand confession of cowardice, and when Benedick declares that the world must be peopled, which is a confession of a tenderer sort.² It is an irony which touches the speaker, not the thing spoken of, and dissolves away not all the seriousness of life but the speaker's pretenses; it is the exposure, not the expression, of his "inmost self."³ When Falstaff seems to be talking principle, he is, as we now say, only "putting it mildly": in his own time he gave himself away; in ours he takes the learned in.

But the main reason for our failure to penetrate the mask is that in or out of soliloquy this particular method of dramatic expression is a thing outworn, outgrown. Characters are no longer driven to banter or expose themselves, or the better audiences resent it if they are. Psychology—born of sympathy—will have none of it, as a method too external, ill-fitting, double-tongued. If the person be taken to be consciously jesting—the widow about wedding while mourning, Falstaff about the vanity of honor, or Robertson's Eccles about the wholesomeness of work—he seems then and there to be out of character; yet it is hard to see how he can have been unconscious, either, and it is manifest that the author is more intent on the jest, or, in the case of Quickly above, on the double entendre, than on the main or philosophic drift;—and yet (once again) this self-consciousness and mirth surely do not imply, as in the writing of today they must needs imply, "freedom" or detachment, any measure of indifference or superiority to the pleasure of incontinently

¹ See my articles: "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," *Modern Philology*, April, 1910, pp. 561-62; "Criminals in Shakespeare," *ibid.*, July, 1912, pp. 68-69; "Hamlet and Iago." Such cases as the present or such as Hamlet's self-reproaches are the only ones where statements in soliloquy are to be discounted. Nothing subconscious can be intended.

² *Much Ado*, II, iii, 227-55. Wetz compares this soliloquy with Falstaff's.

³ Wetz, pp. 402-3, quoting Röttscher.

taking one's valet, keeping one's arms and legs whole, or sponging in bibulous sloth. The pith of the matter, then, is that the lines of the character are, for us, confused, the author seems to peer through and wink at the audience, and our modern sympathy and craving for reality are vexed and thwarted, somewhat as they are by the self-consciousness of the villains or by the butt-and-wit-in-one. Indeed, unless the character be taken to be unconscious, we seem here to have a case of butt-and-wit-in-one at one and the same moment. For these reasons this method of comic portrayal, which goes back at least to the Middle Ages, and occurs not only in Elizabethan comic drama but in the greatest comic drama since—in Congreve, Sheridan, not to mention Molière—has, like butt-and-wit-in-one or self-conscious villainy, been dropped by the modern spirit as a strange, ill-fitting garment, and, since Robertson and Gilbert, has been relegated to frank satire and farce.

How petty and personal Falstaff's philosophy is on the face of it! Bulthaupt, Gervinus, Ulrici, Röttscher, and others after them speak of him sapping the foundations of morality, and Bulthaupt compares him "picking the notion of honor to pieces" with Trast in Sudermann's *Ehre!* There indeed, or in *Arms and the Man*, or in *Major Barbara*, honor reels and totters; but here it comes "unsought for," "pricks" our captain on, and drives him to hide from before its face. By word and by deed he shows that he is not more indifferent to a soldier's honor than is Sganarelle to a husband's, and like him he snatches it greedily when he can. It is the "grin" that he "likes not," and since the beginning of things no philosophy has been needed for that.

For Falstaff is simple as the dramatist and his times. By him the chivalric ideal is never questioned; Hotspur is comical only for his testiness, not for the extravagance and fanaticism of his derring-do. To some critics Falstaff seems a parody or burlesque of knight-hood, and they are reminded of the contemporary Quixote and his Squire. But the only parallel or contrast¹ between knight and

¹ The parallels discovered by Ulrici (Book VI, chap. 7), such as the robbery as a withering travesty of the Hotspur rebellion, or the whole Falstaff episode as intended to parody the hollow pathos of the political history and to assist in scattering the vain deceptive halo with which it has been surrounded, are further symptoms of the craving for unity from which all impressionistic and philosophical critics suffer.

clown suggested is on the battlefield, and there as in Calderon's comedies the ridicule is directed at the clown alone. In the story of Cervantes himself it is so; the chivalric ideal stands unchallenged, though the romantic and sentimental extravagances are scattered like the rear of darkness thin. Even by these Shakespeare is untroubled, and true to the spirit of the Renaissance all his heroes cherish their fame and worship glory. To him as to Molière and Cervantes himself Moron's confession that he had rather live two days in the world than a thousand years in history,¹ would, even in less compromising circumstances, have seemed but clownish and craven, though to us it would seem neither, in our mystical adoration of life and indifference to fame. "Give me life!"—we sadly mistake the ascetic, stoical, chivalric principles, coming down from the earliest times through the Renaissance even to our own, if we fancy that in England or in Italy² there were many who could keep a good conscience and say it. Romeo, Hamlet, Brutus, Othello and Desdemona, Antony and his queen, are, like the ancients, far from saying it, though only happiness, not honor, is at stake. The men of the Renaissance loved life because they had found it sweet, but—especially the Elizabethans—they had not learned to think much better of it than the world had thought before. They loved it as well as we, but not, like us, from principle and as a tenet of their faith.

As incapable as is Shakespeare (in the person of his heroes) of swerving from the conventional standard of honor himself, so incapable is he of comprehending those who swerve. For his clowns the standard is set as for his villains. Sometimes, indeed, though only as rebels, the villains set up a standard of their own, as when Iago asserts the supremacy of his will, calls virtue a fig and reputation an idle and most false imposition.³ But Falstaff is neither rebel nor critic. As clown he is supposed to have neither philosophy nor anti-philosophy, being a comic contrast and appendage to the heroes and the heroic point of view. His cavilings at honor are made

¹ *Princesse d'Élide*, I, ii.

² Bruno would have come nearest to it. Men like Aretino, as in his letter to Strozzi, in 1537, say it cynically. When moved, all Elizabethans, at least in plays, think of death, and so do the Italians of the Renaissance. This subject I hope later to develop more fully.

³ *Othello*, I, iii, 321-38; II, iii, 266-70.

utterly nugatory and frivolous, and his jokes are but telltale wards and feints. Like all stage cowards from Colin to Acres he fulfils the requirements of Mr. Bradley's definition, "feeling a painful fear in the presence of danger and yielding to that fear in spite of his better feelings and convictions." There indeed lies the old-time humor of our knight on the battlefield—quaking and joking as honor pricks him on! As in his fits of remorse or in his incomprehensible lies, he is not merry but "an object of mirth." He is funny not because he feigns and really is "free," but because at uncomfortable moments he pulls so hard on the bit. On his deathbed, I suppose, he was not feigning, and no enfranchised "Ephesian" would there have cried out of sack,¹ of women—or the Whore of Babylon, as Quickly's loyalty and piety would have it.

In that last glimpse is none of the subtlety or indulgence of today. According to Mackenzie, the Man of Feeling, his cowardice is "less a weakness than a principle." He lives as he thinks, as how few of us do! He renounces the "grinning idol," thinks Sir Walter Raleigh, and "runs away or counterfeits death with more courage than others show in deeds of knightly daring." How a saying like that makes the world whirl round us again in the familiar Ptolemaic fashion!² Such transcendental paradox on the one hand, such indulgence to temperament and principle on the other, were unknown to the Sage of Stratford and his time. As I have shown in connection with Shylock³ and the villains, if so Falstaff should think, the worse for him! But the fact is, as we have seen, that Shakespeare has Falstaff at heart think like everyone else, and calls a spade a spade. For him and his fellows a coward is such regardless of distinctions between character and conduct, constitution and principle, and might as well at once have done with them and stick the rabbit scut in his hat. In the comedies of Morgann's own day, as in the mediæval farces, all extenuating distinctions were without a difference. "Look 'ee, Sir Lucius," cries Bob Acres, like another Colin or Jodellet; "'t isn't that I mind the word coward—coward may be said in

¹ Giuseppe Barone (*Un Antenato di Falstaff*) mistakes the expression, and has him cry out for sack and women. Just so he would have been presented today: living or dying, our funny men are not troubled with compunctions.

² The great merit of Sir Walter Raleigh's book is that as a whole it does not do this.

³ In *Shylock*, pp. 270-71.

joke. But if you had called me a poltroon, odds daggers and balls!" And when in mellow times Mr. Shaw in *Candida* attempted to establish a difference, and to represent, not one cowardly in principle and courageous by constitution, but one courageous in principle and cowardly by constitution—a compound less dubious and mistakable—what a deal of exposition and manipulation was required!

Subtilized and also sentimentalized! Mr. Bradley does not mind saying that he for one is glad that Falstaff ran away on Gadshill; M. Stapfer declares that morally he was no worse than you or I; and Hazlitt, lost in sympathy with Falstaff in the blighting of his hopes at the succession, resentfully asserts that he was a better man than the Prince. That is, the character is lifted bodily out of the dramatist's reach. Falstaff is a rogue, and people cannot like him: twice Morgann protests that in order to be comical at all he must be "void of evil motive." Lying for profit and jesting for profit, the cheating and swindling of your unsophisticated admirers, gluttony, lechery, extortion, highway robbery, and cowardice—pray, what is funny about all these? Hence the profit has been turned to jest, the misdemeanors to make-believe. Not otherwise Hercules in the *Alcestis* was thought by Browning to get roaring drunk, not for his own private satisfaction but for that of the mourners¹—and there is another who in the good cause of human happiness does not mind making a fool of himself! So it must be when we take a character to our bosoms out of an old play like a pet out of the jungle—we must extract his sting. This by the critics has been duly done, to Falstaff as to Shylock. Our "white-bearded Satan" has had his claws pared.

For those who have not learned to think historically cannot stomach the picaresque. It matters not to them that nearly all the professional comic characters of Elizabethan drama, as of all drama before it, have a vein of roguery in them—Sir Toby as well as Autolycus, the Clown as well as the Vice; or that in those days high and low were rejoicing in the roguery romances, English, French, or Spanish. Yet these people delighted in Falstaff as unreservedly as does the Prince in the play. That they did not take him for an innocuous mimic and merry-maker numerous allusions in the seventeenth century, as we have already seen, attest. And Hal loved

¹ See Jebb's comment, article "Euripides," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

him as Morgante loved Margutte, as Baldus loved Cingar, and Pantragruel—"all his life long"—loved Panurge, not for his humor only but for his lies and deviltry. They had their notions of "a character" as we have ours. With endless variety of repetition Rabelais revels in notions of drunkenness, gluttony, lasciviousness, and in tricks of cheating and cruelty, as things funny in themselves. With what gusto he tells of the outrages perpetrated by Panurge on the watch, the difficult Parisian lady, and Dingdong and his flock, and of Friar John's slaying and curiously and expertly mutilating his thousands with the staff of the cross in the abbey close! And yet, frowning down the facts, the critics declare that Falstaff had no malice in him,¹ and though he laments the repayment had no intention of keeping the stolen money, repaid Quickly full measure and running over with his company, and after all did no mentionable injury to Shallow, who had land and beeves. "Where does he cheat the weak," cries Maginn, "or prey upon the poor?" There is Quickly, poor, and weak at least before his blandishments, "made to serve his uses both in purse and in person"; and there are Bullcalf, who has a desire to stay with his friends, and Mouldy, whose dame is old and cannot help herself, both swindled in the name of the King, as Wart, Feeble, and Shadow, the unlikeliest men, are wrongfully pressed into service. All this once was funny, and now is base and pitiful,² but why should we either shut our eyes to it or bewail it? Surely we cannot with Morgann make allowances for his age and corpulency (how that would have staggered an Elizabethan!) and corrupting associations; or with Maginn trace the pathos of his degradation, hope after hope breaking down; or with Swinburne discover the well of tenderness within him, his heart being "fracted and corroborate," not for material disappointment, but for wounded love.³ With this last the present Chief Secretary

¹ Raleigh, p. 189; Wolff, I, p. 423; cf. Part II, III, ii, 353-57; IV, iii, 137-42.

² The scenes (Part I, III, iii; Part II, II, i) where Falstaff, upbraided by Quickly, retorts in chirk and clever vein, resemble the scene in *Le Medecin malgré lui* where Sganarelle does the same to his long-suffering wife. And the scene where the latter imposes on the country bumpkins with fraudulent remedies resembles that in which Falstaff and Bardolph fleece the conscripts.

³ If Shakespeare means that he really is heartbroken (which Mr. Birrell denies) it is not the first or the last time that the dramatist permits himself a bit of sentiment upon the death of the unworthy.

for Ireland is properly disgusted, though in being less sentimental he is hardly more Elizabethan in spirit as he calls him "in a very real sense a terrible character, so old and so profane"¹ Yet Mr. Birrell remembers him (where others have been glad to forget him) with Doll at the Boar's Head, and he reads an unexpurgated text. And if he does not look with the eyes of an Elizabethan, he looks with his own, and sees the old rogue and satyr in his heathen nakedness, not in the breeches that, like Volterra in the Sistine, the critics have hastened to make him.

Morals and sentiments alike, in the lapse of time, obliterate humor. Laughter is essentially a *geste social*, as Meredith and Professor Bergson have truly told us; and the immediate and necessary inference, which no doubt they themselves would have drawn, is that it languishes when the tickled *mores* change. Much that was funny to the Elizabethans or to the court of the Grand Monarch has since become pathetic, as in Shylock and Harpagon, Alceste and Georges Dandin, and "disgusting" or even "terrible," as in Falstaff or Tartuffe. Of this we have just seen repeated instances, and of the process of critical emasculation which in consequence ensues. Even the form and fashion of the older humor has given offense. Most of the English critics apparently have not seen Falstaff on the stage, but those who have cannot recall him there without a shudder. The roaring, the falling flat, and above all the padding—"a very little stuffing," one of them pleads, "would answer all the requirements of the part."² And the padded bulk of his humor, as of his person—"out of all measure, out of all compass"—about his name being terrible to the enemy and known to all Europe, and Turk Gregory never doing such deeds, is so reduced by anachronizing Procrustean critics as to contain "nothing but a light ridicule."³ His ancestral ring seems to have been really of gold, not copper, "though probably a little too much

¹ *Renaissance Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part II*, pp. xvi, xviii. Cf. p. xv: "Falstaff's words 'Kiss me, Doll,' followed by his cry, 'I am old, I am old,' together with other touches in the same scene, might well stand for the last words of disgust and horror." They were meant, certainly, to be funny. Funniest of all, no doubt, was the worst, at the end of the scene, where Bardolph, from within, cries, "Bid Mistress Tearsheet come to my master," and motherly Mistress Quickly bids her run.

² *Fraser's*, xlvi: p. 409; Morgann, p. 26, etc.

³ Morgann, pp. 41, 83; Bradley, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 267—"must not be entirely ignored."

alloyed with baser metal."¹ And his "old ward," like his "manhood," Hal might have remembered if he would.² What of the multitudinous knaves in buckram and Kendal green, or of the knight himself at Hal's age not an eagle's talon in the waist or an alderman's thumb-ring, or of the nine score and odd posts he foundered as he devoured the road to battle in Gaultree Forest? Even his laugh, which must have been big as his body, riotous as his fancy, lingering and reverberating as the repetitions of his tongue,³ has been taken away.⁴ "The wit is from the head, not the heart. It is anything but fun." If we are to depend on stage directions there is no laughter in Sir Toby either, or almost any other jovial soul in Shakespeare. In robbing these fat knights of their fun critical treason has well-nigh done its worst, though before that it robbed audiences (at the cost of truth though to the profit of morals) of the fun got from Shylock, Harpagon, Dandin, and Tartuffe. On the stage and in the study much of the comedy in Shakespeare and Molière has been smothered out of them from the Romantic Revival⁵ unto this day, and yet we smile at the Middle Ages Christianizing the classics.

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¹ Morgann, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³ This rolling of his jest as a sweet morsel between his lips is one of his most striking traits: as "food for powder, food for powder; they'll fill a pit as well as better. Tush, man, mortal men, mortal men!" Cf. "I am old, I am old"; and the manifold repetitions in Part I, II, iv.

⁴ Maginn, p. 56: "he never laughs."

⁵ This is a subject to which I hope to return.

WILLIAM PERCY AND HIS PLAYS

WITH A SUMMARY OF THE CUSTOMS OF ELIZABETHAN STAGING

The plays of William Percy, third son of Henry, eighth earl of Northumberland, have recently received considerable attention. They exist in a manuscript volume now owned by the Duke of Devonshire, from which Joseph Haselwood reprinted two, *The Cuckqueanes and Cuckolds Errants or the Bearing down the Inn*, 1601, and *The Faery Pastoral or the Forest of Elves*, 1603, in 1824 for the Roxburghe Club. These two have been frequently described, but *The Aphrodysiall or Sea Feast*, 1602,¹ *Necromantes or the Two Supposed Heads*, 1602, *Arabia Sitiens or a Dream of a Dry Year*, 1601, and *A Country's Tragedy in Vacuniam or Cupid's Sacrifice*, 1602, remain practically unknown. All are written, says Haselwood, in the hand of the author and are dated by him. The volume includes other compositions and dates from 1601 to 1647; it seems "a fair transcript of the lucubrations of an earlier period in life" with new readings sometimes pasted over.

The plays are remarkable chiefly for their explicit stage directions, which come nearer than any other contemporary source to giving a detailed account of a theatrical performance in the reign of Elizabeth. Collier (*History of English Dramatic Poetry*, II, 351) was, I believe, the first to call attention to these plays; "his [Percy's] productions of this kind [plays] like his sonnets have little or no merit; as, however, they importantly illustrate the condition of the stage at the period when they were written (soon after the year 1600) I shall have occasion to refer to them hereafter." Carl Grabau ("Zur englischen Bühne um 1600," *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1902) again called them to the attention of scholars. Subsequent discussions of Elizabethan staging show these plays to be almost uniformly considered important sources of information.

¹ Through the kindness of Dr. Frederick Ives Carpenter, I have been permitted to examine a transcript of this play. It somewhat resembles *The Faery Pastoral* in its general style and in its form of staging.

Two writers, however, hold them to be valueless. Wallace (*Children of the Chapel at the Blackfriars, 1597-1603*, 131) says, "I set no special value upon the elaborate and impossible stage directions or other items taken seriously by many as touching vital points in stage history." This was a natural point of view for Wallace, because the plays show that spectators sat on the stage at Paul's at a date when Wallace maintains this custom was limited to the Blackfriars. Still Wallace' objection is singularly naïve: the directions are not impossible, for there they are; no one would think of crediting a man of Percy's mentality with making up his elaborately consistent system of staging out of whole cloth; the directions demand explanation, not dogmatic denial. Similarly minded to Wallace is Dr. Victor Albright, who in a recent number of this journal¹ calls Percy's plays valueless and uninteresting as theatrical documents, and who states that they "have no connection with the regular Elizabethan stage." "Regular," of course, may mean anything, but whatever Albright means by it, even a cursory examination of recent literature shows that his opinion of the value of these plays is contrary to that of most distinguished writers on the subject.

Thus, Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, 1908) repeatedly cites Percy's plays as reliable authorities, and speaks of *The Errants* as affording "singularly interesting evidence . . . of some of the most notable peculiarities of Elizabethan staging" (I, 464). Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 1909) uses Percy's *Faery Pastoral* in illustrating general Elizabethan conditions (IV, 430, 437), as does Jusserand (*Literary History of the English People* [1909], III, 65). Lawrence (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, 1912) refers to Percy's plays as "sound evidence for the routine pursued at the Paul's playhouse" (I, 66), and makes several citations. Neuendorff, in the most recent German study of the Elizabethan stage, *Die englische Volksbühne*, uses Percy freely, and so does Graves in the latest study in English, *The Court and the London Theaters* (Chicago, 1913), the latter with special effectiveness. Thus Albright, in taking the position he does, is opposing almost the undivided current of recent opinion.

With so many distinguished scholars to criticize for using Percy's plays, Albright does me a peculiar and certainly an undeserved

¹ "Percy's Plays as Proof of the Elizabethan Stage," *Modern Philology*, October, 1913.

honor in directing against me almost alone his vehement and acrimonious argument. The acrimony we may properly disregard as out of place in such a discussion, but the vehemence is rather significant. As Jusserand remarks (*Literary History of the English People*, III, 65, note), Percy's plays suffice "to demonstrate the untenability of the so-called 'alternation theory,'" and thus, unless Albright can discredit their evidence, he must abandon his view of the Elizabethan stage. Under these circumstances vehemence is perhaps pardonable, but scarcely absurdity, and absurd some of Albright's arguments, as we shall see, certainly are. Moreover, his article exhibits the same defects as his book; in each there is the same blindness to evidence not to his liking; in each the same lack of historical perspective. An examination of the one may therefore serve as a criticism of the other.

The subject itself, except to Albright, is now, it must be confessed, of relatively little importance. The literary value of Percy's plays is nil. As sources of theatrical information they have been used to show nothing which, with one exception, cannot be illustrated from Shakespeare's plays alone, quite disregarding other contemporary drama.¹ The points for which I have used Percy's plays, and to which Albright objects, are the existence of three stage doors, properties on the front stage, act intermissions, simultaneous "incongruous" properties, and dramatic distance. Shakespearean illustrations are as follows, most of them having numerous parallels:

Three doors: *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1: "Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft. And then enter Saturnius . . . at one doore and Bassanius . . . at the other." At the end of the scene Saturnius says, "Open the Gates and let me in." "They go vp into the Senate House." They could scarcely have gone out through the door by which either had entered. "One door . . . the other" simply shows a custom here blindly followed, which perhaps arose because the third door was usually concealed by the curtain.

Properties on the front stage: Out of many illustrations I choose *Julius Caesar*, III, 1, 2, because it is so often misunderstood. Scene 1

¹ Percy's plays do show a use of locality boards which is nowhere else so completely illustrated in Elizabethan drama; that such signboards existed is adequately proved by considerable other evidence, but Percy's plays furnish a unique statement as to how they were employed.

is in the senate house by the statue of Pompey; it must have had seats for the senate and was probably staged on the rear stage. Scene 2 uses the "public chair" (l. 68) to which Brutus "ascends." This term points to a use of the elevated seat more commonly alluded to as the state or throne, which was kept in the heavens (Prologue to *Every Man in His Humor*; *Faustus*, last scene), and let down from above. It therefore would naturally stand on the front stage, though a few plays (e.g., *Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, p. 16) show it either to have stood behind the curtain, or to have had, as Neuendorff supposes, a curtain of its own. Clearly one or the other of these scenes must have been limited to the front stage. Antony could have spoken much more effectively from the dais on which this chair stood than from the higher and more remote balcony.

Act intermissions: *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, end of Act III (folio): "They sleepe all the Act" (i.e., as the play shows, from the end of one act till the beginning of the next).

Simultaneous "incongruous" properties: the tomb in *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1: The scene is before the senate house.

Dramatic distance: that is, the bringing together upon the stage of places naturally a greater distance apart: *Richard III*, V: The tent of Richard beside that of Richmond.

Thus, even if Albright's arguments concerning Percy were unanswerable, no important detail or principle of Elizabethan staging would be seriously drawn into question. Percy's plays are not necessary for proof; they simply furnish compact illustrations. As such they are too convenient to be abandoned simply because of Albright's prejudices, and a consideration of them a little more in detail, though no vital matter, may prove not without interest.

Albright thinks Percy a pedant: "if he had laid aside his classics and his scribbling and attended the Globe where Burbage was giving the first performances of Hamlet he might have written a piece that would have at least some resemblance to an Elizabethan play"; he was "without knowledge of, or at least respect to, the pit-gallery London audience"; he was "a student rhymer with Plautus on his right hand and Terence on his left, and with a bookcase filled with well-worn classics near him." His plays "have no connection whatever with the regular Elizabethan stage": *The Cuck-queanes and*

Cuckolds Errants is an imitation of Plautus; *The Faery Pastoral* "a pedant's attempt at a Latinized play for the court." "Therefore one may as well quote directions from Plautus and Terence to prove his theories of the Shakespearean stage."

Now, one might grant most of Albright's assumptions without at all agreeing with his conclusions. What if Percy were such a pedant as he is pictured, and his plays imitations of Latin comedy? That classical plays were given in such "regular" theaters as the Rose and the Curtain is shown conclusively by Guilpin's lines in his *Skialetheia* (1598):¹

"or if my dispose
Persuade me to a play, I'll to the Rose
Or Curtain, one of Plautus' comedies
Or the pathetic Spaniard's Tragedies."

One has only to look at the index in Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama* to remove any doubts as to the presence in the "regular" English drama of the influence of Plautus and Terence. Albright's conclusion of "aloofness" is therefore singularly insecure.

It really rests on some sort of notion that performances at court and at the private theaters were sharply distinguished in practice and ideals from those at the public theaters. That of course is possible, but it is unlikely, nobody has proved it, and much can be urged against it. Graves's carefully stated dissertation, *The Court and the London Theaters*, shows convincingly that the connection between them has been greatly underestimated. Albright has simply been proceeding on one of those numerous assumptions which too much confuse work in this period. In any case, Percy's plays may have been conspicuously classical without for that reason being "aloof" from the regular drama.

To dismiss Albright's arguments thus, however, would be perhaps to treat them too cavalierly. He has three:

First, *The Errants* and *The Faery Pastoral* are, he says, valueless as sources for Elizabethan stage conditions because of Percy's habit of scene division at the entrance of every character. Plays so divided are, thinks Albright, hopelessly classical and "aloof from the regular Elizabethan drama." If one were inclined to wax satiric at Albright's

¹ Collier, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 319.

expense, here certainly is the opportunity. Many plays furnish evidence contrary to this extraordinary conclusion. But to cite the works of only one author, has Albright forgotten Jonson? Even the modern editions used by Albright preserve Jonson's classical scene division. Is Jonson also "aloof from the regular Elizabethan drama"? As a matter of fact, classical scene division shows simply classical influence, but aloofness not one whit. Albright, in trying to find all the evidence possible for his view, has proved too much.

Again, Albright thinks the aloofness of Percy's plays established by the use in them of Latin words and mythological allusions, not only by lawyers and ladies—that would not provoke his comment—but by "ghosts, soldiers, tradesmen, servants, inn-keepers and street gamins"; this is too much. Such an argument reads strangely in the work of a specialist in drama. When did Sophocles or Shakespeare or Sheridan or for that matter G.B.S. himself, even in this age of realism, hesitate to decorate the speech of soldier or servant? Shall Percy be denied the opportunity to exhibit his Latin brilliance, faint though it be? More than that, Albright has apparently neglected to allow for the rage of the Renaissance for Latin and mythology. In his new devotion to "the remote corners of the Elizabethan drama," which he hints I too much frequent, he seems to have forgotten his Shakespeare. One illustration must suffice: let Albright consider *II Henry IV*, II, 4, where in one page of the Globe edition (420) he may find over a dozen classical allusions in the mouths of exactly the persons he is so concerned about—soldiers, inn-keepers, people of the street. Or let him note Act II, scene 1, of the same play, where an allusion to "Althea's dream," scarcely a common reference, is spoken by a page. That Shakespeare uses an allusion is enough to make it today more or less familiar; Percy's may therefore seem more unusual, but I do not remember that the Latin or the allusions of his plays—I have no copy at hand—are especially recondite. As a matter of fact, this part of Albright's argument is an unfortunate intrusion into his paragraph. His real point is that such a style would not suit the groundlings of the London theaters. But this argument is equally ill-chosen. For Percy seems to have had Paul's more than any other theater in mind, and at Paul's less attention had to be paid, it is likely, to the tastes of the "vulgar." Moreover,

even the writers for the public theaters did not limit their plays to what would suit the understanding gentlemen of the yard. What had Jonson's *Sejanus* for them, or his long disquisitions in *The Alchemist*? What could they make of Chapman's orations or of the soliloquies in *Hamlet*? Finally, even if we admit that Percy's style was not fitted to the London audiences, what difference does that make in this inquiry? Nobody is maintaining that his plays were successful. A man may know everything concerning the theater—I am far from saying that Percy did—and still not be able to gauge the taste of his audience at all. Have we not today plenty of proof of this in too many playwrights? Indeed, Percy's plays have only too much to please the vulgar—more than many successful plays of his day. Albright's second argument is simply beside the mark.

Albright's third and really only important argument concerns the staging. *The Errants*, he says, is staged distinctly in the manner of a Terentian comedy. There is the usual Latin stage, a street or open space between two or more houses, doors, or places. The scene never changes throughout the play. All the visible action takes place on this neutral ground or at the doors of the various houses. This method of staging is Latin but emphatically not English. In English plays the scene is constantly changing. In *The Faery Pastoral* the scene also does not change except that the chapel is opened and closed. Anyone who is familiar with the Elizabethan drama and the Latin drama knows that the stages for the two are entirely different. Thus runs Albright's argument from staging.

The assumptions of this paragraph seem either the result of extraordinary ignorance or of intentional confusion. Albright relegates to a footnote the statement that "The towns in this theatrical world (of *The Errants*) are of course brought into closer relation than in real life." But this is a fundamental, a distinctive difference. Does Albright really mean to maintain that Terentian houses, which conceivably could be on one street, are no different from English towns which the atlas, to say nothing of the play itself, shows to have been miles apart? If so, he must follow his argument a little farther; if *The Errants* is Terentian, so is the Valenciennes stage; so is Sidney's "Asia of the one side and Affrick of the other"; so is the simultaneous staging of the French sixteenth-century plays. In all

these, places are brought into closer relation than in real life, and the scene, as Albright here seems to be using the word, never changes throughout the play. But in this very use of "dramatic distance" lies a distinctive difference between the old platform stage, of which Percy furnishes only one out of numerous examples, and the modern picture stage with its attempts at realistic stage representation. To stretch the Terentian conception of the stage until it cover Percy's is to destroy it entirely.

But this is not all. Albright perhaps almost makes out a superficially satisfactory case, only, however, by burying details of importance but of distinctly unclassical bearing in unemphasized footnotes or by omitting them altogether. One of these regards the use of locality boards. In the footnote just referred to he airily remarks: "Some students have supposed that there were signboards over the doors—but there is absolutely no mention of them in the directions or text, and no need of them on the stage to make the action clear." I can speak only for myself, but to me the explicit stage directions of Percy—made actual in a performance only by the use of signs—are all that save the plays from unintelligibility. So much for the need. As for the mention, does Albright expect the directions to say, "A signboard bearing the name Harwich is neatly tacked up one foot above the left door"? If he does not, I scarcely see how he can expect a more definite direction for signboards to indicate general locations than the one Percy gives. But even in this Albright may be satisfied. My imagined direction is almost equaled in minuteness by the first lines of *The Faery Pastoral*: "Highest aloft and on the Top of the Musick Tree the Title The Faery Pastoral. Beneath him pind on Post of the Tree The Scene Eluida Forest Lowest of all ouer the Canopie ΝΑΗΑΙΤΒΟΔΑΙΟΝ or Faery Chappell." And from *The Aphrodysiall*: "In the middle and alofte Oceanus Pallace The Scene being. Next Proteus-Hall." Clearly scene boards, but scarcely, I take it, classical details.

And finally there is a direction in *The Errants* (V, 87) which Albright omits entirely and which adds a feature to the stage picture which is unmistakably Elizabethan. The scene is outside the inn at Colchester, but the landlord "tooke the Bolle (bowl) from behind the Arras." A similar direction occurs in *The Faery Pastoral* (V, 4).

An arras cuts a pretty figure on a Terentian stage; so does it in any street scene on a stage which pretends to present a realistic picture of the background.¹

Of Albright's arguments, then, the first and second prove nothing, and the third seems convincing only so long as one confuses agreed-upon distinctions or omits essential details of evidence. Albright's paper shows that now no more than formerly has he grasped the idea of the Elizabethan stage as a plastic, platform, simultaneous stage. He cannot or does not get away from the modern melodrama with its every scene in a more or less fitting setting. In *Hamlet*, "a typical Elizabethan play," he tells us, "the stage at one time is a parapet, at another the presence chamber of the King, at another a hall in the palace arranged for a play, at another the Queen's closet, at another the graveyard, and so on. How far removed this is from the setting of *The Faery Pastoral* where all is one scene which never changes from the beginning to the end!" But how can Albright say the typical Elizabethan play is full of changes of scene when so diverse and yet so popular plays as *The Malcontent*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, *The Alchemist*, and *The Devil's Charter*, to name only a few, vary scarcely at all. Even if it were true that frequent changes of scene characterize the typical play, Percy's plays could still qualify. If they had the usual few directions, Albright could select *The Errants* as an admirable example of a typical play with changing scene: now Maldon, now a street in Colchester, now Harwich, now the Ranger's Lodge, now the country near by. Percy's specific directions forbid this interpretation; Albright must discredit them, and thus we hear that the staging is Terentian! What Albright however really has in mind, I think, is not so much change of scene as change of setting. In that, too, he cannot be so sure of *Hamlet*; the directions actually printed in the play indicate few changes, and neither Albright nor anybody else has proved that others occur. It is true that the scene of *Hamlet* does shift considerably—not so frequently as that of *The Errants* by the way—but the setting of *Hamlet* is almost if not quite as unchanged as that of Percy's plays.

¹ I do not emphasize another particular that is unmistakably unclassical. In *The Faery Pastoral* even Albright admits that the chapel opens and closes; and in *The Aphrodisiall* the interior of the hall of Proteus is shown. These interior scenes are of course impossible for the Terentian stage, at least as thought of in the Renaissance.

To discuss the staging of *Hamlet* without prefacing it with a general account of the staging in Shakespeare's theater and the evidence in its support would certainly cause misunderstanding. Space for so much is lacking, but a bare summary may be of some service. Anybody who will read the plays in the original editions or in accurate reprints will have little difficulty in finding that evidence for himself. I hope however to publish it from time to time as opportunity offers. The conclusions to be presented are based on a study of all extant plays which were given in anything like their present form at the Rose after 1594, at the first Globe, or at the first Fortune; all Shakespeare's plays are also included.

As we should expect, the plays demand a stage with at least three doors leading to it, a balcony, trapdoors, and devices in the "heavens" for the lowering and raising of actors and properties. The evidence that the Rose had a stage curtain shutting off a considerable space is unimpeachable, and though it is not so clear for the Globe and Fortune, is still sufficient. There was an elaborate equipment of properties and costumes.

Certain properties usually, though not always, stood on the front stage, especially the throne, the "trees," and the ladders from which the victims were "turned off" in hanging scenes (*Two Lamentable Tragedies*, V, 2); tables, chairs, and stools were often used there. Presumably the larger properties, once put in place, were left on the stage, perhaps until the end of the play, at least until no longer needed. In intervening scenes they were, therefore, to modern notions, incongruous. Other properties were freely admitted to the front stage when the plays made it necessary. The front stage with these various settings was frankly mediaeval, its scene being left vague and neutral a good deal of the time, or changing without the actors leaving the stage. Failure to recognize this use of properties on the front stage renders self-contradictory and useless almost all previous explanations of Elizabethan staging.

That the rear stage was *not* employed for all scenes in rooms or even for all scenes with properties, is almost the clearest fact concerning Elizabethan stage management. The rear stage was used:

1. For practically all "discoveries," though a few required special curtains, for example *Spanish Tragedy*, last scene.

2. For the shop, study, tent, arbor, cave, cell. The tomb was a structure standing on the rear stage, often, it would seem, over the trapdoor. Perhaps some of the settings just named were also structures. When a play used more than one, it is likely that the rear stage served for one of them, and special structures on the front stage for the others. In *The Roaring Girl*, however, three shops seem to have stood side by side on the rear stage.

3. For scenes in which a considerable number of persons were seated formally—Parliaments, Senates, Councils, but seldom it would seem for banquets. A striking example of this use occurs in *Volpone*, IV, 4-6; V, 10, 12. There are a few exceptions to this—thus in *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1, the Senate is seated in the balcony.

4. For parts of scenes supposed to be *in*, when the rest of the scene is *out*. The part that is *in*, and that which is *out* may be respectively a room—the passage or room before it; inside a house, shop, or tent, etc.—the street before it. By no means all interior scenes, it must be repeated, were so represented, but this particular sequence was certainly so arranged. Editors have often misunderstood this, and though the characters in the original editions do not leave the stage, have inserted *exeunt* directions and begun new scenes. A conspicuous example of this occurs in *The Jew of Malta*, Act IV, first 210 lines. The action takes place on the front stage until l. 146, where Barabas enters the house (the rear stage which Ithamore and Friar Barnadine had entered at l. 102) and strangles Friar Barnadine; they stand the body up against the wall of the front stage and then retire to the rear stage, perhaps closing the curtain. After Friar Jacomo has knocked the body down, they re-enter the front stage, seize him, and at the end of the scene, *exeunt* it is likely through the rear stage. Similar examples with passage directly from the front stage to the rear may be found in *Henry VIII*, V, 2, 3; *Julius Caesar*, IV, 2, 3; *The Maid's Tragedy*, V, 1, and *Volpone*, V, 9-12. A similar sequence but with exit and re-entrance occurs in *Every Man in His Humour*, I, 4, 5. Other examples are very numerous; Thorne-dike discusses one at length from *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 272-77). I cannot agree with him that the rear stage is in these scenes usually a sort of back drop, changing the significance of the front stage; this seems a purely modern notion. To

be sure the actors in a crowded scene may have sometimes got out upon the larger space. But *Volpone*, V, 11, shows clearly that in the sequence to which it belongs the people at the trial were all supposed to remain on the rear stage, leaving *Volpone* alone for this soliloquy. In scenes employing the rear stage for a shop, study, etc., the distinction between rear and front stage is sharply preserved.

5. Where three doors (not three entrances, necessarily) were employed (*Four Prentices of London*, Prologue; *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1).

6. The rear door (and hence the rear stage) was used in all scenes in which a door is emphasized as leading from the lower stage to the balcony, as for example when it is locked or barred, but not in simple cases of entrance or exit. A conspicuous example is to be found in *The Maid's Tragedy*, I, 2. It is interesting to observe how in V, 2, of this play, use of this door is avoided (l. 70) where it would conflict with the use of the rear stage as a bedchamber in the preceding scene.

7. The rear door, and therefore the rear stage, was used, usually in connection with the balcony, to represent the gate to a castle or city, not often to a house. This usage, suggested by Miss Charlotte Porter (*First Folio Shakespeare*), is the only one which I find much difficulty in recognizing. Sometimes one cannot be sure whether the gate is in sight or not. Scenes *within* the gates are also troublesome. A clear illustration of this usage occurs in *Henry V*, III.¹

This formulation of the customary usages of the rear stage—there are others of too infrequent occurrence to be listed here—seems to me valid, partly because they are natural and fitting, but mainly

¹ To make this summary of Elizabethan staging a little more complete, some mention must be made of Prölsz's Law of Re-entry—that no person could leave the stage and return to it immediately, if the scene meanwhile was supposed to have changed. An act interval, one or more speeches, or even stage business, alarums for example, must intervene. Or the one who had gone out might re-enter with several persons. The number of apparent illustrations of this law is truly remarkable, but I am not entirely convinced that the intervening speeches were not written quite as often to indicate a lapse of time as a change of scene. Certainly in some cases the exit and immediate re-entry of characters—but by a different door—was exactly what indicated a change of scene. See *The Iron Age* (p. 379), where it marks the entry of the Greeks into Troy; in *The Brazen Age* (p. 177) it represents the crossing of a river; in *The English Traveler* (p. 66), change from one room to another. A similar case occurs in *The Changing*, III, 1, 2(Q). Other—unmarked—illustrations of this are to be found, I think, in *Hamlet*, I, 4, 5; *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 1, 2, and a large number of other plays. This action however did not always mean a change of scene; see *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, 11, the scene between Hieronimo and the two Portugales.

because they work without conflict in all the plays of the theaters mentioned. Other theories concerning the rear stage, when applied outside a certain series of plays selected usually because they furnish satisfactory proof to the theorist, and often provided in the original editions with few or no directions, have resulted repeatedly in bringing two rear stage scenes together, which would mean delay in the performance and thus take away any reason for the theories at all. The tests here presented, when applied to all the plays, result in only two or three such clashes and even these are easily explained. Moreover they meet an even severer test, the key I think to Elizabethan staging, the principle of Recurring Properties. When the rear stage was once arranged with a certain setting, it was as a rule left undisturbed until that setting was no longer required; intervening scenes with different settings were given on the front stage. Clear indication of this is offered by *I The Honest Whore*. Resting as it does simply on convenience, this custom would be departed from when departure was easier than observance. Thus in *Sejanus* it is not surprising that the arrangement for the long-separated Senate scenes of III, 1, and V, 10, should be varied for the altar setting of V, 4. But this is one of the very few such interruptions of a recurring setting. With this far-reaching principle, the formulated uses of the rear stage come into not half a dozen conflicts, an agreement too remarkable it seems to me to be fortuitous, and going far to prove their validity.

The application of these principles to some of the plays shows a marked alternation in use of the front and the rear stage. Clear examples of this may be found in *The Merchant of Venice* (caskets), *The Tempest* (cell), *I The Honest Whore* (shop), *Cromwell* (study), etc., where the same setting recurs several times; in *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Brazen Age*, *Cataline*, etc., where the setting of the rear stage is varied. That there was such an alternation¹ I have repeatedly insisted upon even in criticizing the untenable theories of alternation advanced by some writers. These theories determine the use of the rear stage according to modern notions instead of Elizabethan practice;

¹ By alternation I do not mean here, nor in criticizing the alternation theory have I ever meant, that every front-stage "scene" was followed by a rear-stage scene. Of course there were often several scenes (that is clearings of the stage) on the front stage without any intervening scene on the rear stage. But two differently set rear-stage scenes did not occur in succession, an act intermission or a scene on the front stage intervening to allow for the rearrangement.

they do not recognize the large use of properties on the front stage; they greatly exaggerate the number of scenes given on the rear stage and overemphasize its importance; they think the principle of alternation so rigidly held that dramatists were forced to write scenes exactly analogous to the stop-gap scenes of the modern melodrama. The difference between this sort of alternation and that resulting from the customs here formulated must be apparent.

One misconception I must guard against, that the front stage was cluttered with properties. The great majority of plays require there only the throne, the "trees," perhaps a stool or two; sometimes not even so much as this. The Elizabethan stage was not cluttered, nor primitive, nor confused. It was, however, a transition stage—perhaps for that reason the most interesting and the most difficult to study—for it marks the meeting of the old and the new; on the front stage a frankly mediaeval staging; on the rear the beginnings of the modern picture stage.¹ And this is what we should expect. For the contemporary French stage furnishes us with the clearest examples of simultaneous settings; the Spanish stage was even more "primitive" than the English; even the English stage of the Restoration was not free from traces of inherited mediaeval tradition. All these facts point toward the conclusion that the English stage was mediaeval rather than modern. This conclusion becomes irresistible if we accept Wallace' interpretation² of the records of the early English drama. If it is true that the drama of the public theaters followed the lead of the court—and this has been the belief of many even before Wallace' presentation³—then the stage of the public theaters was certainly mediaeval in principle. For, according to Wallace, Lyly's plays show English drama just at the point where the public theaters on the one side and the private theaters on the other took up the stage traditions of the court and the early Blackfriars. And Lyly's plays are fundamentally mediaeval in staging; see, for example, *Campaspe*, with its scenes in the studio of Apelles,

¹ In *Timon*, V, it seems likely that the "tomb" of scene 3 remained on during scene 4, before the walls of Athens—as a simultaneous setting, that is, on the rear stage. The tomb of *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1, is essentially the same. These are almost the only intrusions of the mediaeval idea into the rear stage which I have noted.

² *Evolution of the English drama*, 1912.

³ Professor Manly has for many years emphasized it in his teaching.

at the palace of Alexander, and before the tub of Diogenes. From the modern point of view the staging of the play is hopelessly confusing; on the mediaeval stage with its conventions of dramatic distance and of simultaneous properties it is simple and entirely consistent. So also, as Lawrence points out (*Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, 59), is the staging of the plays of Marlowe and others. He even finds possibilities of a use of scene boards similar to Percy's in *The Wounds of Civil War*, *Pericles*, *The Fair Maid of the West* (64), to which might be added the names of other plays, *King Leir*, for example.

It is this mediaeval side that Percy's plays mainly illustrate, though the chapel in *The Faery Pastoral* and the hall of Proteus in *The Aphrodisiall* are modern developments. But many other plays besides Percy's, as we have seen, show almost if not quite as strongly the mediaeval setting. The distinctive principle of that setting, as modified by the Elizabethan stage, is not that all necessary properties must be put in place at the beginning of the performance and left there until the end; the principle appears just as truly when a property, once brought on the stage, is left there until no longer necessary, even through scenes in which it is out of place; or, what practically amounts to the same thing, when two properties or localities to be supposed a considerable distance apart are represented side by side. The application of these principles and the system of staging just discussed lead to anything but frequent changes of setting. That is characteristic of the eighteenth-century staging with wings and drops, not of the stage of Shakespeare. To be sure, certain Elizabethan plays did cause the stage hands a considerable shifting of properties, but *Othello*, *The Tempest*, *As You Like It*, *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The Four Prentices of London*, *The Woman's Prize*—I choose plays of different types but otherwise almost at random, and certainly all typically Elizabethan—require almost no change of setting, and thus approach closely to that "irregular" characteristic of Percy's plays which so troubles Dr. Albright.

And thus it is with *Hamlet*, though it is so simple in its staging as to present no very interesting problems or illustrations. On the front stage there was a seat or two used in I, 1; III, 2; and perhaps

III, 4. There also probably stood the throne, since the Globe certainly possessed one and it could well be employed in II, 2, and III, 2. Whether these were in place or not when the play began, there is no means of knowing; perhaps the stools were simply vacant ones provided for spectators. In Act V the trapdoor was used for the grave, and a table was brought in. The only certain use of the rear stage was for the arbor (Q1) in the play within the play, III, 2; it may also have been employed for the scenes between Hamlet and his mother, III, 4, and for the graveyard scene. In any case the changes of setting were few indeed.

Thus Albright's argument that the staging of Percy's plays show their "aloofness" from the regular Elizabethan drama really means nothing more than that they do not conform to his idea of what the regular Elizabethan drama should be. But since that idea would also exclude a large number of other plays besides Percy's and since it runs counter to the general history of the drama and of theatrical representation, not Percy's plays but Albright's ideas seem to be what is "aloof." To deny all evidence which does not suit you is an easy way to prove anything. Here particularly it is simply begging the question.

So far I have met Dr. Albright on the grounds which he himself has chosen; I have analyzed his arguments and pointed out their weakness. But there is other evidence—the facts of Percy's life so far as they are known, and the plain indications of his plays. Was Percy the pedant that Albright thinks him, the student writer absorbed in Plautus and Terence, the recluse suffering as a playwright from not attending the Globe theater? Let us see.

The most recent and most accessible accounts of Percy are the article by Sidney Lee in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and the scattered notices of him in *The House of Percy* by Gerald Brennan, edited by W. A. Lindsay, Vol. II (1902); from these the following is condensed:

Percy was born in 1575. His early boyhood was probably spent at Petworth, his father's place in Sussex, or in London, since during much of this time his father was under suspicion for treason, was for a time imprisoned, and in 1582–83 was ordered to London and confined to the precincts of his town house. This stood near St. Andrews

Hill, Blackfriars, adjoining a tenement afterwards owned by Shakespeare. Even in his boyhood William Percy can scarcely have avoided seeing plays in London. The earl achieved during this period considerable favor at court, but finally in December, 1584, was taken to the Tower, and died there under suspicious circumstances, June 20-21, 1585. By August, William is with his brother, the new earl, in Paris, and the spy, Thomas Rogers, reports to Walsingham that they are implicated with the Duc de Guise in the preparation of a great naval and military expedition against England. In 1586 the earl is in London, in his Blackfriars house, and is soon interested in forming a great library there. In 1590 he moves to Russell House, St. Martin's in the Fields, "at a little distance beyond Charing Cross." There, much to the disgust of his Sussex tenants, with whom he wages a continual feud about it, he remains; he will not even go to the northern border to defend his estates. William meanwhile on June 13, 1589, matriculated from Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and as a student carried on a friendship with Barnabie Barnes. Barnes in 1593 dedicated his *Parthenophil* to "the right noble and vertuous gentleman, M. William Percy," and Percy, in 1594, in his *Sonnets to the Fairest Coelia* included a madrigal in praise of Barnes. In Barnes's *Four Bookes of Offices*, 1606, Percy published also "a poor madrigal." We have here, it is clear, a pretty literary friendship, which becomes all the more significant for our purposes when we remember that Barnes was himself a dramatist, writing for Shakespeare's company *The Devil's Charter* (1606, published 1607), which was played at court by his Majesty's servants. This brings us well past the date of Percy's plays. I have not been able to discover the authority for the statement that Percy was at one time in the Tower on a charge of homicide, nor is it of any particular consequence to us to note that in 1638 he was living at Oxford "holding no communication of any sort with his relatives" and "drinking nothing but ale," having retired there, some say, because of an unhappy love affair. He died at Oxford in May, 1648, "an aged bachelor in Penny-farthing Street, after he had lived a melancholy and retired life many years." He was buried on May 28, in Christchurch Cathedral.

The plays in question were written long before this period of

seclusion, and when he was still in his twenties (twenty-six to twenty-eight). At that time he presents certainly no pedantic figure, but rather that of a young man about town—a young man of the Renaissance to be sure—friend of a writer of some note, his own works achieving publication, his family residence in London not far from theaters, and their country house in Sussex, which he could scarcely reach from Oxford without passing through that city. It is not possible that a young man of this character and with these connections knew nothing of the London theaters. It was not the lack of seeing Burbage in *Hamlet* that kept Percy from being a good playwright.

Looked at without prejudice, his plays themselves show that he was familiar enough with the London theaters to know at least the outward details of their staging. For example, there are two directions in *The Aphrodisiall* which could scarcely have been written by a man quite unacquainted with those theaters. One concerns a description of two of the parts in the play. The actors of these two parts were, Percy directs, to be bearded, but in a note he adds, "Thus for Actors; for Powles without." The other direction reads, "Chambers¹ (noise suppoed for Powles) For actors."² The prologue both of *The Aphrodisiall* and of *The Errants* was to be delivered between the second and third "soundings," that is, the blasts of the trumpet announcing the beginning of the usual theatrical performance. In *The Errants*, I, 2, p. 10, Shift, a London pickpocket, says "Two pence is the price for the going in to a newe Playe there" (at Paul's). Note should also be made of Percy's somewhat peculiar use of "canopy" in his stage directions. In Graves's opinion³—and I think it is correct—Percy thus designates the rear stage of the London theater, and Graves finds in this very phrase an indication

¹ "Chambers" of course are small cannon. For a similar use of the word see *II Henry IV*, 4, 57, and for a direction for their employment, *Henry VIII*, I, 4.

² Percy's directions imply that he distinguished carefully between different stage conditions. Not only has he several references to "Paul's" and the "Actors," but he also mentions practices at the university plays and at private houses. Thus the direction last quoted, *The Aphrodisiall*, I, v, continues: "Also a showre of Rose-water and confits, as was acted in Christ-Church in Oxford, in Dido and Aeneas—Guns withall and Thunder thereto"; and *ibid.*, V, v, the direction preceding the Seventh Song reads: "Here went furth the whole Chorus in a shuffle as after a Play in a Lords howse, Hermes wafting them furth with his winged wand," etc.

³ *The Court and the London Theaters*, p. 12.

that this rear stage was like that shown on the *Messalina* title-page, a projecting "canopy" rather than a simple "alcove." Finally in proof of Percy's knowledge of London theatrical conditions may be cited a note from the manuscript volume:¹

A note to the Master of Children of Powles. Memorandum, that if any of the fine and formost of these Pastoralls and Comoedyes conteyned in this volume shall but overeach in length (the children not to begin before foure, after prayers, and the gates of Powles shutting at six) the tyme of supper, that then in tyme and place convenient, you do let passe some of the songs, and make the consort the shorter; for I suppose these plaies to be somewhat too long for that place. Howsoever, on your own experience, and at your best direction, be it. Farewell to you all.²

Certainly these "chambers," "canopies," "soundings," these "consorts" of music Percy so systematically "knocks up" between the acts of his plays; the knowledge of prices, of times of performance, and of differences of equipment between the men's theaters and Paul's—all this points to no secluded pedant immersed in Plautus and Terence, but to a fairly observant, theatrically well-informed Elizabethan playgoer.

It is this playgoer who writes these plays, which he ardently hopes to get performed in London. How ardently, appears from the changes in them which he so eagerly, so copiously suggests, in the hope that this will make their production more possible. He will most of the time be all things to all theaters. The directions already quoted show this in part: beards may be left off; the noise of cannon supposed; according to the direction so often quoted, certain properties may even be represented by their "nuncupations only in text letters." He will allow the manager to do almost anything to his plays just so they really get put on. That a man so anxious and so well acquainted with the theaters should still write plays as completely opposed to the customs of those theaters as Albright supposes is absolutely inconceivable.

But I would not be misunderstood. I do not maintain nor have I ever maintained that these plays of Percy's were actually given in

¹ Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, III, 377.

² It is frequently asserted (for example, Schelling, I, 465), I think on the basis of this note, that *Necromantes* was acted by Paul's. Though the note is appended to *Necromantes* it clearly applies to all the plays, and does not prove their production, but only Percy's desire for it.

the London theaters. That has not been and perhaps cannot be either proved or disproved. Nor have I maintained that Percy was a dramatist of any power. He seems rather a pretty feeble sort of person. He may not have known—he probably did not know—the technical details of Elizabethan stage management, but he did know the obvious things, what the average spectator would know. And it is just these obvious customs which his plays have been used to establish. For these they are thoroughly competent, and Albright's objections to them are unfounded, the result of prejudice, and supported only by misunderstanding and the disregard of accessible evidence.

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ZUR LITERATURGESCHICHTE DER MARK BRANDENBURG

III. DIE LITERATUR BIS 1700

Der ausgesprochene Landschaftscharakter und das geschichtliche Sonderleben der Mark Brandenburg berechtigen uns, das Märkertum als ein Einzelwesen zu betrachten. Wie schafft sich nun dieses für sich stehende und eigenartige Märkertum seine Ausdrucks-kultur, wie bringt es sich selbst künstlerisch zum Ausdruck? Das ist die Frage, auf die eine "Literaturgeschichte der Mark Brandenburg" die Antwort zu geben hat. Und zwar am besten, indem sie einer Mahnung Hermann Hettners folgt und "den steten Parallelismus der einzelnen Künste" beobachtet. Denn "die Richtungen und Grundgedanken, welche die Kunstentwicklung eines Zeitalters bedingen und beherrschen, sind in allen Künsten durchaus dieselben."¹ Diese Erkenntnis hat Theodor Fontane z.B. die schönsten Früchte gebracht, weshalb die *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg* eine kostbare Fundgrube für die Literaturgeschichte nicht nur der Mark Brandenburg zu nennen sind.

Brandenburgs kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung nun hängt eng mit der des Königreichs Preussen zusammen, und preussische Geschichte ist vorzugsweise politische Geschichte. Kulturfragen spielen in ihr eine verhältnismässig untergeordnete Rolle. Ausschlaggebend ist ausserdem oft das Beispiel vom Thron her gewesen,

¹ H. Hettner, *Die Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 5. Auflage, "Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen," S. 565 ff.

nicht am wenigsten das schlechte etwa Friedrich Wilhelms I und II. Bis auf Friedrich den Grossen ist im allgemeinen der geistige Einfluss der Hohenzollern auf ihr Land und des Hohenzollernstaates auf das Kulturleben der Nation überaus gering. Und was immer durch die Hohenzollern für die Kulturpflege geschah, behielt noch mehrere Jahrzehnte *nach* Friedrich II einen "höchst persönlichen, höchstens höfischen Zug" und hatte den Charakter vereinzelter Versuche und Bemühungen.¹ Besonders die schönen Künste haben unter den stark entgegengesetzten Charakteren aufeinander folgender Hohenzollernfürsten—man denke an den Grossen Kurfürsten, König Friedrich I, Friedrich Wilhelm I, Friedrich II, Friedrich Wilhelm II, Friedrich Wilhelm III und IV—zu keiner ruhigen und stetigen Entwicklung kommen können. Deshalb trifft wohl Theodor Fontanes Wort das Richtige: "Die Hohenzollern waren nicht immer ästhetisch feinfühlig, aber waren jederzeit human."²

Erst mit dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts hat sich im brandenburgisch-preussischen Staat und in Berlin die Förderung der höchsten Kulturinteressen auch in der Kunst als natürlicher und notwendiger Ausfluss des Volkslebens eingestellt. Die Tage der Romantik bedeuten für die Mark, deren symbolische Vertretung noch Berlin innehat, ein tiefes Erwachen, ja wir dürfen sogar von einer *märkischen Romantik* reden, worunter einmal die Bestrebungen Wackenroders und Ludwig Tiecks, sodann Heinrich von Kleists, Fouqués, Achim von Arnims, Friedrich August Stägemanns, Chamissos, Immermanns u. a. zu verstehen sind.

Dass Brandenburg so spät vollgültig in die deutsche Literaturgeschichte eintritt, erklärt sich wieder aus seinen landschaftlichen Verhältnissen. Brandenburg hängt natürlich auch kulturgeschichtlich mit Norddeutschland zusammen. Besser als lange Erörterungen zeigt Nagels *Deutscher Literaturatlas*, wie die deutsche Kultur langsam vom Süden zum Norden heraufgerückt ist.³ In der Zeit des Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen war der katholische Süden Deutschlands

¹ K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, VII, 616, 700 f.

² Th. Fontane, *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg*, II, 62.

³ Diesen Aufschwung Norddeutschlands erklärt F. Ratzel, *Deutschland*, S. 237, mit durch ozeanische Einwirkungen; vgl. K. Lamprecht, a. a. O., S. 601 ff. Zur "Übernahme gelstiger Errungenschaften, namentlich von Nordwest nach Südost," nämlich im 12. Jahrhundert vgl. Lamprecht, a. a. O., III, 191, 374 ff.; auch in *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, I. Jahrgang, S. 27 f.

alleiniger Kulturträger. So hat sich z.B. die *Nibelungensage* am Mittelrhein gebildet und entwickelt, aber zum *Nibelungenlied* hat sie sich nur—über Bayern—im kulturreichen Österreich künstlerisch ausformen können. Die Reformationszeit zeigt Westdeutschland bei der Arbeit, Österreich dagegen ist tot. Süd und Nord halten sich nur noch die Wage, und im 17. Jahrhundert hat Süddeutschland ausgespielt. Schon mit Opitz wurde Mitteldeutschland vorherrschend, und immer rascher gelangt dann die Dichtung nach dem protestantischen Norden, so dass wir heute sagen dürfen: vom 18. Jahrhundert an ist die moderne deutsche Literatur viel mehr norddeutsch als süddeutsch getönt. Namen wie Gottsched, Herder, Klopstock, Kant, Lessing, Hamann, Kleist, Hebbel und Liliencron genügen.

Ein breiter Strom eines höheren geistigen Lebens dringt in den märkischen Territorialstaat und in sein zähes, nüchternes und an harte Arbeit gewöhntes Kolonistenvolk tatsächlich erst mit dem 16. Jahrhundert, mit dem *Luthertum*. Den besten Beweis dafür gibt Theodor Fontanes Beobachtung¹ "wie absolut nichts unser Volk von der vorlutherischen Periode seiner Geschichte weiss."

Natürlich waren auch schon früher geistige Kräfte, z.B. in den ziemlich zahlreichen märkischen Klöstern, und einzelne Persönlichkeiten am Werk. So hat der (askanische) Markgraf Otto II von Brandenburg an der höfischen Ritterdichtung des 13. Jahrhunderts bescheidenen Anteil genommen. Aber er ist eine nicht zu überschätzende Ausnahme. Auch der Hohenzoller Joachim I (1499–1535), dem man seiner damals ungewöhnlichen Bildung wegen den Beinamen Nestor gegeben hat, war *persönlich* von der Renaissance nur eben angestrahlt, aber zu seiner Zeit gab es doch schon einen sogenannten "preussischen Humanismus," d.h. den Humanismus der preussischen Bistümer, dessen Hauptmerkmal im Vorchristlichen der Renaissance besteht.² Deshalb hat auch Johannes Trithemius, der 1505, bei einem Besuche Berlins, die Märker in einem schier barbarischen Zustande schilderte, den damaligen Anteil der Märker an der Bildung ihrer Zeit sehr unterschätzt.³

¹ Th. Fontane, a.a.O., I, 45.

² J. Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, II, 46.

³ A. Lasch, *Geschichte der Schriftsprache in Berlin*, S. 117 ff.

Aber so wenig der deutsche Humanismus einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf die deutsche Volksliteratur ausgeübt hat, ebenso wenig hat er für die Literatur der Mark tief umgestaltend gewirkt.

Unter den *Neulateinern*, die Karl Goedeke (im § 113 seines *Grundriss*) aufzählt, befinden sich nicht wenige Märker: Georg Sabinus (aus der Stadt Brandenburg), Franciscus Hildesheim und Caspar Barth (beide aus Cüstrin), Michael Abel (aus Frankfurt an der Oder), Albertus Fridericus Mellemannus und Michael Haslobius (beide aus Berlin), Caspar Praetorius (ein Prignitzer), Johannes Pomarius, Clemens Friccius und Christianus Distelmeierus (die drei aus Magdeburg), Joachimus Hossmann (aus Cottbus), Andreas Celichius (aus Spandan), Valens Accidalius (aus Wittstock), Samuel Junius (aus Schwiebus), Daniel Cramer (aus der Neumark) und Gabriel Rollenhagen (ein Magdeburger, dessen Vater, der berühmtere Georg R., aus Bernau kam).

Tieferes Interesse erwecken unter ihnen nur wenige, so *Caspar Barth* als Lyriker besonders mit seinem *Teutscher Phoenix*¹ und *Michael Haslobius* "der der Freude an der Natur und ihren Erscheinungen in seinen Lobliedern auf die Jahreszeiten anmutenden und an die Anacreontiker erinnernden Ausdruck gegeben hat," mit Anselm Salzer zu reden.² Er ist fast der einzige unter all' den Neulateinern, der echtes Naturgefühl besitzt, was für die Anfänge der märkischen Literaturgeschichte bemerkenswert genug ist.

Gesonderter Betrachtung würdig ist auch *Georg Sabinus* (1508–60), der Schwiegersohn Melanchthons. Er war Professor an der 1506 gegründeten Universität Frankfurt an der Oder, dann Professor in Königsberg und schliesslich der erste Rektor der neuen Universität Königsberg. Er starb in Frankfurt nach einem reichen Gelehrten- und Schriftstellerdasein, dessen Eigentümlichkeit und Nachwirkung noch eingehender Beschäftigung harret. Er ist neben Barth wieder fast der einzige, der in (damals sehr beliebten) Reisebeschreibungen lebendige Einzelheiten und persönliche Empfindungen in schlichter Erzählung aufzuweisen hat.³

¹ K. Goedeke, *Elf Bücher*, S. 281 f.; A. Salzer, *Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1912, S. 564.

² A. Salzer, a.a.O., S. 565.

³ Erich Schmidt, *Archiv. für Literaturgeschichte*, XI, 320.

Diese neulateinischen Epiker und Lyriker wirkten ziemlich selten im Brandenburgischen, wo eigentlich nur Frankfurt eine Art "Kulturstätte" darstellte. Sie trugen meist nur gewisse Stammes- und Landschaftseigentümlichkeiten in ihre Schriften und damit in die literarische Welt. Aber im Lande Brandenburg selbst spielten damals die Interessen und Bestrebungen um das geistliche und weltliche *Schuldrama*, in dem sich ja humanistische und reformatorische Tendenzen sehr bald fanden. Die Dramen, die in Sachsen, durch Luther und seinen Kurfürsten gefördert, entstanden, entsprachen mit ihrem durch und durch Lehrhaften den Wünschen der Zeit und fanden daher eine rasche Verbreitung nach den norddeutschen Landschaften, also auch nach der Mark.

Aufführungen antiker Dramen im Urtext gehörten zum humanistischen Schulbetrieb. Bald wurden die klassischen Vorbilder nachgedichtet, hauptsächlich mit biblischen Stoffen, aber bei aller Flut der lateinischen Schuldramen blieb die Wirkung naturgemäss auf kleine akademische Kreise beschränkt. Trotzdem dienten sie deutschen Dramen zum Vorbild und sind deshalb, also wegen eines meist mittelbaren Einflusses auf das Volksdrama, unsere Beachtung wert.

Wesentliches beigetragen hat die Mark zu dieser *lateinischen Dramatik* nicht, wenn auch unter den "Dramatikern" schon bekannte Namen wie *Franciscus Hildesheim*,¹ Samuel Junius, Daniel Cramer zu finden sind. Der begabteste Dramatiker dieser Zeit, *Caspar Brulovius* (gestorben 1627), stammt aus Pyritz, ist also *beinahe* ein Brandenburger.² Märkisch-pommerisch an ihm ist höchstens, dass er frühe ein Gefallen an historisch-politischen Dramen—neben den herkömmlichen Bibeldramen—fand und in Stücken wie *Andromeda*, *Chariklia* und *Julius Caesar* sehr charakteristisch "die frevelhafte Auflehnung des Helden gegen die Gottheit" zum Hauptgegenstand wählte. Von "märkischem Trotz" reden und an die Quidzows oder Michael Kohlhaas erinnern wird man bei ihm aber kaum können, denn sein Leben und Wirken galt Strassburg und seinem Kunstprogramm.

¹ W. Scherer nennt F. Hildesheim, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XII, 411, ein glänzendes Talent.

² Nagels *Literaturallas* ist hierbei ungenau wie auch sonst gelegentlich. Im übrigen vgl. A. Salzer, a.a.O., S. 579. Hier, wie bei andern Dramatikern, ist auch stets K. Goedeke's *Grundriss*, 2. Auflage, § 115, in II, 131 ff., benutzt worden.

Dagegen wird man hier den für die märkischen Gelehrten-geschichte wichtigen *Christophorus Stymmelius* zu nennen haben, und zwar als Bahnbrecher für die *comedia paedagogica*, die ihren Schauplatz gänzlich in die Schule verlegt. Christof Stymmel schrieb mit zwanzig Jahren (1545) zu Frankfurt (an der Oder) die *Studentes*, eine Studentenkomödie, die ein wertvolles Kulturbild in derbem Realismus gibt und nun mit Recht an die grösste märkische Komödie, Kleists *Zerbrochenen Krug*, und auch an Achim von Arnims Studentenspiel *Halle und Jerusalem* denken lässt.¹

Die Schulkomödie lebte bis ins 17. Jahrhundert fort. Die letzten bedeutenderen Werke solcher Art schrieb der Berliner *Johannes Raue* (1610–79), der seit 1654 Generalinspektor aller Brandenburgischen Schulen war. 1718 verbot der Soldatenkönig Friedrich Wilhelm I die *actus dramatici*, die unter dem Rektor Christian Weise im preussischen Zittau eine letzte Blüte erlebt hatten: "Weil sie die Gemüter vereitelten und Unkosten verursachten."²

So viel vom *lateinischen Schuldrama!* Das *deutsche Schauspiel* der Reformationszeit, das sich mit der Reformation auch in der Mark einbürgerte, fand sich hier zuerst durch einige Nichtmärker vertreten. Der bedeutendste Dichter in Brandenburg war der Eislebener Georg Pondo (= Pfund), der mit einigen Bibeldramen und einer *Griseldis* in der Stadt Brandenburg wirkte. Bedeutsam sind seine für den brandenburgischen Hof zugestutzten Stücke durch die Verwendung des märkischen Platt in den Bauernszenen.³ Der Hamburger Knaust, der von 1540–44 als Lehrer in Berlin tätig war, liess 1540 sein Weihnachtsspiel, das erste protestantische seiner Art, durch Schüler aufführen.⁴ Der Strassburger Christof Lasius benutzte Knausts zu einem eigenen Weihnachtsspiel (1586), einem ebenso protestantisch gefärbten, während er Pfarrer zu Spandau (bei Berlin) war. Solche Weihnachtsspiele fanden noch einige Jahrzehnte länger in Brandenburg Pflege und Beifall, und auch die andern

¹ K. Goedeke, a.a.O., II, 138; A. Salzer, a.a.O., S. 576; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (A.D.B.), XXXVII, 98.

² J. Nadler, a.a.O., II, 57; A. Salzer, S. 586.

³ K. Goedeke, a.a.O., II, 392 ff.

⁴ W. Scherers *Literaturgeschichte*, 9. Auflage, S. 310.

mittelalterlichen Spiele wirkten hier nach. So wurden erst 1598 die Passionsspiele durch Kurfürst Joachim Friedrich verboten.¹

Am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts kamen dann auch die *englischen Komödianten* an den brandenburgischen Hof und brachten den Anstoss zu einem neuen, zum *modernen Drama*. War das gesamte deutsche Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts "ein Schauspiel ohne Schauspielkunst," nach einem Wort Julius Tittmanns,² so kam mit den englischen Berufsschauspielern eine wenn auch barbarische, so doch in langer Überlieferung ausgebildete Schauspielkunst nach Deutschland.

Unmittelbar vor dem Übergang von der alten zur neuen Kunstweise steht ein dramatisches Gedicht des Märkers *Bartholomäus Krüger*, das Karl Goedeke mit Recht "eins der grossartigsten Mysterien des 16. Jahrhunderts" genannt hat: "mit wahrhaft bewunderungswürdigen Szenen und in genialer Auffassung des vergänglichen Menschengeschickes der ewigen Weltordnung gegenüber."

Bartholomäus Krüger ist ein noch längst nicht gehörig beachteter Schriftsteller.³ Über sein Leben ist wenig bekannt. Er ist aus dem Ort Sprenberg bei Zossen gebürtig und, wie die Titel seiner Schriften anzeigen, Stadtschreiber und Organist in Trebbin gewesen. Wir kennen ihn als Verfasser dreier Schriften, des Volksbuchs von *Hans Clauerts Wercklichen Historien* (gedruckt zu Berlin 1587), von dem noch zu reden ist, und zweier Dramen, die beide im Jahre 1580 im Druck erschienen: ein weltliches Spiel: *Wie die bäuerischen Richter einen Landsknecht unschuldig hinrichten lassen, und wie es ihnen so schrecklich hernach ergangen* und das erwähnte geistliche Spiel, das vollständig heisst: *Eine schöne und lustige neue Action von dem Anfang und Ende der Welt, darin die ganze Historia unsers Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi begriffen*.⁴

¹ J. Bolte in *Märkische Forschungen*, 1884, 18, 109 ff.; A. Salzer, a.a.O., S. 585, nach W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, besonders Bd. II und III.

² J. Tittmann, *Schauspiele aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, II. Teil, Leipzig, 1868, S. VI. Vgl. auch Bruno Busse, *Das Drama*, I, 81 ff.

³ K. Goedeke, *Elf Bücher*, S. 147; J. Tittmann, a.a.O., VII, u.a. Im *Grundriss* Goedekes wird Krüger versehentlich unter "Schauspiele in Sachsen" gereiht (§ 147). Über Gabriel Rollenhagens Beziehungen zu den englischen Komödianten vgl. K. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 543.

⁴ Neudruck des weltlichen Spiels durch J. Bolte, Leipzig, 1884, des geistlichen Spiels durch J. Tittmann, a.a.O., II. Teil, S. 3 ff. Vgl. auch A.D.B., XVII, 224.

Nach einheitlichem Plan ("aus gut bedacht," wie der Dichter selber sagt) ist der grosse Stoff künstlerisch geordnet und auch bewältigt worden, weil wirkliches Kunstgefühl und technische Geschicklichkeit dem Herrn Ratsschreiber eigen waren. Der Plan, den auch ein Prologus verkündigt, ergab sich aus der naiven Heilslehre des 16. Jahrhunderts. Gott mit seinen Himmelscharen wehrt die gefallenen Engel ab, die auf Erden, d.h. bei den neuerschaffenen Menschen, gewinnen wollen, was sie im Himmel verloren haben. Die Bösen verführen Adam und Eva, Gott aber rettet die Verführten dadurch, dass er seinen Sohn Jesus Christus als ihren Erlöser auf die Erde schickt. Die Hölle wird durch den auferstandenen Christus besiegt; auch die katholische Kirche kann mit all ihrer Verderbnis das Heil der Menschen und die "reine Lehre," die dazu vermittelt, nicht mehr verderben. Im letzten Gericht triumphiert die himmlische über die teuflische Macht.

Danach ist der Schauplatz der 5 Akte abwechselnd Himmel, Erde und Hölle, entsprechend der Einrichtung der Mysterienbühne. Kurz und knapp ist die Darstellung, nirgends ein Wort zu viel, und die Sprache der kurzen, gelenkigen Verse ist kräftig und klar und volkstümlich dazu. Der grundernste Dichter ist ein ehrlicher Lutheraner, dessen Überzeugung aus den Worten Jesu und des Christophorus hervorgeht, und vertritt bei aller Kritik seiner Zeit einen gläubigen sicheren Optimismus, wie er etwa im "Prologus" zum Ausdruck kommt:

Gott weiss doch wohl,
Wie er sein Wort erhalten soll.
Ein frommer Christ kann durch Bestand
Den Tod und Teuf'l machen zu Schand.

Sein künstlerisches Temperament und damit auch sein Märkertum verrät die Art, wie er die Hölle schildert. Lucifer, der oberste Höllenfürst, ist ein konsequenter Charakter, den folgende Verse am besten kennzeichnen (Actus I, Verse 11 f.):

Ich merk wohl, wer nichts von sich hält,
Der ist verloren in der Welt!

Nächst ihm sind Satan und Happa als recht lebendige Einzelwesen gelungen (Actus I, Verse 255 ff., 263 ff., 302 ff., 636 f.). Interessant ist, dass Satan stets für "richtig ordnung" im Höllenreich eintritt.

Der ganze Umgangston in der Hölle ist teilweise recht spassig und erinnert manchmal stark an Stellen des Goetheschen *Faust*.¹

Im ganzen und im einzelnen ist in diesem Drama ein bemerkenswerter Realismus, der die weise Beschränkung des echten Dichters bezeugt. Dafür spricht auch die (einmalige) Verwendung des "Still-schweigens" auf der Bühne, nämlich zwischen Versen 170 und 171 im 5. Akt, wenn es von Jesus Christus heisst: "Hält ein Weil still mit Reden," ehe er sich nämlich an die Verdammten wendet. Besser als längere Erklärungen zeichnet dieser kleine Zug das wahre und kundige Dichtertum Bartholomäus Krügers.

Ebenfalls den alten Stil, aber einen neuen Gedanken, einen Stoff unmittelbar aus der Gegenwart enthält das Werk eines anderen Märkers dieser Zeit, das Drama *Speculum mundi* (1589) des *Bartholomäus Ringwaldt*. In diesem "Weltspiegel" werden die Schicksale eines Predigers zur Zeit der Gegenreformation dargestellt: "Nützlich zu lesen und im agieren beweglich," wie es im Titel heisst. Der Wert des Stückes liegt ausser im Gegenstand in der einfachen anschaulichen Schilderung und bei einzelnen frischen Volksszenen.

Mit diesem Bartholomäus Ringwaldt² werden wir zu einem bedeutenden Vertreter des Märkertums in der satirisch-polemischen Literatur der Reformationszeit geführt. Er ist 1530 in Frankfurt an der Oder geboren und als lutherischer Prediger zu Langfeld in der Neumark um 1600 gestorben. Er war ein wenig gelehrter Dorfpfarrer, ein einfacher und biederer Mensch, und märkisch nüchtern wie als Mensch so auch als Dichter. Sein eigenes Drama wurde erwähnt. Ausserdem verdanken wir ihm auch eine Übersetzung von Daniel Cramers Drama *Plagium* (1450). Als religiöser Liederdichter ist er in den Fusstapfen Luthers gegangen und hat den kindlichen Ton des Volksliedes nachgeahmt, z.B. in der Hauptsammlung seiner geistlichen Lieder vom Jahre 1581: "Evangelia," im *Christlichen Rosengardt* (1585) oder im *Epithalamium* (1595).³ Auch in

¹ Das bedürfte auch noch einer Einzeluntersuchung. Nach K. Goedeke's Vermutung (*Elf Bücher*, S. 147), die er später im *Grundriss* fallen liess, hat B. Krüger "nicht un-wahrscheinlich auch die erste Redaktion der Faustsage" (v. J. 1587?) geliefert.

² K. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 512 ff.; *Elf Bücher*, S. 131 ff.; Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Spenden zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, II, 19 ff.; A. Salzer, a. a. O., S. 519, 533; J. Bolte, A. D. B., XXVIII, 640 f.; Franz Wegner, *Die "Christliche Warnung des Treuen Eckarts" des Bartholomäus Ringwaldt*, Breslau, 1909.

³ K. Goedeke, *Elf Bücher*, I, 131 ff.

der weltlichen Lyrik sind ihm ein paar ganz nette Lieder gelungen, besonders wo er scherzhaft schildert. Meistens hat er sich freilich in Beschreibungen von der Art eines späteren märkischen Dichters, nämlich Schmidts von Werneuchen, verloren.

Er war weniger ein grosser *Dichter* als vielmehr ein grosser *Volkserzieher* etwa im Sinne des Romantikers Achim von Arnim. Er arbeitete nicht auf die künstlerische Wirkung hin, sondern auf die sittliche Läuterung seiner Leser und Hörer. Seine lyrischen Gedichte wären wohl besser geworden, wenn er nicht so spät (mit 50 Jahren) zu dichten angefangen hätte; seine epischen Dichtungen dagegen haben durch seine reife Lebenserfahrung nur gewonnen.

1585 erschien seine Dichtung in Versen: *Die lautere Wahrheit*, die 18 Drucke erlebte. Es ist ein Kampfgedicht wie Erasmus *Enchiridion* und ein grosser Sittenspiegel für das gesammte soziale und politische Leben seiner Zeit mit frischen, naturgetreuen Charakterbildern. Wie ernst es diesem märkischen Geistlichen mit der Wahrheit war, zeigen zwei Zeilen aus dem Vorwort:

Denn mein Beruf, das wisst ihr wohl,
Erforderts, dass ichs sagen soll.

Warm wird der Sittenprediger nur, wenn er das rechte häusliche Kleinleben schildert, wie in der bekannten Beschreibung der guten frommen Magd ("Eine fromme Magd von gutem Stand" . . .), ein Lied, das noch heute in der Vertonung K. M. von Webers lebt.

Noch mächtiger als *Die lautere Wahrheit* wirkte seine *Christliche Warnung des treuen Eckarts* (1588), ein Werk, dessen Titelheld den ursprünglichen Helden eines Gedichtes vom Jahre 1582 *Hanns Frommann* verdrängt hatte. Der Dichter lässt hier den getreuen Eckart als den Warner aller Stände Deutschlands eine Vision haben, was eine damals beliebte Einkleidung war, und in dieser Vision den Himmel und die Hölle schauen und beschreiben. Während die Beschreibung des Himmels überall die eifrig benützten Quellen der zeitgenössischen Visions- und Predigtliteratur durchblicken lässt, finden sich bei der Darstellung der Verdammten grosse Ansätze zu persönlicher Schilderung in lebensvoller Knappheit, derselbe schlichte Realismus, der schon bei Bart. Krüger auffiel. Die Schärfe und Wahrheit des Geschauten hat die Beschreibung der Hölle zu "einem nahezu dramatischen Zeitbilde" gemacht. Ein Sünder nach dem

andern trägt seine Selbstanklage vor, jeder als Vertreter eines Charakter- oder Standeslasters, z.B. Klage eines verdammten Bauern, Dorfpredigers u.s.w. Schonungslos geisselt der Dichter die Gebrechen aller Stände, Geschlechter, Lebensalter, er kennt keine Furcht vor den Mächtigen. In der Gestalt des "hohen verdammten Herrn" z.B. ist Joachim II von Brandenburg deutlich zu erkennen. Diese grosse eindringliche Busspredigt "in praktischer anschaulicher Weise, in prächtigem Ausdruck und ungesuchter Bilderfülle," was schon J. Bolte in seinem Artikel der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie* belegt hat, macht Ringwaldt zu einem würdigen Nachfolger Sebastian Brants und einem grossen Vorläufer von Moscherosch. Das Hinwenden zum Leben, das seine Gesellschaftskritik so drastisch frisch und wahr macht, birgt auch eine Gefahr in sich, in die noch viele märkische Dichter geraten sollten, nämlich ein bis ins allereinzelnste gehendes Ausmalen unbedeutender Alltäglichkeiten.

Um zusammenzufassen: ein sicheres Gefühl für das Rechte, unparteiliches Urteil und wahrer Ernst der Weltanschauung und zu dem allen eine lebendige, scharfe, feine Beobachtungsgabe und schlichte volkstümliche Darstellungsweise machen Bartholomäus Ringwaldt zu einer sehr beachtenswerten Gestalt in der märkischen Literaturgeschichte, dessen "Verdienst, nach einer Bemerkung des Hoffmann von Fallersleben, auch dann schon gross genug wäre, wenn er seiner Zeit nichts weiter als die lautere Wahrheit gesagt hätte."

Von Dichtungen wie denen des Bartholomäus Ringwaldt ist nur ein Schritt zum satirischen Tiergedicht, wie es bald nach Fischarts Auftreten und unter seinem Einfluss entstand. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts wollten Dichtungen, die ihnen Vergnügen und Belehrung zugleich, "Lehr und Lust," verschafften; und beides gaben die humoristischen Tiergeschichten. Das bedeutendste Werk solcher Art hat ein Märker geschrieben: *Georg Rollenhagen*. Der Titel seiner unheimlich langen Dichtung ist *Der Froschmeuseler oder der Frösch und Meuse wunderbare Hofhaltung* (1595).¹

Rollenhagen ist 1542 zu Bernau geboren und 1609 in Magdeburg

¹ *Froschmeuseler* von Georg Rollenhagen, herausgegeben von Kari Goedeke, 2 Bände, Leipzig, 1876. Zu Rollenhagen vgl. W. Seelmann, A.D.B., XXIX, 87; K. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, II, 507 ff.; Alfred Herdt, *Quellen und Vorbilder zu Georg Rollenhagens "Froschmeuseler"*, Dissertation, Strassburg, 1908.

gestorben, wo er Prediger und Rektor der Lateinschule war. Er war ein vielseitiger lehrender und schriftstellernder Schulmann, Theologe, Philologe und Astrologe, dessen Gelehrtenruhm bis zu Tycho de Brahe gelangte; er kam viel in Deutschland herum und besass einen erstaunlich behenden Geist, den er bei der Neubearbeitung älterer Bibeldramen und am originellsten in dem *Froschmeuseler* zeigte, in dem sich sein ganzer Charakter abspiegelte: sein sachlicher Ernst, seine Liebe zum deutschen Volksleben, die er mit Fischart teilt, seine oft derbe Volkstümlichkeit in der Darstellung bis in sprachliche Einzelheiten und die etwas skeptische Stellung seiner Zeit gegenüber. Und wenn W. Seelmann schreibt: "Der Geist, der seine Dichtung beseelt, ist der des Bürgertums der norddeutschen Städte. Nüchtern, jeder Überschwänglichkeit abhold, gibt er Regungen des Gefühlslebens kaum Ausdruck"—so nennen wir das Rollenhagens Märkertum, das sich nicht zuletzt auch in der Gabe offenbart, klar und anschaulich zu erzählen.

Antike Vorlagen, besonders die griechische *Batrachomyomachie* (der Froschmäusekrieg), und moderner Zeitgehalt sind in dem politisch-satirischen *Froschmeuseler* ungefähr so gemischt wie Gelehrsamkeit und Künstlerschaft in seinem Verfasser. Und künstlerischen Sinn und auch Erfolg müssen wir ihm trotz endloser Reden und Einschachtelungen aller Art unbedingt zugestehen. Ausserdem zeugt sein Ziel von künstlerischem Ernst: ein Weltbild oder wie er selbst sagte: "eine förmliche deutsche Lektion, gleichsam ein Abbild der Zeit" zu geben, ein Weltbild, das die vielseitige Tätigkeit des Menschen umspannen sollte, aber hauptsächlich dem bürgerlichen Kleinleben gewidmet ist. Schliesslich macht noch der Reichtum an moralischen Sprüchen und Aphorismen—ähnlich denen seines Landsmannes Christoph Lehmann (1568–1638)¹—das ganze Werk zu einem der gehaltvollsten des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Noch eine Stufe tiefer auf der Leiter der blosser Unterhaltung dienenden Volksschriftstellerei als dieses Dichtwerk Rollenhagens stehen die *Volksbücher*—vom *Gelehrten* Rollenhagen "Schandbücher" genannt!—die z.T. auf die Schwanksammlungen des 16. und auf die deutschen Prosaromane des 15. Jahrhunderts zurückgehen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass erst der märkische Romantiker Ludwig

¹ Vgl. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, a.a.O., I, 37 ff.

Tieck diese Volksbücher der deutschen Literatur wiedergewonnen hat. Das volkstümlichste und vielleicht deutscheste Volksbuch ist das vom Till Eulenspiegel und in Norddeutschland gewachsen. Dieser schleswig-holsteinische Schwankheld fand einen Nachfolger in dem Märker Hans Clauert, den man deshalb auch den "märkischen Till Eulenspiegel" genannt hat.¹ Aber es steckt sehr viel Eigenes, d.h. Echtmärkisches in diesem Volksbuch. Till Eulenspiegel ist ein uneinheitlicher Lügenheld, den Fritz Lienhard erst in unsern Tagen zu einem Charakter hat umdichten müssen, wohingegen Hans Clauert ein einheitlicher, fester Charakter ist, ganz dasselbe Holz, aus dem ein Michael Kohlhaas geschnitten ist.

Der schon bei dem deutschen Drama erwähnte Stadtschreiber und Dichter Bartholomäus Krüger hat "die Historien des Hans Clauert" aus dem Volksmund seiner Gegend gesammelt. Das meiste davon ist ursprünglich und deshalb für den Helden und seine Heimat von Bedeutung. Dass Plattheiten und daneben "Morale" in die köstlich naiven Geschichten gemischt sind, lässt sich aus der Zeit heraus begreifen. Neben allgemein norddeutscher Ironie spricht aber auch ein erfrischendes Märkertum (naive Selbstsicherheit, Verhaltenheit und treffender Sprachausdruck) daraus, selbst an Stellen, wo sich "die churbrandenburgische Derbheit," mit einem Wort Fontanes zu reden, einstellt. Im ganzen ist dieses märkische Volksbuch so frisch und gut erzählt, dass es sich mit Ehren unter den Werken seiner Gattung und seiner Zeit sehen lassen kann.

Der dreissigjährige Krieg (1618–48) bringt dann den grossen Zusammenbruch der deutschen Kultur und Literatur auch in der Mark Brandenburg, und *besonders* in der Mark, die ja noch lange Kämpfe mit den Schweden auszufechten hatte, als schon längst der Westphälische Frieden geschlossen war. Die grosse Schlacht bei Fehrbellin, die 1675 zwischen Schweden und Brandenburgern stattfand, ist durch Heinrich von Kleists Schauspiel *Der Prinz von Homburg* künstlerisch verewigt worden.

Als einige Jahrzehnte nach dem grossen Kriege eine neue Zeit des deutschen Geschmacks einsetzte, da hat sich auch die Mark schüchtern daran beteiligt.² Mit den Sprachgesellschaften hat die

¹ Th. Raehse besorgte den Abdruck der Ausgabe von 1587, Halle, 1882, in *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*.

² W. Scherers *Literaturgeschichte*, S. 330.

Mark nicht viel zu schaffen gehabt. Der brandenburgische Oberst Dietrich von Kracht, der unter dem Namen "der Beissende" (!) zur "Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft" gehörte, scheint eine Ausnahme gewesen zu sein,¹ und er war kein Dichter. Der einzige Märker im ganzen 17. Jahrhundert, der als ein wirklicher Dichter eine Betrachtung verdient, ist Friedrich Rudolph Ludwig *Freiherr von Canitz* (1654 in Berlin—1699 ebenda).² Er zeigt, nach Theodor Fontanes Urteil, als erster, "dass die Mark und die Musen nicht völlige Gegensätze seien," und macht aus seinem Landsitz Blumberg "einen Mittelpunkt geistigen Lebens, dichterischen Schaffens, wie damals kein zweiter in der Mark Brandenburg zu finden war."

Die Gedichte des Freiherrn von Canitz wurden nach seinem Tode (Berlin, 1700) herausgegeben. Dem feingebildeten Herrn war das Dichten wie das Übersetzen z.B. Boileaus und Juvenals eine aristokratische Geistesübung, bei der er an kein Publikum und keine Veröffentlichung dachte, wie er denn einmal einem Freunde schreibt:

Ein Lied, das ich nur dir und keinem andern singe,
Ist ja kein Ständchen nicht, das ich der Strasse bringe.

Graziöse Gelegenheitsdichtung ist deshalb sein ganzes poetisches Werk, ob er eine Elegie auf den Tod seines Freundes Dohna oder eine (in allen deutschen Lesebüchern zu findende) Fabel *Die Welt lässt ihr Tadeln nicht*, oder Satiren von der "Eitelkeit des Zeitlichen" oder "von der Poesie" schreibt, kurz:

Was Hof und Kirch und Land und Stadt für Wunder hegt,
Und was mir selber fehlt, getreulich ausgelegt.

Aber seine Gedichte haben auch ihren künstlerischen Wert: den Stempel des Echten, Wahrhaftigen, an sich selbst Erfahrenen. Und was Fontane von der "Klag-Ode" auf Doris, auf des Dichters erste, ebenbürtige Gattin, sagt, das gilt von allen Gedichten: "Man lese die Dinge ohne Vorurteil, und man wird an der Wirkung auf das eigene Herz wahrnehmen, dass ein Herz in diesen zopfigen Strophen schlägt."

¹ G. Freytag, *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes*, 1862, S. 70; Der Gubener Christlanus Pudor, der Pfarrer zu Strausberg in der Mark war, schrieb 1672 *Der deutschen Sprache Grund-Richtigkeit und Zierlichkeit*, ein Werk, das Samuel Grosser in seinen *Lausitzischen Denkwürdigkeiten* vom Jahre 1714 (IV. Teil, S. 179) lobt.

² Zu Canitz: A.D.B., IV, 756; Th. Fontane, *Wanderungen*, IV, 199 ff.: *Des Freiherrn von Canitz Gedichte*, Berlin, 1765, herausgegeben von Johann Ulrich König (mit einer Lebensbeschreibung, die auch Fontane benutzte).

Die anziehendste Seite der Dichtung Canitzens drückt sich wohl in Satiren aus, von denen sich einige, z.B. "Mein lieber Bruder," mit Fontanes ironischen Altersgedichten, den sog. Berliner Gedichten, vergleichen lassen. Canitz hat auch, was die märkischen Dichter der Reformationszeit Bartholomäus Ringwaldt, Krüger und Rollenhagen zeigten: den Preis ländlicher Zurückgezogenheit und des idyllischen häuslichen Kleinlebens, den wir dann wieder bei Schmidt von Werneuchen, Achim von Arnim, Kleist, ja selbst beim "Modernen" Theodor Fontane finden. Er zeigt zum ersten Mal in der Literatur besonders deutlich ausgeprägt, was die Eigenart der modernen märkischen Dichter genannt werden muss. Diese Märker sind einerseits kühl und verständig, arm an ureigenster Erfindung und mit einem kleinen poetischen Lebenskreis, aber andererseits von ernstem und unbestechlich reinem Gefühl, von gutem Geschmack und haben einen wirklich guten Stil. Als eine liebenswürdige, selbständig, fein und innerlich angelegte Natur, als Weltmann in der Poesie und als bewusster Märker (bei aller Vorliebe für die französische Kultur) erinnert Canitz überdies lebhaft an den grössten Märker des 19. Jahrhunderts, Theodor Fontane, der sich auch eigentümlich zu ihm hingezogen fühlte, was das schöne Kapitel über Blumberg in den "Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg" zu beider Ehre bezeugt.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON CHIEMSEE IN
TEWTSCH E THEOLOG EY

II¹

CHAPTER 1. NOUNS

A. STRONG DECLENSION

1. MASCULINE

§1. The masculines of the *a*- and *i*-declensions fell together in the singular. The n. and a. sg. are without ending, but an analogical *-e* is found in a few words in the n. sg.: *wege* 8, 9;² 10, 11; 46, 7; 94, 7; *spacierwege* 20, 4 (: *weg*, e.g., 13, 8); *rate* 21, 7. The *ja*-stems also regularly apocopate in the n. a. sg., e.g., *hyrt* 89, 6; 100, 12; *ruck* 'Rücken' 64, 7; *miterb* 59, 1; *waytz* 79, 6; *waitz* 82, 8; *hafner* 37, 1; *tåter* 36, 14; *gellter* 50, 6; *erleüchter* 87, 4; *anweiger* 36, 14; *erkücker* 30, 6. *-e* is retained only once, in the a. sg. *tenne* 24, 5 (: *tenn*, 82, 8). In the same manner the *u*-stems also drop *-e*, e.g., *frid* n. sg. 13, 5; a. sg. 5, 4; 6, 2; 13, 5; 20, 6; 24, 4; 51, 9; 95, 7; *syg* a. sg. 21, 3; 24, 3. *-e* is retained only once, in the a. sg. *syge* 79, 5.

§2. The d. sg. retains *-e* in the following words only: *bawche* 57, 3; *dinste* 85, 8; *drüme* 'Trum' (here = 'Scherben von einem Spiegel') 68, 7; *geiste* 60, 14; 77, 9; *gotte* 73, 14; *leibe* 57, 3; *rate* 41, 9; *sande* 4, 13; 88, 12; *stande* 26, 3; 49, 4; 81, 2; *wege*, very often, e.g., 8, 5; 10, 12; 20, 5; 30, 9; 77, 3; and in the weak nouns *nome*, e.g., 7, 10; 8, 3; 48, 5, and *same* 19, 1; 34, 5; 34, 9; 46, 7; 54, 5. These words have strong forms besides their regular weak ones, e.g., g. sg. *nomes* 48, 5; *noms* 15, 8; *sames* 35, 7; a. sg. *nom* 9, 3; 22, 5; 48, 5; *sam* 34, 9. Nearly all of the above words also have apocopated forms, e.g., *pawch* 15, 2; *dinst* 9, 4; 19, 8; *geist* 6, 2; *got* 4, 11; *leib* 6, 4; *rat* 6, 3; *stannd* 6, 7. The *u*-stem *frid* always apocopates, e.g., 9, 8; 24, 4; 35, 8; 76, 7.

§3. An analogical *-e* has been extended from the d. sg. to the a. sg. in the following words: *drame* (MHG. *drām*) 51, 12; *lone* 32, 1; *munde* 66, 7 (or a. pl. ?); *rate* 17, 5; *råome* 15, 5; *wege*, very often,

¹ For Part One ("Phonology") see *Modern Philology*, X, 207-63.

² The figures refer to chapter and paragraph.

e.g., 12, 2; 12, 8; 16, 3; 28, 7; 30, 3; 33, 4; 37, 12. These words also occur in the phonetic forms, e.g., *mund* 4, 14; *rat* 16, 1; 17, 6; *rûem* 15, 3; *weg* 10, 11.

§4. The g. sg. regularly ends in -s, e.g., *gots* 4, 11; *geists* 6, 6; *wegs* 8, 4; *luffts* 23, 6; *leibs* 10, 3; *munds* 12, 1; *pâms* 'Baumes' 88, 2. Only a few have -es: *pâmes* 72, 2; *gotszdinstes*; *geistes*, often, e.g., 6, 5; 6, 6; 6, 7; *gottes*, often, 4, 10; 4, 12; 4, 13; *lones* 66, 5; *lufftes* 31, 1; *standes* 17, 10; *todes* 31, 2; *traumes* 53, 3. The u-stems usually syncopate, e.g., *suns*, often, e.g. 5, 3; 7, 3; 7, 5; 10, 3; 10, 8; *frids* 13, 5; 30, 9: *sunes*, 60, 11; *des frides* 28, 15; *vnfrides* 48, 9. Many words ending in a sibilant and preceded by an article or pronoun omit the genitive ending, e.g., *des fleis* 22, 8; *deines halls* 39, 5; *jres schatz* 71, 2; *kaines artzt* 58, 2; *ains Papst* 6, 5; but *seines aussatzs* 73, 4.

§5. Old phonetic genitives are preserved in: *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; *seines vater* 23, 5. By analogy other words in -er are treated in like manner: *des hailen* 'Heiland' 10, 4; *aines hafner* 21, 5; *jres ôbrer* 24, 4; *des phariseyer* 43, 16; *gnugthûer* 10, 4; *des arbaiter* 79, 1; and also *ires preytigan* 45, 11; *des zorn* 31, 1; and the foreign words *des apotecker* 94, 7; *diacon* 94, 13; *priester* 13, 12; *des balsam* 61, 3; *des canon* 63, 6; *kelich* 66, 8 (: *kelichs* 66, 8).

§6. In the n. a. pl. -e is generally apocopated, e.g., *stain* 29, 4; *leib* 11, 8; *geist* 23, 2; *knecht* 10, 12; *könig* 30, 9; *pâm* 'Bäume' 49, 4; *hund* 88, 8; *fisch* 31, 1; *zâm* 'Zäume' 42, 1; *schûech* 21, 5; 39, 13. The only words with -e are: *wege*, often, e.g., 10, 11; 11, 3; 20, 4; *stânnde* 24, 1 (: *stannd* 27, 6; *stând* 30, 1); *râte* 'Ratschläge' 41, 2, 'Berater' Ded. (: *rât* 51, 6); *stâbe* 64, 13; *dienste* 76, 1; *wurme* 85, 4 (: *wûrm* 26, 7).

§7. The i-stems have umlaut in the plural and apocopate except *wurme* 85, 4 (1×): *wûrm* 26, 7; other examples: *stând* 30, 1; *fünd* 85, 3; *sprüch* 21, 8; *gesst* 21, 8; 41, 3; *esst* 29, 2; 79, 7; *wechslpâlig* 29, 7; *plaspâlig* 'Blasebälge' 75, 3; *zâhern* d. pl. 70, 6; *schwâncken* d. pl. 86, 2; *fâl* 'Fälle' 32, 1; *stôsz* 74, 8; *gegenbürff* 38, 1; *gegenwürffenn* d. pl. 7, 3; *ansleg* 13, 8; *schleg* 74, 8; *swertsleg* 99, 13; *pûxenschûsz* 99, 13. Consonant stems which early fell together with the i-stems: *fûsz* 27, 5; 64, 2; 77, 2; *zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2. But *beslus* 'Beschlüsse' 11, 5; *anfang* 27, 1; *ursprungen* d. pl. 51, 18.

§8. Words with umlaut in the pl. by analogy of the *i*-stems. After the pl. *-e* was dropped, the umlaut became a common means of making the pl., e.g., *wölf* 15, 2; 15, 8; *ránckh* 40, 4; *stóckh* 42, 1; 94, 7; *róckh* 97, 7; *schálckh* 38, 8; *tág* 100, 10 (3×); *fasttág* 51, 2; *feyrtdág* 9, 3; *feyrtdágen* 88, 2 (: *tag* 81, 10); *freythóf* 90, 6; *stüel* 91, 5; *pischofstüel* 91, 5; *támpf* 'Dämpfe' 28, 5; *scháden* 13, 5; *mángel* 73, 11; *stáffel* 27, 6 (: *staffel* 26, 2); *hándel* 29, 4; 64, 7; *pólster* 14, 14; *hárnern* d. pl. 75, 3; *kópff* 15, 1; *petelkásten* 87, 8 (: *casten* 87, 8); *vógel* 24, 5; 85, 4; *gáling* 'Galgen' 89, 3; *petelbrden* 97, 10; *gedánckh* 'Gedanken' 25, 10 (: *gedanckh* 25, 10); *glüber* 'Gelober' 98, 8. But without umlaut in both sg. and pl.: *schüler* 12, 2; *vorlauffer* 15, 6; *stathalter* 17, 13; *wachter* 59, 3; *kramer* 94, 12; *seydennater* 85, 5; *vorlauffern* d. pl. 13, 4 and many others.

§9. The *r*-stems also take the umlaut in the pl., e.g., *brüeder* 28, 6; *väter* 6, 5 (4×); *mitväter* 99, 14; *altväter* 54, 2; *swóger* 99, 16. The only exceptions are *zwen vater* 60, 5; *brüeder* 67, 2; *beder brüder* 39, 3. The original *u*-stems have umlaut and apocope, e.g., *sün* 'Söhne' 10, 2; 10, 10; 34, 6; *sünen* d. pl. 29, 7; *wöllüst* 32, 5; *wöllüsten* d. pl. 68, 10; *petelseck* 87, 4; *ártzt* 26, 4; *chór* 94, 4. Many words still retain forms with the unumlauted vowel: *vogel* 97, 9 (: *vógel*); *stüelen* d. pl. 91, 5; *pischof* pl. 17, 10; *pischofen* 69, 6; *pischouen* 89, 8; *monich* 97, 6 (: *münich* 13, 6, *mónich* 11, 7); *cardinaln* d. pl. 91, 10 (: *cardinál* 17, 12); *Papst* (: *Bápst*); *corper* 25, 2 (: *córper* 31, 5).

§10. Relatively few masculines have gone over to the *s*-stems. The only examples are: *örter* 21, 7; *örtter* 9, 5; 22, 7 (: *ort* a. pl. 60, 2; *ortten* d. pl. 8, 4 [4×]; *orten* 39, 5); *götter* 5, 7 (6×); *abgötter* 20, 5; *abgöttern* d. pl. 17, 13; *göttern* 86, 3; *männer* 85, 2 (: *mannen* 94, 4; *man* n. pl. 96, 2); *dornern* d. pl. 34, 5. The phonetic forms are preserved in *geist* n. pl. 23, 2; *würm* n. pl. 26, 7; *leib* a. pl. 65, 7; *leiben* d. pl. 25, 4; *geisten* d. pl. 9, 2; *orten* d. pl. 39, 5.

2. NEUTER

§11. The g. sg. ends in *-s*; e.g., *püchs* 19, 3; *dings* 26, 3; *worts* 7, 6; *volckhs* 6, 6; *ambts* 39, 7; *fleischs* 12, 4; *kinds* 29, 13 (: *kindes* 17, 1); *protts* 4, 15; *weibts* 24, 6. The monosyllabic *ja*-stems usually do not syncopate, e.g., *endes* 90, 6; 100, 9; *ennedes* 53, 9; *móres*

'Meeres' 51, 15; 75, 5; *meres* 40, 4; *hóres* 16, 3; 59, 3; *óles* 58, 6; but *erbs* 32, 3. All the polysyllables syncopate, e.g., *hymelreichs* 8, 7; 32, 3; *erdtreichs* 10, 6; *gesichts* 75, 1; *gestirns* 26, 3; *gewichts* 30, 10. Many words ending in a sibilant (cf. §4) lose -s through syncope and assimilation, e.g., *hawsz* 19, 1; *antlitz* 15, 7; *kreytz* 40, 11; *gesetz* 7, 6; 8, 8; 10, 5; *fleisch* 34, 11; 37, 5 (: *fleischs* 28, 3; 33, 9; 50, 12; 51, 5); *slos* 85, 9; *des paradís* 30, 1; 30, 3; 31, 2; *des malefitz* 4, 15. By analogy infinitives and also other nouns may omit -s when the case is clearly shown by a pronominal form, e.g., *des verdienn* 6, 10; *des leiden* 9, 6; 20, 7; *desselben leiden* 52, 3; *des fasten* 36, 10; *des abentessen* 63, 4; *vorwissen* 40, 5; *des trawren* 46, 7; *des ansehen* 12, 3 (: *des leidens* 59, 10; *seins newen sterbens* 66, 4; *seines ableibens* 82, 4; *seins verdiens* 55, 9); *des prot* 65, 7; *des hyrn* 28, 13; *des posen nichding* 24, 4; *des meszopfer* 65, 8; *des pater noster* 100, 1; *des pronomen oder wortlein* 63, 5.

§12. The d. sg. apocopates, but the monosyllabic *ja*-stems usually retain -e, e.g., *ende* 8, 1; 10, 2; 10, 10; 20, 5; 21, 4; 24, 5; *ennde* 10, 2; 13, 4; 29, 3; 43, 17; *móre* 28, 12; 28, 14; 29, 3; *hóre* 23, 7; *pilde* 86, 5; *óle* 61, 2; *gepáre* 'Geberde' 88, 6; one *a*-stem *lande* nearly always has -e, e.g., 39, 16; 45, 7; 75, 5; *mór* 16, 1; *ól* 93, 2; *hyrn* 22, 3; *hyren* 88, 1; *netz* 65, 8; *weibszpild* 99, 15; *himmelreich* 37, 7.

The weak noun 'Auge' has in the d. sg. *awge* 51, 12; *awg* 44, 11; 51, 12. 'Ohr' has one weak d. sg. *in aiṁ yedē oren* 68, 6. 'Herz' has, besides the regular weak d. sg. *hertzen* 11, 7; 15, 7; 17, 1; 22, 7, the strong forms *hertze* 14, 11 (1×): *hertz* 13, 3 (9×).

§13. The a. sg. retains -e in the *ja*-stems, e.g., *ende* 7, 7; 18, 3; 19, 3; 21, 1; *móre* 27, 10; *feldhóre* 23, 7; *pette* 'Bett' 74, 5; *erb* 37, 9.

§14. In the pl. the neuter *a*-stems usually have the phonetic forms: n. pl., e.g., *ding*, *wort*, *kind* (: *kinde* 53, 9), *weib*, *hawp* 'Haupter,' *ambt* 48, 8; *tyer* 7, 1; *kol* 79, 4; *klaid* 30, 4; *krawt* 26, 3; *gepet* 23, 5 (: *pete* 14, 14; *gepete* 47, 1 [2×]); *túech* 30, 2; *púech* 12, 7; *liecht* 21, 1; *rad* 13, 1; *jar* 8, 4; *swein* 64, 11; *ros* 48, 8; *vas* 36, 14; *in zway fach* 45, 7; d. pl. *kinden* 12, 1; *ambten* 23, 8; *landen* 6, 4; *klaiden* 45, 9; *vassen* 36, 14; *weiben* 64, 5 (: *weibern* 40, 8; 96, 1); *krauten* 73, 12; *lieden* 'Liedern' 88, 3; *hawpen* 'Hauptern' 91, 17; *pisthumben* 17, 6. The word *leich* is neuter (cf. *das leich* 90, 7)

and has the regular *a*-stem pl. *leich*, e.g., 90, 7. The monosyllabic *ja*- and *u*-stems retain *-e* in about half of the forms: *pilde* 85, 8 (4×); *glencke* 91, 8; *pild* 6, 10 (5×); *dl* 29, 4; *kytz* a. pl. 'junge Ziegen' 100, 13; *stuckh* 5, 7; 13, 11; 67, 9. All the other words in *ge*-apocopate, e.g., *gescháfft* n. pl. 28, 14; *geslácht* 26, 7; *gestyrn* 41, 5; *glide* 54, 11 (8×); *mitglide* 28, 6 (3×); *gelide* 24, 6 : *glid* 17, 12 (14×); *mitglid* 28, 6; *gelid* 32, 1 (4×); *erdviech* n. pl. 26, 7. The *wa*-stem *knye* occurs in the n. pl. 84, 3; a. pl. 82, 5; 93, 3.

Analogical plurals: *kinde* 44, 9; 53, 9; 68, 4 (: *kind*, *kinder*); *lande* 15, 1. 'Herz' always has a strong pl.: *hertz*, e.g., 5, 3; 22, 5; 30, 7; 34, 5; 71, 4; 77, 5; once in *ewre hertze* 5, 3.

§15. Neuter *s*-stems: *ayr* 88, 2; *pleter* 'Blätter' 40, 4; *kelber* 65, 1; *rinder* 7, 1. Analogical plurals in *er*: *púecher* 12, 2; *búecher* 7, 2; *pilder* 1, 5; *drümer* 13, 7 (sg. *drüme* 68, 7); *heüser* 39, 8, *gotszhewser* 9, 3; 86, 4, *huerhewser* 98, 6; *güter* 15, 6; *kinder* 60, 10 (but usually *kind*); *klaider* 66, 6; *vólckher* 10, 4, *vólcker* 58, 11; *weiber* 64, 5; 91, 10 (: *weib*); *mitglider* 84, 6; *örter* 10, 6; d. pl. *weibern* 40, 8; *gúetern* 48, 9; *vólckern* 65, 6; *grabtúechern* 71, 3; *eeweibern* 76, 4; *gotszhewsern* 88, 4; *springhewsern* 24, 5; *lóchern* 97, 1; *púchern* 12, 2; *kinder* d. pl. (for *kinden*?) 51, 4. One *s*-stem has gone over to the *a*-stems: a. pl. *seine lamb*, *meine lamb* 89, 6.

3. FEMININE

§16. In the n. sg. nearly all of the strong feminines apocopate *-e*. It is retained in: *ere*, *glawbe*, *helle* (: *hell*), *lere*, *plúe* 'Blüte' 26, 1; 29, 2; *purde* (: *purd* 52, 5); *rede*; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *schande* 14, 5; *sele* (: *sel* 11, 8); *vorpete*, *vnere*, *vnrúe*.

In like manner the abstracts (OHG. *-î*) are usually without ending, e.g., *hytz*, *kelt*, *trew*, *swár*, *wirm* 'Wärme,' *dürr*, *finster*, *faisst* 31, 2; *morgenrót* 10, 7; *lár* 30, 10. *-e* is retained only in *hóhe* 60, 6; *vólle* 21, 8; *volle* 91, 8; *weihe* 94, 1 (: *weich* 58, 2); *wirde* 20, 4, *wierde* 85, 8 (: *wierd* 22, 7); *wyrme* 28, 5 (: *wirm*).

§17. The following strong forms are found in the oblique cases of the sg., retaining *-e*: g. d. sg. *erde*, *ere*, *freyde*, *helle*, *lere*, *lüge*, *sünde*, *weihe*, *welde* 19, 11; *gnade* 64, 12; *mitte*; *deckhe* 17, 5; *rúe*; *schame* 73, 12 (: *scham* 73, 12); a. sg. (besides the above): *rede*,

fürpete, straffe, halbe 'Hälfte' 49, 4; *styege* 'Treppe' 58, 1 (: *styeg* 58, 1); *stimme* 85, 4; *gabe* 61, 2; *múe* 40, 2.

Strong are: *leber* g. sg. 28, 5; *auf erd* 7, 1; 8, 7; *untz* a. sg. 92, 2.

§18. In the pl. -e is retained in very few cases: *hende* 27, 5, the usual form (: *hend* 14, 3, several times), *hande* 58, 12; *zwo weihe* 94, 4; *lüge* 51, 4 (: *lügen* 9, 7, the usual form); *ewr lende sollen gegürt sein* 51, 8; 64, 13; *máre* 15, 7.

§19. Strong forms with apocope: *sel* 23, 3 (usually *selen*); *glos* 15, 3; *sprach* 15, 3; *weld* 22, 10; *drey gnad* 55, 9; *zwo frag* 7, 1; *zal* 7, 1; *tugent* 4, 11; *sünd* 19, 3; *drey gab* 43, 4; *tat* 25, 10; *vier zeit* 71, 3; *schrift* 12, 2; *zwo wurtz* 36, 10; *kunst* 12, 7; *sach* 36, 1 (usually *sachen*); *zwo weihe* 94, 4; *drey tagrays* 71, 1; *vrkund* 42, 6; *vrkünd* 11, 6; *weinper* 43, 1; *gaysz* 100, 12; *drey gepurd* 10, 7; *geschicht* 40, 2; *winckelheytrat* 99, 14; *vnee* 99, 13; *stet* 'Stätten' 30, 3; *prun-áder* 45, 6; *hüf* 'Hüften' 12, 6; *stym*.

§20. Here also belong the words in -schaft, -hait, -kait, -nusz, -ung, -ey, e.g., *aigenscheft*¹ 10, 5; *herscheft* 88, 8; *brüderscheft* 47, 5; *zwo Brüderschaft* 47, 4; *gwonhait* 17, 4; *kranckhait* 81, 8; *zwo gerechtikait* 4, 14; *zeugnusz* 11, 6; *pildnusz* 15, 4; *drey verainigung* 10, 3; *verhaissung* 12, 3; *vier verwandlung* 63, 8; *artzeney* 70, 1; *ketzerey* 16, 5 (: *ketzereyen* 9, 5); *drey parthey* 38, 8.

Words of Latin origin: *zwo person* 7, 4; *drey person* 7, 7 (: *drey personen* 7, 6); *zwo natur* 7, 9; *zwelf legion* 54, 6; *vesper* 80, 7; *historj* 12, 3 (: *hystorien* 86, 3); *cerimonj* 17, 6 (: *ceremonien* n. pl. 58, 14).

§21. Phonetic forms are preserved in: *drey nacht* 99, 16; *zwo múter* 60, 5; *vil múeter* 60, 5; *schwester* 49, 13 (: *swestern* 98, 2).

B. WEAK DECLENSION

1. MASCULINE

§22. The weak masculines regularly apocopate in the n. sg., e.g., *sam, pot, zewg, drack* 'Drache,' *gart, narr, leo* 'Löwe,' *nom, ochs, fürst, knab, dót* 'Pate,' *pfaff, prelat*. -e is retained only in three words: *same*, e.g., 94, 6; *nome* 9, 1; *ene* 'Ahn' 27, 6.

¹ The forms in -scheft are phonetic (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*, §127, Anm. 1). But in the g. d. sg. Berthold always has -schaft. The umlaut was felt as a sign of the plural.

In the following *-n* has been leveled into the n. sg.: *habern* 34, 11; *samen* 41, 4 (: *sam*, *same*); *loden* 30, 2; *magen* 83, 1; *aschen* 16, 5; 63, 8; *nachkomen* 91, 5.

§23. The g. sg. is regular, e.g., *menschen* 11, 8; *fürsten* 8, 3; *hellhawffen* 38, 4; *des leon* 84, 7. An analogical *-s* has been added in many words, e.g., *feldhauffens* 23, 7; *geuallens* 11, 9; *schmertzens* 74, 9; *menschens*, the usual form (: *menschen* [8×]); *nomens* 15, 7 (: *noms*, *nomes* 48, 5; *des nom* 6, 4); *willens* 10, 11 (: *willen*, less commonly); *zewgens* 11, 6; without ending: *des nom* 6, 4; *freyes will* 28, 14.

§24. Weak nouns that have become strong: *smertz* a. sg. 44, 10 (: *smertzen* a. sg. 36, 14; *schmertzen* 44, 16); *gart* a. sg. 33, 3 (: *weingarten* d. sg. 14, 12; a. sg. 100, 15); *hayd* 'Heiden' a. sg. 63, 7; *nom* d. sg. 7, 6; this form is very common besides *nome* 7, 10 and the regular weak form *nomen* 9, 2; *bey disem stoll* 'Stütze, Schriftstelle' 5, 4; 39, 5.

§25. Many nouns which later became weak are still strong, e.g., *gepaut auf den fels* 92, 1; *ruck* n. sg. 'Rücken' 64, 7; *rugk* a. sg. 86, 9; *rucks* g. sg. 14, 8; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *nackh* d. sg. 39, 6; *nack* a. sg. 36, 14; *frid* d. sg. 35, 8; *nutz* 18, 4; *prunn* d. sg. 7, 6; *waytz* a. sg. 'Weizen' 79, 6; *waitz* 82, 8; *pûchstab* d. sg. 13, 3 (: *pûchstaben* d. sg. 40, 11); *gedanck* d. sg. 36, 5; *adler* d. sg. 13, 2; *ains Christens* 35, 7 (MHG. *kristen*); *grosch* a. sg. 40, 5.

§26. Nouns from other declensions, having weak forms: *deines brüedern* 14, 8; *seiñ brüedern Esau* a. sg. 44, 10; *seines vattern* 34, 6; *wer seiñ brüedern hasst* 51, 3; *hyrten* g. sg. 14, 13; d. sg. 92, 1; a. sg. 91, 16.

§27. The pl. is regular: *hayden* 15, 4; *leben* 'Löwen' 23, 5; *gerhaben* 'Vormünder' 99, 14; *gesellen*; *hertzogen* 24, 6; *nieren* 51, 18; *perñ* 'Bären' 7, 1; *pûchstaben* 19, 7; *panckharden* 10, 11; *panckharten* 32, 3; *samen* 10, 6; *mannen* 'Männer' 16, 3 (the original pl. is also found: *man* 96, 2); with umlaut: *schâden* 13, 5; *dôten* a. pl. 60, 10; *dôt* a. pl. 60, 9 (: *doten* n. pl. 60, 10), etc.

§28. The nouns denoting relationship differ somewhat from the modern inflection. Old forms are preserved in the g. sg., e.g., *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; 10, 4; *seines vater* 23, 5; *zû der gerechten gottes vatter allmâchtigen* 6, 2, and in the pl., e.g., *brüeder* 8, 7; 67, 2; *brüder* 39, 3; *zwen vater* 60, 5.

The new forms are: g. sg. *brüders* 99, 16; *vatters* 5, 4 (5×), *vaters* 7, 5 (8×); pl. *väter* 6, 5 (7×), *vätter* 23, 8, *alltätter* 13, 11; 54, 9; *drey väter* 60, 5; *brüeder* 28, 6 (3×); *prüder* 73, 8; *mitbrüeder* 83, 3; *swdger* 99, 16.

§29. The participial stems still have some phonetic forms in the pl., e.g., *fründ* 96, 2, *freünd* 46, 3; *feind* 30, 8 (4×), *kreytzfeind* 74, 3.

§30. The word *man* has the following declension: n. sg. *man* 4, 14; *ackerman* 41, 4; g. sg. *aines ordensman* 51, 8, but more commonly with *-s*, e.g., *mans* 15, 5; 99, 1, *manns* 46, 7; d. sg. *man* 100, 8; a. sg. *man* 6, 8; n. pl. *man* 96, 2, but more commonly *mannen* 16, 3, *ackermannen* 96, 4, *schefmañen* 16, 1; once *männer* 91, 10; d. pl. *mannen* 94, 4; 91, 10. In compound words the pl. is usually made with *-lewt*, e.g., *ackerlewt* 41, 3; *scheflewt* 16, 1; *amblewt* 41, 5; *kawfleüt* 53, 4; *werchlewt* 85, 5; *kanlewt* 'Eheleute' 29, 13; 41, 3; *armleüt* 87, 9; d. pl. *geuatterlewten* 99, 14.

§31. A few weak forms are found among the proper names, e.g., g. sg. *Hannsens hawssscheins* (= *Ecolompadi*) 66, 7; *sand dionisien püch* 23, 1; d. sg. *Matheüsen*, Ded., *nach Moysen* 12, 2 (: *Moysi* 12, 2); a. sg. *Margarethen* 99, 17; *Hannssen Schobsser*, end of Index; *Hansen Schobser*, end of Ded. (: *Hanns* a. sg. 60, 9); *Moysen* 53, 4.

2. NEUTER

§32. The n. sg. apocopates *-e*, e.g., *awg* 16, 4 (3×); *or* 43, 7; *hertz* 12, 9. The g. sg. regularly ends in *-en*: *hertzen* 30, 10 (5×); but more frequently the analogical form *hertzens* 22, 7 (9×) is found. d. sg. ends in *-en*, e.g., *in aiñ yedē oren* 68, 6. Besides this we have the strong forms *awge* 51, 12; *hertze* 14, 11; or with apocope *awg* 44, 11; *jm hertz* 4, 14; 78, 1. The common d. sg. is *hertzen*, e.g., 11, 7 (17×). a. sg. is without *-e*, e.g., *hertz* 19, 8; *or* 12, 1. The pl. is regular: n. pl. *awgen* 17, 1 (3×), *augen* 64, 7 (1×); *oren* 41, 5; g. pl. *awgen* 28, 13; *oren* 28, 13. The word *hertz* is strong in the pl.; g. pl. *hertz* 15, 2 (2×); a. pl. 11, 7 (10×); *chern* a. pl. 'Ähren' 82, 4 is a weak form of a strong noun.

3. FEMININE

§33. Only a few words retain *-e* in the n. sg.: *ame* 24, 9; *hacke* 39, 4; *bande* 69, 11; *erde* (: *erd* 10, 3). Otherwise the weak feminines

have apocope, e.g., *son* 25, 4; *rynd* 26, 3; *pluem* 30, 2; *nas* 41, 5; *mugkh*¹ 68, 6; *tawb* 68, 6.

-n has been analogically extended to the n. sg. in: *putzen* 'Pfütze' 68, 3; *milben* 68, 6; *aschen* 29, 11; *silben* 19, 9; 68, 7; *hawn* (MHG. *houwe*) 72, 2; *wunden wirt pald geschlagen* 100, 14; 74, 8; *porten* 'Borte' 76, 2; 85, 9; *hackñ* 77, 3; *weinreben* 77, 8; *masen* (MHG. *māse*) 35, 2; *ain ellen tûch* 79, 1; *ain suppen* 79, 3; *ain gassen* 30, 9; *ain ketten* 37, 6.

§34. The oblique cases are regular, eg., g. sg.: *erden* 9, 4 (: *erde* 10, 6); *kirchen* 14, 14; *partheyen* 16, 2; *sonnen* 21, 1; *sonnenliecht* 21, 1; *slangen* 34, 7; *frauen* 38, 11; *frawn* 85, 10 (: a. sg. *frawe* 86, 4; *hawszfrau* 51, 16); *salben* 39, 8; d. sg.: *erden* 12, 4; *schellen* 14, 8; *zymeln* 14, 8; *pfützen* 15, 9; *hüeren* 16, 4; *gnadñ* 21, 7; *aws giftiger wurtzñ* 9, 7; *vischsegn* 65, 8; *slangen* 20, 1 (: a. sg. *slang* 20, 1; 85, 2); *aus des mons finstern* 25, 4; *mit seiner flâmen* 27, 10; *in der wiegen* 29, 4; *in ainer gassen* 30, 9; *frauen* 41, 6; *aschen* 43, 8; *hacken* 43, 12; *auf der seiten gottes* 54, 12; *auf der ain seytt* 56, 2 (: *an einer sey* 54, 12; *seytt* 38, 6); *pixen* 87, 7; *lacken* ('Pfütze') *der armuet* 80, 11; *mit sawerr salsen* 64, 13; *mit ainer besaitñ hårpfen* 88, 3; *mit khainer lebentigen adern* 90, 2; *von der solen bis auf die schaidel* 91, 8; *rûetten* 66, 1; *aschen* 72, 3; *smitten* 'Schmiede' 75, 3; *vnder der erden* 85, 3; *zû seiner hawszfrauen tochter oder enenkel oder swestern* 99, 16; *spe-luncken* 60, 11; *alben* 'Chorhemd' 64, 14; a. sg.: *masen* 33, 3; *silben* 19, 9; *auf lincke seytt* 38, 6; *putzen* 19, 3; *frawn* 23, 5; *frawn* 85, 10; *erden* 24, 10.

§35. The strong a. sg. *salb* 87, 7 is found by the side of *salben* g. sg. 87, 7. *vntz* 92, 2 is still strong. *zung* d. sg. 14, 8; 19, 10; a. sg. 36, 3; 38, 2 (4×) has become strong in the sg., but the pl. is *zungen*, e.g., 5, 6; 85, 9.

§36. Strong feminines with weak forms: *swestern* n. pl. 98, 5; a. pl. 98, 2; *witiben* n. pl. 87, 9; *trebern* a. pl. 'Treber' 32, 6. The latter is a double pl.; cf. Weigand, *D.W.*⁵, II, 1065.

C. FLUCTUATION AND CHANGE IN GENDER

1. FLUCTUATION

§37. a) Masc. and fem.: *nach dem tawf* 3, 2; *jm tawf* 17, 3; 58, 8; *die tawf* 36, 12; 70, 8; *nach seiner tawf* 33, 8; *im firm* 'Fir-

¹ According to Weigand, *D.W.*⁵, the Bavarian form is *mugken*.

nung' 61, 3: *in der firm* 61, 4; *des heytrat* 97, 2; *den heytrat nit zûgeben* 99, 17: *die heytrat* a. sg. 99, 14; 99, 15; *erst zesamgefûgte heytrat* 99, 11; *von zeitlichem wollust* 1, 3; 15, 3; *von irem wollust* 28, 7: *fleischlicher wollust* g. sg. 44, 2.

b) Masc. and neut.: *erster tail* 19, 6; *denselben tail* 80, 11; *dritter tail* 80, 11: *zway tail* 28, 15; 80, 11; *den menschen* a. sg. 99, 1: *das erst mensch* 98, 3; *das plöder mensch* 33, 2; *Do von anfang [got] den menschen gemacht, hat [got] denselbñ gemacht ains aiñ man, das and' mensch ain weib* (Gen. 1:27) 99, 1.

c) Masc. and neut.: *jrrsal* masc. 15, 2: *das trûebsal* 53, 2; *jñ jrem trûebsal* 23, 5.

2. CHANGES

§38. a) Masc. where MHG. is predominantly fem. A few words which are otherwise fem. have masc. forms: *Fronleib cristi ist der lieb wider den neyd. Firmung ist der hoffnung wider den geytz. Olûg ist starckher verharrûg wider die traghait* 58, 9; *der gerechtikait* n. sg. 58, 9. *aschñ* n. sg. 16, 5; *awsñ aschñ* 16, 5; *aiñ form* a. sg. 19, 4; *ersten form* 21, 3; *des forms* 30, 2; *der form* n. sg. 66, 2; *seinen gesund* 'Gesundheit' 45, 10; *bey seiñ gesund* 28, 13; *schrift* masc. 13, 4; otherwise fem., *diser sententz* n. sg. 77, 8; *an disen sententz* 64, 5; *am stiren* 'Stirne' 61, 4; *gûter traid* ('Getreide') *den got gesdet hat* 43, 7.

§39. Where MHG. is predominantly masc.: *der gwallt* n. sg. 1, 8; *gwallts* g. sg. 3, 1; *vollen gwalt* 6, 6; *deiñ fleischlichen last* 50, 6; *ain gûter lob* 22, 5; *seinen lob* 9, 1; *des luffts* 23, 6; *in den luft* 24, 7; *leiblichs lusts* 46, 7; *des vnzymlichen lust* 51, 8; *von zeitlichem wollust* 1, 3; 15, 3; *kainem wollust* 42, 8 (: *fleischlicher wollust* g. sg. 44, 2); *fleischlichen vnflat* 54, 4; *solhen jrrthumb* 39, 1; *den weisthûb* 44, 9; *der werchzewg* 43, 10.

§40. Where MHG. is predominantly neut.: *ainen oder mer drûmer* 'Trûmmer' 13, 7; *ainen solhen durcheinander od' confusion* 13, 10; *in richtigen model gegossen* 89, 4; *in den tabernackel* 65, 3; *tenne, tenn* a. sg. 24, 5; 82, 8; *aufñ tenne* 24, 5; *pösen vngemach* 85, 11.

§41. b) Fem. where MHG. is masc.: *vnmâssige abtrag* 53, 1; *vnder der gûrtel* 51, 18; *bey der gûrtel* 64, 14; *zû seiner fûesschamel* 29, 11; *mit merer* ('grösserem') *jnnhalt* 4, 1; *auff welher plûem* 10, 3; *dise vnderschild* 17, 7; *solhe vnderschild* 13, 4.

§42. The following are fem. in agreement with MHG.: All the words in *-nusz*, e.g., *ausz der gedächtnusz* 7, 8; *zû götlicher pildnusz* 7, 8; *nach seiner gleichnusz* 22, 3; 23, 1; *dieselb fâncknusz* 37, 7; *in verslossner fâncknuss* 83, 5; *bey christenlicher gehorsam* 6, 9; *die vngheorsam* 36, 13; *der gehorsam* g. sg. 37, 2; *seiner rechtlichen gwer 'Verteidigung'* 29, 7; *ain prantmailige gewissenn* 13, 10; *vor d' tûr deiner wissen* 42, 4; *mit seiner masz* 45, 9; *in was masz jr messet/ in derselben wirt ew hinwider gemessen* 84, 1; *in aller masz* 7, 5; *mit menschlicher glidmas* 28, 1; *mit sawerr salsen 'Salz'* 64, 13; *bis auf die schaidel* 91, 8; *die schosz der kirchen* 24, 9; *in deiner schosz* 24, 9; *dise vnderriicht* 4, 14; *in mündlicher vnderriicht 'Unterweisung'* 12, 1; 28, 6; *mit gantzer vngestûmb* 48, 5; *mit grosser vngestûem* 100, 9; *zû ewiger wee* 29, 2; *dise verlust* 87, 7.

§43. c) The following are neuter: (1) In contrast to MHG.: *das klainest fûnckel* 4, 12; *mit diemûetigem gepäre 'Gebärde'* 88, 6; *jm geschicht* 10, 7; *das and' geschicht* 43, 17; *das gantze gesegente gestalt* 63, 3; *todlichs geuerde 'Gefahr'* 73, 12; *das kol 'Kohle'* 75, 3; *das erst mensch* 98, 3; 99, 1 (but usually masc.); *das paw 'Gebäude'* 79, 1; *das smertzen* 50, 11 (this may be a substantivized infinitive); *sein aygen tadel* a. sg. 11, 1; *das widerpart* 31, 9; *ain gedenckh zedel* a. sg. 62, 3. (2) Neuter in agreement with MHG.: *zû gemainem almosen* 87, 6; *das new gesang* 88, 3; *dits lobgesang* 47, 2; *das harnasch des liechts* 39, 5; 61, 4; *kóder* 55, 5; 60, 7; *ins kot* 18, 5; *das kot'* 39, 4; *das leich 'Leiche'* 90, 7; and the regular neut. *a*-stem pl. *ire tode leich* 90, 7; *von aym ort an das ander* 38, 1; *mit vnserm pete* 53, 6; *das recht tranck* 62, 1 (Luther: *der rechte tranck*, John 6:55); *das trúebzal* 53, 2; *das ander wang* 51, 10; *das ander wickel* 30, 2. The foreign word *cherub* has become neut., e.g., *das ander cherub* 85, 2.

CHAPTER 2. ADJECTIVES

§44. In general the declension of the adjective and the distribution of strong and weak forms correspond to the modern usage. The exceptions may be classified under three heads: (a) strong ending where the modern is weak; (b) endingless where the modern is strong; (c) weak where the modern is strong.

¹ Kluge (*Etym. Wb.*, p. 222) gives *kot* as Middle German, due to Luther's translation of the Bible, and Upper German as *kat*.

§45. (a) Strong where modern German requires the weak form. These cases are more numerous than (b) and (c). Most of the exceptions occur after *jhener*, *yeder*, *solher*; e.g., n. sg. *ain yeder póser geyst* 24, 4; *ain yeder güeter clostermensch* 97, 2; *solher trifacher v'stand* 14, 1; *yglicher hoher priester* 65, 6; *yeder verständiger* 5, 5; *diser formlicher glawb* 5, 5; *solher weltlicher frid* 24, 4; *der warer fels* 92, 2; g. sg. always has the strong ending, e.g., *ewigs tods* 4, 15; *annders tails* 8, 1; *in krafft solhs volmächtigs gwalts* 89, 6; *póses feindes* 92, 6; *pecher kaltes wassers* 79, 3; a weak g. sg. occurs only once, *guten wesens* 71, 9, and one analogical double form, *menschlichens fleischs* 28, 15; d. sg. *irem geistlichem tod* 68, 3; *mit yeglichem andächtigem cristglaubigem mēschen* 91, 1; *berüertem seinem gütem freund* 46, 3; *bey solhem gemeinem vnserm vbel* 32, 7; g. sg. fem. *diser ellender zeit* 16, 1; *yeder leiblicher creatur* 29, 9; in *solhes gottlichens willens* 38, 2 the adjective was influenced by the noun; *seines aigens vbel* 44, 6; *des lawttern vñ vnurhabts prot* 65, 7; *ires heiligs vnd strenges lebens* 85, 11; d. sg. masc. *zû seinem heiligem tempel* 10, 3; *dem künfftigem jrem Messie* 10, 4; *aus vnserm gegenbürtigem pitterm pósem stand* 31, 8; *mit seinem vnuermailigtem zartem leib* 55, 4; d. sg. neut. *in seinem warhaftigem wort* 11, 9; *dem gantzen menschlichem geschlácht* 27, 5; *ainem yedem christenlichem volckh* 95, 2; *in ainem gewissen hebreischem ewangelj* 69, 7; neut. pl. *solhe frómbde werch* 83, 2; *seine vorergangene geschöpf* 12, 7; g. pl. *seiner dreyer sün* 87, 1.

§46. Here belong also the adjectives which are inflected in the predicate contrary to modern usage, e.g., *zû lesst jren faisten herrē Eglon toden finden . . .* 10, 4; *do der jüngling dits wort gehort . . . ist er trawriger vom herren gangen* 40, 11; *auswendig vor den menschen wil er tugenhaft erscheinen, jnwendig ist er voller vntugent* 52, 7; *der leib christi ist . . . voller gnaden / vntodlich vnnd gotlich* 68, 2; *ich hab mich selbs auch vntüchtigen geacht zû dir personlich zekömen* 84, 4; *vnser hayler ist armer auf ain esziñ gesessen* 87, 6; *Derselben werch seiñ sibene leiblich vnd sibene geistlich* 87, 1; *ain lieb ist gar láre, die and' ist nur halbe* 48, 6; *will ist zwayerlay, güter vñ póser* 38, 1.

§47. In two cases the masc. n. sg. *voller* is used with a fem. noun: *die weld ist voller lüge* 15, 8; *Dise stat ist voller poszhait* 30, 9. This usage spread considerably in later times and all feeling that *voller*

is a masc. n. sg. was lost (cf. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, §111, 8). In one instance Berthold makes *voll* agree with the noun depending on it: *zeitliche freyd ist eytel vnd lâr / awswendig ist sy süesz / jnwendig volles gifts* 48, 6. In another case *voll* remains uninflected: *ain pôse zung ist vol tódlichs vbels* 51, 3.

§48. b) The adjective is endingless where modern usage requires the strong form, e.g., n. sg. masc. *ain solh hochfertig mensch* 9, 7; *ain jung mensch* 50, 11; *ain reych mensch* 75, 1; *der vnser gütigister, senftist, mildist vñ parmhertzigist vater ist* 32, 3; fem. *ander hailksam lere* 11, 1; neut. *als óbrist geschópf* 19, 6; *ain lâr vas* 88, 12; *ain fliessund wasser* 28, 12; *new testament* 12, 8; *war fleisch* 67, 9 (: *warer mensch* 67, 9).

§49. The n. a. sg. fem. and neut. are without ending after the definite article, but the fem. ends in *-e* after the indefinite article and the possessives, e.g., *die ander frag* 7, 2; *die gût erde* 10, 6; *die heilig schrift* 12, 2; *das klainist fúnckel* 4, 12; *das hóchst gûet* 5, 2; *das alt gesetz* 6, 9; *jedes gûet werch* 22, 9; but *ain ewige person* 9, 6; *sein gotliche weiszheit* 12, 5; *sein leibliche mûter* 10, 3; *jr falsche lere* 13, 6; *khain anndere schrift* 14, 4.

§50. With few exceptions the n. a. pl. masc. and fem. apocopate *-e*, e.g., *gestymbt fals lerer* 16, 2; *solh abtrünig lerer* 15, 3; *heilig vâter* 17, 10; *ainlitzig geist* 19, 8; *vil tewtsch* 6, 4; *zwo widerwártig natur* 7, 9; *drey sonder person*, 7, 9; *all ander aigen tugent vnd krefft* 4, 11. Exceptions: *wider alle creatur* 9, 7; *bewârte schrift* 14, 14. But the *-e* (<OHG. *-iu*) of the n. a. pl. neut. is never lost, e.g., *gûete werch* 4, 13; *leibliche ding* 5, 6; *alle glid* 6, 4; *zway güldene pild* 85, 2. The single exception which I have noted is *sündig werch* 35, 6.

The adjective in *jüdisch geslächts* g. sg. is without ending for reasons of euphony.

§51. c) An adjective preceded by a strong adjective has a tendency to become weak, e.g., *bey rechtem gemainen wege* 8, 5; *aus lebentigem freydenreichen got* 11, 9; *zû allem gûten* 9, 8; *loblichem alten gebrauch* 13, 5; *mit warem heiligen geist* 14, 9; *in mitte verkerter tewtschen nation* 30, 5; *berúerter falschen lere* 13, 5; *von eingeleibter götlichen warhait* 8, 1; *in zerstórter rómischen kirch* 66, 4. Or without any preceding adjective: *zû haylsamen nutz* 22, 9; *zû ósterlichen zeyt* 58, 7; *von got als besten werchmaister* 31, 9. Or the weak adjective

may come first: *aus gemainen menschlichem fleisch* 34, 3. Or the forms may alternate: *mit erstem vnrainen todlichem leib* 68, 3.

§52. After the personal pronoun there is fluctuation, e.g., *wir plöde menschen* 56, 2; *wir krancke menschen* 19, 5; *vns tewtsch* 24, 2; *wir tewtschen* 12, 1; 63, 7. In the vocative the weak forms are used: *Lieben brüder* 82, 5; *Liebē sūn* 86, 7.

CHAPTER 3. ADVERBS

§53. The ending *-e* (MHG. *-e*; OHG. *-o*, *-a*, *-u*) is apocopated, e.g., *fast* 5, 7; *pald* 9, 4; *schier* 12, 1; *gern* 13, 5; *sanft* 14, 14 (adj. *senfft* 50, 11); *hart* 13, 13 (adj. *hertt* 74, 2); *weyt* 11, 5; *vnbillich* 8, 2; *zwar* 21, 8; *gerat* 20, 4, *gerad* 20, 8; *vor* 'vorher' 63, 10; *allain* 21, 3; *heut* 12, 1; *oben* 7, 1; *hieunden* 31, 1; *hinden* 16, 6; *hald* 43, 16 (in *oder hald wie diser offnersünder*, Luke 18:11); *yez* 31, 8; *ytz* 9, 8; *yetz* 6, 4. The negative is *nit*.

§54. Many adverbs end in *-en* contrary to the modern usage, e.g., *ainsten* 5, 1; 10, 6; 52, 3 (: *vnderainst* 17, 2); *warumben* 39, 4 (: *widerumb* 8, 8); *hämischen* 36, 5; 71, 8; *hohenawen* 77, 13 (<MHG. *enouwe*; *nawberts* 77, 13 <MHG. *enouwe*+*wert*); *von hinn* 23, 8; *vonhiñ* 30, 1; *von wan* 14, 3; *von ferren* 25, 1. Others in *-en* are old dative plurals: *vnderwegen* 85, 10; *zewegen bringen* 48, 4; *vorzeiten* 5, 3; or g. sg. fem. *dermassen* 4, 12; but without *-en*: *rückling* (MHG. *rückelingen*) 51, 4; *allenthalb* 6, 6 (: but mostly *-halben*, e.g., *allenthalben* 4, 12; *ewrnthalben* 78, 1; *deszhalben* 24, 5; *seinenthalben* 28, 7; *leibszhalben* 'was den Leib anbetrifft' 30, 1; *ambthalben* 65, 8); *zesam* 14, 14 (: *zesamen* 16, 2); *jñ gemain* 'im allgemeinen' 5, 1.

§55. The suffix *-lich* is very productive and can be attached to almost any adjective, noun, participle, or other suffix, e.g., *gleichlich* 47, 10; *strenglich* 73, 12; *rechtlich* 8, 9; *leichtlich* 20, 4; *offennlich* 13, 10; *gwislich* 13, 1; *pószlich* 1, 5; *swárllich* 74, 5; *keyschlich* 77, 15; *samentlich vnnd sonnderlich* 47, 4; *klerlich* 31, 6; *hübschlich* 49, 5. *smáchlich* 51, 2; *schántlich* 9, 3; *ratlich* 'im Rat' 69, 10; *klósterlich* 'im Kloster' 79, 3; *petlich* 'mit Gebet' 87, 5; *natürlich* 'von Natur' 12, 5; *sacramentlich* 'durchs S.' 21, 4; *tagzeillich* 14, 14. *veraintlich* 6, 2; *bezwungenlich* 78, 5; *verporgenlich* 5, 3; *erschrockenlich* 36, 13. *vergebenlich* 39, 15; *vnuerschaidenlich* 47, 7; *cristenlich* 13, 13; *vnwidersprechenlich* 39, 11; *tawgentlich* (MHG. meaning)

64, 4; *aigentlich* 10, 10. *herttigklich* 81, 3; *fesstiklich* 30, 4; *volliklich* 40, 4; *vberflüssigklich* 43, 7; *diemütiklich* 9, 7; *geduldiklich* 9, 7; *parmhertziklich* 19, 4. *gnügsamlich* 52, 4; *gehorsamlich* 8, 9; *haylsamlich* 25, 6; *scheinberlich* 5, 5.

§56. Berthold uses many old adverbs which are dialectic or no longer in use, e.g., *fürbas* 54, 2; *vrbering* 34, 9; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *yetzund* 37, 5; *etwo* 79, 3; 80, 7; 84, 7; *anhaim* 'nach Hause' 72, 8; 92, 8; *menigfert* 'manchmal' 99, 13; *etwan* Ded., *füran* 'in Zukunft' 14, 5; *herdan* 14, 3; *obenan* 78, 3; *nahennd* 27, 3, *nahet* 'nahe' 20, 4; *dickmals* 'oft' 15, 4; *ábich* 'falsch' 14, 14; *jndert* 8, 6; *nyndert* 14, 2; *nynderthin* 48, 10; *hinach* 'nach diesem Leben' 20, 3; *desmer* 'desto mehr' 53, 6.

Many modern compound adverbs are still distinct in Berthold, e.g., *vmb sonst* 21, 6; *on mittel* 'unmittelbar' 17, 7; *durch mittl* 'vermittels' 20, 3; *in gemain* 27, 5; *in Sonderhait* 27, 5; 39, 7; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *hinder rucks* 14, 8; *kains wegs* 17, 13; *der gestalt* 'deshalb' 14, 4; *der gleich* 'ebenfalls' 13, 13; *but zuschanden* 10, 4; *vnderwegen* 13, 1; *vonstundan* 21, 7; *gleicherweis* 21, 7; *langzeither* 86, 1; *von obenherab* 95, 8.

§57. Correlative adverbs are very frequent in the comparative, e.g., *yemer . . . ye bas* 75, 2; *ye höher . . . jeweniger* 29, 11; *yelenger ye mer* 68, 10; *ye offter . . . ye sorglicher* 70, 8; *yemer . . . destmer* 22, 4; *yehöher . . . destnidrer* 32, 4; *yeswürer . . . ye bas . . . :dest bas* 75, 3. Other correlatives are: *ain weil . . . ander weil* 37, 5; *bisweil hin . . . bisweil her* 38, 7; *als nahend als der ander* 50, 10; *vmb souil mer . . . alsuil* 22, 4; *in masz . . . dermasz* 'wie . . . so' 91, 10; *aintweders* (MHG. *ein+deweder*) . . . *oder* 73, 15.

§58. Numerous examples of adverbial genitives whose second element is *-mal*, *-weis*,¹ *-zeit*, e.g., *yetzmals* 'jetzt' 15, 3; *ditsmals* 15, 8; *numals* 'nun' 15, 7; *eemals* 22, 4; *vormals* 14, 5; *nachmals* 15, 7; *ainmals* 15, 9; *dickmals* 15, 4; *dickermals* 39, 12; *desselbenmals* 'damals' 65, 3; *rachiger weis* 76, 8; *genötter weis* 38, 8; *verzagterweis* 44, 10; *gleicherweisz* 34, 11; *diser weis* 'auf diese Art; folglich; dann' 39, 12; *newlicher zeit* 31, 2; *verschiner zeit* 'vergan-

¹-weis was on the way to become a regular suffix. Cf. the adjectives *vnwegweis* 'ungangbar' 16, 2; *strafweis* 'als Strafe' 57, 3; *puoes weis* 'zur Busze' 98, 7.

gener Z.' 37, 3; *kurtz uerschiner zeit* 39, 16. Other adverbial genitives: *ainstails* 78, 6; *kains wegs* 33, 2; *kains fuegs* 85, 9; *meins bedunckhens* 99, 14; *dergestallt* 34, 11; *beder sey* 38, 1; *deszhalben* 38, 4; *desgleichs* 36, 9; *dergleychen* 38, 1; *vbrigs* 'vergebens' 39, 5; *stättigs* 42, 3.

COMPARISON

§59. The comparative suffix is *-er*. The vowel is usually umlauted in monosyllables, e.g., *ellter* 6, 7; *lenger* 8, 4; *klärer* 7, 9 (: *klarer* 19, 9); *pölder* 'bälde' 34, 4; *ergers* 47, 10; *höher* (: *hoher* 40, 6 [5×]). Without umlaut are *poser* 'böser' 20, 4; *junger* 8, 8; *grossere* 28, 2 (1×); *destschoner* 87, 4; *klüger* 68, 10.

Monosyllabic comparatives: *ee* 38, 11; *bas* 14, 13; *bas jrren* 'mehr irren' 16, 2 (the adjective is *besser*); *mer* 20, 8.

Double comparatives: *bas gelegner* 55, 1; *wierser* 9, 7; 64, 4; *wyerser* 32, 4; *der merer* 'gröszere' 6, 2.

The following forms are different from the modern: *ferrer* 5, 4; *nächner* 'näher' 50, 10; *gleich* also forms a comparative *gleicher* 22, 1.

The conjunction after the comparative is *dann*, e.g., 7, 1; 8, 4.

§60. The superlative is formed by the suffix *-ist*, e.g., *posist* 20, 4; *klainist* 58, 11; *elltisten* 12, 9; *nideriste* 30, 3; *zũ vodrist* 9, 3; *tewffister* 'tiefster' 11, 9; *wirdigist* 24, 2; *herttist* 37, 3. A few words always have syncope: *höchst* 7, 4; *erst* 9, 5; *den lesten kónig* 10, 4; *fürsten* a. pl. masc. 10, 4; *am besten* 6, 9; *nachsten* 14, 8; *der nagst* 77, 11; *negste* 34, 11; *jüngsten* 6, 2. One word fluctuates: *grössist* 8, 6; *grösst* 16, 1; *grösster* 20, 8. The ending *-est* occurs only once: *kleinest* 4, 12.

§61. A few idioms: *maist* is used as an adjective = 'gröszt, wichtigst': *die maist vrsach* 57, 4 (cf. *zu merer* ['gröszerer'] *scherff* 58, 13); *den wenigsten* (Matt. 18:6; Luther *geringsten*) 47, 7; *zum vodristen* 'zuvorderst' 45, 3; *des wenigsten hällers* 81, 6; *bis auf wenigsten häller* 'bis auf den letzten Heller' 83, 5; *des lessten gericht's* 'jüngsten G.' 100, 12.

CHAPTER 4. NUMERALS

§62. For the declension of *ain*, see the indefinite article §84. When used substantively and as a numeral the masc. and neut. nominatives are *ainer* 6, 8; 7, 1; *ains* 7, 1; 18, 2. Phrases: *ains*

werden 67, 7; *hinder ainem* 'hinter der (Zahl) Eins' 29, 3. The numbers 2 and 3 are regularly declined as follows:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N. A.	<i>zwen</i>	<i>zwo</i>	<i>zway</i>	<i>drey</i>	<i>drey</i>	<i>drew, dreu</i>
G.	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>
D.	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>

§63. E.g., n. a. *zwen wege* 30, 3; *zwen ständ* 30, 4; *zwen götler* 40, 1; *zwen vater* 60, 5; *zwo person* 19, 7; *zwo gab* 21, 4; *zwo zeit* 12, 6; *zway ding* 24, 7; *zway awgen* 44, 11; *zwei wesen* 26, 5; *zway haup* 'Häupter' 27, 6. In the g. and d. the neut. form has been generalized, e.g., *zwayer freünd*, *zwayer spruch* 39, 4; *zwaier person* 11, 4; *zwayer (natur)* 7, 9; 25, 7; *zwayerlay* (always written as one word) 7, 3; 11, 8; d. *zwayen herrn* 45, 5; *zwaier jungern* 69, 6; *zwayen spruchen* 39, 4; *zwayen feinden* 20, 9; *in zwayen gottes hannden* 21, 4; *in zwayen geistlichen krefftten* 28, 17; *zwayen wesen* 33, 2; *zwayen gepoten* 33, 2.

§64. In 3 the masc. and fem. have fallen together, e.g., n. a. *drey vöter* 60, 5; *drey vocal* 19, 10; *drey personen* 7, 6; 22, 1; *in drey natur* 22, 1; but the neut. has the historical form, e.g., *drew amt* 23, 2; *drew ding* 60, 4; *dreü vbl* 33, 3; g. *seiner dreyer sün* 'Söhne' 87, 1; *dreyer gnaden* 78, 7; *dreyerlay* 4, 11; 5, 1; 17, 3; 20, 1; d. *in dreyen fällen* 'Fällen' 99, 9; cf. also 37, 3; 68, 7; *den selben dreyen krefftten* 26, 4; *von allen dreyen personen* 22, 1; *vor dreyen jaren* 24, 3; *mit dreyen vbeln* 33, 2.

§65. The numbers from 4–10 have inflections only sporadically, e.g., *viere* 13, 1; 22, 1 (subst.); 42, 4; 43, 12; 63, 3; 94, 8; g. *vierer* 91, 1; *viererlay* 58, 4; *in vieren* (subst. = 'in vier Stücken, Bedingungen') 63, 1; *fünferlay* 19, 7; *fünffe* (subst.) 79, 4; d. neut. *fünfen* 77, 4; *sexe* (subst.) 51, 3 (this word is always written with *x*); *Der-selbē werch sein sibene leiblich vnd sibene geistlich* 87, 1; *zehene* (sc. *warsagung*) 24, 7; *zehene* never syncopates the second *e*, e.g., 17, 4; 27, 3; 51, 1; 77, 4.

§66. The number 11 has the full uncontracted form plus an inorganic dental: *aindlif* 92, 3; so also the ordinal: *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12; 51, 13.

§67. In 12 the diphthong is already contracted and shortened, but not yet rounded. The vowel in the second syllable is retained

once: *zwelif* 96, 4; otherwise *zwelf*, e.g., 9, 2; 12, 3; 51, 6; 53, 3. So also in the ordinal.

§68. The numerals 13–19, 21–29, 31–39, etc., are formed regularly. It should be noted that 'one' in 21, 31, 41, etc., is the strong neut. form *ains*, e.g., *ainsundzwaintzigist*, *ainsunddreissigist*, etc., the only exception being *ainundzwaintzig* 12, 8.

§69. The tens are: *zwaintzig*, *dreissig*, *viertzig*, *fünfftzig*, ordinal *sexigist*, *sibentzig*, *achtzig*, *newntzig*, *hundert*.

§70. The ordinals are all declined like adjectives. They are: *erst*, *ander*, *dritt*, *vierd*, *vierdt* 5, 3 (1×), *fünfst*, *sext*, *sibend*, *sybend*, *acht*, *neündt* 9, 1; 51, 5; *zum newnten* 39, 9; *zehendt* 10, 1; 51, 5; 98, 3; *zehent* 51, 12; 65, 5; *aindlift* 11, 1; *zum aindlefften* 92, 3; *zwelfft* 12, 1.

§71. From 13–19 the suffix is *-d* (once *-t*: *sibentzehent* 17, 1). It is added to the cardinal. From 20 on the ordinals are made by the suffix *-ist*, e.g., *zwaintzigist*, *ainsundzwaintzigist*, *fünfftzigist*, *sexigist*, etc.

§72. When the ordinals are written in Arabic numerals, periods are placed before and after the numbers, e.g., *im .74. capitel* 89, 3; *bis awf .81. capitel*; *des .794. jares* 85, 6; but occasionally periods are put between the digits as well as before and after, e.g., *im .1.5.2.5. vnd des .1.5.26. jars* 37, 3.

CHAPTER 5. PRONOUNS

1. PERSONAL

§73. Sg. n.	<i>jch</i>	<i>du, dw</i>
	g. <i>mein</i>	<i>dein</i>
	d. <i>mir</i>	<i>dir</i>
	a. <i>mich</i>	<i>dich</i>
Dual	<i>es</i>
Pl. n.	<i>wir</i>	<i>jr</i>
	g. <i>vrser</i>	<i>ewr-</i>
	d. <i>vns, vnns</i>	<i>ew, euch, eüch, ewch</i>
	a. <i>vns, vnns, vnsz</i>	<i>euch, eüch, ew</i>

§74. The g. sg. is found in such expressions: *mein nit wirdig* 56, 4; *sy haben mein verspott* 63, 7; *awswendig dein* 'ausserhalb deiner' 28, 3; *dein mächtig* 45, 10. The dual form of the 2d person occurs but once: *das hawp müg nit sprechen zw den füessen / es seyt mir vnnot-*

durfftig 91, 7. Examples of the g. pl. are: *awsserhalb vnser* 20, 4; *vnser kainer* 31, 8; *deszhalb sy vnser auch vergessen* 88, 9; 2d person pl. with inorganic *-n(t)-*: *ewrntalben* 78, 1; *von ewrn wegen* 97, 8. In the 2d person pl. the d. nearly always has the historical form *ew* (e.g., *Vorr.* 2, 5; 1, 6; 1, 8), but this form has also been extended to the accusative. The historical *euch*, *eüch* occurs only a few times, e.g., 1, 5; 1, 6; 2, 5.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
§75. Sg. n.	<i>er</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>es</i>	Pl. <i>sy</i>
g.	<i>sein</i>	<i>jr, ir</i>	<i>jr</i>
d.	<i>jme, jm, im</i>	<i>jr, ir</i>	<i>jn, jne, jnen</i>
a.	<i>jne, in, jn</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>sy</i>

§76. The g. sg. *seiner* is not found yet; *sein* occurs frequently, e.g., *an stat sein* 28, 12; 31, 9; 78, 3; *von wegen sein* 31, 9; *hinder sein* 65, 2. In the d. a. sg. masc. the forms *jme*, *jne* are the common ones; *jme* 1, 1; 1, 4; 2, 1; 2, 2, etc., *jne* *Vorr.* 1 and 3; 1, 3; 2, 3; 4, 3, etc. Examples for the g. sg. fem. are: *ausserhalb ir* 59, 10; *hinder ir* 73, 7; *vergisst sy jrselfs* 32, 7; with inorganic *-nt-*: *irentalben* 78, 5; g. pl. *jr jedes* 43, 17; *jr jeder* 19, 9; *jr khainer* 20, 4; *ir khains* 45, 5; *jr beder vater* 47, 7. In the d. pl. the historical form is found five times: *jn* *Vorr.* 1; 13, 7; 15, 4; 39, 15; *in* 35, 5. The form *jne* comes next in order of frequency, while *jnen* is the regular one.

2. DEMONSTRATIVE

§77. Sg. n.	<i>der</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das</i>	Pl. <i>die</i>
g.	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>
d.	<i>dem, deme</i>	<i>der, dere</i>	<i>dem, deme</i>	<i>den, denen</i>
a.	<i>den, dene</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das, daz</i>	<i>die</i>

§78. The distribution of these forms is as follows: (a) The definite article has only the short forms. (b) The demonstrative agrees with the article, but has in addition the forms *deme* and *denen*; d. pl. masc. *denen* 72, 8; fem. *aus denen vnd mer anndern ursachen* 69, 10. (c) The relative has all these forms but one. In the masc. sg. *deme* and *den* predominate. *dene*, e.g., 10, 4; 13, 1; 18, 1; 18, 18; 21, 6; 27, 3. *dere*, d. sg. fem., is found 3 times: 17, 8; 58, 4; 81, 9. In the d. sg. neut. *deme* is the regular form; *dem* is found only three times, 10, 1; 20, 4; 20, 9. The d. pl. is always *denen*, e.g., 5, 7; 4, 15; 7, 2.

NOTE 1.—*so* is also used frequently as a relative in the n. a. sg. and pl. of all genders.

NOTE 2.—In Berthold are found some interesting examples, illustrating the development of the relative construction in German. In the following sentence *das* is still clearly a demonstrative, followed by an asyndetic clause: *Darumb mag der mensch nit albeg bekommen das er wil* 38, 10, 'Therefore man cannot always get all [that] he wants.' Compare with this the following (where *das* has exactly the same function as in the above, but where a relative has been dragged in to correspond to Latin *omnia ea quae*): *zehalten alles das was Christus beuolhen* 17, 3. The best treatment of the relative is found in Professor George O. Curme's articles "A History of the English Relativ Constructions," *JEG Ph.*, XI (1912), and "The Origin of the Relative *welcher*," *Z. f. deut. Wortforschung*, XIV (1912), 112-26.

3. INTERROGATIVE

§79.	n.	<i>wer</i>	<i>was</i>
	g.	<i>wes</i>	<i>wes</i>
	d.	<i>wem, weme</i>
	a.	<i>wen</i>	<i>was, wz</i>
	inst.	<i>wew</i>

§80. The d. sg. masc. *weme* occurs only once: 12, 2. Inst. neut. *wew* (MHG. *wiu*), e.g., *nach wew die weld formiert sey? Antwort. Got hat nach seiner gleichnusz formiert die weld* 22, 3; *mit wew* 'womit' 54, 13 (3×); *von wew* 13, 13; *zû wew* 19, 5; *ymb wew* 'zu welchem Zweck' 66, 7; *aus wew* 22, 3; *was* is used as a relative, referring to a neut. sg., e.g., *alles was* 40, 5; 67, 6 (: *alles das was* 17, 3; 38, 1); it is used with a partitive genitive: *was newer lere* 11, 5; *was schulden oder vnflats* 30, 7; *was guts* 22, 2; *was vbels* 25, 8; and in the sense of modern German 'was für,' e.g., *was rach vber vns tewtsch geen / werden wir zû seiner stund erjndert* 98, 6; *in was masz jr messet / in derselben wirt ew hinwider gemessen* 84, 1; *auf was wege* 'in what way' 54, 13; 62, 1; *in was ere er durch got gesetzt gewessen* 49, 3.

§81. Like *wer* is declined *etwer* n. sg. 51, 4; 73, 9; *ettwer* 54, 12; 64, 9; *etwar* (= 'jemand') 77, 15; 73, 13; d. sg. *wer etwem ain sach raten wil* 51, 15; *von etwem genöttigt* 39, 15; neut. a. sg. *ettwas aigens* 50, 3; *auf gotliche weiszheit oder auf etwe anders piegen* 85, 10; *vns in etwe / das got missuellig ist / zeytlich züerfreyen* 48, 6; other examples: *aws etwe* 57, 5; *in ettwe* 100, 2. The form *ettwo* means 'irgendwo' 'etwa,' and 'etwas,' e.g., *Es mócht villeycht ligen ettwo im firmament* 31, 3; *wo derselb etwo irret* 43, 9; *alle creatur aws nichte zû etwo beschaffen* 39, 8.

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[To be continued]

POETS AS HEROES OF EPIC AND DRAMATIC WORKS IN GERMAN LITERATURE

Since the publication of the first treatise on this theme,¹ the writer has been convinced of its possibilities far beyond initial expectation, for the following reasons: Further investigation has strengthened his belief that the poetization of poets, to say nothing of the discussion of poets in pure literature, is more peculiar to German² than to the other great literatures; the attitude of those who have investigated literary dramas and novels on individual poets has, in several instances, been one of thinly veiled skepticism.³ This, it seems to the writer, is unjustified, at least so far as the novels are concerned. And research and inquiry have revealed the fact that works of this sort are much more numerous⁴ in German than one

¹ *Modern Philology*, XII, 65-99.

² Though fully realizing the danger of coming to any conclusion from a single instance, it is nevertheless interesting to compare Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* (1852), which is always referred to as a "literary" novel, with Rudolf Herzog's *Die Wiskottens* (1906), of which one never thinks in this connection. But we learn very little about Addison and Steele and their contemporaries in Thackeray, while Herzog, though writing a modern, realistic novel on the poetry of work and the beauty of family solidarity, discusses Jean Paul, Fritz Reuter, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Freiligrath, Horace, Ovid, Mörke, Plato, Shakespeare, and the *Nibelungen Lied* from various points of view and introduces one fictitious poet, Herr Korten. Artists are likewise introduced in the third person: Van Dyck, Rubens, Rembrandt, Dürer, Lenbach, Defregger, Böcklin, Feuerbach, and Makart, and one fictitious artist, Herr Weert. In short, *Die Wiskottens* is as much of a "literary" novel as is *Henry Esmond*, though no one would think of including the former in this list, despite the inclusion of the literary novels of Tieck, Eichendorff, and others.

³ Cf. *Ulrich von Hutten in der deutschen Literatur*. By Georg Voigt, Leipzig, 1910, p. 74: "Das Ringen mit dem Stoff, das aus all den verschiedenen Dichtungen spricht, ist äusserst interessant zu beobachten; ob es jemals zu einem nach jeder Richtung befriedigenden Ergebnis führen wird, ist fraglich." The titles on Hutten in this article, incidentally, were taken largely from Voigt. Had his list been complete, there would have been but little point in noting all the works on Hutten; but the writer found some not included in Voigt, hence the tabulation below.

⁴ Cf. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen in der deutschen Literatur*. By Paul Riesenfeld, Berlin, 1912, p. 1: "Wie in den beiden letzten Jahrhunderten Tasso und die Sappho, mehrmals Hans Sachs und der junge Schiller, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Narciss Rameau, Mozart, Beethoven, Liszt, Correggio, Michelangelo, Rafael und manche andere Wort- und Tondichter und bildende Künstler zu 'Helden' von Schauspielen, Opern, Novellen u. s. w. wurden," etc. From this it seems that Riesenfeld, though the author of a monograph of 359 pages on this very theme, is unaware of a host of literary novels and dramas in German literature. And to this, by way of confirmation, might be added the article by Wilhelm Bölsche, on "Der historische Roman," in *Kritisches Jahrbuch*, 1. Jahrg., 1. Heft, pp. 13-27. All sorts of historical novels and dramas are mentioned, but not a word about those that have poets as heroes.

would be inclined to believe before giving the matter special consideration. In order, therefore, to make the subject a real and enduring contribution and to eliminate everything that makes it seem somewhat like a curiosity, the following titles, not included in the previous article because then unknown, are subjoined, and a few additional phases of the matter are touched upon. That the bibliography, as it here stands, is incomplete¹ is to be taken for granted; and as to exhausting the theme itself—that must be reserved for a separate monograph.

One phase of the matter that calls for immediate attention is the relation of truth to poetry. Based as all such works are on historical characters that have written poetry, there are those who will demand truth in them. But they will be reasonably disappointed, for absolute truth here as elsewhere, and especially here, is unobtainable. When Tieck, for example, wrote his *Vittoria Accorombona*, he voluntarily assumed a threefold obligation: to record the real facts of his heroine's life, to deduce her character from these facts, and to give a just estimate of her poetry. Now we all know how difficult it is to determine the mere *Realien* of men's lives. Biographers keep on writing biographies of favorite poets partly to refute the statements of their predecessors—and to make statements to be refuted by their successors.² Think of the monographs that try to prove, by way of illustration, that a certain poet was in a certain place at a certain time, and not somewhere else as someone else has said!³

¹ The writer would be deeply gratified if opportunity were afforded him to learn of any more such works in German. Since the title very frequently does not reveal the names of the characters, it is impossible to know, without reading it, whether the work introduces poets in the first person, and no one can read all of German literature. Just now the writer is indebted to Professor F. W. J. Heuser, Dr. Juliana S. Haskell, and Dr. Gottlieb Betz, his Columbia colleagues, and to Professor Camillo von Klenze, of Brown University, for a number of titles. Dr. Betz also read the manuscript of the first article and made a number of suggestions as to how the matter might be approached.

² A case in point is H. S. Chamberlain's *Goethe*, where we are told (p. 22), contrary to Goethe himself and his previous biographers, that Goethe did not derive his "Frohnatur" from his mother and his "Lebens ernstes Führen" from his father. Chamberlain says: "Diese Worte können unmöglich buchstäblich gemeint sein. Goethe ist keine Frohnatur." If an individual were to defend this thesis in a novel on Goethe, the practical-minded reader would be perturbed. Has Chamberlain stated the truth?

³ This remark was inspired, in a way, by an article of twenty-nine pages in the September, 1914, number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, on "Kleist at Boulogne-sur-Mer," by Mr. John William Scholl. Mr. Scholl states that Kleist's biographers, from Tieck (1821) to Herzog (1911), have had difficulty with this problem, and that the earlier biographers are more satisfactory than the recent ones. How can the truth be obtained in the case of the poet, who, more than any other mortal,

To weigh poets' characters is out of the question, for there is no absolute standard. Think of the differences of opinion that still whirl around the personalities of Goethe and Heine and Nietzsche! And as to determining the ultimate value of poetry by the amount of truth that it contains, that can and should be undertaken only by those who feel poetry, who experience it, and who therefore feel that poetry *is* truth.

The whole situation is about as follows: The reliable historian, the impartial biographer, the erudite investigator, and the judicial critic may think profoundly and feel beautifully, but they can express themselves only accurately. The real poet not only thinks deeply and feels beautifully, but he also expresses beautifully that which he has thought and that which he has felt.¹ And beauty *is* truth, for it is a happy amalgamation of taste, symmetry, harmony, and imagination, and a number of other difficult virtues in which biographies, even autobiographies, do not always abound. If, therefore, the individual who reads the following novels and dramas on poets does not thereby obtain huge stores of more or less accurate information *à la* Düntzer, Bartels, and Goedeke, and their helpful kind, it will be more because the poets in question lacked the ability to express themselves beautifully than because they made a slip as to a date or the proper name of a person or place. There is proportionately as much truth in Elise Polko's *Märchen* on Simon Dach as there is in Sälkowski's scholarly, and let us hope accurate, monograph on the same poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1250—Konrad von Würzburg: *Der Welt Lohn, eine allegorische Märe*. The hero is Wirnt von Gravenberg, the author of "Wigalois."

1602—Jakob Ayrer: *Comedischer Prozess*. Hans Sachs is an important character.

lives unto himself? And how can we get at the facts in the case of a poet so secretive as Kleist? The writer would, however, naturally refer a student to Herzog rather than to a drama or novel on Kleist, if the student wanted information, largely because Herzog would contain more information, not because Herzog is supposed to be accurate whereas the dramatist or novelist is supposed to be inaccurate.

¹ Though the writer has never been able to become enthusiastic about Geibel, this idea is taken from his *Kleinigkeiten* (*Emanuel Geibels gesammelte Werke*, Bd. 8, Seite 76, 3te Aufl.):

Tief zu denken und schön zu empfinden ist vielen gegeben;
Dichter ist nur, wer schön sagt, was er dacht' und empfand.

- 1627—Martin Opitz: *Dafne, ein Schäferspiel in fünf Akten*. Ovid begins the play with a prologue.
- 1673—Anonymous: *Der pedantische Irrtum, ein Drama*. Hans Sachs begins the drama, but does not appear again.
- 1756—Anonymous: *Comoedi in der Comoedi, oder Hans Sachs Schulmeister zu Narrnhausen vor seinem König eine Comödie von Doktor Faust exhibierend*.
- 1787—Fr. Karl Lang: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Gedicht in drei Gesängen*.
- 1798—Tieck: *Prinz Zerbino, ein deutsches Lustspiel in sechs Aufzügen*. The poet-characters of the fifth act are Dante, Ariost, Gozzi, Tasso, Cervantes, Hans Sachs, Goethe, Sophokles, Shakespeare, Petrarca. Of these, Goethe, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Dante are regarded as the "heilige Vier."
- 1805—Fouqué: *Schillers Totenfeier, eine Gewittersymphonie*. The characters are Schiller, ein Räuber, Fiesko, Ferdinand, Carlos, Wallenstein, Maria Stuart, die Jungfrau, die Mutter der Braut von Messina, Tell, and der Knabe. Bernhardt helped in the writing.
- 1808—Ferd. Aug. Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben: *Guido, ein Roman von "Isidorus Orientalis,"* the pen-name of Loeben. Frauenlob is an important character. A little later, Loeben planned a novel on Heinrich von Veldeke; nothing was ever done on it beyond the outline.¹
- 1815—Eichendorff: *Ahnung und Gegenwart, ein Roman*. Eichendorff does not introduce poets in the first person, but, aside from discussing numerous general literary works, folksongs, fairy tales, sagas, and the like, he has his fictitious characters comment on the works of Abraham a. Sta. Clara, Arnim, Campe, Cervantes, Claudius, Goethe, Grimms-hausen, Jean Paul, Kotzebue, Rousseau, Schiller, Shakespeare, Tasso, Usteri, Zacharias Werner, and Zschokke. Other writers are satirized in an indirect way, especially A. H. J. Lafontaine, Graf von Loeben, and Brentano. The influence of Cervantes' *magnum opus* on Eichendorff in this work has been abundantly proved. In short, *Ahnung und Gegenwart* is very largely a literary novel, though the speaking characters are fictitious.
- 1817—Graf von Loeben: *Firdusi*. This is a narrative poem in two parts.
- 1819—Goethe: *West-östlicher Divan*. Introduces, in a veiled way, Firdusi, Hafis, Mahomet.
- 1820—Friedrich Furchau: *Hans Sachs, ein Roman*.
- 1828—Chr. Ernst K. Graf von Benzel-Sternau: *Ulrich von Hutten zu Fulda, oder was eine Nessel werden will, brennt bei Zeiten, ein Drama*.
- 1830—F. W. Gubitz: *Hans Sachs oder Dürers Festabend, ein dramatisches Gemälde*. The date is only calculated.

¹Cf. Raimund Pissin: *Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben, sein Leben und seine Werke*, p. 172.

- 1831—Adalbert Gyrowetz: *Hans Sachs im vorgerückten Alter, eine Oper*. "Der Librettist ist nicht bekannt."—Baberadt.¹
- 1831—Caroline Pichler: *Friedrich der Streibare, ein Roman*. Klingsohr, Walter von der Vogelweide, and Heinrich von Ofterdingen are important speaking characters. There are 974 pages in this work. This superprolific poetess also wrote a novel on Mlle de Scudéry.
- 1832—Wilhelmine Sostmann-Blumenhagen: *Peter Vischer, romantisch-dramatisches Gemälde aus der Vorzeit Nürnbergs*. Hans Sachs is a secondary character.
- 1833—Ed. Duller: *Franz von Sickingen, ein dramatisches Gedicht*. Ulrich von Hutten plays a part.
- 1833—Leopold Schefer: *Viktoria Accoramboni, eine Novelle*.
- 1835—Theodor Mundt: *Charlotte Stieglitz. Ein Denkmal*. "Vielleicht der ergreifendste Roman, der seit Werther geschrieben und geschehen ist."—Gutzkow.
- 1836—Tieck: *Der junge Tischlermeister, Novelle in sieben Abschnitten*. Any reader of this long novelette will recall how, after an excellent beginning, Tieck weakens the general effect by having his fictitious characters discuss in detail the works of Goethe, Opitz, Gryphius, Horace, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Schiller, and others, and many musicians. Tieck, of course, speaks through his characters, but their observations, though suggestive, belong more properly in histories of literary criticism and music. Poets are not introduced in the first person.
- 1837—Immermann: *Ghismonda, dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen*. Guarini plays an unimportant part. The drama is based on Boccaccio's first story of the fourth day in the "Decameron."
- 1837—Georg Büchner: *Reinhold Lenz, eine Novelle* (Fragment).
- 1839—Berthold Auerbach: *Dichter und Kaufmann, ein Roman*. Lessing is an important speaking character; Gleim, Ramler, and other poets of the time are also introduced in the first person.
- 1839—Ad. Pichler: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama* (Fragment).
- 1840—Karoline Leonhard-Lyser: *Meister Albrecht Dürer, ein Drama in vier Aufzügen*. Hans Sachs plays a minor rôle.
- 1840—Philipp Reger: *Hans Sachs, eine Oper in drei Aufzügen*. Set to music by Lortzing.
- 1840—Tieck: *Vittoria Accorombona, ein Roman*. The title-heroine was a poetess. Tasso is also an important character, while other Italian poets of the time are introduced in minor rôles or discussed. In his preface Tieck wrote: "Schon vor vielen Jahren fiel mir der Name dieser Dichterin . . . als merkwürdig auf. Es war im Jahre 1792, als ich in Dodsley's Collections of Old Plays zuerst die Tragödie Websters las: *The*

¹ Cf. *Hans Sachs im Andenken der Nachwelt*. By Friedrich Baberadt, Halle, 1906, 74 pp. (Gekrönte Preisschrift). This study lists nearly all of the dramas on Hans Sachs contained in the writer's bibliography.

- White Devil, or Vittoria Corombona*. Dieses Schauspiel wurde 1612 in London gedruckt und auch damals oft gespielt." Tieck then says that he wrote the novel, not only because of the excellence of the theme, but also to vindicate his heroine, who had been unjustly calumniated by her biographers, and unduly blackened by Webster. It is not without interest in this connection that Webster, too, wrote a drama on another poet: *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. With this drama Tieck was, of course, familiar. In 1818, H. J. König published a tragedy entitled *Wyatt*, dealing, it seems, with Sir Thomas Wyatt. The work was unobtainable.
- 1842—Heine: *Atta Troll*. Heine does not, to be sure, introduce poets as "speaking" characters in this work; but he makes his sort of poetry out of the following and their works: Freiligrath, Franz Horn, Gustav Pfizer, Goethe, Justinus Kerner, Varnhagen von Ense, Chamisso, Fouqué, and a number of others. And the same is true of *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*.
- 1843—Rudolf von Gottschall: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1843—Ernst Georg von Brunnow: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historischer Roman*.
- 1845—A. E. Fröhlich: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Epos*.
- 1845—Ed. Hobein: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*. "Künstlerisch ist das Drama völlig wertlos. Es ist nur interessant als Ausdruck der ganzen Zeitrichtung, die all ihre Sehnsucht in dem Namen Hutten zusammenfasst."—G. Voigt.
- 1846—Hans Köster: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historisches Trauerspiel*. In 1865, Köster published another drama on Hutten, dedicated to German students.
- 1848—G. Logau: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama*. This drama is listed in Voigt's dissertation. Nothing is said as to the personality or life of Logau.
- 1849—Th. Adalbert Schröder and Fr. Schmezer: *Ulrich von Hutten, eine Oper*. The libretto for an opera by Alexander Fesca.
- 1850—Adolf Bäuerle: *Ferdinand Raimund, ein Volksroman*. The date is only calculated. Bäuerle lived from 1786 to 1859.
- 1850—Max Ring: *Scarron's Liebe, Original-Lustspiel in einem Akt*. On Paul Scarron (1610-1660) and his wife Françoise d'Aubigné.
- 1851—Ernst Ulrich: *Ulrich von Hutten; oder, Revolution und Reformation, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. "Ernst Ulrich" is the pen-name of E. Stähelin. "Das Drama ist ausgezeichnet aufgebaut."—G. Voigt.
- 1853—Leopold Schefer: *Hafis in Hellas, Gedichte*. Other works of Schefer introduce or discuss poets and their poetry.
- 1853—Arnold Ruge: *Die neue Welt, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen, mit einem Vorspiel: Goethes Ankunft in Walhalla*. The characters of the prelude are Iphigenes, Schiller, Hegel, Schelling, Joseph und Guido Görres, Chor der alten Garde, Reimer und Riemer aus Weimar, Goethe, Heinrich Mephiston, Chor des Gesindels, Platen.

- 1854—E. A. Hagen: *Norica, Novellensammlung*. Hans Sachs is an important character. According to Bartels (p. 468), the collection appeared at Breslau in 1829.
- 1855—Otto Roquette: *Hans Haidekuckkuck, eine erzählende Dichtung*. Hans Sachs is a secondary character.
- 1855—Hermann Kurz: *Der Sonnenwirt, ein Drama* (Fragment). "Steht zu Schiller in Beziehung."—W. Wackernagel.
- 1856—Gutzkow: *Was sich der Buchladen erzählt, ein Märchen*. Does not introduce poets in person, but their works are made to speak. H. C. Andersen, Gustav zu Putlitz, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Jean Paul, Platen, Heine, and others are represented. It is hardly necessary to state that there runs through the majority of Gutzkow's works this tendency to introduce poets; with him it was always, when this was done, a matter of *Tendenzliteratur*.
- 1861—Carl Nissel: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1862—Arnold Schloenbach: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein vaterländisches Gedicht in zwanzig Liedern*. Introduces a number of comic and humorous elements.
- 1862—J. L. Klein: *Voltaire, ein Lustspiel*.
- 1864—Carl Berger: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1865—K. T. Pyl: *Albrecht Dürer, ein Drama*. Hans Sachs is an important character.
- 1865—Karl Albert Türcke: *Hutten auf Ufnau, ein Idyll in sieben Gesängen*.
- 1867—W. H. Riehl: *Abendfrieden, eine Novelle als Vorrede*. Introduces Walter Scott in person, though he does not speak; he is poetized primarily as the author of *Guy Mannering*. For the purposes of this theme, Riehl is a veritable storehouse. Many of his "Kulturgeschichtliche Novellen" are based on poets, their lives, their works, their place in the progress of civilization. Lack of space and the right to presuppose familiarity with his short stories forbid the listing of all of them here.
- 1869—A. E. Brachvogel: *Die Harfenschule, ein Drama*. Beaumarchais is an important character.
- 1870—Hermann Ethe: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein historisches Drama in fünf Akten*.
- 1873—Karl Oskar Teuber: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein dramatisches Gemälde in fünf Aufzügen*.
- 1873—Max Ring: *Carl Sand und seine Freunde, ein Roman*. Mentions Kotzebue and introduces Goethe.
- 1874—Martin Greif: *Walthers Rückkehr in die Heimat, ein Drama*. On Walter von der Vogelweide.
- 1875—Wilbrandt: *Fridolins heimliche Ehe, eine Erzählung*. On Friedrich Eggers, author of *Platt-deutsche Gedichte*, and criticisms on art.
- 1875—Ad. Wechsler: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Trauerspiel*.
- 1877—Jovialis: *Hans Sachs, ein Lustspiel*. It is probable that "Jovialis" is Moritz Rapp.

- 1878—Gottfried Keller: *Hadlaub, Züricher Novelle*. Treats of the origin of the "Manessesche Handschrift." The real hero is Hadlaub, the author of the poems of unrequited love. Other poets of the time are referred to or quoted.
- 1878—Gottfried Keller: *Der Landvogt von Greifensee, Züricher Novelle*. Introduces, in the third person, Bodmer, Breitinger, Gessner, and other poets of the time. Of Bodmer, Keller says: "Als Litterator und Geschmacksreiner bereits überlebt, als Bürger, Politiker und Sittenlehrer ein so weiser, erleuchteter und freisinniger Mann, wie es wenige gab und jetzt gar nicht giebt." His opinion of Gessner is equally favorable: "Gessners idyllische Dichtungen sind durchaus keine schwächlichen und nichtssagenden Gebilde, sondern innerhalb ihrer Zeit, über die keiner hinaus kann, der nicht ein Heros ist, fertige und stilvolle kleine Kunstwerke."
- 1878—Julius Lohmeyer: *Albrecht Dürer, ein Künstlerfestspiel*. Hans Sachs is an unimportant character.
- 1884—C. F. Meyer: *Hochzeit des Mönchs, eine Novelle*. Dante tells the story.
- 1884—O. F. Gensichen: *Lydia, Plauderei in einem Akt*. Horace is the hero.
- 1884—Ulrich Farnet: *Ufnau, ein Roman*. "Fraglich ob Hutten der Held ist."—G. Voigt.
- 1885—Wilhelm Henzen: *Ossian, ein Drama*. The date is only calculated.
- 1886—Max Hobrecht: *Hutten in Rostock, eine Erzählung*.
- 1887—W. Reisinger: *Hans Sachs im Schlaraffenland, komisches Ballet in einem Akt*. Set to music by Karl Flinsch.
- 1887—Manfred Wittich: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Reformationsfestspiel*.
- 1888—Joh. Otto Jacobi: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Säkulardrama*.
- 1888—August Bungert: *Hutten und Sickingen, ein Festspiel*.
- 1888—Ludwig Seeger: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Schauspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1888—Karl Liebreich: *Heinrich von Kleist, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*.
- 1889—Carl Preser: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Heldengedicht*.
- 1890—Elise Polko: *Musikalische Märchen, Phantasieen und Skizzen*. This work is in two volumes, the first containing thirty-three tales, the second twenty-two. This is the twenty-second edition of the first volume and the twelfth of the second. There is scarcely a musician of note who does not appear in the first person, and an almost equally large number of poets. There would be no point in listing all the poets who "speak" in these tales. The portrayals are, as the title would indicate, naïve but interesting, and in some instances most true to life as we know these poets from history. The portrayals of such poets as Gellert and Dach are better than those of men like Goethe and Schiller. The same author has also written two volumes of *Künstlermärchen*. Polko's tales are interesting in that they make poets the characters of fairy tales.

- 1891—C. Schultes: "*Solus cum Sola!*" oder: *William's Sturmjahre. Original-Shakespeare-Roman.* Tries to fill out the gap in Shakespeare's life from 1585 to 1589.
- 1892—Wilbrandt: *Herman Iffinger, ein Roman.* On Makart and Graf Schack.
- 1893—John Brinckmann: *Die Osterglocken und die Tochter Shakespeares, eine erzählende Dichtung.*
- 1893—Michael Albert: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Akten.*
- 1893—Carl Wilhelm Marschner: *Ich hab's gewagt, ein Drama.* On Ulrich von Hutten.
- 1894—G. Burchard: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in einem Aufzug.*
- 1894—Rudolph Genée: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in zwei Abteilungen.*
- 1894—E. A. Gutjahr and F. A. Geissler: *Hans Sachs in Leipzig, ein Festspiel.* Set to music by F. Th. Cursch-Bühren.
- 1894—Ernst Hermann: *Hans Sachsens Herbstglück, eine dramatische Scene.*
- 1894—L. F. Meissner: *Hans Sachsens Werbung, ein Weihnachtsspiel.*¹
- 1896—Karl Weitbrecht: *Doktor Schmidt, Lustspiel in drei Akten.* Schiller is the hero; Streicher and Iffland play important rôles.
- 1896—Julius Riffert: *Huttens erste Tage, ein Schauspiel in einem Akt.*
- 1897—Karl Weiser: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama.*
- 1899—H. Drees: *Hans Sachs, Festspiel in vier Bildern.*
- 1900—Wildenbruch: *Die Tochter des Erasmus, Schauspiel in fünf Akten.* Ulrich von Hutten is the hero. "Luther erscheint nicht handelnd in dem Stück und doch ist er überall da."
- 1900—Paul Fleischer: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Tragödie.*
- 1900—Heinrich Jantsch: *Ferdinand Raimund, ein Volksstück.* The date is calculated; Jantsch was born in 1845.
- 1904—Joh. Streckenbach: *Hutten. Ein fränkischer Edelmann im Kampfe mit Rom, ein Trauerspiel.*
- 1909—Johanna Presler-Flohr: *Ulrich von Hutten, ein Drama in fünf Aufzügen.*
- 1910—Paul Schreckenbach: *Der getreue Kleist, ein Roman.* On Ewald von Kleist.
- 1913—J. A. Lux: *Grillparzers Liebesroman. Die Schwestern Fröhlich.* The novel may have appeared a year or two earlier. In a discussion of it and Lux's "*Lola Montez*," in the *Eichendorff-Kalender für das Jahr 1914*, Wilhelm Kosch comments upon the popularity of literary novels in the present and says that they are far superior to those of Luise Mühlbach and her time. Both of these works were unobtainable. It is hardly possible that "*Lola Montez*" does not also introduce some of the poets of München of the late forties.
- 1914—Felix Poppenberg: *Maskenzüge.* The second section is on Hermann Fürst Pückler-Muskau. This too is reviewed in the *Eichendorff-Kalender* by Kosch.

¹ Hans Sachs was born in 1494, hence the dramas on him in 1894, and Hutten was born in 1488.

One of the first things to be noted on a study of this and the previous list of literary dramas and novels is the number of men who have written such works, though no one thinks of them primarily as poets. We think of Stern, Bartels, and Klein, not as poets, but as literary historians; yet each of them has written creative works, and each of them was drawn into writing epic or dramatic poetry by his prolonged study of poets. There are, at the same time, very few important German poets who have not also written one or more historical or critical works—Eichendorff, Riehl, Freytag, by way of example. It is indeed exceedingly difficult to find pure types in this respect. Heinrich Düntzer was only a student of literature, Lenau was only a poet, but there are not many such instances. And in this study only those works are included that make real poets speaking characters. The adoption of any other method would lead to endless confusion. Mary Queen of Scots wrote poems that have been published,¹ but she was only a queen. Novels and dramas on her could not therefore be included. All novels and dramas, however, that poetize real poets are included, whether written by *Dichter* or *Literarhistoriker* or *Philologen*. And one of these, the comedy on Schiller by Karl Weitbrecht, who divided his time about equally between creative and critical works,² calls for a brief discussion.

The comedy plays in the fall of 1782, the first and second acts take place in Oggersheim, the third in Mannheim, the action covers only a few hours, the verse form is an easy sort of doggerel, rhyming mostly in couplets, the historical source down to the minutest detail is Andreas Streicher's *Schillers Flucht von Stuttgart*,³ the plot is as

¹ Cf. *The Poems of Mary Queen of Scots*. Edited by Julian Sharman, London, 1873. There are 28 pages of poems in this unpagged pamphlet. The poems are, of course, in French, one being in both French and Italian. They have been translated into English.

² Karl Weitbrecht (1847-1904) published, between 1870 and 1903, *Gedichte, Novellen, Geschichten, and Dramen*. His most important critical works are his books on Goethe, Schiller, and the German drama. Cf. Adolf Bartels, *Handbuch, etc.*, 2d ed., 1909, p. 760. Though Weitbrecht had preached, taught, and poetized constantly before writing his *Doktor Schmidt*, he had then (1896) published but one critical work, *Diesseits von Weimar. Auch ein Buch über Goethe* (1895).

³ The only change that Weitbrecht has made over Andreas Streicher's work is to give the name Kappf to the officer from Württemberg—and this may have been his name. That he should follow Streicher in this comedy is only natural. It is most interesting, however, to see how closely he followed the same monograph in his critical work, *Schiller in seinen Dramen*, 1897. The first chapter, "Der Mann und der Dichter," owes much to Streicher; the chapters on Schiller's first four dramas owe less, and yet quite a little. It should be remembered in this connection that Weitbrecht's work on Schiller's dramas is ranked high.

follows: Michael Derain, a merchant in Oggersheim, is more interested in literature than in groceries; he looks upon his customers as so many intruders who interfere with his reading. One of these, the hostess of the inn "Zum Viehhof," appears and tells him of her two penniless lodgers, Doktor Schmidt (Schiller) and Doktor Wolf (Streicher). From her description, Derain surmises who they are. Luise Stein, the daughter of a merchant in Mannheim, by taking Derain's place behind the counter while Doktor Wolf buys some snuff, uncovers the personality of her customer and his friend. Derain closes the first act with:

Sie sehen mein Herz vor Wollust brennen,
Einen grossen Dichter persönlich zu kennen.

But then, with the mystery cleared up—and Schiller located—Kappf, the officer from Württemberg, appears, looking for the hero of the hour who is wanted in Stuttgart. Tumultuous excitement ensues; no one wishes to see the author of *Die Räuber* placed in jail, even if the landlord has used up all his chalk marking off the debts of his two artist-boarders. Various plans of rescue are suggested, but none appears feasible. The climax is reached. Kappf meets Schiller face to face: "Da wird ein Trauerspiel zum Schwank." It turns out that it had never occurred to Kappf to imprison or otherwise persecute his old friend Schiller. On the contrary, he assures Schiller that though *Fiesco* has not been accepted it soon will be; and, more than that, Schiller has been made theater-poet in Mannheim. The storm subsides at once, though Derain, still frightened over the former prospect of being obliged to pay some money to get his much-revered Schiller out of the country, closes the comedy with the words:

Mein Lebtage will ich nicht mehr darauf brennen,
Einen grossen Dichter persönlich zu kennen.

Now that seems like a thin comedy; there is but little action and that of but little importance—had it happened to an ordinary mortal. It is in such a work, however, that we see that the poet can, on occasion, become available even for dramatic treatment. Weitbrecht has wisely seized upon the one nearly comic incident in Schiller's life and has made it appear in as clear a light as could possibly be

done in a critical study. Despite the fact that it is rhymed fiction, it is more true to history than is at least one scientific work¹ on the same period. The Duke of Württemberg, out of deference for Schiller's parents and out of admiration for Schiller himself, never, it seems now, intended to inflict any grave punishment on his distinguished protégé for his extraordinary behavior. There was, consequently, something comparatively comic about Schiller's flight in the dark and his subsequent hiding.

Also, Weitbrecht has given a thoroughly readable illustration of his own theory of the comedy as set forth in his work on the German drama.² In the sixth chapter, "Tragödie und Komödie," he points out the intimate relation of both, up to a certain point, shows how they both arise and develop as the result of an *Anschauungswiderspruch*, how the heroes of both come in time to a point where they are *fertig*: the hero of tragedy to die; the hero of comedy to live. And in discussing the comedy as such he says: "Erst wenn die Entdeckung des Widerspruchs, das bekannte 'Ja so!' für eine—man muss sagen: gutartige, in gewissem Sinn selbstlose und überhaupt für ästhetische Anschauung—angelegte Seele oder wenigstens Seelenstimmung die Ueberleitung wird zur schauenden Verkehrtheit, dann ist die volle Wirkung des Komischen da, die reine ästhetische Lust an ihm." Just such a situation occurs in the comedy. All imagine that the officer is going to arrest Schiller and all are correspondingly perturbed. But when Kappf throws his arms around Schiller and almost weeps for joy at finding his noble friend, it is then³ that Meyer, the Mannheim *regisseur*, says:

So stehts? Nun, Gott sei Lob und Dank!

It may be charging Weitbrecht with too much faith in the correctness of the technique of his own comedy, but from this it is plain that he had his own "Doktor Schmidt" in mind when he wrote this paragraph. And is there any reason why a theorist should not preach what he practices, or the other way around?

¹ The reference is, of course, to Henry W. Nevinson's warped *Life of Friedrich Schiller*, London, 1889.

² Cf. *Das deutsche Drama. Grundzüge seiner Aesthetik*, 1900, 2d ed., 1903, p. 211. Weitbrecht makes a strong appeal throughout this book for the *Lustspiel* and the *Trauerspiel* as over against the *Schauspiel*, which is so apt to be a mere hybrid.

³ Cf. p. 106, original edition, Stuttgart, Fr. Frommanns Verlag, 1896.

But be the case ever so clear for this comedy on Schiller, it is difficult to see why, except as an inspirer of *Tendenzdramen*, Ulrich von Hutten has so frequently been made the hero of a drama. Ofterdingen has been much poetized because, it seems, of the very vagueness connected with his personality; Luther because of his epoch-making conflict with the established church; Hans Sachs because of that which Goethe¹ and Wagner saw in him. But how can we justify the twenty-five dramas on Hutten that are listed in this article? His life, living when he did and as he did, should lend itself well to epic treatment. But what did these dramatists see in him that is dramatic? That none of his dramatizers plays even a good third rôle in German literature has nothing to do with the question, and that Hutten is entitled to be called a "poet" is beyond all dispute.² But why dramatize this "Knight of the Order of Poets"? His life was replete with episodes as a result of which he had to endure tragic suffering. But how can, in his case, that strategic point for all who invade the dramatic field, *die tragische Schuld*, be discovered? Hutten erred almost daily but was never guilty of a dramatically tragic deed. Also, he never had one red-letter day in his life, one big, decisive conflict, as did Luther at Worms. His life lacked a climax. He fought against the existing order of things with his pen, out of danger from the enemy. Yet there are many dramas on him. To say that his life lends itself well to propagandistic literature is to explain without vindicating. Of the dramas on him, Rudolf von Gottschall's should be one of the best. It seems, however, according to Voigt, that the best, and indeed one of the great dramas of German literature, is the one by Michael Albert. Neither of these is momentarily accessible. For this and other more valid reasons, this important question must, therefore, be left wholly unanswered for the present.

This unanswered question applies, however, not only to Hutten's poetizers, but also to many others. Except in those cases where the poet chooses a theme fortuitously, or where he finds his theme accidentally, the reason why he wrote a drama or a novel on a certain

¹ It is worth noting that Goethe also broke a lance for Ulrich von Hutten in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Part IV, Book 17, and in *West-östlicher Divan*, "Buch des Unmuts."

² Cf. *Ulrich von Hutten*. By David Friedrich Strauss, Bonn, 1877, 567 pages (3d ed.). The first edition appeared in 1858. For a definitive understanding of Hutten's life, the writer has unhesitatingly relied upon this, in his opinion, well-nigh matchless biography.

subject is of the greatest importance: it betrays at once his likes and his dislikes and shows where he is tending. All poets are *Tendenzdichter*; unalloyed objectivity in creative literature is impossible.¹ To say that nothing in *Emilia Galotti* ever happened to Lessing and that this drama is therefore wholly objective is to reason speciously. The German romanticists loathed *Tendenzpoesie* and said they would have none of it; and for that very reason they became the most pronounced sort of *Tendenzdichter*: it was their *Tendenz* to have no *Tendenz*. They made propaganda for literature that would not contain any propagandistic features. Literature, incidentally, is an artistic visualization and faithful reflection of life; and it is therefore not only life but also literature that constantly tends to move in circles, ever to recur, and to abound in reflexes.

Dramas and novels, unless, as is rarely the case, wholly imaginative, generally have three sorts of sources: historical, literary, personal. To take a drama that was something new and original in its day, the historical source of *Götz von Berlichingen* was Götz's *Lebensbeschreibung*; the literary source was Shakespeare's dramas; the personal source, a number of things that had happened to Goethe. Just so it is with the majority of these literary dramas and novels. The historical source, for example, of Albert's *Hutten* was Strauss's biography; the literary source, a long list of literary dramas on Hutten and other poets; the personal source, something that had happened to Albert that made Hutten's case seem to him to resemble his own.

In short, the important feature of any one of these dramas and novels is not so much its style and content as its personal source. Platen's drama on Immermann and Immermann's drama on Platen are both valuable literary documents because of their personal source. And to uncover this in every case would throw bright light on German literature as a whole, for the majority of German writers

¹ Since making this statement the writer chanced to read Otto Ernst's *Buch der Hoffnung*, Hamburg, 1896. In the chapter entitled "Die Scheu vor der Tendenzdichtung" (pp. 37-56), Otto Ernst contends more strongly than the writer that there is no such thing as *tendenzlose Literatur*. And then he says: "Es ist ein Zeichen eines kleinlichen und beschränkten Geistes, ein Buch deshalb zu vermeiden, weil es konservativ, liberal, sozialdemokratisch, orthodox, atheistisch oder sonstwie ist, und solche Zeichen geschehen noch jeden Tag." For those who fear propagandistic literature, this essay can be heartily recommended.

have at some time been connected with the movement, either actively or passively, while with each decade the movement itself grows in momentum. And the number of instances in German literature are many where the poet can be better explained from the literary than from the historical and economic background. A good book could be written on the economic interpretation of German literature; a better one could be written on the literary interpretation of German literature—on German poets and their poetry as viewed by their brothers in Apollo.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

I

INTRODUCTION

It is our purpose in this study to show that Friedrich von Hagedorn was influenced by English literature far more than is generally supposed. The studies which have thus far considered his relation to England have all been very limited in their scope; Alfons Frick¹ concerns himself only with the influence of Pope on Hagedorn's didactic poem, *Glückseligkeit*, R. Maack² simply mentions Hagedorn's *Freundschaft* in connection with Pope, and Wukadinović³ treats in a more comprehensive study Prior's relation to Hagedorn, yet ignores altogether Hagedorn's didactic poetry.

No one has pretended to make a complete study of Hagedorn with reference to his English contemporaries, yet no German writer deserves such study more than this poet, who probably did more than anyone else in his time to popularize English literature in Germany and to make it an important influence in German literature.

The following brief sketch of his life shows something of his literary environment. On the third of April, 1708, in Hamburg, he was born in a home where the poets of that city were frequent guests. Among these poets were Brockes, König, Hunold, Feind, Amthor, Wernicke, and Richey, all friends of his father. Their wide interests helped to develop in him cosmopolitan tastes.

His father himself, Hans Statius von Hagedorn,⁴ after attending the University of Jena and journeying through Italy, had entered the diplomatic service between Copenhagen and Hamburg, where his

¹ Alfons Frick, *Über Pope's Einfluss auf Hagedorn* (Wien, 1900).

² R. Maack, *Über Pope's Einfluss auf die Idylle u. das Lehrgedicht in Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1895).

³ Spiridon Wukadinović, *Prior in Deutschland* (Graz, 1895).

⁴ Since the middle of the eighteenth century it has been taken for granted that the Hagedorn family belonged to the nobility, until the matter was questioned recently by Hubert Stierling in his *Leben und Bildnis Friedrichs von Hagedorn* (Hamburg, 1911). Our poet seems to have been very indifferent concerning his claims to nobility, though his brother, who became Geheimer Legationsrat in Dresden, guarded them very jealously.

position as Danish Konverenzrat gave him and his family recognition among the best citizens of Hamburg. During those years he collected a good library, which later became the property of his two sons. Although the books in this library were chiefly French, the friendship of the leading men of this city who were interesting themselves in English thought indicates in what direction Friedrich's tastes early turned.

After several years of instruction from a private tutor he was sent at the age of fourteen to the Gymnasium at Hamburg, where Fabricius, Richey, and Wolff were then teaching.¹ Through Fabricius and Richey, who were promoters of the *Hamburger Patriot*, Hagedorn early became interested in the moral weeklies and in English literature. As early as 1726 he contributed to *Der Patriot*² two didactic letters in elegant, thoughtful prose. These treated of the mistakes and follies of youth; of "eleganten Müßigang," "der Versäumniß der Wissenschaften und der Pflichten," "der eitelen Hoffahrt," "der Unmäßigkeit," etc., the type of subjects which found favor in the moral weeklies of that time. This same year Hagedorn matriculated at the University of Jena, where he remained, however, only a year and a half. Instead of devoting himself faithfully to the law, as his mother wished,³ he spent most of his time studying literature and philosophy.

It was during this time that his attention was first directed to the philosophy of Wolff,⁴ which he called "der vornehmste Glanz, der den sonst einigermassen dunkeln Zustand der Jenischen Aka-

¹ Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² *Der Patriot*, No. 111.

³ His father had died in 1722. While falling heir to his father's love of literature, he inherited as well his failure to succeed financially; and this led him into much difficulty with his mother, whose thrift, sense of economy, and love of outward appearance made it impossible for her to sympathize with a person of his temperament. His extravagance and lack of interest in routine work caused her much anxiety, while his artistic taste failed to meet with encouragement from her. This is shown in her letters written to her son, Ludwig von Hagedorn, while he was studying at Dresden. These are of peculiar interest now, not only because there is a great deal of information in them concerning the Hagedorn family, but because letter-writers among women were rare early in the century, and because these letters contain interesting comments on the customs of the time, references to such everyday matters as clothes, food, and drink, interspersed with advice and admonition to her favorite son.

⁴ Throughout his life didactic writing made a strong appeal to Hagedorn. Stephen List in his *Friedrich von Hagedorn und die antike Literatur* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 2, has shown that our poet knew Horace even before he entered the Gymnasium.

demie lichte macht."¹ By adopting this philosophy, Hagedorn became marked as a progressive in the university circle;² for at that time the conservative element, which was very strong, opposed bitterly the new rationalism of Wolff.

When we recall the many points of similarity between the teachings of Wolff and those of Shaftesbury, his English contemporary, we can see how this German Rationalism prepared Hagedorn for the Deism of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke.³

After his return from Jena, he brought out in April, 1729, his first collection of poems,⁴ a slender volume containing sixteen selections; the same year he secured the appointment as secretary to Freiherr von Söhlethal, the Danish ambassador to London, serving in this capacity until the recall of Söhlethal in 1731. He then renewed his effort to get an appointment, this time either in England or in Denmark, but was disappointed, until 1733, when he was made secretary to the "English Court" in Hamburg, an old *Handelsgesellschaft*.⁵ This position, providing a salary of one hundred pounds sterling, a free dwelling, a moderate amount of work, and a standing of respect, he held until his death, October 28, 1754. Through this position he had an opportunity greater than was afforded any other German writer of his time of keeping in direct touch with the English spirit. His marriage to an English woman,

¹ In a letter written by Hagedorn while at Jena (Hagedorn's *Poetische Werke*, edited by J. J. Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800, V, 12) September 23, 1727, to Welchmann, the editor of the *Poesie der Niedersachsen*, to which he made several contributions. This edition will be quoted throughout unless it is otherwise stated.

² In the above-mentioned letter he wrote also: "Der Mensch ist eins der unaufölichsten Geheimnisse. Wir gleichen sehr oft den alten Leuten, die aus blossen Eigensinn, und der neuen Welt zum Trotz, in derselben Tracht einherziehen, die in ihrer Jugend gebräuchlich war. Die Neuigkeiten sind uns verhasst; unsere Fehler sind uns Tugenden: *abundamus dulcibus vitiis*. Neue Erfindungen in den Wissenschaften sind der menschlichen Trägheit und Einbildung entgegen."

³ Hagedorn's reading of the English moral weeklies, also, had aided in acquainting him with the deistic writers.

⁴ *F. von H. Versuch einiger Gedichte, oder erlesene Proben poetische Nebenstunden*. Hagedorn was induced by his friends to print these poems, but wished very soon afterward that he had not allowed them to be published. Later, in preparing the complete edition of his works, Hagedorn omitted most of those which had appeared in 1729, and used those which were included merely as a basis for new poems. Throughout his life he expressed the wish frequently that he might destroy them. Cf. Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 36, Anmerkung, also V, 86.

⁵ Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Elizabeth Butler, the daughter of the English court tailor, formed one more bond to unite him to England.¹

As we have seen, from his earliest childhood to the time of his death he was surrounded by men interested in bringing English literature to Germany. Chief among those of the early group was Brockes, who made the first German translation of Thomson's *Seasons*. Associated with Brockes in the publication of *Der Patriot* were Richey, already mentioned as a promoter of this paper, and König, its founder, both of whom we have referred to as friends of his father during his own childhood. The acquaintance of such men during those early years gave him, without doubt, the opportunity of hearing many a discussion of Pope, Thomson, and Addison. As will be shown in the following sections, Hagedorn later became associated with these men in disseminating English literature throughout Germany by means of the moral weeklies of Hamburg.

Among his intimate German friends of his later years should be mentioned Giseke, Klopstock, Ebert, Bodmer, and Salomon Gessner, all of whom were strongly imbued with the spirit of English literature.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MORAL WEEKLIES IN GERMANY

On account of the importance of the moral weeklies in Hagedorn's literary life, it is in place here to give a brief résumé of them. They were initiated in 1701 with Steele's *The Christian Hero*. This was followed in 1704 by Defoe's *Weekly Review of the Affairs of France*,² and later by the three journals founded by Steele and Addison, the *Tatler* (1709), the *Spectator* (1711), and the *Guardian* (1713), which became so popular in Germany that over five hundred imitations of them appeared during the eighteenth century.³

¹ We know very little about his wife, but Stierling (*op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.), who is the best authority on Hagedorn's home life, claims that critics have falsely represented her as old, hump-backed, and lacking in means, for the sake of excusing Hagedorn for his irregularities. Whether Hagedorn found her as unattractive as Eschenburg (Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 12) represents her, or whether he was disappointed, as Muncker asserts (*Deutsche Nat. Lit.*, XLV, 7), on finding that her fortune was not large, we cannot say. We know only that she was six months younger than Hagedorn (Stierling, *op. cit.*, p. 31), that she had a small fortune (*ibid.*), and that she nursed him in his last illness (*ibid.*).

² Defoe's journal was long considered the first of this type of literature, but Wilhelm Hartung in *Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften als Vorbild G. W. Rabeners* (Halle, 1911), p. 10, has shown this to be an error.

³ Maxim Kawczynski, *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jhs. I. Moralische Zeitschriften* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 19-40.

In view of the fact that court life was dominated by French influence, it is significant that the three most important German moral weeklies, *Der Patriot*, founded in 1724, *Die Discourse der Mahlern* in 1721, and *Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen* in 1725, had their beginning in Hamburg,¹ Zürich, and Leipzig respectively, all of which were as far as possible removed from the courts.

The part which the moral weeklies played in Germany in popularizing both German and English literature is very important. Like the language societies of the preceding century, they advocated the elimination of foreign words and the development of the German language, emphasizing brevity, elegance, and humor.² They stood for a popular demonstration against French influence, not only in the language, but in dress and deportment as well. As a result of this agitation on the part of the moral weeklies, there were formed in every town of importance, as in Hamburg, societies for the purpose of discussing and working out the ideas which had been suggested in them. These discussions led up to the making of plans for better educational facilities, civic improvement, and advancement in every way.

Notwithstanding the attempts which had been made during the seventeenth century on the part of individual writers to free themselves from French influence, the fashion set by Opitz had persisted down into the eighteenth century. Such forms as the *Volkslieder* and *Puppenspiele* were scorned by cultured people. According to literary standards the people were divided into two groups, the one including the small cultured class, which followed French fashions, and the other a much larger group, which fostered the literature—if literature it could be called—which was written for the *Volk*. It was in uniting these two literary groups that the moral weeklies performed their greatest function in Germany.³ This was brought about by inspiring in all classes—for all classes of people read these weeklies—an interest in Shakespeare, Milton, and contemporary

¹ The peculiar importance of Hamburg in this movement will be more fully treated in the next section.

² The best of the weeklies suggested for private libraries lists of books, which included the chief contemporary English writers.

³ In this they performed a far greater service in Germany than in England, where the difference between these two types of literature was not so marked, just as the difference between the classes of people for whom they were written was not so great.

English writers. Just as the Franco-Prussian War at a later period united politically all sections of Germany into one great nation, so the moral weeklies succeeded in harmonizing the literary factions of the country and preparing the way for the classic period of German literature.

The long struggle through which German literature had to pass before it could find itself is too well known to need rehearsing here.¹ Suffice it to say that Hagedorn was one of the first of German writers to make the transition from French to English influence, thus coming into closer touch with the classics and at the same time gaining some independence himself. The period before the year 1729, when he went to England, is marked in him chiefly by pseudo-Renaissance influence and an interest in the classics; that following his return to Hamburg shows the effect of English life and literature with a gradual tendency on his part to become more vigorous and natural in expression. In fact, it was these English influences which served to heighten Hagedorn's admiration for classic writers, particularly Horace.

THE LITERARY LIFE IN HAMBURG IN HAGEDORN'S TIME

Hagedorn's long residence in Hamburg had much to do with keeping him in the forefront of this struggle on the part of German writers to break away from French influence and establish a real German literature. The importance of his native city in the literary and commercial life of Germany can scarcely be overestimated. It was fortunate in being able to keep out of the Thirty Years' War, so that at the very time when most of Germany was being devastated it was carrying on a profitable business with its near neighbors, the English and the Dutch. It was at the same time growing in an intellectual way, becoming a center of learning even earlier than Zürich, its rival in the early part of the eighteenth century in the introduction of English literature. The commercial relations of Hamburg with England made it necessary for many of its citizens to know English; some Englishmen visited Hamburg for commercial reasons, and others lived there. Its proximity to England, also, gave it an advantage over the other cities of Germany in the

¹ Cf. Max Koch, *Über die Beziehung der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im 18. Jh* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 6.

facility with which it could secure English books. In view of these facts, it is not strange that it was one of the first German cities to adopt, to any extent, English ideas and customs. *Die deutsch-gesinnte Genossenschaft* was founded there in 1643 by the purist Philipp von Zesen, and the *Elbschwanenorden* near there in 1658 by the hymn-writer Johann Rist, both important in freeing the national tongue of French words, thus preparing the way for English influence.

Hamburg was also the home of early German opera. As Wilhelm Scherer¹ shows, it was only in Hamburg that the original German opera attained any true and lasting success, more than two hundred and fifty operas being performed there between the years 1678 and 1738, and this at the same time that Italian operas were being performed in Vienna, Munich, and Dresden. Not until 1740 was an Italian troupe established in Hamburg.

As early as 1703 Georg Friedrich Händel went to Hamburg, where he soon became director of the orchestra for the opera. It was here that he composed his first opera, *Almira*. He spent considerable time composing music for pietistic texts in the Hamburg operatic style.

It is significant, too, that the *Volkslieder*, as well as the German opera, were still popular there with the middle classes when Hagedorn began his literary career. This is an important observation, for since the language and literature of Germany and England were very closely related, wherever the pure German spirit remained, English literature found a ready acceptance.

Again, Hamburg has the honor of being the home of the first German moral weekly, *Der Vernünftler*, which began its existence when our poet was but five years of age. As a further matter of interest to us, it was published by Johann Mattheson, who had formerly been secretary of the German embassy at London. This was followed in 1718 by a similar publication, *Die lustige Fama aus der närrischen Welt*, also published in Hamburg. Furthermore, Hamburg can claim the best and most influential of all the moral weeklies which were brought out by the Germans, *Der Patriot*, which has already been mentioned. It was published weekly for three full years, with 4,500 subscribers in different parts of Germany,

¹ *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Berlin, 1891), p. 388.

a large number for a German paper of that time. A second and improved edition appeared in 1737, and in this Hagedorn was destined to win his literary spurs. Of the older moral weeklies, Milberg¹ notes that this was the only one which took music into consideration.²

In the introduction to the third Jahrgang of *Der Patriot* it is stated that there was a Verein of men in Hamburg called "Die patriotische Gesellschaft," in which the material for each number was prepared for publication. This weekly had more than one hundred imitators during the century, most of these being published in Hamburg.

It was in *Der Bewunderer*, published in Hamburg by B. J. Zink, that Hagedorn's translation of Pope's *Universal Prayer* made its first appearance, but of this more will be said later. The fact that Zink was a tutor in Brockes' family during the time when the latter was translating Pope's *Essay on Man* and that he wrote an extensive introduction for it may explain the frequent references to English literature in his journal.

THE INFLUENCE OF HAGEDORN'S STAY IN LONDON UPON HIM

Up to this point we have had to do with Hagedorn's life, his literary predecessors and contemporaries, and his native city, concerning ourselves in each case especially with his English relations; the remainder of this section will be devoted to the general effect which Hagedorn's two years' stay in London had upon him.

By studying the social life of England and Germany as revealed in the moral weeklies, one can readily understand that the conditions which Hagedorn found on arriving in England were very different from those which he had left in Germany. Instead of the despotism of small rulers in a country composed of isolated sections, he found that freedom for which he had longed, and with it a far more cheerful atmosphere than existed in Germany. The slavish attitude with which the Germans regarded their rulers was reflected in the literature of the time. The Germans had lost confidence in

¹ Ernst Milberg, *Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften des 18. Jhs.* (Diss., Leipzig, Meissen, n.d.), p. 56.

² Probably this was due in part to the fact that Hamburg had received a special impetus for the fostering of better music through the inspiration of Händel.

themselves and needed to catch the spirit of sturdy self-reliance and optimism which was characteristic of the English. When one considers Hagedorn's love of freedom and happiness, he is not surprised that the poet was encouraged by what he observed and experienced in England to express what he felt. On September 19, 1748, he wrote to Bodmer:¹ "Dass meine Neigung zu den Engelländern, bey welchen ich mich zwey Jahre in London aufgehalten, die einzigen Jahre, die ich wieder zu erleben wünschte, und die Liebe zur Freyheit, welche mir mehr angebohren, als eingeflösst worden."

Again, in 1752, but two years before his death, in a letter to Bodmer,² Hagedorn voiced his longing for England: "Haben sollen sie den Milton, wenn ich auch selbst ihn aus London abholen sollte. Wie wünsche ich, noch einmal das glückselige Engelland betreten zu können!"

Although there are published but few of Hagedorn's letters in which he referred to the effect of English life upon him, in those in which he does refer to it his enthusiasm is unmistakable. In a letter written to his brother while he was in London, dated September 8, 1730,³ he called attention to the inferiority of certain prominent Germans in comparison with the English.

It is important to emphasize at this point the influence of English life upon Hagedorn for the reason that it was only after he had been in England and caught the inspiration which came to him from actual contact with English people that the influence of English literature is shown to any extent in his poetry. It is significant that its influence is very slight in the edition of his works which appeared in 1729, just before he went to England, and very evident in his poetry of the next few years. Although acknowledging indebtedness in this early edition to Horace, Virgil, Ennius, Lucan, König, Wernicke, Günther, and Corneille, he referred in no instance to an English poet. However, there is no doubt he was early familiar with contemporary English literature, as has been shown by his interest in the German and English moral weeklies. It is possible

¹ *Ungedruckte Briefe* in Zürich; cf. Hermann Schuster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn u. seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 13.

² Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³ *Werke*, V, 21. Referring to "der gedächtnissgelehrte Kohl," he remarked, "Hier in London würde er und viele hamburgische grosse Lichter eine armselige Figur machen."

that he had not enough confidence in himself at that time to advocate ideas of freedom, friendship, philanthropy, and virtue, which would have been considered revolutionary in Germany. It is futile to speculate about it, but the fact remains that the influence of English poetry in Hagedorn's writings is but slight until after his visit to England.

It is as a writer of didactic and satirical poetry that Hagedorn shows the greatest promise in his early edition. Here and there are evidences of that graceful, gay movement, which later characterized his lyrics. This contrasts delightfully with the heavy-footed, wearisome style of his predecessors. There is at least visible here an attempt at progress in the manner of treatment. But there is not a single trace in this edition of Hagedorn as a charming story-teller, in which rôle he very frequently appears after his English sojourn. In only a few stanzas does he show his ability to write light, melodious songs. That love of freedom, friendship, and a cheerful type of virtue which is found in his later poems is almost entirely lacking here. Before he could give adequate expression to those ideas which meant most to him, he seemed to need to come into contact with English people.

It is not surprising, then, that our poet, under these circumstances, found himself in a very congenial atmosphere. The elegance of language, epigrammatic expression, wit, clearness and smoothness of style of the contemporary English writers made a strong appeal to him. We cannot but regret that the records concerning his stay in London are so incomplete, for such a genial person as he must have enjoyed greatly the social life in England at that time, and his account of his social relations with literary men with whom he came in contact there would probably furnish us with valuable material for our study. Among the English writers who were in London for a longer or shorter time during his stay there, and whom he may have met, were Pope, Thomson, Young, Richardson, Gay, and Mallet.

The wide scope of Hagedorn's reading of English literature, as indicated by the list in the appendix to this study, appears the more remarkable when we consider the difficulties encountered at that time in getting access to foreign books. Contemporary German

writers constantly refer to this fact in connection with their reading. Under these circumstances, Hagedorn's generosity in lending books¹ was especially appreciated, for he brought into touch with English many German writers who, under Hagedorn's inspiration, became translators, editors, and imitators, thus helping to disseminate English ideas throughout Germany.

The list of books which Hagedorn read indicates that he preferred in general the writers who followed classic ideals. It shows, too, that he was open to new impressions, and that he was a man of wide interests. As we follow up the lines of thought suggested by these names, it will be interesting to see what writers influenced him most.

In this introduction I have attempted to show only in a general way the impression which English life and literature made upon Hagedorn; in the following sections I shall indicate in detail how this influence is observable in each of the four types in which he wrote. These types will be considered in the same order as they were arranged by him for the first complete edition of his works, which appeared after his death in 1757: *Moralische Gedichte*, *Epigrammatische Gedichte*, *Fabeln und Erzählungen*, and *Oden und Lieder*.²

MORALISCHE GEDICHTE

In the previous chapter it was stated that Hagedorn showed in his collection of poems published in 1729 more promise as a writer of didactic and satirical poetry than of any other types which he employed. These poems were embodied in the *Moralische Gedichte*, which were first published as a whole in 1750, this edition appearing at Hamburg, as well as a second and enlarged edition, which came out in 1753. Before these poems were published together, most of them had appeared separately in quarto, as was the case with many English poems of that period; some had been printed several times.

Although this kind of writing is nowadays considered tiresome, at the time when the *Spectator* represented the highest type of cul-

¹ A sentence from a letter of Bodmer's of January 27, 1751, amply shows Hagedorn's generosity in this respect (*Werke*, V, 211 ff.): "Ich habe die vortrefflichen Essays des Hume empfangen; ich muss Sie aber mit Ernst bitten, dass Sie Ihrer Freigebigkeit ein Ziel stecken, weil ich nicht im Stande bin, selbige, wie ich sollte, zu erwidern."

² The present study includes only the *Moralische Gedichte*.

ture the moral writings of Hagedorn, which were a direct outgrowth of the moral weeklies, were regarded as very interesting. In comparison with the gloomy theological writings in which man was represented as naturally evil,¹ Hagedorn's didactic poems must have been very refreshing. It is easy to comprehend why, under these circumstances, the cheerful philosophy of the *Spectator* became very popular in Germany, and why Hagedorn's didactic poems became equally as well received. At the same time that Addison, Steele, Thomson, Pope, and Prior were becoming known in Germany, Wolff was popularizing Leibnitz among the university students, instilling into them the anti-clerical philosophy of enlightenment, which exercised a most injurious effect on Pietism. And Horace and Anacreon were being revived.

That Hagedorn was himself vitally interested in this new movement is evident from the fact that he was not satisfied with reading the *Essay on Man*,² as were most of his German contemporaries, but knew the works of practically all the English moral writers of that period.³ Although students of Hagedorn's moral poems have had something to say concerning the influence of Pope upon him, they have written very little about his relation to other English writers. In the pages which follow I shall show that the kinship of ideas between Hagedorn and Thomson is quite as close as that between Hagedorn and Pope, that the influence of Addison on him was important, and that even in his moral poems the influence of Prior and certain other English writers, not yet mentioned, was considerable.

My method in the discussion of the *Moralische Gedichte* will be to compare Hagedorn's treatment of the fundamental ideas embodied with that of the English writers who influenced his thought and style.

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[To be continued]

¹ Pietism, which in the seventeenth century had been an effectual force in opposing cold orthodoxy, lost all interest in living problems and early in the eighteenth century gave itself up to excessive humility and mysticism.

² The translation by Brockes appeared in 1740, but there is every probability that Hagedorn read it in English.

³ This is shown by the list of authors whose works he read. See appendix.

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A NOTE ON GUINIZELLI'S "AL COR GENTIL"

The first stanza of Guinizelli's *canzone Al cor gentil* is printed as follows in the critical edition of Casini:

Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore
com' a la selva augello in la verdura
nè fe' amore avanti gentil core,
nè gentil core avanti amor natura,
ch' adesso che fo' il sole
sì tosto lo splendore fo' lucente
nè fo' avanti il sole;
e prende amore in gentilezza loco
così propiamente
como clarore in clarità di foco.¹

The readings of the three primary MSS for the last part of line 7 are as follows: Vat. 3793, *davanti sole*; Laur. Red. 9, *avantel sole*; Pal. 418, *davantil sole*.²

Two interpretations are current for line 7. Some critics, regarding *avanti* as an adverb and *sole* as the subject, take the line to mean:

Nor did the sun exist before.³

¹ *Le rime dei poeti bolognesi del secolo XIII*, ed. T. Casini (= *Scelta di curiosità lett. ined. o rare*, No. 185) (Bologna, 1881), p. 15.

² *Ed. cit.*, p. 249.

³ A. D'Ancona and D. Comparetti, *Le antiche rime volgari*, II (Bologna, 1881), 30. 31; G. Federzoni, *La canzone di Guido Guinizelli "Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore"* (Bologna, 1905), p. 6.

Others, regarding *avanti il sole* as a prepositional phrase, take the line to mean:

Nor did it [i.e., the light] exist before the sun.¹

Neither of these interpretations is quite satisfactory. The first offers a clear and straightforward thought-process, thus: love was not before the gentle heart, nor the gentle heart before love; the light was not before the sun, nor the sun before light. The trouble is that *avanti il sole* looks exactly like a prepositional phrase, and not at all like an independent adverb juxtaposed to a nominative article and noun. If the second interpretation be followed, on the other hand, line 7 seems merely a slight and needless variation of the idea of lines 5 and 6.

But Casini's reading *avanti il sole* is in itself unsatisfactory; for the rhyme it involves, *il sole: il sole*, is, as I shall show, extremely peculiar.²

Equivocal rhyme consists, by common definition, in the rhyming of two words identical in form but different in meaning.³ The requirement that the rhyme-words differ in meaning is, however, more or less relaxed, as will presently appear, in a number of instances in early Italian poetry. Equivocal rhyme may be used sporadically, that is, once or twice or somewhat oftener, in a poem in which the remaining rhymes are not equivocal; or it may be used consistently, with deliberate artistic purpose, throughout a poem, or in several lines of each stanza.

The use of equivocal rhyme in the Sicilian and Tuscan *canzoni* of the thirteenth century has been studied by Biadene.⁴ He lists about one hundred and fifty cases of sporadic equivocal rhyme. In nearly all of these cases the rhyme-words differ in meaning. There are, however, 23 cases in which Biadene finds no difference in

¹ D. G. Rossetti, *Italian Poets Chiefly before Dante* (Stratford-on-Avon, 1908), p. 42; A. Bongioanni, *Guido Guinizelli e la sua riforma poetica* (Venice, 1896), p. 42.

² The accuracy of Casini's reading of line 7 was questioned, but not studied, by A. J. Butler, *The Forerunners of Dante* (Oxford, 1910), p. 250: "No variant to this line appears to exist, yet it is hardly possible to accept it exactly as it stands, as *sole* appears to be used in an identical sense with that of l. 5."

³ The first Italian definition, that of Antonio da Tempo (written in 1322), is as follows: "Et dicendum, quod equivocus est dictio vel dictiones composita cum eadem voce et sonoritate et ex eisdem literis, habentes plura et diversa significata" (*Delle rime volgari*, ed. G. Grion [Bologna, 1869], p. 160).

⁴ L. Biadene, "La rima nella canzone italiana dei secoli XIII e XIV," in *Raccolta di studii dedicati ad Alessandro D'Ancona* (Florence, 1901), pp. 730 ff.

meaning, though he remarks that in some of them another critic might find a difference.¹ In many of these cases the reading is uncertain. In 16 of the 23 cases the lines in question are transmitted in one MS only.² In several cases plausible corrections have been or might be proposed.³ In no case does a noun preceded by the definite article rhyme with the same noun preceded by the definite article.⁴

¹ Biadene lists 25 cases, but two of these are to be disregarded. 37 (in this and the following notes italicized numerals refer to poems according to their order in MS Vat. 3793; quotations are, unless otherwise indicated, from *Il libro de varie romanze volgare*, ed. F. Egidi [Rome, 1908]; and the line divisions and line numbers are, unless otherwise indicated, those of *Le antiche rime volgari*, ed. D'Ancona and Comparetti [Bologna, 1875-88]), lines 3 and 9, is not a case in point. Each of the lines ends with the word *dato*, but they fall in independent rhyme-groups, the rhyme *-ato* being used twice in this stanza, once in the *pièdi*, and once in the *volta*, though the corresponding rhyme is not repeated in the other stanzas. For 160, lines 31 and 32, Biadene quotes the rhyme *matto: matto* from the 1828 edition of Guittone, but in the modern critical edition (Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, *Le rime*, ed. F. Pellegrini [Bologna, 1901], I, 348) the rhyme is [*n*]atto: matto.

² The instances occur in 31, 33, 63, 70, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241, 279, 280, 295; cf. G. B. Festa, "Bibliografia delle più antiche rime volgari italiane," in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXV (1908), 564.

³ E.g., for 31, line 33, *durare*, Grion reads *dare* ("Il serventese di Ciullo d' Alcamo," in *Il propugnatore*, IV [1871], Part I, 148). For 63, line 70, *mascondo*, one might read *nascondo*. See also the next note.

⁴ There is, however, one case in which an infinitive preceded by *al* rhymes with the same infinitive preceded by *al*, in 279 (Monte, *Nelcore agio unfoco*), lines 63 and 65: *sono alperire / comomo chesichuro / ua mare ede alperire*. This poem is transmitted in Vat. 3793 only.

The cases in which the equivocal rhyme-words are nouns are as follows: 38, 1 and 3: *A amore jnchui disio edosperanza / . . . / eguardomi jnfino cheuengna lasperanza*. *Osperranza* is a verbal phrase equivalent to *spero*. Some editors have *fidanza*, a conjectural emendation, for the first *speranza*. 63, 53 and 54 (I quote 52-55): *Rico sono delasperanza / pouero difina manza / sanami lafina amanza / quado laposso uedere*. In 53 *amanza* is abstract, in 54 it means "the beloved lady." Transmitted in Vat. 3793 only. 138, 46 and 49: *Pegio cheguerra assai reo se piucomo / . . . / pche nōmpo tralghianimali como*. The first *omo* perhaps means "anyone"; the second, "man as distinct from the brutes." 150, 61 and 64 (I quote 61-65 from Guittone, ed. Pellegrini, pp. 319-20): *Foll' è chi fugge il suo prode e cher danno / e l' onor suo fa che vergogna i torna: / di bona libertà, ov' e' soggiorna / a gran piacer, s' aduce, a suo gran danno, / Sotto [de] signoria fella e malaglia*. The *danno* of the 61 is general, and is the antonym of *prode*; the *danno* of 64 is specific, and is the antonym of *piacer*. 155, 2 and 5 (I quote 1-5 from Guittone, ed. cit., p. 254): *Manta stagione veggio / Che l' omo è, senza colpa, / miso a dispregio grande, / E tal che colpa pande / ne va sì com no 'n colpa*. MS Riccardiano 2533 reads for line 5, *ne va sicomo nol colpa* (ed. cit., loc. cit.). In this reading, which makes better sense than the accepted reading if *sicomo* be divided *sì c' omo*, the *colpa* appears as a verb. In the accepted reading *senza colpa* and *'n colpa* are presumably to be regarded as phrasal units. 165, 47 and 48 (I quote 46-48 from Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli* [Città di Castello, 1889], p. 181): *quale danno teria / se fere tucte, onne dmonio, omni homo / fosse sovra d' un omo? Omni homo* is perhaps regarded as a phrasal unit. The *homo* means "man as distinct from the brutes"; the *omo*, "a given individual." 241, 32 and 38: *madonna mante uolte / . . . / ma dipiu rade uolte*. *Mante uolte* is presumably regarded as a phrasal unit. Transmitted in Vat. 3793 only. 280, 58 and 60: *Dapoi chamore mapreso / comsi forte chatena / chio moro sedifeso / nomsono ditale chatena*. Vat. 3793 only. 295, 12 and 16: *chemi comeuma amorte sostenendo vita / . . . / piu chenaue jntempesta la mia vita*. Vat. 3793 only.

Biadene lists 20 *canzoni* as consistently equivocal. In these *canzoni* the constant equivocation becomes a *tour de force*, and in the special exigency the requirement of difference in meaning is more readily relaxed. In the great majority of cases the meaning still differs, but there are a number of instances in which the difference is very small or quite imperceptible.¹ Among these instances, however, there is but one case of a noun preceded by the definite article rhyming with the same noun preceded by the definite article. The poem in question is by an insignificant author, Finfo del Buono Guido Neri di Firenze, is transmitted in Vat. 3793 only, and is quite unintelligible.²

The sonnet of the same period, being regarded as less noble than the *canzone*, admitted in general a somewhat greater metrical license; but it does not differ notably from the *canzone* in the matter of equivocal rhyme.³

Guinizelli's rhyme *sole*: *sole* in the lines under discussion is an

¹ Cf. E. G. Parodi, "La rima e i vocaboli in rima nella *Divina Commedia*," in *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana*, N.S., III (1895-96), 141-42.

² 192 (*Se longhoso mimena*), 38 and 41 (I quote 37-41): *Rengnatinsimal manto / chebene fato nel monte / che fue gia soma questa / ondaltre dio malmanto / sonore nonai nelmonte*. There is one other case in which a noun preceded by the definite article rhymes with the same noun preceded by the definite article, but in this case the meaning of the noun varies clearly in the two instances: 289, 106 and 107 (I quote 106-8): *chesi crudele adosso o logiudicio / checredo chediqui aldie del giudicio / limiei tormenti nonaueranno fine*. The *giudicio* means "suffering"; the *giudicio*, "the Last Judgment."

³ The use of sporadic equivocal rhyme in the sonnet of the thirteenth century has not been studied. Biadene ("Morfologia del sonetto nel sec. XIII e XIV," in *Studi di filologia romanza*, IV [1889], 155-56), mentions 50 consistently equivocal sonnets. (He lists 51 sonnets, but 766, which he includes, is not equivocal.) I have examined 42 of these sonnets (8 are inaccessible to me: that by Talano, the last 5 mentioned by Biadene under α , and the last 2 mentioned under β), and find the rhyme usage much like that in the consistently equivocal *canzoni*. There are three cases in which a noun preceded by the definite article rhymes with the same noun preceded by the definite article. In all three cases the article is preceded, in one or both of the two lines, by a preposition that unites with it, forming a distinctive case sign. The cases are as follows. 791, 1 and 3: *alamore: lamore*. Vat. 3793 only. 914, 3 and 5: *la fera: da la fera*. Vat. 3793 only. Bonagiunta da Lucca, *Chi va cherendo guerra, e lassa pace* (*Poeti del primo secolo* [ed. Valeriani] [Florence, 1816], I, 522), 10 and 13: *al core: nel core*. Not in any MS. First printed in *La bella mano* (fifteenth century). A fourth case, but a very doubtful one, appears in the sonnet of Dello da Signa, *Ser Chiaro, lo tuo dir d'ira non sale*, 10 and 13. These lines appear thus in MS Vat. 3214: *e bell e in ballo e ne lo gioco lasso / . . . / ma ueni uano e tosto riman lasso* (*Rime antiche italiane secondo la lezione del cod. vat. 3214*, ed. M. Pelaez [Bologna, 1895], p. 138). Valeriani prints *e nello gioco l' asso* and *torto riman l' asso* (*Poeti del primo secolo*, II, 158), but it seems more probable that the second *lasso* is the adjective. Another case appears in a consistently equivocal sonnet mentioned by Parodi (*loc. cit.*) but not by Biadene—882, 2, 4, and 5: *al camppo: del camppo: il camppo*. Here, too, the article, in two of the three lines, is preceded by a preposition that unites with it, forming a distinctive case sign. In Vat. 3793 only.

instance of sporadic equivocal rhyme. There is no other case of equivocal rhyme in *Al cor gentil*. Six cases of sporadic equivocal rhyme occur in the other poems assigned by Casini to Guinizelli.¹ In each of these cases the rhyme-words in question differ in meaning.² In no case does a noun rhyme with itself.

In one poem of Guinizelli, Canzone II, *Lo fin pregio avanzato*,³ equivocal rhyme is used consistently. The poem is unintelligible. In no case does a noun preceded by the definite article rhyme with the same noun preceded by the definite article.

It would seem improbable, therefore, that Guinizelli allowed himself in the lines under discussion the rhyme *il sole: il sole*. The idea of differentiation persists throughout the use of equivocal rhyme. Even when the rhyme-words themselves do not differ in meaning there is at least a phrasal differentiation of some sort. But the definite article, when repeated with the same noun, by its very definiteness, makes against differentiation; and rhyme of the type *il sole: il sole* is therefore obviously contrary to the essential nature of equivocal rhyme. It is in particular highly improbable that Guinizelli allowed himself such a rhyme in this stanza—the opening stanza of a poem which, as the manifesto of a new poetic doctrine and method, must have been written with the utmost care.

I believe, accordingly, that the reading of Vat. 3793, *davanti sole*, is correct in its omission of the article. Line 7 would then read (accepting Casini's text for the first three words):

nè fo' avanti sole.

The insertion of the article in the other MSS may well have been the result of a scribal attempt at rectification.

The line is to be interpreted, I believe, thus:

Nor was there [any] sun before.

¹ *Canzoni* I, lines 46 and 47; 49 and 52; IV, 21 and 22; Sonnets XV, 4 and 7; XX 3 and 5; 4 and 8 (*ed. cit.*, pp. 5-42). This list does not include the two or three cases in which two rhyme-words identical in form occur in the same stanza but in unrelated rhyme-groups, in poems in which a rhyme of the *pièdi* is, in one stanza but not in all stanzas, repeated in the *volta*: e.g., *Canzone* III, 1 and 9.

² The difference is slight in the first two cases. In I, 46, *di molto orgoglio a dire*, the *a dire* is a single verbal phrase of gerundive value; in 47, *chè s' eo voglio ver dire*, the *ver dire* is a single phrase meaning "to be truthful." In 49, *A pinger l' air son dato*, the *dato* means "engaged"; in 56, *lasso, ch' eo li fui dato*, the *dato* means "given." Moreover, *son dato* and *fui dato* were presumably regarded as unities.

³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 8.

With this reading and interpretation, the *sole* of line 7 differs from that of line 5 by its indefiniteness, the general concept "sun," "any sun," "luminary," standing against the particular concept "the sun." The difference is slight, to be sure, but it is just the sort of minor difference that appears in several of the instances of equivocal rhyme noted by Biadene. This interpretation is similar to the first of the two interpretations, cited above, of the line as printed by Casini. It offers the same clear thought-process as that interpretation, and is free from its defect, for *avanti sole* does not, like *avanti il sole*, give the impression of being a prepositional phrase rather than an adverb and noun juxtaposed.¹

I owe thanks to Professors Pietsch and Shaw and to Dr. Pietro Stoppani for valuable suggestions with regard to this article.

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¹ Another possible interpretation seems worth mention. The *sole* of line 7 may be taken as an adverb, and the line interpreted thus: "Nor did it [i.e., the light] exist before, separately." Only one instance of *sole* as an adverb has been lexically registered, the following passage from the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Ser Arrigo Simintendi da Prato (fourteenth century): *E non basta sole ch' egli sia Giove: dia pegno d' amore s' egli sia Giove* (V. Nannucci, *Teorica dei nomi della lingua italiana* [Florence, 1858], p. 163; P. Petrocchi, *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, s.v. "sole" [II, 980 *inf.*]). *Sole* is perhaps used in this way in Guinizell's unintelligible equivocal canzone, *Lo fin pregio avanzato*, line 41. Lines 40-47 are as follows: *D' un' amorosa parte / me ven voler che sole / che in ver me più sole / che non fa la pantera, / che usa in una parte / che levantisce sole / ch'è di più color sole / so viso che pantera* (*ed. cit.*, p. 9). The *che sole* seems to represent *ch' è sole*. The existence of *sole* as an adverb is a priori probable. *Solo* appears very frequently in the apocopated form *sol*: and the completion of that form by a paragoge *e* would be entirely natural.

BALZAC AND THE SHORT-STORY

In his preface to *Argow le pirate*, otherwise known as *Annette et le criminel*,¹ Balzac writes as follows:

J'ose dire que cet ouvrage offrira de plus le mérite d'une autre difficulté vaincue, plus grande que les lecteurs ne sauraient l'imaginer, et qui ne peut être guère appréciée que par les auteurs eux-mêmes.

En général, l'on ne se tire d'affaire dans la composition d'un roman que par la multitude des personnages et la variété des situations, et l'on n'a pas beaucoup d'exemples de romans à deux ou trois personnages, restreints à une seule situation.

Dans ce genre, *Caleb Williams*, le chef-d'œuvre du célèbre Godwin, est, de notre époque, le seul ouvrage que l'on connaisse, et l'intérêt en est prodigieux. Le roman d'*Annette* ne contient, de même que dans *Williams*, que deux personnages marquants, et l'intérêt m'en a semblé assez fort, surtout au quatrième volume; mais j'en dis peut-être plus que la modestie, qui convient à un pauvre bachelier, ne le comporte; je m'arrête donc²

A fiction on this order, with only two or three characters, based upon a single situation, calls to mind the short-story, that form of brief narrative which has flourished so remarkably in the United States since Poe, and of which the evolution, in the case of English and American literature, has been so diligently studied.³ Were Balzac and his French contemporaries interested in such a form? France has an imposing short-story literature, yet little effort has

¹ Paris, E. Buisson, 1824, 4 vols. in 12. This is one of the unsigned *Œuvres de jeunesse*; cf. Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, 3d ed., 256.

² I, 15-16. This preface is reprinted in Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, 450-53.

³ For definitions of the short-story, cf. Brander Matthews, *The Philosophy of the Short-Story*, New York, 1901; H. S. Canby, *The Short Story*, New York, 1902; Bliss Perry, *A Study of Prose Fiction*, Boston, 1902; Clayton Hamilton, *Materials and Methods of Fiction*, New York, 1908. The somewhat narrow limits set by Poe, whose famous dictum in a review of *Twice Told Tales* is the point of departure for most students of short-story technique, are accepted in the present discussion. Poe's remarks, in part, are as follows (*Works*, New York, Crowell, 1902, XI, 108): "A skilful literary artist has constructed a tale. If wise, he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents; but having conceived, with deliberate care, a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such incidents—he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the outbringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design. And by such means, with such care and skill, a picture is at length painted which leaves in the mind of him who contemplates it with a kindred art, a sense of the fullest satisfaction."

For historical studies of the form, cf. H. S. Canby, *The Short Story in English*, New York, 1909; C. S. Baldwin, *American Short Stories*, New York, 1909; C. A. Smith, *The American Short Story*, Boston, 1912.

been made to trace the sources of the *genre* in that country; the most noteworthy contribution, Professor Baldwin's, in his Introduction to *American Short Stories*,¹ is, as he himself suggests, only a general survey, "pending further discussion."² Here appears to be a promising field of investigation, practically unworked. The following inquiry into the relation of Balzac to the short-story, prompted by the above-quoted remarks from *Argow le pirate*, represents merely an initial and tentative excursion into this new territory.

The reference to *Caleb Williams*, in Balzac's preface, is significant. He is correct in ascribing to Godwin's novel the interest that rests upon a vivid presentation of one situation; from beginning to end the attention is fastened upon the relations of Williams and the man who is first his patron and then his persecutor, Falkland, and, throughout, the action is based upon the unconfessed crime of the latter. The following comment in Godwin's preface shows how he himself valued the effect of such a structure:

I felt that I had a great advantage in thus carrying back my invention from the ultimate conclusion to the first commencement of the train of adventures upon which I purposed to employ my pen. An entire unity of plot would be the infallible result; and the unity of spirit and interest in a tale truly considered gives it a powerful hold on the reader which can scarcely be generated with equal success in any other way.³

This method savors of Poe's "deliberately preconceived effect," and it is interesting to note, in passing, that Poe, in *The Philosophy of Composition*, written in 1846, refers to the structure of *Caleb Williams* and comments on the type of novel built to produce a single, vivid impression.⁴

But Balzac's novel, in spite of his ambition, is less successful than Godwin's. While its basis is the love of the bewitching Annette

¹ See note 3, p. 71.

² The following must also be mentioned: Una A. Taylor, "The Short Story in France, 1800-1900," *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1913 (the emphasis is on content, not on form, and the word short-story is not used in the narrow technical sense); W. M. Hart, "The Narrative Art of the Old French Fabliaux," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913 (Professor Hart establishes the fact that the *fabliaux*, in their technique, are forerunners of the short-story); J. B. Esenwein, *Studying the Short Story*, New York, 1912 (an interesting reference [p. xx] to the brief tales of Balzac); F. Brunetière, "Little French Masterpieces," Introduction to the Balzac volume, New York, 1903; Spielhagen, "Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans" (*Roman oder Novelle?* VII), Leipzig, 1883.

³ *Caleb Williams*, London, Routledge, 1903, p. xviii. It should be stated that, while the date of *Caleb Williams* is 1794, this preface was not written until 1832 and of course could not have been known to Balzac when he wrote *Argow le pirate*.

⁴ *Works*, XIV, 193.

for a fierce but kind-hearted pirate, there are so many other characters and so many extraneous events that the impression of unity is obscured. An item worth noting, however, is the fact that Balzac occasionally feels the lack of concision and stops the narrative, in accordance with what is later his constant practice, in order to apologize to the reader.¹ One remark, at the end of the novel, where, after reporting the demise of the lovers, Balzac allows himself to discourse on the fates of the other characters, deserves quotation:

Ainsi qu'au théâtre, lorsqu'une fois le nœud d'un drame est tranché, il devient tellement impossible de réussir à intéresser, qu'on a fait une loi de cesser à l'instant; mais la curiosité des lecteurs ne seroit pas satisfaite si je n'achevois pas de donner le détail des actions du lieutenant, qui, toutes criminelles et horribles qu'elles soient, ont un genre d'intérêt pour certains lecteurs. Alors il sera loisible à celui qui ne s'intéresse qu'à Annette et au Criminel d'en rester là. Ceux qui voudront tout connaître n'auront qu'à poursuivre.²

Evidently, the author still had in mind the unity which he set out to produce.

The preface is more important than the novel. It is of considerable interest that as early as 1824—Professor Baldwin finds the first French short-story in 1836—Balzac deliberately attempts the peculiar singleness of effect which later becomes the chief *desideratum* of the short-story. Furthermore, Balzac's comprehension of the principle involved, and his discernment in selecting *Caleb Williams* as an example, are proven by the statements of Godwin and Poe concerning the unity of *Caleb Williams*, and it is clear that his remarks represent, not a vague generalization, but an opinion that is well defined.

The other compositions grouped as Balzac's *Œuvres de jeunesse*³ are in no way suggestive; they may therefore be dismissed at once and the attention directed to the products of the author's maturity. Several of his narratives of the years 1830–32 deserve notice, and the next step will be to examine these, in chronological order, and to point out whatever is of interest from the point of view of short-story technique.

¹ II, 100, 243, 250–51.

² IV, 212.

³ Cf. the following works by Lovenjoul: *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, 3d ed., 255–56; *Une page perdue de Balzac*, Paris, 1903, 135–67.

The first is *Une passion dans le désert* (1830). After a brief introduction, in which, apropos of wild-animal training, the tale of the old soldier is brought up, a curt sentence starts the exposition:

Lors de l'expédition entreprise dans la haute Égypte par le général Desaix, un soldat provençal, étant tombé au pouvoir des Maugrabins, fut emmené par ces Arabes dans les déserts situés au delà des cataractes du Nil.¹

By the end of the first paragraph we have been told how the soldier escapes on a horse, rides the horse to death, and finds himself helpless in the middle of the desert. This is a good beginning; we are now acquainted with the hero and the setting. In view of Poe's requirement that the very first part of the narrative be constructed with an eye to the single preconceived effect of the whole, the directness with which Balzac sets out is striking, and, even if he lack the supreme skill of the American, he achieves here, as well as in certain other cases, an able initial paragraph. Following a description of the beauty and the dreadful solitude of the desert, the despair of the soldier is put with that concision which is a prime factor in the short-story: "Le Provençal avait vingt-deux ans, il arma sa carabine."² But he postpones suicide, finds a shelter, fells a palm tree so as to put a barrier at its entrance—and at this point there is a ring of foreboding in the narrator's voice:

Quand, vers le soir, ce roi du désert tomba, le bruit de sa chute retentit au loin, et il y eut une sorte de gémissement poussé par la solitude; le soldat en frémit comme s'il eût entendu quelque voix lui prédire un malheur.³

Here Balzac is employing an accredited short-story device, suggesting the characteristic tone of the narrative and thereby intensifying the totality of effect. In the night the man awakes and discovers at his side in the cave a panther. There follows a graphic and plausible enough description of the taming of the beast. The situation during the ensuing days, when the man's impulse to plunge a knife into the creature is several times blocked by her trustfulness, is made exceedingly tense, and there is a careful ordering of the incidents with a view to bringing the suspense to a head. At length, in their games, the panther suddenly shows irritation and starts to bite and is instantly killed by her companion, who at once regrets his haste in resenting what may have been simply playfulness. The

¹ *Œuvres complètes, édition définitive*, XII, 312.

² XII, 314.

³ XII, 315.

narrative ends tersely: "Et les soldats qui avaient vu mon drapeau, et qui accoururent à mon secours, me trouvèrent tout en larmes."¹

With this dramatic close Balzac completes the requirements, and it becomes clear that at least one of his compositions possesses that harmony, resting upon a well-arranged series of incidents leading to a single decisive act, which constitutes a successful short-story. The harmony, moreover, is increased, the whole is closer knit, thanks to the fact that the soldier constantly compares the panther to womankind, and, more specifically, to a former mistress of his. Before leaving this narrative a difference in editions must be noticed. Whereas in the first edition there is the swift *dénoûment* above described, in the *édition définitive*² four extra paragraphs are inserted immediately before the final solution; here the lady, to whom the story is being told, and the narrator converse about the outcome of the adventure. The resultant heightening of the suspense becomes an irritation, and the more direct culmination in the first edition is better. Furthermore, in the first edition the final sentence of the story stands, as it should, at the end of a paragraph, and the conclusion, a kind of envoy which Balzac attaches, begins with a fresh paragraph. There is no such division in the *édition définitive*, and the finality of the narrative proper is consequently less complete.

In *Jésus-Christ en Flandre* (1831), there is added to the main narrative an account of a vision which the author has in a church near the scene of the story, but this fragment, which originally appeared separately under the title *L'Église*, and which was not appended until 1845,³ is in no way essential⁴ and may in the present consideration be wholly disregarded. The subject is a miracle: Christ saves the lives of those who have sufficient faith to walk with him across a tempestuous sea. The preparation for the single climatic moment when the miracle takes place is skilful. A feeling is created at the outset that the last traveler to board the ferry is no ordinary person—and that perhaps his joining the company for this trip, when a storm is brewing, is no ordinary event. Frequent

¹ XII, 324. In the first edition (*Revue de Paris*, December, 1830), the ending reads: "me trouvèrent tout en larmes—évanouï."

² XII, 324.

³ Cf. Lovenjoul, *op. cit.*, 177.

⁴ Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 20: "The last third [of *Jésus-Christ en Flandre*] is open to criticism as having hardly any connection with the plot."

repetitions of this *motif* help in holding the narrative true to its course. During the approach of the storm the reader is completely informed as to the characteristics of the passengers, so that he is ready to focus his gaze, with full appreciation, upon their behavior in face of peril. The manner in which Balzac suggests the supernatural, and his general method of presentation, call to mind what Professor Baldwin, speaking of American short-stories, terms static art. Of Poe, Professor Baldwin writes:

he gained his own peculiar triumphs in the static—in a situation developed by exquisite gradation of such infinitesimal incidents as compose *Berenice* to an intense climax of emotional suggestion, rather than in a situation developed by gradation of events to a climax of action.¹

In Balzac's tale, the climax is certainly one of action, but the preparation consists of a deliberate adjustment of the setting with an eye to the selection of such details as will emphasize the meaning of this action; there are few events before the decisive one. In other words, the static and the kinetic are combined. The subject, I think, does not lend itself to short-story treatment as readily as that of *Une passion dans le désert*, yet the structure undoubtedly warrants the classification of this narrative as an example of the type under discussion, the second to be found in Balzac by 1831.

The theme of *La grande Bretèche* (1832)² suggests that of Poe's *The Cask of Amontillado* (1846), an impeccable short-story. The unique effect, in both compositions, rests upon the narration of an act of vengeance: one man murders another by shutting him up behind a wall of solid masonry; in Poe the cause for revenge is not specified, in Balzac a husband thus punishes a lover. It must be explained at the outset that Balzac's story consists of three parts, and that for the present comparison the first two may be dismissed with a word. The interest, throughout, is in the mystery of a certain deserted house: after an introductory description sounding a note of gloom, the first part shows that the abandonment of the estate has been decreed by the will of the deceased countess, without revealing her motive, the second vaguely suggests an explanation by a reference to a Spaniard who may have been the lover, and the third

¹ P. 22.

² *La grande Bretèche* is published by Jessup and Canby, with a page of comment, in *The Book of the Short Story*, New York, 1912.

part is a complete solution. The whole is harmonious, and illustrates the possibilities of a short-story based upon a process of ratiocination, as suggested by Poe,¹ with the interest depending upon the manner in which the man who exposes the mystery accumulates and arranges his data, but it is somewhat long and detailed, with an occasional short digression. The third section, which consists of the tale of Rosalie, the maid of the countess, is more compact than the other parts, is in itself complete, and affords an excellent opportunity for comparison with the work of Poe, the master craftsman. The first and second parts contribute largely to the suspense, yet no violence is done to the structure when the third part is considered separately.

Poe's beginning illustrates admirably his principle that the initial sentence shall tend to the outbringing of the single effect of the story:

The thousand injuries of Fortunato I had borne as I best could, but when he ventured upon insult I vowed revenge.²

With Balzac, the start is direct enough, but cumbersome:

La chambre que Madame de Merret occupait à la Bretèche était située au rez-de-chaussée. Un petit cabinet de quatre pieds de profondeur environ, pratiqué dans l'intérieur du mur, lui servait de garde-robe.³

It will be seen later that the closet is essential to the story, but the forced and clumsy allusion to it in the second sentence is utterly different from Poe's reference, at once casual and natural, to the niche in the wall, which, in his tale, plays the corresponding rôle. The remainder of Balzac's initial paragraph is well done: he proceeds to tell how, one evening, the husband comes home late, enters his wife's chamber, and is caused to suspect, by her manner and by a noise as if a door had been shut just before his arrival, that somebody is hidden in the closet. The action is rapid: the wife swears innocence, the husband's suspicions grow, he sends for a mason and has the closet walled up during the night, and stays with his wife constantly for several weeks. Whenever there is a sound in the closet and the wife begs for mercy, he answers—and this sentence closes the narrative: "Vous avez juré sur la croix qu'il n'y avait là personne."⁴ It is clear from a remark which Balzac makes else-

¹ *Works*, XI, 109.

² *Ibid.*, VI, 167.

³ *Œuvres*, IV, 577.

⁴ IV, 583.

where that he valued the dramatic quality of this final scene.¹ Certainly it is as effective as Poe's: "Against the new masonry I re-erected the old rampart of bones. For the half of a century no mortal has disturbed them. *In pace requiescat!*"²

Balzac's structure is skilful, especially at the climax, but the main part of Poe's story is in two ways superior. Poe's totality of effect is enhanced by the simplicity of the plot, which is such that there are only two characters and that the action flows steadily in a single direction and ends in a swift catastrophe. In *La grande Bretèche*, such incidents have been chosen that the introduction of several subsidiary characters is required and the *dénoûment* is less sudden, and the result, although the unity is excellent, is second to Poe's. Again, in the *Cask of Amontillado*, the unity of tone is heightened, the note of menace and the suggestion of revenge are maintained, by the introduction of such details as Montresor's drinking to the long life of Fortunato, who is to become his victim, and his reference to the family motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. In *La grande Bretèche* there is no such device, although Balzac uses it elsewhere.

Poe's is a better short-story. The point is that while Balzac has not been supremely successful—and no one would attempt to set him up as a rival to Poe—and while it has been necessary to lift this story bodily out of its context, yet this is a narrative which meets the requirements of the short-story type.³

A discussion of *La femme abandonnée* (1832) may well consist of a comparison with Gautier's *La morte amoureuse*, which is nearly contemporary (1836) and which is named by Professor Baldwin as a genuine short-story—and the first one in France. *La morte amoureuse* deals with the *liaison* of a priest and a female vampire; it is fantastic after the manner of Hoffmann, and herein utterly different from Balzac's composition, but it closely resembles the latter in the fact that the interest is sharply focussed upon the relation of one man and one woman. With Balzac, as with Gautier,

¹ *La muse du département*, VI, 437. In Balzac's *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 420, we read: "ces petites terminaisons, comme *David Séchard*, qui coûtent plus cher à l'écrivain que de bons faciles sujets neufs." Evidently Balzac feels that the bringing a story to a successful close is as difficult as it is desirable.

² VI, 175.

³ It should be added that a comparison of earlier versions of the story with the *édition définitive*, reveals in the latter several important omissions and several minor ones, particularly in the first and second parts of the story, the effect of which is greater conclusion.

the action begins at once: a young Parisian, convalescent, is sent to the home of a country cousin, finds the society dull, and becomes eager to make the acquaintance of Madame de Beauséant, who is living in seclusion in the neighborhood since her abandonment by her lover, Ajuda-Pinto. He is sufficiently naïve and clever to win her affection, and they live happily together for a number of years, until the man is persuaded into a marriage of expediency. The final separation is ultimately followed by the man's suicide.

La morte amoureuse is, without reservation, short-story in form, and *La femme abandonnée* is not, yet the basic narrative of the latter is just as susceptible of short-story treatment. Balzac has not attained, very likely did not seek, the necessary compactness. Much space is devoted, at the outset, to a description of provincial society life; the account is shrewd and advances the narrative in that it prepares the reader to understand how ready the bored Parisian becomes for the relief of an interesting woman, yet this last effect a modern short-story writer would have secured with much greater economy of words, and any others he would have disregarded. Occasional slighter pauses for similar Balzacian comment are open to like criticism. At the point where the *liaison* is broken, the action is not swift enough; there is a lack of the terseness essential to the short-story once the climax is passed, a terseness not unlike that required in dramatic writing and mentioned by Balzac apropos of *Argow le pirate*.¹ Here the fault lies in the subject-matter rather than in Balzac's presentation;² the turning back of this man to his mistress could be only a gradual process, whereas, in *La morte amoureuse*, a single visit to the tomb of the woman suffices to precipitate an entirely plausible catastrophe. The two stories exemplify the point made by Mr. Clayton Hamilton that the material of the short-story must be more striking than that of the novel, the short-story writer not having "sufficient time at his disposal to reveal the full human significance of the commonplace."³ And it is clear that the task of giving artistic unity to a fiction based upon the commonplace was a severe one for Balzac, for he writes in a letter to Madame

¹ See p. 000, n. 0.

² Yet the responsibility, from the short-story point of view, is still Balzac's. Cf. the quotation from Poe, p. 71, n. 3.

³ *Materials and Methods of Fiction*, p. 178.

Hanska: "Les événements sont si difficiles à coördonner, quand on veut rester *vrai*."¹ The realist is not pre-eminently fitted to construct short-stories; his *modus operandi* is frequently the reverse of that prescribed by Poe,² and the degree of unity which he attains is almost inevitably less striking. Balzac's stories become less suggestive of the type under discussion as they become more realistic, and if he were the unalloyed realist sometimes conceived, there would be less reason for studying his relation to the short-story, but there is enough of the romantic and even of the melodramatic in his writing to compel attention here.

The ending of *La femme abandonnée* is quite as successful as Gautier's; the latter writes of the vampire: "Elle se dissipa dans l'air comme une fumée, et je ne la revis plus,"³ while Balzac says: "M. de Nueil passa dans un boudoir attendant au salon, où il avait mis son fusil en revenant de la chasse, et se tua."⁴ The concision and finality of each are all they should be. In each a moral follows, and from the short-story viewpoint Gautier is superior, for in a single short paragraph, with the effect of the tale still wholly fresh, he develops the priestly injunction: "Ne regardez jamais une femme," while Balzac, for his comment upon the position of the man and the woman and the inevitable result of the man's marriage, requires five times as much space—and at such a point mere physical dimensions are significant. Here, as elsewhere in the story, the nature of the subject—soul analysis, and not romanticism after the manner of Gautier—and Balzac's love for details and explanations, block what could easily be made a successful short-story. I have considered *La femme abandonnée* at length because it is a short-story *manqué*, a near short-story, so to speak, because it suggests Gautier's expert production, and because it illustrates so aptly the conflict of the short-story and realism.

Of these four narratives, the first three, I think, are short-stories. It is upon them, and upon the preface of 1824, that an estimate of Balzac's significance in the history of the *genre* must be based. The material which follows, although in general it corroborates the impression already made, is here offered largely in the interest of completeness.

¹ *Lettres à l'étangère*, II, 178.

² See p. 71, n. 3.

³ *Nouvelles*, Paris, Charpentier, 1871, p. 295.

⁴ III, 78.

Of the other brief tales, many appear suggestive on account of certain details, an effective beginning or ending, an adroit economy in construction, but none requires long consideration here.¹ Of the *Contes drolatiques*, the majority of which have a Rabelaisian fluidity of style remote from the short-story manner, four are clearly short-story in conception, if not in execution. These are: *La belle Impéria*, *La mye du roy*, *La pucelle de Thilouze*, *Le frère d'armes*. Yet not one of these completely satisfies; in each the effectiveness is somehow clogged, the impetus deflected, and the result is not precisely what Poe and his successors demand. This is by no means equivalent to saying that the tales would be more artistic had they been made fully to conform to these particular requirements; the type under discussion is not necessarily excellent above all others, and many a good narrative could be fitted to its conditions only by mutilation. Among the longer fictions, several written during the period of maturity, such as *Le curé de Tours*, *L'Enfant maudit*, *Ursule Mirouet*, and *Le lys dans la vallée*, possess in some degree that unity to which Balzac refers in 1824 as a *desideratum*.

La muse du département is of special interest because it is patterned upon Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe*,² of which the singleness of effect is so complete. It has been seen that, in his preface to *Argow le pirate*, Balzac suggested that, of contemporary novels, *Caleb Williams* was the only one possessing the unity which he describes. He might well have mentioned *Adolphe* (1816),³ of which Constant himself says that it was written to persuade several friends "de la possibilité de donner une sorte d'intérêt à un roman dont les personnages se réduisaient à deux, et dont la situation serait toujours la même."⁴ Later, Balzac admires *Adolphe*,⁵ refers to "ces délicieux

¹ Cf. *La paix du ménage*, *Le message*, *Le chef-d'œuvre inconnu*, *Le cornac de Carlsruhe* (*Œuvres*, pp. 271-73).

In an album of notes by Balzac, published under the title: *Pensées, sujets, fragments* (Paris, Blazot, 1910), are several outlines of plots which would have served for capital short-stories. Cf. pp. 77-78, 86-87 (these two outlines are found, treated as amplified anecdotes, in Balzac's *Échantillon de causerie française*, XX, pp. 300-302 and 313-15, respectively); p. 126, *L'Original*. Professor Canby, in *The Short Story*, p. 16, points out similar "motifs and suggestions for stories" in Hawthorne's *American Note-Books*.

² Cf. *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 126.

³ Le Breton (*Balzac*, Paris, 1905, p. 76) thinks that at this time (1824) Balzac had not read *Adolphe*.

⁴ *Adolphe*, Paris, 1864, pp. 29-30 (Préface de la troisième édition). ⁵ Cf. XXII, 517.

in-dix-huit nommés *Adolphe, Paul et Virginie*,"¹ as if approving the compactness of the story, and at length uses *Adolphe* as a model. *La muse du département* possesses only relative unity. Balzac makes a capital effort to secure the effect described in his early preface, and it is interesting that at this later point in his career (1843) he has not lost sight of the value of such a method of composition, yet the novel lacks that harmony which Constant attains by riveting the attention upon the man and the woman, by omitting physical descriptions—of which Balzac is so fond—and creating few subsidiary characters, and which makes of *Adolphe* a nearly perfect short-story, *Adolphe*, which was written twenty years before Gautier's *La morte amoureuse*.

No remarks of the weight of those in the preface to *Argow* exist in Balzac's later critical comment. One or two bear out what he said in 1824. In a review, written in 1840, of Cooper's *Lac Ontario*,² he says: "J'aime ces sujets simples, ils annoncent une grande force de conception, et sont toujours pleins de richesses."³ And in the same number of the *Revue parisienne*, he utters a criticism against complex plots and too many events in a novel,⁴ but what he champions in this case is not so much greater unity as greater attention to character study.⁵ Balzac speaks with enthusiasm of what he names the *conte*,⁶ and extols those who have excelled as *conteurs*,⁷ but as far as can be determined from the list of writers which he adds, what he prizes is simply supreme skill in narration. Certainly short-story writing, practiced as an art, requires such narrative power, but so do other forms of fiction equally estimable. Balzac's realization of the vagueness of the term *conte* may be gauged by the following remark, made apropos of *Melmoth réconcilié*: "Ce conte, pour nous servir de l'expression à la mode et sous laquelle on confond tous les travaux de l'auteur, de quelque nature qu'ils puissent être."⁸ And, as to this laxness, Balzac is not unlike his contempora-

¹ XXII, 508.

² Balzac means *The Pathfinder*, of which the simplicity of plot is striking.

³ XXIII, 585.

⁴ XXIII, 578.

⁵ Cf., however, XXIII, 733: "La loi dominatrice est l'unité dans la composition; que vous placiez cette unité, soit dans l'idée mère, soit dans le plan, sans elle il n'y a que confusion" (of *La chartreuse de Parme*).

⁶ XXII, 386; XXIII, 754; Lovenjoul, *Page perdue de Balzac*, p. 69.

⁷ *Pensées, sujets, fragments*, p. 18.

⁸ XXII, 417.

ries, for there are a number of instances where he uses the words *conte*, *nouvelle*, and *roman* without distinction.¹

The net result of this investigation is to demonstrate that Balzac took a lively interest in that kind of fiction of which the ultimate development is the short-story, and that he himself wrote several genuine short-stories. A more convincing case could be made out for Balzac, if I marshaled the material differently, offering first the negative evidence, and reserving for the end the presentation of those facts which make it necessary to set aside the verdict of Professor Baldwin that Balzac's "handling does not seem . . . directive."² But a chronological arrangement is more satisfactory, as being absolutely judicial, as emphasizing that Balzac was most interested in highly unified narrative during the early part of his career, at a time when it has been supposed the short-story was not born in France, and, incidentally, before Balzac became a deep-dyed realist, thus bearing out the view that the short-story is pre-eminently a form for the romanticist.

While it may be accepted as a matter of fact that several of Balzac's compositions have the general structure demanded of a narrator who desires "to produce a single narrative effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis,"³ conclusions must be less precise when the more elastic requirements, such as conciseness of style, are considered. It is sure that the clean-cut exactness of Poe contributed to the success of his tales and that Balzac's clumsiness hindered effectual compression;⁴ it is sure that Balzac did not possess the gift of epithet which so distinguished Stevenson; but we promptly reach a point where the problem becomes a matter of purely subjective literary criticism, and speculation of that nature will not settle a point in literary history.

¹ Balzac applies the term *nouvelle* to *Illusions perdues* (*Lettres à l'étrangère*, I, 337), to *Cousin Pons* (XXIV, 517), to "la fin de *Béatrix*" (*Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 391). He calls *La peau de chagrin* a *conte* (XXI, 494), *Massimilla Doni* a *roman* (XXIV, 281).

² Pp. 32-33. With Professor Baldwin's characterization of four of Balzac's short pieces, I agree heartily.

³ Clayton Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁴ Not to mention the pressure brought to bear upon him by publishers, and his own interest in money-making. Cf. *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 176: "La rapidité du travail m'ôte le sens de la composition; je n'y vois plus clair, je ne sais plus ce que je fais"; *ibid.*, p. 6: "que pour avoir de l'argent pour moi, pour ma vie, il faut que j'écrive des nouvelles." Cf. Le Breton, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

And, in any case, no one would seek to prove that Balzac was a great short-story artist; there appear to have been none in France until several decades later. But he contributed not a little to that groping after a new form which was evident before 1850. In an article on Poe in the *Revue des deux mondes* for October 15, 1846,¹ is a survey of the status of the brief narrative in France at that time, with a reference to the growing taste for compositions that are "simples, laconiques, savamment concentrées."² It is suggested that this is merely a backward swing of the pendulum, a return of such *contes* as Voltaire's *Candide*. The impression of a student of English and American short-stories would be—with due respect for the difficulty of measuring "the currents, the depths and the tideways . . . of literary forms," as Professor Bliss Perry puts it³—that the development of highly unified brief tales in France during this period is more than a matter of action and reaction, that it is the genesis of a comparatively new literary form. There is evidently no sharp dividing line, such as we have in English, in the "perpetually quoted" remarks of Poe. There is evidently a connection, in French as in English and American literature,⁴ between such novels as Balzac praises in 1824 and the short-story, and it is likely that the influence of Constant's *Adolphe*, which represents a distinct effort to concentrate, and of such narratives as *Paul et Virginie*, *Atala* and *René*, is by no means negligible. Furthermore it is probable that since the type reached maturity in France it has not been confined within the limits set by Poe, but has been handled after the manner of the German *Novelle*, wherein the stress is upon the "nature of the content," rather than upon "the story's outward form."⁵ But such opinions must remain conjectural until substantiated by minute examination of all the short-story literature of France.

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¹ There is no reason to think that Balzac was acquainted with Poe, although the first French translation of Poe appeared as early as 1846 (Lauvrière, *Poe*, Paris, 1904, p. 726). Balzac did not read English.

² P. 366.

³ *Study of Prose Fiction*, p. 331.

⁴ Cf. Canby, *The Short Story*, p. 21.

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 40. Such a tendency is exemplified by Balzac in *Adieu*, which, though lacking the compression of the narratives above analyzed, achieves, as the result of developing a somewhat elaborate structure about a single nucleus, a unity quite as artistic. Another example is Balzac's *Le succube* (*Contes drolatiques*).

DENIS PIRAMUS: "LA VIE SEINT EDMUNT"

The only known MS extant of *La vie Seint Edmunt* of Denis Piramus is in the British Museum (Cott. MS Domit. A. XI) written in a hand of the thirteenth century.¹ The *Vie Seint Edmunt* numbers three complete editions:² the first by Thomas Arnold, in the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, 1892, in the *Rolls Series*,³ the second by Florence Leftwich Ravenel in *Bryn Mawr College Monographs*, 1906;⁴ the third is included in the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* edited by Lord Francis Hervey, New York, 1907. This is based upon a new copy of the MS made under the supervision of Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum.⁵

The present work on the language of Denis Piramus rests mainly upon Lord Hervey's edition; the two others have also been carefully compared.

As it is stated by the author (ll. 3261 ff.), the French *Life of Saint Edmund* is a translation from English and Latin originals. The Latin sources most probably are:

1. From the end of the prologue to l. 432, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, chiefly Book I, 16; Book XII, 15, 16, 19; Book VI, 15, 16, etc.; and Abbo of Fleury's *Passio*.⁶
2. From ll. 433 to 2018, *De infantia Sancti Eadmundi*, by Galfridus de Fontibus, written in the time of Abbot Ording, between 1148 and 1156.⁷

¹ For another French *Life of Saint Edmund*, cf. Paul Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346, and *Romania*, XXXVI, 533 ff.

² The prologue of the poem was published by F. Michel in his *Rapports au ministre* in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, pp. 258-61, Paris 1839, and also by H. L. D. Ward in the *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 701 ff.

³ Reviewed by G. Paris, *Romania*, XXII, 170.

⁴ Reviewed by T. A. Jenkins, *Modern Language Notes*, XXII (1907), 194-96; by E. Faral, *Romania*, XLI, 446; by J. Vising, *Vollmöller's kritischer Jahresbericht*, XII, I, 211, II, 135; by Ed. Stengel, *ibid.*, IX, I, 145; and by J. Bonnard, *ibid.*, X, II, 106.

⁵ Reviewed by J. Vising, *Vollmöller's kritischer Jahresbericht*, XII, II, 136.

⁶ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 6-7.

⁷ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 93-103; and *Introd.*, pp. xxxiv and xxxv.

3. From ll. 2019 to 3260, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, by Abbo of Fleury, composed near the end of the eleventh century.¹

4. From ll. 3261 to 3696, *Liber de miraculis Sancti Eadmundi*, by Herman the archdeacon, who probably was a monk at Bury.²

5. From l. 3697 to the end, Denis Piramus gives an account of Sweyn's invasion which is different from that of Herman. Outside of the *Saxon Chronicles* and Florence mentioned by Arnold,³ he may have drawn his material from Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*,⁴ or from Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon,⁵ or finally from a compilation made between 1148 and 1161 and known in the monastic world as the *Historia Saxonum vel Anglorum post obitum Bedae*.⁶

Thus far nothing is known of the English sources which Denis Piramus may have used. We have, however, in old English, a version of Abbo de Fleury's *Passion of Saint Edmund* by Aelfric, edited by Skeat, *Early English Text Society*, 1900, and reprinted in Lord Francis Hervey's *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, p. 60; yet, judging from the contents, the Latin original is the more probable source. As regards some possible English source of the *De infantia*, Arnold remarks⁷ that "there must have been an English version of the *Infancy* lying before him, which is not now extant. This English *Life* may perhaps be indicated by some one among the titles of the works on the Edmundian story, not now existing, which are written on the margin of MS Bodl. 240,⁸ e.g., the book of Bliburgh or *Alia Legenda*, or Nicholaus of Warengford, or H. Norwicensis."

We have no right to question the author's own statement as regards his use of English sources. Various details and passages which do not occur in the Latin may possibly have stood in the English. Considering the Latin sources only, Denis appears to have

¹ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 3-25, and Introd., pp. xxii-xxiv.

² Cf. *Memorials*, I, 26-92, and Introd., pp. xxviii-xxix.

³ Cf. *Memorials*, II, 242 and 240, notes.

⁴ Cf. *Simeonis Monachi opera omnia*, II, 139 ff., ed. by Arnold, London, 1885, Rolls Series.

⁵ Cf. *History of the English*, Book VI, chap. iii ff., pp. 175 ff., ed. by Arnold, London, 1879, Rolls Series.

⁶ Cf. W. Stubbs, *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, I, xxvi, London, 1868, Rolls Series; this *Historia Saxonum* appears almost *litteratim* in Roger of Hoveden's own *Chronicles*. Cf. W. Stubbs, *op. cit.*, I, xxvii, and 71 ff.

⁷ Cf. *Memorials*, II, 228, note.

⁸ *Memorials*, I, Introd., lxvi.

made a clever paraphrase of his original, and a good part of originality in handling his material must therefore be conceded to him. While he preserves the main outline, Denis adds interesting details or passages, as for instance, descriptions of sea-voyages (cf. ll. 175-218, 1365-1492, 2029-52, etc.), of battles (cf. ll. 3749-3849, etc.), enumerations (cf. ll. 83, 811, 965, 2877, etc.), dialogues (cf. ll. 857, 925, 1015, 1308, 1332, etc.); he introduces appropriate changes (cf. the messenger's speech and Edmund's reply, ll. 2247, 2303, 2319), and, as was to be expected in a work which was intended primarily to be recited, Denis indulges in lengthy narratives and in repetitions.

With regard to the foundation of St. Edmund's legend, Lord Hervey's illuminating preface to the *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi* ought to be consulted.

The Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, a convent of Benedictine monks, became so prominent that most chroniclers between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries make mention of it.¹ Its celebrity was not confined to England: Crestien de Troyes bears witness to this fact in the prologue to *Guillaume d'Angleterre* (ll. 11-17):

Qui les estoires d'Angleterre
 Voldroit ancerchier et anquerre,
 Une, qui mout fet bien a croire
 Par ce que pleisanz est et voire,
 An troveroit a Saint Esmoing. [variant: Esmont C.]
 Se nus m'an demande tesmoing,
 La l'aille querre se il viaut.

Wace also mentions it in several passages:

Cil de Surree e de Sussesse
 De Saint Edmunt e de Sufoc
 E de Norwiz e de Norfoc.

—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 7736-38.

and also with regard to Sweyn's death:

Ceo dient cil de Saint Aedmund,
 Ki en lur livres escrit l'unt,
 Ke Saint Aedmund le flaela
 Pur ses terres, que il greva.

—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 1315-18.

¹ Cf. *Memorials*, I, xii. Only facts which concern the 12th century and bear upon our subject are mentioned here.

Jordan Fantosme tells us:

Kar n'ad meillur viandier de Saint Edmund en terre.

—*Chronique*, 1005.

Crestien de Troyes mentions St. Edmund's Abbey as the place where his *estoire* was found, and he adds: *La matiere si me conta, Uns miens compainz, Rogiers, li cointes, Qui de maint pseudome est accointes (Guillaume d'Angleterre, ll. 3364–66)*. As to Crestien's reference to the English monastery, Foerster is of the opinion that it is "eine ganz allgemeine: da der Held ein König von England sein soll, so verweist er die Zweifler an das englische Königsarchiv, genau so wie ein Spielmann in einem karolingischen Heldengedicht seine Zuhörer auf die Chroniken von St. Denis verweist."¹ In regard to Rogier, Gröber supposed him to be the poet Rogier de Lissaïs.² Crestien's statement, however, could be taken literally, and Rogier may have been a wandering clerk, an inmate of St. Edmund's Abbey itself, for the following reasons:

In 1182³ there was living at St. Edmund's Abbey a monk by the name of Rogerus de Hingham, or Hengheham, who was acting in the capacity of *cellerarius*. Toward 1159–1162⁴ this Rogerus went to Rome in company of Samson, the future abbot. About 1160–61, or rather as Arnold thinks toward 1170,⁵ Rogerus together with Samson, Dionisius, and Hugo are said to have been sent into exile to the priory of Castle Acre, founded by William de Warenne, first Earl of Surrey.

In view of these facts, either of two suggestions may be made: first, Rogerus, a Bury monk, on his way to Rome may have traveled through Flanders and stopped at the court of Thierrri, or of Matthew, or of Philip, where he could have met the author of *Yvain* and acquainted the latter with St. Edmund's Abbey, the *estoire*, and with English place-names; second, in consideration of the fact that the House of Flanders was related to the Warennes,⁶ Crestien may have

¹ Cf. Christian von Troyes Werke, *Wilhelmsleben*, IV, clxx.

² Cf. Grundriss, II, 524; W. Foerster, *Wilhelm von England*, pp. xxiv–xxv, Romanische Bibliothek, 1911.

³ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 223 ff., 212, 254.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 254 and xliii.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 212 and xlv and note.

⁶ Mary, Abbess of Romsey, a sister of Earl William of Warrenne, last surviving son of King Stephen of Blois, married Matthew d'Alsace, younger brother of Thierrri, Count

followed some prince connected with the Warennes over to England and resided for some time at Castle Acre where he came in contact with Rogerus then in exile. However this may be, the probable presence in Flanders or Champagne of Rogerus, a clerk of St. Edmund's Abbey at the time when *Guillaume d'Angleterre* was presumably written, is certainly significant.

St. Edmund's Abbey was above all a place where people went on pilgrimage. To mention only the frequent royal visits: in 1157, Henry II was crowned at Bury St. Edmund, the same king went there again in 1177, and also in 1188.¹ King John visited Bury in 1199, shortly after his coronation, and, says Jocelin,² *Hospitium suscepit, magnis celebratum expensis*. King John paid other visits in 1201 and in 1203.³ In fact, the foundation and the subsequent growth of St. Edmund's Bury were mostly due to the generosity of English kings: Edmund, Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and Stephen.⁴

Under such circumstances, close relations must have existed between the English kings and the Abbey, and the inmates of the convent may have been intimately connected at some time with the court and may of course have been of the same nationality as the kings. For, as J. H. Ramsay remarks:⁵ "not only were all the upper classes of society essentially French, but their ranks were perpetually being recruited by foreigners imported from abroad. These people entered every chapter and convent, they filled the Episcopate, the Treasury, and the Bench, and found themselves completely at home there."

The latter statement is especially applicable, as it seems, to St. Edmund's Abbey. Some of the abbots who lived during the period that interests us are as follows: Baldwin (1065-98), the physician of Edward the Confessor, came from St. Denis, near Paris; Robert (1100), a son of Henry I's cousin, Hugh Lupus, was a monk of

of Flanders, and uncle of Philip, the protector of Crestien (cf. K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I, 469; R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King II*, p. 50 [London, 1878]).

¹ Cf. Eyton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 213, 285.

² Cf. *Cronica, Memorials*, I, 314-15.

³ Cf. *Memorials, Annales Sancti Eadmundi*, II, 8, 12.

⁴ Cf. *Memorials*, I, vii, xxvi, xxviii; Wace, *R. de Rou*, III, 5563.

⁵ Cf. *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1903), Pref., p. vi.

St. Evroult, in Normandy; Albold (1114–19) had been a prior of St. Nicasius, at Meaux; Anselm (1121–48) was a nephew of Saint Anselm; Galfridus, in the *De infantia Sancti Eadmundi*, mentions that Ording, the next abbot (1148–56), was “attendant on the person of the king from boyhood.” Arnold conjectures that the king referred to must have been Stephen of Blois.¹ Abbot Samson (1182–1211), whose life Thomas Carlyle retold so vividly in *Past and Present*, is said to have been confessor to King Henry II.² But the relations of the St. Edmund’s monks and the kings of England are illustrated best in Jocelin’s *Chronicles* and in the *Electio Hugonis*, both of which record the interference of Henry II, and later of King John, with the elections of Abbot Samson and of Abbot Hugh (1215).³

In 1193, when Richard I was in captivity in Germany, Abbot Samson visited the king and brought him many presents.⁴

That St. Edmund’s Abbey was famous for its library, we have already learned from Crestien de Troyes. From Jocelin’s interesting *Chronicles* it appears that the Latin classics were read by the monks. In Jocelin’s work, along with frequent allusions to the Scriptures, there are quotations from Terence’s *Phormio*, Horace’s *Odes*, *Epodes*, *Ars poetica*, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia*, *Ars amatoria*, *Heroides*, Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, and Cicero’s *Tusculanae disputationes*. Needy clerks or scholars were also welcomed by Abbot Samson and found a pleasant home at the Benedictine Abbey.⁵

The authorship of *La vie Seint Edmunt* is claimed by Denis Piramus in two passages in his poem (ll. 16, 3279). Denis Piramus was at one time regarded as the author of the important romance *Partonopeus de Blois*,⁶ but it was shown long ago that this was an error due to a misinterpretation.⁷ Furthermore, a comparison of the language of *La vie Seint Edmunt* with that of *Partonopeus* would show that *La vie Seint Edmunt* and *Partonopeus* could not have been

¹ Cf. *Memorials*, I, xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii; 93, xxxv.

² Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1846), III, 104.

³ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 223–29; II, 29 ff.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 259.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 209 ff., 247–49.

⁶ Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 700 ff., gives a list of scholars who had adopted this view.

⁷ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, IV, 148; Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 700 ff.; Paul Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346, note.

written by the same author. Of Denis' other poems alluded to in ll. 5 and 7, none, so far as we know, have come down to us. All that is now known about Denis Piramus is found in the prologue of his poem (ll. 1-94), and in another prologue to the second part which apparently was left unfinished (ll. 3261-86). These two interesting prologues are re-edited here:

I (ll. 1-94)

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| | Mult ai usé cume pechiere
Ma vie en trop fole maniere,
E trop [par] ai usé ma vie
[E] en pechié e en folie. | | Si dist bien de cele matire
Cume de fable e de menceunge;
30 La matire ressemble sunge,
Kar ceo ne pout unkes [mais]
estre; |
| 5 | Kant curt hanteie of les curteis,
Si feseie les servanteis,
Chanceunetes, rimes, saluz
Entre les drues e les druz;
Mult me penai de tels vers fere, | | Si est il tenu pur bon mestre,
E les vers [en] sunt mult amez
E en cez riches curz loëz. |
| 10 | K'assemble les peüsse trere
E k'ensemble fussent justez
Pur acomplir lur volentez.
Ceo me fist fere l'enemi,
Si me tinc ore a malbailli. | 35 | E Dame Marie altresi
Ki en rime fist e basti
E compassa les vers de lais
Ke ne sunt pas de tut vrais;
E si en est el mult loée |
| 15 | Jamés ne me burdera plus.
Jeo ai nun Denis Piramus;
Les jurs jolis de ma joenesce
S'en vunt, si trei jeo a veilesce;
Si est bien dreit ke me repente; | 40 | E la rime par tut amée,
Kar mult l'aiment, si l'unt mult
chier
Cunte, barun e chevalier;
E si en aiment mult l'escrit,
E lirel funt, si unt delit, |
| 20 | En altre ovre mettrai m'entente
Ke mult mieldre est e plus nu-
table.
[Si] Deus m'ait espiritale,
E la grace Seint Espirit
Seit ovek mei e si [m'] ait! | 45 | E si le funt sovent retreire.
Les lais suelent as dames pleire;
Les oient de joie e de gré,
Qu'il sunt sulum lur volenté.
Li rei, li prince e li curtur, |
| 25 | Cil ki <i>Partonopé</i> trova
E ki les vers fist e rima,
[Forment] se pena de bien dire; | 50 | Cunte, barun e vavassur
Aiment cuntés, chanceuns e
fables
E bons diz qui sunt delitables, |

MS 1 cum, pechere; 2 manere; 4 peche; 5 courte, hantey; 6 fesei; 7 chanceunettes; 9 teles; 10 puise, treire; 13 fit; 14 tynt; 15 burderay; 16 noun; 17 jolifs, joefnesce; 20 mettrai; 22 Dieus, me ayde; 24 of, moy; 27 mult; 28 il; 29 cum, menteonge; 30 ressemble, suonge; 31 put; 34 ces, curtes; 35 autresi; 37 compensa (see *List of Words*); 39 ele; 41 cher; 42 cunt, chivaler; 44 lire le; 45 les; 46 soleient; 47 De joye les oyent; 49 courtur; 50 cunt, vavassur; 52 bon, dilitables;

- Kar il ostent e getent puer
Doel, enui e travail de quer,
55 E si funt ires ubliër
E del quer ostent le penser.
Kant cil e vus, segnur trestuit,
Amez tel ovre e tel deduit,
Si vus volez entendre a mei,
60 Jeo vus dirai par dreite fei
Un deduit qui mielz valt asez
Ke cez autres ke tant amez,
E plus delitable a oïr;
Si purrez les almes garir
65 E les cors garantir de hunte.
Mult deit hom bien oïr tel cunte;
Hom deit mult mielz a sen entendre
K'en folie le tens despendre.
Un deduit par vers vus dirai
70 Ke sunt de sen e si verai
K'unkes rien ne pout plus veir
estre,
Kar bien le virent nostre an-
cestre,
E nus en après d'eir en eir
- Avum bien veü que c'est veir,
75 Kar a noz tens est avenu
De ceste oevre meinte vertu.
Ceo que hom veit, ceo deit hom
creire,
Kar ceo n'est passunge n'arveire.
Les vers que vus dirai si sunt
80 Des enfances de Seint Edmunt
E des miracles altres;
Unkes hom plus beals n'[en] oï.
Rei, duc, prince e empereür,
Cunte, barun e vavassur
85 Deivent bien a ceste oevre en-
tendre,
Kar bon ensample i purrunt
prendre.
Reis deit bien oïr d'altre rei
E l'ensample tenir a sei,
E duc de duc e quens de cunte,
90 Kant la reison a bien amunte.
Les bones genz deivent amer
D'oïr retenir e recunter
Des bones gestes les estoires
E retenir en lur memoires.

II (ll. 3261-86)

- Translaté avum l'aventure,
Solum le livre e l'escripture,
De Seint Edmund, coment il
vint
En Engleterre que il tint,
3265 Dunt rei fu tant cum il vesqui,
E del martire qu'il sufri.
Translaté l'ai desqu'a la fin
E de l'engleis e del latin
- Qu'en franceis le puissent en-
tendre
3270 li grant, [li meien] e li mendre.
Uncor volum avant aler
E les granz miracles cunter
Que nostre sire Jhesu Crist
Pur sue amur mustra e fist.
3275 Dit en ai [une] grant partie
En sun martire e en sa vie,

53 hostent, gettent, penser; 54 travaille; 56 hostent; 60 dreit; 61 milez; 62 ces, autres; 65 garaunter; 66 homme; 67 homme; 69 dedut, dirray; 70 verray; 73 de eyr; 74 ceo est; 75 nos, aveneu; 76 cestre, verteu; 77 crere; 78 ne arveire; 79 dirray; 80 enfantes; 81 de, autresi; 82 homme, ne oy; 83 emperur; 84 cunt, vavassur; 86 il purrunt; 87 rei, de autre; 91 bons; 92 de oïr; 93 bons gestes e les estoyres; 94 e retenir e lur.

MS 3264 Engleterre; 3265 vesquit; 3266 martir, suffrit; 3267 desque; 3269 que en, poent; 3270 E li grant e li mendre (6 syll.); 3271 uncore; 3274 s'amur (7 syll.);

Meis ore vus dirai la sume;		Ke jeo resnablement la face,
Nel tinc pas a fais n'a grant		E gré me sache de ma peine
sume.		E Deus e Seint Edmund de-
Denis Piramus kil translate		meine
3280 Nel tient pas a fais n'a barate.	3285	E de l'eglise li segnur
Li Seint Espirit me [dunt grace]		Ki m'unt enchargié cest labor!

3277 dirrai, summe; 3278 tint, ne a, summe; 3279 ad translate; 3280 ne a baratte; 3281 me seit grante; 3282 renablement; 3283 sace; 3284 Dieus; 3286 me unt.

The name Piramus coming from the classical story of *Piramus and Thisbe* already occurs in Crestien de Troyes, *Lancelot* 3821; otherwise this name is unusual. It appears also, however, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum* (IX, 8), where we are told about a "Piramus capellanus," Arthur's chaplain; Wace (*Brut* 9842) reproduces it as Pyram. It is found also as Pyrannus in Matthew of Westminster, as Pyramos in the Pseudo-Gildas.¹ Piramus may possibly be a variant of Piranus: St. Piranus, in turn, seems to be identical with the Irish saint, Kiranus.² We also find mention of a "Hugo Pirramus and Idonia his wife," as Ward pointed out, in the *Rotuli curiae regis* for 1199-1200.³ It is, therefore, evident that Piramus with the Latin ending was used as a family name.⁴

Was Denis Piramus a courtier, a good knight, and a clever versifier of light songs who repented in his later years? Was he a clerk serving at court in the capacity of tutor or chaplain to some noble man or noble lady? Did he later withdraw from the court, possibly at the time of Henry II's troubles with Becket, and take refuge in St. Edmund's Abbey? Was he a wandering *trouvère* who finally stranded at St. Edmund's and was given a lodging there?

Judging from the contents of his *Vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus appears to have been a man of attainments. Not to mention his literary activities at court and his familiarity with Marie's *Lais* and with *Partonopeus de Blois*, Denis was conversant with Latin

¹ Cf. Gottfried von Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854, p. 379, note.

² Cf. *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, and San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 379, note.

³ Cf. *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 704; *Record Commission*, II, 146.

⁴ Cf. *The Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, ed. Th. Stapleton, London, 1844, and other *Rolls* of that time, show such names as Eudo Ruffus, Ricardus Canutus, Robertus Balduinus, etc. Cf. also Hugh Lupus, Duffus, etc.

and English (cf. l. 3268). His enthusiastic eulogy of *la clergie* (cf. ll. 1581–88) and his use of words such as *besorder*, *tresvasez* (cf. *List of Words*) may also point to a clerk.

Denis claims (l. 3285) that *li segnur de l'eglise* engaged him to write his work. The *eglise* referred to is evidently St. Edmund's Abbey. There he could most readily obtain the necessary data concerning St. Edmund's life. Jocelin¹ speaks of it in the same terms—*ecclesia Sancti Eadmundi*. "*Li segnur*" (*Domini ecclesiae*) were apparently the abbot, the prior, and the sub-prior, in short, the heads of the abbey.

The poem was apparently intended to be read or recited (cf. *ore oëz*, *Cristiene gent* 95, and so ll. 3074, 60, 79, 126, 3320, etc.) to an audience of nobles (cf. ll. 49–65). It was translated from the English and Latin:

Qu'en franceis le puissent entendre
Li grant, [li meien] e li mendre.

The intention of the *segnurs* is obvious: the translation may be said to have been ordered with a view to acquaint the Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin nobles with an English saint and martyr's life and deeds. The Abbey had become a well-known place of pilgrimage and was accustomed to receive guests of note. Was the *Life* written and read on the occasion of the visit of a particular prince? This is not impossible. A reading in the royal guests' language on St. Edmund's life would appear to be a most appropriate entertainment: it would advertise the abbey and prompt the French-speaking listeners to make valuable gifts.

To obtain further data about Denis, we should naturally examine closely the collected "Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey." But as Arnold remarked,² "the history of the community, and of any remarkable men who may have arisen in it from age to age is less easily ascertained"; and, further, "we rarely obtain any insight into the characters of the individual men who carried on the work from generation to generation." Yet it has escaped notice that mention is made of a certain "Magister Dionisius" in Jocelin's *Chronicles*,³ where events are recorded which took place in the Abbey between 1173 and 1202, in the time of Abbots Hugh and Samson.

¹ Cf. *Memorials*, I, 209.

² Cf. *ibid.*, I, vi.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 209–336.

The omission of the surname "Piramus" need not surprise us. In Jocelin's *Chronicles*, the monks are usually mentioned by their first names only, for instance: Ricardus, Jocelinus, Robertus. This Magister Dionisius rose to such importance as to become a rival of Magister Samson at the time of the election of a new abbot, in 1182. He is spoken of on several occasions:

About 1173, during Abbot Hugh's time, Dionisius is said to have just returned from banishment—possibly from the priory of Castle Acre, a Cluniac institution, if my interpretation of Samson's speech be right—where he had been sent, along with Samson and others, because, as Samson is reported to have said, "locuti sumus pro communi bono ecclesiae nostrae contra voluntatem abbatis."¹

In 1176 Dionisius performed the office of "cellerarius" and he is said to have reduced the convent debt "per providentiam suam et cautelam."²

In 1182 Dionisius was one of twelve monks who appeared before Henry II at Waltham for the purpose of electing a new abbot. At the king's order, the monks nominated three candidates. Samson was one of these, but as the king did not know any of the three, he bade them nominate three others, and so the nomination of Dionisius ensued. Later on, Samson and the prior were left as the only suitable nominees. Dionisius, acting as spokesman for all the deputies, commended both of them, but "semper in angulo sui sermonis Samsonem protulit," whereupon Samson was elected.³

The last mention of Dionisius appears in 1200. Here he is plainly opposed to Abbot Samson's misdeeds. It is recorded that Samson had sold a certain office to one of his own servants, and to quote Jocelin's words: "Unde et magistro Dionisio monacho dicenti, tale factum inauditum esse, respondit abbas, 'Non desinam facere voluntatem meam magis pro te, quam pro juvencello illo.'"⁴ There is also a further mention of Magister Dionisius as appearing before the Curia regis in 1191.⁵

It seems permissible to identify Dionisius of the *Chronicles* with Denis Piramus of *La vie Seint Edmunt* for the following reasons:

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 212.

² Cf. *ibid.*, I, 223-29.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 213.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, I, 327-28.

⁵ Cf. "Pedes Finium," *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* (London, 1894), XVII, 10.

1. The dates offer no objection. Denis may have left the Court and have entered St. Edmund's Abbey when Henry II had troubles with the church and Becket, in or about 1170.

2. In the *Chronicles*, Dionisius is mentioned as "Magister" and "Monachus," while in *La vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus appears to have been a court poet in his youth, and, later, a clerk and a scholar who wrote his poem at the request of the heads of the abbey.

3. In 1200, Dionisius must have been an elderly person, and Samson's reply leads one to make the same inference, since Dionisius is contrasted with a "juvencellus." In *La vie Seint Edmunt*, Denis Piramus tells us:

Les jurs jolis de ma joenesce
S'en vunt, si trei jeo a veilesce.

4. Dionisius and Denis Piramus stand out as upright, worthy persons. If, at the time of Abbot Samson's election, the proceedings at court were carried on in French, Dionisius may have been chosen as spokesman by his fellow-monks on account of his fluency in French, and because of his self-confidence, acquired during his stay at court.

5. It is also possible to admit that because of the friction which arose between him and Abbot Samson in or before 1200, Dionisius, if he be the same person as Denis Piramus, lost interest in his work, and, contrary to the desire of his *segnurs*, left unfinished the second part of his poem.

After 1200 no more is heard of Dionisius. In a list which mentions all the monks—62 in all—who stood for or against the election of Abbot Hugo, in 1214, the name Dionisius does not appear.¹ It may, therefore, be conjectured that Magister Dionisius either left the abbey or, what is more probable, died before 1214.

In the prologue we are told something about the author's stay at court and about his writing love-songs for the nobles. Apparently the court Denis refers to was that of Henry II and Aliénor; it is less likely that he refers to some baronial house of the period.

The *genres* of poetry which Denis claims to have written are worth examining. They plainly denote a Provençal origin or influence, and, considering the social relations between Anjou and

¹ Cf. *Memorials, Electio Hugonis*, II, 75-76.

Aquitaine, these poems are such as one might expect to find at the court of Anjou.

According to Gröber¹ *serventeis*, *chansonetes* (*rimes*), *et saluz* are supposed to mean "lyrische Texte von höfischer Art." The *serventeis*, to quote P. Meyer² "paraît désigner d'abord des poésies d'agrément, non pas, comme plus tard, des chansons religieuses. Comme en provençal, on a appliqué cette dénomination à des chansons ayant un caractère politique." "Poésie d'agrément" is evidently what *serventeis* means to Denis. It is found with this meaning as early as Wace and as late as Eustache Deschamps, who leaves out the *serventeis* in his *Art de dictier*,³ "pour ce que c'est ouvrage qui se porte aux puis d'amours et que nobles hommes n'ont pas acoustumé de ce faire." As regards the origin of the *serventeis*, P. Meyer remarks that "le mot a dû être créé dans le Midi," and further adds, "s'il en est ainsi, le mot *serventeis* serait l'un des plus anciens exemples de l'influence de la poésie des troubadours sur celle des trouvères." To write *serventeis*, as it seems, was a common thing early in the West, and Wace's verses justify this view:

Mais or puis je lunges penser,
Livres escrire e translater,
Faire rumanz e serventeis.

—*R. de Rou*, III, ll. 151-53.

Similarly in *R. de Rou*, II, l. 4148. As is known, Richard Cœur de Lion, the son of Aliénor, composed some.⁴ Denis Piramus appears to have been one of the first western writers to mention these lyrical poems.

The *Salut*, or *Salut d'amour*, is defined by Raynouard⁵ as "une pièce qui commençait par une salutation à la dame dont le poète faisait l'éloge." This genre is common to both French and Provençal literatures, but, as P. Meyer thinks,⁶ it is unknown elsewhere, and, to quote his words, "je doute même qu'il ait été fréquent en Angleterre." He adds in a note, "le seul texte anglo-normand que

¹ Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 661.

² Cf. *Romania*, XIX, 28, 29.

³ Cf. *Œuvres*, p. p. G. Raynaud, VII, 281.

⁴ Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 661, 675.

⁵ Cf. *Poésies des troubadours*, II, 258.

⁶ Cf. *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 6^e série, III (1867), p. 124.

j'aie rencontré sur les Saluts est d'un poète du XIII^e siècle, Denis Piramus." The *Salut* appeared first in Provençal in the twelfth century (before Rambaud d'Orange), and in French poetry a century later.¹

In Provençal, the *chansonette*² appears with the first troubadour poet, William IX, Count of Poitiers, and later with Peirol, Raimon de Miraval.³ In French, mention of it is made by Crestien de Troyes:

Aussi con maint home divers
Pueent ou chancenete ou vers
Chanter a une concordance.

—*Cligés*, ll. 2843–45.

We have *chansonettes* composed by Guiot de Provins, a protégé of William V, Count of Mâcon, by an anonymous author, and later by Raoul de Soissons, a friend of King Thiébaud of Navarre,⁴ etc.

According to F. Wolf, *rime* appears to denote the octosyllabic riming couplet, and he thinks, "es scheint dass sie [the *trouvères*] durch *rime* vorzugsweise diese kurzen höfischen Reimpaare und die in dieser Form abgefassten Gedichte überhaupt bezeichnet haben."⁵ Wolf admits that *rimes* in our poem is represented "als eine eigene besondere [Form]," but he adds "worunter wohl nur die höfischen Reimpaare zu verstehen sind." Yet *rimes* may have here a technical meaning and may refer to a special genre of love-song or light poem. The following instances would tend to support such a contention:

J'ai fait fabliaus et contes, rimes et servantois
Pour desduire la gent environ cui j'estois.

—*Chastie Musart*, I, A. Tobler, *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, IX, 329.

Et les leçons que chanter on y ose,
Ce sont rondeaux, ballades, virelais,
Motz a plaisir, rithmes et triolletz,
Lesquelz Venus apprend a retenir
A un grand tas d'amoureux nouvelletz.

—C. Marot, *Le temple de Cupido*, 327–31;
Œuvres, ed. G. Guiffrey, II, 89.

¹ Cf. P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 127.

² Cf. Diez, *Poesie der Troubadours*, pp. 110, 251; Raynouard, *Poesies des troubadours*, II, 169.

³ Cf. Raynouard, *op. cit.*, III, 1; V, 284, 287; II, 164, 169.

⁴ Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXIII, 611; W. Wackernagel, *Altfranzös. Lieder und Leiche*, pp. 25, 9; Mätzner, *Altfranzös. Lieder*, pp. 20, 163.

⁵ Cf. *Über die Lais*, pp. 177–81, 162, 16.

In Provençal, *rim*, *rîma*, and *rimeta* have the meaning of "poème," "petit poème." *Rimeta* occurs as early as Rambaud d'Orange:

En aital rimeta prima
M'agradon leu mot e prim.

—Raynouard, *Lex. roman.*

In Spanish and Italian, as is known, *rima*, pl. *rimas*, *rime*, may refer to a metrical composition.

Our author's testimony as to the popularity of *Partonopeus de Blois* and of Marie's *Lais* corroborates the assumption that Henry II's court is the one referred to here. It was no doubt in courtly circles that Denis obtained his familiarity with the works of his contemporaries. As regards Marie de France, we know now with a high degree of probability in what relations she stood to Henry II and the royal family,¹ and we may suppose that her *Lais* were in vogue during the latter part of her half-brother's reign. Was Denis a fellow-poet in the royal circles where his more gifted rivals were outshining him in wit and genius? It is not impossible, for we find that when Denis is writing *La vie Seint Edmunt*, it is with a bit of spite mingled with regret that he looks upon the success of *Dame Marie* (cf. ll. 39-40), and of him *qui Partonopé trova* (cf. ll. 32-34).

Is there anything outside of the language which would tend to show that Denis Piramus had sojourned in France?

Evidently *La vie Seint Edmunt* was composed in England, yet it seems highly probable that the author must have lived on the Continent at some time for the following reasons:

1. His acquaintance with four types of love-songs of Provençal origin would be rather remarkable otherwise.

2. His knowledge of nautical terms and his delight in dwelling on the details of sea voyages indicate that he may have crossed the Channel more than once.

3. Another remark, of more doubtful value, may also be made. Success in the lyric poetry of a cultured and literary society presupposes on the part of the poet a familiarity with the *nuances* of the language, and also possibly the same dialectical pronunciation as the audience he is addressing. Conon de Béthune records for us the taunts he had to endure at the court of Philippe Auguste's mother.

¹ Cf. J. C. Fox, *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 303-6; XXVI (1911), 317-26; E. Faral, *Romania*, XXXIX, 625.

It is not too much to claim that only a young poet born of Norman or Angevin parents, whether in France or in England, would have met such requirements as these.

La vie Seint Edmunt has always been considered an Anglo-Norman poem.¹ The presence of the following traits supports this view: (1) silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus; see below, § 71; (2) non-agreement of the predicate adjective and participle, §§ 40-43; (3) substitution of the object for the subject not in the predicate, §§ 40-43; (4) reduction of *ie* to *e*, § 12; (5) use of *que* for *qui*, § 53.

Some reservations should be made for (1) and (4). As for (2) and (3), they are also found in continental writers. Here follows a summary of other linguistic traits shown by our text: (6) separation of *o* and from *ü*, § 8; (7) separation of *o* from checked open *ò*, § 7, § 8; (8) confusion of *o* <checked *ō* (ǔ) and *ou* <free *ō* (ǔ) and *ō* (ǔ)+*u*, § 8; (9) *ue* <short *ö* rimes only with itself, § 16; (10) *ö*+*ı* becomes *ui:nuît*, § 17; (11) no reduction of *ui* to *ü* or *i*, § 17; (12) *ě*+*ı* becomes *i:delit*, § 6; (13) *iër* <-*ider* rimes with *ē* only: *aftër:jurer* 878, § 12; (14) after *i*, *ē* <Latin tonic *A* becomes *ie:otreiier*, § 12; (15) separation of infinitives in *eir* <ERE from those in *ēr* <ARE, § 10, § 55; (16) separation of *ei* from *ai*, save in *vait:dreit*, § 9, § 10; (17) *ai* rimes with *e* in the groups *-aistre -ait -ais* only, § 9; (18) separation of *e* <checked *ě* (AE) from *ę* <checked *ē* (Y) save before nasals, § 2 § 3; (19) separation of *ē* from *ę* and *e*, § 4; (20) separation of *an* from *en*, § 18; (21) confusion of *ain* and *ein*, but not before *ñ*, § 22; (22) *iën* rimes with *ien*, § 23; (23) *uen* rimes with *en*, § 25; (24) separation of final *-z* and *-s*, § 30; (25) no conclusive instance to show that *s* has become silent before *t*, § 30; (26) no confusion of *n* and *ñ*, § 27; (27) disappearance of *l* in *ül*+con., *l'* in *il'*+con.; no evidence as to other groups, § 26; (28) no *e* in the ind. pres. I of conj. I, § 54; (29) no *e* in the subj. pres. 3 of conj. I, § 57; (30) endings *ium*, *iëz* of the impf. and cond. are dissyllabic, § 54; (31) save in two doubtful cases, impfs. of conj. I. do not mix with those of other conj., § 58; (32) preterite III in *-ié*, § 59; (33) subj. pres. in *-ge*, § 57; (34) enclitic use of the pronoun *le* after a verb, § 70.

¹Cf. G. Paris, *La litt. franç. au M.-A.* (1905), §148; Suchler, *St.-Auban*, p. 3; Visling, *Étude*, pp. 16-62; Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 43.

The foregoing summary shows that, upon the whole, the language of Denis Piramus does not differ essentially from that of western continental poets. The phonology of our author, if it be compared with that of Anglo-Norman writers between approximately 1170 and 1210, as for instance Adgar, Fantosme, Simund de Freine, Chardri, stands out as remarkably pure.

I. In many respects Denis' language is similar to that of Marie de France. The following traits are also represented in her works: (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (22), (24), (25), (26), (27),¹ (28), (29), (30), (31).

II. Some traits appear in Benoît de Sainte-Maure: (2), (3), (4), (23), (32), (33), (34).

III. Guillaume le Clerc shows no reduction of *ui* to *i*, (11).

IV. *Partonopeus de Blois* shows the confusion of *ai* and *ei*, (16).

Considering the purity of Denis' phonology, which led Suchier to include *La vie Seint Edmunt* in the first Anglo-Norman period, considering also the facts which have been brought out with reference to the life of the author, it may be justifiable to conjecture that Denis Piramus, like Frère Angier, was a continental who went to England in his youth. In England he may have acquired the Anglo-Norman traits found in his language (the silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus, and the use of *que* for *qui*), or he may have preserved native characteristics which possibly became more marked during his stay on English soil (the reduction of *ie* to *e* and the disorganization of the case-flexion). We have a similar instance in Marie de France, whose language (I refer to the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*) shows to what extent the poet of the *Lais* fell under the influence of the Anglo-Norman environment.

The attempt to determine Denis' dialect thus offers some difficulties, and may appear idle. Yet another suggestion may be made: as the language of our author agrees in many respects with that of Marie de France, it may be supposed that Denis Piramus came from the same region as Marie. If the latter be the same person as the Abbess of Shaftesbury, she was probably born in Maine, as her half-brother Henry II was. Hence, in such a case, Denis Piramus would

¹ In Marie, *l'* has disappeared in *il'* + cons., and *l* is vocalized in *sous* < *sōlvs*, *genuz* < **genūcculos*. There is no evidence as to other groups.

come from Maine. Other traits, which have been indicated above, found also in southwestern authors, would tend to corroborate this view.

However tempting this conjecture may be, it must be borne in mind that in the case of *La vie Seint Edmund* we may have to deal with a literary language used skilfully by an Anglo-Norman writer and that further data on the author's life and origin are not yet available. Consequently, for the present, we do not feel warranted in excluding *La vie Seint Edmund* from the Anglo-Norman dialect.

Save Suchier, who classes it with the earliest Anglo-Norman monuments, that is, in the first period (till after 1150), scholars agree in dating *La vie Seint Edmund* after 1180.¹

If what has been said with reference to the life of the author and to the contents of the poem be taken into consideration, namely, (1) that Denis Piramus may be identified with Magister Dionisius of Jocelin's *Chronicles*, whose presence in the monastery from 1173 to 1200 is recorded and who probably died before 1214; (2) that some years must have elapsed for Marie's *Lais* to gain their vogue (the composition of Marie's poems referred to in the *Life* is set by Warnke at not before 1165, by Suchier between 1160 and 1170, and by G. Paris as late as 1180), it may be assumed that *La vie Seint Edmund* could hardly have been written before 1175, or, if we accept G. Paris' dating of the *Lais*, before 1190.

LANGUAGE OF DENIS PIRAMUS

VOWELS

§ 1. *A*.—Both *al* and *el* from the Latin suffix *-ALIS* appear in our poem: *real:hospital* 627:*estal* 731, *seneschal:leal* 1725 but *hostel:espiritel* 2855. The MS shows *tel, quel* regularly.

§ 2. *E*.—French open *e* does not rime with short *ɛ*, or with long *ē*: *tere:conquere* 207:*guere* 1424, *estre:ancestre* 71, *teste:beste* 2751, *batel:damisel* 1385, *apres:ades* 3507, *discovert:apert* 3967, *est:est* (East) 119. Out of 72 rimes, 65 are pure and 7 are mixed with *ai*; cf. § 9.

§ 3. *Ĕ* rimes only with itself: *chapelete:petitete* 2829, *joefnesce:veillesce* 17, *tramettent:demettent* 257, *conqueste:ceste* 1987, *prest:conquest* 277, *merveil:*

¹ Cf. Ueber die " *Vie de Seint Auban*," p. 3; G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 38; *Litt. franç. au. M. A.* (1905), § 148; Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 646-47; P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 346; Th. Arnold, *Memorials*, II, 137; Mrs. Ravenel, *La vie Seint Edmund*, p. 53; Voretzsch, *Studium der Altfr. Lit.*, p. 147.

conseil 937. ξ is found once riming with *ai*<A+I *fet:nel*<NĪTIDUM 661. This confusion occurs in incorrect lines, and it may be questioned whether it belongs to the author.

§ 4. \tilde{e} .—Save in a few instances where it rimes with *ie* (see § 12), \tilde{e} is not mixed in rime with any other sound: 33, 39, 47, 61, 91, 541, 1451, 2855, etc. The imperfect of *estre*, *ert* and *erent* as usual have \tilde{e} : *erent:doterent* 197, *ert:pert*<PARET 2548. By the side of the usual *e*, this sound is represented by *ee*: *neefes* 179, *deleez* 3548; by *ei*: *sueif* 1522, *neis* 1943, *melleies* 3755, *espeies* 3756; by *ie*: *nief* 1067, *clier* 3029, *deliez* 1505, *martelier* 3143; by *i*: *til* 656, *estroyr*, 3763. The MS shows *miest*<MANSIT 1569, *remist* 165, 2664, and *remistrent* 2462.

§ 5. *Atonic e*.—Before the tonic syllable: By the side of the regular spelling *e*, as in *chevalerie* 396, *chemin* 452, the following spellings are to be found: (1) *a:chai* 390, *apareurent* 2751, *orfanins* 1845; (2) *o:bosoigne* 1196, *poür* 2173, *roundes* 309; (3) *u:sulum* 48, *sujurner* 163, *sucurs* 2189; (4) *oi:boisoigne* 630; (5) *ie:sorcierie* 1934; (6) *i:chimin* 614, *gisir* 763, *chivals* 1054, *primier* 1674; (7) *ei:treissor* 912.

§ 6. *I* from various sources is found in rime only with itself: *vie:folie* 3, *pais:pis* 271, *pleisir:tenir* 523. Latin \tilde{e} +I rimes with *i:escrit:delit* 43:lit 1302. Latin -ĪTIAM and -ĪTIUM become *ise* (MS *ise*, *ice*): *eglise:justise* 463: *sacrefice* 2505:*servise* 3014. Latin MATĒRIAM shows *matire:dire* 28 and *matere:artere* 2709 (cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, § 15a). The spellings *y*, *ei*, *ie* appear by the side of *i*: *ay* 1, *ayment* 51, etc., *chevalerie* 396, *fremierent*, 3612.

§ 7. *Q* from Latin AU and Latin checked δ rimes with itself only: *or:tresor* 537, *fort:mort* 667, *choses:encloses* 1785. As in most continental poems, *mot*<MŪTTUM:*clot* 743 appears with ϕ ,¹ it rimes with *out*<HABUIT 2337, cf. § 15.

In tonic or pretonic position the usual spelling for this sound is *o*. It also appears as *ou*: *ouré*<AURATUM 190, *ouwel* 296, *voult* 840, *vouer* 1006; as *u*: *ublier* 55, *murir* 875, etc.

§ 8. *Q* and *Ou*.— ϕ from Latin checked δ ($\check{\delta}$), ϕu from Latin free δ ($\check{\delta}$), and Latin δ ($\check{\delta}$)+ ψ have become close ϕ in our text and are found riming together: *jour:gaaignoür* 241, *estrus:enviüs* 1879, *estrus:vus* 727, *vus:andus* (MS *andeus*) 1085.

Here we may associate Denis with Marie (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxii, lxxxvi), Benoît (cf. *R. de Troie*, pp. 121, 122), *Partonopeus* (cf. *amor:jor* 21, *vos:angoissos* 1509, *vos:los*<LŪPOS 8535).

Q is not found in rime with any other sound. The rime *peresceuz* (*perecos*):*venuz* 3854 is very doubtful and ought probably to be discarded because -s and -z do not rime with one another. *Perceüz* may possibly be read instead of *peresceuz* (cf. *List of Words*).

In the MS the tonic syllable *o* in or out of rime is represented by *ue*: *surs:curs* 1531; by *ou*: *pastour:treitour* 2117; by *eu*: *andeus*, 1086, *piteus*:

¹ Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. xlv.

2447; by *o*:*laborent* 239, *proz* 3245. The spelling *u* is much the most common. In pretonic syllable it appears as *u*, *o*, and *ou*; *u* being more generally used than *o*.

§ 8. *Ü*.—The rimes in *ü* from various sources are pure: 15, 75, 145, 587, 1209, etc. By the side of the usual spelling *u*, the MS shows twice *ui* (*uy*):*druy* 618, *murmüre* 1534; and sometimes *eu*:*aveneu*:*verteu* 75. The parasitic *e* in the latter spelling may arise by analogy to words which have an *e* etymologically.¹

§ 9. *ai*.—The rimes in *ai* are mostly pure: *mais*:*fais*<*FASCEM* 143, *retreire*:*bon eire* 495, *enfrez*:*forfez* 1289. *ai* in the groups *-aistre*, *-ait*, *-ais* rimes with *ę* from Latin checked *ĕ*: *mestre*:*estre* 32, *veit*:*set*<*SEPTEM* 3850, *mes*:*apres* 1576.

Here Denis may be associated with Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiii), Benoît de Ste. Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 114), *Partonopeus* (cf. *mestre*:*estre* 929, *forest*:*trest* 744, no *-ait* group, *pes*:*apres* 919, *baisse*:*presse* 7483).

ai is found once in rime with *ei*: *vait* (MS *veit*):*dreit* 785, possibly also in Marie de France (*espleit*:*fait* *El.* 223:*estait* *ib.* 337), and in the *Life of St. Osith* (*vait*:*dreit* 899). These rimes are not necessarily to be discarded as incorrect.²

According to Suchier (*op. cit.*, § 30b) in Anglo-Norman "*ei*, surtout devant *s*, *r*, *d*, *t*, est passé à *ai* avant que l'ancien *ai* ne fût contracté en *ę*." With this fact in view, the presence of such rimes in Denis, Marie de France, and in the *Life of St. Osith* may be explained as being due to Anglo-Norman influence. On the other hand, these rimes may serve as evidence that the western or southwestern French dialect had an influence on the language of Denis and Marie.

The confusion of *ei* and *ai* is found frequently in *Partonopeus de Blois* (cf. *palais*:*deis* 4143: *queis* 5093: *maneis* 1847).³ For the rime *fait* (MS *fet*):*net* 661; cf. § 3. As regards the spelling in rime-words, 42 appear with *ai*; 34 with *ei*; 31 with *e*; and 2 with *ie*; out of rime, in tonic or pretonic positions, *ei* is more frequently used than *ai* or *e*.

§ 10. *Ei*.—The rimes in *ei* are all pure: *rei*:*sei* 87, *dreit*:*esteit* 641, *anceis*:*reis* 1127, *aver*:*saver* 1645, *creire*:*arveire* 77, *veie*:*desreie* 319.

ai+l' and *ei+l'* are kept separate: *soleil*:*vermeil* 1171: *conseil* 1266, *asaile*:*bataile* 1617, *vilanaile*:*rascaile* 2161. For the rime *veit*:*dreit* 785; cf. § 9. Excepting a few instances, *ei* is the usual spelling for this sound; *e* appears occasionally. To be noted are: *lay*:*fay* 2677, *fiz* 1683, *moy* 24, 542, *consail*:*mervail* 938: *solail* 1265.

¹ Cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Haumontone*, p. 180.

² Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiv; A. T. Baker, *Mod. Lang. Review* (1912), VII, 81.

³ Cf. T. A. Jenkins, *Modern Philology* (1913), X, 448, who claims that *Partonopeus de Blois* "from trustworthy indications, belongs in the Loire valley, possibly in the region of the Sarthe."

§ 11. *Eu*.—Latin *DEŪS* appears as *Dieus* in the MS. This spelling is to be ascribed to the copyist. The only rime where this word occurs indicates that *eu* is to be expected for the author: *Deu:Eliseu*<ELISEUM 3191.

§ 12. *Ie*.—The rimes in *ie* are for the most part pure. Out of the 4032 lines of *La vie Seint Edmunt*, there are 323 rimes in *ē*, 129 in *ie*, and 4 in *ē* mixed with *ie*: *conseilier:gaimenter* 869, *justisier:mer* 1653, *enfundrer:drescier* 3133, *cessez:jugiez* 3189.

Of these four cases, *justisier* and *cessez* are not sure: *justisier* appears in a doubtful line, and it rimes elsewhere regularly with *-ier*: *mestier* 715, *dreituriers* 771; *cesser* rimes in the same poem regularly with *ē*: *demener* 3425, and *cessiez* may, therefore, stand for *laissiez*. Two other instances of confusion may be explained: *sazees* (: *cuntrees*) 416 stands for *asazees* and is regular; *eslize* (: *preisiez*) 1061, Imperat 5 (*-ez* through the influence of the preceding *i* may become *iez*) ought to be included in the list of words which rime now with *ie*, now with *ē*: cf. *conseillez* (Imperat 5): *eslizez* 3525 (*Vie de St. Gilles*), *eslisiez* 275, 877 (Stengel, *Roland*), and also *prisiez:despisiez* 3564 (*Erec et Enide*), *avillier* in Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxv). There are, therefore, apparently only two sure instances of mixed rimes. It is to be noted that in these two cases of confusion *ie* comes from Latin *a* by Bartsch's law, and to quote Miss Pope (*Étude*, p. 57), "dans les dialectes du Sud-Ouest et en partie du Nord-Ouest, la loi de Bartsch ne s'opère pas: *ie* et *e* se trouvent mêlés dans l'*Épître de Saint Etienne*, dans le *Sponsus*, dans le *Saint Martin* et dans l'orthographe des chartes de toute cette partie de la France." Suchier (cf. *op. cit.*, § 29e) states that rhymes of *ie* and *ē* were not avoided scrupulously by Benoit and adds: "ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par son origine méridionale (Touraine)." G. Paris (cf. *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxiv) also admits that the confusion of *ie* and *ē* is found, though rarely, in Norman texts of the twelfth century. In view of so small a proportion of mixed rimes, Jenkins thought (cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XXII, 195) that the exclusion of *La vie Seint Edmunt* from Suchier's first group could hardly be warranted. Our poem, however, must have been written at a later date.

-Iër from *-ider* rimes only with *ē*: *ubliër:penser* 55, *afîr:jurer* 878, *guiër:mer* 1344, *mercië:conquesté* 2974. In this particular rime Denis Piramus is to be classed with Wace, Marie de France, and Guillaume le Clerc.¹ It may be noted that instances of *-iër* from *-ier* are already found in Benoit, Ambroise, and Garnier. For Simund de Freine (end of the twelfth century) *-iër* in *fiër* appears to count for one syllable.

After an *i*, *ē* from Latin tonic *Λ* becomes *ie*: *poplië:chacié* 325, *chier:otrier* 1327, *lië:enragié* 2373, *manîer:entier* 3221. The same development is to be found in Marie de France. This sound is usually represented by *ie* and *e* in almost the same proportion; *ee*, *ei*, and *i* appear rarely: *greef* 158, *lee* 174; *breif* 689, *peiz* 1435; *milz* 3022.

¹ Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiv; Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 17d.

§ 13. *Iu* (*ieu*).—Our text shows both *fié* and *fiu* in rime; *fiu:liu* 2915, *fié:leissié* 2850; and this associates Denis with the author of the *Roland*, Marie, Garnier and with the author of *Partonopeus* (cf. *fiu:liu* 1718, *fié:congié* 1195). *Lius* < LÖCUM rimes with *pius* < PIUS 624. The MS shows for Latin LÖCUM, JÖCUM, FÖCUM: *liu* 1531, *geu* 563, *feu* 2126.

§ 14. *Qi* and *qi*.—In the few rimes found in our poem, the two sounds remain separate: *qi:picois:chois* < KAUSJAN 3145; in the learned words which have *q* for *ç*: *estoire:gloire* 2503, *glorie:victorie* 3861; *qi:croiz:voiz* 2393, 2448. The MS shows *conustre* for *conoistre* 589, 1929.

§ 15. *Qu*.—The endings *-out* (*-ot*) of the imp. of the I conj. and the pret. of the III conj. is found in rime mainly with itself. *Penout:pout* 499, *parlout:sujournout* 1145, *desplout:out* 831; the MS shows *sorent:orent* 1594: *porent* 2820. This sound rimes once with *ç*: *mot:out* 2337. The same confusion appears also in Marie de France, Raoul de Houdan, Garnier (*Wolfenbüttel* MS), etc. and the author of *Partonopeus de Blois* (cf. *mot:sot* < SAPUIT 187).

§ 16. *Ue*.—*Ue* from Latin free *ö* and free *ō* (*ö*) before *p*, is found in rime with itself only: *estuet:puet* 1333, *foer:quoer* 1941, *ovre:recorre* < RECUPERAT 2419, *broil:foil* 2697. *Penser:quer* 53 appears to be an incorret rime due to the scribe.¹

The rime *vesquens:tens* 3541 shows that *ö*+nasal had diphthongized. This sound is denoted by various spellings: by (1) *ue:estuet* 646, *puet* 2079; (2) *oe:estoet* 1003, *poet* 865, *poep* 704; (3) *o:trovent* 219, *ovre* 1232, *iloc* 2155; (4) *u:iluc* 345, *put* 651, *murt* 652; (5) *ou:voult* 2223; (6) *oe* and *oi* before *l*: *doel* 54, *oil* 2331, *soil* 2332; (7) *e*: *nef* 2060.

For Latin *cōr*, the MS shows *quer* 56, *quoer* 1942, *quor* 2284.

§ 17. *Ui*.—*Uei* from Latin *ū*+*ī* is reduced to *ui* and rimes regularly with *ui* from other sources. All the rimes in *ui* are pure: *lui:ennui* 1391: *fui*:1696: *ambedui* 3444, *deduit* < DŪCTUM with *ū* of *dūco:trestuit* 58: *nuit* 1400, *tuit:nuit* 3307.

By the side of the usual spelling *ui*, *u* and *i* also appear. There is no evidence in rime-words of reduction of *ui* to *u* or to *i* as we find in Wace, Benoît, Marie. Guillaume le Clerc does not show any instance of reduction of *ui* to *i* and here we may class Denis with him.

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[To be concluded]

¹ *Penser* is to be replaced by *puer*, for (1) the line is too long by one syllable, and (2) *puer* makes better sense; *geter puer* is a common O. Fr. expression.

THE "GRAMMAIRE FRANÇOISE" OF CHARLES MAUPAS

In the volume on the *Formation de la langue classique*,¹ the third of the *Histoire de la langue française*, by M. Ferdinand Brunot, the point of departure is found in the results obtained from a study of Malherbe's Commentary on Desportes, published by M. Brunot in 1891 under the title *La doctrine de Malherbe*. It was in this study that the *Grammar* of Charles Maupas was first recognized as of paramount importance for the history of the formation of classic French.²

This *Grammar*, like many of those most valuable to historians of the French language, was written to teach French to foreigners. Copies of the first edition, published at Blois in 1607,³ are rare. The copy I found at Paris was in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. It contains on the fly-leaf at the end an autograph *note de service* by M. Brunot which reads:

Volume rare. Maupas raconte, dans la Préface d'une édition postérieure, qu'il n'avait d'abord fait tirer qu'un très petit nombre d'exemplaires de sa grammaire; il les distribuait à ses élèves étrangers, et on s'explique facilement de la sorte qu'ils se soient perdus pour la plupart.

¹ Part I, 1909; Part II, 1911.

² The importance placed upon this *Grammar* by M. Brunot inspired evidently the recent work of M. Emile Winkler: *La doctrine grammaticale française d'après Maupas et Oudin* (Beiheft XXXVIII zur ZRPPh., 1912), Oudin being the "continuateur direct de Maupas" (*ibid.*, p. 3).

³ M. Winkler gives an interesting history of the book. It calls, however, for a few observations. To his "six éditions françaises et une traduction latine" (p. 6) there might have been added an English translation made by W. Aufield from the second French edition, London, 1634. There is a copy in the British Museum. To say also (p. 15) of the 1625 Paris reprint of the second edition that "Le seul exemplaire qu'on en connaisse se trouve à la Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève (X³ 332 Réserve. Comp. Brunot, Hist. III, 274)" is an error. The British Museum and Columbia University Library each possesses a copy. Unlike the copy of Ste.-Geneviève, they are bound alone, in the white vellum of the period. Apparently it was a copy similar to the one in Ste.-Geneviève, bound with the *Latin Grammar* of the same year (1625) of Philippus Garnerius, that was used for the Rouen edition of 1632, since the two are found bound together in this Rouen reprint in the copy in the Bibliothèque municipale de Brême, used by M. Winkler, and in the copy I myself found in the Bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon. M. Winkler made use of the 1618 edition as being more complete than the first (p. 10). The title-page of the second edition bears, it is true, the words "augmentée de moitié," but this is measurably true only of the part devoted to pronunciation (28 pages in the first edition, 41 pages in the second). Some new matter is elsewhere introduced, but enough is cut out or condensed to counterbalance this, so that the number of pages and of words to the page is the same in the two editions.

⁴ Mr. Barnard, an English bookseller, advertised not long since a copy of the second edition (1618) containing five leaves in manuscript, four containing the dedicatory letter

Cette édition de 1607 ne se trouve ni à la Sorbonne, ni au Musée pédagogique, ni à Ste.-Geneviève, ni à l'Arsenal. Stengel ne l'a trouvée en Allemagne qu'à Munich. Elle se trouve cependant dans la collection de M. le Comte de Signerolles. L'ouvrage, du reste, est fort important. Beaucoup de grammairiens postérieurs, jusqu'en 1640, le citent avec respect comme une autorité, principalement pour la syntaxe.

M. Brunot does not note that there is also a copy in the British Museum. It was there I first read it.

Six editions and two translations followed each other in a period of thirty-one years, an enviable record for a textbook of grammar at any period. A casual reading of it shows it to be the work of a sensible, thoughtful teacher. For Charles Maupas was a teacher of experience, and the work grew out of the necessities of his profession. Buckingham, to whom he writes a dedicatory letter,¹ had been one of his pupils. It cannot be supposed that his grammar had so long and useful a life because it had no rivals. From the time that Gautier de Biblessworth, toward the close of the thirteenth century, wrote his treatise on French to help the noble English lady Dionyse de Monchesney learn that tongue, every professor of a foreign language has been apt to feel at some period of his career an itching to give to the world what he conceives to be a new and royal road to its acquisition. And pupils of French were not wanting in the early seventeenth century. Pierre le Gaynard who published his Grammar in 1609, just two years after Maupas published his first edition, says:

Pour le jourd'huy la langue Françoisse precelle toutes les autres en gravité, gentillesse, bonne grace, mignardise, et richesse. Et c'est pourquoy les estrangers vienent icy en France pour l'aprendre comme nos enfans apprenent le Latin et le Grec.²

Good sense and simplicity of language characterize the 386 pages of Maupas' *Grammar*. One even asks oneself at times during the reading of the book what progress has been made in grammar-

to Buckingham that is found printed in subsequent editions, and the fifth bearing "obviously in the author's hand": "Memorial de perpetuelle servitude vouée à Mr. Willbraham par moy Charles Maupas. A Blois ce dixhuitième Sepbre, 1618." The dedicatory letter to Buckingham is here dated "A Blois ce XIII Oct., 1618." This is not without interest, since this letter in the printed editions of Paris (1625) and Rouen (1632) bears the date, "A Blois ce penultiesme Sep. 1618." (cf. Winkler, p. 16). Unfortunately Mr. Barnard's copy was sold when my order reached him.

¹ Cf. Winkler, p. 11.

² P. 165.

making in the three hundred years that have elapsed since its first publication.¹

It is not surprising, therefore, that M. Brunot considers this grammar very important, nor would it be surprising to find him supporting on it the opinion that Malherbe's language was in general the same as Maupas'. The sober and straightforward fashion in which Maupas expresses himself, the reasonableness of his explanations, his exhortations to avoid ambiguity² and to take heed to usage³ suggest a certain kinship to Malherbe.

But it is no superficial resemblance of this sort that M. Brunot would find in the language requirements of the two men. The rules that Maupas gives in his grammar of 1607 are said almost always to coincide with the rules of Malherbe as deduced from his Commentary on Desportes. As this Commentary was made for the most part in 1606, it is only the edition of Maupas of 1607 that would be of any avail in the argument. M. Brunot appreciates this so well that he carefully indicates the date. It would be as difficult to show that Maupas was uninfluenced by Malherbe in the revision of his grammar in 1618 when Malherbe was at the height of his power, as it would be to prove that the first edition was made under Malherbe's inspiration. Malherbe, M. Brunot says,

ne connaît qu'un maître, l'usage. . . . Ce n'est pas sans dessein en effet que pour presque tous les articles qui suivent nous avons rapproché les doctrines de Malherbe de celles des contemporains et particulièrement de Maupas.

Celui-ci ne peut pas, comme Deimier, être soupçonné d'avoir écrit sous l'influence de Malherbe. Il enseignait le français au dehors avant que le nouveau maître fût connu, il publie une première édition de sa grammaire dès 1607, c'est à dire si tôt après l'arrivée de Malherbe à Paris, qu'il n'eût matériellement pas pu subir son action à temps, même s'il se fût trouvé

¹ Note Maupas' saying that the giving in full of the paradigm for the passive voice would be only "remplissage de papier" (p. 239). The author of a recent French grammar unwittingly followed Maupas' example in this, thinking he was making a wise innovation. The manner in which Maupas insists upon a student's learning the five principal parts of a verb and then forming the other tenses upon these has scarcely been improved (pp. 200 ff.): "Et puis que toute la conjugaison des verbes depend des cinq parties cy dessus mentionnees, comme il a esté prouvé: Nous nous contenterons desormais de proposer sur chacune conjugaison les cinq parties de chaque verbe, desquelles, quiconque desire s'acquérir bonne et prompte intelligence de nostre langue, devra s'exercer à tirer tout le verbe selon les reigles ballees cydessus. Sauf a nous d'avertir s'il se trouve quelque irregularité ou observation particuliere" (pp. 240-41).

² P. 117.

³ P. 339.

auprès de lui, et il n'y était pas. Or, nous verrons que presque partout les règles que donnent Maupas et Malherbe coïncident."¹

The detailed exposition that follows does not seem, curiously enough, to warrant this last statement. Not only do Maupas and Malherbe agree not more than once out of three times, but when they do agree, it is upon well-established usages. Upon the firing line they stand back to back rather than shoulder to shoulder. Take, for example, the rule that the subject pronoun should regularly be expressed.² Maupas definitely states this just as Malherbe implies it. But Maupas proceeds to give three groups of cases in which such omission is allowed. Setting aside the first group, which may be considered archaic expressions, though nothing is said to this effect, Maupas approves by precept and example the omission of the subject pronoun of the first and second persons "en suite de propos." Malherbe scores Desportes repeatedly for their omission.³ Again, in a co-ordinate sentence following *et* and *si* "où la personne a esté suffisamment exprimée," the personal pronoun subject may be omitted according to Maupas, and the point is illustrated by two examples: "Vous m'avez bien conseillé, et vous croiray une autre fois. Il vous respecte et si vous servira bien." The omission in the first of these sentences would fall under the condemnation of Malherbe, and in the second the expression of the subject pronoun after *et* would be equally blameworthy. That is to say, Malherbe's rule⁴ that the subject pronoun of a co-ordinate sentence must never be expressed when it is the same as in the principal sentence but that otherwise its expression is obligatory, was unknown to Maupas. This seems quite enough to raise in the reader's mind the question of the justness of M. Brunot's generalization that Maupas' rules almost always coincide with Malherbe's.

But this is not all. The fact that a few of the notes made from the second⁵ edition were overlooked in the revision made later from the first edition of the Grammar is a negligible matter,⁶ compared

¹ *Doct.*, p. 221.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 378 ff.

³ Malherbe, *Œuvres*, ed. Lalanne, pp. 268, 290, 305, 317, 324 (3), 325, 336, 338, 339, 363(2), 364(2), etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 336, 361, 367, 370, 400, 402, 404, etc.; cf. *Doct.*, pp. 381 f.

⁵ *Doct.*, p. 339, note.

⁶ They are for the most part references to Maupas not found in the edition of 1607, such as: "Maupas dit qu'il [attraire] a le défini beaucoup plus en usage que le simple

with the number of forms and words condemned by Malherbe in Desportes that are found in Maupas and escaped M. Brunot's notice.

Ains,¹ according to Malherbe a "vieil mot qui ne vaut rien," *ainçois*,² a "mauvais mot," *nuissance*,³ *maint*,⁴ *guerdonner*,⁵ *bienheurer*,⁶ condemned for similar reasons, are all found in Maupas as if they were in good and regular standing.

The conjugation of the verb *duire*,⁷ banished by Malherbe, is given by Maupas as if it were very much alive. The conjunction *si que*,⁸ given without remark by Maupas, is called by Malherbe "vieil langage dont on n'use plus et qui était hors d'usage du temps de Desportes." *Accroist*⁹ for *accroissement*, which Malherbe noted in Desportes as a word he had never heard, is used by Maupas: "pour apporter un accroist et accessoire à la chose," etc. If Maupas does not use the verb *parangonner*,¹⁰ scored by Malherbe as being a foreign word, he uses the derivative to characterize one of his groups of adverbs: "De similitude et parangonnement."

Poursuivre,¹¹ though condemned by Malherbe as a "mot normand," is given by Maupas as if equally honorable with *poursuivre*. *Nud*¹² is "gascon" in the opinion of Malherbe; Maupas recognizes this form with *d* as the only one for the masculine. *Ce disant*,¹³ *En esgard*,¹⁴ *joint que*,¹⁵ *non obstant*,¹⁶ *notoire*,¹⁷ *vu que*,¹⁸ *cet esgard*,¹⁹ all the expressions to which objection is made by Malherbe on the ground that they "sentent leur chicane,"²⁰ are used by Maupas. Malherbe

traire," (Doct., p. 256; Maup., 259); "*perray* est donné comme étant moins en usage que *paroistray*" (Doct., p. 270; Maup., p. 256); "*alarme*" (Doct., p. 357; Maup., p. 83 ff.); "*guide*" (Doct., p. 358; Maup., p. 90), etc. Under *bénin* (Doct., p. 259) we should read: "Maupas enseigne comment il forme son féminin en *ine*" (Maup., p. 78).

¹ Maup., pp. 79, 373, 380; Doct., pp. 254 f.

² Maup., pp. 379, 380; Doct., p. 255.

³ Maup., p. 321; Doct., p. 267.

⁴ Maup., pp. 76, 115, 119, etc.; Doct., p. 266.

⁵ Maupas uses it in a model sentence, p. 95; Doct., p. 263.

⁶ Given in the second edition as an example for the pronunciation of *eu*, p. 30; Doct., p. 257.

⁷ Maup., p. 249; Doct., p. 260.

⁸ Maup., p. 349; Doct., p. 274.

⁹ Maup., p. 382; Doct., p. 284.

¹⁰ Maup., p. 364; Doct., p. 298.

¹¹ Maup., p. 262; Doct., p. 302.

¹² Maup., p. 77; Doct., p. 364.

¹³ Maup., p. 145.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 13, 16, 17, 154, 189, etc.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 334.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁰ Doct., p. 307.

made severe restrictions upon the use of adjectives for adverbs. Maupas accepts "un grand nombre qui au genre masculin ou neutre comme entre les Grecs et Latins sont employez adverbialement:" "Pour parler correct, il faut suivre ces reigles."¹ *Legier*,² thus condemned, is in the list. *Cherement*³ as well as *cher*, is allowed by Maupas with verbs of buying and selling, contrary to the requirement of Malherbe.

Most noticeable, perhaps, is the omission⁴ of all reference to Maupas on the subject of the euphonic *t*. Malherbe corrects Desportes for saying "me paiera l'on toujours" instead of "me paiera-t-on." One of Maupas' references⁵ to the euphonic *t* covers a similar case:

Quand un verbe finissant en *a* est suivy de l'un de ces mots *il, elle, on*, lors en parlant, et quelquefois en escrit, nous interposons un *t*, pour remplir le baillement qui se feroit à la rencontre des deux voyelles: vray que rarement il se trouve escrit . . . pour le regard de ceste syllabe *on*, nous luy mettons souvent une *l* devant pour remplir: Exem. "Que fera l'on au bois sec, si l'on fait ces choses au bois verd?"

In M. Brunot's later volume, reference is made to Maupas on this subject,⁶ but the reference is more inexplicable still than the omission in the earlier work. The discussion of the euphonic *t* closes with the words: "Chez Maupas, il n'y a plus trace de la prononciation sans *t*."

There are many requirements of Malherbe upon which Maupas is silent. On the creation of derivatives he has nothing to say of adjectives in *-in*, such as *ivoirin, marbrin*, etc., to which Malherbe "donne congé,"⁷ or of those in *-eux*, as *angoisseux*, which seem strange to Malherbe. He does not concern himself much about the confusion or abuse of words, or their proper definition.⁸ *Soudain* and *soudainement*⁹ are given under adverbs of *hastiveté* without any distinction between the two being noted.

In the same way are given *complainte*¹⁰ and *plainte, dès* and *depuis*.¹¹

¹ Maup., pp. 333, 348.

² *Ibid.*, p. 348; Doct., p. 361.

³ Maup., p. 280; Doct., p. 359.

⁴ Doct., p. 405.

⁵ In the second edition, *neuf* and *nouveau* are distinguished (p. 79).

⁶ Maup., p. 364; Doct., p. 318.

¹⁰ Doct., p. 318; Maup., p. 340.

⁶ Maup., pp. 4 f.

⁷ *Histoire la langue française*, II, 333.

⁸ Doct., p. 284.

¹¹ Doct., p. 478; Maup., p. 343.

Maupas has little to say against the poetical licenses of which Malherbe was so bitter an opponent. While agreeing in general with Malherbe in saying that past participles used adjectively follow their nouns, he adds: "Ce qui toutefois n'est pas nécessaire, spécialement en vers, où il y a une large licence de changer l'ordre coutumier."¹

The old word *cil*,² obsolete in Maupas' time, is recorded by him as being used for *celui* in poetry, while Malherbe, finding it in Desportes, cannot endure it.

Maupas records that *i* in the conjunction *si*³ is elided before *il*, *ils*, and "quelquefois en vers,⁴ *s'elle, s'elles, s'on pour si elle, si elles, si on*," a contraction looked upon by Malherbe as a fault and scored repeatedly in Desportes. "*Si ne se mange jamais*" is his dictum. Maupas countenances also in poetry the elision of *e* in *elle* and *grande*⁵ for which Desportes is corrected. On the possessive pronoun⁶ Maupas says: "Et bien qu'avec l'article défini ils rejettent l'accointance du substantif expres, toutefois les poètes par une certaine licence disent aucune-fois, *Le coeur mien*, etc." Finally, to complete Maupas' references to poetical license, we may quote his words on inversion of the natural order of words: "Car ces langages, *j'ay enhuy une belle leçon apprise . . .* sont hors d'usage, sinon en vers où, peut estre, on les pourroit passer."⁷

Maupas and Malherbe, "tous deux prennent à une même source: l'usage."⁸ But usage for Maupas meant quite a different thing from the meaning attached to it by Malherbe. Usage for Malherbe was "la langue épurée du bon usage."⁹ Maupas, on the contrary, attempts to record all the forms he hears or has noted in his reading. In the

¹ Malherbe, *Œuvres*, ed. Lalanne, IV, 365; Maup., p. 117. We know that Malherbe did not always follow his own rules. Maupas in practice not infrequently violates Malherbe's rules and sometimes his own: cf. "En tous lesquels langages se ressent une cachée signifiante de vehemence ou abondance" (p. 47), where he violates not only his own rule on the position of the past participle, but Malherbe's rules requiring the expression of the anticipative subject (ed. Lalanne, IV, 386), and the repetition of the preposition *de* (Doct., p. 471), rules of which Maupas was ignorant.

² In 1607, given in the list of words in which *l* is not liquid (p. 14); in the second edition are added the words: "*C'il*, signifiant celui en poesie, car quand il signifie le poil qui est au dessus des yeux, il liquefie *l'*" (p. 17).

³ P. 27; Doct., p. 518.

⁴ Maup., p. 174.

⁵ P. 28; Doct., p. 518.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁷ P. 28; Doct., p. 363.

⁸ Doct., p. 222; cf. *Histoire de la langue française*, III, 9.

⁹ Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 358.

Introduction to his second edition he states more at length how he made his Grammar.¹ Maupas used the scientific method. In the current phraseology of our day, his work was the product of original research. He is no reformer or leader of fashion like Malherbe. By the side therefore of more modern forms, and with no indication that they should be avoided, we find among other old forms, the first person imperfect and conditional in *e*: *-oy*, *-oye*, ou *-ois*.²

Three pages are devoted to diminutives, dear to the heart of the sixteenth century. The whole gamut is given: *homme*, *hommeau*, *hommet*, *hommelet*, etc.³ Two pages are devoted to the old particle of affirmation, *mon*, as if it were very much alive: *Ç'aura mon*; *ce faut mon*; *ce veut mon*; *ce fay mon*, etc.⁴ The frequent use of the negative *non* in answers is conspicuous, the pronoun subject unexpressed: *Non feray*, *non ay*, *non faut*, etc.⁵

Maupas seldom refers to any authority. Marot is quoted on the order of words.⁶ On the use of the *conjonction si* he cites Plutarque:⁷ "Voyez en multitude d'exemples és œuvres de Plutarque, et ailleurs assez." Besides these,⁸ there are two references to Ronsard: "Jadis on a dit *Graigneur*," he says, "pour *plus grand*: Mais il n'est plus en usage vulgaire: bien s'en sert-on quelquefois és actes de judicature et se trouve en Ronsard, excellent Poëte."⁹ And again, to justify giving another old form, under the conjugation of the verb *clorre*: "Je clos, je closi, j'ay clos, clorre, closant. Je le voudrois ainsi former pour le mieux. Toutefois vous lirez dans M. de Ronsard, Esclouït, pour la 3. personne du defini indicatif du verbe *esclorre*."¹⁰ This polite and even timid statement of his opinion by Maupas in the face of so excellent a poet as Ronsard, stands in vivid contrast to the judgments of Malherbe who would have stricken out all Ronsard.

¹ Winkler, pp. 7 ff.

² Maup., pp. 202, 205, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 350 ff.

⁵ In the second edition there is a reference to *Desportes*. In speaking of the use of the acute accent over *e*, there is added to the statement of the first edition: "rarement est-il marqué au milieu, si ce n'est de quelque Docte et curieux écrivain, comme a fait Maistre Philippe des Portes, en sa dernière édition des Pseaumes qu'il a fiégamment mis en rimes Françaises," etc. (p. 8).

⁶ P. 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 354, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269; cf. Winkler, p. 290.

⁹ Maup., p. 373.

¹⁰ P. 262.

In the third volume of M. Brunot's *Histoire de la langue française*, reference is made to archaisms¹ in Maupas, in connection with the repetition of the statement formulated eighteen years before, that Maupas and Malherbe almost always agree:

Mais en général il [Malherbe] se borne à suivre l'usage, et c'est là le secret de son succès. On le voit clairement, lorsqu'on compare sa doctrine à celle des grammairiens contemporains, comme Maupas (1607) qui n'ont pu subir en aucune façon son influence. Ils sont par endroits plus archaïques que lui, mais les différences qui résultent des conditions respectives de chacun mises à part, l'accord entre Maupas et Malherbe est presque constant.²

Whatever construction be put upon the phrase, "les conditions respectives de chacun mises à part," the conclusion that the agreement between Maupas and Malherbe is "presque constant," is still a hard saying. There is the same discrepancy in this volume as in the earlier one between the generalizations and the detailed exposition.³ A little farther on we find: "Maupas s'emporte à diverses reprises contre les courtisans 'singes de nouveautés.'"⁴ No more definite reference is given for this assertion. The 1607 edition of Maupas, being the only one⁵ supposedly under consideration, we should expect to find it here. But the expression "singes de nouveautés" is not found in the first edition. It is found, however, in the revised edition, made eleven years later, that is to say, when Malherbe was at the height of his power, among his remarks upon the pronunciation of the diphthong *-oi*.⁶ For the page and a half⁷ in

¹ Some old forms, not noted in the preceding volumes as found in Maupas, are here recognized as given by him. There is in Maupas, however, no suggestion that they were archaic. Noteworthy are the past infinitive construed without a preposition as if it were preceded by *après* (cf. III, 589, and *Les navigations de Pantagruel* by M. Lefranc, p. 191, note), and expressions on the model of "arrivé que fut." Maupas treats of the latter not only on p. 299, but again on p. 335 (cf. III, 599).

² III, 9.

³ Of the *adverbes proscrits* (III, 349 ff.), for example, on which both Maupas and Malherbe are cited, Malherbe condemns *à coup*, *à la parfin*, *à qui mieuz mieuz*, *ça bas*, *du depuis*, *jà*, *onc*, *or*, *ores*, *paravent*, all given by Maupas without remark, besides *ains* and *ainçois* on which Maupas might have been cited. On the other hand *tandis* used by Malherbe is given by Maupas and Maupas does not give *finablement* blamed by Malherbe.

⁴ III, 24.

⁵ See citation above from p. 9.

⁶ Quoted almost verbatim by Thurot *De la prononciation française*, I, 377. In the preparation of this work Thurot used only the 1625 Paris reprint of the second edition of Maupas.

⁷ Maupas (1625), bottom of p. 31 to middle of p. 33.

the second edition on *-oi*, there is in the first edition¹ the single sentence: "*Oi sonne comme oe, foy, loy, trois, mois, etc.*"

There are other cases in which Maupas does not seem to be fairly represented. Mention has been made above to the space devoted to diminutives by Maupas. The subject is resumed² by M. Brunot in the words:

Maupas étudie encore la manière dont se dérivent les diminutifs, car les "Poètes employent d'assez bonne grace, ces noms rustiques és Eglogues, Pastorelles et chansonnettes champestres."³

But these words of Maupas apply only to diminutives of proper nouns:

Plusieurs noms propres reçoivent diminution et ce faisant devièment noms rustiques et raillards. Jacques, Jacquet, et le féminin usité, Jacqueline, Jean, Janot, Janin, qui est pris pour epithete ridicule d'un duquel la femme se preste: Et le féminin Janneton, Pierre, Pierrot, et le féminin, Perrette, Perrichon, Philippes, Philippot, Charles, Charlot, Charlotte, Marguerite, Margot. Les poètes employent, etc.

Of the diminutives of common nouns and adjectives nothing is said that would give the slightest suggestion that they had lost caste or were for poetical use.

Again, on comparatives, M. Brunot says:

Maupas ne donne plus d'autres comparatifs synthétiques que ceux que nous avons encore: *meilleur*, etc. (91). Oudin, en reprenant la liste, ajoute qu'on emploie tout aussi bien les formes analytiques: plus mauvais, plus petit, plus mal.⁴

But Maupas even in the 1607 edition says, immediately after giving the synthetic forms:

Nous disons aussi plus mauvais, plus petit: mais non, plus bon, et leurs adverbes de mesme.⁵

On the formation of the plural M. Brunot writes an interesting paragraph.⁶ After stating that three signs, *s*, *x*, and *z*, purely graphic distinctions, indicate the plural, he continues:

Z s'emploie généralement derrière un *é* pour marquer qu'il est fermé: *beauté, beautez* (Oud., Gr. 83). Dès le XVI^e siècle, mais surtout à partir

¹ Maupas (1607), p. 23.

² III, 206.

³ Maup., p. 98.

⁴ III, 283.

⁵ Maupas (1607), p. 91.

⁶ III, 281.

d'Oudin, on enseigne qu'il faut tenir la syllabe un peu plus languette (Maup., 1625, 23).

It is doubtful whether any one would suspect from this Maupas' real doctrine.¹

The citation of M. Brunot "(1625, 23)," is found under the rules for the pronunciation of *s*.² In the same edition under *z*, we read: "A la fin aussi est comme une *s*, mais elle allonge grandement la syllabe: Ce que les estrangers doivent soigneusement noter et n'y faillir la où l'*e* est long à la dernière syllabe, *lenez*,³ *beautez*, *jouez*. Car quand l'*e*, à la dernière syllabe est long, il le faut accompagner du *Z*, comme l'*s* est marque ordinairement de l'*e* bref à la dernière."⁴ The same doctrine is found but less distinctly expressed in the edition of 1607: "A la fin ne vaut qu'*s*, mais allonge grandement la syllabe: Ce que les estrangers doivent noter soigneusement, parce qu'ils sont trop coustumiers d'y faillir: *nez*, *parlez*, *bontez*."⁵

Attention has already been called⁶ to the fact that the 1638 Rouen edition of Maupas' *Grammar* is a simple reprint of the 1625 Paris edition. The references of M. Brunot, therefore, to the edition of Maupas' *Grammar*, "due à son fils," are meaningless,⁷ if not misleading. The effect is most curious when Maupas fils is cited and not Maupas' first edition, when the latter teaches the same rule as the former. *Avant que* and *premier que*, for example, "veulent le conjonctif" is Maupas' rule, even in 1607.⁸

Enough has perhaps been said to show that a critical edition of Maupas' grammar is highly desirable and it is to be hoped that M. Brunot will still fulfil his promise⁹ to publish such an edition. The work of M. Winkler¹⁰ is difficult to use in a discussion of the

¹ M. Winkler omits all consideration of Maupas' rules of pronunciation. These are interesting in themselves, and a comparison of them as they appear in 1607 and in 1625 (the édition used by Thurot) is instructive.

² "Prononcer l'*s* au bout des mots, n'est point a reprendre pourveu que foiblement. Et quand on la voudra supprimer, si faut il tenir la syllabe un peu plus languette." The last sentence is not found in the edition of 1607.

³ *sic*; = tenez?

⁴ Maupas (1625), p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.* (1607), p. 20.

⁶ E. Winkler, *La doctrine grammaticale française d'après Maupas et Oudin*, p. 17. My own researches had anticipated the conclusion of M. Winkler.

⁷ *Histoire de la langue française*, III, xxv, 274, 285, 287, 292, 299, 300, 307, 311, 350, n. 1, 356, 478, 490, 494, 499, 516, 568, 577, 584, n. 1, etc.

⁸ Cf. III, 577, and Maupas (1607), pp. 310, 380.

⁹ *Histoire de la langue française*, III, 30, note.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 107, n. 3, above.

formation of classic French because Maupas' doctrine in 1607 is here bound up, not only with his doctrine in 1618, but also, and still more unfortunately, with the doctrine of Oudin in 1632. But more than this, Maupas' *Grammar* as a literary product of intrinsic interest in itself is worthy of a reprint.¹ As it is, the rarity of the book makes it a dead letter for the majority of students.

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¹M. Brunot now writes me that he is "en train d'organiser le Corpus des grammairiens français." I have agreed to prepare the edition of Maupas under M. Brunot's direction.

FRONTON DU DUC'S "PUCELLE D'ORLÉANS"

The Wadsworth Athenaeum Library at Hartford, Connecticut, contains a copy of the *Histoire tragique de la Pucelle d'Orléans*, written by the Jesuit scholar, Fronton du Duc, and performed in 1580 before Charles III, Duke of Lorraine. This copy is one, No. 90, of 105 reprinted with typographical corrections in 1859 by P. Toussaint, a bibliophile of Pont-à-Mousson, where the original edition had been pirated by J. Barnet in 1581. Both editions are rare. I have to thank Professor C. H. C. Wright, of Harvard University, for reference to the summary of the play in Vol. III, p. 446, of the *Histoire du théâtre français* of the Frères Parfaict. No other accounts seem to exist.

The value of the play appears to the writer somewhat signal for the history of the classic spirit and style in French drama; it makes much more intelligible for me the transition from fifteenth-century moralities and mysteries to *Polyeucte*, *Saint-Genest*, and, indeed, *Athalie*. Here we have the mold of the Senecan tragedy, rather Buchanan's than Garnier's, used for religious subject-matter, a throng of characters like Gringore's, and lyric choruses that, like those of Montchrestien, bear the burden of a somewhat personal reflection on passing events.

More significant than the form, however, in showing the slow evolution from late mediaeval classicism¹ to that of the *grand siècle*

¹ Cf. Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. G. Raynaud, Paris, 1891, VII, 266 ff.:

"Art de dictier

"Rethorique est science de parler droictement et a quatre parties en soy ramenées, toutes appliquées a son nom; car tout bon rethoricien doit parler et dire ce qu'il veult monstrer, salgement, briefment, substaunceusement et hardiement."

Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de Paiz*, MS Frç. 1182, fol. 84 ff.:

"III. RETHORIQUE

"*Nihil est tam praeclarum aut tam magnificum quod non moderatione temperam desideret.*

"Veult dire Valere, cy dessus allegué, qu'il n'est chose tant parfaitement belle, grande et magnifique comme celle qui est menée par attrempance et moderation. Dit Aristote en *Politique* que il n'est quelconque chose qui n'ait besoing d'estre menée par ordre. Et pour ce que eloquence est le parement du monde, la peinture ou aour[n]ement du corps, et reputacion de l'entendement de l'homme, et que c'est chose qui moult a valu et peut valoir, appartient que regle y soit tenu, si dit que ung chose principale est

is the disposition of the author as this shows itself in his style. *Ordonnance, mesure, clarté, justesse*, the classical cardinal virtues, are vital constraints in his manner. But these are not negative with him; they have their animating principle in the large conception of equity and reason which Roman law handed on to scholastic philosophy, and which the last great mediaeval mystics, who are also the first modern psychologists, turned into the current of the Renaissance. This principle Charron, also a cleric, in the same generation, defined as "La loi de nature, c'est à dire l'équité et la raison universelle qui luit et éclaire en chacun de nous."¹

le regart de bel et bien parler, la premiere en qualité, la seconde en quantité, la tierce en netteté, et la quarte en tardesse. En qualité c'est a celui qui veult parler doit avoir avis sur ung chose la personne qui il est, la seconde a qui il veult adresser ses parolles. La tierce de quel matiere il veult dire, la quarte quel espace il a de parler. Et la V^e a quel fin il veult venir."

Christine here, like Eustache Deschamps and like Gerson, bases her rhetoric on the famous *Ars loquendi et tacendi* of Albertano of Brescia (cf. Thor Sundby, *Brunettos Latinos "Lænet og Skrifter,"* Copenhagen, 1869, pp. XCIV ff.), but, like Gerson apparently, she may also have known Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. She seems to have known, too, Horace's *Ars poetica*, though for her reiterated motto, "comme ce soit souveraine chose avoir faconde et langaige bel et mené par attrempance," which paraphrases Horace's

Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo,

she mentions Cicero's *De oratore* as authority.

Cf. too Christine's paraphrase of the pseudo-Senecan *Formula de honesta vita*, or *Quattuor virtutes*, her "Livre a l'enseignement de bien vivre," MS Frç. 2240, fol. 5vo ff.:

"Glose: C'est que en gracieusté et courtoisie ne doit point avoir de mlgnotise ou precieusté, si qu'il semble que on le face pour apparoir plus gracieux et plus courtois." etc.

The existence of "preciosity," at this time is curious. Even more austere and authoritative is Gerson's Letter (*Opera omnia*, I, col. 104) to the students of the Collège de Navarre:

"Contemnere claras & solidas doctrinas quae leves videntur, & ad obscuriores se transferre, signum est curiositatis & originalis corruptillae, poenitentiae & credulitati adversae. Nulla est in omni doctrina major virtus quam claritas, neque evidentius aliud hatur excellentis ingenii & clari argumentum, quam ex claritate dictorum vel scriptorum. Obscurum siquidem ingenium & confusum impossibile est ut perspicue resolute quiequam edoceat: verumtamen apud multorum curiositatem tanta est iudicii corruptio, quale in me alias fuisse non nego, quod latinitas aliqua vel stylus eo iudicetur pulchrior, quo difficillior, & quo turgidior, & ex consequenti vitiosior, eo elegantior appareat; cum longe aliter sit. Omnis enim oratio quanto clarior, tanto est speciosior, atque laudabilior; nisi forte abjecte omni elegantia & accuratatione toto sordeat, langueat & effluat."

¹ Quoted by Bonnefon, *Montaigne et ses amis*, II, 271, Paris, 1898. Cf. Boileau, Satire XI, especially the passage beginning,

Dans le monde il n'est rien de beau que l'équité,

and ending,

Tous ces fiers conquérants, rois, princes, capitaines,
Sont moins grands à mes yeux que ce bourgeois d'Athènes
Qui sut, pour tous exploits, doux, modéré, frugal,
Toujours vers la justice aller d'un pas égal.

Cf. too, for the scholastic medium by which the antique ideal of equity was handed down in the Middle Ages, the definition of Thomas Aquinas, "Lex aeterna est summa ratio

For Fronton du Duc, as for the classicists of the early fifteenth century, Gerson, Christine de Pizan, Eustache Deschamps, and Alain Chartier, the antique Reason has a mystical element, as it has again for Corneille. "Where humility is, there is Wisdom"—*Ubi humilitas, ibi sapientia*—had been Gerson's device; he loved the one, he sought the other, pondering the *Magnificat*, and taking home to his business and bosom the Psalmist's *constatation*:

Declaracio sermonorum tuorum illuminat et intellectum dat parvulis.

"La declaracion de tes paroles enlumine et donne entendement aux petits; c'est a dire aux humbles."¹

In this mood of mystical humanism, reached by moments only in the sixteenth century,² Fronton du Duc approaches his subject—the Tragic History of the Maid of Orleans. His theme is really the mystical, intuitive reason against the world, the tragedy of the worldly judgment passed on unworldliness.

In the epode to the chorus at the end of Act IV, Fronton du Duc paints apparently, if not his own moral portrait, at least his moral ideal:

Heureux celui qui constant
Ne faict broncher sa justice

cui semper obtemperandum est," quoted by Adolphe Franck, *Réformateurs et publicistes de l'Europe, Moyen-âge et Renaissance*, pp. 39 ff., Paris, 1864.

Gerson sums up the doctrine repeatedly in his psychological treatise, *De mystica theologia* (*Opera omnia*, Vol. III, col. 382, ed. Dupin, Antwerp, 1703), with its central conception of the *intelligentia simplex*, "a direct intuition of the Light Divine," in his exquisite "Dialogue du cuer mondain et du cuer seulet" (*Opera omnia*, Vol. III), and not less nobly and touchingly in the still unpublished *Bons enseignemens pour endoc-triner simples gens* (MS Frç. 25548, fol. 86 ff., Bib. Nat., Paris):

"Puis que ainsi est que Dieu nous a tant dignement creez oultre les bestes, a son ymage, baillant memoire, entendement et volentés pour le congnoistre, amer et servir . . . c'est bien raison que nous le servons de tout comme loyaulx subjectz leur souverain seigneur, comme enfants naturelz leur vray pere."

¹ Translated by Raoul de Presles, about 1370, for Charles le Sage (MS Frç. 962, fol. 209, Bib. Nat., Paris), Vulgate Ps. 118:130.

² The finest poetic example I know is that of Passerat's *Hymne du sauveur Jésus*:

O fontaine de pitié,
Source de vraye amitié:
Nulle vertu sans ta grace
Ne se donne a nostre race.
L'honneste vie, et durable renom
Est propre a ceux qui celebrent ton Nom.
Le lait de la mamelle
De ta sagesse immortelle
De goute divinement,
Alalcte l'entendement
De nous petits, et a par la rousée
De ton esprit nostre bouche arrousée.

Cf. *Recueil des œuvres poetiques de Jean Passerat*, Paris, 1606, p. 190; also, Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, *Morceaux choisis des auteurs du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, s.d., p. 273.

Prise par le don flatant
 D'une prodigue malice
 Ni du menaçant effort
 D'un chef, quoy que beau et fort.

The note of elegiac regret for the undue complexities of living, and, above all, of living in courts, has sometimes seemed, and been classed as, a hallmark of the French Renaissance. And certainly the Pléiade poets and their imitators abound on the theme caught up from the *O fortunatus* of Virgil, and the *Beatus ille* of Horace, but they have too their precursors and their echoes. The *Dit de franc Gontier*¹ of Philippe de Vitry in the fourteenth century, the *Stances à Tircis* of Racan in the seventeenth, with the active retreat of Port-Royal, belong together at the extremes of a wave of real as well as literary *Contemptus mundi*, based on poignant deceptions.

Of the nature of these deceptions and of their composition the *Histoire tragique* gives an acute analysis and picture—a universal experience studied in a too terrible example.

The tragic history of the Maid is intended to work a purgation by pity and fear in the hearers—to cure or modify spiritual blindness, and check the cruelties of worldly pride:

Messieurs, C'est à l'honneur du Pays de Lorraine
 Au fruit de la jeunesse, affin qu'elle s'aprenne
 Aux artz et aux vertus, que ce peuple joyeux
 Est venu pour ouyr, non des comiques jeux,
 Mais plutost, en poulsant une voix plus hardie,
 L'on pretend vous monstrer, en une tragedie,
 Un spectacle plus grave, affin que gravement
 L'esprit se norissant, se forme sagement.

Like Corneille's and Rotrou's mysteries, like Racine's last and greatest choral tragedies, then, this is a work ethical and religious in purpose; like other heroic compositions—the *Franciade*, the *Ode sur la prise de Namur*, and the *Pucelle* of Chapelain—of its own and the next century it is also patriotic:

On a trouvé chez nous suffisante matière
 Pour d'un poëme tel fournir la charge entière.

Experience and insight aiding his critical scholarship, Fronton du Duc sets out to tell what really happened when the Maid appeared

¹ Cf. Arthur Plaget, *Romania*, XXVII, 64.

before the Court at Chinon, and, afterward, to give the moral history of her mission and death. It is noteworthy that he knows and uses the manifestoes¹ in behalf of Jeanne which issued from Gerson's following. Barnet refers in his preface to these sources, "Gerson et Henry de Gorchheim," who "rendent suffisant tesmoignage par deux Apologies qu'ilz en ont faict paroistre partout."

Fronton du Duc is most interesting in the discussions in which he dramatizes this congenial material; he seems to have known from documents, or imagined with much force and finesse, the sort of arguments which Gerson is apparently answering in his tract. By the Chancellor we may understand correctly enough, if not Jean Cauchon, Jean Chuffart, who succeeded on Gerson's disgrace to the post of Chancellor of Paris. The Bishop is perhaps meant for Henry of Gorchheim, and by the Docteur en Théologie, Gerson himself.

We do not find from Monstrelet or other historical sources that the three actually met with the Dauphin and the Duc d'Alençon in conference at Chinon. But a controversy did take place, reaching to Gerson's Paulist convent at Lyons, from which he wrote in May, 1429.

This controversy is so complicated in its elements—political, critical, metaphysical, social—that no full account can be attempted here. Gerson's following, nourished on St. Augustine's *City of God*, and on Boëthius, on the Victorine mystics, Hugo, Richard, and St. Bonaventura, were highly strung persons for whom ideas²—especially the image-ideas of the Trinity, memory, understanding, and will—really existed in "a true commonweal which is God." Their opponents had a less sublimated perception and little tendency to view men as by their end and nature created for communion with Universal Reason, as beings "sharing their understanding with the angels,"³ in especial the lowly and meek. Where Gerson's psychol-

¹ Gerson, *Opera omnia*, Vol. IV, col. 864 ff., ed. Dupin, Antwerp, 1703.

² Cf. *Polyeucte*, IV, 111:

Saintes douceurs du ciel, adorables idées,
Vous remplissez un cœur qui vous peut recevoir:
De vos sacrés attrails les âmes possédées
Ne conçoivent plus rien qui les puisse émouvoir.

³ Alain Chartier, *Consolation des trois Vertus*, ed. Duchesne, Paris, 1617:

"Foy: Que songes tu, Entendement raisonnable, image de l'éternelle unité, cler ruisseau decourant de la source de vie, ray issant de la resplendissour du souverain soleil, dont nul ne puet foyr la chaleur, rayant en corps humain pour enluminer les tenebres des mortels. Tu fus créé par le souverain ouvrier, qui point ne chome. Tu

ogy above all exalted, "cette voix divine qui sonne en voulement,"¹ his enemies saw mania, sorcery, witchcraft, in defiance of the world and its methods. Jeanne d'Arc may be seen as the victim of these two extremes of opinion, produced by the one fashion of understanding, ruined by the other. So at least the Jesuit scholar envisages her in his *Histoire tragique*, with no uncertain disposition of his sympathies.

In the first act a pious Dauphin, a devoted Duc d'Alençon, and the Maid, archetype of intuitive understanding, appear. In the second, the Doctors examine and deliberate:

LE CHANCELIER

Sire, selon le veuil de vostre Majesté
Je mettrai en avant cette difficulté
Qu'on pouroit amener. Nagueres on a veue
Une peste d'erreurs par le monde espandue,

fus ores conjoint a corps humain, pour gouverner la partie vegetative despotiquement, & l'appetit sensitif par seigneurie royale et politique. . . . Quel legier desarrest t'a ainsi demarchié de ton ordre, Entendement esprituél? Fus-tu ballé à l'omme pour servir aux passions sensuelles, ou pour les refrener? N'a pas la commixtion de l'homme son estre communicant avec les pierres, son vivre avec les plantes, sentir avecques les bestes, et entendre avecques les anges?"

¹ Gerson, "Dialogue du cuer mondain et du cuer seulet" (*Opera omnia*, ed. Dupin, Antwerp, 1706, Vol. III, col. 886 ff.): "L'entendement, ou la vertu intellectuelle, est dicte cesser de toute son operacion par la maniere qui ja n'est aucunement touchié: c'est que l'entendement ne pense a quelconque creé, ou qui se puet creer, se non a Dieu; & encores ne pense-il point par clere vision, car il est en l'obscurité de foy, & en divines tenebres. Mais il persoit bien en escoutant la voix de ce hault chant, qui est la voix de l'amour, qui fait trembler, mouvoir & reformer la souveraine partie voltive ou affective. En ceste haute game l'entendement n'a point son operacion ou affection pour regarder les fantomes de l'imagination, ne les sciences de raison, soit haute ou basse; mais prend tant seulement sa congnoissance par entendre ceste voix divine qui sonne en voulement.

"Si avons parlé du chant qui appartient a creature raisonnable, pour ce mortel pelerinage, en tant que son chant approuche plus a celui de paradis en pardurable eternité, le quel chant du cuer nous disons *Canticordium* de la haute game qui appartient au cuer, depuis qu'il a esté sensuel, puis esprituél & devenu celestial, c'est assavoir a devocion, a speculation, puis a contemplacion. Dieu, chant nouvel te chanteray, de tout mon cuer te loueray:

Salve Mater pietatis
Et totius Trinitatis
Nobile Tricinium.
Verbi tamen incarnati
Speciale majestati
Praeparens hospitium.

(This is, of course, a strophe from the famous hymn of Adam of St. Victor, perhaps the finest poem of its kind in the Middle Ages, and possibly the finest Christian lyric in any language. According to the legend, the Virgin appeared to Adam at this point in recognition.)

"En humain cuer sont maintes puissances & vertus, lesquelles congnoistre est moult expedient, pour parvenir au chant du cuer que nous disons, *Canticordium*. Mais en especial sont trois vertus, que nous disons memoire, entendement & voulement, selon lesquelles on prend puissance, sapience, et bienveillance, qui constituent liberté. L'esprit & entendement apparçoivent bien la voix & l'oyent seule et divine qui se chante en ceste partie volante."

De gens tres dangereux qu'on appelle Vaudois:
 Lesquelz ont attiré presque de tous endroicts
 Plusieurs a leur cordelle, en vertu des fantomes,
 Vaines illusions, dont ils charmoient les hommes.

L'EVESQUE DE CHARTRES

Quand nous devons juger des œuvres qui sont faicts
 Par la main de Dieu seul, il fault avoir suspectes
 Les façons des mondains: car Dieu ne reigle pas
 Ses faicts selon le tour de nostre faulx compas;

. . . . Luy, des pauvres pecheurs

Il choisit et les fait de sa Loy les prescheurs:
 Accroysant des sçavants les langues bien disantes
 Par le simple parler des bouches begueyantes.

Ainsi il luy a pleu maintenant d'en user
 Envers son pauvre peuple, affin de renverser
 L'orgueil outrecuidé de ceste gent cruelle
 Par le faible secours d'une pauvre Pucelle.
 Que croire nous devons envoyée des Cieulx
 Si à la verité nous ne sillons nos yeux.

LE CHANCELIER

Monsieur, regardez bien s'il vous semble probable,
 Qu'une fille des champs se soit faicte capable
 Des misteres de Dieu, et revelations,
 Que mesme des sçavans les meditations
 Ne peuvent pas avoir.

L'EVESQUE

Quoy? trouvez vous estrange
 Qu'a un simple idiot Dieu envoie son Ange.
 Et sur qui a-t-il dict
 Sinon sur les petits que tombe son esprit.

LE CHANCELIER

Jamais on n'a ouy qu'une simple bergere
 Fut choisie de Dieu expresse messagere.

L'EVESQUE

Moyse, qu'estoit-il? sinon un vray berger
 Quand d'un buisson ardent Dieu lui vint encharger.

LE CHANCELIER

Il ne choisit pas donc ou sa mere ou sa sœur;
 Ou bien quelque aultre femme imbecile et sans cœur.

L'EVESQUE

Mais qu'estoit donc Judith aultre sinon que femme,
 Qui au fier Holopherne hardiment osta l'ame ?
 Qu'elle estoient (*sic*) donc Esther qui si tost eut osté
 Son peuple de la mort et de captivité ?

LE CHANCELIER

Voires, mais celles-la, c'estoient femmes notables,
 Riches et de bon lieu, grandes et redoutables.

L'EVESQUE

Quoy ? la Mere de Dieu la pouvons nous nier
 Que pensée on ne l'ayt femme d'un menuisier ?
 Ains ce sont celles la qui sont les moins habiles
 Que plustost il choisit, se le rendant utiles
 Par sa propre vertu, augmentant leur pouvoir,
 Pour faire ce qui est contre l'humain espoir.

LE CHANCELIER

Ouy, en ce qui est a leur sexe sortable
 Non pas à ce qui n'est rien du tout convenable
 A leur faible nature, en abataissant
 L'ordre qu'il a ja mis, ce monde batissant,
 Comme à faire la guerre et mener une armée,
 Chose ostée à la femme, et à l'homme donnée.

L'EVESQUE

Mais si nous estimons du tout estre contraire
 Aux femmes de tenter les martialx combats
 L'histoire nous dement. Car ne lisons nous pas
 Ce que jadis ont faict ces masles Amazones
 Qu'en la fureur de Mars ont senty si felonnes,
 Les peuples si souvent par elles surmontez
 Des hommes se voyant par des femmes domtés ?
 La femme qui de Dieu est saintement choisie
 Peut plus qu'une qu'espoint la seule jalousie.

These *exempla*, it may be noted, are those also of Alain Chartier's Senecan Epistle and of Christine de Pizan's poem to the Maid, of July, 1429.¹ The cases cited are in turn those of Gerson in the preceding May. His argument in Jeanne's behalf, on high moral and characteristically subtle psychological grounds, is finally echoed by the Doctor of Fronton du Duc, who makes the deciding speech:

¹ Cf. Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, V, 131 and 4, Paris, 1851.

LE DOCTEUR

Monseigneur, s'il vous plaist, suyvant vostre chemin
 J'oserai refuter le soupçon peu benin
 Du seigneur Chancelier, doubtant si l'entreprise
 De ceste fille vient, ayant esté apprise
 Par les malins esprits: car à la verité
 Ceux la que plus souvent on voit avoir esté
 Abusés de leurs sorts, sont des simples bergères.

C'est pourquoi en sondant le cœur de la Pucelle
 J'ay d'elle plus enquis sa vision nouvelle.

Mais enfin nous trouvons que faire il ne se peult
 Que d'un esprit malin ceste vision fust,
 Car combien que ce soit sa fraude coutumière
 Que de se transformer en Ange de lumière,
 Si est ce qu'il y a cela de differant
 Qu'alors que devant nous il se monstre present,
 Nous sommes tous esprits d'une joye trompeuse:
 Mais à la fin du jeu une terreur douteuse
 Nous saisit tous le cœur, laissant tous effrayez
 Ceulx que si finement il aurait desvoiez.
 Mais au contraire ceulx que les Heralz Celestes
 Sont venus caresser de faveurs manifestes,
 De prime face ilz ont quelque peu de terreur:
 Mais estant avec eulx ils sentent en leur cœur,
 Une sainte alegresse et au partir nous laissent
 Le reste d'un nectar dont nos ames se paissent.

Estimons donc plustost que la grande clemence
 Du bon Dieu maintenant a regardé la France;
 Qu'il a, ainsi que dict ceste fille, entendu
 Les saintes oraisons qu'au ciel ont espandu
 Et le Roy Saint Loys, et le Roy Charlemaigne,
 Prians sa grand'bonté qu'ores enfin il daigne
 Pardonner aux François, ja de tous mesprisez
 Que jadis il avoit sur tous favorisez.

Car s'il eust envoyé un Sanson indomptable
 Ou bien de Josué la force redoutable,
 On ne verrait pas tant que cela vient des mains
 D'un celeste guerrier, que des pouvoirs humains.

From this point, with somewhat of a truly classic austerity and logical rigor, the Jesuit shows the forces of greed, superstition, and envy undoing the Maid and France, summed up with a kind of Stoic poignancy in the chorus at the end of Act III:

EPODE

Tousjours l'envye traistresse
 La vertu poursuit et presse;
 Mais aussi d'aultre costé
 Le los d'une juste gloire
 Faict qu'elle obtienne victoire,
 De l'envyeux surmonté.

There is some hint, moreover, of the poignant sublimity and finesse which one has liked to imagine in a Cornelian play on the subject, in the final soliloquy of the Maid:

Jusques à quand, Seigneur, differes-tu de rendre
 Ce mien corps à la mort, que je ne fais qu'attendre?
 Jusqu'à quand permetz-tu que gennée d'effroys
 Je meure, sans mourir, et mille et mille fois?

Fais que je ne chancelle
 En l'espoir de mon Dieu, moy sa plus humble ancelle.

Assiste moy encor; fais que jusqu'à la fin
 Je resiste aux assaults d'un ennemy si fin.
 La mort point ne m'etonne, ayant ja despechée
 L'œuvre dont tu m'avois saintement empeschée.
 J'ay faict lever le siege et faict sacrer le Roy;
 J'ay mis des ennemys l'affaire en desarroy.
 Heureuse, si j'avois à plain executée
 La volonté de Dieu, comme tu l'as dictée.

The play raises more than one question. Did Corneille and Rotrou know it, finding in it a congenial pattern and inspiration? Had its fame possibly some exciting effect on the first part of *Henry VI*, or are the two plays merely signs of the times, and notable examples of what difference of interpretation is possible for the same events? Such questions are easier asked than answered. The *Histoire tragique*, for its intrinsic merits of psychological refinement, sympathetic justice of comprehension, elevation and pathos of style, deserves respectful memory, at least.

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AN ESSAY TOWARD THE CRITICAL TEXT OF THE A-VERSION OF "PIERS THE PLOWMAN"

The interest of students of Middle English literature in the Piers Plowman poems was greatly stimulated several years ago by two articles by Professor John M. Manly, "The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman'"¹ and "'Piers the Plowman' and Its Sequence."² I was so fortunate as to be a student under Professor Manly in 1905, when his belief in the diversity of authorship of the several versions was daily receiving fresh confirmation from his investigations, and we recognized the need for an adequate critical text in order that the differences between the three versions might be determined satisfactorily. Accordingly, in my first subsequent vacation, in the summer of 1907, I began the necessary work by collating the fourteen MSS of the A-version as far as 8. 130 (Skeat's numbering),³ with the object of studying their relationship to one another, and attempting to settle the existing uncertainties of the text. This work I have since been carrying on as time and opportunity offered, and the results I now publish in this essay. The critical text, with the collations, must wait until similar work on the B- and C-versions has been finished (when all will be printed

¹ *Modern Philology*, III (January, 1906), 359-66.

² *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, II (1908), 1-42.

³ This study of the critical text covers only the prologue and the first eight passus to 8. 130 because it is at this point that Mr. Manly (and I) believe the work of A1 ceases. This line marks the close of the most vigorous, the most readable, and the best organized part of the A-text.

together), but the text I hope to publish in a short time in the form of a reading edition.

For the A-text there are fourteen MSS, some of which unfortunately are not complete, and some of which are not pure A-text throughout. A table of these MSS, showing what each contains, and where each is defective, and where any one is B- or C-text, may be helpful to the student, and therefore is appended.¹

I. Vernon Codex. Omits 1.176-83 (178-85) and 2.106-21 (111-27).

II. Harleian 875. Omits 6.49-7.2 (6.52-7.2).

III. Ingilby. IV. Lincoln's Inn 150. V. Trinity College, Cambridge R 3.14. VI. Rawlinson Poet. 137. All practically complete save for a few sporadic omissions of single lines.

VII. University College, Oxford, 45. Omits 1.33-99 (folio torn out).

VIII. Douce 323. Omits 3.120-34 (128-42).

IX. Harleian 6041. Parts of ff. 23, 24, 26, and 27 are torn out, thus causing the loss of 7.59-74 (60-79), 82-105 (87-110), 115-36 (120-41), 145-87 (150-94), 198-218 (205-25), 228-47 (235-54), 258-78 (265-86); and the loss of parts of 7.53-58 (54-59), 77-81 (82-86), 108-14 (113-19), 139-44 (144-49), 188-97 (195-204), 219-27 (226-34), 248-57 (255-64), 279-89 (287-97).

X. Trinity College, Dublin, D 4.12. Omits 7.45-69 (46-70) and 7.210 (217) to the end. 7.44 (45) is actually the final line in the MS, but 7.69a-209 (71-216) had been transposed in an archetype to a position before 1.180 (182), and therefore were preserved.

XI. Ashmole 1468. Begins at 1.142, because the preceding leaves have been cut out; then omits 2.18-145 (18-158); 3.30-33 (32-35), 112-226 (120-235); 7.33-81 (34-86); 8.32-80 (32-81), all but 3.30-33 because leaves have been cut out.

XII. Harleian 3954. Is B-text to (B) 5.128, then A-text from (A) 5.106-8.111 (5.107-8.113), then omits to 9.97. No extended omissions.

XIII. The Duke of Westminster's MS. Inserts a large number of lines and passages from the B- and C-texts: B 1.32-33 after A 1.31; B 1.113-16 after A 1.111; C 3.28-29 after A 2.20; C 1.84-87, 89, 92, 98-100, 102-4 after A 2.65 (68); C 3.185-88 after A 2.130 (140); C 3.243-48 after A 2.194 (208); C 4.32-33 after A 3.33 (35); B 4.17-18 after A 4.17; B 4.62 after A 4.48; B 4.119-22 after A 4.105; then follows A 108, then B 4.123-25; B 4.152-56 after A 4.143; B 4.165-70 after A 4.145; B 5.36-41 after A 5.33; B 5.49-56 after A 5.39; B 5.60 after A 5.42; B 5.87-93 after A 5.68 (69); B 5.120-21 after A 5.98 (99).

¹ The line numbers in this paper refer to the Critical Text, but in order to facilitate reference until that is published, I give in parentheses the line numbering of Skeat's Early English Text Society edition, wherever the number in the CT differs from Skeat's.

XIV. Digby 145. No extended omissions. Has several contaminations from the C-text, especially in the prologue, which is chiefly C, with some readings from A. The other insertions are B 3.52-54, 56-58 after A 3.45 (47); C 7.423-8.55 after A 5.220 (228); then A 5.215-20 (223-28) is repeated; (Digby changes 214 (222) so that it reads "this gloutoun" for "sleupe"); C 8.70-154 after A 5.251 (259); C 8.189-306 substituted for A 6.31-123 (34-126).

As the basis of my text I have used MS R 3.14 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, represented in my paper by "T." By "basis" I mean, of course, not that I shall print that MS as it stands, nor with such occasional readings from other MSS as may "seem better" to me. On the contrary, the readings adopted into the CT must always be the critical readings, as attested in every case by the weight of evidence, genealogical and other. No matter how plausible the reading of T may seem, it must not be retained if not supported. By "basis" I mean, therefore, little more than the basis for spelling and dialect, for whenever the reading of T is replaced by the critical reading, it seems better to make the latter conform in spelling and dialect to T. Otherwise we should have a critical text containing too many inconsistent forms and spellings. In every case, of course, when the apparatus is printed, the footnotes will record all variants from the CT, including those of T.

MS T was chosen as the basis of the CT because it is early (shortly after 1400), because it is well spelled, and because it contains comparatively few individual deviations and errors, and therefore probably requires less changing to make it a critical text than any other MS. It should be said that the CT would have been exactly what it is, save for dialect and spelling, no matter what particular MS had been chosen for a basis.

The numbering of the lines differs in this paper from that of Skeat in his E.E.T.S. and Oxford editions, because I have numbered the lines of the CT, and of course the CT does not contain the unsupported expansions and the spurious lines, contained in only one MS, some of which Skeat admitted into his text.

The following lines in the E.E.T.S. edition have been rejected in the CT because they occur only in MS Harleian 875:1.176-77; 2.31, 34, 48, 96, 118, 136-39, 141-43, 182; 3.19-20, 66, 91-94, 98,

234; 5.182; 6.1-2, 5; 7.26; 8.46, 101, 125-26. One line is rejected because it is in V only: 7.286. In two cases one line of the CT has been expanded into two by V: 5.55-56; 7.157-58; the CT numbering in each case is reduced to one line. One line is in H, and, with some differences, in H₂: 2.79. 5.202-7 are in only UT₂AH₃; that is, in one small sub-subgroup, often contaminated from the B-text, and one other MS; the lines are a contamination from the B-text, and are therefore rejected from the CT. Lines 7.71-74, containing the names of Piers's wife and children, are an interpolation, and are therefore omitted.¹ Lines 7.180-81 are an expansion of one line, and, though contained in MSS V, H, and I, are reduced to one line in the CT.

It is hardly necessary to recount here in great detail the processes that must go toward the determination of a critical text. Adequate expositions of these processes have long been accessible, especially in the Introduction to Westcott and Hort's Greek New Testament, and in Edward Moore's *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the "Divina Comedia," "Prolegomena"*; and the principles have been admirably stated recently by Dr. Eleanor Prescott Hammond in her *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 106-13.

The older method of printing a text was to select an old, well-spelled, well-written MS, the readings of which seemed to the editor to give "the best sense." In case of dissatisfaction with a reading, support for it was looked for in other MSS, and, if support failed, a reading was adopted from some other MS or MSS which the editor thought gave the "best sense." This "eclectic" method was unscientific and unreliable for two reasons: The editor left in his text a large number of readings which gave "good smooth sense," but some of which were sophisticated, that is, introduced by copyists who were practicing conjectural emendation; and others of which (introduced carelessly) were intelligible, but which could not be supported by scientific proof. Secondly, this method laid too much responsibility on the unchecked discretion of the editor, who often adopted a reading merely because it was in the greater number of MSS, and who, on the other hand, often adopted readings merely according to his whim or his personal taste.

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 33; and my forthcoming article in *Modern Philology*.

The dangers arising from the exercise of personal taste or whim, and from reliance on mere number of MSS, are avoided by the critical method. A reading must not be valued according to the number of supporting MSS, for a large number of MSS may be, and often are, descended from one common ancestor, from which the reading has been transmitted to its descendants.

The necessity is therefore evident for classifying all extant MSS according to their family relationships, and for constructing a family tree, before anything is done toward determining what readings ought to be adopted in the text.

Two or more MSS, or two or more groups of MSS, are assigned to an identical, hypothetically reconstructed ancestor, or archetype, if they possess in common a number of clear errors, omissions, and additions. Common errors, deviations, and omissions in two or more MSS must be due to coincidence, or to contamination, or to their existence in the MS from which copies were made. If there are more than a very few significant errors, the laws of probability forbid attributing them to coincidence. If two MSS, copied from two entirely different archetypes, were afterward compared, and a number of erroneous readings were transferred from one to the other by the collator, the position of descendants of the contaminated MS in the family tree would be very difficult to determine. For these descendants would contain the erroneous readings and deviations which were their legitimate inheritance, and also those which resulted from the contamination, and the text critic would find it difficult, if not impossible, to determine the real position of the MSS. But one characteristic will enable him to locate such MSS with some degree of certainty, and thus to determine which are contaminations and which are legitimately descended errors. *Omissions* are not the result of contamination. We have a number of A-text MSS of "Piers the Plowman" which contain readings inserted or substituted in different or later hands or inks than the original hand and ink.¹ In several of these MSS lines or words are inserted which were omitted by the original scribe, or lines are inserted from the B-text. *But in no case is any line or word or passage expunged.* Possessors of MSS who compared them with

¹ E.g., T, H₁, D, W, D₁, T₁, R, I, H.

other MSS seem to have thought that their own MSS were defective or wrong whenever they differed or omitted anything, but not when they contained lines, words, or passages which the other MSS omitted. The possession of any considerable number of common omissions, therefore, unless they can be accounted for on some other definite grounds, makes a very strong case for common descent.

Common ancestry is of course rendered more certain if all the MSS of a group possess also a considerable number of other variants (not necessarily errors) different from the readings common among the MSS of other groups.

It needs to be especially emphasized that the common possession of the *correct* reading by several MSS is no proof at all that these MSS are members of a group.

After the genealogical tree of the extant MSS has been plotted, the determination of the reading of the Original in a given passage is usually comparatively simple, especially if more than two independent lines of descent from the Original copy have been established. In the latter case, the agreement between all lines of descent but one settles the text. In case, however, each one of three lines of descent has its own peculiar reading, the determination of the original reading is beset with greater difficulty. The three readings must then be carefully examined to see whether one of them may have been based on one of the others. If so, that settles the text. Sometimes, however, the three readings all look equally like the reading of the Original. In such a case, if one of the three main groups has a smaller total number of errors and deviations than either of the others, that group should be followed here, because, as a matter of probability, it is here less likely to be in error than either of the others.

A distinction should be made between the Critical Text and the Genealogical Text. The Genealogical Text may contain some errors, as all extant MSS may be derived eventually from a copy of the Author's Original that itself contained some errors. In a few cases our Genealogical Text is not the Critical Text, which must conjecturally go farther back than the Original of all extant MSS.

The Genealogical Tree

GENERAL SURVEY

It will probably help the reader to follow the detailed study of main groups, subgroups, and sub-subgroups that must now be undertaken if the principal conclusions are briefly summarized in advance.

First of all, the Original of all the extant MSS of the A-text of "Piers the Plowman," and naturally of all the hypothetically reconstructed archetypes, was not the Author's Copy. That it was not is shown by the presence in all MSS of two breaks or gaps where extended passages have been omitted;¹ by the insertion of a scribal marginal note into the wrong place in the text;² by the very probable omission of one line;³ and by the omission of part of one line, making imperfect sense.⁴

The fourteen MSS of the A-text fall into two main groups. Vernon (V) and Harleian 875 (H) belong to the first, *x*.

Trinity College, Cambridge, R 3.14 (T), Harleian 6041 (H₂), Douce 323 (D), University College, Oxford, 45 (U), Rawlinson Poet. 137 (R), Trinity College, Dublin, D 4.12 (T₂), Ashmole 1468 (A), Harleian 3954 (H₃), Digby 145 (Di), the MS belonging to the Duke of Westminster (W), Sir William Ingilby's MS (I), and MS 150 in the Library of Lincoln's Inn (L) belong to the second main group, *y*.

y comprises four subgroups: (1) L, (2) I, (3) W and Di, and (4) TH₂DURT₂AH₃.

The subgroup TH₂DURT₂AH₃ falls into two further subgroups, one containing TH₂D throughout, the other containing T₂AH₃ nearly throughout,⁵ while UR fall with the latter group at the beginning of the poem, and with the former group throughout the remainder of the poem.

¹ With 5-105 (106) the account of Envy is left incomplete, and the account of Wrath is omitted, probably at this point. Between 5.227 (235) and 228 (236) are lost some lines containing the close of Sloth's vow and a transitional passage leading up to the line "And zet wile I zelde azen zif I so muchel haue." (See *Modern Philology*, III, 359-66.)

² The four-line passage, 7.69a, b, c, d (7.71-74), giving the names of Piers's wife, daughter, and son, inserted quite erroneously into Piers's remarks about his pilgrimage and his will.

³ A line about Wrath in the feffement, passus 2.

⁴ The Genealogical Text of 4.61 is: "For of hise handy dandy payed."

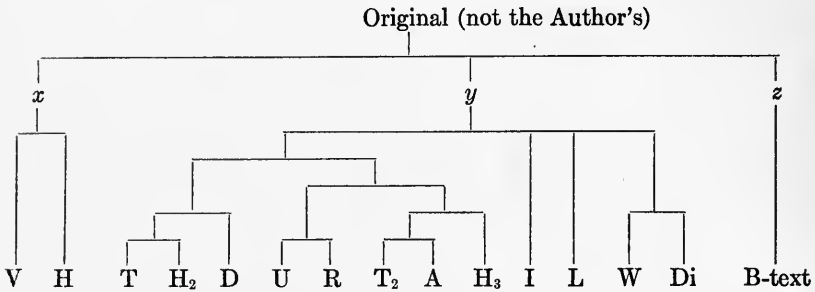
⁵ From 7.69a to 7.209 (71-216), T₁ goes with UR, while AH₃ form a sub-subgroup of equal genealogical weight with TH₂DURT₁.

Within the sub-subgroup TH₂D we have a still further subgroup, TH₂.

U and R form a separate sub-subgroup throughout, both when they go with TH₂D and when they belong with T₂AH₃.

The B-text is available to settle doubtful questions, as it is derived from a MS of A not belonging to either *x* or *y*. The archetype of B we may call *z*.

The family tree of the A-text then is as follows:



For the modifications among TH₂DUR T₂AH₃ see the subsidiary tables on p. 142.

MSS V AND H—THE GROUP *x*

The readings proving common ancestry for MSS V and H fall into four classes: (1) clear errors; (2) peculiar deviations; (3) cases where *y* alliterates and *x* does not; (4) lines omitted by *x*.

Belonging to the first class are:

Prol. 63: But holy chirche and þei holden bet togidere]

But holychirche bi-ginne holde bet to-gedere V;

An but hooly churche bygynne þe bettere to holde to-gedre H.

1. 54: tutour] toure HV.

1. 104: and such seuene oPere] an al þe foure ordres VH(Di).

2. 66 (69): seignourie] seruyse HV.

3. 166 (174): half] nekke VH.

5. 99-100 (100-101): H and V transpose the two second half-lines.

Other errors occur in 2. 30, 73 (76), 97 (102); 3. 31 (33), 235 (244); 5. 128 (129), 163 (164); 8. 78 (79), 103 (105).

Peculiar deviations are:

ProL. 53: from *oþere]* for *bretheren*, HV.

1. 21: *Narn none nedful but þo]* *Her naames beoþ neodeful*, HV.

5. 33: *Let no wynnyng for-wanye hem]* *Let hem wonte non eiþe*, VH.

7. 91 (96): *putte*, TDiD; *pyche*, LURT₂AIH₃; *posse*, H; *posschen*, V.

Also proL. 76; 1. 162; 2. 182 (196); 3. 15, 143 (151); 4. 19, etc.

Alliteration occurs in *y* and not in *x*, presumably by error, in:

ProL. 14: *I saiþ a tour on a toft, triþely I-makid]*

I sauh a Tour on a Toft, wonderliche I-maket, VH.

ProL. 41: *Til here belyes and here bagges were Bretful ycrammid]*

Til heor Bagges and heore Balies weren faste I-crommet, VH.

Also proL. 21, 76; 1. 4, 34, 88, etc.

Lines omitted in *x* are:

ProL. 50-51, 99-100, 109; 2. 28-29; 4. 119.

The rest of the readings distinguishing the group VH are:

ProL. 32, 52, 58.

1. 9, 22, 39, 68, 72, 78, 90, 98, 105, 121, 127, 134, 139, 155, 168.

2. 4, 9, 23, 58 (61), 64 (67), 70 (73), 80 (84), 81 (85), 84 (88), 104 (109), 128 (134), 131 (144), 190 (204).

3. 1, 10, 14, 25 (27), 32 (34), 33 (35), 39 (41), 69 (72), 78 (81), 84 (87), 114 (122), 117 (125), 144 (152), 175 (183), 191 (199), 206 (214), 212 (220), 214 (222), 223 (231), 242 (251), 251 (260).

4. 1, 17, 24, 39, 50, 66, 69, 77, 78, 112, 128, 140, 144.

5. 8, 50, 57 (58), 66 (67), 98 (99), 133 (134), 158 (159), 170 (171), 175 (176), 205 (213), 209 (217), 220 (228), 243 (251), 251 (259).

6. 2 (4), 24 (27), 30 (33), 35 (38).

7. 3, 26 (27), 32 (33), 41 (42), 62 (63), 69 (70), 73 (78), 124 (129), 127 (132), 148 (153), 179 (186), 206 (213), 221 (228), 243 (250), 247 (254), 252 (259), 253 (260), 274 (281), 278 (285), 281 (289), 284 (292), 294 (302), 296 (304).

8. 5, 17, 44, 53 (54), 54 (55), 58 (59), 61 (62), 72 (73), 81 (82), 110 (112).

WD₁ILTH₂DURT₂AH₃—THE GROUP *y*

All the remaining twelve MSS belong to one other main group, *y*, though the number of common errors and deviations is small compared to those of *x*. The small number of common errors in its descendants, however, means only that *y* was a very good transcript of the Original.

The errors common to all, or practically all, of the MSS of *y* are as follows:

An erroneous omission occurs in 5.152 (153). VH and the B-text read:

Hastou ouȝt I ȝi pors quod he, eny hote spices?

TH₂DRT₂H₃WDi omit "ouȝt I ȝi pors." UAIL omit "I ȝi pors." "I ȝi pors" was accidentally omitted in the source of all twelve MSS, while various archetypes and individuals thereupon each intentionally omitted "ouȝt," feeling it to be superfluous and meaningless.

The omission of one line, 5.162 (163), from all the MSS but one small subordinate subgroup is further evidence of common ancestry. The line reads:

Sire pers of pridye and pernel of Flaundes.

It is present in the B-text, in VH, and in T₂AH₃, but is omitted in TH₂DURWDiLI. The subordinate position of the little group T₂AH₃ renders it impossible that the presence of the line in the ancestor of that group represents the tradition from *y*, and the fact that the archetype of these three MSS was not infrequently contaminated from the B-text explains the presence of the line in the descendants of that archetype.

In 5.99 (100) *x* has "aswagen hit vnneȝe." For "vnneȝe" *y* has "an vnche." The reading in *y* seems to be of the sort more probably derived from that of *x* by scribal sophistication than vice versa. If this is so, then the reading of the twelve MSS is evidence of the group. In 6.88 (91) VT₂H₃ (H and A defective) correctly have "ones" at the end, while the MSS of *y* (except T₂H₃) have it erroneously at the beginning of line 89 (92). The presence of the correct reading in the minor subgroup T₂H₃ means nothing but contamination from B, or perhaps conjectural restoration in their ancestor.

In 2.87 (91) *x* has "hure," while *y* has "mede." The reading of *x* alliterates, making the line read:

Worȝi is ȝe werkman his hure to haue.

This alliteration within each half-line is not unknown in the A-text. Cf. 1.1; 3.199 (207).

8.62 (63) reads:

Sipen ʒe sen it is so, sewip to þe beste.

"So" is the reading of *x* and *z*. *y* has "pus" ("soþ," W; "this," Di). *x* alliterates, but *y* does not. The reading of W is merely conjectural emendation, for Di, W's sister MS, has a reading obviously based on "thus."

In 1.148 the Critical Text is:

To hem þat hongide him hyʒe & his herte þirlide.

For "hyʒe" TH₂DURWDi read "by." L reads "on cros." For "him hyʒe" A has "on hym." For "hongide him hyʒ" T₂ has "hym hangyd." T₂A are a minor subgroup, and their readings are an obvious attempt to avoid the unintelligible "by," by omitting or changing it. The reading of L ("on cros") is quite clearly of the same sort. In view of L's well-known habit of revising lines to gain superfluous alliteration,¹ it cannot be asserted that L is here deliberately substituting "on cros" for "hyʒe," that is, removing alliteration. The reading might of course be a careless substitution of what amounted to a synonym, but it seems far more likely to be an intentional attempt to give sense to an unintelligible word.²

W AND DI

On the basis of twenty-one deviations and errors, W and Di must be assigned to the position of one subgroup of *y*:

Prol. 44: For "knaues" W has "hyne," Di "hewyn."

1.162: For "wiþoute" W has "sanz," Di has "sauns."

1.163: For "lewid as a laumpe þat no liʒt is inne," WDi read "lewed a þing as a lampe wiþ outen lyght."

2.80 (84): The CT is "sorewe on þi bokes" (for "bokes" HV have "lockes"). For "bokes" W has "chekes," Di has "bokes chekes" (*sic*), with both words in the original hand and ink, and with "bokes" crossed out in the original ink. "Chekes" must have been in the archetype of WDi, but the Di scribe had read or copied the poem enough times from some other archetype to have a strong recollection of "bokes," which he at first wrote. Then looking at his copy, he saw that the reading there was "chekes," and he changed his reading accordingly.

4.70: WDi both omit "king," though in each MS the word is inserted in a different hand from the original.

¹ See Skeat's account of this MS in the E.E.T.S. A-text, p. xxii.

² All MSS of *y* except UT₂A omit "lyk A gleo monnes blicche" in 5.195, and misarrange 195-96 (197-98). *y* omits "hom" in 5.201 (209).

5.165 (166): For "redyng king" WDi have "redekyng."

7.220 (227): Omitted in both MSS.

Other readings where both agree in a deviation are in 3.137 (145); 4.45; 5.9, 125, 145 (146); 6.8 (11); 7.110 (115), 164 (170), 192 (199), 232 (239); 8.55 (56), 63 (64). Still other evidence is in 5.246 (254) and 8.28.¹

THE GROUP TH₂DURT₂AH₃

Within the group *y*, the MSS TH₂DURT₂AH₃ constitute a subgroup. In 2.83 (87), the CT reads: "For Mede is moylere of mendes engendrit."

For "of mendes engendrit" TH₂DUR (H₃A defective) read "of frendis engendrit"; T₂, obviously attempting an emendation on the basis of this, reads "fendes." W omits the line. VH have "a mayden of gode"—clearly from 2.96 (101).

In 5.240 (248) the CT is:

pi wil worþ vpon me as I haue wel deseruid.

For "worþ" TH₂UA have "werche," DR have "wirche," T₂ has "wirke"; "worth" is in LWDiH₃IHV. Here H₃ agrees with the MSS outside the group, but is undoubtedly restoring conjecturally, or perhaps has a contaminated reading. That it belongs with the main group is proved by its membership in the sub-subgroup T₂AH₃.

In 3.257 (270) VHLWAI read "kuynde wit." TH₂D have "kynde it"; URT₂ have "reson it"; Di has "kynde," omitting "wit" (H₃ defective). The only difficulty here is the reading of A. As this MS is throughout this part of the poem (1.145—6.80) closely related to T₂, its reading must be due to contamination or conjectural emendation (probably the former). The reading of Di consists of the omission of a word, and is not at all the same as that of the group under discussion.

¹ 5.246 (254). The CT reads "not faire." W has "no ferþer," Di has "no farder," T₂ has "no ferrer."

8.28. The CT has "mysseise." WH have "mesels," Di has "mysselles." When a group of MSS appears as a fixed or constant element in combination with various scattered MSS, if the latter are clearly constituted members of other well-established groups, then the evidence, I take it, tends to argue in favor of common descent for the fixed MSS. For example, if we have such agreements as AB, ABC, ABD, ABE, and if we know that C, D, and E belong to other groups, the evidence confirms the group AB. This is the sort of evidence we have to deal with here.

In 6.94 (97) the CT reads:

And lere þe forto loue hym & his lawes holden.

TH₂DURT₂H₃ omit "hym," which is in VLWI (though V has the first half-line somewhat changed). (H defective. Di is C-text here. A omits this line.)

In 5.160 (161) the CT has "nedelere" ("neldere" HV). TH₂DURT₂ have "myllere" ("mylner" URT₂). AH₃ must show contamination, for they are here, as elsewhere (5.108—7.8), closely connected with T₂. (L changes the whole half-line.)

In 4.84 lack of alliteration characterizes the subgroup, which reads in the second half-line, "he shal do so nomore." WIA have "wil" for "shal," and LDiHV have "wol." "Wil, wol" alliterates.

The CT for 7.112 (117) reads:

We haue no lymes to laboure wiþ, lord þankid be ȝe.

For "lord þankid be ye," TDRH₃ read "lord ygracid be ȝe"; U has "lord ygraced be þe"; T₂ has "lord gyff vs grace." A has "lord grace be ȝe"; H₂ is defective. The CT is determined by VHWLI, which read: "lord þonked be þow," W; "lord I thanked be ȝe," L; "lord þankyð be þe," I; "vr lord we hit þonken," VH. (Di has "lord I graced be thou," which must be a result of contamination.)¹

In 1.153 the CT reads:

For þeiȝ ȝe be trewe of ȝoure tunge, & treweliche wyne.

Instead of "For þeiȝ ȝe" TH₂DRT₂ read "For þi." While U agrees with the other MSS, its position in the subgroup URT₂, and in the sub-subgroup UR, shows that its reading here must be a result of contamination or of emendation by a scribe. T₂ in fact has such a contamination or conjectural emendation. The original has "For þi," changed in a contemporary hand to "For þof ȝe." The reading of A, "Thow ȝe," must be due to the same sort of reason. It is a member of the subgroup URT₂A, and of the sub-subgroup AT₂.

In 7.209 (216) TDURT₂A (H₂ defective) have the first half-line wrongly arranged so as to follow the Latin of the preceding line. The CT is:

¹ The exact situation here perhaps might be regarded as less certain because of the complications furnished by the B- and C-texts. B has "lorde y graced be ȝe"; while C has "lord god we þonkeþ" (C 9.135). But the genealogical positions of the MSS attesting "þonked, þonken," in A render the CT of that version certain.

Facite vobis Amicos.

I wolde not greue god quaþ peris for al the gold on ground.

TDURT₂A read:

Facite vobis Amicos I wolde not greue god
Quaþ peris for al þe gold on ground.¹

H₃ by conjecture or contamination has the correct arrangement, but that it belongs to the group is proved by its closeness in many readings throughout here to A. AH₃ form a sub-subgroup from 7.69a to the end.

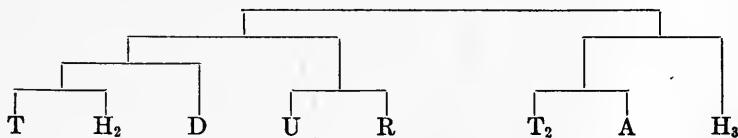
THE SUBGROUPS AMONG TH₂DURT₂AH₃

For MSS TH₂DURT₂AH₃ three different genealogical trees are necessary in the different parts of the poem, as follows:

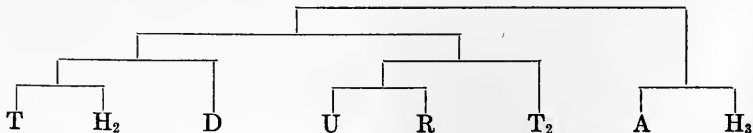
I. ProL. 1 to 1.183 (185). [The last reading for URT₂ is 1.167. A defective to 1.142.]



II. 2.1 [first reading for TH₂DUR is 2.163 (176)] to 7.69 (70); 7.210 (217) to 8.126 (130). [H₃ becomes A-text at 5.106 (107); T₂ defective from 7.210 to the end.]



III. 7.69a (71) to 7.209 (216).



¹ URT₂ omit "I." UT₂ omit "Quaþ . . . ground." For "Quaþ . . . ground" T has: "Quaþ peris for al þe gold on þis ground"; D has "Quod plers for al þe gold þat groueþ on gronde"; R has "for al þe gold quod peris þat groueþ on þe gronde"; A has "Quot peris for alle þe gold on þe gronde."

It is most important to note the general principle of textual criticism according to which we require these three different trees for the subgroup comprising our eight MSS. Briefly, this principle depends on the fact that different parts of the same MS were sometimes copied from different ancestors. MS H₃, for instance, is of the B-text to B 5.128, and of the A-text from A 5.106 (107) to 8.111 (113). In a similar manner, the common ancestor of UR was copied in the first part of the poem from a transcript of the ancestor of T₂A. But from about the beginning of passus 2 to at least 8.126 (130) the immediate source of UR was a MS which was a sister of the ancestor of TH₂D. From 7.69 (70) to 7.209 (216), moreover, T₂ was copied from the ancestor of UR, which still belongs with the group TH₂D, while AH₃, still belonging to one subgroup attested by numerous readings, go back to an ancestor which was a sister to the archetype of TH₂DURT₂.

TH₂D

Of the sub-subgroups in this subgroup, we may first discuss TH₂D. Their common errors and deviations run consistently throughout the poem, and are many and important. Some of the most significant errors are:

- 3.206 (214): "mede," "nede," TH₂D.
 7.171 (177): "an hepe"; TD have "In helpe" (H₂ defective).
 8.70 (71): "defraudeth"; H₂D have "Gyleth"; T has "kilip."

In 3.82 (85) TH₂D omit "meires and."

TH₂D omit 3.100 (108) and 7.174 (180-81) (H₂ defective).

Deviations clear and important appear in 3.169 (177); 4.24, 148; 5.16, 233 (241); 6.6 (9), 82 (85), 106 (109); 7.168 (174).

Other deviations, not quite so convincing individually, but in their total supporting the group weightily, are: 1.104; 2.82 (86), 123 (129); 4.58, 106, 145, 153; 5.41, 89-91 (90-92), 182 (184), 237 (245); 6.29 (32); 7.160 (166), 116 (121), 218 (225), 262 (269), 112 (117), 140 (145), 192 (199), 302 (310); 8.26, 46 (47), 61 (62), 113 (115).

TH₂

Of the group TH₂D, T and H₂ form a subgroup. Clear errors occur in: 3.71 (74), "richen," "risen," TH₂; 5.252 (260), "po

prongen," "þe wrong," TH₂; 8.10, "riȝtfulliche," "rewfulliche," TH₂.

Common deviations supporting the grouping are in 1.159; 2.144 (157); 5.7, 17, 197 (199), 163 (164); 8.125 (129).

Other deviations, some of them weighty, and in the sum total constituting conclusive evidence, are in 1.59, 72, 110, 135, 138, 171; 2.4, 7; 3.90 (97), 107 (115), 116 (124), 210 (218), 239 (248), 255 (264); 4.48, 73, 119, 129; 5.29, 56 (57), 57 (58), 182 (184), 215 (223), 251 (259), 254 (262); 6.6 (9), 53 (56), 67 (70), 104 (107); 7.35 (36), 80 (85); 8.7, 32, 45, 61 (62), 118 (120).

URT₂ FROM PROLOGUE 1 TO ABOUT 1.183 (185) AND FROM 7.69*a* (71) TO 7.209 (216)

The evidence grouping URT₂ from the beginning of the poem to about 1.183 (185), and from 7.69*a* (71) to 7.209 (216) [T₂ defective from 7.210 on], appears quite conclusive. Some of the most important readings are: Prol. 71, "bunchide," "blessid," URT₂; 1.98, "professioun," "prophecye," RT₂ (U defective); 7.91 (96), "pote," URT₂ omit; 7.147 (152), "ordre," "lord," URT₂; 7.173 (179), "bedrede," "blere eyȝed," URT₂; 7.173, "botnid," "aboute," URT₂.

Other readings are in Prol. 1, 13, 14, 17, 21, 29, 32, 37, 77; 1.23, 52; 7.76 (81), 98 (103), 99 (104), 104 (109), 116 (121), 127 (132), 159 (165), 164 (170), 169 (175), 172 (178), 191 (198), 197 (204), 206 (213), 209 (216).

After Prol. 54, R adds two lines, and at the same point T₂ adds four, including the same two:

. . . . on fele halue fonden hem to done
 lederes þei be of louedayes and with þe lawe medle. (R)

Parsons with þair proourases [prouisours?] permutyn þair chirches
 With al þe besynes of þair body þe better to haue
 Vicars on fele halue fandyn þaim to Done
 Leders þai ben of lovedays & with þe lawe mellyth. (T₂)¹

¹ U not only does not contain any of these four lines, but also omits line 54. From the fact that in R the first word of the first added line is omitted, and a blank space left for it, it has been argued by Skeat and Chambers that the word must have been illegible in the ancestor of U and R, and that U must have omitted both lines because of the resultant unintelligibility. The fact, however, that U also omits line 54 seems to me to point to a purely accidental omission of all three lines, rather than to an intentional omission of the two spurious lines on account of the obscurity of one word in the first of

Further evidence for the relation of URT_2 is to be found in the transposition, common to all three, of 7.69a-209 (71-216) to a position immediately preceding 1.180 (182).¹ This dislocation is due to the accidental transference, in the archetype of URT_2 , of the inside leaf (two folios, or four pages) of the third quire of four leaves into the middle of the first quire, also of four leaves.²

THE GROUP TH_2DUR FROM 2.1 TO 7.69 (70)

MSS TH_2DUR form a sub-subgroup from about 2.1 to 7.69 (70), and MSS TH_2DURT_2 form a sub-subgroup from that point to the end of the poem (8.126).

In 2.163 (176) $LWDiAT_2DVH$ read "And gurdeth of gyles hed." TH_2UR quite erroneously read "gederip" for "gurdeth." Though D agrees with the other MSS outside the group, its reading

them. Scribal habit was to "edit" an obscure or semi-obliterated word into an intelligible word. We have enough independent deviations in U to prove that U had this common habit of editing. It is certainly hard to imagine a scribe who would intentionally omit two lines for such a reason, or, indeed, for any reason.

¹ Although the dislocated passage in all three MSS precedes the same line (1.180), however, the situation in two MSS (U and T_2) is involved in some difficulty, which has never been adequately noticed or discussed. In U the line preceding the shifted matter is not 1.179 (181), as we should expect, but 2.23. That is, 1.180 to 2.23 is given twice, once before, and again after, the transposed passage. In T_2 the transposed passage follows not 1.179, but 1.182. Thus in this MS three lines (1.180-82) are repeated. In R the line preceding the dislocation is correctly 1.179. The latter MS undoubtedly represents the original condition of the archetype of URT_2 . But how account for the repetitions in the other two MSS? Skeat, who discusses the problem in MS U, believed that U had been copied from two MSS at this point (E.E.T.S. A-text, p. xx). But against this it must be urged that U and the repeated fragment (called U by Skeat) have several peculiar deviations and errors in common, thus postulating a single archetype. The most probable explanation seems to me to be that in an immediately preceding ancestor of each MS, independently, someone noticed the dislocation between 1.179 and the adjacent 7.69a. Then, either remembering (from some previous familiarity with the poem), or discovering that there were some lines about four pages later that fitted in after 1.179, the possessor of the MS in each case began copying the correctly following lines into the proper place in the margin, or, perhaps, in the case of U (as the repetition is so long), on a bit of inserted parchment. In the case of the ancestor of T_2 , the corrector stopped after three lines, the end—practically—of a logical speech and but one line short of the end of the passus. In the case of U, the corrector kept on into passus 2, for some reason, perhaps because his bit of inserted parchment was just large enough, to line 23.

² If we calculate about 36 lines to a page, the archetype contained just enough lines to fill the four folios preceding the point of incorrect insertion. At 36 lines per page the dislocated passage would fill four pages, or two folios. At 36 lines per page, the passage between the insertion and 7.69a would fill fifteen folios, that is, it would fill the second four folios of the first quire, the eight of the second, and the three of the third preceding the point of removal of the dislocated passage. The quires must have been left unsewed while being copied. The inside leaf of the third must have fallen out, and then must have been stuffed back into the center of the first, instead of the third, quire, and then must have been sewed there. Afterward the copies were made, perpetuating the error.

must represent contamination or conjecture, as this MS is closely connected with TH₂.

In 3.83 (86) the other MSS have "And told hem pis teeme" (except H, which has "lo pis was his teme"), but TH₂DUR have "And tok hym pis teeme."

In 4.19 the CT is "wytful gerpis," the reading of LWDiAID ("full wyght girthes," T₂; "swipe fele gурpis," HV). TH₂UR read "riȝtful gerpis." D again disagrees with the group, but through contamination or conjecture.

3.240 (249) is omitted in TH₂DU. It must have been restored in R by contamination from a MS outside the group.

In 3.137-8 (145-6) the CT has "to holde" correctly at the beginning of line 138, while TH₂DUR have the phrase incorrectly at the end of line 137.

In 4.113 the CT has "graue wiȝ kynges coroun," but TH₂DUR have incorrectly "ygraue wiȝ kinges coyn."

In 5.43 the words "ran" and "and" are omitted in TH₂DUR.

Other agreements, most of them striking, are in 3.99 (107), 113 (121), 119 (127), 130 (138), 254 (263), 266 (275); 4.4, 154; 5.16, 17, 34, 71, (72), 90 (91), 92 (93), 94 (95), 108-9 (109-10), 113 (114), 130 (131), 215 (223); 6.120 (123); 7.18, 31 (32), 29 (30).

Several agreements group TH₂DURT₂ from 7.69a (71) to 7.209 (216). In 7.72 (77) TDURT₂ (H₂ defective) omit "pis." In 7.75 (80) TDURT₂ (H₂ defective) add "For" at the beginning of the line. In 7.140 (145) TDUR (H₂ defective) add "away" (T₂ omits the line). In 7.181 (188) TDUR (H₂ defective) have "asserue" for "deserue"; T₂ has "serue." In 7.139-40 (144-45) TH₂DURT₂H have "of pi flour" incorrectly at the end of line 139. (V has it in the middle of the line, considerably changing the rest of the line, as does also H.) AH₃LWDiI have the phrase correctly at the beginning of line 140. The error must have occurred in VH independently of TH₂DURT₂.

In 7.161 (167) the CT is "he ȝede hem betwene" ("he ȝed hem," H₃I] "ȝede hem," H; "he wente hem," A; "he ȝede so," W; "had hyhyd," Di; "busked heom," L; "I bot hem," V); TDUR read "he hadde"; T₂ reads "pai abade," which seems to be a corruption based on the reading of TDUR. (T₂ omits "betwene.")

TDURT₂ omit 7.207 (214) (H₂ defective).

DURT₂ (H₂ defective) misarrange 7.204-9 (211-16) similarly. D, with which the other three substantially agree, has them as follows:

And alle maner men þat þou myzt aspyen þat nedy ben or naked
 And nouzt haue to spende with mete or with mone
 late make þe frendes þer with & so Matheu vs teches
 Facite vobis amicos I wold not god greue.

T, which had the line similarly misarranged in its "copy," has arranged them more nearly correctly, but has had to supply a conjectural second half-line for line 206 (213). T reads:

And alle maner of men þat þou miȝte asprien
 þat nedy ben or nakid & nouzt han to spende
 Wiþ mete or mone let make hem at ese
 And make þe Frendis þer miþ for so matheu vs techiþ.

The CT for these lines reads:

And alle maner of men þat þou miȝte asprien
 þat nedy ben or nakid & nouzt han to spende
 Wiþ mete or wiþ mone let hem be þe betere¹
 Or wiþ werk or wiþ word whiles þou art here
 Make þe Frendis þer wiþ and so matheu vs techiþ.

THE MINOR GROUP UR

The citations proving close connection between U and R are probably more numerous and convincing than for any other group, except perhaps VH.

The clearest errors, some of them mere absurd blunders, occur in Prol. 85, where for "seruide" UR have "pletiden"; in 2.42 (44) for "teldit" UR have "tight"; in 2.168 (181) for "preyour" UR have "tresour"; in 3.74 (77) for "burgages" UR have "bargaynes"; in 3.169 (177) for "menske" UR have "mylde"; in 2.121 (127) for "ioye" UR have "lawe"; in 3.183 (191) for "mournyng to leue" UR have "fro morwe til eue"; in 5.60 (61) for "in þe palesie" U has "palatik," R has "paltyk"; in 5.131 (132) for "aunsel dede" UR have "almesdede"; in 6.29 (32) for "to sowen and to setten" UR have "now and sithe"; in 7.30 (31) for "wastours" UR have "watis."

¹ For "let hem be þe betere," the reading of LWDIAH₁, V has "mak hem fare þe betere"; H has "lete hem fare þe better."

Both MSS omit lines 2.11, 2.24-25; 5.220 (228), 6.108 (111).

Other common deviations are to be found in Prol. 86, 102, 106; 1.1, 130, 152; 2.45 (47), 53 (56), 54 (57), 58 (61), 77 (81), 156 (169); 3.1, 44 (46), 62 (64), 120 (128), 164 (172), 174 (182), 175 (183), 231 (240), 259 (266), 267 (276); 4.24, 30, 60, 61, 131; 5.37, 57 (58), 87 (88), 91 (92), 92 (93), 113 (114), 117 (118), 142 (143), 167 (168), 177 (178), 179 (180), 184 (186), 222 (230) 224 (232), 230 (238), 252 (260); 6.35 (38), 52 (55), 55 (58), 67 (70), 97 (100), 98 (101), 103 (106), 104 (107); 7.10, 29 (30), 39 (40), 52 (53), 66 (67), 119 (124), 140 (145), 213 (220), 233 (240), 238 (245), 279 (287), 283 (291); 8.21, 84 (85), 118 (120).

THE MINOR GROUP T₂AH₃

The evidence for grouping T₂ and A from 1.143, where A begins, to 5.105 (106), to which H₃ is B-text, includes: 1.145: T₂A omit "pite," though in T₂ a different hand, in a blacker ink, has inserted it after "peple"; 2.9: for "I-purfilid" T₂ has "puryd," and A has "I purid." In 3.87 (90) for "in zoupe or in elde" T₂ has "in thoght or in dede," and A has "in pouth or indede." In 4.38 for "gade-lynges" T₂A have "goslynges." Other readings supporting the group are in 1.151, 152, 157, 180 (182); 2.5-6, 16, 148 (161); 3.11, 21 (23), 259 (266), 270 (279); 4.24, 42, 50-51, 58, 47, 67, 82, 98, 100, 129, 130, 147; 5.23, 31, 32, 77 (78), 78 (79).

Some of the strongest evidence for grouping T₂AH₃ from about 5.106 (107) to about 7.69 (70) is: In 5.145 (146) instead of "forto go to shrift," T₂ reads "to gang on hy way" (*sic*), A has "to gon his wey," and H₃ has "to gon on hys weyze." After 6.81 (84) T₂AH₃ add three lines, the first unique, the second and third from the B- or C-text. Other readings are in: 5.108-9 (109-10), 114 (115), 115 (116), 129 (130), 136 (137), 141 (142), 146 (147), 158 (159), 189 (191), 206 (214), 216 (224), 242 (250); 6.1 (3), 28 (31), 58 (61).

In passus 7, after T₂ has become defective at line 209 (216), some of the evidence for grouping AH₃ is: In 7.218 (225) WDiH have "mouthed," URI have "mouthith," L has "techeth," T has "nempniþ," D has "nemened," V has "Mommeþ," but AH₃ read "mevith, meuyth." Other readings occur in: 7.219 (226), 239 (246), 266 (273); 8.18, 21, 98 (99), 99 (100).

The evidence for the minor subgroup T₂A within the subgroup T₂AH₃, after H₃ has become A-text, includes: In 5.163 (164) for "dykere" T₂A read "Drinker" (VH read "disschere"); T₂A omit line 5.165 (166). In 5.189 (191) for "ygulpid" T₂A read "gobbyd." (H₃ has "I clobbyd," H₂D have "gluppid," HV have "ygloppid.") In 5.248 (256) for "gilt" T₂A read "coulpe." In 6.2 (4) for "ouer valeis" T₂A read "oure bankes." In 5.125 (126) for "a pakke nedle" T₂ reads "bat nedyls," A reads "abatnedil" (H₃ has "a betyngnedyl").

The group AH₃ subsequent to 7.69 (70) is attested by the following: In 7.82 (87) for "mynde" AH₃ read "messe." In 7.138 (143) for "pilide" H₃ reads "pynyd," A reads "foule pyne" (T₂ has "pelyd"). Other evidence, just as strong, is in 7.172 (178), 174 (180-81), 183 (190), 189 (196).

THE THIRD MAIN GROUP—z

A careful collation of the B-text, so far as the CT of B can be safely determined from the variant readings of the E.E.T.S. edition, has shown that B contains none of the errors and omissions of *x*, and none of those belonging to *y* or any of the subgroups of *y*. This leads us to the obvious conclusion that *z*—that MS of A which B used as the basis of his recension—must have been derived from the Original in a line of descent independent of either *x* or *y*. Consequently, whenever *x* and *y* differ, but when neither is clearly in error, we have the independent evidence of B to help us in determining the reading of the Original, for when two independent lines of MS descent agree against a third, the agreement of the two must determine the critical reading. In spite of the large number of individual changes introduced by B, and in spite of the number of corruptions and errors in its A-text original, *z*, which can be discovered because the MSS of A generally agree unanimously, or nearly so, whenever B deviates, B is thus of the greatest value to the student of the A-text. It is only when we have three different readings, one in *x*, one in *y*, and another in *z*, and when neither *x* nor *y* is obviously correct, that we are without reliable genealogical evidence of the reading of the Original of A. In cases like this, we are logically obliged to follow the reading of that group which is less often in

error whenever error can be determined. As *y* furnishes a much better tradition than *x*, we must therefore rely upon *y* in cases of this sort. The CT, of course, can never safely adopt the reading of B alone, however tempting that reading may appear.¹

CHAMBERS AND GRATTAN ON THE CRITICAL TEXT

Students who compare this account of the genealogical relations of the MSS of the A-version of "Piers the Plowman" with that given several years ago by R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan,² and who have read Mr. Chambers' later paper³ in which he discusses some matters of the text, will note some wide discrepancies between their results and mine. Nine MSS (LIWDiDURAH₃) are either not located in their genealogical tree or in whole or in part are located elsewhere than in mine. Such different results cannot be due to mere difference in opinion. How then are they to be accounted for?

First, the method employed by these students has been at fault; secondly, they have stated their opinions before they have had the necessary material in hand to formulate sound opinions; and, thirdly, they have not collected the evidence afforded by MS readings which were perfectly accessible.

The most serious fault in their presentation is that they cite almost no specific evidence whatever for their classification of the MSS. They cite none of the errors and deviations, either by quotation or line number, which they have made the basis of their classification. Consequently, other students who would like to know what Chambers and Grattan regard as errors, significant or insignificant, are left absolutely in the dark.⁴

In view of their subsequent erroneous location of several MSS, one would say that the establishment of their group *Tau* (which comprises part of my group *y*) is a matter of the greatest importance.

¹ It is well to call attention to the insecurity of the text of B. Skeat has collated only six of the fifteen MSS of that text, and our information may therefore sometimes be inadequate to settle the critical reading. It will require some years, however, to collate all the other MSS of B, and in the meantime we shall have to rely on the tentative text ascertainable from our incomplete materials. It may ultimately, therefore, be necessary to revise a few of our readings of A, which are sound only in so far as we can now determine the CT of B.

² "The Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" *Modern Language Review*, IV, 357-89.

³ "The Original Form of the A-Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" *ibid.*, VI, 302-23.

⁴ See *Modern Language Review*, IV, 372, 380, 382.

Yet for their grounds we are merely referred to Skeat's E.E.T.S. footnotes: "There is no necessity to argue, what has been recognized by all students of the subject, that V and H form one group, and T and U another. If anyone wishes to satisfy himself of this afresh, five minutes' study of Skeat's footnotes, taken at random anywhere, would prove it."¹

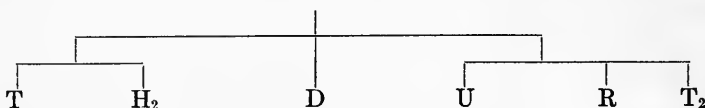
Five minutes of study at random has failed to reveal the whole truth about T and U to Chambers and Grattan. If Skeat's cited MSS were the only ones extant, then V and H would form one main group, and T and U would be the main representatives of the other main group. But many more MSS are extant. And attentive study shows that T and U are not primary representatives of a main group, but are merely members of a subgroup of that main group. The latter fact is of the most vital importance when the text critic attempts to locate other MSS in his tree, and when he begins to use his tree to establish the CT. Chambers and Grattan derive MSS L and I, for example, immediately from the Original, because L and I do not seem to them to possess the most striking errors in T and U. But the most frequent and most striking errors common to T and U are due to several intervening layers of MSS between TU and *y*, while, as we have seen, L and I *are* descended from *y* in lines separate from the TU line.

Still another imperfection in Chambers and Grattan's method is disclosed in their method of classifying MSS W and Di. They assign these two MSS to a subgroup along with T and H₂ because all four add the C-text, from C 12. 297 on, to the end of the eleventh passus of the A-text. This grouping is made by Chambers and Grattan in ignorance of what would have been immediately disclosed by a line-by-line collation of T, H₂, W, and Di, namely, that W and Di throughout their A-text parts, not only are not members of the little sub-subgroup TH₂, but are not even members of the much larger group TH₂DURT₂AH₃. W and Di are descended, as I have shown, from *y* in a line independent of any other subgroup of *y*.

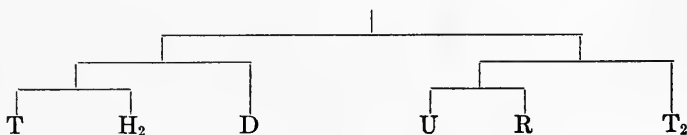
There are many other instances of faulty method, but I select only a few. For example, Chambers and Grattan assume that

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 373.

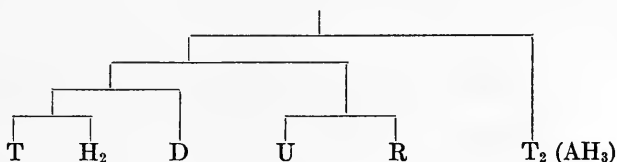
MS D occupies a "middle" position between TH₂ and RUT₂. "Here and there, though rarely, D will enable us to get a better reading than either T or RU supply; but D's chief function will be to decide the balance between the readings of T and of RU, where these differ without a clear advantage on either side."¹ Their tree for the MSS would be as follows:



But we have seen that D is grouped with TH₂ by thirty-six errors and deviations. The correct tree therefore must be:



While, through the middle of the poem it is:



According to this correct tree, whenever D at a given point agrees with URT₂ (AH₃) that agreement establishes the CT for the whole subgroup. Before 2.1, and after 7.70 (75), the two readings, TH₂D and URT₂, are of equal genealogical weight, and the choice between them must be made on the basis of readings outside the subgroup. From 2.1 to 7.69, however, the reading of TH₂D is subordinate genealogically to that of URT₂ (AH₃), and the latter three (or five) establish the reading of the archetype common to all six (or eight).

Again, by their own admission, Chambers and Grattan seriously disturb one's confidence in their ability to distinguish between

¹ *Modern Language Review*, IV, 379.

inferior and superior readings. They even admit that they cannot always observe when a reading which they suppose to be "inferior" is peculiar to a group, and when it is actually attested in the CT by its presence in half of the MSS of the other main group. In discussing the position of L, for example, they say that they "have judged TU inferior to VH" in twenty-two instances.¹ They find that L agrees with VH in fifteen cases, is wanting in one, and agrees with TU in six. Then they scrutinize these six, and discover that they are not really inferior after all. Furthermore, they point out themselves that in two of these six the reading which they have adjudged inferior is not peculiar to TU alone, but is supported by H of the other main group. The readings which they believed inferior were the critically attested readings!

But they practically destroy whatever confidence one has left in their judgment when they come to the discussion of the position of I. They find that I agrees with TU in eleven of the twenty-two readings in which they believe TU to be inferior, the eleven including the above-mentioned six doubtful, which they again dismiss as "inconclusive." Then they say: "The five remaining cases are not very conclusive either." So that just one-half their "inferior" readings seem inconclusively inferior when Chambers and Grattan wish to be rid of them. Here again the reader wishes that citations of these readings had been given, so that some means of testing these curious results might be available.

A case of loose thinking or loose phrasing appears on p. 381: "Further, there are passages where a very early corruption has crept in, *which is common to both the VH group and the TU group* [italics mine]. Here L sometimes shows a reading superior to that of either group. An example is the line referred to above, p. 368 [2.83 (87)]:

For Mede is moylere of Amendes engendred.

Let us see the "corruption . . . which is common to both the VH group and the TU group." TH₂DURT₂² read:

For mede is molere³ of frendis⁴ engendrit.

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 381.

² A defective here; H₂ is B-text at this point; W omits the line.

³ "molere] medlere," H₂; "mulyer," D; "mullere," URT₂; "moillour," L; "a mewllere," DI; "moylere," I.

⁴ "frendis] fendes," T₂; "frendis of frendis," U (*sic*).

VH read:

For Meede is a Iuwelere¹ A Mayden of goode.

LDiI read:

For mede is moillour² of mendes engendred.

One may legitimately ask, Where is the corruption common to both the VH group and the TU group? For there is no connection whatever between the VH reading and the TU reading. The former is only the second half-line of 2.96 (101), while the latter is obviously descended from an entirely different error, or a gratuitous scribal emendation, in the parent MS of the TU group. There is no "common corruption" in the two groups. If there were, and if the corruption were not present in LDiI, the consequences upon the tree would be very great.

The reason for many of the faults which we have seen is not far to seek. The study was printed before all the evidence was adequately examined, or even collected. In their first paper the authors say: "Many of the above suggestions are put forth only tentatively; for we have not yet had time to sift thoroughly our transcripts and collations."³ Over two years later Chambers says: "I have not yet collated W up to this point." [The end of passus 11.]⁴

Finally we may mention some of the conclusions which Chambers and Grattan would never have reached if they had collected and examined all the evidence.

Because U and R are clearly to be grouped with T₂ (their E) in the early part of the poem, the three MSS are indiscriminately grouped together throughout as one subgroup of *y* (their *Tau*). But, as I have shown above, for over five passus (2.1—7.69) U and R belong in a subgroup with TH₂D, while elsewhere UR belong in a subgroup with T₂AH₃.

The Ashmole MS is dismissed in less than two lines: "Ashmole 1468 combines all possible faults. It is imperfect, corrupt, and contaminated by B- or C-influence."⁵

Regarding H₃, Mr. Chambers writes: "Mr. Grattan and myself have so far been unable to trace any special affinities of Harleian

¹ "Iuweler] medeler," H.

³ *Modern Language Review*, IV, 383.

² See note 3, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 313.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 383.

3954 to any other MS or group of MSS. It is therefore an independent witness," etc.¹

But as I have shown above, H_3 , A, and T_2 are bound together into a minor subgroup by a very large number of common errors and variations; and most of the contaminations from the B-text in MS A are in the source of all three MSS.

It is especially important to consider how Chambers and Grattan have dealt with MSS L and I. They wish, if possible, to discover a MS which does not belong to either of their two main groups, for they wish to use this independent MS to determine the CT whenever their main groups differ, but when neither one is clearly in error. Such a MS they believe they have found in L. In discussing the genealogical position of this MS,² they point out that it usually agrees with TU when VH are in error, and with VH when TUD seem to them to have readings "inferior to VH."

But L cannot be excluded from group y merely on the ground that it usually seems to have the correct reading when TUD appear to be wrong. For I have shown that TUD are three members of one subgroup of y , and for over five passus members of a sub-subgroup, and that WDi and I comprise two independent subgroups of y . Hence the important question is, Does L invariably contain the correct reading when WDi, I, and $TH_2DURT_2AH_3$ all in common contain a wrong reading? I have shown that in a number of cases all these MSS, including L, have an incorrect reading or an erroneous omission. As L contains no significant deviations in common with any of the other three subgroups of y , aside from those possessed by all, it therefore constitutes a fourth subgroup of y .

In MS I Chambers and Grattan believe they have found another independent line of transmission from the Original, with perhaps a few deviations in common with x , and a few in common with y .³ I have shown, however, that I is a member of y , though not of the subgroup $TH_2DURT_2AH_3$.

The essential unsoundness of any critical text based on the assumption that L and I are descended from the Original in a line of descent independent of any other group of MSS is so obvious as to require no comment.

¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 312.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 380 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 382-83.

DETERMINING THE CRITICAL TEXT

In this last part of my study I shall discuss several concrete problems of the sort that are encountered in the actual construction of the critical text, after all the preliminary work of determining the genealogical tree has been completed, and shall try to show how the tree is used in deciding the critical readings.

It would take too long for me to speculate fully on all the psychological and mechanical reasons for the various sorts of errors, but one or two remarks may be offered. The "average" mediaeval scribe utterly lacked the modern typographical compositor's ideal of conscious fidelity to his "copy." If he was careless or stupid, he introduced several kinds of misreadings into his copy, or omitted lines or words. If, on the other hand, he was a careful or critical reader of his "copy," he was likely to change the sense if he thought it could be improved, thus indulging in what we now call "conjectural emendation," or even editorial rewriting. Sometimes the possessor of a MS compared it with another copy of the same work, and, noticing differences between the two copies, scratched out the words of one MS and substituted those of the other, or added lines not in his MS. We have a great many cases of this in MSS H and H₂, and sporadic cases of it in a number of other MSS of the A-text. A later copy of a MS which had thus been "corrected" would naturally reproduce only the "revised" readings, and the modern text editor would perhaps encounter considerable difficulty in placing such a contaminated MS in his tree. Some contaminations got in unconsciously because the scribe was previously familiar with the work through copying it or reading it in a MS belonging to some other family branch. While carrying a line in his mind between reading it in his "copy" and writing it down, he might unconsciously substitute a formerly read or written term for the one in his "copy." The substitution of inferior or non-alliterating readings, often synonyms, must have been an unconscious process. The scribe merely reproduced the meaning of the line substantially, without caring for exactness. And there must have been many shades and sorts of errors between the conscious emendations and contaminations and the unconscious substitutions.

Then there are errors due to mis-seeing, or to mishearing, or to purely mechanical miswriting. One letter may be misread for another with a similar shape. "h" and "b," "t" and "c," "n" and "u," "e" and "o," "b" and "l" are pairs of letters one of which might be easily misread or miswritten for the other. Words such as "lene," "leue," "loue" might thus be substituted for one another. Or "hye," "by," or "ac," "at," or "beste," "leste" might be confused. All these are variants to be found in our MSS.

The so-called "errors of mishearing" might occur in one of two ways. "Copy" may have been read aloud by one scribe and written by another or others, though there is little positive evidence that this method was practiced in the Middle Ages. These errors seem to me to have much more probably occurred in the work of scribes who belonged to what psychologists call the "auditory type"—individuals who remember in auditory images. Such persons most naturally read aloud, or imagine vividly that they read aloud, material that they wish to copy. My theory is that most errors of this type in mediaeval MSS occurred in this way, and not through a mishearing of what was being read aloud by another.

We are now ready to discuss some concrete problems.

The easiest sort of error to eliminate is the single reading of T (our base), when all the other MSS agree against it. One case occurs in 1.49:

Cesar þey seide we se wel ichone.

"þey] þanne," T; "þey rest."

The reading peculiar to one sub-subgroup is the next to the easiest to eliminate. One occurs in 5.16:

Piries and plomtrees wern puffed to þe erþe.

"plomtrees] plantes," TH₂D.

Even the reading of a whole main group must be held to be of no weight critically if the other main groups agree against it. A case is in 1.37:

Pat is þe wrecchide world þe to betraye.

"wrecchide," TH₂DRT₂LWDiI z; "wicked," HV (UAH₃ defective).

These three problems are all simple. A more complicated one comes in Prol. 42:

Fayteden for here foode fouȝten at þe ale.

"Fayteden H] Flite panne," T; "Faytours," H₂; "Flytteden &," D; "pei fliten," URT₂; "Faytours," L; "They fayed," W; "And flyted fast," Di (Di is full of contaminations from the C-text in the Prol., but the C-text here reads "Faytynge"); "Fayted," I; "Feyneden hem," V; "Fayteden," z (AH₃ defective). The reading of TDURT₂ supports "Fliten" for this subgroup of *y*. H₂ must be a contamination. But L, I, and W support "Fayteden." Di goes strongly against its sister, W, in favor of "Fliten," for Di's reading, which is in disagreement with that of the C-text, must be the original reading of its A-text ancestor. "Fayteden" of H is supported by "Feyneden hem" of V, which seems to be a substitution of a synonym for H's reading, the reading of *x*. "Fayteden" in z supports H (and *x*) and practically three of the subgroups of *y*. The CT must therefore be "Fayteden."

A more complicated problem, or pair of problems, is to be found in 5.221 (229).

panne sat sleube vp & seynide hym faste.

"seynide hym faste," TH₂U; "semed hym faste," D; "shryned (or shryued?) him faste," R; "signed him faste," L; "sayned hem fast," W; "seynyd hym ofte," Di; "schraffe hym full fast," T₂; "syhed ful faste," A; "syhede faste," H₃; "crowchid him fast," I; "seide to hym siluen," H; "sikede sore," V; "seyned hym swithe," z.

Three branches of *y* attest "seynide"—L, WDi, and I, which has an obvious substitution of a synonym—"crossed" for "signed." Of the fourth subgroup of *y*, four MSS (all belonging to one sub-subgroup) support "seynide." They are TH₂DU. R, the sister of U, with "shryned," an error due to an imperfect auditory image, illuminates the step that must have existed in the ancestor of T₂, which had "shryned," which in turn was misread "shryued," and then changed to "schraffe"; "syhed" in AH₃ looks like the result of a careless visual image of "syned," or perhaps of some mechanical carelessness at some stage of transmission. The reading of *x* can hardly be reconstructed with certainty, but *x* was so careless that the reading may have been that of H, "seide to hym syluen"; for "seide" may have resulted from the omission of the horizontal nasal stroke from above the "i." V's "sykede sore" may be an attempt to improve some such reading as that of H, or it may be for

"sihede," which may have arisen in the same way that it did in AH₃. We see then that two and a half of the four subgroups of *y* have "seynide," while the other MSS of *y* have readings probably or obviously derived from "seynide." *z* has "seynded." Both V and H may come from "seynide." The CT must therefore be "seynide."

As the last word in the line, *y* has "faste," and *z* has "swipe." *x* is not certain, but may have had V's reading, "sore." *z* and *x* have four alliterating syllables in the line, an arrangement of course not unknown to the A-text, but rather unusual. Further, *z*'s inclination to change readings rather whimsically casts a great deal of doubt on "swithe." *x* has such a multitude of clear errors, deviations and demonstrable substitutions that even if we could certainly determine its reading, we could not rely on it as surely as we usually can on that of *y*, which, we have seen, has very few errors. And, further, when *x* and *y* differ, with readings between which there is little or no choice, if *z* supports either, it almost invariably supports *y*. All probability therefore favors *y*'s "faste." The CT for the half-line therefore should read, "seynide hym faste."

Another interesting problem may be found in 6.67 (70):

panne shalt pou blenche at a bergh bere no fals wytnesse.

"bergh WDi] berwh," L; "berwe," D; "bourne," TH₂; "brige," T₂; "brook," H₃; "bowhe," I; "brok," V; "berghe," *z* (H defective); "at a bergh] abak," UR; A omits (U inserts "see" before "blenche").

The reading "bourne," "brook," of TH₂H₃V is rendered improbable by both the context and the genealogical evidence. The author has already used a brook in his symbolical geography, and named it "be buxum of speche" (line 53). And of the feature in our line, whatever for the moment we may consider it likely to be, he says in the two lines following:

He is fripid in wip floreyne & opere fees manye;
Loke pou plukke no plante here for peril of pi soule.

This description is obviously unsuitable for a brook, but perfectly appropriate for a hill.

The genealogical evidence of L and WDi, forming two branches of *y*, favors "bergh"; "bowhe" of I may have an "o" for an "er"; "berwe" of D supports that reading for the ancestor of TH₂D, for

D branches off collaterally with TH₂, being by itself of as much genealogical weight as TH₂ combined; "brige" of T₂ might have resulted from an erroneous expansion of "b⁴ge," which even might have been miswritten as "b⁴ge." It is quite conceivable that "brok" of V and H₃ may have been the result of a similar error. The abbreviation for "er" might have been misread for that of "ur," "ru," while "k" and "w" in fourteenth-century handwriting look a great deal alike. The reading of UR, "abak," can hardly be attributed to any classifiable sort of error, though it might be a conjectural emendation of "abrok." *z* has "berghe." *y* and *z* therefore support "bergh," and this is to be adopted into the CT.

"Other things being equal," the genealogical evidence must determine the CT. But sometimes other things are not equal. We may perhaps close with the discussion of a problem of this kind. It occurs in 2.198 (212):

And ek wep & wrang whan heo was atachid.

"wrang," TH₂DURWDiz]; "wrong hire hondes," LAIHV (T₂ omits the line).

Here, so far as the MSS strictly of the A-text are concerned, "wrong hire hondes" is critically attested in the Original. But other elements must enter the problem. On the principle of the *lectio difficilior*, "hire hondes" would naturally be rejected by the text critic if the evidence were evenly balanced, for the inclusion of these words in the phrase certainly makes it the "easier reading." That is, its presence would be more probably the result of scribal conjectural emendation than its absence would be due to intentional omission. The absence of the words in TH₂DUR and in WDi is evidence in two of the four subgroups of *y* in favor of its omission. On the other hand, L and I are the other two subgroups of *y*, and are of equal genealogical weight with the former two subgroups. L, I, and VH (group *x*), and also MS A, a member of the same subgroup with TH₂DUR, all attest the presence of the words in the CT. Might not the omission of the words be due to the carelessness of two scribes at some points of transmission of parts of group *y*? On the other hand, the third main group *z* omits the words; one and one-half main groups support each reading. Finally, in a line

outside of "Piers Plowman," fully attested by MS evidence and meter, the verb "wringen" appears in this meaning without "the handes":

And lat him care and wepe and wringe and waille.¹

We must, I feel, attribute the presence of "hire hondes" to several independent inclinations to emend, or, rather, to write the obvious for the slightly more idiomatic phrase, on the part of the facile editor-scribe. The CT therefore must omit "hire hondes." Here "other things are not equal."

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¹ "The Clerk's Tale," E 1212, *Oxford Chaucer*. Note also *Le Morte Arthur* (Harl. MS 2252), Furnival, line 3931, and line 3746:

Alle nyght gan he wepe and wrynge
And went aboute as he were wode.

Also *Cursor Mundi*, 23962:

I se him [Christ] hang, I se hir [Mary] wring,
þe car all of þat cumli king.—MSS GOE.

And observe the scribal editing in MS F:

hir loueli fingris ho did wringe, etc.



THE ORIENTAL IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

The purpose of the study whose results I propose to outline in the following paper has been threefold. I have endeavored:

First, to bring together a corpus of Elizabethan plays dealing with oriental matter. I have restricted my study to those plays produced from 1558 to 1642, in which the events portrayed take place or could take place since the rise of the Ottoman empire in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, I have included only those plays in which at least one Oriental appears in the *dramatis personae*. I have also taken account of both extant and non-extant plays, out of regard for the light which the latter throw on the subjects and general nature of these oriental plays and as an indicator of the interest taken by Elizabethans in the Orient.

Secondly, to make an analysis of the plays thus collected, on the basis of: (1) types of plays; (2) sources; (3) scenes of action; (4) nationalities represented; (5) customs depicted.

Thirdly, with this corpus as a basis and this analysis as a guide, aided also by an examination of the political situation in Europe and the relations between the English and the Orientals, to determine how extensive and how accurate was the knowledge of the Elizabethans regarding the Orient.

I. CORPUS OF PLAYS

Following is the body of plays which I have considered in this study. They are arranged in chronological order, according to the most probable date of first production or writing. The titles italicized indicate non-extant plays. I have given in every case what information is ascertainable in regard to: (1) title; (2) type of play; (3) author; (4) general source employed; (5) source employed for the oriental matter. "Un." indicates unknown. It will be noticed that the general source by no means corresponds necessarily with the oriental source.

LIST OF PLAYS

1. 1579. *The Blacksmith's Daughter*. Com. of travel. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
2. 1580. *The History of the Soldan and the Duke of*——. Type un. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
3. 1581. Solymannidae. Lat. trag. of palace intrigue. Auth. un. G. S. Georgievitz (?). O. S. same (?). Brit. Mus. MS.
4. 1586. *The Spanish Tragedy*. Trag. Auth. T. Kyd. G. S. un. O. S. Wotton.
5. 1587. Tamburlaine the Great, I. Conq. play. Auth. C. Marlowe. G. S. Fortescue, Perondinus. O. S. same.
6. 1587. Tamburlaine the Great, II. Same as I.
7. 1588. Soliman and Perseda. Trag. Auth. T. Kyd (?). G. S. Wotton. O. S. same.
8. 1588. *The First Part of the Tragical Reign of Selimus*. Conq. play. Auth. R. Greene (?). G. S. Paulus Jovius. O. S. same.
9. ca. 1588. *Tamber Cam*, I. Conq. play. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Plot extant.
10. ca. 1588. *Tamber Cam*, II. Same as I.
11. ca. 1589. *The Rich Jew of Malta*. Trag. Auth. C. Marlowe. G. S. un. O. S. un.
12. 1589. Alphonsus, King of Aragon. T. C. Auth. R. Greene. G. S. Facio (likely). O. S. un.
13. ca. 1590. *Lust's Dominion*. Trag. Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
14. 1591. *The Battle of Alcazar*. Trag. Auth. G. Peele. G. S. Frigius. O. S. same.
15. ca. 1593. *The True History of George Scanderbeg*. Conq. play. Auth. C. Marlowe (?). G. S. un. O. S. un.
16. 1594. *The Merchant of Venice*. Com. Auth. W. Shakspere. G. S. Fiorentino, *Gesta Romanorum*, etc. O. S. un.
17. 1594. *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek*. Trag. (?). Auth. G. Peele. G. S. un. O. S. un.
18. 1596. *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley*. Biog. Chron. Auth. un. G. S. other plays, ballads, Frigius. O. S. same.
19. 1597. *Frederick and Basilea*. Rom. drama (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Plot extant.
20. 1598. *Vayvode*. Type un. Auth. H. Chettle. G. S. un. O. S. un.
21. 1600. *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy*. Trag. Auth. Dekker, Haughton, Day. G. S. pamphlet (?), older play (?). O. S. same (?).

22. ca. 1600. *Alaham*. Senecan Trag. Auth. F. Greville. G. S. un. O. S. un.
23. 1601. *Mahomet*. Conq. play (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
24. 1602. *A "Comedy"* (on the capture of Stuhlweissenburg by the Turks). Com. (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
25. 1602. *Zulziman*. Conq. play (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
26. 1603. *Tomumbeius sive Sultanici in Aegypto Imperii Eversio*. Lat. conq. play. Auth. G. Salterne. G. S. un. O. S. un.
27. 1604. *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Trag. Auth. W. Shakspeare. G. S. Cinthio. O. S. same.
28. 1605. *Masque of Moors*. Masque (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un.
29. 1606. *Mustapha*. Trag. Auth. F. Greville. G. S. Georgievitz (?). O. S. same (?).
30. 1607. *Mulleasses, the Turk*. Trag. Auth. J. Mason. G. S. un. O. S. un.
31. 1607. *The Travails of Three English Brothers*. Chron. of adventure. Auth. Day, W. Rowley, Wilkins. G. S. Nixon. O. S. same.
32. 1610. *A Christian Turned Turk, or the Tragical Lives of Two Famous Pirates, Ward and Dansiker*. Play of adventure. Auth. R. Daborne. G. S. pamphlets, ballads. O. S. same.
33. ca. 1610. *The Fair Maid of the West, or a Girl Worth Gold*,¹ I. Com. of travel. Auth. T. Heywood. G. S. un. O. S. un.
34. ca. 1610. *The Fair Maid of the West, or a Girl Worth Gold*,¹ II. Same as I.
35. 1611. *The White Devil, or Vittoria Corombona*. Trag. Auth. J. Webster. G. S. un. O. S. un.
36. 1619. *The Knight of Malta*. T. C. Auth. (Beaumont and) Fletcher, Massinger, Field (?). G. S. Bandello, Boccaccio. O. S. Bandello.
37. 1624. *Revenge for Honor*. Trag. Auth. H. Glapthorne. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
38. 1624. *The City Nightcap*. T. C. Auth. R. Davenport. G. S. other plays (?). O. S. same (?).
39. 1624. *The Renegado*. T. C. Auth. P. Massinger. G. S. Cervantes. O. S. same.
40. ca. 1627. *The Courageous Turk, or Amurath I*. Trag. Auth. T. Goffe. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.

¹ As scholars do not agree as to the date of these plays, ranging as they do from 1603 to 1622, I have placed them here as coming logically among the other plays of travel and adventure.

41. ca. 1627. *The Raging Turk, or Bajazet II.* Trag. Auth. T. Goffe. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
42. 1638. *Osmond, the Great Turk or the Noble Servant.* Trag. Auth. L. Carlell. G. S. Knolles. O. S. same.
43. 1638. *The Fool Would Be a Favourite, or the Discreet Lover.* T. C. Auth. L. Carlell. G. S. un. O. S. un.
44. 1639. *The Rebellion.* Trag. Auth. T. Rawlins. G. S. un. O. S. un.
45. ca. 1642. *Mirza.* Trag. Auth. R. Baron. G. S. Herbert, correspondence (?). O. S. Herbert, correspondence (?).
46. ca. 1642. *The Sophy.* Trag. Auth. J. Denham. G. S. Herbert. O. S. same.
47. un. *Antonio of Ragusa.*¹ Hist. (?). Auth. un. G. S. un. O. S. un. Bodl. MS.

We have, then, a body of 47 plays, 13 of which are non-extant. They cover the period from 1579, the date of the first known play dealing with oriental matter, to 1642, the date of the closing of the theaters. On examination, it will be seen that the 47 plays of this period of 63 years fall, rather roughly, into four groups, separated by intervals of years when no plays of the kind were produced. These chronological groups are as follows:

I. 1579-1581	3 years	3 plays.
II. 1586-1611	25 years	32 plays.
III. 1619-1627	8 years	6 plays.
IV. 1638-1642	4 years	5 plays.
Date unknown	<i>Antonio of Ragusa.</i>	

Group II is clearly the main one. In this period of 25 years, containing nowhere intervals of more than 2 years, 32 plays were produced. It is in this period that the interest of the Elizabethans in the presentation of oriental characters, life, history, and customs was strongest. While of no great significance, is not this fact of some interest when taken in connection with the state of English drama in general during this period? It was, roughly speaking, this same period, from 1586 to 1611, that saw the greatest activity in the

¹ While the exact date of this play is unknown, Schelling includes it in his list of Elizabethan plays. See Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, III, 301, where the words "second half of the eighteenth century" are evidently a misprint for "second half of the sixteenth century."

Elizabethan drama at large. By far the greater part of the entire body of plays produced during the 85 years from 1558 to 1642 appeared within these 25 years. Not only that, but practically all the vital stages in the development of Elizabethan drama, from its rise under Marlowe and Kyd to its perfection under Shakspeare, are here seen. In fact, the very first play on our list of this period, *The Spanish Tragedy* of Thomas Kyd, may in a sense be taken as the starting-point, not only of the drama dealing with the Orient, but of the whole body of Elizabethan drama, as first fashioned in the school of Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, and Peele. And if such comparatively crude plays as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Soliman and Perseda*, and *Tamburlaine* mark not only the beginning in oriental plays, but in the drama as a whole, we have fifteen or twenty years later the masterpiece of *Othello*, in which the central figure is an Oriental, and the dramatic art of which is as far removed from that of the three plays mentioned as is the noble Othello from the despicable Moor of this same author's *Titus Andronicus*.

When, again, we consider the authors of these oriental plays, we find that a goodly number of the important playwrights of the period were attracted to oriental matter. In this period of twenty-five years we find represented Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Shakspeare, Dekker, Day, Greville, Heywood, and Webster. Extending our examination to the end of the Elizabethan period, we can add the names of Fletcher, Massinger, Glapthorne, Carlell, and Denham. With the plays of the period distributed thus widely among the important playwrights of the time, we are justified in the assertion that the production of oriental plays was not due to the fancy of any one author or group of authors, but that the interest of the Elizabethans was so considerable as to induce a majority of the main playwrights to write at least one play dealing with oriental matter.

II. ANALYSIS OF PLAYS

We now come to an analysis of the plays themselves. First, we shall consider the types into which these plays fall. The following summary will give the broad types under which they may be classified and the relative frequency of each type.

SUMMARY

A. Tragedies	19
B. Conqueror plays	9
C. Plays of travel and adventure	7
D. Tragi-comedies	5
E. Dramatic romances, etc.	4
F. Type unknown	3
	<hr/>
	47

The first thing that strikes us in glancing at this summary is the great predominance of serious plays. The tragedies and conqueror plays in themselves number 28, and if we add 3 of the plays of travel and adventure, *Stukeley*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, and *A Christian Turned Turk*, which are also tragedies in a different form, we have 31 plays out of 47 which are essentially tragic in nature. Of the remaining third, 16 in number, 5 are tragi-comedies and 4 are plays of travel and adventure of a tragi-comic nature. Only 4 out of the whole number merit classification under the lighter head of dramatic romances, comedies, and masques. Even here, the tragi-comic element in *The Merchant of Venice*, the only extant play of the group, hardly justifies us in separating it from the other tragi-comedies. And while it is probable that the three non-extant plays of this group were really in a somewhat lighter vein than the average tragi-comedy, we know too little of them to justify us in concluding that we have here a group which, in any real sense, merits classification under the comic as opposed to the serious type of drama. Of three plays we know nothing of the type, though it is likely that *Vayvode* was a conqueror play or tragedy similar to *Scanderbeg*, treating of the long struggle between one of the Vayvodes of Wallachia and the Ottoman Turks.

Two-thirds of all these oriental plays, then, are tragic in nature. And of the remaining 16 plays, at least 9 are tragi-comic. Even accepting the 4 plays of the comic group as really comic in nature, we should have a miserably small representation. It is clear that there was something about the oriental matter dealt with which demanded serious treatment. Perhaps this was to be expected when we consider the probable conception which the Elizabethans had of the Orient as the domain where war, conquest, fratricide,

lust, and treachery had freer play than in the lands nearer home—a conception more or less justified by the actual facts. On the other hand, it may be due simply to the fact that the Elizabethans, like all other peoples before and since, not only interested themselves to a greater extent in the more serious because the more striking aspects in the affairs of foreigners, but that they actually knew much more about the wars and conquests of the Orientals than about the less serious and more common affairs of these people. Whatever the cause, the fact remains: the Elizabethan plays dealing with oriental matter were predominantly serious in nature.

1. *Types of plays*.—In regard to most of the types represented, little comment is required. It may be noticed, however, that without exception all of the plays dealing entirely with Orientals are either pure tragedies or conqueror plays. Those into which Orientals and Occidentals alike enter are for the most part tragi-comedies or plays of travel and adventure. These last form an interesting group. The first in point of time is *The Blacksmith's Daughter*, referred to in Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1579) as "containing the trechery of Turks, the honourable bountye of a noble mind, the shining of vertue in distresse."¹ In *Stukeley* and *The Battle of Alcazar*, we have the glorification of an adventurous Englishman, who, after performing numerous exploits on land and sea, meets his death in northern Africa in the battle of Alcazar. Just as these two plays are founded on the facts of Stukeley's life, which terminated in 1578 in the historical battle of Alcazar, so all the rest of these plays of adventure are founded, more or less loosely, on current events. *The Travails of Three English Brothers* depicts the adventures of the Sherley brothers in Persia and is based on the highly colored narrative by Anthony Nixon which describes with much distortion of facts the actual experiences of Anthony, Robert, and Thomas Sherley at the Persian court and elsewhere. *A Christian Turned Turk* is one of those plays resulting from the popular interest in a number of daring sea robberies that occurred about 1609. This play, based on ballads and pamphlets of the moment, and a number of others served the function of modern newspapers and told the people all about these sensational events. *The Fair Maid of the West* is of the same nature. It breathes

¹ P. 30 (in the *Shakspere Society Pub.*, Vol. II).

of the very air of Plymouth and the salt sea, and the life of the sea-rover is made strikingly vivid. In all these plays there is rapid shifting of the scenes of action. Perhaps in no other type of play can we see so well the boundless energy and love of excitement that we always associate with the Elizabethans.

2. *Sources of plays.*—Before dealing with the sources of these particular plays, it may be well to take some notice of the entire body of sources that might have been utilized by the Elizabethan dramatist for the oriental matter of his play. Von Hammer in his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* gives a "Verzeichniss der in Europa (ausser Constantinopel) erschienenen, osmanische Geschichte betreffenden Werke."¹ His complete list numbers 3,176 items. If we take only those likely to have been known to the Elizabethans—those printed between 1500 and 1640—we have over 1,600 items. These are mostly histories, but include also ballads, poems, tracts, pamphlets, and stories. The majority are in Latin, but a great number are in German, French, Italian, and Spanish, and some in English. The dramatist, then, had certainly no dearth of material which he could draw upon for the history, customs, and character of the Orientals. In fact, as Herford points out,² the history of the Turks was a perfectly "safe" subject in every European book-market in the sixteenth century. The Ottoman empire was the mightiest in the world, and interest in the doings of the Turks was naturally intense. With these facts in mind, we shall not be inclined to regard a book dealing with the Orient as by any means an oddity and can see that the employment of such books as sources for plays was not only not an unusual thing, but a thing most naturally to be expected.

Following is the list of sources used for oriental matter, arranged chronologically in the order in which they were first employed for particular plays.

SOURCES USED FOR ORIENTAL MATTER

1. Georgievitz, Bartholomæus. *De Turcarum Moribus*, ca. 1481.
 - (a) *Solymannidae*, 1581.
 - (b) *Mustapha*, 1606.

¹ Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827), Vol. X.

² *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 168.

2. Wotton, Henry. *Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels*, 1578.
 - (a) *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1586.¹
 - (b) *Soliman and Perseda*, 1588.¹
3. Fortescue, Thomas. *The Foreste or Collection of Histories dooen out of Frenche into Englishe*, etc., 1571.
 - (a) *Tamburlaine*, I and II, 1587.
4. Perondinus, Peter. *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita*, etc., 1553.
 - (a) *Tamburlaine*, I and II, 1587.
5. Jovius, Paulus. *Rerum Turcicorum Commentarius*, etc., ca. 1550.
 - (a) *Selimus*, 1588.²
6. Frigius, John Thomas. *Historia de Bello Africano*, etc., 1580.
 - (a) *Battle of Alcazar*, 1591.
 - (b) *Stukeley*, 1596.
7. Other Plays.
 - (a) *Stukeley*, 1596.
 - (b) *The City Nightcap*, 1624.
8. Ballads.
 - (a) *Stukeley*, 1596.
 - (b) *A Christian Turned Turk*, 1610.³
9. Cinthio, Giovanni Battista Giraldi. *Gli Hecatommithi*, 1565.
 - (a) *Othello*, 1604.
10. Nixon, Anthony. (A pamphlet describing the travels of the Sherley brothers, title not ascertained), 1607.
 - (a) *Travails of Three English Brothers*, 1607.
11. Pamphlets (miscellaneous).
 - (a) *A Christian Turned Turk*, 1610.³
12. Bandello, Matteo. *Novelle*, 1554.
 - (a) *The Knight of Malta*, 1619.⁴
13. Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning*, etc., 1603.
 - (a) *Revenge for Honour*, 1624.
 - (b) *The Courageous Turk*, 1627.
 - (c) *The Raging Turk*, 1627.
 - (d) *Osmond*, 1638.
14. Cervantes, Miguel de. (1) *Comedia de los Banos de Argel*, about 1585, and (2) *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605.
 - (a) *The Renegado*, 1624.⁵

¹ See Gregor Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis* (1892).

² See Hugo Gilbert, *Robert Greene's Selimus* (Kiel, 1899).

³ See A. E. H. Swaen, "Robert Daborne's Plays," *Anglia*, Vol. XX.

⁴ See Erich Blühm, *Über "The Knight of Malta" und seine Quellen* (Halle, 1903).

⁵ See Theodor Heckmann, *Massinger's "The Renegado" und seine spanischen Quellen* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1905).

15. Herbert, Sir Thomas. *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, etc.*, 1638.
 - (a) *Mirza*, 1642.
 - (b) *The Sophy*, 1642.
16. Correspondence (of an ambassador of Charles I at the Persian court to friends at Cambridge).
 - (a) *Mirza*, 1642.

We have here the sources for the oriental matter employed in 22 of the 47 plays. The sources for the remaining 25 are not yet ascertained. However, 13 of these 25 are non-extant, so that we lack the sources of only 12 extant plays. Among the chief of these are *The Jew of Malta*, *Alaham*, *Tomumbeius*, and *The Fair Maid of the West*. What investigation I have been able to make regarding these plays has thrown no definite light on the question of their sources.

It will be seen from this list that in the majority of cases histories were the sources employed. Out of 27 instances enumerated showing the employment of some source, 15 point to the use of histories. In 7 cases these histories were in Latin, and they were all used comparatively early. No Latin source has been proved to have been used for a play written since 1606. The English histories, on the other hand, were all employed long after 1606, with the single exception of Fortescue's work, which is itself a translation from the French. Of the Latin histories, Georgievitz, Frigius, and Perondinus were each used twice. Of the English historians, Knolles was used 4 times, Herbert twice, and Fortescue twice. It is surprising to find that Knolles was not oftener used, especially in view of the frequently met assertion on the part of scholars and historians of the drama that Knolles was the common source for plays dealing with oriental matter. Professor Schelling's statement that "the general source for English dramatists dealing with the history of the Ottoman Empire is Knolles's *General History of the Turks*, 1603"¹ is certainly inaccurate, in view of the fact that of the dozen or so plays that can properly be construed as dealing with the history of the Ottoman empire, 6 were written before Knolles's history came out, and only 4 of the entire number point unmistakably to this as a source.

¹ *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 496.

Next in importance to histories come stories. But we have only 5 definite instances of their use: Wotton was used twice, Cinthio, Bandello, and Cervantes once each. It is not unlikely that stories may have been the material employed in some of those plays whose sources are not known, as for example *The Jew of Malta*, *Alaham*, and *Mulleasses*, though I am more inclined to think that *Mulleasses* and *Alaham* are the results of a rather grave distortion by the dramatists themselves of events recorded in histories. Plays are used twice, ballads twice, pamphlets twice, and correspondence once.

This completes the list of the positively known sources. Only one inference of any definiteness can be drawn therefrom: that history of some kind was very largely the storehouse for the oriental matter in these plays. And while ballads, stories, and pamphlets were also used to some extent, it is quite probable that if we knew the sources of the remaining 25 plays, we should find them to have been in large measure these same or similar histories, if for no other reason than that many of them are concerned with precisely the same subjects treated in the plays we know to have been thus derived.

Accuracy of sources: We come now to the question of the reliability of the sources used. For if we are eventually to determine the extent and accuracy of the Elizabethan's knowledge of the Orient as exhibited in these plays, we must know, in addition to the knowledge he acquired otherwise, not only the sources employed, but how closely these sources were followed, and how accurate they were. Some of these sources we know. As to the closeness with which they were followed, little need be said, as it is clear that in the great majority of cases, the dramatist has adhered faithfully to the account of the historian, story-teller, or pamphleteer. *Tamburlaine* is a good example of this, showing, both in the description of Tamburlaine himself taken from the Latin of Perondinus and in the sequence of events as taken from Fortescue, how closely Marlowe adhered to his sources. In *Osmond* and *Revenge for Honor*, to be sure, the dramatist takes liberties with his material. But these plays, unlike *Mustapha* and *Solymanndae*, which use the same material, do not pretend to be historical, and the dramatist cannot be called to account for failing to give us *the* story, when all he intended was to give us *a* story. With these and other minor exceptions, as in both

Goffe's Turkish plays for example, we can credit the Elizabethan dramatist with following with tolerable faithfulness the materials he used.

It is now necessary to determine in how far these sources, thus faithfully followed, present an accurate account of the history or a truthful picture of the customs and character of the oriental peoples. We shall leave out of account the stories and ballads, which from their nature are not amenable to criticism from the standpoint of *fact*, however much we may ask them to present the essential *truth*, which as a rule they do. We shall consider, then, the histories, which were used in the majority of cases as sources for these plays.

Needless to say, history was not then written in the scientific spirit. Each historian copied from his predecessor, with or without acknowledgment, and felt no compunction in coloring the narrative to increase its interest, or in mingling legend with fact, with the result that his successor honestly accepted the whole as fact and so transmitted it to *his* successor with his own embellishments. And while it is true that, especially among the writers nearest the scene of action in time or place, the essential *truth* of the narrative is rarely lost sight of, it was inevitable that later writers, who were more and more distant from the time and place of the events described, should lose the sense of proportion, elevate legends to the rank of facts, and so give to the whole story the tinge of romantic untruth.

Many examples might be cited in illustration of this phenomenon. But three instances will suffice—the stories of “The Murder of Mustapha,” “Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek,” “Bajazet and the Iron Cage.” The first of these stories is the basis of the main plot in three plays: *Solymanidae*, *Mustapha*, and *Revenge for Honor*; while it also enters prominently into two others: *Alaham* and *Osmond*. The plain facts about this famous episode, as given by von Hammer,¹ are these. Prince Mustapha, the eldest son and heir-apparent to the throne of Suleiman the Great, was an extremely accomplished and noble prince, a successful soldier, and the hope of the empire. But Roxolana, Suleiman's Russian favorite in the harem, desired the succession for her own son Selim. With the aid of the Grand Vezir Rustem Pasha, who had married her daughter, Roxolana

¹ III, 317-18.

succeeded in convincing Suleiman that Mustapha was plotting his father's overthrow, relying on his universal popularity among the soldiers and people. Suleiman, pretending to make a campaign against the Persians, marched his army into Asia Minor to the province then governed by Mustapha who innocently went to meet his father at Eregli. Pitching his tent beside Suleiman's, the Prince went to the latter to pay his respects to his father. But on entering he found no one to greet him but the seven dread mutes, who at once strangled him. On hearing the news, Mustapha's younger brother Tchihanger, who had loved him devotedly, fell ill and died of grief.

Now, to these plain facts as related by all Ottoman historians, the European historians have not only added many stories of attempts at poisoning, of secret letters, of Suleiman's urgent cries to the mutes to be swift in their work, and such other details as tend to augment Suleiman's crime, but they have even made the Sultan go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate his crime, and, what is more important for us, have all agreed in reporting Tchihanger's death as due to *suicide*. This last particular is very important, as we shall see later in dealing with the customs of the Orientals, for, in addition to the fact that all 5 plays adopt many of the minor legendary accretions, 3 of them introduce quite prominently the *suicide* of Tchihanger, and the suicide of some character is a strong factor in all. Thus the dramatist, honestly following his source, has, not to mention minor inaccuracies, been led to portray Suleiman as a feelingless father and unreasonable tyrant, Tchihanger as a suicide, and Roxolana's daughter Carmena (in *Mustapha*) as a martyr to her love for her brother—all of which flatly contradicts the facts as related by all Ottoman historians and by von Hammer.

The second story is that of "Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek," used as the basis of the main plot in *Osmond*, *The Courageous Turk*, and presumably in Peele's non-extant play of *Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek*. It is also the subject of Gilbert Swinhoe's *The Unhappy Fair Irene* (1658), of Charles Goring's *Irene, or the Fair Greek* (1708), and Dr. Johnson's *Irene* (1749).¹ There is only one bare thread of a fact upon which the whole marvelous story has

¹ See also the poem by William Barksted entitled "Hiren or the Fair Greke," published in 1611.

hung these several centuries. I shall give in translation von Hammer's account of the incident and its transformation into a story of tragic romance.¹ After describing the capture of Euboea from the Venetians, July 12, 1470, by Mohammed II, von Hammer concludes:

Mohammed, in order to revenge himself for the loss of 50,000 men, satisfied his rage against the brave defenders of their fatherland by means of ingenious tortures. Some of the Venetians were impaled, some quartered, some stoned; but the Greeks were led away as slaves, Paul Erizzo, as the ambassador of Calayrita and Leontari, was sawed in two, *and his daughter, who did not show herself sufficiently yielding, was cut to pieces.*² Out of this incident has probably arisen the fable of Irene, which may well serve as material for an unhistorical tragedy (like that of Johnson's), but deserves no place in history, least of all on the authority of a novelist like Bandello, whom the most recent editor of Leonardus of Chios, the Premonstratensian l'Écuy, has not blushed in his notes to produce as an historical witness of this romantic episode.³

Out of this mere incident in one of Mahomet's campaigns, which took place, *not* in Turkey but in Greece, *not* in 1453 but in 1470, has developed the romantic story of the capture of the beautiful slave Irene during the siege of Constantinople, Mahomet's enslavement to her charms, the consequent disaffection among the soldiers at their Sultan's indifference to war, the sacrifice of the Sultan's love in cutting off his favorite's head in the presence of his troops, and Mahomet's immediate declaration to forswear the pleasures of the harem and straightway to lead his army to the battlefield against the Christians. Such is substantially the story of *Osmond* and *The Courageous Turk*, and most likely of Peele's play also.

The third story—that of "Bajazet and the Iron Cage," as seen in *Tamburlaine*, I—is perhaps the most interesting of all as showing what small errors on the part of historians can raise a mountain out of a molehill. Von Hammer devotes considerable space to the examination of this "question of the iron cage." After describing the capture of Bajazet by Tamburlaine, the kindness with which he was treated by his captor, Bajazet's abortive attempt to escape

¹ For further examples in German and French literature see Michael Stephen Örteling, *Die Geschichte der "Schönen Irene" in der modernen Litteratur* (Würzburg, 1897).

² The italics are mine.

³ II, 99-100, and note, p. 555.

through a tunnel in the ground, and the consequent necessity of keeping a closer guard on him, he says:

During the day a more numerous guard surrounded him, and at night he was put in fetters. From this, and from a false interpretation of the Turkish word *kafes*, which signifies "cage" and also "latticed room" or "litter," is derived the fable of the iron cage, repeated for so long a time by all the European historians after the Byzantine Phranzes and the Syrian Arab-Schah.¹

After passing in review all of the Ottoman historians, who naturally say nothing of an iron cage, he adds:

This accords with the following words of Neschri [one of the oldest Ottoman historians]: "Timur had made a litter in which he (Bajazet) was carried, just as in a *kafes* between two horses." It is evidently in this wrongly interpreted passage that we must recognize the primitive origin of the whole fable, which, growing with time, has finished by making itself a place in history. Not only does *kafes* mean, as we have said, a cage, but this word designates even today any latticed apartment of the women and even the dwelling of the Ottoman princes in the seraglio at Constantinople. *Kafes* is used also of the latticed litters in which the women of the harem are carried on journeys, and it is precisely in a vehicle of this sort that Bajazet was carried between two horses. Later some obscure Ottoman chroniclers, lovers of anecdotes, on the faith of a Syrian poetaster, transformed this litter into an iron cage.²

Such is the origin of the famous story of Bajazet's imprisonment in the iron cage which found place in all European histories, and which may be found illustrated, along with portraits of the sultans, in Lonicero's *Chronicum Turcicorum*.³ There is, of course, less foundation for the scene where Bajazet and his wife commit suicide by dashing their brains out against the bars of the cage. Bajazet died eight months after the battle in which he was taken prisoner, not by violence, but of a broken heart, unable to endure the ignominy of defeat.⁴

Thus is exemplified the almost inevitable tendency of legend to be treated as fact, given historians of a not too nice conscience and a taste for the romantic. These are perhaps small matters and do not greatly affect the question of the knowledge of the Elizabethans

¹ I, 317-18.

² I, 319-20.

³ Philippo Lonicero, *Chronicum Turcicorum* (Frankfort am Main, 1578), p. 12 B.

⁴ Ed. S. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (1877), p. 49.

about the essential *truth* concerning the Orient. But it does show clearly that if Elizabethan dramatists erred in presenting false pictures of history or life, the blame was not theirs but that of the historians they followed.

3. *Scenes of action.*—Obviously of much less importance than the question just considered is that of the location of the action of these 47 plays. But it is not without some interest as a sort of visualization of the various peoples and lands that were presented to the Elizabethan audience. Needless to say, it is in many cases impossible definitely to localize the action, because of the shift from one land to another, from land to sea, and from continent to continent. In the following summary, therefore, I have been content to indicate the *general* locality of the *main* action of each play.

SCENES OF ACTION

A. European Turkey.....	12
B. North Africa.....	6
C. Italy.....	6
D. Asia Minor.....	4
E. Persia.....	4
F. Spain.....	4
G. Malta.....	2
H. Cyprus.....	1
I. Rhodes.....	1
J. Tartary.....	1
K. Arabia.....	1
L. Egypt.....	1
	<hr/>
	43
Scene unknown.....	4
	<hr/>
	47

Little comment is called for, as the table is self-explanatory. Two things, however, are worthy of notice: (1) that almost every country touching the Mediterranean is represented; and (2) that Turkey is the scene of more plays than any other land. Taken in connection with what follows and considered as an aid in the determination of our conclusions, these two points are of some importance.

4. *Nationalities represented.*—The question now to be considered—the various peoples represented in these plays and the accuracy

of the characterization—is perhaps deserving of more attention than any other phase of this investigation. But the scope and difficulty of any satisfactory study of the question have precluded anything but a general survey of the field; and I have been forced to base my conclusions mainly on the average student's knowledge of these peoples, supplemented by the additional knowledge I myself have acquired through a more or less intimate association with the present-day representatives of these same Orientals.

In the following summary I have indicated the frequency with which these various nationalities occur in the 47 plays under consideration.

NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED

Turks in.....	31 plays
Westerners.....	27 “
Moors.....	18 “
Eastern Christians.....	12 “
Persians.....	8 “
Tartars.....	5 “
Jews.....	6 “
Arabs.....	4 “
Egyptians.....	4 “

As Turkey was the land represented most often as the scene of action, so the Turks are the people occurring most frequently as characters. In fact, they occur oftener than the Westerners themselves—a fact more striking than appears at first sight; for the term Westerner includes all the Christian nationalities of Europe, whereas the Turk is only one of the half-dozen oriental races which figure in these plays. Clearly the interest in the Turks was stronger than in any other oriental race. The Moors come next and then the eastern Christians—rarely designated by race, but presumably Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and so forth. The Persians, Tartars, Arabs, and Egyptians are much less prominent, owing not only to the less frequent contact of Westerners with these peoples, but also to the fact that they were much less “in the limelight” than their renowned neighbors, the Turks, and their coreligionists, the Moors. The Jews, of course, might occur in any play of most any character whatever.

And now what is the picture given us by the dramatist of these various races? I shall give briefly and with as little taint of

prepossessed ideas as possible the impression I have received of each of these various nationalities through the reading of these plays. I shall there point out wherein it seems to me the dramatist's characterization does or does not conform to the probably true characterization.

The Turks are generally represented as valiant, proud-spirited, and cruel. There is almost universal admiration for their valor, and I can think of no instance where they are considered in any marked degree deserving of contempt. The railing of avowed enemies, as that of Tamburlaine against Bajazet and the Turks, cannot of course be considered indicative of the *general* attitude toward them. Their pride of spirit is continually dwelt upon. Their cruelty is brought out more in their dealings with one another than in those with other peoples. This is shown most often in the introduction of parricide, especially fratricide—in the Mustapha plays, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Selimus*, and others. No particular color of face is noted—a fact which shows clearly that the dramatist distinguished sharply enough between the Turks and the Moors, as the color of the latter is almost invariably mentioned in a prominent way.¹ In the matter of the portrayal of good and bad Turks, the count stands about even. We have such villains as Ithamore in *The Jew of Malta* and Mulleasses in the play of that name. But we also have the distinctly noble character of Osmond in Carrell's play, the illustrious prince Mustapha in all the plays dealing with this story, and such minor characters as Lucinda in *The Knight of Malta*. There seems to be no indication of a prejudice against the Turk, and the dramatist has not, therefore, attempted deliberately to paint his worst side. As far as I can judge, he has given us a fairly accurate picture of the Turk of that time. It is true, of course, that the charge of cruelty against the Turk of today would be the grossest of libels, and there is scarcely any mention of that hospitality, patriarchal dignity and simplicity, and frank generosity that impress foreigners today as his most prominent qualities. But not only was the Turk most likely a different man at that time, but these simpler qualities would not be so easily known as his valor, pride, and cruelty. So it is more likely

¹ Contrast this with the frequent occurrence of the black-faced "Turkish knight" in the English mummers' plays. See *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, V, 36.

than not that the Elizabethan characterization of the Turk of 1600 was an accurate one.

The Moors are in some ways made similar to the Turks, They are almost always valiant and proud of spirit. But they differ in some ways also. They are more barbarous and distinctly lustful. We have only to think of Eleazar and Abdellah to get a distinct impression of their lustful leanings. But they are intelligent and masterful. And many are represented as exceedingly generous and noble. While Eleazar in *Lust's Dominion*, Zanche in *The White Devil*, and Abdellah in *The Knight of Malta* are shown as villains, yet who can doubt the nobility of Othello, in a less degree that of Joffer in *The Fair Maid of the West*, and also of Mullisheg in the same play? The Moors are persistently described as very dark, and almost invariably no distinction seems to be made between the inhabitants of northern Africa and the Negro. Why this confusion was made is a puzzling question, since in other respects they seem to have characterized the Moors with a fair degree of accuracy. No doubt a little too much stress was laid on their lustful inclinations—they were, in a measure, made the scapegoat for the sins of all men, though there was of course more justification for it than in the case of some other oriental races. On the whole, they seem to have been less respected than the Turks, and this was probably a pretty just estimate.

In distinction from the races just mentioned, the Elizabethans seem to have had very hazy ideas about the rest of the oriental nations. The Persians, Tartars, Arabs, and Egyptians might all have been cast in the same mold. Their morals are loose, and their monarchs are apt to be tyrannical. But there is not that definiteness of characterization that we find in the case of the Turks and Moors. Tamburlaine, to be sure, is clearly drawn, but in almost every other case we feel that a complete shift of characters, say from Arabia to Persia, would not have called for a change in characterization. On the score of indistinctness, then, these characters are certainly inaccurate.

The Jew, whom I have not considered as an Oriental, appears in six plays, and in every one he is *the* villain or *one* of them. He is either a grasping miser or a treacherous tool, and no sympathy is

ever shown for him. Eastern Christians are treated very slightly and figure almost universally as slaves and inferiors.

In brief, the characterization of the Oriental is fairly accurate, considering the fact that the great majority of dramatists very likely never saw one of them. The attitude toward him is usually one of genuine interest and, except in the case of the Moor, rarely shows any avowed prejudice, if allowances be made for the very natural religious antagonism of Christian toward Mohammedan. The confusion of Moor and Negro is of course an error. And we cannot claim a great deal for the dramatist's knowledge of the Orientals other than Turks and Moors. But I think we shall have to give him credit for a much more accurate and dispassionate portrayal of oriental character than we are wont to do.

5. *Customs depicted.*—We now come to the consideration of the last phase in the analysis of these plays. How closely are the Elizabethan dramatists in touch with the customs of the Orientals, and how accurate are they in depicting them? That their knowledge of oriental life was much greater than we usually give them credit for is quite evident. In almost everything that concerns the Mohammedan religion, the observance of its religious forms and the tenets of its followers, they display considerable knowledge. This is not remarkable when we consider the avidity with which Europeans seized upon all books relating to the religion and customs of the Turks and other Orientals and the great mass of such books that we have seen were at their command. And whatever may be said of the inaccuracy of the histories of the Orient, this charge can hardly be applied to the books describing oriental customs generally and religious customs in particular. For they were more often written by men who had *seen* what they described and dealt with contemporary matters and not with affairs of two hundred years past. Many of our plays are quite specific in describing religious tenets, as *Mus-tapha* and *Alaham*. The life of the seraglio and harem seems to have been fairly well known. And *The Renegado* of Massinger is an excellent example of a play showing throughout an intimate knowledge of minor but telling details in regard to oriental life that nobody but a careful student or an eyewitness could possess. Except for such minor inaccuracies as the mention of a church or temple in

place of a mosque, and allowing for the almost universal conception of the Turks as more superstitious than the Europeans, it is pretty certain that, generally speaking, the customs of the Orientals were depicted with a fair approach to accuracy and a proper conception of their significance.

There is, however, at least one glaring exception to this tolerably faithful portrayal of eastern customs—the introduction of suicide among the Mohammedans. As I pointed out in dealing with the sources of the Mustapha plays, European historians transformed the death of Tchihanger by grief into his death by suicide, contrary to the facts and all Ottoman historians. This was not merely a distortion of a particular fact, but, as we shall see, a violent misrepresentation of a fundamental rule of life among all Mohammedan peoples. Suicide of Orientals occurs in six of our body of plays—in *Alaham*, *Revenge for Honor*, *Osmond*, *Mustapha*, *Solymanndae*, and *Tamburlaine*, I. The Elizabethan audience might be justified in concluding from this fairly prominent presentation of suicide that suicide was as common among Orientals as it had been among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and still was among all Christian peoples. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth, as anyone acquainted with oriental life and history knows. A brief citation from von Hammer will suffice to make clear the truth of this assertion. In relating the death by self-starvation of Chosrew Pasha, a favorite minister of Suleiman's who in 1547 experienced a sudden fall from glory strikingly similar to that of Cardinal Wolsey, von Hammer says: "and he took neither food nor drink, till on the seventh day he died; a manner of death not uncommon among Greeks and Romans, but almost unheard of in the histories of the Moslims, who moreover are preserved from the cowardice of death through suicide by religious submission to the decrees of fate."¹ It is evident from this passage that suicide has *always* been rare among Moslims, just as it is today. Very likely the dramatist was not acquainted with this fact, and in making his Orientals commit suicide he was merely introducing one of the time-honored stage-scenes that would be perfectly true to life among any but Moslim peoples. Still, as indicating a lack of knowledge concerning a most

¹ III, 282.

fundamental attitude toward life, or at least a disregard for this attitude, the Elizabethan dramatist and, therefore, the Elizabethan people must be charged with a limited conception of at least one important phase of oriental life.

III. CONCLUSION

We are now ready to attempt an answer to the question, "How extensive and how accurate was the knowledge of the Elizabethans regarding the Orient?" We shall first glance very briefly at the political situation; and then, bringing together the conclusions reached in the study of the nature and extent of our corpus of plays as a whole, and the various aspects of the analysis we have undertaken, we shall endeavor to focus the light from these various sources on this final question.

If there ever was a time in the world's history when the eyes of Europe should have been turned to the Orient, the sixteenth century was that time. And if there ever was a period in which interest in the East was not merely one of curiosity or novelty, but an active interest made necessary by the conditions of the time, it was the Elizabethan period. In the year 1600 the Ottoman empire was by far the most powerful in the world. Its territories extended from the Persian Gulf on the southeast to within a few miles of Vienna on the northwest; from the Atlas Mountains of Africa on the southwest to the Caucasus on the northeast. Twenty different races inhabited this empire. Its armies had for two hundred years been the best in existence, and, although some improvement had taken place in the armies of western Europe during the sixteenth century, "the Ottoman troops were still far superior to them in discipline and in general equipment."¹ Under Suleiman the Magnificent, whose splendid reign of forty-six years had closed in 1566, the empire had been thoroughly consolidated, it enjoyed prosperity at home and universal prestige abroad.

We have seen what a flood of books poured over Europe in the sixteenth century, telling of the rise of the Ottoman empire, relating in detail the exploits of the sultans, describing minutely the customs and religion of these powerful people. The Elizabethans, like all

¹ Creasy, p. 201.

the rest of Europe, were eager readers of these books. But it was not alone through books or mere hearsay that they acquired an interest in the Orient. The contact was much more real. From the year 1579, when three English merchants obtained from the Porte the same privileges for English residents in Turkey as those already enjoyed by other nations, the number of English merchants, travelers, and officials who visited or settled in the Orient constantly increased. In 1583 William Harebone became the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Constantinople, and, as Creasy says,

sought anxiously to induce the Sultan to make common cause with her against the Spanish King [Philip II], and his great confederate the Pope of Rome . . . and there is a letter addressed by her agent at the Porte to the Sultan in Nov. 1587, at the time when Spain was threatening England with the Great Armada, in which the Sultan is implored to send, if not the whole tremendous force of his empire, at least 60 or 80 galleys, "against that idolater, the King of Spain, who, relying on the help of the Pope and all idolatrous princes, designs to crush the Queen of England, and then to turn his whole power to the destruction of the Sultan, and make himself universal monarch."¹

The Turks promised help, but did nothing. Not only did the English use persuasion, but they are said to have sought, by large gifts of money to Seadeddin the historian, to gain the ear of the Sultan, in whose favor he was. There are three other letters to the Sultan from Elizabeth or her ambassador; one from Windsor in 1582, concerning commercial privileges; another of 1587, requesting the release of some English prisoners from Algiers; a third of November 30, 1588, announcing the defeat of the Armada, and still urging the Sultan to attack Spain.² In 1599 the Queen sent Thomas Dallam, a master organ-builder, to Constantinople with the present of an elaborate organ for the Sultan as a means of winning his favor for English commerce in the East and his help against her enemies.³

These are some of the incidents showing the practical nature of the relations between England and Turkey. After 1600, of course, these relations were of increasing significance.⁴ Not only did the

¹ Creasy, pp. 227-28.

² See von Hammer, IV, 621-25, where all these letters are given in full.

³ See the *Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by J. Theodore Bent (London, 1893).

⁴ The first Turkish envoy to England, Mustapha, arrived in 1606.

English go to Turkey, but the Turks came to England—with different intent, however. The following from Bates's *Touring in 1600* illustrates the further reason the Elizabethans had for being interested in the Turks:

In 1616 Sir G. Carew writes to Sir T. Roe that the Turks are passing out of the Mediterranean now, had just carried off all the inhabitants of St. Marie, one of the Azores, and might be looked for round England soon. In 1630 they took six ships near Bristol and had about forty of their vessels in British seas. In the following year they sacked Baltimore in Ireland; but so far was the English government from being able to assert itself that Robert Bayle writes of his passage from Youghal to Bristol past Ilfracombe and Minehead in 1635, that he passed safely "though the Irish coasts were then sufficiently infested with Turkish galleys; while in 1645 they called at Fowey and carried off into slavery two hundred and forty persons, including some ladies."¹

It was not mere desire for novelty, then, that prompted this interest in the Orient. It was of necessity an active and lively interest in a powerful people, similar in many ways to our interest in the Japanese of today. With this hasty survey of the political situation in mind, we are now ready to draw our conclusions.

In the first place, we saw from the mere list of plays and the variety of subjects treated that the interest in the Orient was considerable. We then saw from the study of the types represented that the interest inclined to plays of a more serious nature—mostly tragedies and conqueror plays. From a survey of the sources we saw that in the majority of cases history was the material used, and that while this history was by no means always accurate as to details it reproduced the essential spirit of the Orient with a fair degree of truth and was in general faithfully followed by the authors of these plays. We saw further that these plays dealt with almost every land bordering the Mediterranean, but principally with Turkey. The nationalities represented included also practically all the races of the Orient. The Turks appeared most frequently, then the Moors; and while in certain cases striking inaccuracies were noticed, and while the delineation of the other oriental races was made with much less distinctness and understanding, yet on the whole the portrayal of the Oriental was fairly true to life. We saw, also, that in the depiction of customs the Elizabethan dramatist was, in general,

¹ E. S. Bates, *Touring in 1600* (New York, 1911), pp. 185-86.

possessed of sufficient knowledge and sympathy to present to his audience a fairly detailed and correctly colored picture of oriental ways of life. In the important matter of suicide, however, we were compelled to charge him with either lack of knowledge or disregard of it.

Keeping in mind, then, the considerable interest in the Orient that certainly did exist, and which is evidenced by the great number and variety of books about the Orient, by the number and variety of these plays themselves, and by the political situation of the time, we should expect a considerable and fairly accurate knowledge of the objects of this interest. And this, it seems to me, is what we find revealed in these plays. We have found some historical inaccuracies, a lack of any very distinct conception of race characteristics other than those of the Turks and Moors, and a rather serious misconception of a fundamental rule of life. Yet, if we consider the pitifully meager knowledge possessed by the average American regarding the history, character, and customs of the Oriental, aided as he is by the book of travel, the newspaper, the telegraph, and the touring-steamer, we shall feel that he has made little use of his advantages. And I have little hesitation in recording my belief that, speaking not only comparatively but absolutely, the average Elizabethan had as wide and as accurate a knowledge of the Orient as has the average American of the present day.

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THE DO AUXILIARY—1400 to 1450

To set up the least inventive of all poets, John Lydgate, as the innovator of anything requires almost more audacity than I am willing to admit and almost less judgment than I hope I possess. Yet a fairly thorough search through the printed remains of English writers of Lydgate's day and earlier emboldens me to make the statement that the Monk of Bury has left the first recorded frequent use of the unambiguous *do* auxiliary in English.

The abundance of *do* present and past indicatives in Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* was noticed, for the first time, by Courmont.¹ The restriction of this investigation to a single and unusually short poem of Lydgate's led its author into several absurd generalizations and into many complete misstatements in regard to Lydgate's use of the *do* periphrastic tenses. It prevented him, too, from recognizing the significance, so far as historical grammar is concerned, of Lydgate's employing the construction twenty-one times in a poem of only one thousand four hundred and three lines. This is not the place to correct Courmont's misstatements in detail; but disregarding his work both as incorrect and as insufficient, I shall make, first of all, a very general but quite true statement of Lydgate's use of the *do* auxiliary.

In his long poems Lydgate frequently employs the *do* auxiliary. In the *Æsop* there are twenty examples of this construction; in the *Temple of Glas*, twenty-one; in the *Troy Book* (ll. 1-4000), thirteen; in *Resoun and Sensuallyte* (ll. 1-4100), thirty; in the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (ll. 1-4000), twenty; in the *Secrees of Olde Philosoffres* (ll. 1-1491), seventeen. Furthermore, the construction appears in forty-five of the sixty-eight short poems printed in MacCracken's *Minor Poems of Lydgate*. It is found as frequently as thirteen times in the three hundred and seventy-seven lines of *A Seying of the Nightingale* (pp. 221 ff.). None of the poems in this collection in

¹ *Studies on Lydgate's Syntax in The Temple of Glas* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres Université de Paris). Paris, 1912.

which the *do* auxiliary is not found is longer than one hundred and ninety-two lines.¹

Beyond this general statement, I wish to call attention at this time to three especially interesting points in regard to Lydgate's use of the *do* auxiliary.

In the first place, if Lydgate's *Æsop* is to be given a date as early as 1387,² the twenty examples of the *do* auxiliary in this short collection of poems³ fix his use of it far ahead of that of any other writer I have read. Lydgate is here using the periphrastic *do* not "during the generation" following Chaucer,⁴ but in the middle of Chaucer's great period. We shall have, then, either to explain away the early date of the *Æsop* or to recognize the unusualness of Lydgate's form of expression in this poem.

In the second place, *The Serpent of Division* is the only well-authenticated work of Lydgate of any length in which the *do* auxiliary is not used. This fact need not, however, raise any new doubt about Lydgate's authorship of this prose translation; for, although I have not carried the particular inquiry far enough to say conclusively whether the prose form is responsible for this exception or not, I am strongly of the opinion that the *do* auxiliary was admitted first into poetry. Such a difference between prose and poetry is clearly seen, for example, in the work of John Capgrave, a clerical resident of Lynn, Norfolk, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. In Capgrave's verse *Life of St. Katharine* the *do* auxiliary is found as frequently as it is found in Lydgate's verse; while in his prose *Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert*, of practically the same date as the *Life of St. Katharine*, it occurs but four times in one hundred and forty-two pages.

In the third place, the *do* auxiliary is so characteristic of the well-authenticated poetry of Lydgate—in poems of any considerable length, of course—that those scholars who are busily engaged in assigning this and that poem of unknown authorship to him must

¹ *Misericordias Domini*, pp. 71 ff. The absence of the construction in a short poem is, of course, of no consequence.

² Shick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*, p. xcix.

³ There are no differences in this particular between the text of this poem printed by Sauerstein in *Anglia*, XI, and that printed by Zupitza in *Archiv*, 85.

⁴ Courmont's statement, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

take account of it. Yet in none of the attempts to establish Lydgate's authorship or to take away from him traditionally assigned authorship has the presence or the absence of *do* periphrastic tenses been considered. The construction will, I shall show later, easily separate Chaucer's and Lydgate's work; or Lydgate's and Hoccleve's; but it will not, of course, determine between a composition of Lydgate and one of a fifteenth-century neighbor of his.

The almost complete absence of the *do* auxiliary in Lydgate's "deare maister" has been stated with varying degrees of uncertainty by Dietze,¹ by Kenyon,² and by Courmont in the work already berated. Dietze, unfortunately concerned only with Chaucer's prose, finds no example of the *do* auxiliary in the only work of Chaucer's he examined, the *Tale of Melibeus*. Kenyon cites six examples from Chaucer.³ He admits the possibility that none of these, except B 3622 and B 3624,⁴ is auxiliary. By a generosity of interpretation between the causative and the auxiliary use of *do* I am quite willing to consider all of these examples auxiliaries, and I should like to add to Kenyon's list a case of certain causative use:

This Nicholas no lenger wolde tarie
But *doth* ful softe unto his chambre *carie*
Bothe mete and drinke for a day or tweye (A 3410).

It was quite necessary that Nicholas himself "carie bothe mete and drinke" to his room; for, had he caused an agent to perform the work, his deception would probably have been discovered. Courmont, however, finds in Chaucer but one instance of the *do* auxiliary: B 3624.

May I insert here an illustration of the difference between the certain and the ambiguous use of the *do* auxiliary? In regard to the causative function of *do* in *That doth me flee*⁵ there can be no doubt. There can be as little doubt, on the other hand, about the auxiliary use of *do* in this sentence: *But drede þan doþ awake*.⁶ But when we

¹ *Das Umschreibende Do in der neuenglischen Prosa*, Jena, 1895, p. 14.

² *The Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer* (Publications of the Chaucer Society, 1909 for 1905), pp. 154 ff.

³ *Canterbury Tales*, B 3622, B 3624, D 853; *Book of the Duchess*, 753; *House of Fame*, II, 528; *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 880.

⁴ In his *Essay on Chaucer's Language and Versification* (p. xcvi, note 35, Vol. I of his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*) Tyrwhitt called attention to these two cases.

⁵ *House of Fame*, 610.

⁶ *Temple of Glas*, 672.

read in Chaucer's translation of Boethius¹: *and though he do ere his feldes plentivous with an hundred oxen*, we cannot say whether the the action is indirect (he had the ploughing done) and therefore causative or direct and consequently auxiliary. If the decision seems at first glance easily in favor of causative use here,² bear in mind the expression of direct action in Alfred's translation of the same sentence (*and þeah he erige his land mid þusend sula*) and in the Latin original (*Ruraque centeno scindat opima boue*). Many examples of this sort of ambiguity, where it is difficult to determine whether it is the intention of the author to express direct or indirect action, may be cited from Chaucer: some of them have been cited. Such ambiguous cases in Chaucer have, however, little significance historically, for they may be found even more frequently than in Chaucer as early as the *Havelock* and *Floris and Blanche-fleur*.

If the easy-going Chaucer practically did not use the construction at all, we should not be disappointed if we fail to find it in the work of the prim and moral Gower. Gower does not use the *do* auxiliary. The homely but frozen language of the authors of *Piers the Plowman* has it not.³ Dietze⁴ furnishes me with the information that no case of it occurs in Wyclif's Gospel of John; nor have I found one in his sermons. John Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (1387) shows no example in Book II (138 pages). It is not found in the West Midland Alliterative Poems (about 1375).⁵ In the twenty or more books of Barbour's *Bruce* (about 1375) the *do* auxiliary does not appear. The romances before 1400, whose syntax is as fixed as that of the conservatives in language grouped above, furnish only an occasional instance: *Joseph of Arimathie*, one; *Sir Ferumbras*, one.

Passing from these compositions of the last half of the fourteenth century, representing all the dialects, to writers on the turn of the

¹ Book III, Metrum 3.

² A footnote in the Globe Chaucer translates: "have his fields plowed."

³ Unless A VIII, 164 be an example:

And so bilceue I lelly' (vr lord forbeode hit elles!)
 þat pardoun and penaunce' and preyers *don sauēn*
 Soules þat han sunget.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ With the exception of: *quat on dotȝ mene* (*Pearl*, 293).

century and after 1400, I list as frequent users of the *do* auxiliary, in addition to Lydgate: John Myrc, the author of *Instructions for Parish Priests* and the *Festial* (Shropshire, 1400–1420); John Capgrave (Norfolk, about 1440); Oswald Bokenam (Suffolk, 1443); John Audelay (Shropshire, early fifteenth century); the writer of *Torrent of Portugal* (perhaps Northeast Midland, after 1400).

One is immediately struck with the fact that all of these compositions, not chosen and grouped at random, are from the Midland district. Two certainly, three probably, are from the East Midland, the district of Lydgate's birthplace, Newmarket, and of his long residence, Bury St. Edmunds. The geographical unity of these compositions in which the *do* auxiliary is frequently used will be of more interest when I make the statement that Lydgate's London-born-and-bred contemporary, Hoccleve, shuns the *do* auxiliary. As interesting from a dialectical standpoint as is Hoccleve's avoidance of the construction, I seriously doubt the sufficiency of this single piece of evidence to push a conclusion that the *do* auxiliary was not in use in the London language of Hoccleve's time. His failure to employ *do* periphrastic tenses may be accounted for by his conservatism. He may have been consciously following the "maister" more closely than Lydgate did. Unfortunately there is no other record to search.¹

The dialectical importance of this evidence grows in the face of the fact that in the Northern dialect of Lydgate's day the *do* auxiliary is sparingly found when it is found at all. In two thousand lines of the Thornton MS² there is no instance of it; in all of the York Plays, but four; in the whole of the Townley Plays, but seven.³

¹ There is but little poetical material, too, from the South at this period to examine. The *Tale of Beryn* uses the *do* auxiliary fairly frequently. The *Vita S. Etheldredae Eliensis* (Horstmann, *Allenglische Legenden*, p. 282), from Wiltshire about 1420, has twelve examples in its one thousand, one hundred and thirty-one lines. This is significant in view of the statement that today in the southwestern dialects the periphrastic *do* form has "practically taken the place of the simple form of the verb" (*N.E.D.*).

² As printed by Horstmann, *Allenglischen Legenden*, pp. 407, 454.

³ The large number of imperatives formed with *do* plus a verb in both the York and Townley Plays do not come into the count (for example, *Do make the redy; Townley*, p. 44, l. 138). If the majority of these *do*'s are not still exclamatory, they surely are of exclamatory origin. The origin of this construction should be clearly separated from that of the *do* plus infinitive periphrastic present and past indicative.

The farther north we go, the fewer *do* auxiliaries we find. In Middle Scots¹ the *do* auxiliary does not exist in the period 1400 to 1450.

The absence of the *do* auxiliary in the language of fifteenth-century Northern writers is evidence confirmatory, it seems to me, of the claim that the causative *do* had a large share in bringing about the general use of the auxiliary *do*. This theory of origin was timidly suggested by Mätzner² (1867) as an alternative theory of growth out of the *do* pro-verb. Dietze³ (1895) denied the theory of causative origin. He contended that the origin of auxiliary *do* is to be found in the "stellvertretendes" *do*. The writer of the *do* article in the *New English Dictionary* quite carelessly follows Dietze's explanation, despite the fact that to the history of the construction from the beginning of the Old English period to the end of the Middle English period Dietze devotes only ten scant pages.⁴ In this important period of the actual rise and spread of the construction Dietze did no reading. With the slight exception of the prose *Merlin* (1450-60), he jumps from Chaucer to Caxton. Of necessity, his evidence is wholly insufficient, and his conclusions are worthless.

Kenyon⁵ revived the theory of causative origin, though with a feeling of sufficiently proper uncertainty as to make him add as a contributory cause for the spread of the construction the frequent Middle English use of *do* with a noun (*doth hem cure*) without form distinction from the verb in the fifteenth century. In support of the contention that causative *do* at least influenced the growth of auxiliary *do* he cites a large number of instances from Chaucer in which causative *leten*, too, has been weakened into a mere auxiliary. As a further parallel, there should be added the reduction of Old French *faire* to an auxiliary (*Soz le genoil li fait le pié trouchier*).⁶

¹ There is one example in *The King's Quair*; one in three thousand lines of Wynthoun's *Chronicle*; none in Book I of *Ratis Raving*; none in *Rauf Coilyear*. In regard to the use of the *do* auxiliary in modern Scotch, see Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, pp. 215-16.

² *Englische Grammatik*, II, 62.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ The *N.E.D.* is indefinite, or safely general, in fixing the time of the entrance of the construction into general use: "It is more frequent in M.E. [than it was in O.E.], but became especially frequent after 1500."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

⁶ Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik* (erste Reihe), pp. 20 ff.

Still greater support is given the theory of causative origin by the facts just established in regard to the dialectical distribution of the auxiliary *do* in the first half of the fifteenth century. The absence of the *do* auxiliary in the Northern dialect is almost certainly due to the important fact that, in the late fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century, *do* was not used as a *causative* in the North. In the North *gar*,¹ not *do*, was the common causative. Wherever *gar* flourishes and causative *do* is not generally used, *do* as an auxiliary does not appear. And there are cases, too, where *gar*,² following the same development that *do* underwent farther south, has been weakened into an auxiliary. Notice in this instance the periphrastic form of the verb in one clause and the simple form in the second clause; Bruce is the subject of both verbs; and one action is no more indirect than the other:

And seyne gert brek doune the vall
And *fordid* [well and] castel al.³

The dialectical distribution of the *do* auxiliary in the fifteenth century has some bearing upon the question of the authorship of Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*. Fragment B contains a sufficient number of *do* auxiliaries to put it out of the Chaucer canon, even if there were no other indications of un-Chaucerian authorship. Disregarding this evidence, Skeat chose to attach so much importance to the presence of Northern forms in B that he suggested King James as the author.⁴ But King James is still sufficiently Scotch to avoid in his *Quair*⁵ the *do* auxiliary so common in B. The combination of twenty-two *do* auxiliaries with a few Northern forms that might have been at home in the Midland dialect above London suggests some Midland writer of the fifteenth century as responsible for the present

¹ *Make*, too, was used as a causative in the North in the fifteenth century. The distribution of causatives is as follows in the York Plays: *do*, 3 (one a formula, *do to wille*); *make*, 13; *gar*, 21; in the Townley Plays: *do*, 3; *make*, 16; *gar*, 27. Barbour, however, uses no *do* causative and *make* as a causative but twice, against seventy-one cases of *gar*, in Books I to XI of the *Bruce*. *Ratis Raving* uses *gar* almost exclusively. In the Midland dialect of the fifteenth century, as auxiliary *do* gained ground, causative *do* gradually receded; Lydgate still uses it, however.

² In Barbour, for example.

³ *Bruce*, IX, 322-23. See also *Bruce*, IV, 77; VI, 403; VIII, 172; VIII, 189; IX, 247; X, 227; *An Alphabet of Tales*, 23, 27; 44, 3; York Plays, 177, 171-73.

⁴ *Chaucer Canon*, pp. 84-89.

⁵ With one exception: l. 84.

form of this part of the *Romaunt*. Resting upon the similarity between Fragment B and Lydgate in the use of the *do* auxiliary, I am in no wise tempted to assign him the authorship of this orphaned B fragment. Were I so tempted, however, I should not be the first to make this claim, for J. Lange years ago¹ put Lydgate forward as a candidate. Whatever are the uncertainties of Lange's theory of authorship for Fragment B, his contention is far more reasonable than Skeat's suggestion of King James.

Finally, I do not count too much upon the occurrence or the non-occurrence of any single form or of any single construction in fixing an author's style. I do maintain, however, that the distinction between the use or the non-use of the *do* auxiliary is a far more important distinction in language than are a number that have been set up as rigid tests.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON CHIEMSEE IN *TEWTSCHÉ THEOLOGÉY*—*Concluded*

4. DIESER

§82. Sg. n.	<i>diser</i>	<i>dise</i>	<i>dits, disz, dises, dieses</i>
g.	<i>dises, dits</i>	<i>diser</i>	<i>dises, dits</i>
d.	<i>disem</i>	<i>diser</i>	<i>disem</i>
a.	<i>disen</i>	<i>dise</i>	<i>dits, disz</i>
		Pl. <i>dise</i>	
		<i>diser</i>	
		<i>disen</i>	
		<i>dise</i>	

§83. G. sg. masc. *dits spruchs* 36, 12; 53, 9. When used with the verb 'sein' and a noun in the predicate 'dieser' may be neuter or agree with the noun that follows, e.g., *Diser ist mein lieber Sun* 54, 9; *dises ist der weg* 14, 9; *dises ist der anfang* 44, 6.

5. EIN

§84. n.	<i>ain, ainer</i>	<i>ain, aine</i>	<i>ain, ains</i>
g.	<i>ains, aines</i>	<i>ainer</i>	<i>aines</i>
d.	<i>ainem, aim, aim̄</i>	<i>ainer</i>	<i>ainem, aim̄, aym</i>
a.	<i>ainen</i>	<i>ain, aine</i>	<i>ain, ains</i>

§85. The inflected forms n. sg. masc., n. a. sg. fem., and n. a. sg. neut. are used substantively. The possessives are inflected like *ain*, except that *vnser* regularly syncopates in the g. d. sg. fem. and g. pl., e.g., g. sg. fem. *vnser* 16, 1 (: *jrer* 14, 14; *ewrer* 99, 8); d. sg. fem. *vnser* 9, 8; 15, 1 (: *jrer* 6, 4; *ewrer* 15, 2); g. pl. *vnser* 16, 1; 51, 5 (: *jrer* 18, 2; *ewrer* 92, 1).

Contrary to modern usage an adjective frequently precedes the possessive, e.g., *in gegenbürtigem seinem stannd* 52, 2; *mit ainigem seinem leiblichem tod* 57, 1; *dem künfftigem jrem Messie* 10, 4; *in gantzer deiner sel* 50, 4; *in gegenbürtigen vnsern falsen lerern* 16, 1.

6. JEDER

§86. Sg. n.	<i>yeder, yder</i>	<i>yede, yde</i>	<i>yedes, ydes</i>
g.	<i>yedes</i>	<i>yden</i>	<i>yden</i>
d.	<i>yedem, yden</i>	<i>yeder, yeden</i>	<i>yedem</i>
a.	<i>yeden</i>	<i>yede</i>	<i>yedes</i>
Pl. d.	<i>yeden</i>		

§87. The short forms are used after *ain*, but long forms may also follow *ain*, e.g., *ain yeder* 6, 5 (: *ain yder* 29, 11); *ainem yeden* 14, 1 (: *ainem yden* 43, 1); *ain yedes* 29, 5 (: *ain ydes* 17, 1); *meniklich* (e.g., 22, 7) is used in the sense of 'jeder.'

7. JENER

§88. Sg. n.	<i>jhener</i>	<i>jhene</i>	<i>jhenes</i>	Pl. <i>jhene, jhen, ihene</i>
g.	<i>jhenes</i>	<i>jhener</i>	<i>jhenes</i>	<i>jhener</i>
d.	<i>jhenem</i>	<i>jhener</i>	<i>jhenem</i>	<i>jhenen</i>
a.	<i>jhenen</i>	<i>jhene</i>	<i>jhen(es)</i>	<i>jhene, jhen</i>

§89. The short forms in the n. a. pl. are found more frequently than those with *-e*, e.g., 5, 4; 7, 6; 7, 7; 7, 10; 8, 7; 9, 5. *Jhener* is used as a demonstrative and as a determinative in the sense of the modern 'derjenige,' e.g., *jhenem, von dem* 49, 7; *von ihenem, das er hasst* 48, 3; *jhenem, was* 4, 13; *jhenem, das* 8, 7; 80, 10; *jhenem, doriñ* 29, 4; *auf alles jhen, was* 36, 10. The determinative use is the more common. Other forms that are used in the sense of 'derjenige' are: g. sg. neut. *desjhenen* 48, 13; *vnder die plüetigen hennde der welhen* ('derjenigen') *juden / die Jhesum* . . . 55, 8.

§90. *Derselbe* is declined as in modern German except that the n. a. sg. fem. and n. a. sg. neut. are without *-e*.

§91. The relative *welher* is regularly inflected. It is found much less frequently than *der*. It often has the general meaning, so, e.g., 32, 6; 39, 14; 64, 4; d. sg. *welhem sein haup schwach ist, der hat schwache gedechtnusz* 28, 13.

§92. *Solher* is declined like *der*. There are many variant forms, those without umlaut being decidedly in the majority; n. sg. masc. *sólher* 10, 2 (4×), otherwise *solher, ain solh*; a. sg. masc.

sólhen 17, 7 (5×):*solhen*; n. a. sg. fem. *solhe*; *solh:sólhe*; *sólh*; once each *solliche* 24, 2; and *solich* 71, 3; n. a. sg. neut. *solhes*; *solh:sólhes*; *sólh*; 3× *sólchs* (subst.) 7, 2; 7, 8; 64, 4; d. pl. *solhen:solhen:1× sollichen* (adj.) 51, 8.

§93. *Jeglicher* has double forms all through, e.g., n. sg. masc. *yeglicher* 4, 14 (9×):*yglicher* 14, 14 (7×):*ygelicher* 27, 9 (2×); d. sg. masc. *yeglichem* 34, 10; *ainem yeglichen* 95, 2:*ainem yglichen* 27, 5; n. sg. fem. *yegliche* 7, 3:*ygliche* 27, 10; *yglich* 10, 5; n. sg. neut. *yeglich* 12, 2:*yglich* 36, 1.

§94. Indefinite pronouns:

yederman 17, 8; 15, 8 has a d. sg. *gegen yedem man* 51, 9.

meniklich (= 'jederman') n. sg. 22, 7; d. sg. 48, 5.

'Jemand' has generalized the genitive form in all cases, e.g., *yemants* (with inorganic dental stop) n. sg. 40, 1; d. *yemants anderm* 50, 2; a. *yemants* 15, 10. In the same manner *nyemants*, *nyemandts* is the common form for all cases, e.g., n. 8, 8; 9, 8; 12, 6; 13, 1; g. 25, 8; d. 9, 2; 15, 1; 16, 2; a. 20, 8. The n. *nyemandt* is found only a few times: 6, 3; 34, 3; 94, 14.

man, *ainer* (= 'one, a person'): n. *man* 8, 7; 9, 4; 44, 5; 72, 8; *ainer* 36, 9; 45, 8; 51, 10; g. *aines* 31, 4; d. *ainem* 32, 5; a. *ainen* 25, 8; 43, 11. *ain man* ('a man,' Luther: *jemand*, Numbers 30:3) 98, 7.

ettwer, *ettwas* are inflected like *wer*, *was* (cf. §79), and are used in the sense of 'jemand,' e.g., *ob etwer* ('wenn jemand') *got liebt / derselb ist von jme erkent* 45, 3; *so dir ettwer ain haws pawet . . .* 49, 7.

jchts, *ichts* (OHG. *iowiht*, *ieht*; MHG. *iht*) is used in the sense of 'irgend ein Ding, etwas,' e.g., 18, 2; 24, 5; 39, 9; 97, 7; *jchts gerechters* 40, 1; d. *an ichte anderm* 41, 6. The negative of this is *nichts* 4, 11; 5, 7; *nichtz* 4, 12. Berthold still uses the old d. *nichte*, e.g., *zu nichte gut* 'good for nothing' 15, 9; *aus nichte* 5, 7; 11, 7; *alle creatur aws nichte zu etwo beschaffen* 39, 8; *mit nichte* 16, 4; 35, 11; *an nichte hengt* 29, 9; the a. is like the d., e.g., *awf nichte* 36, 10; *an nichte gepunden* 28, 8.

With the above words the old partitive genitive has already been replaced by the appositional construction; cf. *an ichte anderm* 41, 6; *zû nichte gûtem* 40, 3.

Synonymously with *nichts* Berthold uses the word *nichding*, e.g., *aus nichding* 4, 11; 5, 2; 5, 4; 7, 2; 10, 1; 11, 6; 18, 1; 19, 11; *aus pósem nichding* 19, 2; *zu nichding* 10, 1; *vom nichding* 19, 11.

§95. Many stereotyped compound pronominal forms are still written (and were no doubt still felt) as two distinct words, e.g., *ain yde tat gepert jnwendig im menschen seinen gleichen* 'seinesgleichen, ihresgleichen' 36, 11; *yglich tier liebt seinen gleich* 47, 2; *yglich fleisch wirt sei' gleich züegeselt* 47, 2.

The fem. for *deszhalben* 24, 5; *deshalb* 28, 14 is *derhalb*, e.g., *dritte vrsach, derhalb* (= 'weshalb') 28, 11; 67, 1; 85, 4. The feeling for the gender is still alive although the expression is written as one word.

'Meinetwegen,' 'deinetwegen,' etc., are still written in separate words, i.e., *von meinen wegen* 69, 10; *von deinen wegen* 49, 12; *von seinen wegen* 48, 11; *von vnsern wegen* 33, 7; 55, 2; 66, 5; 69, 4; *von ewrn wegen* 97, 8; *von jrselbs* (g. pl.) *wegen* 49, 7; *von der wegen* 'um deretwillen' 56, 2; *von jhener wegen / die erbschaft des hayls empfaen* 23, 3; *von des wegen got die weld beschaffen hiet mógen* 19, 5. A curious mixture of *vmb . . . willen* and *von . . . wegen* occurs: *vmb des himmelreichs wegen* 51, 8.

CHAPTER 6. CONJUGATION

A. PERSONAL ENDINGS

§96. The 1st person sg. of the present indicative apocopates except in the following cases: *verleyhe* 7, 2; *leide* 56, 8; *leyde* 76, 1; *pinde* 90, 4; *wirde* 100, 12; *vnderlasse* 11, 5; *wolgefalle* 60, 2; *rede* 12, 9 (:red jch 38, 10); *setze* 12, 9; *erzaige* 39, 2; *anzaige* 42, 6; *schame jch* 64, 5; *melde* 82, 9; *raiche* 91, 9; *lebe jch* 96, 4. The -e is dropped or retained irrespective of whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant.

§97. In the 2d person sg. of strong verbs *e* is syncopated in about 50 per cent of the cases. *e* is retained in *bleibestu* 43, 6; *laidest* 70, 3; *zeuchest* 43, 7; *wirdest* 8, 7 (13×), *wirdestu* 5, 5 (10×), *würdest* (1×); *findestu* 38, 3 (4×); *empfindest* 51, 8; *siehest* 40, 4; *siehestu* 29, 13; *hebest* 5, 5; 50, 9; *schaidest* 43, 7; *empfahestu* 59, 5; *schlaffest* 71, 8; *empfahest* 77, 7. Of the weak verbs 69 per cent of the forms retain *e*, 31 per cent syncopate. This excludes the word *haben* which

has regularly *hast, hastu*, once *habst*. After *f, ff, t, tz, cht*, and vowels *e* is retained: *prüefestu* 7, 9; *hoffest* 77, 3; *stoltzest* 29, 11; *richtest* 39, 8; *sáest* 57, 2; *berewest* 78, 1. After *l, n, ng, r, ch, b*, there is fluctuation, e.g., *mittailest* 47, 1; *erfüllest* 50, 5; *verzweifelst* 81, 7; *nachhengest* 50, 6; *erlanggst* 77, 7; *nennest* 28, 3; *vermainstu* 51, 16; *verkerest* 40, 7; *verkerst* 40, 7; *sagest* 88, 1; *sagst* 54, 8; *deckest* 76, 9; *gedenckst* 68, 8; *glaubest* 64, 10; *glaubst* 77, 3.

§98. The 3d person sg. syncopates in about 80 per cent of the cases: *e* is retained most often after the dentals *d, t*: *neydet* 20, 4; *empfindet* 45, 9; *befindet* 10, 3; *vberwindet* 8, 1 (: *empfindt* 36, 9; *empfind* 28, 17); *wirdet* 28, 3, 7× (the usual form is *wird*; 12× *wirdt*); *sitzet* 92, 1; *pittet* 51, 17 (2×): *pitt* 14, 7 (10×); *pit* 37, 2 (3×); *auf-ladet* 71, 9; *schaidet* 21, 6; *schdtzet* 49, 4; *lawttet* 51, 10; *meldet* 54, 9; *fasset* 56, 7; *stoltzet* 87, 9; *rastet* 10, 3 (: *rasst* 10, 3); *laittet* 12, 3; *geistet* 14, 11; *redet* 12, 9. But also *scheinet* 29, 4; *schreyet* 71, 3; *greiffet* 38, 6; *kewet* 68, 8; *rynnet* 27, 10; *siehet* 36, 13 (10×), *sihet* 24, 3 (2×): *siecht* 19, 1 (12×), *sicht* 40, 7 (4×); *wächset* 22, 4, *wachset* 22, 4 (5×): *anwächst* 18, 7; *schwóret* 51, 2; *sweret* 98, 7; *fahet* 35, 9 (6×): *empfdcht* 7, 8 (8×); *jrret* 16, 3; *meret* 42, 7; *keret* 42, 6; *eret* 84, 8; *spüret* 66, 2; *erwelet* 40, 6; *lernet* 11, 1; *dienet* 13, 4; *warnet* 15, 2; *wonet* 21, 3; *lainet* 46, 3; *liebet* 7, 8; *glawbet* 6, 5; *swebet* 8, 1; *vbet* 19, 8; *tobet* 42, 1; *erbet* 51, 3; *hacket* 39, 4; *wachet* 39, 8; *sorget* 47, 10; *fraget* 10, 5; *erweckhet* 24, 3.

§99. Contrary to modern usage *-enet* > *-ent*, e.g., *ordent, bezai-chent, verlaugent* 'verleugnet,' *regent, entlehent, offent*. The past participles of these verbs syncopate in the same way (see below). The 1st and 3d person pl. regularly end in *-en*. Syncope occurs after *r* and *l*, e.g., *absonndern* 8, 8 (: *jrren* 9, 1); *lesstern* 15, 5; *wandern* 16, 2; *opffern* 24, 2; *awssern* 20, 5; *feyern* 29, 5; *grüpeln* 13, 8; *mürmeln* 39, 4; *aufrügeln* 15, 6; *handeln* 64, 3; *wandeln* 64, 3.

§100. In the 2d person pl. *e* is dropped in 52 per cent of the cases, exclusive of *habt* which always syncopates. The consonants of the stem vowel seem to make no difference and no rule can be given, e.g., *wert* (9×), *werdt* (3×): *werdet* (8×); *schindt*: *pindet*; *nyesst, last*: *lasset, esset*; *gebts*: *ergebet*; *auflost*: *auflöset*; *begert*: *höret, jrret*; *trinckt*: *mercket*; *lebt*: *liebet*; *tótt*: *hallet*.

§101. In the imperative sg. a number of strong verbs have taken

on an analogical *-e*: *weiche* 78, 1; *nyme* 43, 13; *sihe* 7, 6 (4×); *yse* 'isz' 74, 2; *hebe* 10, 9; *trage* 24, 9; *halte* 4, 15 (1×): *halt* 39, 13 (5×); *lasse* 51, 10 (3×): *lasz* 51, 18 (3×). Of the weak verbs only 24 per cent of the forms have the regular ending *-e*, the rest have apocope. The verbs that apocopate are: *schaw*, *wach*, *lob*, *ergetz*, *gedenckh*, *merckh* (: *merchke*), *wayd* (: *wayde*), *volig*, *sag*, *naig*, *verkauff*, *straff* (: *straffe*), *erlös*, *fúer*, *wander*, *opffer*, *erparm*, *bekenn*, *hab*, *bestátt*.

§102. In the imper. pl. 23 per cent of the strong verb forms have the full ending, the others syncopate. With *et*: *schreyet* 82, 10; *werffet* 100, 14; *nemet* 40, 6 (2×): *nembt* 10, 3 (12×); *gebet* 53, 6 (4×): *gebt* 87, 3 (1×); *sehet* 40, 11: *secht* 95, 10; *esset* 62, 2: *esst* 65, 6; *wachset* 31, 2 (3×). The weak verbs retain *e* in 64 per cent of the cases.

§103. The pres. participle has the endings *-end*, *-und*. The distribution is as follows: strong verbs, *-end* in 62 per cent, *-und* in 38 per cent of the cases; weak verbs, *-end* 58 per cent, *-und* 42 per cent. In a number of instances the same word occurs with both endings, e.g., *wachsend* 26, 3 (6×): *wachsend* 29, 11 (4×); *slaffunder* 30, 1: *slaffend* 24, 6; *vermainund* 38, 7: *vermainend* 38, 7.

NOTE.—The word 'nakt' also gets the ending *-und* by analogy, e.g., *fastund und nackund* 76, 1 (: *nackend* 34, 2). But *nahend* 'nahe' 47, 3; 43, 16 always has *-end*.

§104. The past participle of weak verbs usually syncopates: *e* is often retained after *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *t*, *d*, *b*, and vowels, e.g., *gemalet* 86, 3; *getámet* 20, 1; *gewarnet* 12, 7; *abgelainet* 54, 13 (: *abgelaint* 15, 9); *geeret* 22, 8; *gelayttet* 42, 1; *beraített* 94, 13 (: *züberaített* 30, 3); *gemeldet* 27, 6; *geschendet* 13, 8; *getobet* 15, 9; *vernewet* 13, 5; *gefreyet* 31, 4; *gepawet* 27, 3 (: *geplewt* 87, 9). On the other hand: *verschuldt* 28, 11; *geredt* 5, 3; *gegründt* 9, 8; *gesmidt*; *gemellt* 'gemeldet'; *verheyrat* 99, 11; *gegürt* 51, 18; *verpflicht* 52, 4; *züberaít* 19, 10; *gelaytt*; *zerütt*; *gekost* 'gespeist' 19, 4; *vergiftt* 48, 6; *geduld* 8, 4; *verschuld* 31, 1; *erfreyd* 44, 7; *erweld* 67, 9; *vollend* 94, 12 (: *vollendt* 62, 1); *erfreyd* 44, 7.¹

§105. *-elet* > *-elt*; *-enet* > *-ent*; *-emet* > *-embt* or *-ent*; e.g., *vermáheld* 91, 1; *gestáheld* 75, 3; *gesegent* 39, 13; *verlawgent* 86, 9; *geofsent*; *zügeordent* 20, 8; *gerechent* 38, 11; *begegent* 98, 3; *gewidembt*

¹ A few weak participles are without *-t*: *verdulmatsch*, 15, 4; *verworcht* 'verwirkt' 24, 3.

27, 9 and by assimilation *gewibembt* 31, 6, and from this the analogical form *gewibent* 32, 5 (4×); *gewident* 62, 4.

These forms in *-ent* established a type which gave rise to many analogical forms: *eralltent* 'alt geworden' 20, 4; 45, 7; *erherttent* 36, 13 (very often); *erherttend* 36, 12; *erkalltend* 36, 12; *behertzunde menschen* 'viri recordati' 40, 11; *abgedrückhent* 61, 2; *belonent* 66, 5; *züegenahendt* 67, 2; *züegeachent* 37, 10; *beuestent* 98, 8; *das entlehent leben* 28, 14; *gestdheit vnd geherttent* 75, 3; *dadurch derselb sündler gegen got gar erkalltend vnd in sünden erherttend, erstockt wirt* 36, 12.

§106. Past participles without the augment *ge*: *tauft* 37, 12; *anzaygt* 84, 4; 10, 3; *mittailt* 18, 4; *vmbkert* 24, 2; *ankhert* 86, 4; the verbs in *-ieren*, e.g., *figuriert*, *excusiert*, *taxiert*, *compensiert*, *poliert*, *examiniert*, *contempliert*, *transferiert*, *feiniert* (but *gefeiniert* 82, 3).

§107. The strong verbs form their past participle regularly with *-en*. Contrary to modern usage a number are without augment: *eingossen* 28, 12 (4×); *eingegossen* 32, 8 (4×); *vnzogner sun* 50, 8; *abzogen* 39, 12 (: *angezogen* 14, 3); *worden*; *funden* 13, 12 (4×); *gefunden* 4, 14 (5×); *widergolten* 100, 11; *trunken* (adj.); *geben*: *gegeben*; *fürgeben* 40, 2; *widergeben* 60, 4; *zesamgeben* 94, 14; *ausgeben* 8, 3 (: *ausgegeben* 9, 1); *pachen* 16, 6 (: *gepachen* 63, 2); *zesampachen* 44, 1 (: *zesamgepachen* 25, 9; 60, 5); *hat . . . lassen* (always), e.g., 6, 9; 85, 2; 91, 11; 100, 5. But always *geessen* 53, 3.

Irregular verbs: *than* (usual form): *getan* 81, 5; *gethan* 4, 14 (9×); *aufthan*; *abthan*; *darthan*; *vnabthan* 70, 9 (: *abgethanem* 26, 3); *komen*, *haimkömen*, always without *ge-*; *gangen* 40, 11; *auszgangen*, *zergangen*, *abgangen*, *eingangen*, *entgegengangen* 65, 5 (: *gegangen* 19, 4).

§108. The so-called 'Rückumlaut' verbs still have the phonetic forms in the past participle. A distinction is made in most cases between the inflected and uninflected forms, e.g., *genennt* (46×): *genannt* (3×), the inflected form is always *genannt*; *erkennt* (13×): *erkannt* (2×); inflected: *vnerkandter* 8, 3; *gesendet*, *gesenndt* (9×): *gesandt* (21×); inflected: *gesandter*, *-en* (15×); *geprennt* 13, 10 (7×), *e* once in the inflected form *verprennten* g. pl. 16, 5. With analogical vowel in the 3d person sg. pret. *bekannte* 11, 6; *erkennet* 53, 3.

§109. A few verbs have separable prefixes contrary to modern usage: *liebzekösen* 14, 8; *ratzeslahen*, Ded., *weisgesagt* 15, 8 (3×): *geweissagt* 54, 9 (3×).

The prefixes *ab-*, *bey-*, *für-*, *ymb-*, *wider-*, *zer-*, *zûe-* are inseparable in the following verbs: *in jren leren / predigen vñ schreiben absondern sy sich von gemainen leren* 16, 2; *dañ er zerpricht vñ ymbkert gottliche ordnüg* 22, 8; *zûekome dein reich* 22, 9; *zû lester zeit des mēschens beystet jm sein engel* 23, 5; *die vorlawffend gnad fürkumbt wol dem menschlichem willen* 43, 11; *das sacrament der pñes widerbringt das verderbt glid* 90, 2.

1. PRETERITE

§110. The 3d person sg. pret. of the weak verbs has the endings: *-te*, *-et*, *-t*, e.g., *erlawbte* 6, 2; *fragte* 10, 5; *hete* 31, 2; *gleichete* 58, 11; *erlöset* 10, 10; *straffet* 16, 4; 77, 4; *begert* 91, 9; *fragt* 92, 3; *anrürt* 71, 3; *schickt* 10, 10.

The 3d person pl. ends in *-ten*: *lernten* 13, 7; *fragten* Vorr., *voligten* 96, 2; *heten* 13, 7; *hetten* 36, 14; *hieten* 37, 10.

§111. In the strong verbs the 1st and 3d persons sg. are without ending, e.g., *erschain* 23, 5; *belib* 98, 2; *entsprung* 9, 7; *warf* 42, 8. An inorganic *-e* is found in a few cases, namely: *wurde* 25, 9 (: *ward* 10, 6 [17×]); *gabe* 69, 6; *stüende* 88, 6 (: *stüend* 68, 9); *gienge* 24, 6 (3×) (: *gieng* 64, 7 [9×]).

1st person pl. *-en*, e.g., *waren* 32, 6; *giengen* 39, 6.

2d person pl. *-et*, e.g., *wurdet* 15, 10.

3d person pl. *-en*, e.g., *bewisen* 82, 1; *schriren* 95, 8; *wurden* 9, 3; *wurffen* 90, 7; *worden* 59, 7; *kamen* 55, 8; *gabñ* 21, 5; *ersahen* 90, 7; *giengen* 17, 11; *fielen* 84, 7; *hiessen* 97, 9.

2. OPTATIVE

§112. The 1st person sg. ends in *-e*, e.g., *gedeihe* 21, 5; *werde* 21, 5; *vberneme* 51, 18; *gebe*, Ded., *lasse*, Ded., *wäre jch* 49, 9; *ausz-gäbe* 87, 3. But this *-e* is apocopated in half of the forms, e.g., *beskiesz* 30, 6; *geper* 98, 5; *empfach* 98, 5; *wolgefiel* 97, 2; *liesz* 76, 7; *het* 47, 11, *hiet* 87, 3; 99, 13.

§113. The 2d person sg. ends in *-est*, *-estu*, e.g., *vermaidest* 51, 8; *verlierest* 42, 4; *nemest* 99, 17; *sehest* 49, 10; *empfahestu* 59, 5; *námest* 58, 13; *gäbest* 49, 9; *hetest* 50, 6; *hietest* 50, 6, *hietestu* 30, 9; *wurdestu* 58, 13. The only forms that syncopate are: *esst* 76, 2; *lasst* 42, 4 (2×); *lassest* 42, 10 (2×); *habstu* 42, 12 (2×), *habst* 50, 8 (2×) (: *habest* 42, 10); *wanderst* 39, 10.

§114. In the 3d person sg. *-e* is retained in about three-fifths of the forms. The distribution of the forms is as follows: *-e* before a consonant or period in 36 per cent, before a vowel in 25 per cent of the cases; apocope before a consonant or period in 25 per cent, before a vowel in 14 per cent of the cases.

§115. The 1st and 3d persons pl. regularly end in *-en* and the 2d person pl. in *-et*. The only exception is *wert* 15, 10 (2×): *werdet* 15, 2.

§116. The pret. optative has umlaut in classes IV, V, and VI of the strong verb, but in class III the umlaut is written only a few times, namely *würde* 3d person sg. 34, 8; *enntsprünge* 3d person pl. 36, 10. The other forms are without umlaut, e.g., 2d person sg. *wurdestu* 58, 13; 3d person sg. *wurde* 9, 4 (14×), *wurd* 10, 12 (5×); *sturbe* 28, 14; *punde* 59, 2; *gewung* 'gewöhnne' 15, 1; 1st person pl. *wurden* 10, 12; 2d person pl. *wurdet* 97, 8; 3d person pl. *hulffen* 87, 3. The pret. optative of class I is regular, e.g., 3d person sg. *belib* 'bliebe' 13, 12 (5×), *belibe* 35, 4 (2×); *bewise* 49, 9; 3d person pl. *belyben* 25, 6.

3. THE ABLAUT SERIES

Class I. OHG. *i—ei (ē)—i—i*
 Berthold *ei—ai, i—i—i*

§117. Infin.: Here belong the verbs: *befleissen, beschreyen, beweisen, bezeihen, bleiben, gedeihen, greiffen, leiden, leihen, meiden, peissen, reissen, reyten, scheiden, scheinen, schreiben, durchseihen* 80, 8; *schreyen, schweygen, sleichen, sneiden, speiben* 'speien,' *steigen, streyten, sweigen, treiben, weichen, zeihen*.

Pret. 3d person sg. *erschain* 23, 5. The pl. vowel has been leveled into the sg. in *belib*: *do Jhesus sein müeter vnd den Joseph verlies vnd belib im tempel* 98, 2; no forms in *ē* occur; 3d person pl. *bewisen* 82, 1; *schriren* 'schriren' 95, 8.

The past participle regularly has *i*, e.g., *begriffen, gespiben, erschinen, verlihen, aufgestigen, vertriben, bewisen, geschriren* 'geschriren'; *vnuerswigen, geschiden*, with grammatical change: *geliten, gemiten, vermiten, geschnitten, gedigen, bezigen, vertzigen*.

From other classes: *geschiden* (Redupl.); *geschichen* (Wk.) 10, 9; 80, 9: *die heyligen martrer haben zûzeiten geschichen leiblichen tod*.

gescheibt (<MHG. *schiben*) 19, 8; 21, 8 has become weak. The following are still weak: *beweist*, *vnderweist* (: *bewisen* 72, 2), *gepreyst*, *vergleicht*.

NOTE.—*geschiden* may be regarded as a regular participle from *scheiden* (not *schaiden*), MHG. *schiden*.

Class II. OHG. *io, iu* (ū)—*ou, ō—u —o*
 Berthold *ie, ew —....—....—o*

§118. Infin. *betriegen, erkiesen, fliegen, fliehen, fliesen, gepietten, giessen, liegen* 'lügen,' *niessen, geniessen, piegen, schieben, sliessen, spriessen, verdriessen, verliesen, verlieren, ziehen; sawffen, sawgen*.

The pres. sg. of normal verbs always has *ew, eu*: 1st person sg. *gepewt* 3, 8; *lew* 18, 8; *embewt*, Ded., *gepeut* 77, 4; 2d person sg. *zewchstu* 28, 3; *zeuchest* 43, 7; *eutzewchstu* 43, 7; 3d person sg. *flewsst, zewcht, volzewcht, beschlewsst, pewgt, entspreusst, fleucht, verlewst, gewsst, newsst* 56, 3; 63, 11; *pewt* 12, 6; *scheubt* 'schiebt' 16, 1; *lewgt* 'lügt' 16, 2; *betrewgt* 16, 4; *flewgt* 'fliegt' 21, 8; *reucht* 41, 5; *rewcht* 60, 13; 88, 6; *kewet* 68, 8. *sawgt* 68, 3.

Imper. *zewch* 39, 8.

Pret.: no examples.

Optative pres. 1st person sg. *besliesz* 30, 6; 2d person sg. *verlierest* 42, 4; 3d person sg. *fliesz* 14, 11; *betriege* 24, 5; 1st person pl. *verliern* 60, 9; 3d person pl. *betriegen* 14, 14; with the modern form, one example, *betrüegen* 53, 4.

The past participle has the regular vowel, e.g., *beslossen, gepotten, verschoben*; with grammatical change: *gezogen, verloren, auserkoren* 99, 16. *erkiest* 15, 5 (6×) has become weak, but *auserkoren* 99, 16.

Class III. (a) OHG. *i—a —u—u*
 Berthold *i, ü—a, u—u—u*

§119. Infin. *besinnen, dringen, empfinden, entrinen, finden, gewinnen* 'gewinnen' 16, 1; *gewinnen* 33, 2; 81, 8; *miszlingen, pinnden, prinnen, ringen, singen, sinnen, spinnen, swinden, trincken, iberwinden, zerynnen*.

(b) OHG. *e, i —a—u —o*
 Berthold *e, i, ü—a—u, o—o*

Infin. *gelten, helfen, schelten, sterben, verderben, werben, werden, werffen*.

The pres. sg. always has the old vowel, e.g., 1st person sg. *jch wirt* 35, 4; 46, 2; 54, 9; 19, 3; 39, 12; *wirde* 100, 12; *find* 39, 14; *dring* 76, 1; 2d person sg. *wirdestu* 5, 5; 20, 6; *wirdest* 8, 7; 11, 2; *empfindest* 51, 8; *i* is rounded to *ü* in *würdest* 43 7; 3d person sg. *wirt, wirdt, wirdet; gillt, vergilt; hilft, beuilht, erwirbt, verdirbt* (intrans.), *wirfft, schillt, gewingt* 22, 5; *rinnet* 51, 18; *zerint* 56, 7; *nawrindt* (MHG. *enouwe+rinnt*) 79, 5; *prynnet* 82, 4; *swymbt*. *i* is rounded in *verrünet* 68, 8; *verwürft* 87, 11.

Imper. *hilf, wirff, beuilh*; but *vergelt* 51, 9.

Pret. 3d person sg. *ward* 10, 6; *wardt* 10, 10; *wart* 100, 8; *warf* 42, 8; *beualh* 92, 2. With pl. vowel: *entsprung* 9, 7; *wurde* 25, 9; 3d person pl. *wurden* 9, 3; *wurffen* 90, 7; with *o* from the past participle *worden* 59, 7.

The past participle is regular:

a) *gefunden, gepunden, truncken, geschlunden* 13, 6; *gestunckhen* 71, 3; *funden*. So also: *gewunnen* 33, 9 (5×); *zerunnen* 63, 2; *gerunnen* 60, 2 (3×); *verprunnen* 82, 7; *angesunnen* 55, 8.

b) *worden, verporgen, gestorben, erworben, verdorben, beuolhen, geholffen, vergolten, gescholten*.

The old participle *funden* is preserved in a number of cases (13, 12; 17, 2; 23, 3; 32, 6), but the common form is *gefunden* (e.g., 4, 14); *truncken* 34, 2; as adj. 41, 7; subst. 34, 2 (: *getrunckhñ*); *worden* is always without the augment.

Irregular is the form *verwarren* 63, 4 as though it were a participle of the 6th class. On the origin of the past participle *helfen* in *haben* . . . *neren helfen* 97, 9 and similar constructions see W. Kurrelmeyer, *Z. f. d. Wortforsch.*, 12, 157 ff., and R. M. Meyer, *ibid.*, 12, 264-66. *gedingt* 37, 10; 38, 9 is still weak.

Class IV. OHG. *e, i—ā—ā—o*
Berthold *e, i—ā—ā—o*

§120. Infin. *abnemen, ausleschen, bescheren, fechten, geperen, nemen, rechen, sprechen* (*mis-, ver-, wider-, wol-* 'benedicere,' *rat-*), *zerprechen*.

The pres. sg. always has the original vowel: 1st person sg. *jch nym* 39, 10; 99, 9; *ich sprich* 75, 2; 2d person sg. *nymbst* 63, 10; 51, 11; *nymbstu* 77, 14; *sprichst* 99, 17; 3d person sg. *nymbt, pricht*,

gezymbt, bewilht, erlischt, trifft. The imper. has *i*: *nym, nymb* (1× *nyme* 43, 13), *sprich, schir* 74, 8; 3d person sg. *gepert* (= 'erzeugt') 7, 3 is weak, so also the past participle *gepert*; but *geporen* 'natus est' 10, 6; 10, 7, etc.

Pret. 3d person sg. *sprach, kam, 23, 5* (*wider-* 65, 5; *haim-* 94, 12); *nam* 62, 2 (*auf-* 62, 1; *ver-* 53, 3); *prach* 62, 2; 63, 5; 3d person pl. *sprachen* 14, 3; *kamen* 55, 8.

The vowel of the pret. optative is *á*: e.g., *námest* 58, 13; *káme* 9, 2; *spráche* 35, 9; *stále* 51, 4; *verspráchñ*, 1st person pl. 70, 4; *annámen* 3d person pl. 81, 3.

The past participle is regular, e.g., *genomen, geprochen, gestochen, geporen* 'natus' (but *gepert* 'erzeugt'), *aingeporn, beschoren* 94, 4; *getroffen* 99, 6; *verstolen* 13, 6; *gestollen güet* 74, 5; *gerochen* 76, 8; *vnerrochen* 47, 7; *ausgeloschne kol* 79, 4; *erschrockhen* 44, 12; *das versprochen land* 71, 1.

'kommen'

§121. Infin. *kómen* 9, 7 (16×), *kōmen* (11×), *kummen* 15, 2 (1×); pres. participle *komend* 36, 10; *kómend* 9, 6; imper. sg. *kūm* 64, 1 (3×), *kumb* 71, 3; pl. *komet* 40, 6 (1×), *kombt* 65, 6 (2×), *kómbt* 76, 2.

Pres. 1st person sg. *kumb* 12, 4 (2×), *kūme* 63, 6: *kome* 23, 1; 2d person sg. *kumbst* 42, 10 (3×); 3d person sg. *kūmbt* 4, 12 (21×), *kumbt* 5, 2 (17×): *kombt* 10, 4 (4×), *kompt* 6, 8; *kómbt* 63, 12; 3d person pl. *komen* 6, 4 (6×), *kommen* 38, 2 (6×); *kómen* 7, 1 (7×): *kumen* 33, 5.

Optative pres. 2d person sg. *kómest* 73, 10; 3d person sg. *kóme* 6, 7; *kóm* 28, 12 (6×), *kome* 22, 5, *kom* 48, 1; 1st person pl. *komen* 29, 13; 3d person pl. *kómen* 18, 7.

Pret. 3d person sg. *kam* 23, 5; 3d person pl. *kamen* 55, 8; optative 3d person sg. *káme* 9, 2. The past participle also has the three vowels, e.g., *komen* 20, 2; *kōmen* 4, 12; *kómen* 8, 6; *volkūmene*, adj., 7, 4.

Class V. OHG. *e, i—á—ā—e*
Berthold *e, i—á—ā—e*

§122. Infin. *ausgeten* 'ausjäten' 86, 2; *beschehen* 'geschehen,' *erwegen, essen, fressen, geben, lesen, messen, pflegen, sehen, treten, sich*

verbegen 'verwegen' 45, 11; *vergessen, verwesen* (ein Amt) 28, 4; *wesen*, subst., and *ligen* (*bey-, ob-*), *pitten* (*er-*); *sitzen* (*auf-, be-*).

The pres. sg. always has the characteristic Upper German *i*, e.g., 1st person sg. *jch lis* 7, 9; *gib* 9, 1 (10×); *sitz* 80, 11. Lengthening is no doubt indicated by *ie* in *ubersiech jch* 84, 6; 2d person sg. *du list* 7, 9; *isst* 28, 3; *ansiehest* 51, 8; *du frisst* 76, 7; *nachgibst* 45, 10; *siehest* 40, 4; *siehestu* 29, 13; *ansiehest* 87, 10; 3d person sg. *list*, *beschicht* (: *beschiecht*), *ligt* (*an-, ob-, vnder-*), *gibt* (*ausz-, für-, ein-, er-, be-, ver-*), *vergicht, fligt* 'pflegt' 12, 4; *sicht, siecht, siehet, sihet; erwig* 'erwägt' 49, 3; 64, 9; 77, 9; 92, 3; *frist* (*durch-*).

beyligt 99, 9; *sitzet, besitzt* 29, 12; *ubersitzt* 53, 8. But *verwest* 'verwaltet' 97, 10 (see past participle).

Imper. *sihe* 7, 6; 20, 8; *siehe* 42, 7; 46, 6; *siech an* 85, 8; *gib, vergib; yse* 'isz' 74, 2. The imper. pl. is regular, e.g., *esset* 62, 2; *gebt* 87, 3; *gebet* 95, 10 (4×); *secht* 95, 10; *sehet an* 40, 11; with syncope: *pitt* 47, 10; *besitzt* 79, 3.

Pret. 1st person sg. *was* 34, 2; 85, 10; 3d person sg. *was*; the usual form: *war* 2, 7 (1×); *gab* 6, 2; 13, 7; *jach* 11, 2; *sach* 60, 14; *ansach* 33, 2; *beschach* 65, 6; *tradt* 71, 3; 77, 15; *lag* 54, 2; 60, 11; *sasz auf* 'setzte sich auf' 71, 3; *pat* 36, 12; 39, 15; 80, 9. With analogical *-e*: *gabe* 69, 6; 1st person pl. *waren* 32, 6; 33, 9; 3d person pl. *gabñ* 21, 5; *ersahen* 90, 7.

The optative pret. has *d*: 1st person sg. *wäre* 49, 9; *auszgäbe* 87, 3; 2d person sg. *gäbest* 49, 9; *wärest* 2, 5; 3d person sg. *wäre* 1, 4 (42×); *wär* 9, 1 (10×); *beschähe* 49, 9; *lāge* 50, 6; *lāg* 13, 4; 1st person pl. *wāren* 4, 10; 2d person pl. *wāret* 15, 10; 3d person pl. *wāren* 3, 6; *beschāhen* 77, 6; *pāten* 77, 1.

Past participle *begeben, beschehen, bessesen, gelegen, beygelegen, erwegen* 'erwogen' 43, 8; 38, 1; 58, 13; *geben, gegeben; geessen, gefressen; gemessen, gelegen, gepeten, gepflegen, getreten; gewesen, gwesen; vbertretten, vergessen, vngeessen*. Strong and weak forms are found side by side in *gewesen* 6, 2; *gewest* 4, 14; *bede ambt verwesen hat* 95, 5; *verwest* 94, 12.

geessen is always uncontracted. The past participle of *geben* is found both with and without the augment, but the compounds are without it, e.g., *ausgeben, fürgeben, hergeben, widergeben, zesamgeben*, the only exception being *auszgegeben* 9, 1.

Class VI. OHG. *a; e* —*uo* —*uo* —*a*
 Berthold *a; e, á, a—üe, ü—ü, üe—a*

§123. Infin. *beschaffen, faren, graben, heben, pachen, slahen* (*ab-, aus-, ent-, nider-, rat-*), *tragen, wachsen, waschen, swören* 51, 2.

Pres. 1st person sg. *beschaff* 20, 6; *wasch* 64, 7; 2d person sg. *slegst* 80, 7; *hebest* 5, 5; *aufhebest* 50, 9; 3d person sg. has *e* in 42 per cent, *á* in 37 per cent, *a* in 21 per cent of the cases; always *e* in *hebt* (*an-, auf-, er-*); *tregt* (*ver-*); *slecht* (*aus-, nach-*); *fert* (*nach-, ver-*); *á:a:e* in *wächst* (11×), *wächset* (1×), *wechszt* (1×), *wachst* (5×), *wachset* (5×); *fächt* 'fängt' 29, 2; *empfach* 29, 2; *abwáscht* 59, 2; *bescháft* (6×), *scháft* (1×):*beschafft* (5×); *sweret* 98, 7; *schwóret* 51, 2.

Pret.: the 3d person sg. has *üe* in 73 per cent, *ü* in 26 per cent of the cases, e.g., *schüef* 73, 2; *füer* 64, 7; *stüend* 68, 9; *er slüeg* 64, 11; *beschüf* 5, 3; *aufhüb* 21, 7; *trüg* 71, 3; *hüb* 71, 3; twice *schüf*:*schüf* *zebelonen die arbeiter* 77, 4; 99, 7. 3d person pl. *verstüenden* 16, 4; 92, 2; *widerstüenden* 15, 9; *stüenden* 71, 3.

The optative pret. has the vowel *üe*, e.g., *hüeb* 60, 10; *trüeg* 40, 10; *wüesche* 60, 11; *stüende* 40, 10; *verstüende* 31, 11; *erstüende* 69, 7; *beschüeffe* 29, 3; 3d person pl. *stüenden* 85, 6.

Past participle *begraben, beladen, aufgeladen, beschaffen, erschaffen, gefaren* (*auf-, nach-*), *getragen* (*ver-, vor-, zü-*), *gewachsen* (*an-*), *gewaschen* (*ab-*), *gepachen* 'gebacken' 63, 2; *zesampgachen* 25, 9; 60, 5; *pachen* 16, 6; *zesampachen* 44, 1; *vergraben*; with grammatical change: *geschlagen* (*ab-, an-, er-, auf-*). *verwarren* 63, 4 (class III) has *a* as though it belonged to this class. *gesworen* 30, 9 has gone over to class IV; *gehebt* and its compounds *an-, auf-, er-, heraus-* have become weak.

Class VII (so-called Reduplicating)¹

Berthold *a, ai, üe, aw, o—ie—a, ai, üe, aw, o*

§124. Infin. *fallen, misfallen, fahen* 24, 5, *züempfahen* 46, 5 (8×), *anzefahñ* 22, 8 (: *empfangen* 6, 2 [1×]); *halten, hangen, zepannen* 83, 3; 89, 8; *umbplasen* 44, 1; *lassen* (*nach-, ver-, vnder-, zü-*); *raten, geraten* 'entbehren' 69, 8, *slaffen, beslaffen; schaiden* (*ent-, ver-*); *verhaiszen; anrüeffen* 39, 9, *auszrüeffen* 8, 4; *zewid'rüeffen*, Ded.; *lawffen* 14, 14.

¹ But see F. A. Wood, *Verner's Law in Gothic and the Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic*, Chicago, 1895, pp. 27-43; K. Brugmann, *IF*, VI (1896), 89-100.

Pres. 2d person sg. *felst* 43, 7; *lāsst* 43, 6; *vnderlāsstu* 59, 5; *slāfst* 78, 7; *schlaffest* 71, 8; *empfahest* 77, 7 (3×); *schaidest* 43, 7. In the 3d person sg. the verbs in *a* have *e* or *a*, those in *ā* have *d* or *a*, e.g., *fellt* (:fält 2×); *hengt* (15×): *hangt* (15×), *hanget* (2×); *hellt* (24×): *hallt* 38, 6, *erhallt* 20, 3 (or optative?), each once. *lāsst* (23×): *lasst* (8×); *empfächt* (8×), *empfächt* (1×): *empfacht* (8×), *fahet*, *emp-fahet* (6×); *rätt* (7×): *ratt* 28, 7 once; *stōsst* 38, 7: *stosst* 25, 10; always with umlaut: *slāfft* 78, 7 and *rúefft* and compounds. The latter has umlaut also in the infin. and the pl. pres. (cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. d. d. Spr.*³ §323, 1). No umlaut is found in *lawfft* 43, 4; *lauft* 32, 7 (6×); *spalt* 68, 2 (which may already be weak; cf. adj. *vngespalt* 68, 2 beside the regular strong past participle *gespallten*); 2d person pl. *anrúefft* 23, 8; 3d person pl. *anrúeffen* 20, 7; *rúeffen* 51, 17 once.

The pret. has *ie* in all verbs of this class: 3d person sg. *gieng*; *viel*, *fiel*; *lies*, *liesz*; *verriet*, *verhiesz*, *empfieng*; with inorganic *-e*: *gienge* 24, 6 (3×); 1st person pl. *giengen*; 3d person pl. *giengen*, *empfiengen*, *fielen*, *hiessen*, *verliessen*.

Past participle *gehallten* (*ennt-*, *zu-*, *für-*); *gefallen* (*ein-*); *empfangen*; *gespallten*; *gehangen ist* (= 'gehängt ist' 60, 6; = 'gehangen hat' 66, 2); *gelassen* (*ab-*, *ein-*, *nach-*, *zu-*); *ausgelawffen* 11, 7; *gestossen* (*ver-*); *gehaissen*, *verhaissen*, *geschaiden* 48, 3; *abgeschaidn* 54, 12; *beschaiden* 94, 1; without *ge-*: *lassen* 91, 11; 100, 5; *auszgeen hat lassen* 6, 9; *er hab . . . verkünden vnd lernen lassen* 7, 7 (cf. also 85, 2).

geschiden 28, 15 (6×), *beschiden* 99, 16 have gone over to class I; *ausgeloffen* 13, 5; 15, 8; 99, 13; *entloffen* 15, 10; *vorgeloffen* 92, 2 have gone over to class II; and the following weak forms are found: *berúefft* 20, 3 (5×); *berúeft* 29, 13; *angerúefft* 81, 10 (2×); *abgehawt* 26, 3 (2×); *ausgehawt* 49, 11; *verlasst* 34, 4; *angefengt* 58, 11.

4. PRETERITE PRESENTS

a) 'wissen'

§125. Infin. *wissen*, *zewissen*; 1st and 3d persons sg. *wais* 39, 14 (6×), *ways* 35, 5, *waisz* 88, 4 (2×); 1st and 3d persons pl. *wissen* 11, 1; 12, 1; 2d. person pl. *wisst* 33, 9. The pres. optative is regular: 2d person sg. *wissest* 77, 12; 3d person sg. *wisse* 23, 5. The pret.

3d person sg. is *wesst* 28, 16. Pres. participle *wissund* 40, 1 (10×); *wissend* 18, 6 (5×); imper. *wisse* 4, 11; past participle *gewisst* 12, 1 (23×): *gewest* 40, 9 (1×). These forms correspond to the MHG. (cf. H. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*⁶, §172, 1).

b) 'gönnen'

§126. Infin. *vergönnen* 50, 10; 2d person sg. *vergonst* 50, 10; 47, 1; *vergonnst* 47, 1; 3d person sg. *vergont* 20, 6; 3d person pl. *vergonnen* 96, 1; optative 3d person sg. *vergönn* 85, 9; past participle *vergönt* 92, 2.

c) 'können'

§127. Infin. *künnen* 28, 4; *zekünnen* 85, 5; 1st and 3d persons sg. regularly *kan*, *khan* 50, 11 (1×); 2d person sg. *kanst* 7, 9 (4×), *kanstu* 50, 4 (2×); *khanst* 97, 8: *konst* 39, 8; 1st person pl. *können* 1, 6 (6×): *künnen* 56, 4; 2d person pl. *künd* 77, 9; 3d person pl. *künnen* (7×): *können* (8×); optative 1st person sg. *künne* 14, 6; 3d person sg. *könne* 4, 12 (7×): *künne* 31, 9; *küñ* 9, 4 (2×).

Pret. 1st person sg. *könnndt*, Ded.; 3d person sg. *könnt* 39, 15; *kónd* 73, 7; 1st person pl. *kónden* 14, 1.

Past participle *können*: *hat können erlangen* 3, 10; *die weil er darjnn kaines wegs etwas güts hat können noch mogen auszrichten* 13, 9.

d) 'dürfen'

§128. Infin. *bedürffen* 48, 4; 2d person sg. *bedorfst* 51, 10; 3d person sg. *bedarf* 6, 6 (16×), *bedorff* 55, 9 (2×): *bedarf* 19, 5; 1st person pl. *bedürffen* 19, 5; 2d person pl. *bedürft* 51, 13; *bedürffen* 58, 2; optative pres. 3d person sg. *bedürff* 13, 9 (4×), *bedürffe* 19, 5; 1st person pl. *bedürffen* 97, 7; optative pret. 3d person sg. *bedörft* 72, 8; pres. participle *bedürffend* 21, 5; 81, 8; past participle *bedürfft* 13, 9.

e) 'sollen'

§129. Infin. *söllen* 2, 1; pres. 1st person sg. *sol* 40, 8; 2d person sg. *soldest* 49, 5 (5×), *soldestu* 43, 5 (2×); 3d person sg. *sol*; *soll* 5, 4 (6×); 1st person pl. *sollen* 2, 7 (18×): *söllen* Vorr. 4. (17×): *süllen* 40, 10; 2d person pl. *solt* (8×), *sollt* 14, 9, *sollet* (7×): *sólt* (4×), *sóllt* 53, 6, *sóllet* (7×): *sült* (5×), *süllt* (4×); 3d person pl. *sollen* (9×): *söllen* (7×); optative pres. 1st person sg. *solle* 42, 7;

2d person sg. *sollest* 64, 14; 3d person sg. *sölle* 6, 8 (10×), *söll* 65, 5 (3×): *solle* 27, 9 (7×), *soll* 9, 3; 3d person pl. *söllen* 23, 5; optative pret. 1st person sg. *solt* 63, 12; 2d person sg. *soldest* 13, 7; *soldest* 14, 5 (6×), *soltest* 35, 9 (4×), *soldestu* 11, 2 (8×), *soltestu* 28, 16 (2×); 3d person sg. *solt*; 1st person pl. *solten* (9×), *sollten* 30, 1; 3d person pl. *solten* (10×), *sollten* 15, 6.

Past participle *sollen*, *söllen*, e.g., *daz got den menschen nit hat sollen erretten* 20, 9; *du hast dich sollen erparmē vber dein mitknecht* 47, 11; *hat sollen verbringen* 29, 3.

f) 'mögen'

§130. Inf. *vermögen* 22, 10; pres. 1st and 3d persons sg. *mag*, *vermag*; 2d person sg. *magstu* 2, 5; 4, 10 (16×), *magst du* 28, 6 (1×); 1st person pl. *mógen* 1, 4 (21×): *mogen* 5, 6 (1×); 2d person pl. *mógt* 14, 10 (6×): *mügt* 16, 1 (7×); 3d person pl. *mógen* 1, 6 (27×): *mügen* 7, 9 (3×); pres. participle *vermógende* 50, 5; pret. 3d person sg. *mocht* 11, 6.

Optative pres. 1st person sg. *móge* 54, 1, *vermóg* 54, 1; 2d person sg. *mógst* 25, 9; 3d person sg. *móge* 6, 8 (16×), *móg* 8, 6 (23×): *müge* 31, 9 (1×), *müg* 11, 8 (10×): *moge* 22, 10 (1×), *mog* 20, 2 (2×); 1st person pl. *mógen* 39, 9; 3d person pl. *mógn̄* 48, 2; pret. 1st person sg. *mócht* 54, 6; 2d person sg. *móchtest* 28, 3; 3d person sg. *mócht* 4, 15 (32×): *mocht* 20, 3 (7×); 1st person pl. *móchten* 10, 12; 3d person pl. *móchten* 7, 1 (5×): *mochten* 38, 3 (3×).

Past participle *mógen*, *mogen*; *gemógt*, e.g., *haben . . . mógen zesammen kōmen* 6, 3; *alsuīl er gemógt* 33, 7; *hat können noch mogen auszrichten* 13, 9; *hat er gemógt, so hat er wellen* 29, 3.

g) 'müssen'

§131. Pres. 1st person sg. *müesz* Vorr. 6. *mües* 92, 5; 2d person sg. *müestu* 2, 5 (14×): *müsz du* 42, 10; *mües du* 34, 8 (2×); 3d person sg. *müesz*, *mües* often, *müsz* 40, 11; 1st person pl. *müessen* Vorr. 4. (11×); *müessen* 32, 6; *müssen* 8, 7 (2×); 2d person pl. *müesst* Vorr. 1. (3×), *müest* 88, 4; 3d person pl. *müessen* often; *müessenn* 5, 5; *müssen* 7, 6; *müesen* 39, 3.

Optative pres. 3d person sg. *müesse* 35, 5; *mües* 39, 16; 3d person pl. *müessen* 13, 8; pret. 3d person sg. *müesst* 9, 7 (6×),

müeszt 5, 5 (2×), *müest* 39, 16 (3×): *müesst* 20, 4 (2×); 1st person pl. *müessten* 40, 5; 3d person pl. *müessten* 35, 3.

Past participle *müessen*, e.g., *crist hat müessen aufthun* 14, 1; *hat er legen müssen* 81, 10.

5. OTHER IRREGULAR VERBS

a) 'wollen'

§132. Infin. *wellen* 37, 4; 38, 10; pres. 1st person sg. *wil*, *will* (4×); 2d person sg. *wildu* 2, 5 often, *wil du* 34, 8; *wild* 3, 7 (4×), *wilt* 39, 11 (2×); 3d person sg. *wil*, *wils got* 22, 10; 1st person pl. *wellen* 6, 4 (5×): *wöllen* 14, 14 (1×); 2d person pl. *wellet* 5, 4 (5×): *wólt* 9, 1 (1×); 3d person pl. *wellen*: *wóllñ* 13, 3 (1×); pret. 3d person sg. *wolde* 19, 10; *wolt* 24, 6; 1st person pl. *wolten* 4, 13; 3d person pl. *woltñ* 21, 5.

Optative pres. 1st person sg. *wölle* 15, 10; 2d person sg. *wellest* 14, 9 (16×): *wóllest* 7, 4 (1×); 3d person sg. *welle* 4, 12 (20×): *wölle* 8, 3 (7×), *wóll* 9, 2 (1×); 1st person pl. *wellen* 60, 9; 2d person pl. *wellet* 59, 10 (2×): *wóllet* 15, 10 (1×); 3d person pl. *wellen* 14, 6; pret. 3d person sg. *wolt jch* 7, 2; 2d person sg. *woltest* 20, 3, *woldest* 97, 4; 3d person sg. *wolt* 4, 12.

Past participle *wellen*, *wöllen*, e.g., *hat wöllen versteen* Vorr. 2; *sterben haben wellen* 1, 7; *der nymmer anders wil dan wie er von ewikait hat wellen* 38, 1; *wie oft hab ich wellen deine kind zesamen bringen, wie ain henn ire hütendl versammelt vnder jr flüg, aber jr habt nit wellen* 43, 8; *hat got wellen, so hat er auch solh menschn wüchlich beschaffen* 29, 3.

b) 'sein'

§133. Infin. *sein*, *zesein*, *gesein* 3, 7 (14×); *beysein* 'adesse' 99, 14; *vorzesein* 77, 5; *absein* 87, 5. *wesen* is used only as a noun.

Pres. 1st person sg. *bin*; *pin* 2, 3 (3×); 2d person sg. *bist*, *bistu*; *bist-du* 38, 10; *pist* 42, 4 (4×); 3d person sg. *ist*, *jst*, 1, 8 (1×). The 1st person pl. has the historical form *seiñ*, e.g., 4, 6; 2d person pl. *seyt* Vorr. 5. (13×), *seydt* 3, 8 (2×), *seit* 17, 1 (4×); the 3d person pl. *seiñ* is an analogical form from the 1st person pl.

Optative 2d person sg. *seyt* 46, 3 (2×), *seist* 29, 11 (5×); *seiest* 42, 8 (2×), *seyest* 39, 10; *seyestu* 46, 3; 3d person sg. usual form *sey*,

absey 76, 5; *sej* 2, 3 (3×); 1st person pl. *seiñ* 3, 9 (3×); 3d person pl. usual form *seiñ*; *seyen* 12, 3 and with an analogical -d: *seind* 2, 3 (1×).

Imper. *sey* 4, 14; 100, 8; *seyt* 14, 3 (4×), *seit* 85, 11.

Pret. 1st and 3d persons sg. *was* (once *war* 2, 7); 1st and 3d persons pl. *waren* (see class V of the strong verbs).

Past participle *gewesen* 4, 13 (60 per cent of the cases): *gewest* 4, 14 (40 per cent); *gwesen* 53, 3. *bede ambt verwesen hat* 95, 5: *verwest* 94, 12.

c) 'tun'

§134. Infin. *thûen*, *thûn*.

Pres. 1st person sg. *thûe*; 2d person sg. *thûest* 50, 6, *thûst* 50, 5; *thûestu* 4, 12; 3d person sg. *thûet*, *thût*; *thût* 52, 5 (1×); 1st person pl. *thûn*; 2d person pl. *thût*; 3d person pl. *thûn*, *thûen*; optative 1st person sg. *thûe* 40, 8; 2d person sg. *thûest* 52, 6; 3d person sg. *thûe* 35, 2; 2d person pl. *thûet* 56, 5.

Pret. 3d person sg. *thet* 14, 2; 51, 18 (5×); 3d person pl. *tûten* 77, 1; optative 3d person sg. *thât* 8, 9 (4×); *thet* 32, 6; *tûte* 33, 8; *tât* 37, 9 (3×); 1st person pl. *tâtê* 74, 9.

Imper. *thûe* 52, 1; *thû* 11, 2; pl. *thûet* 47, 10.

Past participle *than* 4, 12 (16×): *gethan* 4, 14 (14×); *abgethan* 22, 5 (3×): *abthan* 86, 2; *aufthan* 10, 3; *darthan* 15, 9.

d) 'gehen,' 'stehen'

§135. These verbs always have the Bavarian vowel *ê* in the pres. Infin. *geen*, e.g., 14, 9; *steen* 5, 4; 1st person sg. *gee* 10, 5; *stee* 43, 7. In the pret. they are supplemented by *gieng* 64, 7; *giengen* 39, 6; 17, 11; *stûend* 69, 8; *-stûenden* 16, 4; past participle *gegangen* 19, 4: *gangen* 40, 11; *gestanden* 39, 1.

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AN OLD FRISIAN POEM

Everyone who has read Old Frisian must have noticed the frequent occurrence of alliterative expressions. That these expressions often form lines of alliterative verse is a fact that has been commented on.¹ But no one, so far as I know, has pointed out the existence in Old Frisian of a complete poem. And yet there it is as plain as a pikestaff. It stands out from the legal phraseology by which it is surrounded like an oasis in the desert. It is found in the Emsiger text, in a description of the circumstances under which a mother may sell or pawn the inheritance of her fatherless child, as an expansion of the third case of need: *huuversa thet kind is stoknakad ieftha huslas*. As given by Heuser, *Altfries. Lesebuch*, pp. 86 f., it reads:

Thenna thi u thiustera nacht and thi nedtkalda winter ur tha thuner hleth, sa farther alra monna hwelic inna sin hof and inna sin hus, and theth wilde diar secht thene hola bam and thera berga hli, alder hit sin lif on behalde; sa weniath thet vniereghe barn and werpth thenna tha sine nakeda lite and sin huuslase and sinne feder, ther him reda scholde with thene winther kalda and with thene heta hunger, theth hi sa diape and sa dimme is vnder eke and vnder eerthe bislaghen and biseten and bitacht.

As it stands it is not altogether in correct poetic form, but it is poetic in language and feeling. That at an earlier time it was also correct in form there can be no doubt. Heyne, *Germ.*, IX, 441, recognized two alliterative lines:

thiu neilthiustera nacht and thi nēdkalda winter

and

*. . . . and thet wilde diar
secht thene hola bām and thera berga hlī.*

He might easily have indicated others, for the entire poem can, with little change, be reconstructed as follows:

¹ Cf. especially Heyne, *Germ.*, IX, 437-44; Siebs, *Pauls Grundriss*, II, 495 f.

thenna thiú nelfthiústera nácht and thi nédkálda wínter
 úr tha túnar hléth, sa farther alra mónna hwélic
 inna sîn hóf and inna sîn hús, alder hi sîn lff on biháalde,
 and thet wíldre diár secht thene hóla bām and thera bérge hlíf:
 sa wéniath thet nérighe bárn and wépth tha sine nákedra líthi
 and sîn húsláse and sinne féder, ther hine hrédde with thene wínter
 kálda and with thene héta húngher,
 thet hi sa diápe bislágghen and sa dímmre bisléten
 is únder éke and under érthe bithácht.

How close this arrangement comes to the original it is, of course, impossible to decide. But it could hardly have been much different. The fourth line as given above may originally have been two lines, as:

and thet wíldre diár sécht sîne wóninge
 in tha hóla báme and thera bérge hlíf.

Or:

and thet wíldre diár secht tō wóninge thene hóla bām
 and thera bérge hlíf, alder hit sîn lff on biháalde.

Compare the MLG version:

dath wylde deerte secht de berge in tho flucht und sine wanunge under dem
 halen bhome.

Or without a change in the MS the third and fourth lines may read:

inna sîn hóf and inna sîn hús, and thet wíldre diár secht thene hóla bām
 and thera bérge hlíf, alder hit sîn lff on biháalde.

The sixth line above may properly be a swell-verse like the fifth. But with the change of one word it can be written in two lines:

and sîn húsláse and sinne féder, ther hine hrédde
 with thene wínter héra and with thene héta húngher.

Or, to make it more like the MS:

and sîn húsláse and sinne féder, ther hine hrédde skólde, etc.

For the last two lines we might have:

thet hi sa diápe under érthe and sa dímmre under éke
 is nú bislágghen and bisléten and bithácht.

This poem could not have been written for the place in which it is found. It must have originated several centuries earlier and indicates that the Frisians, like the other Germanic tribes, had a poetic spirit and a facile use of alliterative verse. It is complete in itself, a finished product of no mean merit, worthy to live in the light of the world.

The few slight changes made in the words are amply justified. For *thiustera* I read with Heyne *neilthiustera* as it occurs elsewhere.¹ Compare NFris. *neiltsjuster* 'pikdonker, volslagen duister' (*Friesch Wb.*, II, 192). On *hlēth* 'breitet eine Decke' cf. Siebs, *Pauls Grundriss*, I², 1306. For *unīēreghe* 'minderjährig,' a natural corruption in this case, I write **nērighe* 'hard pressed, in straitened circumstances,' the forerunner of NFris. *nearich* 'druk, wemelende van menschen,' 'crowded,' whence *nearichheit* 'moeilijkheid, benarde omstandigheden, geldnood.' This is a derivative of *near* 'naar, treurig, nauw, eng,' OE *nearo* 'narrow, causing hardship, distress,' *nearwian* 'confine, compress, hard press, afflict,' OFris. *benēra* id. Richthofen's emendation of *werpth* to *wēpth* is here adopted as making the only good sense. The MS reading *ther him rēda scholde* 'der ihm raten (helfen) sollte' is plainly a corruption of *ther hine hredda skolde* (or *hredde*) 'der ihn retten sollte' (cf. Richthofen, *Altfries. Wb.* 986). For *biseten*, which is hardly an appropriate word here, I write *bisleten* 'beschlossen, verschlossen' in agreement with W. 47, 16: *onder ēke ende onder da erda bisloten*.

[Translation]

When murky night and mist-cold winter
 On the fields down fall, and fare all men
 To the sheltering roof to shield them from death,
 And the wild-beast hies to the hollow tree
 Or lays him down in a den in the rocks:
 Then weeps the child of want when winter chills his limbs,
 And homeless bewails the father, who should ward from him hunger
 and cold,
 And mourns that so deep he is lying, so darkly shut from the light,
 Under the oaken board and burdened by the earth.

¹ See Richthofen, *Altfries. Wb.* 948.

Of many other alliterative lines that might be quoted one group is noteworthy as it contains four complete lines, with a fifth easily filled out. This is found in W. 441, 18, 19:

Aéster to da Wísere ende wéster toe da Flée,
 út mitta ébbe ende óp mitta flóed,
 om datse dine ówirra wáriet *toienst dat wilde héf*
 deis ende náchtis, toienst dyn nóerdkóninck
 ende toienst dyn wílda wísingh mitta fýf wépen.

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DAS ZIEL DES DRAMAS IN DEUTSCHLAND VOR GOTTSCHED

VORTRAG GEHALTEN IN DER *GESELLSCHAFT FÜR DEUTSCHE
LITERATUR*, IN BERLIN, AM 18. JUNI 1913

Wenn wir verhältnismässig früh Auslassungen über das Ziel des Dramas begegnen, dann verdanken wir solche keineswegs einem etwaigen Interesse für literarische Aesthetik, sondern der durchaus unsympathischen, oft schroffen Haltung der Kirche, den scenischen Vergnügungen gegenüber. Die meisten Erörterungen sind Verteidigungen, nicht selten, wenn der Verfasser, Pfarrer oder Schulmeister,¹ ein frommer Mann war—und das war er im 16. Jahrh. fast immer—Selbstrechtfertigungen.

Bis tief in das 18. Jahrh. hinein wird der anerkannte Zweck des Dramas ausdrücklich als ein didaktischer bezeichnet, wenn auch, je nach dem Falle, der Standpunkt mehr besonders dem kirchlichen oder pädagogischen Beruf des Schriftstellers entspricht.

Während, im Laufe der Zeit, die Verwendbarkeit des Dramas für die verschiedensten ethischen, religiösen, politischen oder rein-pädagogischen Zwecke immer deutlicher erkannt wurde, beherrschte auch die didaktische, von Cicero überlieferte Auffassung des Dramas als Spiegel des Lebens, mit immer erhöhter Kraft die ganz Aesthetik der Bühne. Wie ein grauer, unbestimmter Hintergrund breitet sich dieser Gedanke hinter den allmählich bestimmter hervortretenden Sonderideen aus. Der Namen sind fast zu viele: Greff, Ackerman, Culman, Crüginger, Wagner, Martin Glaser, Moller, Holtzwardt, Hoffman, Schmieder, Johannes Maior, Zyrl, Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig im 16. Jahrh.² Sam. Israel, Joachim

¹ Die eigentümlichen Zwecke des Schuldramas durften einer Einzeluntersuchung vorbehalten bleiben.

² Joachim Greff, *Aulularia*-Uebersetzung, 1535, Widmung; Hans Ackerman, *Ein Geistlich Spiel von Thobia*, 1539, Prologus ("Bibl. des Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart," CLXX); Leonh. Culman, *Ein Christenlich Teütsch Spil | wie ein Sünder zur Buss bekürt wird* , 1539, Widmung; und *Ein teütsch spil | von der auffrur der Erbarñ weiber zu Rom*, Prolog; Joh. Crüginger, *Comoedia von dem Reichen Mann und Armen Lazaro* [1543], Widmung; und *Tragoedia von Herode und Joanne dem Taufer*, 1545, Widmung, wo er betont, dass in seinen Spielen, der Mensch sich "innerlich besichtigt" während "der alten Comitorum geticht" "doch nur den menschen euserlich im leben und sitten informieren"; Greg. Wagner, *Ein hübsche Deutsche Comedi die da leret das Untrew seinen*

Leseberg, der Rector Jos. Goezius, der bekannte Sprachpatriot Joh. Cunr. Merck, R. A. Gosky, Klaj, Schottel, Birken, und andere, bis an die Neige des 17. Jahrhunderts¹ halten einmütig an der inzwischen zur geläufigen Redensart herabgekommenen Formel fest. Von den Humanisten wurde dem Gleichnis eine tiefere Bedeutung beigegeben. Für Macropedius z.B. wird das abgedroschene Spiegelbild: "clarissimum | Speculum, a figura amplissima in qua quid tibi | Vitandum erit uel actitandum, clarius | Lumine uidebis,"² Cornelius Crocus und Gnapheus scheinen es beim alten zu lassen,³ jedoch darf man ihnen, wie auch schon früher Willichius⁴ zugleich mit der Ciceronianischen Formel schon eine Kenntniss von Horazianischen bezw. Aristotelischen Erklärungen zumuten.

Als die alte Formel verstarb, war jedoch der Gedanke noch immer lebendig, denn bis in das 18. Jahrh., von Luther⁵ bis Harsdörffer,⁶ bis zu Rist⁷ und dem Opern-Verteidiger Heinrich Elmenhorst⁸ kommt der didaktische Hang, wenn auch in äusserlich abwechselnder Form, noch oft in krassester Weise zum Ausdruck.

Schon sehr früh wurde, in einer Zeit wo die wenigsten von den gedruckten Büchern erreicht wurden, der grosse Wert des Dramas für allgemeine erzieherische Zwecke betont. Nicht bloss als Hilfsmittel zur Erweckung des moralischen Bewusstseins bei allen, zu

eigen Herrn schlecht, Franckfurt a. O., 1547; Martin Glaser, *Von einer Junckfrawen die zu bösen Ehren beredt | und letztlich einem Bauern für ein Junckfrawen gegeben*, 1552; Heinr. Moller, *Nabal*, 1564, ap. J. Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater*, S. 5; Math. Holtzwardt, *Saul*, Basel, 1571, Herold; Chph. Hoffman, *Vom Reichen Manne und armen Lazaro*, Königsberg, 1579, Vorredner; Mart. Schmldder, *Das New Morgens Fell. Von der Frauen herrschung*, Berlin, 1585, Vorrede; Joh. Major, Epigramm in Joh. Sander's *Tragoedia Von dem anfang, mittel und ende Johannis des Teuffers*, 1588; Chn. Zyril, *Urteil Salomonis*, Strassburg, 1592, Prologus; Heinr. Julius, *Tragico Comoedia Hibeldeha Von der Susanna*, Wolfenbüttel, 1593, Epilogus.

¹ Israel, *Ein Schöne gantz Neue Comoedia von Susanna*, Basel, 1607, Vorrede; Leseberg, *Jesu Dodecennis*, Helmstadt, 1619 (erste Ausg. und Vorrede, 1610); Goezius, *Tragico-Comoedia Vom dem heiligen Patriarchen Joseph*, Magdeburgh [1612]; Merck, *Beel*, Ulm, 1615; und Rebecca, Ulm, 1616, Widmung; auch *Conflagratio Sodomae*, Ulm, 1617; Gosky, *Lyra Tragica-comica Vel Tychootechnia*, Halberstadt, 1634, Dedicatio; Klaj, *Herodes der Kindermörder*, Vorrede; Schottelius, *Friedens-Sieg*, Vorbericht; Birken, *Teutsche Rede-, Bind-, und Dicht-Kunst*, 1679, S. 339; Anon., *Der Grosse Alexander in Sidon*, 1688.

² *Andrisca*, 1537, Prologus.

³ Crocus, *Ioseph, Invitatio*; Gnapheus, *Acolastus, Epist. Ded.*

⁴ *Praefatio* zu Chph. Stummelius' *Studentes*, 1549.

⁵ Vorreden zu Buch Judith und Buch Tobias.

⁶ *Trichter*, II, 101.

⁷ *Die Aller-Edelste Belustigung*, 1665, S. 131.

⁸ *Dramatologia*, 1688, S. 175.

lernen "was jederman wol odder ubel anstündt was gut odder böß | was löblich und ehrlich | widderumb was schendlich und vnehrlich were,"¹ sondern auch zur Hebung der von der Wissenschaft abgeschnittenen Volksschichten. Joachim Greff will "im sonderheit . . . vom gemeinen man verstanden | gelesen und angehört" werden,² wie es, meint Leonhard Culman, "gshach auch etwan bey den alten" und zwar "z gfallen dem gemeynen man Der sunst nit gar vil mores kan."³ Paulus Rebhun, nachdem er ein Stück vollendet, ermahnt "alle die, so solcherley nutze Spiel anzurichten tüglich vnd förderlich mögen sein, sie wöllen es nu auch an ihrem fleis vnd arbeit nicht erwinden lassen, vnd dieses geticht mit öffentlichen Schawspiel auch für den gemeinen man bringen," also offenbar vor ein Publikum das noch nicht lesen konnte.⁴ Wolfgang Herman verdeutscht Hier. Ziegler's 1555 zu Ingolstadt erschienenen lateinischen Stück "dem gmeinen Mann zu nutz"; und Arnold Glaser übersetzt Frischlin's *Phasma* mit ähnlichem Zweck,⁵ während Polycarpus Leiser schon früher zum Verfassen von Comoedien anregte, Lateinisch oder Deutsch, welche "dem gemeinen Man | welcher sie spielen sehr | grossen nutz bringen würden."⁶ Anderswo finden sich Aussagen, aus denen die Verbindung von sozial-erzieherischen Zwecken mit den schulgemässen Erfordernissen auf der Schulbühne hervorgeht. Wie Greff und Culman am Anfang des 16. Jahrh., so arbeitet Leseberg im 17. wenn auch nicht unmittelbar, für die Hebung des gemeinen Mannes. Er will, dass "die Spectanten aus der Gemein | dadurch von dem unmässigen Fressen und Sauffen [während der Fastnacht] abgehalten werden müchten,"⁷ während Heinrich Moller nicht nur "die gemeine burgerschafft, im latein wol, vbel oder nicht erfahren," sondern auch die "frawenspersonen" erreichen möchte. Eine ähnliche Absicht erhellt aus der Vorrede zu Ayrer's *Opus Theatricum* (1618), das neben der "alten betagten mannspersonen |

¹ Greff, loc. cit.² Ibid.³ Von der auffrur der Erbarñ weiber Prologus.⁴ Vorrede in Hans Tyrolff's Ein Christlich, vnd gantz lustig Spiel, Darinn des Antichristlichen Babatthumbs Theuffische Lehr dargeben wird, ap. J. Bolte und E. Schmidt: Herausgabe von Naogeorg's *Pammachius*, Berlin, 1891, S. xvi.⁵ Herman, Vom opffer der Heiligen drey Khünig, Salzburg, 1557, Vorrede; Glaser, Eine neue Geistliche | nachgehndig Comoedie und Gesicht Greifswald, 1593.⁶ Vorrede zu Fred. Dedekind's *Der Christliche Ritter*, 1590.⁷ *Jesse Duodecennis*, Vorrede.

und andere ehrliche Bürger und Biederleute | so nicht Rittermessiges standts" auch auf "das edle und unedle Frauenzimmer | und andere Tugendsame Weiber und Jungfrauen" Rücksicht nahm, wenn freilich auch nur um bei ihnen "die einfallende schwermütigkeit unnd Melancholey | beneben dem Laster des Müssiggangs zuverhüten und zuvertreiben."

Zwar konnte die Geistlichkeit den gemeinen, des Lesens oder des Lateins unkundigen die gewünschten "mores" lehren, wobei ihr allerdings nicht selten ein gewisser Unwillen begegnete. Ausserdem, meinte im 18. Jahrh. Picander-Henrici, seien nicht alle Arten des Tadels auf der Kanzel zulässig; auch dort gäbe es eine Art Decorum.¹ Ganz anders war es aber wenn der Sittenmeister von der Bühne herab predigte, denn "Deren sind allenthalben vil | Die für und für gern sächint spil | Bewegt durch mencherley ursach" unter andern dadurch "das man durch disen fund | In schimpffs wyss zeyg die laster an | Das man sunst nit dörfft understan."² Denn, auf der Bühne, meinte Schottelius, ein Jahrhundert später, wird dem Schriftsteller "ein freier Spruch und Sinn" gewährt.³ Das Reformationsdrama hat, wie bekannt, den ausgiebigsten Gebrauch von dieser Ausredfreiheit gemacht, während das spätere Geschlecht von zahmen "Fruchtbringenden" oder "Deutschgesinneten" Gesellschaftlern und verschiedenlich gekrönten und ungekrönten Poeten, mit Ausnahme von einigen Menantes-artigen Erscheinungen, seine Pegase immer innerhalb des traditionellen Zaunes zu grasen pflegte. Jener dem Schriftsteller gewährten und ihn zweifellos vielfach anregenden, dem Publikum aber nicht immer gefälligen Redefreiheit, steht die unumgängliche Notwendigkeit gegenüber, dem Kinde die herben Getränke zu versüssen, das moralische ins symbolische oder allegorische einzukleiden oder schlechthin mit "ergetzlichkeit" zu vermischen.

Verhältnismässig spät wird der Begriff des "utile dulci" in der kritischen Theorie gehuldigt, ob er auch schon lange in Wirklichkeit angewandt worden war. Wohl sah man ein, dass die "ergetzlichen" Elemente meistens nicht den Ansprüchen der Tugendmeister

¹ *Teutsche Schau-Spiele*, 1726.

² Hans von Rüte, *Wie Noe vom win überwunden durch sin jüngsten Sun Cham geschmächt* , Bern, 1546.

³ *Friedens-Sieg*, Vorbericht.

entsprachen, weshalb dann auch der erste deutsche Terenz-Übersetzer das anstössige in seinem Autor bloss als "abschreckende Vorbilder" zu erklären versuchte, und zwar weil "das böss nit, es sy denn erkannt, vermitteln würt" und weil man das böse auch sol kennen lernen "dardurch das gut dester bass erkannt würt."¹ "Dennocht," sagt Johan Kolros, "müssen die Poeten oft ethwan hinein setzen damit sie die zuhören [*sic*] mit lust erhalten" dabei aber "auch offtermal zu schendlichen sprüchen fallen,"² weshalb er seine Stoffe aus der Heiligen Schrift zieht. Leider war damit das Problem nicht gelöst. Inzwischen wurde das komische Element praktisch ausgiebig ausgenutzt, ohne dass bei den Theoretikern das Prinzip der Mischung des lehrhaften mit dem ermunternden ausdrücklich anerkannt würde. Man blieb dabei dass die Laster nur zur Abschreckung da wären; zumal da man in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts entdeckte, dass diese Theorie durch Anwendung der "Poetischen Gerechtigkeit"—die Laster gestraft, die Tugend belohnt—weit haltbarer gemacht wurde.³ Am Ende des 16. Jahrh. dämmert schon die Auffassung, dass der christliche Leser ausser der "Lehr Trost und Warnung" auch eine gewisse "Lust" an dem Spiel haben könnte. Freilich geschah das bei dem Horaz-Übersetzer Arnold Glaser, der also selbstverständlich wissen konnte dass:

Es schreibt nie kein gelärt Poet
Das ohn Nutz | oder Lust abgeht |
Bissweilen | so das Glück ist gutt |
Beyderley er gleich treffen thut.⁴

Ebensowenig wie diese wässrige Uebersetzung sind andere Horaz-Citate, von dem Humanisten Crusius (1605) und von dem Kritiker Wilkens (1614), zu dem Publikum durchgedrungen.⁵ Schottel legt nicht so viel Nachdruck auf das belehrende als Klaj,⁶ und Gryphius mehr als Harsdörffer⁷ der schon früher verkündete, dass

¹ *Terentius der hochgelert und allerbruchelichst Poet von Latin zu Tütsch transferirt*, Strassburg, 1499, S. 40–41.

² *Ain Schön Spyl von Fünferlay betrachtñüssen*, 1535, Zum Leser.

³ Cf. Schottelius, Rist und Elmenhorst, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Widmung von Frischlin's *Phasma*, Deutsch von Arnold Glaser, Gryphswalt, 1593.

⁵ Balth. Crusius, *Exodus*, 1605, *Praefatio*; Jod. Willichius, *Praefatio* in Chph. Stummellius' *Studentes*, 1614.

⁶ Klaj, *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645, Vorrede; Schottelius, *Friedens-Sieg*, Vorbericht, S. 11.

⁷ Gryphius, *Leo Armenius*, 1650, Vorrede; Harsdörffer, *Trichter*, II, S. 84.

die Endursache selbst in den Trauerspielen "der Nutzen und das Belusten" sei.¹ Kindermann lehrt den deutschen Poeten "so wohl lehren als ergetzen"² während Siegmund von Birken es schon für nötig hält, ihn zu warnen, da es mit der althergebrachten Definition der Tragödie noch nicht ausgemacht sei "dass man allein suche die Menschen zu belustigen oder zu schrecken" und weist nach wie "die blinde Heiden die vom wahren Gott nichts wusten | . . . hierinn gröblich und verdämmlich geirret."³ Abgesehen von einigen radikal-didaktischen Aeusserungen⁴ darf man sagen dass am Anfang des 18. Jahrh. das "utile dulci" zum Dogma geworden ist. Der Hamburger Advokat Barthold Feind stellt den Dramaturgen mit bezeichnendem Nachdruck schon vor die Aufgabe "das Volk auf eine angenehme Art zu unterrichten und zu belehren | anbey hauptsächlich den Nutzen mit | durch und in der Belustigung zu verknüpfen."⁵ Hier spielt das didaktische schon eine weit bescheidenere Rolle, was in der Blütezeit der Oper, und inmitten der Flut der seit Christian Weise stets mächtiger emporquellenden "Affecte," zu erwarten war.

Im Jahre 1725 ist der Endzweck des Dramas "*entweder* die Verbesserung der Sitten | *oder* die Bewegung und Ergötzung des Gemüthes und die Besänfftigung der Affecten, *oder* die Verherrlichung des Ruhmes der Tugend."⁶ Und wenn auch die Sitten verbessert werden sollen, muss man "nicht allezeit lehren, denn dieses kommet einem Schulmanne und keinem Poeten zu."⁷

Mit dem nach Aristoteles geschulten, von Horaz und Boileau durchdrungenen Gottsched kam selbstverständlich das Prinzip zur vollen Geltung: "Die gantze Fabel hat nur eine Haupt-Absicht," liest man bei ihm, "nehmlich einen moralischen Satz" und er tadelt die "hässlichen Zoten so in Plauti Comödien vorkommen." Dass er aber das Didaktische nicht ausschliesslich betont beweist seine

¹ Brief an Klaj, an *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645.

² *Der Deutsche Poet*, 1664, S. 240.

³ *Teutsche Rede-, Bind-, und Dicht-Kunst*, 1679, S. 336.

⁴ *Ursprung der römischen Monarchie in einem Singe-Spiele*, 1684, General-Vorrede, u. a.

⁵ "Gedanken von der Opera," in *Deutsche Gedichte*, 1708, S. 102.

⁶ *Anleitung zur Poesie*, Breslau, S. 159. Drei Wörter von uns Kursiv gedruckt.

⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 99.

Behauptung von dem classischen Trauerspiele, es hätte "an lehrreichen Sprüchen . . . eher einen Ueberfluss als Mangel."¹

Zwei Jahrhunderte hat es also gedauert bis der Begriff des alleinherrschenden Didaktischen vollständig zerstört, ein ganzes Jahrhundert, seit das Horazianische "utile dulci" den Vernichtungsprozess begonnen und dadurch den Weg für eine freiere, tiefere, wenn auch noch weit von der "Kunst um der Kunst willen" entfernte Auffassung der dramatischen Ziele geöffnet hat. Aus dem weiten "Muttergedanken": das Drama als Spiegel der Welt, haben sich, ausser der mächtigen, mittelalterlichen Idee des seelischen Nutzens die verwandten Begriffe der Volks-der Frauen-und, wie bekannt, der Jugend-Erziehung entwickelt.

Diesen allen hat aber das um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts keimende Bewusstsein, dass der Zweck des Dramas nicht im Jenseits, auch nicht in einer irdischen Laufbahn, sondern in einer inneren Befriedigung der Menschenseele liege, ihr zeitiges Ende bereitet.

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¹ *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, 1730, SS. 573, 43. Zweite Ausg., 1737, S. 89.

GOETHE UND DIE BILDENDE KUNST

Dass die Antike Goethes Natur homogen war, zeigt sich schon darin, dass er 1772, im *Wanderer*, durch die Antizipation die antiken Ruinen von Italien gewürdigt. Als Kind seiner Zeit jedoch, und als deutsch-patriotischer Dichter, verliess er nicht so ohne alles das deutsch-nationale Ideal in Kunst und Leben. Waren es doch in Goethes Frühzeit Herder und Goethe die der deutschen Kunstbestrebung bahnbrachen. Wie später die Romantiker, voran Wackenroder, wieder für eine deutsche Kunst eintraten, so hatten es Herder und Goethe eine Generation früher getan. Bevor dieser deutsche Stürmer und Dränger ins griechische Lager übergang, musste erst die ganze Lessing-Oeser-Winckelmannsche Renaissance der griechischen Kunst über ihn ergehen.

Goethes Jugenderziehung und Umgebung waren nicht dazu angetan ihm hohe Einsicht in Sachen der bildenden Kunst beizubringen. In seiner Vaterstadt und Vaterhaus vielfach auf Künstlerisches hingewiesen, war es doch nur eine Sammler- und Dilettantenatmosphäre, die er einsog. Tiefgegründeter Geschmack oder Kunstwissen war da nicht zu Hause. Wie Goethe, der Vater, die Bände seiner Bibliothek nach dem Einband aufstellte und ordnete, so merkwürdig verfahren auch die übrigen Frankfurter in ihren Kunstsammlungen, die sie teils des Guten Tons halber, teils aus Geschmack anlegten.

Die Bilder die auf Goethe wirkten, waren hauptsächlich Niederländer oder von diesen beeinflusste Deutsche, deren erstes Wort "Natur" war; Natur aber ohne tiefere Auffassung, lediglich als Idyll gefasst. Die frankfurter Kunst stand nicht höher als die anderer deutscher Städte jener Zeit. Einem Jüngling aber gediegene Grundsätze der Kunstanschauung beizubringen, vermochten solche Leute wie Seekatz, Krauss, und Kaaz nicht. Doch besuchte Goethe fleissig die Künstlerateliers, zeichnete und malte selbst unter der fleissigen Anleitung des Vaters, und wir dürfen ihm wohl glauben, wenn er sagt, dass ihm sein Wissen ganz passabel vorkam, und dass er sich sogar unterstand den Künstlern manchmal ein Wort dreinzureden.

Und doch war Goethe, da er als Sechszehnjähriger in Leipzig Student wurde, in Sachen der bildenden Kunst ein Neuling, der von der grossen Kunst und von den im Reich entbrannten grossen kunsttheoretischen Fragen wenig Ahnung hatte. Denn, was er von antiker oder der grossen Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters gesehen, war nicht viel. Frankfurt barg so gut wie nichts. Auch den Einfluss der römischen Prospekte, die in seinem Vaterhause hingen, hat man stark überschätzt, denn erstens war es Architektonisches, das ihm hier entgegen trat, und das zu würdigen, stand der Knabe zu sehr im Bann des Gotischen, wie er es sein Lebtag in seiner Vaterstadt gesehen.

Nun kam in Leipzig die Lehre Oesers, die den Jüngling voll auf befriedigte. Die Winkelmann-Oesersche Lehre von der edlen Einfachheit und der stillen Grösse hat er sich da geholt, sah sich auch in seinem Geschmack durch Oeser gefördert, doch "was Oeser bei Gelegenheit dieser Bildnisse zu sagen beliebte, war freilich rätselhaft genug."

Auch die Winkelmannsche Schrift, die ihm jetzt bekannt wurde, war ihm noch nicht ganz klar und er legte sie auf eine ihm passende Weise aus. Was dabei herauskam war: Das Kunstwerk muss edel sein wie die Natur, und gross, indem es innere Wahrheit besitzt, wie ja auch seine Dichtung zu dieser Zeit "gänzlich zum Natürlichen und Wahren" hinstrebte.

In diese Zeit fällt auch die Lektüre von Lessings *Laokoon*, der Goethen der Antike einen bedeutenden Schritt näher brachte. "Man muss Jüngling sein um sich zu vergegenwärtigen, welche Wirkung Lessings *Laokoon* auf uns ausübte, indem dieses Werk uns aus den Regionen eines kümmerlichen Anschauens in die freien Gefilde des Gedankens hinriss.

"Wie von einem Blitz erleuchteten sich uns alle Folgen dieses herrlichen Gedankens (dass der bildende Künstler nur das Schöne darzustellen habe), alle bisherige anleitende und urteilende Kritik ward, wie ein abgetragenen Rock, weggeworfen, wir hielten uns von allem Übel erlöst, und glaubten mit einigem Mitleid auf das sonst so herrliche 16. Jahrhundert herabblicken zu dürfen, wo man in deutschen Bildwerken und Gedichten das Leben nur unter der Form eines schellenbehangenen Narren, den Tod unter der Unform eines klappernden Gerippes, so wie die notwendigen und

zufälligen Übel der Welt unter dem Bilde des possenhaften Teufels zu vergegenwärtigen wusste."¹

Merkwürdig ist es, dass Goethe, selbst nach der Lektüre von Winkelmann und Lessing, bei einem Besuch in Dresden im Frühjahr 1768, es ablehnt die dortigen Antiken zu sehen. "Ich lehnte ab sie [die Antiken] zu sehen, so wie alles Übrige was Dresden Köstliches enthielt; nur zu voll von der Überzeugung, dass in und an der Gemäldesammlung selbst mir noch vieles verborgen bleiben müsse. So nahm ich den Werth der italienischen Meister mehr auf Treu und Glauben an, als dass ich mir eine Einsicht in denselben hätte anmassen können."²

Die Erklärung hierfür finden wir in dem Umstand, dass der erste Rausch, in den die Anpreisung der Antike ihn versetzt, bereits verflogen war; sodann hatte Goethe aus den drei Abgüssen von antiken Kunstwerken, die sich auf der Zeichenakademie vorfanden, und aus Oesers "rätselhaften" Bemerkungen darüber so gut wie keine Anschauung von griechischer Kunst erhalten; zudem hatte er sich infolge seiner Interpretation des Satzes von der edlen Einfalt und der stillen Grösse wieder enger an die Niederländer angeschlossen, bei denen er die geforderte "Natur" allein zu finden glaubte. Denn: "Was ich nicht als Natur ansehen, an die Stelle der Natur setzen, mit einem bekannten Gegenstand vergleichen konnte, war für mich nicht wirksam. Der materielle Eindruck ist es, der den Anfang selbst zu jeder höheren Liebhaberei macht." Zudem galt ihm der malerische Effekt viel mehr als die Form: "das Ganze gefiel mir wohl; denn es hatte gerade das, was man malerisch nennt und was mich in der niederländischen Kunst so zauberisch angesprochen hatte."³

Goethe verliess Leipzig mit Ehrfurcht vor der Antike, obwohl als farbenfroher Mainländer weit von Lessings griechisch-plastischem Standpunkt entfernt. Diese Farbenfreude des Dichters hielt auch bis ins späteste Alter vor.⁴ Der Einfluss Oesers ist jedoch nicht gering zu schätzen. Ihn dankt er "das Gefühl des Ideals: und die gedrehten Reitze der Franzosen, werden mich so wenig extasieren

¹ *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, I, 27, 164.

² *Ibid.*, I, 27, S. 174. Vgl. hierzu auch die späteren Anmerkungen zu den Dresdener Bildern, I, 47, S. 368 ff. Zitate nach der Weimarer Ausgabe.

³ *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, I, 27, S. 349.

⁴ Vgl. zu Goethes Farbenfreude: Diderots *Versuch über die Malerei*, I, 45, S. 245 ff. An Friedericke Unselmann d. 14. März, 1816; und *Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main*, I, 34, Kapitel Heidelberg.

machen, als die platten Nymphen von Dietrich, so nackend und glatt sie auch sind."¹ Nun ist ihm auch der Unterschied zwischen der Wahrheit der Naturalisten und der künstlerischen Wahrheit aufgegangen. Und "das Gefühl der Idealschen stillen Grösse" ist die Hauptsache, denn "Genies werden dadurch unendlich erhaben, und kleine Geister wenigstens etwas; die sonst, wenn sie mit einem Feuer, das sie nicht haben, ihre Manier beleben wollen, dem Hanswurst gleich sind der, die leichten Sprünge einer Tänzerin mit üblem Success nachäfft."²

Auf seine technischen Fähigkeiten hatte Oeser weniger Einfluss gehabt. "Auch war unsre Hand, nur sein Nebenaugenmerck; er drang in unsre Seelen, und man musste keine haben um ihn zu nutzen. Sein Unterricht wird auf mein ganzes Leben Folgen haben. Er lehrte mich, das Ideal der Schönheit sei Einfach und Stille, und daraus folgt, dass kein Jüngling Meister werden könne."³

Dass die *Kunst eines Volkes* in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit *Land und Volk*, aus denen sie hervor gegangen, beurteilt werden muss, ist ein Herderscher Gedanke. Dass daher die Natur in der niederländischen und die Natur in der griechischen Kunst dieselbe, und doch auch eine andre sei, dieser Gedanke konnte Goethe erst von Herder überkommen. Somit, folgerte er, hatten ja auch die Griechen die Natur studiert, denn in ihren Kunstwerken sah er nun auch Natur, was er bisher nicht getan hatte. Und zudem schufen die Griechen "aus der eigenen Brust," und das ist es ja, was Hamann und Herder, und nun auch Goethe, von dem Künstler verlangten.

Aber in einem bedeutenden Punkt gingen beide, Hamann und Herder, von den Griechen ab; nicht aus Opposition gegen diese, sondern im Gegensatz zu dem philiströsen Regelzwang in der Kunst ihrer Zeit; ich meine die Willkür. Im Gegensatz ebenfalls zur zeitgenössischen Richtung, verlangten sie von dem Künstler: Leidenschaft und Phantasie, Genie und Originalität—lauter Begriffe, die für die damalige Kunst auf dem *index expurgatorius* standen.

Somit hatte die deutsche Kunst, auch die deutsche Baukunst—und in Strassburg begann sich Goethe erst als Deutscher zu fühlen—ihre Berechtigung. Nun hatte auch die Willkür, die Phantasie, und

¹ An Friedericke Oeser, d. 8. April, 1769.

² *Ephimerides*, 1770.

³ An Philip Erasmus Reich, d. 20. Februar, 1770.

die Leidenschaft der Jugend ihre Berechtigung, und wenn auch "die idealische, stille Grösse" dem Jüngling unerreichbar bleiben musste, zu originalem und genialem Schaffen fühlte sich der Stürmer und Dränger berufen. Goethes Begeisterung für die Gotik müssen wir als einen Teil des deutschen Sturms und Drangs ansehen, als eine Reaktion gegen die Nachahmung des Fremden, wie sie vorzüglich Lessing eingeleitet, und als ein Verlangen wieder echt deutsch zu werden.¹

Aus den Hamann-Herderschen Lehren, den oben erwähnten von Oeser überkommenen Grundsätzen, und unter Einflechtung eigener Zutaten hat sich Goethe nun eine Ästhetik zusammengelesen, die bis in die Weimarer Zeit,² z.T. bis ans Ende vorhielt, und deren Hauptzüge waren: jede Kunst muss aus ihrem geschichtlichen und kulturellen Werdegang heraus erklärt und aufgefasst werden; die Wahl des Stoffes ist gleichgültig; ohne Gefühl und Liebe zu seinem Stoff wird der Künstler nichts leisten; alle wahre Kunst muss Heimatkunst sein; wenn diese mit Gefühl und Liebe und "aus dem Vollen," d.h. mit ungeteilten Kräften geschaffen ist, so hat sie Berechtigung, ob sie nun aus Griechenland oder Deutschland stammt.

Somit findet sich auch in *Nach Falconet und über Falconet* und *Von deutscher Baukunst*, den bedeutendsten ästhetischen Schriften aus dieser Epoche, die kühnste Nebeneinanderstellung niederländischer, deutscher, italienischer, und griechischer Kunst.³ Der Besuch in Mannheim fand auf der Rückreise aus Strassburg statt und brachte Goethen seinen ersten Anblick bedeutender Antiken. "Nachdem ich die erste Wirkung dieser unwiderstehlichen Masse eine Zeit lang geduldet hatte, wendete ich mich zu denen Gestalten, die mich am meisten anzogen, und wer kann läugnen, dass Apoll von Belvedere, durch seine mässige Colossalgrösse, den schlanken Bau, die freie Bewegung, den siegenden Blick, auch über unsere Empfindung vor allen andern den Sieg davon trage? Sodann wendete ich mich zu Laokoon, den ich hier zuerst mit seinen Söhnen in Verbindung sah. Ich vergegenwärtigte mir so gut also möglich das, was über ihn verhandelt und gestritten worden war, und suchte mir

¹ Über Goethe und die Gotik in Strassburg siehe meine Abhandlung in *Modern Philology*, VII, 427 ff.

² Die dritte Wallfahrt nach Erwins Grab (1775) zeigt Goethe noch ganz auf seinem gotischen Standpunkt.

³ Vgl. *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, I, 27, S. 239; an Röderer d. 21. September, 1772.

einen eignen Gesichtspunkt; allein ich ward bald da bald dorthin gezogen. Der sterbende Fechter hielt mich lange fest, besonders aber hatte ich der Gruppe von Kastor und Pollux, diesen kostbaren, obgleich problematischen Resten, die seligsten Augenblicke zu danken. Ich wusste noch nicht, wie unmöglich es sei, sich von einem geniessenden Anschauen sogleich Rechenschaft zu geben. Ich zwang mich zu reflectiren, und so wenig es mir gelingen wollte, zu irgend einer Art von Klarheit zu gelangen, so fühlte ich doch, dass jedes Einzelne dieser grossen versammelten in sich selbst bedeutend sei," u.s.w. (*Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, I, 28, S. 85 f.).

Durch fleissiges Handanlegen sucht der nach Frankfurt Zurückgekehrte das Technische der Kunst sich anzueignen; durch fleissiges Schauen die Sicherheit seines Urteils zu schärfen. Denn er erkennt, dass Gefühl und geniale Intuition nicht ausreichen, weder zur Schöpfung noch zur Beurteilung von Kunstwerken, und er sucht sich somit von dem intuitiven Individualismus hinweg auf den sicheren Grund wissenschaftlicher Kunstbetrachtung zu retten. "Mein durch die Natur geschärfter Blick warf sich wieder auf die Kunstbeschauung, wozu mir die schönen Frankfurter Sammlungen an Gemälden und Kupferstichen die beste Gelegenheit gaben."¹ Unterdessen ruft er seine Kunstanschauungen durch die Frankfurter Gelehrten-Anzeigen unter die Menge, studiert in Frankfurt und Wetzlar seine Griechen fleissig, und legt eine Sammlung von Antiken an.² In Köln schaute er den Dom, in Düsseldorf die Niederländer, in Frankfurt, "zeichne, künstle und lebe ich ganz mit Rembrandt"³ und "gewinne mehr und mehr ein Gefühl der Vorhältnisse und der Proportion."

Fassen wir das bisher Gewonnene zusammen, so sagen wir: in Leipzig rettete Goethe sich vor dem platten Naturalismus einerseits und vor der Schönheitelei andererseits, in Strassburg, Mannheim, und Frankfurt arbeitete er sich zu einer geschichtlichen Würdigung aller Kunst und zu den Anfängen einer alle wahre Kunst umfassenden und würdigenden Ästhetik hindurch.

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¹ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, I, 28, S. 187.

² *Ibid.*, I, 28, S. 188, 291.

³ An Johanna Fahlmer, Ende August, 1775.

NOTES ON OLD HIGH GERMAN TEXTS

I. MUSPILLI

The date of this poem is doubtful, but the forms are such as would ordinarily appear after 900. Though an alliterative poem, it has several lines without alliteration. This might be due to a corruption of the text; to the lack of skill in the poet; or to the presence of some other embellishment that made alliteration unnecessary. Inasmuch as the poem was composed in a transition period when end-rime was coming into use, we might expect to find in it both rime and alliteration. Such is the case. Some lines have alliteration; some, alliteration and rime; others, rime only. To the second class belong the following:

- 7 za uuederemo herie si gihalot uuerde
 28 uuānit sih kināda diu uuēnaga sēla
 37 daz hōrtih rahhōn dia uueroltrehtuison
 49 daz Elias in demo uuige aruuartit uuerde
 62 ni ueeiz mit uuiu puaze: sō verit si za uuīze
 78 dār uuirđit *diu suona* dia man dār io sagēta
 79 denne varant engila uper dio marha
 87 denne stēt dar umpi engilo menigī

Here also belong the following with less perfect rime:

- 42 uuili dēn rehtkernōn daz rihhi kistarkan
 82 lōssan sih ar dero lēuuu vazzōn: scal imo avar sīn lip piqueman

To these may be added the following if the conjectured additions are correct:

- 48 doh uuānit des vilo *uuīsero* gotmanno
 96 niz al fora demo khuninge *kichundit* uuerde
 99 denne *der paldēt* der gipuazzit hapēt

Of the above l. 82 has alliteration that could not have stood much earlier: (*h*)lēuuu: lip. And yet in

- 73 sō daz himilisca horn ki(*h*)lütit uuirđit,

the original *h* must be supplied to make alliteration. This is evidently a survival of an earlier alliterative formula (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* § 153, Anm. 1). But in l. 62 *uuuu* does not alliterate with *ueeiz*, as stated by Braune. The line reads:

ni ueeiz mit uuiu puaze: sō verit si za uufze.

Of the remaining lines, 13, 18, 74*a*, 97, 99*a* have neither rime nor alliteration. But of these, 18, 97, 99*a* are incomplete, and 74*a* is perhaps an interpolation. The last, however, could easily be made over by changing according to l. 86, which has *arteillan* in place of *suannan*. The *suannan* of the text might have been caused by *suannāri* in l. 74.

In l. 61 there is a plain case of rime without alliteration:

diu marha ist farprunna, *diu* sēla stēt pidunga.

There is no reason for supposing that alliteration ever occurred in this line. The poet was entirely satisfied with the rime.

L. 13 may be similarly explained. The MS has pringent s: | sar' ufn, etc. Braune gives this:

die pringent *sia* sār ūf in himilo rihi.

Various attempts have been made to emend this line. This can be done in the simplest way by making a riming line out of it:

die pringent *si* sār ūf in himilo rihi.

No valid objection can be brought against *si* as an acc. fem. form. Otherwise, it is true, the poem has *sia*: 8, 9, 11. But the by-form *si* occurs in other writings as early as this; and the nom. sg. fem. *si* is the only form used here: 3, 6, 12, 62.

In conclusion it may be said that no amount of emendation could make Muspilli a great poem. It is neither well conceived nor well executed. We should take it as it is—as imperfect, and not attempt to restore it to a correct form, but to the form that the poet intended it to have. If that satisfied him, it ought to satisfy us. In this connection it is not out of place to mention the well-known fact that Otfrid frequently employs alliteration, sometimes to the exclusion of end-rime. A notable case of this is the line that he has in common with Muspilli:

thar ist līb ana tód, līoht ana ffnstri.

2. LIED VOM HEILIGEN GEORG

The MS of this poem is an orthographical curiosity. But aside from the misplacement of letters the spelling is not far from a norm which the writer must have had in mind. That, in most cases, he visualized the words correctly as far as the characters used in them

is concerned, but often incorrectly for their order, is proved by the fact that most of the words contain all the letters necessary to spell them adequately. Thus: *ehriigo* for *herigo*, *fholkko* for *folkho*, *ihez* for *hie�*, *sikh* for *sikh*, *ihkzes* for *ikh ezs*, *psanr* for *spran*, i.e., *sprang*, etc. So it is plain that the scribe had a better memory for facts than for form or arrangement. He was not necessarily a stupid person. He might even have been a man of more than average intelligence. Spellings such as he perpetrated are paralleled in our day by students with considerable mental ability. The following examples were taken from the English exercises of a student at the University of Chicago: *straddled* for *straddled*, *largley* for *largely*, *buisness* for *business* (exactly like *ehriigo* for *herigo*, etc.); *benginging* for *beginning*, *con[d]siderable*, *en[g]ergy*, *Sw[s]ede*, *burg[u]lar*, *pas[u]tured* (with which compare our scribe's *ma[k]rko*, *ehnidenen* for *hei[n]denen*, *zu[n]rnen*); *permant* for *permanent*, *finess* for *fineness*, *bast* for *blast*, *contental* for *continental*, *remined* for *reminded* (: *rinhe* for *ringhe*, *kenerier* for *keneriter*, etc.).

A striking peculiarity in our scribe's spelling is his use of *h*. It seems to be used for *gh* (*g*) in *rinhe* 3, *gahnenten* for *ganhenten* 19 (compare *kuningha* 7, *ehngila* for *enghila* 13), *heuihemo* 3, *maneha* 7 (cf. *beghontez* 23, 29, *shagehn* for *s[h]aghen*).

It is used before vowels, though this is found also in other MSS: *ehin* for *hein* 20, 25 (or cf. *stehic* St. Galler credo 4); *ehr* for *her* 25, 26, etc. (or this with original *h*); *ūhf(f)* for *hūf(f)* 28, 34, 35, 41, 43, 47, 59; *huus* (*ūz*) 26, 44; *ahnen* for *hanen* 32; *ihuu* for *hiuu* 33; *herstuont* 28, etc.; *herstān* 41; *ihlta* for *hālta* 55; *ihro* for *hiro* 55; *uhper* for *huper* 60. Compare *hūcze*, *hurolob* Lorscher Bienensegen 1, 4; *heina* Ezzo's Gesang 1, etc.

It is used in the combination *dh*, which here represented the stop *d*, not the spirant *ð*: *dhō* 7, 15; *dhār* 14, 29; *dhāre* 16, 22; *d^hare* 13; *dher* 21, 23; *dhie* 30, 36, 45; *dhia* 59; *dhaz* 28; *dhēer* 19; *dhvāto* 24, 31; *gnādhon* 57; but *dinge* 3; *digita* 17; *daz* 4, etc. In *daz thin* for *thing* 4, *th* stands for voiceless *d* or *t*. Probably also in *quath* for *quath* 25; *tuoh* for *tuoth* 42.

It is written frequently with *s*: *shār* 21, 44, 48; *shō* 57; *shi* 53, 55; *shie* 33, 53; *sūhl* for *shūl* 21; *shuereto* 27; *uuassho* 27; *keshante* 30, 36; *kesahnte* for *keshante* 45; *shagehn* for *shaghen* 33; *shanc* for

shinc 56; *shlahen* 27. This was perhaps to indicate the *š*-like sound of OHG *s* (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, § 168).

In other cases the reason for *h* is not apparent, as: *ihār* 21, *iāhr* 56; *zuhrentez* 24; *frham* 31, 36; *lēhren* 53 (in each case with *r*); *tohuben* 19; *warfhan* 39 (perhaps for *warpfen*); *khāen* (probably for *kāhen*, see notes below).

Aside from these irregularities in spelling, there is no good reason for changing the MS except where a miswriting is evident, as *litb* for *liib* 14, *hetle* for *helle* 60. Hence in transcribing the poem my aim was to set down what the scribe intended to write, not what he ought to have written. As I have pointed out, his intentions were better than are credited to him. For it must be remembered that he lived at a time when the vowels of unstressed syllables had lost their original tone. They had probably all become short and were much obscured and were consequently on the way to be much like the MHG unstressed vowels. If therefore we wish to write the poem consistently with its age, we should retain the varying spelling, not attempt to restore it to the norm of an earlier age. So we should write *allo: mane(g)ha; erkhēren: hōron; man: zurenen; prunnen; sun*, etc. Compare the rimes in the Bav. Psalms 138: *gihōren: quoton* 1; *stāga: gināgo* 6; *zungun: pidwungen* 9; *finster: sār* 29; *fruo: federa* 31; *fliogen: nioman* 32. And even Otfrid allows such rimes as *firdānen: ginādon*.

In the transcription that follows unnecessary characters are bracketed, as: *ma[k]rko*; letters supplied for which nothing stands in the MS are italicized and inclosed in parentheses, as: *tu(o)n* 55; but where the wrong letter is used in the MS, the supplied letter is merely in italics, as: *muot* for MS *munt* 9. Apparently unnecessary vowels are not bracketed wherever they can be regarded as *svara-* *bhaktic*, as: *s[h]ueręto* 27. Scribal corrections written over a letter are printed above the lines, as: *liebo^ota* 4. In l. 7 *mane(g)ha* (-h^o) means that the MS has *maneha* with *o* written above the line.

[Text]

Georio fuor ze mālo	mit mikilemo herigo:
fone dero ma[k]rko	mit mikilemo folkho
fuor er ze demo rin(g)he,	ze heui(g)hemo dinge.
Daz thin uuas mārīsta	[g]koto liebo ^o ta.
5 Ferliezc er uuereltrikhe,	keuan er himilirik ^h e:

- daz keteta selbo der märe crābo Georio.
 Dhō sb^uonen inen allo kuningha sō mane(g)ha (-h^o):
 uuolton si inen erk^hēren, neuuolta ern es hōron (-^on).
 Herte uuas d^z Georigen muot, ne hörter in es, s[h]ēgih guot,
 10 nuber al kefrumeti des er ce kote digeti:
 daz ket^ata (-ota) selbo (h^ēro) scē Gorio.
 Dō teilton (s)i nen säre ze demo karekäre:
 d^har(e) met imo dō fuor[r]jen enghila de skōnen.
 Dhār su[ul]len ceuei uulb, keneri(t)er daz ire liūb:
 15 dhō uore^b(t)er sō (scōno da)z imbliz in frōno.
 Daz ceiken uuor(h)ta dh(āre Geor)io ce uuāre.
 Georio dō digita, inan druhtin al geuuereta,
 (inan druhtin al geuuereta) des Gorio zimo digita.
 Den tumben dh^eter sprezenten, den to[h]uben hōrenten,
 20 den plinten deter sehenten, den halcen gan(g)henten.
 Hein s[h]ül stuon[et] ē[h]r ma(n)ighe i[h]ār ūs spran dher lōb s(h)ār:
 daz zeikhen uorehta dhāre Gorio ze uuāre.
 Boghontez dher rike man file harte zurenen,
 Tacianus uuoto zu[h]rentezs unterdhrāto.
 25 Her quath Gorio uuāri hein [c]koukelāri:
 hiez her Gorien fāhen, hiezen huuszien,
 hiezen s[h]lahen harto ^{mit} unteruuass[h]o s[h]uereto.
 Dhaz uueiz ikh dhaz ist aleuuār, hüff herstuont sikh Gorio dhār,
 ūf erstuont sikh Gorio dhār, uuola prediio(t)her dhār:
 30 dhie hei[n]denen man kes[h]ante Gorio dhrāte fr[h]am.
 Beghontez der rikhe man filo harto zu[n]rnen.
 Dō hiez er Goriion binten hanen rad uuinten:
 ce uuāre s[h]laghen ikh ezs hiuu s[h]lie präken inen en cēniu.
 Daz uuēz ikh daz ist aleuuār, hüff herstuont sikh Gorio dār,
 35 hüff herstuont sikh Gorio dār uuola (predi^oter) dār:
 dhie heidenen man kes[h]ante Gorio file fr[h]am.
 Dō hiez er Gorion fāhen, hiezen harto fillen.
 Man gohiezen muillen, ze puluer al uerprennen.
 Man uarfhan in den prunnen: er uuas sāliger sun.
 40 Poloton si derubere steine mikhil menige.
 Begonton si nen umbekān, hiezen Gorien hüff herstān.
 Mikhil t^eta (tata) Ge(orio dā)r, sō her io tuoth uuār.
 Daz uuēz ikh [daz uuēz ikh] (daz ist a)leuuār, hüff herstuont sikh
 Gorio dār,
 (ūf erstuont) sikh Gorio dār, huus spran der uuache s[h]ā(r):
 45 dhie heidenen man kes[h]ante Gorio file fram.
 45a (Beghontez der rikhe man filo milti werden):
 (den filo guo)ten man hūf hiez er stanten,
 er hiezzen dare cimo k[h]āen, hiezen s[h]ār spre[c]ken.
 Dō segita (er) kobet h(e)iz, (g)hi beta mo geloubet is,
 quuat so uuā(rin) ferloreno, demo tiufele al petrogena:
 50 daz cunt uns selbo (h^ēro) scē Gorio.
 Dō gēt er ze dero kamero, ze dero chuninginno,

pegon(t)her s[h]ie lē[h]ren, begonta s[h]i mes hōren.
 Elossandria si uuas dogelika,
 s[h]i hīlta sār uuole tu(o)n, den hiro s[h]inc spent(on).
 55 Si spentota iro triso dār: daz hilf(i)t sa manec iā[h]r.
 Fon ēuuon uncin ēuuon s[h]jō (sī) se en gnādhon.
 Daz erdigita selbo hēro sce Gorio.
 Gorio huob dhia hant hūf, erbibinota Abollin(us).
 Gebōt er huper den hellehunt: dō fuer er sār en aberunt.

MS *thin* for *thing* 4 is left unchanged. Similarly I write *spran* not *sprang* 21, 44 for MS *psanr*. Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* § 128, Anm. 3. L. 12 should perhaps read: *Dō (r)teilton (s)i nen säre*, etc. MS *imbiz* 15 is unnecessarily changed to *imbiz* by Zarncke and Kögel. In *tohuben* 19 *h* may simply separate the diphthong or may have been intended to go with *b*: *toubhen*. If so, compare *lōb* 21, which is written *lob*, with *h* over *b*. On the writing *lōb* 21 instead of *lob* cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* § 46, Anm. 3. For *ma(n)ighe* 21 the MS has *magihe* with *c* over *e*. This should perhaps be read *manich*. For MS *shie praken inen encenuui* Zarncke gives *sie brāhhun in in zehaniu*, and Kögel *sie praken in en cēniu* 33. The pronoun, however, is not enclitic and should therefore have the full form *inen*, as in the MS. Compare *inen*, *inan* in lines 7, 8, 12, 17, 41 with the enclitic *-en*, *-an* in 26, 27, 37, 38, 39, 47. There can be no doubt that the words to be supplied in l. 35 are *predioter* from the corresponding l. 29. In *gohiez* 38 (MS *goihez*), *kobet* 48 the *o* simply represents an indistinct vowel sound as in *allo* 7. So also in *boqhontez* 23. Probably also in a number of other words with final *-o*, even where the *o* is original or for earlier *-u*. Compare *filo harto* 31 with *file harte* 23; *dhrāto* 24: *dhrāte* 30; *iro* 54, 55: *ire* 14, etc. The *-an* in *uarfhan* 39 is to be similarly explained. Another line must have stood after 45. For the *er* in the next line of the MS must refer to *der rīkhe man*, who, as we see by what follows, has undergone a sudden conversion. I therefore supply l. 45a and the beginning of 46. MS *khaen* is probably for *kāhen*, written after the analogy of *fāhen*, MS *fhaen* 26. This would make a better rime with *spre[c]-ken*. Compare *gāende* in Notker (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.* § 383, Anm. 5). The unexplained MS writing *ih betamo Geloubet ehz* 48 may be given (*g*)*hi beta mo geloubet is* 'and his prayer is granted.' This fits perfectly with the context. The only objection that could

be made against this interpretation is that *ghi* is not used in Alemannic. But since this poem was probably not Alem., that objection can fall. For *geloubet* 'granted, allowed' compare MHG *louben*, MLG *löven* 'glauben; erlauben,' OE *liefan* 'allow.' Instead of changing to *si* 49 I retain the MS *so*, which may be for the neuter *siu*. Neuter would also be *ferloreno*, *petrogena*. MS *Git* is probably for *gēt* or *geit* 51. Even our scribe would hardly write *shanc* for *scaz* 54. I emend to *s[h]inc* 'Schatz': OS, OE *sinc* 'treasure, jewels.' Perhaps, however, the word needs no emendation. It may be an ablaut-form, whence the demin. MLG *senkel* 'Schnalle, Nestel, Schnürriemen,' MHG *senkel* 'Senkel, Nestel.' These may have meant primarily 'Anhängsel, Heftel'; Skt. *sāgati* 'hängt, haftet,' *sānga-h* 'das Hängen, Haften,' Lith. *segù* 'hefte,' etc. (cf. author, *Color-Names* 62; Fick, III⁴, 428). Instead of *ist*, the statement, *sī*, the wish, is more probable in l. 55.

The dialect of the poem is set down by Braune as Alemannic. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that that was the dialect of the scribe. But the poem itself probably originated in the Franconian region, perhaps on the lower Rhine. The scribe wrote the poem down from memory, apparently repeating it to himself in a sing-song tone with strong rhythmical accent. This would account for the divisions he makes in the words, as: *uffher· stuont· sikk* for *úf er-stúont sih* 35; *man uar fhan in den purnnen* for *man wár-fen in den prúnnen* 39, etc. He apparently did not understand all of the expressions. E.g., he plainly intended to write *er uuas sāliger sun* 39, but the original was probably, as given by Kögel, *er uuas sālīg herasun*.

This misunderstanding might be due to the fact that the scribe had learned the poem on his travels and had been impressed by the swing of it, but had memorized part of it mechanically. At any rate he could hardly have learned it at home. For some of the words were not current in the Alemannic region. As explained above, (*g*)*hi beta mo geloubet (is)* has two words that were used in OS, and probably also in the adjoining HG region: OS *gi* 'and,' MLG *löven*, MHG *louben* 'erlauben.' In l. 54 *sinc* is likewise an OS word.

As in Otfried, so here we have alliteration as well as rime. So in the following:

- 1 Géorio fuor ze málo mit mkelemo hérido;
 2 fóne dero márko mit mfkilemo fólkho;
 5 ferlíezc er unéreltríkhe keuuán er hímilríkhe;
 8 uuólton si inen erkhéren, neuuólta ern es hóren;
 19 den túmben dheter sprékentén, den tóuben hórenten;
 24 Tácianus uuóto zúrntez uúnterdrhãto;
 25 er quat Gório uuári ein góukelári;
 27 hiezen sláhen hártó mit uúnteruuasso suéreto;
 37 dō hiez er Góron fáhen, hiezen hártó fillen;
 51 do gēt er ze dero kámero, ze dero chúningfnno;
 52 pegónter sie léren, begónta si mes hóren.

To these may perhaps be added lines 9, 16, 22, 48, 50, 54.

3. DE HEINRICO

The first line of this poem reads in the MS:

Nunc almus thero euuigero assis thiernun filius.

This is changed by Wackernagel to:

Nunc almus thero ewigun assis filius thiernun,

and by Braune, *Ahd. Lb.*⁷, 152:

Nunc almus assis filius thero ēuuigero thiernun.

I propose a reading which preserves the rime and changes the order of but one word:

Nunc thero ēuuigero almus assis thiernun filius.

The eighth line is incomplete:

dignum tibi fore thir selvemo ze sīne.

The missing word is evidently *wine*. Lines 7 and 8 would therefore read:

hic adest Heinrich, bringit her hera kuniglich
dignum tibi (wine) fore thir selvemo ze sīne.

4. MERIGARTO

In the various texts lines 7 and 8 read:

uuazzer gnuogiu, dei skef truogin.

Though this poem is loose in its use of rime, this is unnecessarily bad. For *uuazzer gnuogiu* 'rivers enough' we may substitute *uuazzer gnuogin* 'rivers in sufficiency,' in which *gnuogin* is the dative of *ginuogī* 'Genüge.'

FRANCIS A. WOOD

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

II

Before considering his poetry, I desire to emphasize that in tracing influences I shall regard as the most important, not verbal parallelisms in writing, but a kinship of spirit between the writers considered. Not only is this a correct method of procedure in general for such a study, but it is particularly so in the case of Hagedorn, who expressed himself on the subject of tracing influences in no uncertain terms:

Die schönste Übereinstimmung zwischen zwei Dichtern beruhet so wenig auf Worten, als die edelste Freundschaft. Geist und Herz sind in den besten Alten und Neuern die lebendigen, oder vielmehr die einzigen Quellen des glücklichen Ausdrucks gewesen. Er leidet zum öftern unter dem Joche einer blinden Folge und kümmerlichen Knechtschaft. Man sollte nachahmen, wie Boileau und Lafontaine nachgeahmt haben. Jener pflegte davon zu sagen: Cela ne s'appelle pas imiter; c'est jouter contre son original.¹

Hagedorn quotes Pope also, another of his models:

Es fällt mir aber hierbey ein, was dieser [Pope] in der Vorrede zu seinen Werken, anmerkt: es könnten diejenigen, welche sagen dürfen, dass unsere Gedanken nicht eigenthümlich unser sind, weil sie mit den Gedanken der Alten eine Aenlichkeit haben, eben so gut behaupten, dass auch unsere Gesichter uns nicht eigentlich zugehören, weil sie den Gesichtern unserer Väter gleich sehen.²

Since it is evident that the characteristics which Hagedorn attributes to Pope as an imitator are the very ones which he has striven to attain, it is important to quote him further:³

Aber der Character dieses vortrefflichen Poeten ist gewiss nicht in der gewöhnlichen Nachahmung zu suchen. Keiner ist reicher an eignen, neuen Gedanken, glücklicher im Ausdrucke, edler in Gesinnungen. So gar seine Nachahmungen aus dem Horaz⁴ sind meisterhafte, freie Originale. Es ist

¹ Introduction to the *Moralische Gedichte*, *Werke*, I, xviii.

² *Werke*, I, xxx ff.

³ *Ibid.*, I, xxxii.

⁴ The appeal which Pope made to Hagedorn was due not only to his interest in Deism, but quite as much to his admiration of Boileau, and of Horace, Hagedorn's favorite among all the writers both ancient and modern.

ein Muster der besten Nacheiferung, und bekräftigt uns eine Wahrheit, die ich für jetzt so verdeutschen möchte:

Wer nimmer sagen will, was man zuvorgesagt,
Der wagt, dies ist sein Loos, was niemand nach ihm wagt.¹

Thus, in order to do justice to Hagedorn it is necessary to keep constantly in mind his idea of making his imitations not merely verbal, but "meisterhafte, freye Originale," as he called Pope's. This is fundamental for our purpose, not only in the consideration of his *Moralische Gedichte*, but of his other works as well.

HAGEDORN'S LANGUAGE AND METER

The form which Hagedorn chose for the *Moralisches Gedicht*, an outgrowth of the moral essays, is an innovation in German literature; for the German moralists preceding him had employed prose as their medium. It is significant, not only that Hagedorn employed verse, but also that he used in three of his moral poems the iambic pentameter, the form in which the *Essay on Man* was written. In one of these poems, *Horaz* (1751), he uses the heroic couplet throughout, while in the other two, *Der Gelehrte* (1740) and *Der Weise* (1741), he employs it at the close of each stanza.² In his use of the heroic couplet, as far as I have been able to ascertain, he is an innovator, borrowing from English literature and incorporating into that of his own country a form which has since been popularly employed there to the present day.

Five of the *Moralische Gedichte* are written in iambic hexameter, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund* (1745),³ *Die Glückseligkeit* (1743), *Der Schwätzer, nach dem Horaz* (1744), *Schreiben an einen Freund* (1747), and *Die Freundschaft* (1748), the last four being in couplets. The iambic tetrameter is employed for the poem *Über Eigenschaften Gottes* (1744), and for the *Allgemeines Gebet nach Pope*

¹ "It is generally the fate of such people, who will never say what has been said before, to say what will never be said after them."—*Observations on Homer*.

² In passing, I may add that three of Hagedorn's *Epigrammatische Gedichte* are written in the heroic couplet, *An einen Mahler*, *An Murzuphlus*, and *Wohlthaten*, while a fourth, *Rath*, is in the iambic pentameter.

³ In assigning the date 1745 to the poem, *Wünsche, aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund, vom Jahre 1733*, I am following the chronological arrangement of Eschenburg (Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 75), who states that the poem first appeared in the sixth volume of the *Poesie der Niedersachsen* (1738) and was published in an enlarged and improved form in 1745. It would be interesting to know what reason Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) has for dating the poem 1743.

(1742) the eight-foot trochaic verse, which Brockes and Triller had helped to popularize.

An illustration of Hagedorn's desire to give a free rendering of his original may be noted in this translation from Pope. Strictly speaking, it is not a translation, but an adaptation of Pope's poem, for the use of the long verse made it necessary for him to introduce some material which is not in the original. To illustrate his freedom in this translation, it will suffice to quote a single stanza (I, 1):

Herr und Vater aller Wesen, aller Himmel, aller Welten,
 Aller Zeiten, aller Völker! Ewiger! Herr Zebaoth!
 Die Verehrung schwacher Menschen kann dein Wohlthun nicht vergelten,
 Gott, dem alle Götter weichen! Unaussprechlich grosser Gott!¹

The purity and beauty of the language which Hagedorn uses here should be praised, but for the epigrammatic quality of Pope's verse, which Hagedorn learned to imitate, we must turn to other poems, for instance to *Die Glückseligkeit*, his next poem.

Anyone who is familiar with Pope's didactic writing will not long doubt the source of such epigrams as the following:

"Es ist das wahre Glück an keinen Stand gebunden."—*Werke*, I, 19.

"Ein Kaiser könnte Sklav, ein Sklave Kaiser seyn."²—*Ibid.*, I, 19.

"Der Reichthum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
 Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde."—*Ibid.*, I, 29.

"Was ist die Weisheit denn, die wenigen gemein?
 Sie ist die Wissenschaft, in sich beglückt zu seyn.
 Was aber ist das Glück? Was alle Thoren meiden:
 Der Zustand wahrer Lust und dauerhafter Freuden."—*Ibid.*, I, 20 f.

"Der Arbeit süsser Lohn, die so viel Gutes schafft,
 Der Schlaf, des Todes Bild, und doch des Lebens Kraft."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Nur Tugend, die allein die Seelen mehrhaft macht,
 Wird durch Gefahr und Noth nie um den Sieg gebracht."—*Ibid.*, I, 33.

"Die Weisheit wählet oft, um diesen nachzugehen,
 Den niedern Aufenthalt, und nicht umwölkte Höhen."—*Ibid.*, I, 34.

¹ Father of all! in every age,
 In every clime ador'd,
 By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
 Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Hagedorn had the original printed with his translation of the poem.

² The element of antithesis marked here will be recalled as characteristic of Pope's style.

It will not be difficult, in view of Hagedorn's use of the above epigrams, to convince anyone conversant with German literature of Hagedorn's period that he introduced into it a new element. It is a far cry from the diffuse form of expression used by the leading German writers of the time to the concise language quoted above. One of the most striking examples of this diffuseness is Brockes' translation of the *Essay on Man*.¹ Yet he too was deeply interested in English literature and enthusiastic in his admiration of Pope. But Hagedorn was the first German writer who was able to reject the lumbering diffuseness of contemporary German literature and to imitate successfully Pope's compactness of style.² The service thus rendered to German poetry by Hagedorn in introducing this new manner of writing has not been given sufficient emphasis by students of German-English relations in the eighteenth century.

Later we find the epigrammatic quality very marked in *Die Freundschaft*. The following are typical:

"Die wahre Freundschaft ist die Tugend Meistertück."—*Werke*, I, 70.

"Die echte Zärtlichkeit, die immer Lust und Schmerz
Mit andern willig theilt, kömmt in kein schlechtes Herz,
Und Helden, welche mir vor tausend Siegern preisen,
Sind Helden, die sich auch, als Freunde, gross erweisen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 71.

"Das süsse Vorurtheil, das holder Umgang giebt,
Macht, dass man nie zu sehr geprüfte Freunde liebt.
Ein Freund wird voller Glimpf des Freundes Fehler tragen,
Nur Frost und Falschheit nicht, den Grund befugter Klagen."

—*Ibid.*, I, 76.

Hagedorn's development in conciseness of style is observed by comparing his *Shriftmässige Betrachtungen über einige Eigenschaften Gottes* with his rendering of Pope's *Universal Prayer*, written but two years earlier. In this poem he uses the iambic tetrameter with the compact end-stopped line prevailing. It imitates the style of the *Universal Prayer* far more closely than does Hagedorn's translation of that poem.

¹ His translation appeared in 1740.

² By comparing Hagedorn's poems written after his sojourn in England with those written before it becomes evident that this conciseness which he developed comes largely from English literature.

The fact that he did not employ the heroic couplet throughout a long moral poem¹ until 1751 when he composed his *Horaz*² indicates further that the influence of the verse form of Pope and his school upon that of our poet gradually increased.³

In this poem Hagedorn attains a uniformly concise style, which surpasses that in his earlier moral writing, and which most nearly approaches Pope's conciseness. This can be seen best in such a stanza as the following:

Horaz, mein Freund, mein Lehrer, mein Begleiter,
Wir gehn aufs Land. Die Tage sind schon heiter;
So wie anjetzt die Furcht der blinden Nacht
Ein heller Mond uns minder nächtlich macht,
Es herrscht das Licht, und alle Lüfte geben
Der frohen Welt das eigentliche Leben.
Die rechte Lust kömmt mit der Frühlingszeit.
Natur und Mensch sind voll Gefälligkeit.
Ihr unerkauften, unerfochtenen Freuden!
Sucht keine Pracht: die Pracht muss euch beneiden.
Des Daseyns Trost, das Recht vergnügt zu seyn,
Der Kenner Glück macht Lenz und Witz gemein.⁴

In the foregoing it will be noted that each of five successive verses contains a complete sentence. A comparison of this passage with almost any of equal length from Hagedorn's contemporary, Bodmer, makes clear to the reader that a new influence—one for epigrammatic conciseness—was at work in German literature.

When we recall how few modern Germans write in a clear, concise style, the achievement of Hagedorn seems all the greater, for he had to break with both his predecessors and his contemporaries. And whenever Germany does give Hagedorn his just reward, it should not forget the English writers whom he never tired of reading and imitating.

¹ See above, p. 180.

² The use of the heroic couplet at the close of each stanza in both *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, several years before *Horaz*, was a step in that direction.

³ Evidently Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 2) was not taking into consideration the form of Pope's verse when he stated that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn began to wane after the publication of *Glückseligkeit*.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 97.

HAGEDORN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HAPPINESS

In the very first lines of the poem, *Wünsche aus einem Schreiben an einen Freund*, is expressed the essence of Hagedorn's philosophic thought, the essence of Deism as well:

Um diese Pilgerschaft vergnüglich zu vollenden,
Die mich von der Geburt bis zur Verwesung bringt,
Darf Ehre, Schein und Wahn nie meine Seele blenden,
Die nicht mit Träumen spielt, und nach dem Wesen ringt.¹

This is the fundamental thought of this poem and of all Hagedorn's didactic writing. The important thing with him is the soul, which should not be blinded by any outside influences that might keep it from attaining its perfection. It is the same philosophy which Pope expressed in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, and it is the underlying thought in all his didactic poetry. In this connection take the following lines from the *Essay on Man*.²

What nothing earthly gives, or can destroy,
The soul's calm sunshine, and the heart-felt joy,
Is virtue's prize.

and again ll. 79-80:

Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,
Lie in three words, Health, Peace, and Competence.

The following lines from Hagedorn's *Wünsche*³ may have been suggested to him by the lines quoted above:

Es sey mein Ueberfluss, nicht vieles zu verlangen;
Mein Ruhm, mein liebster Ruhm, Vernunft und Billigkeit:
Soll ich ein Mehres noch, bald oder spät empfangen,
So steh ein Theil davon zu andrer Dienst bereit.

Pope made moderation the theme of the entire Third Epistle of his *Moral Essays*; it is significant that Hagedorn emphasized the same thought throughout his work.⁴

The second stanza of *Wünsche* is packed with ideas which were for him fundamental in all his writing (I, 38):

¹ *Werke*, I, 37.

² Ep. IV, ll. 167-69.

³ *Werke*, I, 37.

⁴ The following couplet from *Glückseligkeit* was cited as having the epigrammatic quality of Pope's. It will be noted that the theme also is his (I, 29):

Der Reichtum, der vertheilt so vielen Nützen würde,
Und aufgethürmtes Gold, sind eine todte Bürde.

Die Gegend reizt mich noch, wo bey den hellen Bächen
 Und in dem grünen Hain sich Ruh und Freyheit herzt.
 Dort konnt' ich mir selbst vertraulich mich besprechen,
 Wo keine Falschheit lacht, und keine Grobheit scherzt.
 Dort lebt ich unerreicht von Vorwitz und von Sorgen;
 Durch keinen Zwang gekrümmt, durch keinen Neid berückt,
 Der stillen Wahrheit treu, der Welt, nicht mir, verborgen,
 Und, Lust der Einsamkeit! genug durch dich beglückt.

The love of country, freedom, truth, meditation, and solitude are here contrasted with hatred of falsehood, rudeness, inquisitiveness, wrong, constraint, and envy. The ideas expressed in the stanza just quoted are the same as those which Thomson emphasizes all through the *Seasons*, which may well have been a source of *Wünsche*. To illustrate I quote *Autumn*, ll. 1235-49:

Oh! knew he but his happiness, of men
 The happiest he, who, far from public rage,
 Deep in the vale, with a choice few retired,
 Drinks the pure pleasures of the rural life.
 What though the dome be wanting, whose proud gate,
 Each morning vomits out the sneaking crowd
 Of flatterers false, and in their turn abused?
 Vile intercourse! What though the glittering robe
 Of every hue reflected light can give,
 Or floating loose, or stiff with massy gold,
 The pride and gaze of fools, oppress him not?
 What though, from utmost land and sea purveyed,
 For him each rarer tributary life
 Bleeds not, and his insatiate table heaps
 With luxury and death?

It is at least an interesting coincidence that Thomson, in the passage quoted, has included practically every idea found in Hagedorn's *Wünsche*: the same love of country life with its quiet, innocent pleasures, moderation, health, friendship, and leisure for meditation, and its freedom from treachery, flattery, falsehood, pride, inquisitiveness, and ostentation. Note also ll. 1273-77:

Here too dwells simple truth, plain innocence,
 Unsullied beauty, sound unbroken youth,
 Patient of labour, with a little pleased,
 Health ever-blooming, unambitious toil,
 Calm contemplation, and poetic ease.

It is somewhat surprising that up to the present no one seems to have considered Hagedorn in connection with Thomson, yet it is universally admitted that the influence of the latter upon Hagedorn's contemporaries was very great. It suffices to mention Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*,¹ Haller's *Die Alpen* (1732), Kleist's *Frühling* (1749), Wieland's *Frühling* (1752), and Zachariä's *Togesezeiten* (1755) in this connection. That Hagedorn knew Thomson is proved by letters from Bodmer and Ebert referring to him.² Then, since Hagedorn was a voluminous reader of English as well as of German books, there is every probability that he knew Thomson's works soon after they appeared. The promptness with which Hagedorn read English books is easily seen by comparing his notes upon them with the dates of publications in any bibliographical manual. And since both Bodmer and Ebert conceded to Hagedorn the leadership in matters of English, the fact that they had read Thomson makes it very probable that Hagedorn also had read him.³ Furthermore, since he had read many English authors who are known to us only by name, and who at the time were probably not read by many English people, it is extremely improbable that he would have failed to read an English author who was as well known in Germany as Thomson. Hagedorn's intimate acquaintance with Brockes during the years in which the latter was especially influenced by Thomson⁴ also points to Hagedorn's acquaintance with the English poet. Moreover, the similarity in interests would naturally have drawn Hagedorn to Thomson, since both turned to Horace for inspiration.

Though Hagedorn's idea of happiness is revealed in his *Wünsche*, it is expressed even more in detail in his poem, *Die Glückseligkeit*. Like the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, this poem emphasizes

¹ Although Brockes commenced this work as early as 1721, it was not completed until after he knew Thomson's *Seasons*, which was completed by 1730.

² Bodmer in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 172; Ebert, *ibid.*, V, 259, 262, 266.

³ Hagedorn's generosity in sending English books to his friends has been mentioned previously. Despite the fact that one finds very few instances of Bodmer's sending a book to Hagedorn, the following indicates an established custom of Hagedorn's of forwarding books to his friend: "Die trefflichen Bücher, womit Sie Ihrer Gewohnheit nach, Ihren Brief begleitet haben, erhielten mich den ganzen Sommer durch aufgeräumt, und werden mir auch den Winter angenehm machen" (Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 207, September 10, 1748).

⁴ Brockes' translation of *The Seasons* appeared in 1744.

that anyone can find true happiness and that it is attained through contentment, peace of mind, moderation, and a sufficient competence, not through riches, learning, fame, or power. Hagedorn insists that only the wise can be happy, while Pope urges that only the virtuous can be happy, but with the two poets these ideas are almost identical.

The chief idea which *Glückseligkeit* has in common with Pope's Third Epistle of the *Moral Essays* is that wealth brings happiness, not to the spendthrift or miser,¹ but only to the one who disperses it by giving or spending it wisely. And the Fourth Epistle of the *Moral Essays* furnished Hagedorn with the following ideas: Much wealth is wasted in laying out and adorning gardens, and in building and furnishing houses, by people who lack taste and culture. The only redeeming feature about this expense is that artists are benefited by the patronage which it gives them. Briefly, in imitating Pope, Hagedorn introduced the views of the former concerning human happiness into Germany and thus assisted in spreading there the philosophy of the English Deists.

In addition to the debt which in *Glückseligkeit* he owes to Pope's *Essay on Man* and the *Moral Essays*, which has already been pointed out by Frick,² its negative features show some significant parallelism with Prior's *Solomon on the Vanity of the World*. Both poets came to the conclusion that learning, pleasure, and power in themselves fail to bring true happiness.

That Hagedorn knew Prior is shown by his numerous translations of the latter's epigrams and tales, which he made soon after returning from England. Although Wukadinović³ devotes considerable attention to Hagedorn, he overlooks him entirely in his discussion of the influence which Prior's *Solomon* had in Germany. In his study Wukadinović adequately treats of translations and verbal imitations of Prior in Germany; but in the case of Prior's influence on Hagedorn it is inadequate, according to Hagedorn's own standard, to

¹ His representation of the miser and the spendthrift in contrast with each other and his expression concerning the futility of both has its parallel also in Parnell's *Hermit*. Further, in connection with Hagedorn's characterization of the miser, in a footnote to I, 23 ff., he cites *Henry VI*, III, II, 3:

And happy was it always for the son,
Whose father for his hoarding went to hell.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

deal merely with translations and verbal similarities, and that is all Wukadinović attempts to do. The evidence in support of Prior's influence upon Hagedorn in this poem is increased by the fact that Hagedorn added to it the fable of the *Country Mouse and City Mouse*, a collaboration of Prior and Charles Montagu.¹

Although *Glückseligkeit* has much in common with Prior's *Solomon*, in spirit it is much more closely related to Addison's philosophy as revealed in his essays. Thus the *Spectator*, No. 15, reads:

True happiness is of a retired nature, and an enemy to pomp and noise: . . . in short, it feels everything it wants within itself, and receives no addition from multitudes of witnesses and spectators. On the contrary, false happiness loves to be in a crowd, to draw the eyes of the world upon her. . . . She flourishes in courts, palaces, theatres and assemblies, and has no existence but when she is looked upon.

Again, in *Spectator*, No. 243, "On the Beauty and Loveliness of Virtue," Addison defines his attitude toward virtue as the same as that which has been attributed to Hagedorn:

I do not remember to have read any discourse written expressly upon the beauty and loveliness of virtue, without considering it as a duty, and as the means of making us happy both now and hereafter. I design, therefore, this speculation as an essay upon that subject, in which I shall consider virtue no further than as it is in itself of an amiable nature.

It is significant that Hagedorn proclaimed for the first time in Germany, just as Addison did in England, the beauty and loveliness of virtue without considering it as a duty.² The German moral weeklies almost invariably emphasized the idea of duty in connection with virtue. It is of great consequence to find that Hagedorn's attitude toward virtue is the same as that of Addison and his school; but it is of greater consequence to observe that in assuming this attitude Hagedorn was following an English literary fashion of the Queen Anne period, and that he was popularizing it in German literature. Thus Hagedorn stood as an innovator³ in presenting virtue in

¹ This was written in 1687 to ridicule Dryden's *Hind and Panther*. Prior is supposed to have written the greater part of it.

² The joy which Hagedorn found in virtue is paralleled also in Thomson's *Winter*, ll. 555-71.

³ In their Anacreontic poetry Gleim and his followers, Uz, Götz, and Jacobi, owed much to Hagedorn, just as Pyra and Lange were indebted to Haller. In learning to write this cheerful type of poetry Hagedorn was in turn indebted to Prior, as has been shown by Wukadinović, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27, 30. This will receive further discussion in a later section.

a cheerful aspect and in believing that every man could make of himself what he would.¹ In this he was a forerunner of Goethe.

Hagedorn was more interested in a faith which made life quiet and happy here than one which concerned itself mainly with the future. His *Ueber Eigenschaften Gottes* is in perfect keeping with the religion of the Deists. The first five pages being devoted to the greatness of God and the last two to his goodness, he might have selected for its text the second stanza of Pope's *Universal Prayer*:

Thou great first Cause, least understood:
Who all my sense confin'd
To know but this, that Thou art good,
And that myself am blind.

The fact that Pope was a Catholic and Hagedorn a Protestant was no barrier to their religious sympathy. Even in English literature the expressions of religion which come from Addison and Pope are not unlike, although formally they represent the two great opposing religious bodies. Deism had the power of uniting in a practical belief people of very different religious organizations, and it appealed strongly to Hagedorn. He thought that to gain the greatest happiness in this life the soul, unblinded by external things, must strive constantly for its highest development. Then we can look forward to death as a quiet sleep:

Darf ich mir noch ein Glück zum letzten Ziel erlesen;
So stell' im Scheiden sich bey mir kein Schrecken ein:
Und wie bisher mein Schlaf des Todes Bild gewesen;
So müß' auch einst mein Tod dem Schlummer ähnlich seyn!²

This philosophy coincides with that of Thomson as expressed in *Winter* (ll. 1039-46):

Virtue alone survives,
Immortal, never-failing friend of man,
His guide to happiness on high. And see!
'Tis come, the glorious morn, the second birth
Of heaven and earth. Awakening nature hears

¹ Cf. Hermann Schuster, *Friedrich von Hagedorn und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 19: "Hagedorn war bei uns der erste, der die Tugend zum Werthe der allgemeinen und höchsten Lebensschönheit erhob und sie als das heitere Glück darstellte, wodurch das Dasein verklärt und jeder der Künstler seines Lebens würde."

² *Wünsche, Werke*, I, 40.

The new-creating word, and starts to life
 In every heightened form, from pain and death
 For ever free.¹

LEARNING

Hagedorn's poems, *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, present two contrasting types, *Der Gelehrte*² being a satire on the scholar who busies himself in mere quibbling in the hope of attracting attention to himself, *Der Weise*, a eulogy on the man who seeks truth, making it the basis of life. The "Gelehrter" is characterized³ as a person who finds his greatest happiness in literary controversies, in which he hopes to win distinction. The "Weiser," on the other hand, is represented⁴ as a searcher for truth, who cares nothing for fame or the favor of princes.

According to Schmid, the "Gelehrter" was not an uncommon character in Germany at that time:⁵ "Ich glaube eben nicht, dass dieses geistreiche Gedicht durch besondere Umstände veranlasst worden, wie einige behaupten wollen. Zu jeder Zeile kann man Beispiele aus den heutigen Tagen hinzu schreiben."

One needs only recall the literary controversy between the Leipzig and Swiss poets to realize something of the literary atmosphere in Germany at that time.⁶ With this situation in mind, it is significant on turning again to *Der Weise* to note the impression which the English spirit had made upon Hagedorn:

Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!
 Ihr Ueberfluss bereichert den Verstand.
 Der Handlung Frucht, und was ihr Muth erstritten,
 Wird, unbereut, Verdiensten zugewandt;
 Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
 Die Reichsten sind des Wissenschaften Stützen.
 O Freyheit! dort, nur dort ist deine Wonne,
 Der Städte Schmuck, der Segen jeder Flur,
 Stark wie das Meer, erquickend wie die Sonne,
 Schön wie das Licht, und reich wie die Natur.⁷

¹ As a matter of interest I note that this coincides with Horace also.

² Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Biographie der Dichter* (Leipzig, 1770), II, 381, called this poem "die meisterhafte Ironie auf alle Pedantereyen unsrer Zunft."

³ *Werke*, I, 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 16.

⁵ Schmid, *op. cit.*, II, 381.

⁶ It should be mentioned here that Hagedorn kept himself entirely aloof from this strife, which he considered undignified and futile. See letter to Weichmann of September 4, 1741, *Werke*, V, 17-18.

⁷ *Werke*, I, 16.

It is significant, also, that at this time, when Hagedorn's contemporaries wished to be regarded as learned, he declined to be called a "Gelehrter."¹ In his introduction to the *Moralische Gedichte* he wrote:

Sie wissen, dass ich, von Jugend auf, am Lesen ein grosses Vergnügen gefunden habe, und dieses vermehrt sich bei mir mit den Jahren. Allein, ich habe nimmer ein Mnemon seyn, noch auf das Polyhistorat Ansprüche zu machen, mich nur gelehrter lesen wollen. Vielmehr habe ich es oft für eine nicht geringe Glückseligkeit gehalten, dass es niemals mein Beruf gewesen ist, noch seyn können, ein Gelehrter zu heissen, und wie vieles mangelt mir, um diesem Namen, und dessen Folgen gewachsen zu seyn? Dafür habe ich die beruhigende Erlaubniss, bei den Spaltungen und Fehden der Gelehrten nichts zu entscheiden. Meine müssigen Stunden geniessen der erwünschten Freyheit, mich in den Wissenschaften nur mit dem zu beschäftigen, was mir schön, angenehm und betrachtungswürdig ist.²

In this connection it should be mentioned that in the introduction to his *Moralische Gedichte* Hagedorn supports his views on this subject in several instances with quotations from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, his *Observations on Homer*, and his letters. One from which Hagedorn quotes³ is pertinent here: "I would cut off my own head, if it had nothing better than wit in it, and tear out my own heart, if it had no better dispositions than to love only myself, and laugh at my neighbors."⁴

Another of the English poets who realized the inadequacy of mere learning was Prior. This he emphasized especially in his *Solomon*⁵ where he states that the little knowledge gained only bewilders the mind. Prior conceives Solomon's logicians as typical of those in the eighteenth century:

Soon their crude notions with each other fought,
The adverse sect denied what this had taught;
Who contradicted what the last maintained.⁶

¹ In Henneberger's *Jahrbuch für deutsche Literatur*, I, 92, Karl Schmitt makes an interesting statement regarding this: "Er ist wohl der erste Poet seit Opitzens Auftreten, der einen klaren Begriff des Unterschieds zwischen einem durchbildeten Dichter und Gelehrten nicht gehalten worden, während seine Vorgänger nichts mehr beleidigt haben würde, als ihnen diese Eigenschaft abzusprechen."

² *Werke*, I, 34.

³ Pope, *Letters to Several Ladies*, No. 19.

⁴ It has already been mentioned (see above, p. 186) that one of the fundamental thoughts in the Fourth Epistle of the *Essay on Man* is that happiness cannot be gained through learning.

⁵ *Book I*, ll. 739-42, also 748-53.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, *Book I*, ll. 717-20.

The evidence certainly suggests that this section of Prior's poem was one of the sources of Hagedorn's *Der Gelehrte*.

Hagedorn's scorn for mere pedantry is further expressed in his poem *Wünsche*:¹

Was nützt Belesenheit, was die Gedächtnissbürde,
Die Schreib- und Ruhmbegier aus tausend Büchern rafft ?

In the preceding stanza of this poem Hagedorn expresses, as does Thomson in his *Winter* (ll. 431 f.), his love for his favorite authors. In these passages the two poets describe their pleasure in reading, each suggesting a solitary place where, free from disturbance, he may enjoy his books. Each emphasizes, first the ancient writers, and then the modern. In each case a group of the ancient writers is called up and characterized individually. In brief, the similarity of thoughts between the poets in these two selections is such as would readily be apparent even to the casual reader.

After discussing the writers whom they admire, both Hagedorn and Thomson state that learning in and of itself is of little value. According to them it is only when it moves the heart to the best deeds that it fulfils its highest purpose.

What gives passages like this fourth stanza² of Hagedorn's peculiar significance is that the battle between head and heart which had been carried on in literary circles in Germany throughout the seventeenth century was still being fought in the eighteenth century, and the Germans longed to see a reconciliation brought about. They were tired of mere quibbling. As a result Hagedorn's suggestion to unite sentiment with scholarship was most welcome. It is interesting for our purpose that here in another of his important innovations he gets his inspiration from the English.

In one of the opening stanzas of *Schreiben an einen Freund* Hagedorn again states that he does not wish to be learned, but longs for quiet contentment:

Sie [meine Seele] wünscht sich nicht gelehrt, und
schöpft aus nahen Gründen
Den glücklichen Geschmack, die Tugend schön zu finden;

Werke, I, 39.

² "Freund, sei mit mir bedacht, die Kenntniss zu vergrössern,
Die unsern Neigungen die beste Richtschnur giebt;
Sonst wirst du den Verstand, und nicht das Herz, verbessern,
Das oft den Witz verwirrt, und nur den Irrthum liebt."

Und will des Daseyns werth, in Trieben nicht gemein,
Still in Zufriedenheit, und ohne Knechtschaft seyn.¹

However, though he has no desire to be a scholar, he does not undervalue wisdom. To ignorance he attributes superstition, fear, and a whole train of evils:

Stolz, Aberglaube, Zorn, Bewundrung, Geiz und Neid
Sind alles, was sie sind, nur durch Unwissenheit:
Der Strom der Bosheit quillt aus Wahn und Unverstande;
Ein Thor sucht blindlings Ruhm in Labyrinth der Schande,
Beugt ungescheut das Recht, und zittert vor Kometen.²

The connection which Hagedorn here observes between ignorance and fear had been previously remarked by Pope in his *Essay on Man*:

Force first made Conquest, and that conquest, Law;
'Til Superstition taught the tyrant awe.³

In *Glückseligkeit*⁴ Hagedorn expresses his belief that devotion to home and country are compatible with love of scholarship:

Doch sind wir, nach dem Zweck des Schöpfers aller Wesen,
Nur, um gelehrt zu seyn, zum Daseyn auserlesen?
Hat nicht an deinem Fleiss und wirksamen Verstand
Dein eignes Haus ein Recht, noch mehr dein Vaterland?

The fact that "book learning" and practical efficiency can be combined in the same person was a favorite idea with Hagedorn. One of his best friends in Hamburg, the physician Carpsier, is called by Hagedorn the "Eheselden der Deutschen." Since Eheselden⁵ (1688-1752), the author of *Anatomy of the Human Body*, was a famous English surgeon and anatomist, the real honors go to the English again.

Hagedorn's sympathy with Swift in his utilitarian philosophy should be noted here, for Hagedorn in his expression of this philosophy acknowledged indebtedness to Swift:

Nutzt nich der grobe Pflug, die Egge mehr dem Staat,
Als ihm ein Fernglas nutzt, was dir entdecket hat,
Wie von Cassini Schnee, von Huygens weisser Erde
Im fernen Jupiter ein Land gefärbet werde?

¹ *Werke*, I, 41.

² *Ep.* III, ll. 245-46.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 44 ff.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 24.

⁵ Cf. Eschenburg in Hagedorn's *Werke*, IV, 921 ff.

Sah nicht ein Sokrates aufs menschliche Geschlecht,
 Und hatt' er etwa nicht bey seiner Strenge Recht,
 Die von der Wissenschaft der Sterne nichts behielte,
 Als was dem Feldbau half, und auf die Schifffahrt zielte?¹

Concerning the philosophy here expressed, Hagedorn wrote:

Ich erinnere mich hierbey einer Stelle Swift's in dem "Voyage to the Houyhnhms," im 8 ten Cap. S. 215, wo Gulliver seinem vernünftigen Houyhnhm von unsern unterschiedenen Lehrbegriffen in der Naturlehre Nachricht giebt: "In the like manner when I used to explain to him our several Systems of Natural Philosophy, he would laugh that a Creature pretending to Reason should value itself upon the Knowledge of other Peoples' Conjectures, and in things, where that Knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers. I have often since reflected what destruction such a doctrine would make in the Libraries of Europe, and how many paths to Fame would be then shut up in the learned world."²

Hagedorn's interest in utilitarian philosophy connects him not only with Swift, but also with practically all the English writers of that time.³ But the essential thing which I wish to stress here concerning Hagedorn's attitude toward utilitarianism and scholarship in general, as I did in connection with his attitude toward happiness and virtue, is, not that he agrees with individual English writers in the expression of his ideas, but that he is in close sympathy with a whole movement in England and that he is the forerunner of this movement in Germany.

LOVE OF FREEDOM

In the lines of *Der Weise* beginning, "Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten!"⁴ Hagedorn expresses, not only his enthusiastic admiration for the English people, but his devotion to the cause of freedom as well. Such expressions as this are not to be found among Hagedorn's predecessors in Germany, for the poets were not free from the spirit of servility which the people showed toward their princes.⁵ It is only necessary to turn to Weichmann's *Poesie*

¹ *Werke*, I, 24 ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 25, n. 10.

³ A good illustration of a work that would have made a strong appeal to Hagedorn and may quite possibly have been read by him is Defoe's *Essay on Projects* (1697).

⁴ *Werke*, I, 16.

⁵ Karl Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18. Jh.* (Leipzig, 1880), II, 14.

des *Niedersachsen* and note how large the proportion is of occasional poems in which the flattery of princes plays an important part, in order to realize how different was the spirit of Hagedorn's contemporaries. Among the contributors were included such men as Brockes and Richey, who were themselves interested in English literature, but it is significant that they left the leadership in this movement toward freedom to Hagedorn. That Hagedorn was not entirely free from this style of writing before going to England is shown in the poem, *Das frohlockende Russland* (1729). Not only is the spirit of servility, noticed in this poem, entirely lacking in everything which Hagedorn wrote after his stay in England, where he became "ein halber Engländer,"¹ but in addition, his hostility to flattery of princes is made very clear. The thought expressed in the bold lines beginning, "Wer heisst oft gross?"² is found repeatedly in his writings.

The only other name deserving mention in connection with this proclamation of liberty of thought in Germany is that of Haller; but although Haller in his poetry defends the cause of freedom, his influence for independence was not as great as Hagedorn's, because his style limited his popularity almost exclusively to scholars, while Hagedorn's poetry was readable among all classes.³

It is by no means impossible to believe that Hagedorn gained some confidence in expressing his love of freedom and hatred of servility from reading Thomson, since the English poet's writings are characterized throughout by the same spirit.

In a letter to Hagedorn from Bodmer⁴ and in one from Ebert,⁵ Thomson's poem *Liberty* (1734-36) is mentioned with enthusiastic praise. Despite the absence of reference to it in Hagedorn's pub-

¹ Cf. Letter from Hagedorn to Enderlein, in Hagedorn's *Werke*, V, 74, December 19, 1748.

² *Ibid.*, I, 16:

Wer heisst oft gross? Der schnell nach Ehren klettert,
Der Kühnheit hebt, die Höhe schwindlicht macht,
Doch wer ist gross? Der Fürsten nicht vergöttert,
Und edler denkt, als mancher Fürst gedacht.

³ The influence which Haller had upon his contemporaries and successors in promoting the cause of liberty of expression would make an interesting study by itself. Hermann Schuster (*op. cit.*) has made many interesting suggestions which are well worth working out.

⁴ *Werke*, V, 172, September 6, 1744.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 259, January 15, 1748.

lished letters, it is easy to believe, in view of his love of liberty, that he too read with enthusiasm this poem of Thomson's, but especially such expressions as are found in Part V, ll. 124-56, where there is the same insistence as in *Der Weise* upon an independence of spirit, which finds its highest enjoyment, not in wealth nor in the favor of the great, but in the inner peace and contentment which comes from a life of virtue, restraint, and companionship with the greatest minds. Thomson and Hagedorn agree that a soul will not yield to flattery and insinuating temptation while it is independent. Thus *Liberty* reads:

Unless corruption first deject the pride,
And guardian vigour of the free-born soul,
All crude attempts of violence are vain.¹

Hagedorn writes:

Die Schmeicheley legt ihre sanften Bande,
Ihr glattes Joch, nur eitlen Seelen an.
Unedler Ruhm und unverdiente Schande,
O waget euch an keinen Bidermann!²

The emphasis which Hagedorn places in the seventh stanza of his *Wünsche*³ upon maintaining innocence, cheerfulness, and health, and avoiding pride and delusion is not unlike that which Thomson⁴ gives to the same characteristics:

Nichts wähl' ich ausser dir, als, deiner zu geniessen,
Ein unverfälschtes Herz, ein immer heitres Haupt,
Wo aus zu grossem Glück nicht Stolz und Wahn entspriessen,
Noch ein zu grosses Leid mir Muth und Kräfte raubt.

In this connection it should be mentioned that Prior indicates the insinuating method which flattery uses in trying to destroy virtue.⁵

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[To be continued]

¹ Part II, 490-92.

² *Der Weise, Werke*, I, 18.

³ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁴ *Autumn*, ll. 1273-77; see above, p. 185.

⁵ Cf. *Solomon*, I, 692-98.

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A HISTORICAL INACCURACY IN CORNEILLE'S "NICOMÈDE"

The late Professor John E. Matzke of Leland Stanford Junior University has pointed out that Amyot's *Plutarch* is one of the sources of Corneille's *Mort de Pompée* and *Horace*.¹ A curious bit of additional evidence of Corneille's familiarity with Amyot is found in *Nicomède*. It involves the identity of the Roman consul Flaminius and the motives that the poet attributes to him for having brought about the death of Hannibal. An outline of the situation at the beginning of the play will bring the point out more clearly.

The Nicomède of the play is a noble prince whose native military genius has been trained by the great Hannibal, a refugee at the court of his father, Prusias, king of Bithynia. He is the idol of the Bithynian army and has led it to the conquest of a large part of Asia Minor. His affianced bride is Laodice, queen of Armenia, the ward of Prusias and residing at his court. Prusias, in the play, is represented as a weak-willed monarch entirely dominated by his second wife, Arsinoé, who is planning to place Attale, her own son and Nicomède's half-brother, upon the throne at the death of her husband. When the play opens she has already brought about through Flaminius the return of her own son from Rome and, in return for this favor, has caused the death of Hannibal. She has also made Prusias jealous of his elder son and has represented to Rome that the union of the crowns of Bithynia and Armenia would be a menace

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XV, 1900; *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, 1904.

to Roman sovereignty in Asia, so that Flaminius comes charged with the mission of preventing the marriage of Nicomède and Laodice. Arsinoé's dream is to outplay Rome as well as Nicomède, by eventually marrying Attale to Laodice and by assuring to him at the same time the throne of Bithynia. She gets Nicomède away from the army by causing to be disclosed to him a sham plot for his assassination. The news of the death of Hannibal and the fact that Attale has begun paying court to Laodice also hasten the young hero's return.

Nothing need be said here about the way in which Corneille has changed the characters of Prusias and Nicomède from those which history ascribes to them. The historical prototype of the former was Prusias II of Bithynia, surnamed "the Hunter." It was in all probability at his court that the death of Hannibal occurred in 183 B.C. His son Nicomedes II ascended the throne in 149 or 148 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Nicomedes III in 91 or 90 B.C. Nicomedes III was the last king of Bithynia. When he died in 76 or 74 B.C., he left his kingdom to the Roman republic. It is, of course, with Nicomedes III that we are to identify the Nicomède of our play.

In his "Avis au lecteur" and again in his "Examen" of the play Corneille states as follows the liberties which he has taken with history in his use of the episode of the mission of Flaminius:

J'ai approché de cette histoire [that of Nicomède and Laodice] celle de la mort d'Annibal, qui arriva un peu auparavant chez ce même roi, et dont le nom n'est pas un petit ornement à mon ouvrage. J'en ai fait Nicomède disciple pour lui prêter plus de valeur et plus de fierté contre les Romains; et, prenant l'occasion de l'ambassade où Flaminius fut envoyé par eux vers ce roi, leur allié, pour qu'on remît entre leurs mains ce vieil ennemi de leur grandeur, je l'ai chargé d'une commission secrète de traverser ce mariage, qui devait leur donner de la jalousie. J'ai fait que, pour gagner l'esprit de la reine, qui, suivant l'ordinaire des secondes femmes, avait tout pouvoir sur celui de son vieux mari, il lui ramène un de ses fils que mon auteur [Justin] m'apprend avoir été nourri à Rome. Cela fait deux effets; car, d'un côté, il obtient la perte d'Annibal par le moyen de cette mère ambitieuse, et, de l'autre, il oppose à Nicomède un rival appuyé de toute la faveur des Romains, jaloux de sa gloire et de sa grandeur naissante.

Now this episode as it appears in the play contains othér historical inaccuracies than those mentioned by Corneille in the passage just

quoted. A citation from the play will bring this out. In the fifth scene of the first act we have a conversation between Arsinoé and her "confidente" Cléone in which the latter expresses doubts as to the scrupulous honor of the Romans. She cites the death of Hannibal in support of her misgivings. Arsinoé answers:

Ne leur impute pas une telle injustice:
 Un Romain seul l'a faite, et par mon artifice.
 Rome l'eût laissé vivre, et sa légalité
 N'eût point forcé les lois de l'hospitalité.
 Savante à ses dépens de ce qu'il savait faire,
 Elle le souffrait mal auprès d'un adversaire;
 Mais quoique, par ce triste et prudent souvenir,
 De chez Antiochus elle l'ait fait bannir,
 Elle aurait vu couler sans crainte et sans envie
 Chez un prince allié les restes de sa vie.
 Le seul Flaminius, trop piqué de l'affront
 Que son père défait lui laisse sur le front;
 Car je crois que tu sais que quand l'aigle romaine
 Vit choir ses légions au bord du Trasimène,
 Flaminius, son père, en était général,
 Et qu'il y tomba mort de la main d'Annibal;
 Ce fils donc, qu'a pressé la soif de la vengeance,
 S'est aisément rendu de mon intelligence:
 L'espoir d'en voir l'objet entre ses mains remis
 A pratiqué par lui le retour de mon fils;
 Par lui j'ai jeté Rome en haute jalousie
 De ce que Nicomède a conquis dans l'Asie,
 Et de voir Laodice unir tous ses états,
 Par l'hymen de ce prince, à ceux de Prusias:
 Si bien que le sénat prenant un juste ombrage
 D'un empire si grand sous un si grand courage,
 Il s'en est fait nommer lui-même ambassadeur,
 Pour rompre cet hymen et borner sa grandeur.
 Et voilà le seul point où Rome s'intéresse.

Two points are of interest here. First, Arsinoé represents herself as the first cause of Hannibal's death, absolving Rome of all blame for it. This is probably false historically, as the evidence of the historians points to the implication of Rome in the affair. Livy (Book 39, chap. 51) and Justin (Book 32, chap. 4) both tell us that, when the Romans heard of Hannibal's aiding Prusias in his war

against Eumenes II, king of Pergama, they sent ambassadors to the Bithynian court to demand that Prusias cease hostilities against Eumenes and surrender Hannibal.

I cite on this point a portion of a note by Naudet printed by Marty-Laveaux and Hémon in their respective editions of Corneille:¹

Ne dirait on pas qu'il a pris un remords à Corneille de maltraiter ses chers Romains dans cette pièce, et qu'il veut les relever un peu? Arsinoé se donne trop d'importance et se fait plus criminelle qu'elle ne l'est. Elle pouvait se rendre l'instrument des desseins de Rome afin d'en profiter pour elle-même et pour son fils. Mais qu'elle ait pu influencer sur la politique du sénat et l'émouvoir à son gré, c'est une illusion à laquelle on ne se prêtera pas, pour peu qu'on connaisse l'antiquité.

Now, while Corneille may have been actuated by a desire to rehabilitate the Romans, it is also likely that we have here a reminiscence of Amyot. In the life of Flaminius as it appears in the fourth volume of the Clavier edition of Amyot's *Plutarch* (Paris, 1802) we find the statement that Rome was quite aware that Hannibal was living at the Bithynian court but that she took no notice of it, believing her old enemy to be no longer dangerous, but that Flaminius, having been sent to Bithynia on other business, saw Hannibal there, and not being able to bear the thought that he was still alive, brought about his death, in spite of the entreaties of Prusias. It is further stated that, at Rome, many blamed Flaminius for having, out of mere desire for fame, so driven to death a defenseless enemy. It is true that in his subsequent narrative Plutarch says that some praised Flaminius for what he had done and that certain historians even claim that he had been sent to the court of Prusias for that express purpose. While this second version of the story is probably nearer to the truth, it does not seem improbable that the first and more inaccurate version may have had some influence on Corneille.

The second and more interesting question raised by the passage I have cited from the play has to do with the identity of Flaminius. Corneille makes him the son of the consul who commanded the Roman forces at Lake Trasimenus (217 B.C.) and who met his death in that battle so disastrous to Roman arms.

¹ Marty-Laveaux, V, 225; Hémon, IV, 226.

There are two other references in the play to this supposed relationship. In vss. 581-84, Nicomède says, speaking of Flaminius:

Il doit savoir qu'un jour il me fera raison
D'avoir réduit mon maître au secours du poison,
Et n'oublier jamais qu'autrefois ce grand homme
Commença par son père à triompher de Rome.

Again, in vss. 619-30, the same character says:

Et si Flaminius en est le capitaine,
Nous pourrons lui trouver un lac de Trasimène.

All this is, of course, historically false. The Flaminius of our play is the Titus Quintus Flaminius who defeated Philip V of Macedonia at Cynocephalæ in 197 B.C. He was of a patrician family and was not related, as far as is known, to the Caius Flaminius of plebeian origin who was defeated and killed at Lake Trasimenus.

The mistake is noted by both Marty-Laveaux and Hémon, who cite a note by Palissot on the subject.¹ After pointing out the error, Palissot concludes:

Corneille, quoique très instruit, fut trompé, selon toute apparence, par la conformité des noms; et ce qui nous le persuade, c'est que, lorsqu'il se permet de donner volontairement quelque atteinte à la vérité de l'histoire, il ne le dissimule jamais dans l'examen de ses pièces, et qu'il y rend compte des motifs qui ont pu l'autoriser à se donner cette licence, mais on ne trouve rien ni dans la préface ni dans l'examen de Nicomède qui prouve que Corneille ait pu prendre ici quelque liberté.

We may grant that Corneille was probably ignorant of the liberty he was taking with history, but that he was confused by a mere conformity of names seems doubtful in view of the following.

There appears in several editions of Amyot's *Plutarch* a supplement consisting of the lives of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus translated by Charles de Lécluse (or Lescluse),² a noted savant who was

¹ Marty-Laveaux, V, 525; Hémon, IV, 226; cf. also Hémon, IV, 135.

² According to Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, Vol. XXX (Paris, Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1881) they were published in folio in Paris in 1565 along with Amyot's version of Plutarch's lives and were subsequently reprinted several times. It is stated in Vol. XXIII of Michaud's *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* that they were published in octavo in Paris by Vascosan in 1562 and that they serve to complete the sixth volume of the same edition of Plutarch. In the Clavier edition of Amyot (Paris, 1802) they appear at the end of Vol. IX.

born at Arras between 1524 and 1526 and who died at Leyden in 1609. These lives seem to have been originally written in Latin by the Florentine Donato Acciajuoli (1428-78) and to have been published along with some Latin translations made by him of certain lives of Plutarch.¹

In the life of Hannibal contained in this supplement there appears the following statement:

La venuë de Flaminius luy augmentoit d'avantage la suspicion, lequel il estimoit estre le plus grand ennemy qu'il eust en Rome, tant publiquement pour la haine commune de tous les Romains, que particulièrement pour la mémoire de son père Flaminius, lequel fut tué en la bataille qui se donna auprès du lac Trasimène.

The rest of the narrative of Hannibal's death agrees pretty closely with the same story as told by Plutarch in the life of Flaminius referred to above.

As to the fact that Corneille represents the consul Caius Flaminius as having been killed by Hannibal himself, Naudet is probably right in calling this a "gratuitous supposition of the poet's."² Polybius says that Flaminius was killed by a party of Celts. Livy relates that he was slain by a soldier named Ducarius. The version of Acciajuoli agrees in this respect with that of Livy. It does seem, however, that we have in the passage just cited the source of Corneille's error in making the Flaminius of his play the son of the consul slain at Lake Trasimenus. It might, of course, be claimed that our poet was merely seeking effect and needed no suggestion for the liberty he has here taken with history, but in view of his familiarity with Amyot, it is probable that the responsibility belongs to Acciajuoli and De Lécuse.

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¹ Cf. Hoefler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; Michaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; also Hoefler, Vol. XXX, and Michaud, Vol. XXIII, under Lécuse.

² Cf. Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*; Hémon, *op. cit.*

THE DERIVATION OF THE CANZONE

The first group of Italian poets consists of some thirty men, nearly all of whom were associated, directly or indirectly, with the court of Frederick II. Among them were the Emperor Frederick himself, his sons King Enzo and King Frederick of Antioch, his father-in-law, King John of Jerusalem, and the imperial chancellor, Piero delle Vigne. There are extant 124 poems attributed on satisfactory grounds to members of the group: 86 *canzoni*, 35 sonnets, and 3 *discordi*. Most of this verse was written in the years 1220-50.¹

Before the activity of the Frederician poets began, the courtly lyric had established itself in three regions beyond the Alps. It had made its first appearance in Provence somewhat before 1100; about 1150 it was adopted by the poets of Northern France; and about 1180 it was introduced into Germany. Troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers continued to flourish throughout the years when Frederick and his courtiers were writing in Italian.

Various opinions have been expressed with regard to the relations of the early Italian lyric to these three bodies of Transalpine verse. The traditional and still prevailing opinion is simply that the Provençal lyric considerably influenced the Italian. The possibility of the existence of North French or German influence is in general not recognized. This traditional opinion dates back at least to the early eighteenth century, when it was proclaimed by Crescimbeni.² The first systematic argument as to the general source of the early Italian lyric was made in 1846 by Wackernagel, who maintained, on

¹ E. F. Langley, *The Extant Repertory of the Early Sicilian Poets*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII (1913), 454. Professor Langley's excellent study lists with greater exactness than any other the members of the Frederician group and is the first to present a special catalogue of their poems. This catalogue is even more complete and more accurate in its references to MSS and editions than are the general catalogues of the lyrics of the whole *Dugento*; and it is more complete and more accurate than that of Lisio (G. Lisio, *Studio su la forma metrica della canzone italiana nel secolo XIII*, Imola, 1895) in its statements as to the rhyme-schemes and other metrical features of the several poems. I have taken from Langley's study all the statistics given in the present paper as to the work of the Frederician poets. Langley lists 85 *canzoni* and three fragments of *canzoni*. I count with the *canzoni* the first of these fragments, which consists of one complete stanza; and disregard the other two fragments, each only a line or two in length.

² G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Venice, 1731, I, 90-102.

metrical grounds, that the lyric of the minnesingers, and the lyric of the minnesingers alone, influenced the Italians.¹ Boehmer, in 1864, and Bartsch, in 1871, maintained, also on metrical grounds, that both troubadours and minnesingers influenced the Italians.² This opinion, like that of Wackernagel, seems to have dropped immediately and completely out of scholarly cognizance.³ Gaspary, in 1878, established beyond any possible doubt the fact that the early Italian poems show in content a very considerable Provençal influence.⁴ In the same year Caix expressed the opinion that the eight or ten early Italian poems which are relatively popular in tone were composed in imitation of Provençal or North French pastorals and romances; and a similar opinion was proposed, in 1889, by Jeanroy.⁵ Neither Caix nor Jeanroy advances arguments of any considerable weight, and their opinion has found little favor. The independence of the Italian poems in question was defended at length and successfully by Cesareo in 1894 and 1899.⁶ In 1895 Lisio argued that the indebtedness of the Italians to the troubadours in matters of metrical technique was slight.⁷ In 1907 Monaci maintained, chiefly on metrical grounds, that the general source of the early Italian lyric as a whole was the poetry of Northern France rather than that of Provence; and the same theory was championed by Bertoni in several publications in the years 1907-11.⁸ Monaci

¹ W. Wackernagel, *Allfranzösische Lieder und Leiche*, Basle, 1846, pp. 238-51. Wackernagel repeats his arguments, with some slight modifications, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Basle, 1851-53, pp. 250-51. For statement and criticism of his arguments, see below, pp. 158-60, 162, 163.

² E. Boehmer, *Ueber Dante's Schrift De vulgari eloquentia*, Halle, 1868, p. 28; K. Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, III (1871), 303. See below, pp. 158, 159, 163, 164.

³ The only reference to it that I have seen is that of H. Schuchardt, *Ritornell und Terzine*, Halle, 1874, p. 138: "der Verdacht, die Kanzenstrophe sei aus den Deutschen entlehnt, muss auf's Bestimmteste abgewiesen werden."

⁴ A. Gaspary, *Die sicilianische Dichterschule des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1878. Italian translation by S. Friedmann, *La scuola poetica siciliana del secolo XIII*, Leghorn, 1882. See below, pp. 159, 160.

⁵ N. Caix, *Ciullo d' Alcamo e gli imitatori delle romanze e pastorelle francesi e provenzali*, in *Nuova antologia*, XXX (1878), 477; A. Jeanroy, *les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1889, chap. iii. Caix held that the poems which served as models were of the type of the extant pastorals and romances; Jeanroy, that they were of an earlier type, of which no specimen survives.

⁶ G. A. Cesareo, *La poesia siciliana sotto gli Svevi*, Catania, 1894, pp. 321-412; *Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia*, Catania, 1899.

⁷ *Op. cit.* in note 1 on p. 135. See below, p. 164.

⁸ E. Monaci, *Elementi francesi nella più antica lirica italiana*, in *Scritti di storia di filologia e d' arte* (Nozze Fedele—De Fabritiis), Naples, 1907, p. 237. G. Bertoni, *L' imi-*

and Bertoni do not seem to have won any adherents to their opinion. Their arguments have been answered in detail in a careful review by Casella.¹ In 1911 Jeanroy, in the course of an unfavorable criticism of the theory of Bertoni and Monaci, remarked incidentally: "Il y a du reste dans leur technique [i.e., in that of the early Italian poets] certains traits (la distribution de la rime en groupes comprenant trois ou quatre vers par exemple), qui leur sont particuliers et qui feraient plutôt penser à une influence allemande."² The current histories of Italian literature express the traditional opinion that the early Italian lyric is derived largely from the Provençal; they do not refer to the possibility that the early Italians were acquainted with the North French lyric or with the minnesong.³

In the present study I shall first indicate the ways in which the poems of troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers may have come to the notice of Frederick II and his courtiers; then compare the Frederician *canzoni* with the corresponding Provençal, French, and German poems in several respects of metrical technique; then state briefly the relation of the Frederician poems to the three bodies of Transalpine verse in matters of content; and finally review in detail the arguments advanced in some of the earlier works just referred to. In a presently forthcoming study I shall discuss the invention of the sonnet.

I

The early Italian lyric was very considerably influenced in content, as Gaspari proved, by the Provençal.⁴ It is therefore evident that the Italians had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the poetry of the troubadours, and there is consequently no need

tazione francese nei poeti meridionali della scuola siciliana, in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIV (Mélanges Chabaneau; 1907), 819; *Il dolce stil nuovo*, in *Studi medievali*, II (1907), 352; *Le origini della lirica italiana*, in *Nuova antologia*, Ser. V, Vol. 147 (1910), 32; *Il duecento*, Milan (1911), pp. 23-36; *Una lettera amatoriale di Pier della Vigna*, in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, LVII (1911), 33. See below, pp. 160, 164-66.

¹ M. Casella, in *Bullettino della soc. dant. ital.*, N.S. XIX (1912), 275. See below, pp. 165, 166.

² *Bulletin italien*, XI (1911), 355.

³ F. Flamini, *Compendio di storia della lett. ital.*, Leghorn, chap. i, sec. 4; H. Hauvette, *Littérature italienne*, Paris, chap. iii, sec. I; V. Rossi, *Storia della lett. ital.*, Milan, Vol. I, chap. v, secs. 1-5. The same opinion is expressed without specific argument in many other works, e.g., P. Meyer, *de l'Influence des troubadours sur la poésie des peuples romans*, in *Romania*, V (1876), 257; V. Cian, *I contatti letterari italo-provensali e la prima rivoluzione poetica della lett. ital.*, in *Annuario della Regia università di Messina*, 1899-1900 (also separately, Messina, 1900).

⁴ See above, p. 136, and below, pp. 159, 160.

of studying here in detail the ways in which that acquaintance may have been obtained. Certain relevant facts as to Provençal-Italian relations in the first half of the thirteenth century may be noted, however, in passing. Provence was an imperial fief. Frederick II at many times received Provençal nobles at his court and despatched Italian courtiers on missions to Provence. Several Provençal troubadours visited Northern Italy, and a few Provençal *jongleurs*, at least, visited Tuscany. Two or three Provençal troubadours saw Frederick in 1212 during his passage through Northern Italy on his way to Germany. Five Provençal troubadours were present at the coronation of Frederick at Rome in 1220; and one, Guilhem Figueira, was with Frederick at Foggia in 1240. Several North Italians, nobles for the most part, composed lyrics in Provençal. One of these men, Percivalle Doria, was also a member of the Frederician group of Italian poets. Two or three other Italian authors of Provençal verse are known to have paid brief political visits to the court of Frederick II. Several troubadours addressed poems to Frederick II. The formation of manuscript anthologies of Provençal verse began, in Italy, before the middle of the century. Giacomino Pugliese, another member of the Frederician group of Italian poets, was in all probability one of the two Italians who requested Uc Faidit to write his Provençal grammar.¹

The Frederician poets had but little opportunity, it would seem, to hear or read the lyric of Northern France. Relations between Northern France and Southern Italy, close while the Normans reigned at Palermo, had virtually ceased by the end of the twelfth century.² During the years 1201-5 Walter of Brienne, with a few French knights in his following, fought in Southern Italy, on behalf of

¹ F. Torraca, *Federico II e la poesia provenzale*, in his *Studi su la lirica italiana del duecento*, Bologna, 1902, pp. 235-341; Bertoni, *Il duecento*, pp. 7-22, 60-62, 259-62, 266-67; V. de Bartholomaeis, *Osservazioni sulle poesie provenzali relative a Federico II*, and three monographs on particular poems concerned, in *Memorie della R. Accademia . . . di Bologna*, VI (1911-12), 69-123. De Bartholomaeis shows that the common idea that Frederick's court was a center of troubadour activity is quite without foundation. Elias Cairel, one of the troubadours who attended the coronation, went away disgusted at Frederick's failure to show him any favor. Guilhem Figueira is the only Provençal troubadour who is known to have been in direct personal relation with Frederick. I know the work of de Bartholomaeis only through the review by R. Lavaud in *Romania*, 42 (1913), 589.

² Bertoni notes that the latter half of the Norman rule in Sicily was contemporary with the work of the first *trouvères*; that Jendeus de Brie, author of the *Bataille Loquifer*, was in Sicily about 1170; and that Richard Cœur de Lion stopped in Sicily on his way eastward on the third crusade (1190): *L'imitazione francese*, pp. 820-21.

the Pope, against the German nobles who were established there.¹ The only obvious link between the *trouvères* and the Fredericians is the career of John of Brienne, who in his youth wrote French lyrics, three of which are extant, and in middle age or later composed a *discordo* in Italian, thus taking place as one of the Frederician poets. He was born about 1150. He came to Italy with his brother, the Walter just mentioned, in 1201, and remained with him there for two years. Later he went to Palestine, where he became king of Jerusalem. In 1222 he returned to Italy. He spent some time with Frederick II in 1223, and then traveled through France, England, Spain, and Germany. In 1225 he returned to Italy, and again spent some time with Frederick, who, at the end of the year, married King John's daughter. Soon after the wedding, however, the two men quarreled violently, and King John left the imperial court. From 1227 to 1231 he held high command in the service of the popes. In the latter year he left Italy for Constantinople.²

German-Italian relations in the first half of the thirteenth century were much closer and more constant than students of Italian literature seem to have realized.³ At the opening of the century German nobles, enfeoffed by Henry VI, were in control of large parts of Southern Italy and Sicily.⁴ Between 1200 and 1210 these Germans were in constant conflict with papal forces. The German leaders were, on the mainland, Diepold of Acerra, and, in Sicily, Markwald of Anweiler and William Kapparon. In 1209 Otho of Brunswick

¹ F. de Sassenay, *les Brienne de Lecce et d'Athènes*, Paris, 1869, pp. 52-90.

² T. L. Kington, *History of Frederick the Second*, Cambridge, 1862, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Brienne"; de Sassenay, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 78, 91-117; F. Lanzani, *Storia dei comuni italiani*, Milan (1882), p. 325. King John's four extant poems are edited by E. M(onaci): *Poesie del re Giovanni*, Rome, 1904.

³ Wackernagel pointed out certain phases of this relationship (see below, p. 162).

⁴ Henry first entered Italy in 1186, when he was married, at Milan, to Constance, daughter of William II of Sicily. He returned to Italy in 1190. He wintered in Lombardy, and in the following spring was crowned at Rome. He then marched southward, intending to assert his rights to the *Regno*, and conquered certain cities between Rome and Naples, but was forced to abandon the expedition and return to Germany. He left troops and lieutenants in Italy. In 1194 he crossed the Alps again. As he moved southward his army was enlarged by the enrolment of many North and Central Italians. He proceeded into the *Regno*, took some cities, and received the submission of others, while the nobles of Apulia and Calabria flocked to his camp to do him homage. Late in the year he crossed into Sicily, and soon his conquest was complete. He immediately set German lords over his Italian territories. He went back to Germany in 1195. In the following year he returned again to the *Regno*, reasserting his authority at the expense of certain cities that had proved rebellious. He died at Messina in 1197. Kington, I, 61-69; Lanzani, pp. 269-75.

entered Italy, held court at Bologna and in other North Italian cities, and was crowned at Rome as Otho IV. He appointed German lieutenants in Tuscany. In 1210 he entered the *Regno*, at the invitation of Diepold and others, took several cities, and wintered at Capua. In 1211 he nearly completed the conquest of Southern Italy. He was then forced to return to Germany by the news that the German princes, in revolt, had* elected Henry's son, Frederick of Sicily, as king.¹

In 1212 Frederick, then seventeen years of age, entered Germany, and there he remained for eight years. During this time he visited the chief cities of the land, entertained the leading German nobles and prelates, and was entertained by them. To his court came also many prominent Italians, especially toward the end of the decade. In 1220 Frederick returned to Italy and was crowned at Rome as Frederick II. He remained in Italy (except at the time of his crusade) until 1235. During these fifteen years many Germans visited his court or stayed there as officials or as guests. There is record in particular of the attendance of German princes and prelates in considerable numbers in 1220, at the Coronation; in 1223, when Frederick devoted some months primarily to German business; in 1225, at the first Conference of San Germano; in 1226, at the Diet of Cremona; in 1230, at the second Conference of San Germano; later in 1230, during Frederick's visit to the Pope at Anagni; in 1231 and 1232, at the Diet of Ravenna; and later in 1232, at Aquileia, whither Frederick had summoned his son Henry, King of Germany, and on Frederick's progress through the March of Treviso. In 1235 Frederick again visited Germany. The Diet of Mainz, held in that year, was attended by ambassadors and nobles from Italy. In 1236 Frederick returned to Lombardy and led a German-Italian army against the Lombard league. Late in the year he went again to Germany. In 1237 he crossed the Alps for the last time. The remaining years of his life were spent in combat with the rebels of Northern Italy and Tuscany. In these campaigns Germans and loyal Italians fought side by side under the imperial standard. Many German nobles and prelates attended the Diet of Verona, held in 1245. Frederick died in 1250.²

¹ Kington, I, 87-129; Lanzani, pp. 280-90.

² Kington, *op. cit.*, especially pages referred to in the index *s.v.* "Germany, its history"; Lanzani, pp. 290-300, 321-459.

German-Italian relations of other sorts are also to be noted. The Teutonic Order of St. Mary of Jerusalem, founded in 1191 or 1192, had by 1212 several houses in Sicily and Southern Italy. This order, consisting of knights from the noblest families in Germany, was highly favored by Frederick II throughout his reign.¹ Germans and Italians fought side by side at Damietta in 1218-19, and Germans and Italians both took part in the crusade of Frederick II in 1228-29.² Many German pilgrims visited Rome.³ Many German students attended the University of Bologna.⁴

Several of the minnesingers and some of the Frederician poets are known to have had some part in these various German-Italian relations. Henry VI was himself a minnesinger,⁵ Frederick II was himself a member of the Frederician poetic group. Four minnesingers came into Italy, at one time or another, with Henry VI.⁶ One of them, Blicker von Steinach, came again with Otho in 1209.⁷

Frederick II was well acquainted with the greatest of all the minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide. Not long after Frederick reached Germany in 1212 Walther addressed to him a *Spruch* (26.23) requesting a gift. Frederick sent a gift; and Walther, in another *Spruch* (26.33), expressed his thanks and his willingness to receive still further proof of Frederick's liberality. A third poem (27.7) seems to imply that this request won only a promise that was not fulfilled. In 1220 Walther addressed a *Spruch* (29.15) to the German princes in the interests of Frederick; and in the same year, in another poem (28.1), he besought a substantial gift from the Emperor and obtained a grant, either in property or income, so generous as to make him independent for the rest of his life. He expressed his hearty thanks in another poem (28.31). In 1224 or

¹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Teutonic Order"; Kington, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Teutonic Order"; *Histoire de l'ordre teutonique, par un chevalier de l'ordre*, Paris, Vol. I, 1784, pp. 77-81, 103-5.

² Kington, pages referred to in the index s.v. "Crusades, the Fifth."

³ Ulrich von Lichtenstein, *Frauendienst*, ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1888, Vol. I, p. 174. Cf. the poem of Gottfried von Neifen beginning "Von Walhen fuor ein pilgertn / mit sinem kötzelfne" (ed. M. Haupt, Leipzig, 1851, p. 45).

⁴ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 151-96.

⁵ Lachmann, Haupt, and F. Vogt, *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (referred to hereafter as *MF*), Leipzig, 1911, pp. 40-41, 316-19.

⁶ Friedrich von Hausen, in 1186 (*MF*, 322-23); Bernger von Horhelm, in 1190 or 1194 (*MF*, 369); Blicker von Steinach, in 1194 (*MF*, 374-75); Otto von Botenlauben (E. Stillebauer, *Geschichte des Minnesangs*, Weimar, 1898, p. 165).

⁷ *MF*, 374-75.

thereabouts, Walther, at the request of Frederick's regent in Germany, used his poetic influence effectively to develop enthusiasm for the new crusade (14. 38), and Frederick thereupon sent Walther a gift from Italy, which was duly acknowledged in verse (84. 30). Later Walther urged Frederick to delay the crusade no longer (10. 17); and the excommunication of Frederick and his final departure for the crusade in 1228 gave Walther occasion for several poems (13. 5, 124. 1, 10. 9, 10. 25, 10. 33, 76. 22).¹ At some time Walther himself visited Northern Italy.²

Other minnesingers were associated with the court of Frederick in Germany and in Italy, or in Germany alone. The Margrave of Hohenburg witnessed documents for Frederick in Germany in 1213 and 1217, and returned with him to Italy in 1220. He appears as witness for Frederick in seven Italian documents of that year, in three of 1221, and in three of 1223.³ Count Friedrich von Leiningen appears as a witness for Frederick in two German documents of 1214, in four of 1215, and in two of 1217. At some time he visited Apulia.⁴ Burckhart von Hohenfels witnessed a document for Frederick in Germany in 1216.⁵ Gottfried von Neifen witnessed documents for Frederick in Germany in 1236 and 1237.⁶

Ulrich von Lichtenstein spent two months in Rome in 1226, and in the following year rode from Venice through Friuli gowned as the Goddess Venus.⁷

Three poets, at least, of the Italian group visited Germany. Frederick himself, as has been said, was there from 1212 to 1220, that is, in the impressionable years between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. King John of Jerusalem traveled in Germany in 1224, receiving an elaborate welcome.⁸ Piero delle Vigne was in Germany with Frederick in 1235.⁹

¹W. Wilmanns, *Leben und Dichten Walthers von der Vogelweide*, Bonn, 1882, pp. 118-47. The numbers in parentheses refer to the poems according to their marginal numbering in Wilmanns's edition of Walther, Halle, 1883.

²See his poem No. 31. 13, ed. cit., and Wilmanns's note. The poem begins "Ich hân gemerket von der Seine unz an die Muore, / von dem Pfâde unz an die Traben erkenne ich al ir fuore."

³W. Busse, *Der markgraf von Hohenburg*, Lucka S.-A., 1904, pp. 7-13.

⁴F. Grimme, *Die rheinisch-schwâbischen Minnesinger*, Paderborn, 1897, pp. 231-35; K. Bartsch and W. Golther, *Deutsche Liederdichter des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts* (referred to hereafter as *LD*), Berlin, 1901, pp. lvi-lvii.

⁵Grimme, pp. 237-38.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 277-79.

⁷*Frauentienst*, ed. cit. (in note 3 on p. 141), stanzas 414-17, 470-604.

⁸Kington, I, 249.

⁹A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne*, Paris, 1865, pp. 20-24.

Passages of interest and importance for our subject occur in the *Österreichische Reimchronik* of Ottokar of Horneck,¹ which opens with an account of the character and career of Frederick's son and successor, Manfred. Over a hundred lines are devoted to the matter of Manfred's excessive fondness for his German minstrels. It is stated that he neglected for their sake the affairs of the realm and thus brought disgrace and reproach upon himself. Ottokar mentions by name seventeen of these Germans, giving each the title of *Meister*, and states that the lesser musicians, the *Videlaere*, were very much more numerous. Among the masters he mentions is the minnesinger Herrand von Wildonje.² In a later passage, in the account of the preparations for the battle of Benevento, Ottokar represents Manfred as asking counsel of an aged Italian courtier, Occursius, who ironically bids the king turn for counsel to his German minstrels. Occursius implies in the course of his speech that Manfred's chamberlain (Manfred Marletta) composed poems which the Germans played and sang; and that Manfred himself was also among the musicians.³ Manfred himself never left Italy: the existence of such a band of German minstrels at his court therefore implies *a fortiori* the existence of a similar band at the court of Manfred's father, Frederick II.

There is, I believe, no specific testimony as to the extent to which the Italian members of the court of Frederick were familiar

¹ Referred to by Wackernagel: see below, note 2 on p. 162. The chronicle is edited by J. Seemüller, as No. V in the Vernacular Series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hanover, 1890-93. The chronicle was begun about 1305 (*ibid.*, pp. lxxv-lxxxviii). Ottokar states that he was himself a pupil of one of the men whom he mentions as minstrels at the court of Manfred (lines 323-27).

² Lines 270-376.

³ Lines 676-737. The most interesting portions of the speech are these:

her, wâ ist meister Wildunc?
nû solt wir haben einen künec
siner guoten doene.
des wurde sô gar hoene
der Karlot und die sîn,
daz si ir vehten lîzen sîn
und hüeben lîht ein tanzen an. . . .

oder waer hie meister Ramwolt,
dem sit ir für uns alle holt,
daz er disen stolzen leten
videlte den niuwen relen,
den der grâve kemerlinc gemacht hât,
sô wurde unser guoter rât. . . .

Ir hiet ûf iwer seltensnuor
mit drivaltigem swanz
gemachet ein sô stüezen tanz,
mit iwer selbes liden,
ez waer kunic Daviden
der kunst genuoc gewesen.

with the German language. It seems highly probable that Frederick himself must have gained a good knowledge of it during his early eight-year residence in Germany; and it seems probable, in view of the presence of so many Germans at Frederick's court in Italy, that the Italians most constantly attached to the court had some knowledge of German. To the Italian court poets as a group, however, German was probably less familiar than Provençal. They may have made acquaintance with German poems through hearing them sung, or through seeing them in manuscript, or in both ways. Very possibly, too, they heard among the Germans at the court some talk as to the devices and fashions of the minnesong.

II

The Provençal, French, and German poems to be examined as having possibly been heard or seen by the Fredericians are those written by poets who are known to have done their work wholly or in large part before 1240.¹ Upon this basis I have taken into consideration 1453 Provençal,² 321 French,³ and 723 German poems.⁴

¹ I select this date as being satisfactory and convenient for comparative purposes. It is quite possible that the work of any poet well known before 1240 may have influenced the Fredericians; it is hardly probable that they should have been influenced by any poet whose work was not well known by 1240. The third period in the literary history of France, as defined by Gröber, extends from 1150 to 1240: G. Gröber, *Französische Litteratur*, in *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 435.

² Provençal poets to the number of 223 are mentioned by Chabaneau (C. Chabaneau, *Biographies des troubadours*, in C. Devic and J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, Vol. X, Toulouse, 1885, pp. 324 ff.) in such a way as to indicate that all or a considerable amount of their extant work was done before 1240. They are those numbered as follows in Bartsch's list (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der prov. Lit.*, Elberfeld, 1872, pp. 97 ff.): 1-11 (except 5, 7), 13.1 (i.e., the author of the poem numbered 1 under the name numbered 13), 15-17, 20, 23-32 (except 26, 31), 37, 43-47, 51, 52.3 and 4, 54-60 (except 57), 65, 67, 70, 75.4 and 7, 79-84 (except 82), 91-99 (except 93, 96), 105-6, 111-12, 115-20 (except 118), 123-26, 127.1, 128-29, 131.1, 132-34, 136, 142, 147.2, 148.1, 149, 152, 155-56, 158, 162-63, 165.4, 167, 171, 173-74, 177, 181, 183-87, 190, 191.2, 192-94, 199, 202, 204-5, 208-10, 213-14, 217-18, 223, 227, 231-45 (except 232, 237, 244), 249-53 (except 252), 261-67 (except 263, 266), 273, 275-76, 280-81, 285-88, 293, 295, 298, 303.1, 305-7, 310, 315-16, 320-35 (except 321, 325, 328, 331, 333), 338, 340, 343-45, 348, 352-56, 361-67 (except 363, 365), 370-78 (except 371, 376), 384-92 (except 385, 387, 391), 395, 397-98, 404, 406, 409, 411, 414, 416-17, 421-22, 430, 432, 437-44 (except 439, 441), 447-60 (except 448, 452, 456, 459).

F. W. Maus, in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Strophenformen der provenzalischen Lyrik* (an appendix to his *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau in seinem Verhältnis zu den anderen Trobadors* [= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, VI], 1884) gives the metrical structure (rhyme-schemes and line-lengths) of 1450 poems by the 223 poets in question. My statistics as to these poems are based entirely on the statements of Maus. Nine poems are listed by Maus as inaccessible to him (p. 96). I have seen three of these. The 1st rhymes ABBA¹AC¹D¹D¹CE¹E¹F¹G¹G¹F¹H¹ (Il *canzoniere provenzale* H, ed. L. Gauchat and H. Kehrl, in *Studj di filologia romanza*, V [1891], 341 ff., No. 265); the

There is one respect of metrical technique in which the *canzone* agrees with the Provençal lyric and differs from both the French lyric and the minnesong.

last, a fragment, is in decasyllabic monorhyme (Sordello, ed. C. de Lollis, Halle, 1896, No. IX).

In addition to the 1450 poems which he analyzes, Maus (No. 817) lists 16 others, by poets among those in question, as of the *descort* type. These poems do not lie within the scope of the present examination.

The French poets taken into consideration are 26 in number. Gröber (*op. cit.*, pp. 667-85) enumerates 52 poets whose work fell in the period in question. Of these, I have considered all whose poems are accessible in special editions, in J. Brakelmann, *les Plus Anciens Chansonniers français*, Paris, 1870-71, and in the continuation of the same work published by E. Stengel (= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XCIV), 1896, or in A. Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècle*, Brussels, 1876, and *Trouvères belges, nouvelle série*, Louvain, 1879. The poets whose works I have studied in separate editions are the following: Blondel de Neele, ed. L. Wiese, Dresden, 1904; Chastelain de Coucy, ed. F. Fath, Heidelberg, 1883; Colin Muset, ed. J. Bédier, Paris, 1893; Conon de Bethune, ed. A. Wallensköld, Helsingfors, 1891; Gace Brulé, ed. G. Huet, Paris, 1902; Gautier de Dargies, ed. G. Huet, Paris, 1912; Gautier d'Espinaus, ed. U. Lindelöf and A. Wallensköld, in *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, III (1902), 205 ff.; Guiot de Provins, ed. A. Baudler, Halle, 1902; Hugo de Berzé, ed. K. Engelcke, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXV (1886), 147 ff.; Jehan de Brienne, ed. cit. in note 2 on p. 139; Richard de Fournival, ed. P. Zarifopoul, Halle, 1904; Richard de Semilli, ed. G. Steffens, in *Beiträge zur rom. und engl. Phil.* (Festgabe für W. Foerster), Halle, 1902, pp. 331 ff.; Thibaut de Navarre, ed. Levesque de La Ravallière, Paris, 1742, and P. Tarbé, Reims, 1851. The poets studied in Brakelmann are all those edited by him and not included in the preceding list. Those studied in Scherer are Gontier de Soignies and Jocelin de Bruges.

There is no published metrical catalogue for French corresponding to that of Maus for Provençal. In my study of the French poems I have used the statistics for Thibaut and the Chastelain de Coucy given by F. Davids in his *Über Form und Sprache der Gedichte Thibauts IV von Champagne*, Brunswick, 1885 (I have however collected my own statistics for the poems printed by Tarbé but not by Levesque de La Ravallière, and consequently not treated by Davids [Nos. 4, 5, 22, 29, 31, 32, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 56-58, 65, 68]), and *Strophen- und Versbau der Lieder des Kastellans von Coucy*, Hamburg, 1887, and those given by the editors in several of the special editions listed in the preceding paragraph. In the other cases I have collected my own statistics. I disregard all poems distinguished by editors as not authentic; also the 3d poem attributed by Brakelmann to Crestien de Troyes (see C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Lit.*, Halle, 1913, pp. 308-9).

Besides the 321 poems to be examined, there are 7 *descorts* by poets among those in question: Colin Muset, III, VIII, X; Gautier de Dargies, XXIV-XXVI; Thibaut de Navarre, 64.

The 26 poets whom I have not taken into consideration (their works are accessible only in diplomatic prints or photographic reproductions of manuscripts) are apparently men of no great importance. Their extant poems number in all about 150 (an estimate based on attributions recorded in G. Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris, 1884).

4 The minnesingers whose work was done wholly or largely before 1240 are 45 in number. They are the 20 poets whose poems are edited in *MF*, and the following: Burckhart von Hohenfels, ed. F. Pfaff, in *Der Minnesang im Lande Baden* (= *Neujahrsblätter der bad. hist. Kommission*, N.F. 11), Heidelberg, 1908, pp. 36 ff.; Christian von Hamle, ed. F. H. von der Hagen, in *Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1838 (referred to hereafter as *MSH*), No. 31; Friedrich von Leiningen, *LD*, No. 31; Gottfried von Neifen, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 141; Gottfried von Strassburg, *MSH*, No. 124 (addenda in Vol. III, p. 454); der Hardogger, *MSH*, No. 95; Heinrich von Anhalt, *LD*, No. 27; Heinrich von Lüenz, *MSH*, No. 40; Hiltboit von Swangau, ed. E. Juethé (= *Germ. Abhandlungen*, 44), Breslau, 1913; Leuthold von Seven, *MSH*, No. 52 (addenda in Vol. III, pp. 327, 451, 468c);

1. *Coblas capfinidas*.—In 17 of the 85 *canzoni*¹ one or more words of the last line of each stanza are repeated in the first line of the following stanzas, and in several other *canzoni* the same practice is followed in some, but not in all, of the stanzas.² Such repetition is frequent in Provençal. The poems in which it obtains are said to consist of *coblas capfinidas*.³ It occurs in but four of the 321 North French poems.⁴ It does not occur consistently in any poem of the minnesingers.⁵

the Margrave of Hohenburg, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 142; der Marner, ed. P. Strauch (= *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germ. Völker*, XIV), Strassburg, 1876; Neidhart von Reuenthal, ed. F. Keinz, Leipzig, 1889; Otto von Botenlauben, *MSH*, No. 14; Reinmar der Fiedler, *MSH*, No. 105 (addenda in Vol. III, p. 330); Reinmar von Zweter, ed. G. Roethe, Leipzig, 1887; Rubin, *MSH*, No. 54; der tugendhafte Schreiber, *MSH*, No. 102; der Taler, ed. Bartsch, in *Die schweizer Minnesänger*, Frauenfeld, 1886 (referred to hereafter as *SM*), No. IV; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, ed. cit. in note 3 on p. 141, Ulrich von Singenberg, *SM*, No. II; Walther von der Vogelweide, ed. cit. in note 1 on p. 142; Wernher von Teufen, *SM*, No. III; Bruder Wernher, *MSH*, No. 117 (addenda in Vol. III, pp. 11 ff.); Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. A. Leltzmann, Halle, Vol. V, 1906. Questions as to the inclusion or exclusion of poets who wrote presumably both before and after 1240 have been decided according to the evidence available in Stilgebauer, *op. cit.* in note 6 on p. 141; Grimme, *op. cit.* in note 4 on p. 142; and the special editions mentioned above in this note.

There is no published metrical catalogue for German corresponding to that of Maus for Provençal. In my study of the German poems I have used the statistics for Neidhart given by A. Bielschowsky, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtkunst im 13. Jahrhundert*, Vol. I (= *Acta germanica*, II, 2), Berlin, 1890 (I refer to Neidhart's poems according to their numbers in the list of *Winterlieder* given by Bielschowsky, pp. 281–82, except when other indication is given), and the statistics for Hiltbolt and the Margrave of Hohenburg given in the editions referred to above. In the other cases I have collected my own statistics. Of the 723 poems 669 are *Lieder*, and 54 are *Sprüche* (possibly a few poems which I have classed as *Lieder* should rather be classed as *Sprüche*). This distinction, however, is not important for the comparison in hand, as the stanzaic structure of the *Spruch* is of the same sort as that of the *Lied* (cf. note † on p. 149). I count a series of one- or two-stanza *Lieder* in the same *Ton* (such series occur only among the earlier poets edited in *MF*), or a series of *Sprüche* in the same *Ton*, as a single poem: 723 is then really the number of the *Töne* concerned. I have disregarded all poems distinguished by editors as not authentic.

Besides the 723 poems to be examined, there are 7 *Leiche* by poets among those in question: *MF*, 69.1, 96.1; *MSH*, 14, XI; *SM*, IV, 1; Reinmar von Zweter, I; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXV; Walther, 3.1.

¹ For the purposes of this comparison and the next, the one fragmentary *canzone* (see note 1 on p. 135) is disregarded.

² Langley, p. 516.

³ Bartsch, *Die Reimkunst der Troubadours*, in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Lit.*, I (1859), 178–82.

⁴ Gace Brulé, VII; Richard de Fournival, I; Thibaut de Blazon, VIII; Thibaut de Navarre, 7. It occurs also in two stanzas in Gautier de Dargies, IX, but it does not seem here to be used as a metrical device.

⁵ Unless one considers as a case in point Walther, 124.1, in which each of the three stanzas begins and ends with the word *ouwe*. There are two poems in which repetition occurs in two stanzas but not in the remaining stanzas: Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXIV; *SM*, II, 7. There are a dozen or more poems in which it occurs in one stanza only: *MF*, 101.15, 124.32; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, IX, XX, XXIII; *SM*, II, 5, 16, 21, 22, 25; Walther, 40.19, 43.9, 63.32, 113.31.

There are two respects in which the *canzone* agrees with both the Provençal lyric and the French lyric and differs from the minnesong.

2. *Coblas unissonans*.¹—Eleven of the 85 *canzoni* repeat the rhymes of the first stanza in all or some of the other stanzas. In eight cases the repetition is complete, the same set of rhymes being used in all the stanzas. In two cases the repetition is partial but regular, one set of rhymes being used in stanzas I and II, and another set in stanzas III and IV. In the other case the repetition is partial and irregular.² Such repetition, complete or partial but regular, is usual in the Provençal lyric. The poems in which it obtains are said to consist of *coblas unissonans*.³ The same repetition is usual also with the *trouvères*. It appears in 276 of the 321 poems I have examined. In 93 cases the repetition is complete; in 183 cases it is partial but regular. Among the minnesingers, however, such repetition is almost unknown. There is no case of complete repetition, and there are but three cases of partial repetition.⁴

3. *Line*.—The Italian line, like the Provençal and like the French, is measured by the number of syllables it contains.⁵ The German line is measured by the number of accents it contains.⁶

There is no respect in which the *canzone* agrees with the French lyric while differing from both the Provençal lyric and the minnesong.

There is one respect in which the *canzone* agrees with both the French lyric and the minnesong, while differing from the Provençal lyric.

¹ In this respect and in several of the respects mentioned below, the early Italian lyric was compared (without statistics) with one or more of the three bodies of Transalpine verse by one or more of the critics referred to on pp. 135–37. For their arguments, see below, pp. 162–66.

² Langley, pp. 515–16. I class C 7 (in this and subsequent notes the Italian poems are referred to according to their numbers in Langley's list, pp. 474–96; C stands for *canzone* or *canzoni*) as complete in repetition. As to the number of *canzoni* here compared, see note 1 on p. 146.

³ Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 172–75.

⁴ Gottfried von Neifen, 11. 6, in which stanza I rhymes with III, and II with IV; and 27. 15, in which I rhymes with II, and III with IV; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XXXIII, in which II rhymes with IV, the other stanzas being monorhymed, each with a different rhyme.

⁵ E. Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre*, in Grüber's *Grundriss*, II, 1, 8. The relation of the Italian line to the Provençal is treated by F. Ventresca in a Master's thesis, *The Origin of the Type 6–10 in the Italian endecasillabo*, 1910, deposited in the Library of the University of Chicago.

⁶ R. von Muth, *Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik*, Vienna, 1882, pp. 11 ff.

4. **Tripartition.**—In all of the 86 *canzoni* the stanza is, in the technical sense, tripartite—that is, it consists of two like parts followed by a third unlike part.¹ The two like parts are exactly alike in number of lines and in the syllabic length of the corresponding lines; and they are exactly or largely alike in rhyme-scheme.² They are each at least two lines in length. The third part differs from the first and from the second in rhyme-scheme and in length, or in rhyme-scheme alone.³ It is at least three lines in length.

The structure of the tripartite stanza is discussed, for the first time, by Dante, in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, written about 1300.⁴ Dante states the main structural conditions of tripartition, calling the two like parts *pedes* and the third unlike part *sirma* or *cauda*. He notes certain varieties possible in the arrangement of the stanza, stating the terms appropriate in such cases; and discusses some of the possibilities and limitations as to the variation of the rhyme-scheme in the second *pes*.

For the exact comparison of the *canzone* with the corresponding Transalpine poems in the matter of tripartition, one must have an exact definition of the tripartite stanza. The main essentials of tripartition are clear enough, but there are many poems which vary in detail from the normal tripartite scheme just enough to make it nearly or quite impossible to say by mere inspection whether or not they were tripartite in the intent of the author. I have therefore formulated the following definition, basing it on the practice of the early Italians, on the statements of Dante, and on the practice of Transalpine poets whose stanzas are for the most part clearly tripartite: a tripartite stanza is one which is divisible into three parts in such a way as to satisfy these five conditions: (1) each of the

¹ Langley, pp. 503–10. I regard C 43 as tripartite (Langley, p. 504, a). I regard as special cases of tripartition the two instances (C 47, 63) in which the stanza consists of three like parts followed by an unlike part (see below, p. 155), and the several instances in which the final part is itself divisible into two like sections (Langley, pp. 508–9; see below, p. 154).

² They are exactly alike in rhyme-scheme in 78 *canzoni*. In 4 *canzoni* the rhymes are the same but are arranged in a different order (C 6: ABBA BBAB; 9: ABC CAB; 16: ABBA BAAB; 50: AB BA). In the other 4 *canzoni* one rhyme of the first part is replaced by a new rhyme in the second (C 27: ABC CDA; 34: AB CB; 39: AAB CCB; 56: ABAC DBDC).

³ It differs in number of lines in 78 *canzoni*; in the syllabic length of the corresponding lines in 5 of the other *canzoni* (C 28, 35, 37, 71, 83); in rhyme-scheme alone in the remaining 3 (C 46, 58, 60).

⁴ Ed. P. Rajna, Florence, 1897, Book II, chaps. x–xiii.

three parts is at least two lines in length; (2) if the first part is monorhymed, not all its lines are of the same length; (3) the first and second parts are alike in number of lines and in length of the corresponding lines; (4) the second part is *exactly* like the first in rhyme-scheme—that is, it has the same rhymes in the same order—or *largely* like the first in rhyme-scheme—that is, it has (a) the same rhymes in the reverse order, or (b) the same rhymes with the second in the place or places of the first and the first in the place or places of the second, or (c) one or two new rhymes, so introduced that (i) the order of rhymes is the same (that is, each new rhyme takes the same relative position as the one it replaces), (ii) the final rhyme of the two parts is the same, and (iii) any line in the first part that does not rhyme with another line in the first part must rhyme with the corresponding line in the second part;¹ (5) the third part differs from the first and from the second in length (that is, in number of lines or in the length of the corresponding lines) or in rhyme-scheme or in both respects.²

Upon the basis of this definition 3/5 of the Provençal, 5/6 of the French, and 5/6 of the German poems are tripartite. The exact figures are given in Table I.

TABLE I

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German†
Tripartite	86	877	273	615
Non-tripartite	0	576	48	108

* In the 877 are included 21 poems for which Maus does not give line-lengths. Some of these, possibly, are not tripartite. I include as tripartite one poem excluded by the definition: see note 2 on this page.

† I include as tripartite a few poems excluded by the definition: see note 2 on this page. Of the 669 *Lieder*, 573 are tripartite, 96 non-tripartite. Of the non-tripartite *Lieder* 29 are by the very earliest minnesingers (Nos. II-X in *MF*), and 28 are *Reifen* by Neidhart. Of the 54 *Sprüche*, 42 are tripartite, 12 non-tripartite (*MF*, 20.1, 25.13, 30.34; *SM*, II 20; Walther, 8.4, 10.1, 26.3, 31.13, 37.34, 37.34, 78.24, 84.14).

¹ Examples: (a) AB BA, or ABC CBA; (b) AAB BBA, or ABC BAC; (c) AAB CCB, or ABAC DBDC. (iii) is Dante's "Et si in altero pedum exsortem rithimi desinentiam esse contingat, omnimode in altero sibi instauratio fiat": chap. xlii. I disregard, however, Dante's immediately following statement that all the rhymes of the second foot may be new provided that each line of the first foot rhymes with another line within the foot, for this would admit many poems which are clearly not tripartite in the writer's intention, in particular those which proceed by a series of couplets (as AA BB CC DD etc.).

² This definition is not perfect, but I believe it to be as accurate as is practically possible. It probably admits some poems that were not tripartite in the author's intention. It excludes very few, I believe, that are in reality tripartite. In making the actual classification, however, I have admitted as tripartite the following poems, each of which fails to satisfy some one of the above conditions, but is markedly tripartite in other respects: C 6, 9, 34; Maus's No. 64; *MF*, 87.29, 143.23, 199.25, 209.25; *MSH*, 54, XI;

No mention of tripartite structure appears in the exhaustive Provençal metrical treatise, *las Leys d'Amors*, written about 1325.¹

Technical terms for the parts of the German tripartite stanza first appear in a *Meisterlied* of about 1350. The two like parts are called *Stollen*, and the verb *absingen* is used to indicate the composition of the third unlike part. The corresponding noun, subsequently used, is *Abgesang*.²

There are five respects in which the *canzone* agrees with the minnesong, while differing from both the Provençal lyric and the French.

5. **Length of the *pes*.**—The practice of the four groups of poets as to the length of the first of the two like parts of the stanza is as indicated in Table II.

TABLE II

	Italian	Provençal	French	German
Poems with foot of 2 lines	28	843	264	435
Poems with foot of 3 lines	43	24	5	127
Poems with foot of 4 lines	14	10	4	40
Poems with foot of 5 lines	1	0	0	10
Poems with foot of 6 or 7 lines	0	0	0	3

It will be seen that whereas the Provençal and French writers use the two-line foot almost exclusively, the minnesingers make very extensive use of the foot of three lines and a considerable use of still longer feet, while the Italians use the foot of three lines much oftener than the foot of two lines, and make a proportionately considerable use of the foot of four lines.

6. **Rhyme-scheme of the *pedes*.**—Table III shows the number of occurrences of every rhyme-scheme for the *pedes* used in any two of the four bodies of verse.

95, III; 117, VI; *SM*, III, 1, 3; Gottfried von Neifen, 39.35, 45.8; the Margrave of Hohenburg, VII; Neidhart, 28; Walther, 92.9; Wolfram, VII.

Tripartition in stanza structure is ultimately derived, doubtless, from tripartition in melody. One might therefore expect that the music of a poem, when preserved, would afford a final criterion as to whether or not the stanza structure is tripartite. This, however, is not the case. There are plenty of instances in which a tripartite melody appears with a non-tripartite stanza, and plenty in which a non-tripartite melody appears with a tripartite stanza. See C. Appel, *Der Trobador Uc Brunec*, in *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Dr. Adolf Tobler dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, pp. 54–60; and J. Beck, *la Musique des troubadours*, Paris, 1910, p. 80.

¹ Ed. M. Gatién-Arnoult, Toulouse, Vol. I (= *Monumens de la litt. romane*, Vol. I), 1844, pp. 198–338.

² Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, pp. 308–9.

TABLE III

	Italian	Provençal	French	German
AA AA.....	0	0	1	1
AB AB.....	26	378	242	422
AB BA.....	1	465	21	7
AB CB.....	1	0	0	5
AAA BBB.....	0	1	0	1
AAB AAB.....	2	7	2	3
AAB BBA.....	0	1	0	2
AAB CCB.....	1	5	1	35
ABC ABC.....	38	2	2	80
ABC BAC.....	0	1	0	1
AAAB CCB.....	0	1	0	3
AAAB AABC.....	0	2	0	1
ABAC DBDC.....	1	0	0	2
ABBA ABBA.....	1	3	0	0
ABCD ABCD.....	3	0	0	16
ABABC ABABC*.....	1	0	0	2

* The schemes AB CB and AAA BBB occur only in poems classed by exception as tripartite: see note 2 on p. 149. The rhyme-schemes for the *pedes* occurring in only one of the four bodies of verse are as follows. (The number of occurrences, if more than one, is indicated in a parenthesis after the scheme. In a few cases the schemes occur only in poems classed by exception as tripartite.) In Italian: ABC CAB, ABC CDA, ABBA BAAB, ABBA BBAB, ABBC ABBC(6), ABCB ABCB. In Provençal: AAA AAA(4), AAB BAA(2), ABB ABB, AAAA AAAA, AAAB AAAB, AABA AABA, ABAB CCB. In French: AAB AAB, ABAB ABAB(3). In German: ABA ABA(3), ABA BAB, ABC CRA, AABA CCB, AAB CDD, AABC DDBC(6), ABAB CDCD(3), ABAC DEDC(2), ABBC ADCC(3), ABBC DEEC, ABCD DCBA, AAAAB CCCC, AABBC DDEC, ABABC DEDEC(2), ABCD ABEED, ABCDE ABCDE(3), AAAAB CCCCC, AABCCD EERFFD, ABABAAC ABABAAC.

The favorite initial rhyme-scheme in the Provençal lyric is then AB BA, which occurs in 465 of the 877 poems in question. This scheme, much less popular in French, is used by the minnesingers in but 7 of the 615 poems,¹ and appears in only one of the 86 *canzoni*.²

The favorite initial rhyme-scheme among the Frederician poets is ABC ABC, which occurs in 38 of the 86 *canzoni*.³ Among the writers who employ it are the Emperor Frederick, King Enzo, and Pier delle Vigne. This scheme is very popular with the minnesingers, who employ it 80 times—far oftener than any other scheme except the fundamental AB AB.⁴ The scheme ABC ABC appears in but two of the Provençal and but two of the French poems.⁵

¹ *MF*, 66.1, 80.1, 84.10, 118.1; Hiltbolt, VIII; Walther, 44.35, 66.21.

² C 50.

³ C 2, 8, 12, 22, 24-26, 28, 29, 35, 40, 44, 46, 51, 53, 59, 62, 65, 66, 70-72, 77-79, 83, 84, and those mentioned in notes 1-7 on p. 152.

⁴ *MF*, 51.33, 89.21, 99.29, 122.1, 130.9, 160.6, 167.31, 176.5, 186.19; *MSH*, 14, IX, XIII, XIV; 54, II, VII-IX, XIX; 117, V, VIII; 124, I; *SM*, II, 2; III, 5; Gottfried von Neifen, 12.33, 14.8, 29.36, 38.26, 50.7, 52.7; Marner, III, VII, VIII; Neldhart, 1, 19, 20, 33; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XV; Walther, 16.36, 45.37, 46.32, 47.16, 71.35, 96.29, 97.34, 111.12; Wolfram, VIII; and those mentioned in notes 1-7 on p. 152.

⁵ The Provençal poems are Cadenet, 19 (Maus, 727), which rhymes A⁶B⁶C⁶ A⁶B⁶C⁶ C¹⁰A¹⁰C¹⁰ and Peire d'Alvernhe, 19 (Maus, 729), which rhymes A¹⁰B⁶C⁶ A¹⁰B⁶C⁶ D¹⁰E⁶D⁶E⁶. This latter poem was presumably written before 1162; see Peire d'Alvernhe, ed. R. Zenker, Erlangen, 1900, p. 36. The rhyme B was very possibly internal in the intention of the author. Neither of the two poems appears to have been well known; each is preserved in one MS only: see Bartsch, *Grundriss*, No. 106.19 and No. 323.19. Maus's scheme 723 is wrong. The correct scheme for the poem in question is

There are several instances in which Italian and German poems beginning ABC ABC correspond also in the scheme of the *sirma*. One *canzone* and four *Lieder* have the scheme ABC ABC DDC;¹ one *canzone* and eight *Lieder* have ABC ABC DDEE;² four *canzoni* and one *Lied* have ABC ABC DDEEFF;³ one *canzone* and one *Lied* have ABC ABC DDEFFE;⁴ one *canzone* and three *Lieder* have ABC ABC DED;⁵ two *canzoni* and five *Lieder* have ABC ABC DEDE;⁶ one *canzone* and 13 *Lieder* have ABC ABC DEED.⁷ In many other cases the schemes are very similar, though not identical.

A related scheme for *pedes* of four lines, ABCD ABCD, appears in three *canzoni*, one of which is attributed to the Emperor Frederick or his son King Frederick, and another to King Enzo.⁸ This scheme appears in 16 of the German poems.⁹ It does not appear either in Provence or in France among the poems in question.¹⁰

The odd scheme ABAC DBDC occurs once in Italy and twice in Germany;¹¹ and the odd scheme ABABC ABABC once in Italy and twice in Germany.¹² Neither scheme appears in Provence or in Northern France.

7. Combination of lines of different lengths.—The great majority of the Italian and the German poems are heterometric—that is, they

ABABABAB: see Uc de Saint-Circ, ed. A. Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave, Toulouse, 1913, pp. 105, 204. Guiraut Riquier and Lanfranc Cigala, the authors of Maus's Nos. 724-6, 728, 730, wrote after 1240.

The French poems are Guiot de Provins, I, which rhymes ABC ABC CBCC, all lines of 6 syllables; and Richard de Fournival, 4, which rhymes A'B'C⁶ A'B'C⁶ C⁴A⁶.

¹ C 58; *MSH*, 52, I, in Vol. III, p. 327; *SM*, II, 14; Gottfried von Neifen, 7.15; Neidhart, 13.

² C 64; *MF*, 94.15, 206.19; *MSH*, 54, XV; *SM*, II, 21; Burckhart, XIII; Gottfried von Neifen, 40.25; Marner, IV; Neidhart, 5.

³ C 5, 11, 55, 68; *MSH*, 31, I.

⁴ C 15; *MF*, 58.11.

⁵ C 60; *MF*, 190.27; Walther, 39.11, 57.23.

⁶ C 38, 81; *MSH*, 54, XVII; Gottfried von Neifen, 33.33; Neidhart, 17, 30; Walther, 93.20.

⁷ C 52; *MSH*, 102, IX; Burckhart, IX, XVI-XVIII; Gottfried von Neifen 23.8; Neidhart, 2, 3, 6-8, 16; Wolfram, I.

⁸ C 49, 69, 75.

⁹ *MF*, 83.25, 83.36, 102.1, 187.31, 188.31; *SM*, II, 33; Gottfried von Neifen, 3.1, 5.25, 37.2; Marner, XIV; Neidhart, 10, 12, 22, 27, 32; Walther, 103.13. Compare also the German schemes ABCD DCBA (Gottfried von Neifen, 32.14) and ABCDE ABCDE (Neidhart, 14, 31; Walther, 101.23).

¹⁰ Zorgi (Maus, 773) is later.

¹¹ C 56; *MSH*, 117, VII; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, VI.

¹² C 74; Marner, XI, XV. Compare also the German scheme ABABC DEDEC (Marner, XIII; Neidhart, 34).

contain lines of different lengths. The majority of the Provençal and French poems, on the contrary, are isometric—that is, they consist of lines all of the same length. The figures are given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German
Heterometric.	61	583	119	565
Isometric.	25	824	202	158

* There are 46 poems for which Maus does not indicate line-lengths.

8. **Absence of *tornada*.**—The troubadours regularly end their poems with a special stanza, called the *tornada*, shorter than the other stanzas, and usually addressed to some real or imaginary person.¹ This practice is common also in Northern France. A concluding stanza shorter than the others appears in 162 of the 321 poems I have examined. The character of address is lacking, however, in many cases. In the minnesong the *tornada* does not appear at all.² It appears, without the character of address, in just one of the 86 *canzoni*.³

9. **Variety in stanza form.**—The *canzoni* show a very great variety in the structure of the stanza—difference in rhyme-scheme or in the length of corresponding lines being considered as constituting difference in structure—; 79 of the 86 are unique in structure; 2 rhyme-and-length schemes appear in 2 *canzoni* apiece; and 1 rhyme-and-length scheme appears in 3 *canzoni*. Two of the three schemes thus repeated are simple and popular in type. In one case only does a scheme of any complexity appear in two poems. These facts certainly indicate a marked endeavor toward metrical originality on the part of the Frederician poets.⁴ The same endeavor is equally clear among the minnesingers; less marked in Northern France; and very much less marked among the troubadours. The figures are given in Table V.

¹ Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 71.

² The only *Lieder* having anything like a *tornada* are *MF*, 137.10, which ends with a three-line *coda*, and Walther, 73.23, which ends with a four-line *coda*. In neither case has the *coda* the character of address.

³ Langley, pp. 516–17; Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, Città di Castello, 1889–1912, p. 215.

⁴ Langley, p. 517. The repeated scheme is A'B'C^u A'B'C^u D^uE^uF^uF^uG^uH^uE^uD^u. It appears in a poem by Jacopo Mostacci and in one by Rinaldo d'Aquino.

TABLE V

	Italian	Provençal*	French	German†
No. of different rhyme-and-length schemes	82	870	238	657
No. of poems not original in rhyme-and-length scheme . . .	4	572	83	66

* In 11 cases the schemes given by Maus are not sufficiently detailed to indicate whether the poems in question are original in scheme or not.

† I have considered the dactylic and the non-dactylic 4-accent lines as different.

It was indeed a recognized practice among the troubadours to borrow the scheme—often the very rhymes—of a predecessor or poet-companion.¹ Among the minnesingers, on the contrary, such imitation was regarded as an evidence of artistic poverty or dishonesty.²

In the other respects in which I have examined the four bodies of verse there is not enough disagreement between the poems of troubadours, *trouvères*, and minnesingers to afford any basis for argument as to the derivation of the *canzone*. The results of the comparison may, however, be noted in passing. In a few respects the Italian poems differ more or less notably from the others. The average length of the stanza is for Italy 11 lines, for the other countries 9 lines.³ The average length of the *sirma* is for Italy $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines, for the other countries $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines.⁴ The Frederician poets always introduce at least one new rhyme in the *sirma*; the Transalpine poets not infrequently use for the *sirma* only rhymes already used in the *pedes*.⁵ The Frederician poets in 18 cases divide the third unlike part of the stanza into two equal sections, thus producing a quadripartite stanza; such division is very rare beyond the Alps.⁶ In other respects all four bodies of verse agree. The most frequent number of stanzas

¹ This matter is treated in detail by Maus, *Peire Cardinal's Strophenbau*.

² Von Muth, *op. cit.* (in note 6 on p. 147), p. 89.

³ The exact figures are: Italian, 11.1; Provençal, 9.1; French, 8.7; German, 8.9. These figures are based on examination of the tripartite poems only.

⁴ Italian, 5.3; Provençal, 4.8; French, 4.5; German, 4.3.

⁵ So in 88 Provençal, 153 French, and 62 German poems.

⁶ I class as quadripartite only stanzas in which the third unlike part is at least 6 lines in length (it does not seem to me that any 4-line part can be with certainty regarded as subdivisible in the intention of the author) and is divisible in such a way as to satisfy conditions essentially the same as those indicated in my definition of the tripartite stanza (see above, pp. 148, 149). The Italian poems in question are C 3, 12-15, 22, 27, 31, 39, 42, 49, 51, 56, 59, 61, 68, 78, 85. For Provençal, see Maus's Nos. 4, 245, 262, 312, 318, 342, 355, 400, 440, 497, 516, 563 (concerning in all 18 poems of the period in question). For French, Blondel, IV; Collin Muset, IX. For German, MF, 58.11, 207.11; MSH, 124, IV; Marner, XIII; Walther, 11.6, 18.29, 44.35, 76.22 (3 sections), 103.13.

is in each case five.¹ The beginning of the stanza shows rarely three or four like parts instead of two.² The last line of the second foot is sometimes rhymed with the first and last lines of the *sirma*,³ or with the first line but not the last,⁴ or with the last but not the first.⁵ The stanza often ends with a rhymed couplet.⁶ All four groups of poets use the *chiave*,⁷ equivocal rhyme,⁸ grammatical rhyme,⁹ broken rhyme,¹⁰ and internal rhyme.¹¹

¹ In studying the number of stanzas I examined 405 Provençal poems (all those accessible to me in special critical editions) and 580 German poems (I disregard the *Sprüche* and the work of the early minnesingers, *MF*, II–XVII, who make large use of the single-stanza *Lied*). I count separately independent single-stanza *Lieder* in the same *Ton*. I disregard single stanzas which editors specifically call fragments. The figures, based on the poems as printed, are given in Table VI.

TABLE VI

No. of Stanzas	Italian	Provençal	French	German
1	0	13	0	59
2	0	8	7	74
3	9	6	9	127
4	17	16	38	76
6	45	134	162	152
8	7	93	84	35
7	4	76	18	45
8	2	29	3	7
9	1	18	0	4
10 or more	0	12	0	1

These figures have only a very relative value, however. The original length of many of the poems is by no means certain. Many are incomplete, and many contain spurious stanzas. German differs from Provençal and French in its frequent use of very short poems. Italian is unlike German in its lack of poems of one or two stanzas (unless the sonnet be regarded as the equivalent of the single-stanza *Lied*), but like German in the relative frequency of poems of three or four stanzas. It does not seem to me, however, that any significance can properly be attached either to this likeness or to this unlikeliness.

² Langley, p. 504; Maus, Nos. 4, 7, 10, 90, 91, 175, several instances among 213–69, 487; Gace Brulé, VI, XXVIII; Gautier d'Espinaux, XIV; Gontier de Soignies, 14; Huon d'Olisy, II; Morisse de Craon, I; *MF*, 106.24, 191.7.

³ Italian, 6 cases; Provençal, 18; French, 3; German, 9.

⁴ Italian, 7; Provençal, 101; French, 34; German, 26.

⁵ Italian, 11; Provençal, 51; French, 17; German, 32.

⁶ I.e., with two lines of the same length rhyming with each other and not with any previous line: 21 cases in Italy, many cases in Provence (e.g., Maus, 300, 302, 308, 316–17, 321, 334, 343, 351, 359, 366, 368, 376, 390, 394), in France (e.g., Gace Brulé, I, VIII, XIII, XIV, XX, XXII, XXVI), and in Germany (e.g., *MF*, 7.19, 14.14, 18.1, 18.17, 19.7, 19.17, 19.27, 32.14, 33.15, 36.23, 37.18, 39.30, 45.1, 45.37, 48.3, 49.37, 50.19).

⁷ I.e., a line in each stanza rhyming not with any other line in the same stanza but with the corresponding line in each other stanza: Langley, pp. 510–11; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 175–78; F. Orth, *Ueber Reim und Strophenbau in der altfranzösischen Lyrik*, Cassel, 1882, pp. 62–63; H. Glske, *Über Körner und verwante metrische Erscheinungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Phil.*, 18 (1886), 57, 210, 329.

⁸ L. Biadene, *La rima nella canzone italiana dei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *Raccolta di studi critici dedicata ad Alessandro D' Ancona*, Florence, 1901, pp. 729–32; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, pp. 188–89; A. Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 154–61; von Muth, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

⁹ Biadene, *loc. cit.*; Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 190; Tobler, pp. 161–63; von Muth, p. 75.

¹⁰ Biadene, p. 730 (there is only one instance in the Frederician poems, C 29, lines 51–52: *Innamorata- / mente*); Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 194; von Muth, p. 80. I am not sure that broken rhyme occurs in any of the North French poems in question.

¹¹ Langley, pp. 512–15; Stengel, *op. cit.* (in note 5 on p. 147), p. 68; Tobler, pp. 163–67; Bartsch, *Der innere Reim in der höfischen Lyrik*, in *Germania*, XII (1867), 129.

From the foregoing metrical statistics certain conclusions as to the derivation of the *canzone* are clear. As there is no respect in which the Frederician poems agree with those of Northern France as against those of the troubadours and the minnesingers, there is no indication that the Italians derived from Northern France any element of their metrical technique. The Provençal lyric, then, was evidently the source from which the Italians derived the use of *coblas capfinidas* and of *coblas unissonans*. The adoption of the *coblas capfinidas*, it may be noted, implies a linguistic as well as a metrical understanding of the models in question. The fact that the proportion of Italian poems having *coblas unissonans* (11 out of 85) is so much less than in Provence (where the use is regular) does not necessarily indicate the presence of a conflicting foreign influence. It may be accounted for as a result of the greater difficulty of rhyming in Italian.¹ The single Italian instance of the *tornada* shows likewise the influence of the Provençal *tornada*. The similarity of the Italian line to the Provençal indicates also that if the Italians followed any model for their line that model was Provençal. From the Provençal lyric too, doubtless, rather than from the minnesong, came some of those traits of metrical technique which are common to the troubadours and the minnesingers. It seems likely in particular that the Italians derived from Provence those traits of technique that suggest linguistic as well as metrical understanding, namely, the use of equivocal, grammatical, and broken rhyme.

If, however, the Provençal lyric had been the only model of the Frederician poets, it is hardly conceivable that their poems should have differed so sharply from it in so many ways. Let it be recalled that *all* of the Italian *canzoni* are tripartite, whereas only three fifths of the Provençal poems are tripartite; that tripartite structure is discussed in detail in the *De vulgari eloquentia*, but is not mentioned in the *Leys d'amors*; that 43 of the 86 *canzoni* have a foot of three lines and 28 a foot of two lines, whereas only 24 Provençal poems have a foot of three lines, as against 843 with a foot of two lines; that one *canzone* in every six has a foot of four lines, whereas in Provençal only one poem in every 88 has a foot of four lines; that the favorite Provençal rhyme-scheme for the *pedes*, AB BA,

Cf. the remarks of Casella cited below, p. 165.

which occurs in 465 Provençal poems, occurs in just one *canzone*; that the favorite Italian rhyme-scheme for the *pedes*, ABC ABC, which occurs in 38 *canzoni*, appears in just two Provençal lyrics; that the related Italian scheme ABCD ABCD does not occur at all in Provençal; that the Italians use the heterometric stanza more than twice as often as the isometric, whereas the troubadours prefer the isometric to the heterometric; and that the *tornada*, regular in Provençal, appears in but one Frederician poem.

In all these respects, moreover, the agreement between the Frederician lyric and the minnesong is close. Nearly all the German poems are tripartite; 127 of them have a *Stolle* of three lines, and 40 a *Stolle* of four lines; the rhyme-scheme AB BA occurs but 7 times; the scheme ABC ABC occurs 80 times, and the related scheme ABCD ABCD 16 times; the minnesingers use the heterometric stanza more than three times as often as the isometric; and they do not use the *tornada* at all. Let it be recalled also that the Frederician poets had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the minnesong. Let it be noted, finally, that the elements of technique in which the Frederician lyric agrees with the minnesong are in every case such as would be apparent to one who heard or saw the minnesong, even if he had but little knowledge of the language of the minnesingers. Constant tripartition, the *Stolle* of three or of four lines, the initial rhyme-schemes ABC ABC and ABCD ABCD, the heterometric stanza, the non-existence of the *tornada*: these are traits immediately obvious to the eye or notable to the ear of anyone interested in metrical technique.

I conclude, therefore, that the technique of the *canzone* was in large measure derived from that of the minnesong; and in particular that the Frederician poets derived from the minnesingers the opinion that the stanza should properly be tripartite, the fondness for feet of three or of four lines, the initial rhyme-schemes ABC ABC and ABCD ABCD, the preference for the heterometric stanza, and the rejection of the *tornada*. It is further probable that the Italian avoidance of imitation in stanza structure is due to the influence of the minnesingers. It is possible that the influence of the minnesingers led to the diminution in the use of the *coblas unissonans*; that the initial rhyme-schemes ABAC DBDC and ABABC ABABC and some

rhyme-schemes for the entire stanza are taken from the minnesong; and that the same source furnished to the Italians some of the metrical traits common to minnesingers and troubadours.

Some of the technical metrical terms used by Dante in the *De vulgari eloquentia* were possibly based on Provençal metrical terms, and some possibly on terms used by the minnesingers. Boehmer held that *frons* and *cauda* were suggested by the Provençal *cap-caudadas*, *versus* by the Provençal *tornada*, and *fustis*, which Dante uses figuratively, by *basto* or *bordo*. These terms, however, do not correspond sufficiently in application to warrant any inference as to probable relationship.¹ Wackernagel, followed by Boehmer and Bartsch, maintained that *stantia* is a translation of *zimber*.² *Zimber*, however, as Bartsch notes, is not used for "stanza," but as a general term for a poetic composition. I know of but two instances of its use in this sense, and in each case it forms part of a general figure of composition as building.³ Wackernagel maintained also, followed again by Boehmer and Bartsch, that Dante's change in the application of the term *pes* (which means, to Dante, a group of lines, and not, as to the Latin poets, a portion of a line) shows the influence of the term *Stolle*. *Pes* and *Stolle* coincide in the meaning "upright

¹ Boehmer, *loc. cit.* in note 2 on p. 136. Bartsch (*Dante's Poetik*, pp. 308-9) agrees with Boehmer. *Frons* is not *cap*. *Frons* refers to the whole first part of a certain type of stanza, and *cauda* to the whole third part of the tripartite stanza, whereas *capcaudadas* means "with the first line rhyming with the last of the preceding stanza." *Versus* is applied to one of the last two like parts of a quadripartite stanza, a very different thing from the *tornada*; *vers* in Provençal is applied to an entire poem. *Fustis* is used by Dante only in a very general figurative phrase, with reference to his own discussion of the *canzone*: "fustibus torquibusque paratis" (II, 5, end), "Praeparatis fustibus torquibusque ad fascem" (II, 8, *init.*).

² Wackernagel, *op. cit.* (in note 1 on p. 136), pp. 249-50; Boehmer and Bartsch, *loc. cit.* in the preceding note.

³ In the *Krieg auf Wartburg* (written in the second half of the thirteenth century; *MSH*, II, 3 ff.) Klingsor in three stanzas (33-35) propounds a parable, and in the last stanza, turning to Eschenbach for solution, says, "uf diz selbe zimber hoert von erz ein dach"; and Eschenbach says in the course of his solution (36), "sus dekke ich vremdez zimber meisterliche." The other case occurs at the end of the *Lohengrin* (written about 1285; ed. H. Rückert, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1858): "des getihtes zimmer, / ob daz nâch winkelmezze si / niht geschicket noch nâch mûrers meisters bli, / daz nemt vûr guot, daz uns got vreud geb immer" (lines 7647-50). *Zimberman* occurs in a similar figure in the preface of Thomasin von Zirclaria's *Der wâlche Gast* (begun in 1215; ed. Rückert, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1852): "doch ist er ein guot zimberman / der in sinem werke kan / stein und holz legen wol / dâ erz von rehte legen sol" (lines 105-8). Wackernagel's other references are to similar figures, in which, however, neither *zimber* nor any cognate word occurs.

support." The earliest instance of *Stolle* as a metrical term is dated about 1350; Bartsch notes, however, that the term is probably much older, in view of the fact that *studhlar* appears as a metrical term in the older alliterative poetry.¹ It is further possible that Dante's two terms for the third unlike part of the tripartite stanza, *sirma*, which means "train," and *cauda*, are related to *Swanz*, which means both "train" and "tail," and occurs once as a metrical term, with a meaning similar to that of *sirma* and *cauda*.² These terminological correspondences are in any case altogether too slight for use as positive arguments in favor of the derivation of the Frederician lyric from the minnesong. At the most they may be allowed a slight confirmatory value.

III

Gaspari, as has already been noted, proved that in content the early Italian lyric was considerably influenced by the work of the troubadours.³ He shows that two of the *canzoni* are imitations of Provençal originals,⁴ and that six passages in other poems are certainly or very probably derived from passages in certain Provençal poems.⁵ He specifies some sixty *motifs* and comparisons which are common to Provençal and Italian poets, but does not claim that any one of the Italian passages in question is derived from any one of the Provençal passages in question, although the verbal similarity is in many cases very notable.⁶ He notes that certain words and phrases appear with the same technical amorous

¹ Bartsch, *Dante's Poetik*, p. 308.

² The passage is quoted above, in note 3 on p. 143.

³ *Op. cit.* in note 4 on p. 136. The "Sicilianische Dichterschule," as defined by Gaspari, takes in a number of writers who, being later, do not belong to the Frederician group. In the analysis of Gaspari I disregard all statements that apply to non-Frederician writers only.

⁴ Pp. 35-38, 43-45 of the Italian translation. The poems are Jacopo Mostacci's *Umile core e fino e amoroso*, imitated from a poem of uncertain authorship, *Longa sason ai estat vas amor*; and Giacomo da Lentino's *Troppo son dimorato*, imitated from Perdigò's *Trop ai estat mon bon esper no vi*.

⁵ Pp. 45-46, 99-100, 114-15. The passages are: one in Stefano Proto Notaro's *Aesai mi piacera*, derived from Richart de Berbezilh's *Be volria saber d' amor*; one in Stefano's *Pir meu cori alegrari*, probably derived from Richart's *Atressi cum l' orifans*; one in Giacomo da Lentino's sonnet *Sì como 'l pargaglio ch' à tal natura*, derived from Folquet de Marselha's *Sitot me sui a tart apercebutis*; and three passages in Mazzeo di Ricco's *Sei anni ò travagliato*, probably derived from the same poem of Folquet.

⁶ Pp. 49-111.

connotation in the Provençal and the Italian poets; that the Provençal types *comjat* and *planh* are instanced among the Italian poems; that both groups of poets practice plays on words and repetitions of words; that many words used by the Italians are borrowed from the Provençal; and that many words are used by the Italians with meanings which are normally Provençal.¹

No evidence has been adduced to prove that the North French lyric influenced the early Italian lyric in content. Bertoni, in the first of his articles, pointed out two or three French-Italian parallels in content, but in the later versions of his argument omitted them, rightly, as of no significance.²

Wackernagel, similarly, pointed out two or three German-Italian parallels in content, but recognized that the passages in question were too commonplace to indicate a direct relationship.³

In the endeavor to discover whether or not the minnesong influenced the Frederician lyric in content, I have compared as carefully as possible all the Italian and German poems in question, studying sonnets, *discordi*, and *Leiche*, as well as *canzoni*, *Lieder*, and *Sprüche*. The results of this comparison are negative. There is not, I believe, any passage in any Frederician poem which is certainly or even probably derived from a passage in the minnesong. Four of the Italian poems are measurably similar each to a particular *Lied*, but the resemblances, though fairly notable, are not striking.⁴ A great many ideas, references, and figures are common to the Frederician lyric and the minnesong; but they are in every case, I believe, common to Provençal as well, and in no case is the Italian-German correspondence in wording sufficiently exact to suggest the existence of a direct relation between the poems in question.⁵

¹ Pp. 90-93, 114-15, 134-36, 263-81, 283-305.

² See note 8 on p. 136.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 242-43.

⁴ C 8 (by Piero delle Vigne) is similar to *MF*, 182.14 (by Reinmar of Hagenau): cf. especially "agio tutto ciò che m' è a talento / dall' amorosa donna" with "swes ich ir gewünschen kan, des gan si mir." C 24 (Paganino da Serezano) is similar to *MF*, 80.25 (Rudolf von Fenis). C 47 (Guido delle Colonne) resembles Walther's 54.37. C 81 (Jacopo Mostacci) resembles Walther's 52.23; cf. especially "tragone volere / e doigllo de lo tempo trapassato, / che m' è stato falliero" with "mîne zit aleine, / hab ich die verlorn, daz ist mir leit."

⁵ The following instances of agreement seem worth noting. The process of enamoring is through the eyes to the heart: C 6, 83, 85, sonnet 2; *MF*, 124.32; Hiltbolt, XI; Wolfram, VIII; Gaspary, pp. 86-90. Love enters the heart like the sun shining through glass: Sonnet 31; *MF*, 144.17; *MSH*, 124, II (stanza 1); Gottfried von Neifen, 8.23;

It is then probable that the Frederician poems were not influenced in content by the work of the minnesingers. This conclusion, however, does not in the least invalidate the previous conclusion that the technique of the *canzone* was derived, to a considerable extent, from the minnesong. Presence of influence in technique and absence of influence in content are by no means incompatible. The variety of the *canzoni* in stanza structure and the invention of the sonnet prove that the Frederician poets were eagerly interested in matters of metrical experiment and innovation. It is then inherently probable that, hearing or reading the poetry of the minnesingers, they were on the alert for new and attractive traits of metrical fashion. In content, on the other hand, the Frederician poems as a whole—there are delightful exceptions, among the more courtly as well as the more popular lyrics—do not reveal a notable creative enterprise. To the Frederician poets the German language, as has already been noted, was probably less familiar than the Provençal. The line of least resistance as to content was then naturally the free rehandling of Provençal material. While the external form of the German poems was obvious enough, the penetration of their meaning was quite a different matter. It is therefore not surprising that the Frederician lyric should show at the same time a considerable influence of the minnesong in technique and none in content.

Walther, 3.1; *Denkmäler provenzalischer Lit. und Sprache*, ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1883, p. 276, lines 131 ff. The lady passes through the eyes into the heart, without injuring the lover: Sonnet 25; *MF*, 127.1, 194.18. The lover belongs not to himself but to his lady: C 35, sonnet 22; *MF*, 126.3; Gaspary, pp. 52-54. The lover is silent in his lady's presence: C 18, sonnet 7; *MF*, 136.1, 164.12; *MSH*, 124, I; Gottfried von Neifen, 24.21, 28.18; Neidhart, 50^b (Keinz's numbering); Gaspary, pp. 57-58. The lover is driven to madness: C 47; *MF*, 51.13. The lady wounds and heals: C 19, sonnet 1; Walther, 97.34; Gaspary, pp. 102-3. The lover is refined by love as gold is refined in the furnace: C 25; *MF*, 19.17; Gaspary, p. 94. The lover resembles an unfortunate gamester and the creditor of a bad debtor: C 74; *MF*, 80.1; Gaspary, 114-15. The lover's heart dwells with his lady: C 15, 51, 60, 64, 76, 80; *MF*, 47.9, 51.13, 51.33; Friedrich von Leinigen, I; Margrave of Hohenburg, VI; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, LVI. The lover is opposed by slanderers: C 28, 30, 31, 80, *discordi* 1, 3, sonnet 24; *LD*, pp. xiv-xv; Gaspary, 75-77. The poet refers to Tristan and Ysolde: C 45, 57, *discordi* 1, 2; *MF*, 112.1; Reinmar von Zweter, II (stanza 25); Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XII; Gaspary, 104. Narcissus: C 70; *MF*, 145.1; Gaspary, 103-4. The dying swan: C 9; *MF*, 66.9; Gaspary, 105-6. The unicorn: C 19; Burckhart, II. The spring is in the land: C 29, 65, 73; scores of German poems. Love bids the poet sing (here the verbal similarity is close): C 7, which begins "Amor, che m' à 'n comando / Vuol ch' io degia cantare"; *MF*, 80.25, which begins "Minne gebiuret mir daz ich singe." Verbal repetition like that of "viso" in sonnet 18, which begins "Lo viso e son diviso da lo viso," appears in *MF*, 100.34, and in Reinmar von Zweter, II (stanza 230); cf. Gaspary, p. 135. The notes in *MF* to the poems in question contain references, in many cases, to possible or probable Provençal sources.

IV

It remains to review the arguments as to the general source of the early Italian lyric advanced by Wackernagel, Bartsch, Lisio, Monaci, and Bertoni.¹ These arguments are in nearly every case rendered ineffective or erroneous by the fact that they are assertions based on impressions, not conclusions based on statistics.

Wackernagel, in support of his theory that the early Italian lyric is derived from the minnesong, first calls attention to some of the opportunities for contact between Italian poets and minnesingers.² He then presents ten arguments: (1) The sonnet resembles the *Spruch*, in that (a) it is a single stanza, (b) it is longer than the typical *canzone* or *Lied* stanza, (c) it tends to become didactic, and (d) the same form is repeated from poem to poem, whereas in the case of the *canzone* a new form is devised for each poem. But the *Spruch* is always didactic or political; whereas of the 35 sonnets 29 are concerned with love, only 5 are didactic, and only 1 is political.³ The sonnet form is used by several writers without any essential variation, whereas no minnesinger uses the *Spruchton* of another minnesinger, and most of the minnesingers who wrote *Sprüche* use different *Töne* for different series of *Sprüche*.⁴ Moreover, as I shall show in detail in the forthcoming paper on the invention of the sonnet, no German poem, *Spruch* or *Lied*, can have suggested the form of the sonnet. (2) The *tenzone*, which is frequent in Provençal and North French, is absent from the minnesong and from the early Italian lyric. But there are two sonnet-*tenzoni* in the Frederician lyric.⁵ (3) The *tornada* is regular in Provence, somewhat rarer in

¹ For references, see notes 1-8 on p. 136. I disregard arguments based only on non-Frederician poems. The arguments of Crescimbeni are negligible; those of Boehmer are, except for the terminological arguments referred to above (p. 158), merely criticisms of Wackernagel, and as such are referred to below; those of Gaspary, which concern content alone, have been summarized in Part III of this paper; those of Calx and Jeanroy are sufficiently answered by Cesareo.

² He points out that Henry VI and Frederick II were rulers of both Italy and Germany, and that both wrote poetry; mentions Frederick's generosity to Walther von der Vogelweide; and refers to Ottokar's statement as to the presence of many German minstrels at the court of Manfred. He says also, wrongly, that Diepold of Hohenburg was a minnesinger: this rests on a wrong identification of the minnesinger known as the Margrave of Hohenburg: see Busse, *op. cit.* (in note 3 on p. 142), pp. 7-9.

³ Sonnets 4, 21, 27, 29, 34; 10.

⁴ Walther, for example, has 18 *Spruchtdne*, and Der Marner and Bruder Wernher have 8 each.

⁵ Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 59-63.

Northern France, absent in Germany and Italy. This argument is essentially sound (see above, p. 153). (4) The early Italian stanza, like the German and unlike the Provençal, is tripartite. Boehmer and Bartsch both pointed out the fact that many Provençal poems have the tripartite stanza. Bartsch then stated the argument in its proper form: the Italian tripartition so closely resembles the German as to indicate the reception of German influence. As thus stated, the argument needs only the support of statistics to become valid (see above, pp. 148-50). (5,6) The term *stantia* is related to the term *zimber*; and *pedes* to *stollen* (see above, pp. 158, 159). (7) In Italian, as in German, the last rhyme of the second foot is often repeated as the first rhyme of the *sirna* or *Abgesang*. But this repetition is equally common in Provence and Northern France (see above, p. 155). (8) The *coblas unissonans*, regular in Provence, are rare in Italy and Germany. Boehmer pointed out the fact that the *coblas singulares*, though exceptional, are fairly frequent in Provence. The relatively small Italian use of *coblas unissonans* is perhaps due to German influence; but the fact that the Italians use the *coblas unissonans* at all is clear proof of Provençal influence (see above, p. 147). (9, 10) The Italians, like the Germans, use broken rhyme and internal rhyme. But so do the troubadours (see above, p. 155).

Bartsch, maintaining that the early Italian lyric shows both German and Provençal influence, accepts the terminological arguments of Wackernagel and Boehmer, restates more correctly, though without statistics, the argument from tripartition, and adds six new arguments: (1) Dante's use of *carmen* for the single line suggests the German use of *Lied* for the single stanza. But it does not seem to carry any such suggestion. *Carmen* in its common sense of "formula" is sufficiently near to the sense "line of verse." (2) The Italians, like the Germans, are fond of the initial rhyme-scheme ABC ABC, which is not used by any early troubadour. This argument needs only minor correction and the support of statistics to make it valid (see above, pp. 150-52). (3) The Italians, like the Germans, use the initial scheme ABCD ABCD. This argument, also, needs only the support of statistics (see above, pp. 150-52). (4) The Italian initial scheme ABBC ABBC suggests the Provençal initial scheme ABBC. The scheme ABBC ABBC occurs in six

canzoni.¹ No Provençal poem begins ABBC ABBC. Of the Provençal poems in question, 148 begin ABBC, but not one of them is tripartite. Three German tripartite poems begin ABBC ADDC, and one ABBC DEEC;² four German non-tripartite poems begin ABBC.³ (5) The Italian scheme ABBA ABBA seems to be a doubling of the Provençal scheme AB BA. Possibly, but only one Frederician poem is concerned.⁴ (6) The Italian use of the *tornada* indicates Provençal influence. True, but only one Frederician poem is concerned (see above, p. 153).

Lisio, seeking to minimize the Italian indebtedness to the troubadours, argues as follows: (1) The troubadours prefer lines of 8 and 9 syllables; the Italians, lines of 7 and 11 syllables. But a glance at Maus's list⁵ is sufficient to show that the troubadours used very frequently indeed both the 6- and the 10-syllable lines (which correspond to the Italian 7- and 11-syllable lines). (2) The Italian poems, unlike the Provençal, are tripartite; the *Leys d'amors* do not discuss tripartition; the Provençal MSS do not indicate tripartition. See the remarks on Wackernagel's fourth argument, and see also p. 150 above.⁶ (3) The favorite Italian initial rhyme-scheme ABC ABC does not occur in Provençal. See the remarks on Bartsch's second argument. (4) A basis for tripartition of the *canzone stanza* is to be found in the tripartite *strambotto* of the type AB AB CCDD or AB AB CDDC. But the only normal type of the *strambotto* is AB AB AB AB. So far as I know, the type AB AB CCDD exists only as a late (perhaps fifteenth-century) modification (in the Tuscan *rispetto*), and the type AB AB CDDC is extremely rare—if, indeed, it occurs at all.

Monaci advances the following arguments in favor of North French influence on the earliest Italian poets:⁷ (1) The *coblas unissonans* are regular in Provence, less common in Northern France,

¹ C 7, 18, 19, 21, 37, 85.

² MF, 123.10; Neidhart, 4, 23; MSH, 95, III.

³ MF, 42.1; Hiltbolt, V; Neidhart, *Reien* 22, 24.

⁴ C 4.

⁵ *Op. cit.* in note 2 on p. 144.

⁶ Tripartition is not indicated by the scribes in the MSS of the minnesong accessible to me in exact reproduction.

⁷ Monaci's article is not accessible to me. My review of his arguments is based on the reports of Bertoni and Casella.

and rare in Italy. Casella points out the fact that the rejection of the *coblas unissonans* is sufficiently accounted for by the greater difficulty of rhyming in Italian; and remarks further that in Provence the *coblas unissonans* served as a defense against alteration by *jongleurs*, whereas in Italy there was no need of such defense. Jeanroy answers Monaci more effectively by saying that the *coblas singulares* are as rare in Northern France as in Provence (see above, p. 147). In the relative rarity of the *coblas unissonans* the Frederician lyric agrees far more closely with the minnesong than with the North French lyric. (2) The *tornada* is regular in Provence, rare in Northern France, and lacking in Italy. Casella remarks that the Italian rejection of the *tornada* may have been due to its being no longer needed as a musical device. As a matter of fact, the *tornada* is very nearly as common in Northern France as in Provence (see above, p. 153). In the rejection of the *tornada* the Frederician lyric agrees rather with the minnesong than with the North French lyric. (3) The use of the *senhal* is common in Provence and unknown in Northern France and among the earliest Italians. Casella replies that the absence of the *senhal* from the earliest Italian poetry is not necessarily a consequence of its absence from North French poetry. (4) There are two types of the *descort* in Provence, one polymetric, the other polyglot; only the first type is known in Northern France, and the three Italian *discordi*, one of which is by John of Brienne, are all of the first type. Casella replies that the Italian polymetric *discordo* may have been derived from the Provençal polymetric *descort* as well as from the North French polymetric *descort*, and that the *discordi* are dance songs like the Provençal *bals*. The *descort* was hardly established as a North French type when John of Brienne left France.¹ There is extant the beginning of a North French polyglot *descort*.² The *Leiche* of the minnesingers are polymetric, not polyglot.

Bertoni notes certain rather slight opportunities for contact between North French and Italian poets,³ and adds three arguments to those of Monaci: (1) The recording of the poet's name within the

¹ See the next-to-last paragraph of note 3 on p. 145.

² Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 70.

³ See note 2 on p. 138.

poem is rare in Provençal, except among the earliest poets, and common in North French and in Italian. But Bertoni himself¹ admits the use of poetic signature by Arnaut Daniel, Guilhem Azemar, and Raimon de Miraval. Such poetic signature occurs also in the minnesong.² (2) The more popular of the early Italian poems are modeled upon lost French poems of a type just older than that of the earliest preserved North French poems. This is merely a repetition of the opinion of Jeanroy, which has been sufficiently refuted by Cesareo (see above, p. 136). (3) A Latin letter of Piero delle Vigne, by its introduction of a Latin verse at the end of each paragraph, suggests the North French *salut d'amour* with its insertion of refrains. Casella replies that the insertion of the refrain is only sporadic in the *salut d'amour*, and that the *Summa de arte prosandi* of Corrado de Mure mentions the custom of inserting "versus proverbiales seu auctorabiles" in prose letters.³

With the passing of the Hohenstaufen line, opportunities for contact between minnesingers and Italian poets virtually ceased. In the work of the post-Fredericians there is, I believe, no evidence of a direct relation to the minnesong. Guittone d'Arezzo and his train sought after likeness to the troubadours, both in form and in content, much more deliberately and extensively than the Fredericians had done.

Some four centuries later, it may be noted, the fully developed *canzone* form was borrowed, from Italy, by German imitators of Italian verse.⁴

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¹ *Il duecento*, p. 263.

² E.g., *MF*, 8.1, 20.17, 96.1; frequently in Neidhart.

³ The theory of Monaci and Bertoni is reviewed unfavorably, also, by S. Debenedetti, in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, LXII (1913), 203.

⁴ C. Floeck, *Die Kanzone in der deutschen Dichtung* (= *Berliner Beiträge zur germ. und rom. Phil.*, No. 40), Berlin, 1910.

DENIS PIRAMUS: "LA VIE SEINT EDMUNT"

LANGUAGE OF DENIS PIRAMUS (*Concluded*)

§ 18. *An* and *en*.—The nasals *an* and *en* are not found riming together. *Talent* is the only word in our poem which hesitates: *talant:portant* 1460, *talent:noblement* 3948.¹ Latin EXEMPLUM appears as *ensample* 86, 88. In proper names, Latin free A followed by a nasal is preserved: *Balaan:rechan* 2733.

The spelling *aun* for *an* occurs only in *garauntir* 65. *Erraument* 963, 2271 may stand for *erralment*. By the side of *enceis* 1129, 1244, we have *anceis* 1127, 3305 and *aincés* 329; *Engleis* 108 by the side of *Angleis* 368, etc.

§ 19. *In*.—The rimes in *in* are pure: *murine:famine* 141, *cosins:veisins* 425.

§ 20. *On*.—This sound is represented in stressed and unstressed positions by *u*, *o*, and *ou*. In stressed position *u* is by far more common than *o* and *ou*, in unstressed position *ou* is crowded out (except *bounté* 494), and *o* and *u* are the only forms used, *o* appearing, however, more frequently than *u*.

§ 21. *Ūn*.—This sound rimes only with itself: *chescune:une* 115, *fumes:resceūmes* 893, *comun:un* 2009.

§ 22. *Ain* and *ein*.—*Ai* and *ei+n* are mingled in rime: *peine:quinzeine* 991, *demeine:Romeine* 1193, *ceint:ateint* 409, *serein* (MS *serin*):*lendemain* 1461. The confusion of *ain* and *ein* is rather a western and not necessarily an Anglo-Norman trait. It is found in Benott, Marie, and Garnier.² There is no instance of confusion of *ai* and *ei* before *ñ*: *chevetaignes:compaignes* 209, *Alemaigne:compaigne* 393; the forms from *VĒNIAT* and *TĒNEAT* rime only with themselves; cf. § 57.

§ 23. *Ien*.—The rimes in *ien* from Latin free *ĕ+nas.* and from A after French *ɪ* are pure: *biens:riens* 413, *celestiēne:teriēne* 1283, *bien:Achemenien* 2204:*celestien* 2514. *Ien* is not found riming with *en* as in Marie, Wace, and the *Eneas*.³ For *nient* < *NEC ENTEM* cf. § 71. The MS shows sporadically *en* by the side of the usual spelling *ien*: *ben* 2513, 3341 *avent* 655, etc.

§ 24. *Oin* (*woin*, *wein*).—*Oin* does not appear in rime. The usual spelling is *oin*: *point* 703, *loinz* 933. To be noted: *luin* 1488, *puint* 2464, *son* (*soing*) 571, *lonteins* 1884, *queinte* 936, *aquente* 1125 by the side of *cointe* 510.

§ 25. *Uen*.—*Uen* appears a few times, and as in Wace and Benott,⁴ it rimes with *en*: *suens:buens* (MS *bons*) 1855; *vesquens:tens* 3541: *sens* 3670. The MS spells *ue* and *oe*.

¹ Cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, pp. 69-71.

² Cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, §45b.

³ *Ibid.*, § 47b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 46b; Constans, *Roman de Trois*, VI, 116, 5.

CONSONANTS

§ 26. LIQUIDS:

L.—In the group *ül*+cons, *l* has disappeared, though it appears in the MS: *nuls:plus* 350.

With regard to the other groups: *al, ɛl, el, ɛl, ol, ol*+cons, etc. no rime shows that *l* was vocalized: *vassals:chevals* 1053, *dancels:bels* 475, *tolt:tolt* 1787. The MS usually preserves *l*, but the vocalization appears occasionally: *autre* 201, *eus* 295, *vaut* 316, *sautier* 1396, *chevez* 3054, etc.

The following may also be noted, where *l* is not written: *saf* 525, *duz* 1534, *acuns* 2025, *cop* 2494, *acun* 121; cf. also *aultrui* 572, *haulz* 853 where *l* is represented twice. *L* rimes with *l'* in *feil:conseil* 1101; this rime is of common occurrence on the Continent.¹

L'.—In the group *il'*+z, the *l'* has disappeared: *fiz:marriz* 442: *diz* 513. There is no evidence of vocalization as to the other groups. The MS preserves *l*: *miez* 67, *vielz* 2015, *oiz* 744, *ustilz:sutilz* 3127.

By the side of the usual spellings *ill, il, l'* is represented by *l*: *conselai* 1240, *orgulousement* 1964; by *li*: *meiurs* 1062, *valiant* 1634, *genuliuns* 3227; by *lli*: *genulliums* 1506.

R.—Metathesis of *re* to *er* occurs in: *pernent* 218, *perneit* 3473, *pover* 818, *overs* 884, etc. In the MS double *r* is represented by *r* or *rr*: *tere* 130, *conquere* 207, *purrez* 64, *querre* 2343, etc.

§ 27. NASALS:

M and *N*.—Final *m* and *n* are found riming together: *faim:pain* 147, *parlum:barun* 1870. Final *n* after *r* has disappeared: *jur:emperoür* 1133, *retur:odur* 1873. There is no evidence to show that *n* and *ñ* are mixed in rime. In the few instances to be found, *ñ* rimes only with itself: *chevetaignes:compaignes* 209, *Alemaigne:compaigne* 393. *Demeine* <DOMINIUM rimes with *Romeine* 1194, *certeine* 1779.

Ñ is represented in medial position by *ign (ygn):Bretaigné* 128; by *in (yn):Bretaine* 207; by *ngn:cingnes* 472; by *ni:greniur* 553; by *igni:aigniel* 2799; by *gn:segnur* 672; by *n:enginez* 3800; by *nn:enginmer* 3556.

In final position by *ing:poing* 2429; by *in:groin* 2756, *desdein* 3672; by *n:son (soing)* 571, *lin (lign)* 882; by *gne:desdegne* 1969.

§ 28. LABIALS:

Before the *s* of flexion, *f* and *p* are lost in: *païs:vis* (MS *vifs*) 909: *poestis* 1029, *detries:chies* (MS *chefs*) 2026, *tens:vesquens* 3542, 4009.

The MS, however, usually preserves the consonant: *vifs* 1023, *niefs* 1039, *chefs* 2023, *escripture* 647; cf. also *psalmes* 3629, *columb* 1817, etc. Final *f* remains in *tref:nef* 1451, *chief:brief* 595, *salf* 525, *chalf* 3401. *P* is inserted between *m* and *n* in *Dampne Dieu* 550, *dampné* 950, *columpne* 2525. In the MS, *f* often stands for *v*: *joefne* 187, *chifalkers* 460, *nafrez* 3409, and of

¹ Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, pp. xlix ff., and notes.

for *ov*: 5, 24, 987, 1090, 1164, 1655, 3574.¹ The meter calls for *ovek* 24, 3406 cf. *oveke(s)* 2660.

§ 29. DENTALS:

D, T.—Latin dentals isolated between two vowels have been lost: *vie:folie* 3, *felonie:envie* 3107. Dentals which have become final in French have disappeared in (1) substantives and verbal roots: *mei:fei* 59: *dei* < *DITUM 548, *vei* < *VIDO for VIDEO: *rei* 1234; (2) endings *e* < ATUM, *i* < ITUM, or palatal + ĒDEM, *u* < UTUM, UTEM.: *hé:osté* 1291, *servi:ci* 677, *merci* < MERCĒDEM: *ci* 1229, *Jhesu:purveü* 557, *vertu:dru* 1443; (3) preterites in *i* < -IVIT: *fini:di* < DICO 756, *s'estendi:miédi* 1182; (4) preterites in *a* are found riming only with themselves and with *a* < HABET: *embla:ala* 351, *resembla:a* 2427. The following rime: *ja:departira* 1107 proves that *t* was lost; (5) strong preterites and other words with a fixed *t* are found riming only with themselves: *contredist:mist* 281; *vit:rit* 561, *Crist:conquist* 659, *plait:fait* 3651; (6) the name *Edmund* is attested in two forms: *Edmun:mesprisun* 3294, *Edmunt:sunt* 80; within the line the MS shows *Edmund*; (7) in *fu* < Latin FUIT: *Jhesu* 2202. Preterites in *-ut* rime only with themselves: *resceut:dut* 359, *parut:morut* 775, and always preserve their final *t* in spelling. In our poem, a *t* has been added to the ending *an* in *tirant* < TYRANNUM: *de maintenant* 2377. The addition of a *t* to such words occurs in Anglo-Norman as well as on the Continent.²

The *d* is preserved before *v* in: *vedve* 1119, *vedves* 2142, but it has disappeared in: *aversiers* 2186, *aversere* 2834.

§ 30. *S* and *Z*.—At the end of words, *s* and *z* are kept separate throughout our poem: *païs:pris* < PRETIUM 329, *dis* < DECEM: *apris* 3295, *asez:amez* 61. In *forz:cors* 2667 and *venuz:peresceuz* 3853, where the reading is doubtful, no safe conclusion can be drawn.

Jurs rimes with *plusurs* 3065. *Jurs* is also found in the *Eneas*, Benoit, Marie,³ in *Partonopeus de Blois* (*jors:honors* 410: *mors* 437). PACEM and FASCEM show a final *s*: *pes:apres* 431, *fais:mais* 144. There is no evidence that *s* before *t* was silent for the author. The apparent confusion between the 3d sg. of preterite and imperfect subj., the past part., and 3d sg. ind. pres. brought in by the scribe does not exist for the author: *appellast:enbrasceast* 575, *resceust:dust* 559 are to be read without an *s*; *dist:despist* 2165, *dist:vist* 2655 stand for *dît* ind. pres.: *despist*, *dît* ind. pres.: *vit* perf.; *escriit=escriit* perf. (: *fist*) 3472; *rit* (: *vit*) 562 is a pres. ind.; as for *dît* p.p. (: *requist*) 1969, the reading is doubtful, and no safe conclusion can be drawn. On the other hand, the larger number of pure rimes in *-it*, *-ist*, *-ut*, *-ust* tends to prove that *s* was still pronounced for the author: *Crist:conquist* 659: *paraprist* 1571, *oüst:poüst* 2189, *fust* < FŪSTEM: *geüst* 2923. There are

¹ Cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Haumtone*, pp. 182, 220, 232. *Of* occurs also in Pierre de Langtoft, pp. 4, 6, 24, etc.

² Cf. Walberg, *Bestiaire*, p. lxxiii.

³ Cf. Salverde de Grave, p. xix; Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. xciii; Constans, *Roman de Trois*, VI, 128.

indications in the MS of the silencing of *s*: *meime* 2629, *seintime* 2695, *almoniere* 577, *desrainer* 274, *detrenchier* 2018, *trepercent* 3769, etc.

The MS shows that the usual way of writing a single *s* for voiced *s* and double *s* for voiceless *s* is not observed: *asez* 294 (but *assez* 1086), *asise* 1215 (but *assise* 1202), *treissor* 912 (but *tresor* 538), etc. Voiceless *s* is sometimes represented by *sc*: *haltesce* 1267, *richesce* 1268, *drescier* 3984. Final *s* is sometimes left out: *de* for *des* 2141.

§ 31. *C* and *K*.—*C* disappears before flexional *s*: *gavelos:os* 2543, *enemis: pais* 336. The MS shows *c* at times: *gavelocs* 313. The various spellings representing this sound are: *k:kar* 31, *relikes* 3060; *qu:quoer* 1942, *queinte* 1187; *c: deluc* 260, *dunc* 3865.

§ 32. *C* (*ts*).—The usual spelling for this sound is *c*: *purchaciez* 1975, *prince* 1984, *face* 2757. Before *a*, *o*, *u*, an *e* follows *c*: *cea* 3804, *faceun* 3235, *aparceurent* 2751, but *hericuns* 231 and *hericiun* 2427. *Sc* before *e*, *i*, and *sce* before *a*, *u* also appear frequently: *resceit* 160, *adrescier* 1374, *enbrascea* 535, *resceut*, 3244.

§ 33. *QU*.—*Qu* in *que*, *quant*, *qui* is found more frequently than *k*. *Kant* is more common than *quant*. *Unke* (*unkes*) is the only form used.

§ 34. *CH* (*tsh*).—This sound is denoted by *ch* regularly. The spelling *c* appears rarely: *carbun* 2129, *case* 2957, *sace* 3283, etc.

§ 35. *G* (*g*).—The *gu* from Germanic *w* appears as *g* before *a* and *gu* before *e*, *i*, and *a*: *garir* 64, *gast* 150, *guerpirent* 150, *guise* 2945, *guarisun* 161.

§ 36. *G* and *J* (*dz*).—*G* usually appears before *e* and *i*: *gent* 109, *salvagine* 168, but *jesque* 706, and *j* before *a*, *o*, *u*: *jurs* 17, *jurer* 877, *jadis* 3999. Before *a*, *ge* is found also: *chargea* 736, *geambes* 2408. *Chambes* 2763, *chalus* 3873 may be noted.

§ 37. *W*.—In the MS, according to the Anglo-Norman habit, consonantal *u* is sometimes represented by *w*: *ewe* 1343, *ensuwi* 2519; *w* is inserted occasionally between two vowels in hiatus: *ouwel* 296, *powes* 2753, *jowes* 2754. *W* appears also in *wacrant* 1468, *welcomer* 1530, etc.

§ 38. *H*.—The *h* is aspirated in *honte* 65, *halte* 102, *hericuns* 231. Aspirated *h* is generally preserved: *hardi* 3381, *hauberc* 316. Cf. also § 72. Latin *h* is written in *honour* 262, *hospital* 628, *heir* 1286, but not in *eir* 73, *onur* 1980, *ost* 3366.

The MS shows an *h* in proper names and foreign words, especially after *t*: *Arthur* 137, *Northfolk* 417, *Lothebroc* 1880, etc.

§ 39. *Double consonants*.—The MS shows the following instances of double consonants, which, phonetically, are reduced regularly to a simple consonant in O.F.: *rr: dirrai* 69, *irrez* 726; *ll: apella* 1213, *mellees* 3755; *mm: homme* 67, *femme* 166, *summe* 929; *nn: donne* 161, *enpennez* 313; *bb: abbez* 966; *dd: redde* 1777, *suddviant* 2675; *cc: occis* 346, *acceptable* 719; *ff: suffreitus* 632, *offri* 3098; *tt: gettent* 53, *chapelette* 2829.

§ 40. *DECLENSION: Substantives, adjectives, participles*.—Though the old system is often preserved intact, the tendency toward leveling the declen-

sions in favor of the objective case is very evident in our poem. This tendency appears chiefly in the case of nouns, adjectives, and participles in the predicate.

Masculines in the singular: The nom. sing. preserves its etymological *s*: *reis:deis* 479, *enemis:apris* 2177; also 350, 1128, 1308, 2440, etc., or appears with the accusative form: *pelerin:Costentin* 788, *rei:sei* 2181; also 452, 502, 1472, 2317, 3673, etc. Infinitives used as nouns have no flexional *s* in the nom. sing.: *cumbatre:quatre* 296, and so 495. *Crist* 659, 3006 has no *s* in the nom. sing. *Fiz* has a *z* in the acc. sing. 907, and in the nom. pl. 1903.

Masculines in the plural: A large majority of masculines in the nom. pl. appear regularly without *s*: *marinier:drescier* 1373, *barun:contenciün* 1599; also 42, 136, 154, 187, 287, 365, etc.; but *-s* is assured by the rime in: *aversiers:muliens* 2148, *tiranz:paisanz* 2157; also 209, 375, 1047, 1595, 2399, 3066, 3089, 3912.

§ 41. Nominatives of the II and III declensions are found in the rime without analogical *-s*: *ber:mer* 1371, *mestre:estre* 1934, *sire:cuntredire* 3614; also 1323, 1789, 1950, etc. *Sires:empies* 3259 may be read without *s*. The meter demands *mestre* 2793, *sire* 980, 1602, but *sires* 159.

Hömo becomes regularly in the nom. sing. *hom:Hailesdun* 2176, acc. sing. *home:Rome* 1137; nom. pl. *prodome:some* 3881; acc. pl. *homes* 782. The MS usually shows the spellings *homme* and *hommes*. *Home* appears to be used (nom.) in the predicate in 2266; *home* for the nom. in 1537, 2214, 3482, 3745 is not sure, since *regné, jesques, sages, riches* in each respective line may be read instead of *regne* and the forms without *s*; in l. 2933, *jesqu'* is to be inserted between *hom* and *a.* Cf. 1537, 3494.

§ 42. The Vocative of the II and III declensions is found without an *s*: *mestre:estre* 925, *gent:omnipotent* 95. The *s* of I appears in *amis:pais* 3997, but is omitted in *rei:purquei* 943, and also 533, 1233, etc. In the pl. we have *amis:languis* 673, *segnurs:plurs* 1332.

§ 43. Nouns, adjectives, past participles in the predicate appear in the sing., either with the flexional *s* or with the accusative form without *s*. Nouns (1) with *-s*: 107, 2234; (2) no *-s*: 259, 695, 706, 1265, etc. Adjectives (1) with *-s*: 441, 886, 1330, 1652, 2472, etc.; (2) no *-s*: 146, 439, 510, 1580, 1634, 2856, etc. Past participles (1) with *-s*: 725, 2479, 2538, 3007, etc.; (2) no *-s*: 582, 2252, 2525, 2542, etc.

The nom. pl. of adj. and participle in the predicate appear with or without the *-s* of flexion. The form without *s* is assured by the rime more frequently. Instances of nouns are few. Nouns: (1) no *-s* 242; (2) with *-s* 3791. Adj.: (1) no *-s*: 70, 174, 1100, 1101, 1453, 3752, etc.; (2) with *-s*: 38, 52, 1029, 1078, etc. Past participles: (1) no *-s*: 216, 226, 950, 1473, 1480, 1773, etc.; (2) with *-s*: 293, 976, 1076, 1904, 2835, etc.

The acc. is used for the nominative also (1) in apposition to a noun, a verb: 363, 962, 973, 2113, 2181, 3222, 3476, 3995, etc.; (2) after *cum* (*cume*): 1727, 2799, 3780.

The non-agreement of the predicate adj. and participle is to be found in Marie de France (cf. *Fabeln*, pp. lxxxvii ff.; *Espurg.* pp. 47-48; *Romania*, XXIV, 294), and especially in Benoît de Sainte Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 147 ff.).

The use of the object for the subject not in the predicate also appears in Marie de France (cf. *Espurg.*, p. 43; *Romania*, XXIV, 294), and in Benoît de Sainte Maure (cf. *R. de Troie*, VI, 149), "très souvent comme nom sujet," according to Constans.

On the ground that the *Espurgatoire* shows a larger number of cases of substitution of the object for the subject than the *Lais*, G. Paris (*Romania*, XXIV, 294) regarded the former as a later work, and he accounted for this difference in the language as being due to the fact that the *Espurgatoire* had undergone "plus profondément l'influence du milieu anglo-normand." The same argument may apply to Denis' language. Yet this is not exclusively an Anglo-Norman trait, since it presents itself so frequently and so prominently in Benoît.¹ Here it may be questioned whether, in the case of Marie de France and Denis, we may not have to deal with a southwestern trait which they adopted and preserved, and which later possibly developed during their stay in England.

§ 44. Fem. nouns of the II Declension have in the nom. sing. either the old form without -s (-z) or the analogical form with -s (-z). No -s: *mer:habiter* 406, *gent:apent* 1421, *flairur:odur* 1863; with s: *riens:biens* 414, *flairurs:flurs* 3302.

§ 45. Fem. adj. and participle with *estre* agree regularly with their subject, both in the sing. and pl. (1) Adj.: 842, 1370, 1420, 1606, etc. (2) Participle: 200, 430, 1117, 1490, etc.

There are, however, two cases of non-agreement: *maintenu:fu* 3350, and *creüz:cremuz* 1277 with *crüstienté* and *honur* as the subjects respectively. As *honur* appears to be feminine in our poem, 1144, 1792, 2815, this non-agreement may be looked upon as a poetic license.² Instances of non-agreement occur also in various authors.³

§ 46. The oblique case appears very frequently for the genitive: (1) in fixed expressions: *la Dieu merci* 620, *la grace Seint Espirit* 777, and so: 2477, 2551, 2325, etc.; (2) before proper names: *al braz Seint Jorge* 641, *la gent Offe* 1348, and also: 1063, 1315, 1597, 1635, etc.; (3) when it refers to a person: *le fiz mon cosin* 685, *cosin lur segnur* 828, and so: 849, 1668, 1703, etc.; (4) in the expression *en esté tens* 3542,⁴ but regularly *en tens d'esté*

¹ It occurs also in the *Roman de Saint Michel*, in the *Saint Martin*, and later in André de Coutances (cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 58, 59).

² It may be noted that *honur* is masc. in Gaimar and in the *Brandan* (cf. Vising, *Étude*, pp. 96 and 100).

³ Cf. H. Andresen, *Über den Einfluss von Metrum, Assonanz, und Reim*, Bonn, 1874, pp. 53 ff.; Matzke, *Simund de Freine*, p. xxxviii; Constans, *Roman de Troie*, VI, 161B.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beiträge*, I, §§ 60-61.

3697; (5) we may have to read in 658-59 *en chemin Jerusalem* without a preposition.¹

We have doubtful cases in 607 and 827, since *des Saisnes* (cf. 103) or *Sessoigneis* (cf. 769) could be read instead of *de Sessoigne*. The Latin shows in the same episode such forms: REGIS SAXONICI, MAGNATIBUS SAXONICIS, PER REGEM SAXONUM.²

§ 47. *Agreement of past participles conjugated with avoir.*—In the MS flexional -s (*z*) appears or is omitted, *z* and *s* are interchanged, and the *e* of the fem. participle is left out frequently. Apparently the scribe did not observe any rule. Another difficulty is that, since in our poem the object sometimes replaces the subject in predicate participle, and participles do not always agree with a preceding acc., in a few instances we are at liberty to admit the non-observance of either one of the two rules: e.g., *meis li reis en hé les coilli Pur ceo qu'il erent pruz e hardi* 3883, and also 364, 1975, 2836. Yet, in general, the rime or the meter leaves no doubt as to the correct reading.

Accusative preceding the participle.—When the acc. precedes, the agreement is regularly observed, save in a few cases. Agreement: There are 40 sure instances: 314, 344, 574, etc., and 8 doubtful cases, 326, 3181, 3186, etc. Non-agreement: 1995, 3267, 3174, 3477, 3816.

Accusative following the participle.—When the acc. follows, the agreement seems to be optional. Agreement: 1961, 2361, 3074, 3211, 3595, 3813, etc. Non-agreement: 649, 739, 741, 985, 2605.

§ 48. ARTICLES:

In the MS the acc. is used for the nom. In the nom. sing. *li* occurs twice as often as *le* in the first one thousand lines; in the nom. pl. it is the reverse: *les* appears with greater frequency than *li* in the first four hundred lines. The MS shows sporadically the use of *le* for *la*: *le pais* 134, *le regiun* 444, and also: 1585, 1805, 1863, and *la* for *le*: *la martire* 2134, *la language* 2721 and also: 2811, 2951, 2968 (cf. Stimming, *Boeve de Hauttome*, pp. xi and xiii, for other instances).

§ 49. ADJECTIVES:

Adjectives which had in Latin only one form for the masc. and fem. have no analogical femines in *e*: *granz* 227, *real* 627, *mortel* 2390, *viez* < *vĕrus* 2987.

The meter demands the suppression of such forms: *tele* 748, *quele* 588, *cruement* 765, *reale* 725, *errantement* 671, *fortes* 1342, *vile* 2684, etc. To be noted is *grande*: *Hollande* 1416, which may be a poetic license. Such proper names in *-ande* (cf. 178, 390, 1417, 1421) ought to stand according to the meter. *Forte* 1369 (with hiatus before the conj. *et*) and *fortes* 3018 may be ascribed to the author.

¹ For omission of the preposition before place-names, cf. Tobler, *Verm. Beitrage*, I, § 58, and note, and *Beles pulcelez, fillez Jerusalem* in *Fragment d'un poème dévot*, Bartsch, *Chrestom.* (1908), 16, 49.

² *Memorials*, I, 95, 97.

Dulce 2744, *dulcement* 856, *fole* 2, *folement* 286 are regular O.F. forms. The fem. of adj. in *-eis* ends in *-esche*: *englesche* 3485. *Vereiment* 1889, 2769, 3515, 3655, 3178 stands for *veirement*.

Comparatives.—To be noted is *beleisur* 2934. The MS shows that *graindre* 380, 845, and *mielddres* 1517 are used for the accusative.

§ 50. PRONOUNS:

Personal pronouns.—The tonic forms of the personal pronouns appear: (1) after a preposition *a mei* 59; (2) before an infinitive: *de lui joïr* 469, *devant sei venir* 876, *en tei maculer* 2324; (3) with an indicative: *avrunnt els* 288, *enbruncha sei* 562, *departira mei* 2308, *lui* (MS *li*) *a en son regne alevé* 3317; (4) as a disjunctive: *lui e tute sa parenté* 104, but usually *il*: 106, 611, 1890, etc.

The tonic form *lui* usually appears as *li* in the MS.

Atonic *li* (dative) is the only form for both masc. 449, 524, and fem. 1167, 1173.

Lor (dat. pl.) is replaced generally by *les* in the MS: 161, 256, 268, 287, etc. The correct form is preserved in 180, 274, 332, 1423, etc.

Jeo and *Ceo* are the spellings of the MS. *Ele* has two forms: *ele* 1225, 3056, and *el* (MS *ele*) 39, 1210, etc.

§ 51. *Possessive pronouns*.—The acc. pl. of *nostre*, *vostre* is *noz* 75, and *voz* 884 (MS *nos*, *vos*). When the article precedes the poss. pron., the tonic form is used regularly: *li mien ceptre* 732, *pur la meie* (MS *moy*) *amur* 542, but *un son chevalier* 2209, *un sonevesque* 2287. To be noted is the use of *lor* in: *Tut le mielz d'Engleterre ert lur* 3908, and again: 3368, 3903. The use of *son* for *sa* is to be attributed to the copyist: 763, 983. For elision of *sa* cf. § 72c.

§ 52. *Demonstrative pronouns*.—Forms with *i* are found sporadically by the side of *cil*, *cist*: *icil* 3857, *icel* 111, *icist* 3377, *icest* 1102, and also 1186, 1862, 1921, etc. The acc. pl. masc. and fem. of *cist* appears as *cez* (MS *ces*): 114, 1005, etc., and the nom. pl. masc. as *cist*: 1733. In the MS oblique forms sometimes stand for the nom.: *cels* 177, 521, etc., *cestui* 661, *celui* 1876, etc. To be noted is the use of the demonstrative with a poss.: *de ceste nostre regium* 1729.

§ 53. *Relative pronouns*.—The nom. *qui* (MS *qui*, *ki*) and the acc. *que* (MS *que*, *ke*) are kept separate in a great many cases. Yet the MS shows that *que* (*ke*) stands most frequently for the nom.: 21, 38, 70, 142, 147, 153, etc.; and sporadically *qui* (*ki*) for *que*: 658, 1733, 2585, etc. It is evident that our author is largely responsible for substituting *que* for *qui* in the nom., because of the fact that the vowel (MS *que ke*, *qui ki*, *qu' k'*) has often to be elided with the next vowel: MS *que* (*ke*): 203, 669, 930, 1562, 1606, 1775, 1806, etc.; MS *qui* (*ki*): 170, 1389, 1557, 1636, 1648, 1763, 1872, 1994, etc.; MS *qu'* (*k'*): 1513, 2022, 2459, 2886.

The use of the rel. pron. *que* for *qui* is to be found in Anglo-Norman, Ile-de-France, Champagne, Picard, and Wallonian dialects,¹ but, save in a

¹ Cf. K. De Jong, *Die Relativ- und Interrogativ-pronomina "qui" und "qualis" im Altfrz.*, Marburg (1900), pp. 25–36.

few instances, the West does not show it. This trait does not appear either in the northwestern or the southwestern dialects.¹ In the case of Denis Piramus, we have to deal plainly with an Anglo-Norman trait. The continental Marie de France did not escape the Anglo-Norman influence, and her *Espurgatoire* show several cases.²

Cui (MS *qui, ki*) appears in 2311 and after prepositions: 443, 676, 811, 2000, etc. *Quil* 561, 1593, 2082, for *qui*, and *qui* 211, 1747 for the conjunction *que* are to be attributed to the copyist. *Altrui* (MS *altri*) as a genitive has no preposition: *altrui enfant* 572.

§ 54. VERBS:

Personal endings.—The 1st pers. sing. of the ind. pres. takes neither *e* nor *s*: *cunt:Edmunt* 99, *comant:avant* 708, *rent:omnipotent* 549, but regularly *languis:amis* 674.

The 1st pers. pl. ends in *-um*, and is found in rime with *-un:parlum:barun* 1870; otherwise it rimes only with itself and with *prodom* 3200, *celerum:avum* 1679. *Sumes* is regular 871, 1100.

The 2d pers. pl. ending is *-ez*: *amez:assez* 62, *irez:nez* 726.

The 1st pers. and 2d pers. pl. of the impf. subj. take no *i*: *ralissum:returneriüm* 1662, *menissum* 1667, *feïssum* 1669, *alissez:deviëz* (MS *deverez*) 1244.

The endings *-iüm* and *-iëz* of the impf. and cond. are dissyllabic: *voldriëz* 1222; the meter demands *deviëz* (or *devriëz*) 1243, *returneriüm* 1661, *celeriüm* 1679.

§ 55. *Infinitive*.—Infinitives in *-er* <-ARE and in *eir* <-ĒRE are not mixed in rime.

§ 56. *Indicative present*.—The 3d pers. of *aller* shows two forms, both assured by rime: *veit:feit* 529, *va:a* 1843. *Veit:dreit* 785 is to be mentioned. Cf. § 9. *Tint* 14, 3278 may stand for *tinc* <TĒNEO,³ and *lest* (: *rest*) 1363 for *let*.

§ 57. *Subj. present*.—The 3d pers. sing. of the I conj. has no *e*: *griet:chiet* 704, *port:fort* 1408, etc. The meter requires *prii* 696, *otreit* 3219, *dunt* 449, etc. *Dunt* (MS *doynd*) 3d pers. of *duner* is proved by the rime: *Edmund* 534. Out of rime are found: *doyne* 449, *doune* 2215, *doint* 4022, *pardunt* 3218.

Other conjs. have *-e*: *die* 1217, *prenge* (MS *prengne*) 3636, *asaile:bataile* 1617. The forms from *VĒNIAT* and *TĒNEAT* show *-einge*, *-inge*, *-ienge*, and rime only with themselves: 717, 1621, 2213. An analogical form in *-ge* is assured by the rime: *prenge:venge* 3828. Our text has *alge* 1329, *algent* 260, 271, 1069 of *aler* and *murge* 652 of *murir*. The presence of pres. subj. in *-ge* deserves to be noted. According to F. Kirste,⁴ the pres. subj. in *-ge*

¹ Cf. De Jong, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

² Cf. Jenkins, *Espurg.*, p. 44.

³ Cf. Matzke, *Simund de Freine*, p. xli, for the same instance; Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 34–35; E. Goerlich, "Die südwestlichen Dialekte," *Französ. Studien*, III, 119, 125.

⁴ Cf. *Hist. Untersuchung über d. Coniunctiv Præsens* (1890), p. 68.

"findet sich allein herrschend im Dialekt der Normandie, Bretagne, Anjou und des S. W., sporadisch in der Picardie und Namur." According to Stimming, however, these forms also appear in Anglo-Norman.¹

§ 58. *Imperfect*.—The 3d sing. of the I conj. rimes either with itself or with the preterite of the III conj.; cf. § 15. The regular forms of the I conj. appear in the MS also: 1170, 1262, 1916, 3162. There are two instances in which *out* is found riming with the impf. of other conjs.: *demandeit:aveit* 1151, *giseit:crieit* 3617. These rimes probably ought to be discarded. They occur in the various MSS of the works of a correct writer like Marie de France.² In the first instance *en out* may stand for *aveit* and, in the second, *braieit* for *crieit*. The MS shows once *aportoiënt* 3105, no doubt for *aportouënt*.

§ 59. *Preterites*.—Pret. I takes no *s*: *esbaï:vi* 1255, *fui:lui* 1696, *deguerpi:enemi* 2313.

Pret. 3 has no *t*: *traï:ci* 796, *estendi:miédi* 1182, *fu:Jhesu* 2202.

There is one instance of a preterite 3 in *-ié*: *espandié:lié* 2526, but *espandirent:eissirent* 1254. Other verbs of the same class appear with *i* only: *estendi:miédi* 1182, *entendi:bani* 2339. The presence of this preterite in *-ié* may serve as a clue to the dialect of our author. According to H. Wolterstorff,³ the forms in *-ié* fail to appear in Anglo-Norman, Norman, and Picard, save in the prose MSS of the Cambridge and Oxford Psalters, *La chanson de Roland*, *Samson de Nanteuil*.⁴ The pret. in *-ié* appears to be a continental trait. It is found in Benoît,⁵ though not often. Here again the presence of such a form in Denis Piramus could be explained as dialectical.

The 3d pers. pl. of *faire* is *furent:departirent* 2662; the 3d pers. sing. of *chair*, *chai:altresi* 390; of *remaindre* (or *remaneir*) *remist* 165, 2664, in the pl. *remistrent* 2462; of *voleir*, *volt* 517, 665 (MS *vullt*), in the pl. *voldrent* 164. *Vinch*, 1st pers. sing. 1227, 1245, may be attributed either to the author or the copyist. It is not necessarily a Picard form. It is found in Anglo-Norman and in the western dialects.⁶ In Frère Angier, *c* or *ch* is regularly added to the 1st pers. sing. of the ind., when it ends in *n*, *nt*, *r*, *r+cons*.⁷

§ 60. *Future and conditional*.—To be noted are: *durrai* 556, 601, *lerrai* 2222, *lerreit* 2092, 2089. The MS shows the popular form *recovera* (= *recoverra*) 862, *liverunt* (= *liverrunt*) 3929. Otherwise *amenerunt* 987, *mustrerai* 1688. The meter demands *menreit* 2091, *amenrunt* 960. See also § 69.

¹ Cf. *Boeve de H.*, p. xxxi.

² Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. ciii.

³ Cf. *Das Perfekt der zweiten schwachen Conj.* (Halle, 1882), pp. 28–29.

⁴ Cf. Sophie Hilgers, *Der Lautstand in den Proverbia Salomonis von Samson von Nantuil* (Halle, 1910), p. 20. Did Samson come from Nanteuil in Picardie, now in the Oise Department? If so, the *-ié* forms in Samson could be explained as dialectical, since he would come from the neighborhood of Garnier's birthplace (Pont Sainte-Maxence), and where *Gormond et Isembard* was probably written (Ponthieu).

⁵ Cf. *Roman de Troie*, VI, 145.

⁶ Cf. Goerlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 125.

⁷ Cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, pp. 34, 35, 60.

§ 61. *Imperative*.—The verbs of the II and III conjs. show no *-s*: *di:oi* 2327, *revien:bien* 2211. Subjunctive forms of the 2d pers. sing. appear in the imperat. *voiles* (MS *voyle*) 1852, *seies* 1853.

§ 62. *Subj. imperfect*.—The 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the I conj. show forms with *-iss*: *ralissum* 1662, *menissum* 1667, *alissez* 1244. To be noted also is *volsissent* 1610. *Pooir* has no form in *i*: *pouist:ouist* 379, 2190. *Susum* 950 stands for *fussum* and is not a pres. subj. as Menger claimed.¹

Participles.—Compounds of *lire* have an *i*: *eslit:cit* 1773.

§ 63. *Gerundive*.—The construction with *aler* is common: *vunt wacrant:avant* 1468, and also 1835, 2003, 2039, etc.; with *estre* we have *obeissant:tant* 2220, and 3153, etc.

VERSIFICATION

§ 64. As might be expected of a poet who was familiar with various genres of poetry current in his time in court circles, and with works like *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Marie's Lais*, Denis must have written *La vie Seint Edmund* in octosyllabic couplets throughout: to quote Gröber,² "in richtig gebauten Achtsilbneren." His versification does not differ from that of his continental contemporaries. The MS as it is preserved to us shows, indeed, many irregular lines. Vising, citing *La vie Seint Edmund* as an illustration of Anglo-Norman poems containing "des négligences métriques," long ago stated that "sur les 123 vers de la *Vie de Saint Edmund* communiqués par M. Michel, j'en compte quinze qui sont irréguliers."³ The present survey of the versification, however, will tend to show that these irregularities disappear under criticism and are to be ascribed only to the copyist.

NUMBER OF SYLLABLES

§ 65. Final atonic *e* followed by a consonant in the next word has metrical value regularly (*a*) after a vowel: *folie* 68, *menue* 372, *maladie* 800, since *maladie* 643, 874, *Marie* 3618 occur in doubtful lines, no conclusion can be drawn; (*b*) after a single consonant: *fole* 2, *grace* 23, *dame* 35, etc. The meter demands *sire* 857, 943, etc., *seintisme* 99, 2283, etc., invariably. Line 2330 is to be emended to: *li reis seintisme*. The MS shows *cum*, *sicum*, and *uncore* generally; the meter, however, requires *cume* 1, 29, 298, 360, etc., *cum* 600, 802, *sicume* 385, 401, *sicum* 778, 1486, (the forms with *e* are in the majority), *uncore* 2759, *uncor* 2634, 3271, *ore* 121, 3066, *or* 729, 1003, etc. The MS often shows the omission of final *e*: *fesci* 6, *cunt* 42, *petit* 153, *mesnié* 343, *vessel* 473, *porté* 1036, *escriptur* 3297, etc. In all these cases *e* is called for by the meter.

Conversely, *e* appears many times when it has no metrical value: *curte* 5, *travaile* 54, *nefes* 179, *barunes* 520, *ferme* 2373, *corne* 2671, *croice* 2310,

¹ Cf. *Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 128.

² Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 646-47.

³ Cf. *Étude*, p. 62.

colpe 3776, etc. *Cunseile* 969 and *desdeigne* 1969 may not be attributed to the author; cf. *conseil* 1016, 1102, etc.

§ 66. Final atonic *e* followed by a vowel in the next word has no syllabic value after a vowel: *envie aveient* 2677, *vie aveir* 2169. Also cf. § 73.

§ 67. *-Ent* of pres. ind. and subj. always has syllabic value: *commencent* 2020, *aprochent* 2046, *seient* 2084, *puissent* 2919, etc.

§ 68. As for *-ent* of *-eient* (impf. 6), elision or non-elision appears to be optional. In our MS there are 15 instances of non-elision: 812, 1137, 1400, etc., and 34 instances of elision: 46, 245, 250, 337, 370, 433, etc. It cannot be decided whether the elision is to be ascribed to the author or to the copyist. In some instances the line may easily be emended, while, in most of the others, the perfect is apparently required by the context.

-ent of *-eient* (conditional 6) is not elided: 1609, 2611, 3610, 3922.

§ 69. Atonic *e* between consonants within a word has syllabic value regularly: *enemi* 13, *pelerin* 623, *comandement* 880, *apelereit* 2672. The meter requires *pelerinage* 785, 1136, *larecin* 1955, 3130, *ferieie* 934, *ferunt* 988, *ferieient* 3610, etc.; hence, *frunt* 260 may have to be discarded, and so with *pelrin* 752 which occurs in a doubtful line. Cf. § 81. The MS, however, omits frequently the *e*: *Almagne* 393, *chapels* 629, *gelins* 2113, *Danmarche* 3707, *fortresce* 3796, etc. On the other hand, *e* is often inserted between cons., but has no metrical value: *metterei* 20, *averunt* 288, *overi* 3053, *liweré* 3186, *Ulfeketel* 3773, *combaterum* 3810, etc.; *perderum* 1712, *perderez* 2277 cannot stand and must be corrected. *Espirit* counts for three syllables 23, 777; *angels* (MS) 753 two syllables; *virgine* 3291 three syllables (also in Gaimar 2902); *apostoile* 787 four syllables.

ENCLISIS

§ 70. The enclitic use of *le* and *les* occurs frequently:

A. As an article.—*al* 133, 458, etc.; *as* 46, 270; *del* 110, 271, etc.; *el* 226, 329, etc.; *es* 989, etc. The MS often shows *en le* when the meter requires enclisis: 758, 915, 3013, etc.

B. As a pronoun.—*nel* 836, 954, etc.; *nes* 702; *ne le* (MS) 668, 1323, and *ne les* (MS) 3369, 3374, etc., stand for *nel* and *nes* respectively; the meter calls for *ne le* (MS *nel*) 1189, 2133; *quil* 583, 3279; *sil* 576, 1724; *sis* (MS *si les*) 1363, 2001; *jeol* 126, 3220, the enclisis is required by the meter.

C. After a verb.—*lirel* (MS *lire le*) 44, *lessel* 2242. Cf. in other texts: *merel*, *faiREL* (*Roman de Troie*, VI, 110), *feirel* (MS *feire el*) 360 (*Le livre des Manières*, p. 15) *rumprel* 58c (*La passion du Christ*), *penrel* 150, *rendel* 26 (*La vie de Saint Léger*).

CONTRACTION

§ 71. Save in a few instances of pretonic *e* in hiatus, vowels derived from two vowels which were in Latin hiatus or separated by a consonant are not contracted.

a+vowel: *praëries* 222, *païs* 1030, *hainus* 1888, *traïsun* (MS *treïsun*) 2003, *flaëlerent* 2386, *raïncean* 2522, *aünerent* 2635, etc. The meter demands *gaïgnable* 220, *gaïgneries* 221, *enaïncréés* 1490, *graïntez* 1724, *raïncean* 2074, etc.

e+a: *reäl* 725, *purveänce* 1578. The meter demands *eäge* 509, 1158.

e+e: *veër* 1087, *priveëment* 1556, *creëz* 2273.

There seems to be contraction in the case of *benesqui* 583, *benesquirent* 3255, *beneit* 2857, and possibly of *citeein* 2881, 2969.

The MS often shows contraction: *estrusement* 879, *grent* 1749, *irrement* 3588, *veir*=*veeir* 3959, etc.

e+i: *veïstes* 844, *feïmes* (MS *meïmes*) 947, *neïs* 2733. The meter demands *cuntredeïst* 281, *meïst* 282, 3198, etc.

Contraction justified by the meter is found in *beneçun* (MS *benesciun*) 738 and *mesme* 1755, 1491, 2629, 2916, 3001, but lines 2207 and 1060 are doubtful and *meïsme* may possibly be read. By the side of *poëstif* 1024, 1595, etc., the meter calls for the form *poësteïs* in 1029, 1330, 3500, 3924; both forms are regular and may be found side by side in the same author (cf. *Erec et Enide*, ll. 526, 2327, 5607).

e+o: *gaaïneür* 242, *decoleür* 2445, *salveür* 2492, *meüle* 2544. The meter calls for *empereür* 83, 1134, *turmenteürs* 2395, 2441, *reögna* 3054, etc.

Contraction possibly occurs in *turmenteür* 2478, *decoleür* 2472, 2493, and *gaägneürs* 2158; these words, however, are regular elsewhere. *Leopart* 3780 counting for two syllables is correct O.F.¹

e+u: *eür* 652, *aleüre* 2795, *geünassent* 3215, etc. The meter demands *creüz* 1277, *seüe* 1586, *engendreüre* 1989, *geüst* 2832, *serreüres* 3017. The lines may easily be emended so as to read *jeüne* 3039, 3224 and *bleceüre* 3000, 3243 regularly.

i+a: *fiänces* 916, *diäcne* 3603.

i+e: *obliër* 55, *oriënt* 110, *hardiëment* 269, *depriëra* 448, *diënt* 1105, etc.

We have to read *miëdi* 1181, *miënuït* 2057, to satisfy the meter. *Niënt* is dissyllabic: 594, 702, 960, 3456, 3606, but possibly monosyllabic: 2518 (in the latter line *sa* may be left out). *Niënt* always rimes with words in *-ent*. Here Denis is to be classed with Wace, Benoît (cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, § 47a), and Marie (cf. *Fabeln*, p. civ), who show also *niënt* as dissyllabic.

i+o: *confessiün* 741, *processiün* 2786, etc.; *gloriüs* 2181, *religiüse* 3038, etc. *Pius* 623 as a monosyllabic is regular.¹

o+e: *loëz* 34, *poësté* 1271, *boële* 2412, etc. We have to read *espoëntée* 3576, and *esboëlerent* 2153, leaving out the conjunction *e* in the latter line.

o+i: *oür* 63, *joür* 469, *roül* 2537.

o+o: *roundes* 309, *poüns* 472, *poür* 2227. The meter calls for *espoürie* 3564.

u+vowel: *vertuüses* 901, *fui* 3585, etc. We may read *saluërez* 3954 by leaving out *me* or *e*.

¹ Cf. Tobler, *Versbau*⁴, p. 84.

As we see, silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus has not made much headway in the language of our author. It appears to be certain in the case of the words *beneit*, *mesme*, and possibly *benesqui beneçun*, and a few others. Some instances are doubtful, since the same words have the regular number of syllables elsewhere. Otherwise pretonic *e* in hiatus has regularly syllabic value. On the continent the silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus made its appearance late in the twelfth century.¹ Gaston Paris, however, remarks² that *mesme* is "very old" and *benoit* appears early by the side of *beneoit*.

In Anglo-Norman, aside from a few cases of contraction in *Brandan*³ and *Gaimar*,⁴ silencing of pretonic *e* in hiatus is common with *Adgar*,⁵ *Fantosme*,⁶ and *Simund de Freine*.⁷ Marie de France even shows a *beneit* in the *Espurgatoire*.⁸

It seems that pretonic *e* in hiatus became generally silent in Anglo-Norman in such words as *meïsme*, *beneïit*, *beneïçun*, etc., in about the last quarter of the twelfth century. Simund de Freine shows *meïsme* as two-syllabic and *beneïçun* as three-syllabic regularly.⁹

ELISION

§ 72. A. In the case of *ne* (NEC), *que*, *si*, *se* (SI) *jeo*, *ceo*, elision is optional before initial vowels.

ne: 720, 918, 2439, etc.

n': 78, 234, 284, etc.

que: 77, 151, 268, 291, etc.

qu': 11, 48, 68, 71, etc.

si: 555, 942, etc.

s': 652, 703, 1610, etc.

jeo: 16, 18, 1589, etc.

j': 2237.

ceo: *ceo est* 929, 1581, etc., *ceo ert* 1321, *ceo en* 3315, *ceo esteit* 3468, etc.

c': *c'est* 74, 201, etc., *c'ert* 1156, 2807, *c'aveient* 2679, *c'oi* 2283.

Si < sic does not seem to be elided in our poem, 19, 32, 43, 491, etc.

For the article *li* nom. sing. the meter demands elision in 1893, 2186, 3227, etc., and non-elision in 527, 559, 843, etc.; *li* nom. pl. masc. does not lose its vowel: 1951, 3519. Cf. § 48.

Li (dat. s. pron.) possibly elides its vowel in 970, 1521.

¹ Cf. Nyrop, *Gramm. hist. de la lang. franç.*, I, § 264, Remarque.

² Cf. *Vie de St. Gilles*, p. xxiii, note.

³ Cf. Suchier, *Saint Auban*, p. 27.

⁴ Cf. Vising, *Étude*, p. 82.

⁵ Cf. *Marienlegenden*, *beneit*, -te: 5. 61 p. 22, 6. 305 p. 36, 11. 21 p. 58, etc.; *meïsmes*: 5. 220 p. 26, 8. 233 p. 48, 21. 1 p. 130.

⁶ Cf. Suchier, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

⁷ Cf. Matzke, *op. cit.*, pp. l-lil.

⁸ Cf. Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. civ.

⁹ Cf. Matzke, *op. cit.*, p. li and glossary.

Qui preserves its vowel in 200, 1196, 1254, 1264, etc.; for the elision of *qui=que*, cf. § 53.

En apparently loses its vowel after *cea* in *cea en arriere* 709, 802, 3242; the MS shows once the elided form (3242). The MS shows that *en* has no metrical value after *e* (*et*), 588, 758, 922, 1030, 3039, 3208.¹

B. Before *h* aspirate, atonic *e* is preserved: *le hidus* 2590, *de haches* 3756. Ll. 2186, 2191, elision in *se hasta* is doubtful: in the first line *li* before *aversiers* may be elided, while in the second *haste* may be read. In l. 2062, the *h* of *Hubbe* is not aspirate (cf. *Ubbe* in Gaimar, 2896).

Apparently we have elision of *e* in: *Dist son message hardiement* 2246, and of *a* in: *La veile treient jesqu'a l'hune* 1379, unless these lines be emended by leaving out *son* in 2246 and *'* in 1379, or the fifth syllable be considered as having no metrical value. Silencing of *h* aspirate is found in *Frère Angier*.²

C. The feminine form of the poss. adj. appears with elision in *m'entente* 20, *s'espee* 2493, *s'eschiele* 3134; the meter calls for *s'offrende* 627, *s'oreisun* 1510, 1511, *s'altre gent* 1659 and apparently for *sue almosniere* 577, *sue alme* 1316, *sue amur* 3274, *sun eveschié* 3213.

HIATUS

§ 73. Other cases of non-elision of atonic *e* outside of those mentioned above appear in our text. They are classified under the headings adopted by G. Rydberg.³ It has to be acknowledged that, at times, an example placed in one section may just as well be placed in another.

Logical hiatus.—*Vortigernē unt iluc pris* 345 and in ll. 694, 786, 979, 981, 1495, 1713.

Hiatus before the conjunction et.—*Fist le servisē e la feste* 1765, and in ll. 327, 1369, 1548, 1772, 2021, 2709, 2862, 2907, 2926, 2988, and 1950, if we read *Bern* instead of *Berīn*.

Metrical hiatus.—*Fu departiē en treis sens* 112, and in ll. 438, 1515, 1887, 2187, 2722, 2920, 2957, 3148, 3192.

Hiatus after a heavy consonantal group.—*Nus vus dirum nostrē avis* 1018, and in ll. 882, 1316, 1835, 2192, 2419, 2862, 2981, 3139, 3345, 3381, 3973.

Hiatus may be avoided in 952 by substituting *jesques* for *jesque*, and in 3768 by reading *lancer e traire*, if *treier* stands for *traire*.

§ 74. The initial vowel of *estrange* in *d'aler en estrange regiūn* 1276 may fall, but, since *regiūn* may stand for *reiūn*, this case remains doubtful.

In ll. 1301, 3071, *vesque* (MS *evesque*) may possibly be read. This form, due to a misdivision of the article, is not of rare occurrence.⁴

There may be a case of synalepha in: *Ceo fu Inguar qui la avala* 2061.

¹ Cf. Suchler, *op. cit.*, p. 31. 6.

² Cf. Miss Pope, *Étude*, p. 28.

³ Cf. *Zur Geschichte des französischen* (Upsala, 1897), II, 89–202, 177–78.

⁴ Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. des Altfrs.*, § 11A.

§ 75. A few incorrect rimes are to be noted: *parz:chalanz* 2029, *veir:cerchier* (MS *cerchir*) 2673, *grante:face* 3281. In the following lines, where the meter is either too long or too short, the rimes may have been tampered with by the copyist: *fet:net* 661, *forz:cors* 2667, *venuz:peresceuz* 3853. To be mentioned is *arveire:receivre* 1829, but *creire:arveire* 78; cf. *creire:receivre*, *R. de Thèbes* 2845, *espoire:boivre*, *G. de Dole* 3436.

IRREGULAR LINES

§ 76. After Anglo-Norman traits and metrical matters have been considered, quite a few lines remain either too long or too short. But the chief causes of these irregular lines, as we find, lie in the omission or addition of short words which may easily be omitted or added by a scribe: conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, etc. Otherwise, frequently, when emendation is necessary, it is plain from the context that the line has been changed by the scribe. Sometimes the need of substituting the correct form of a word is self-evident and needs no comment. The corrections or tentative corrections that we offer are not forced, but are, on the contrary, justified mostly by the presence elsewhere in the poem of forms similar to the ones that are suggested.

Here follows a list of the emended lines. The six- and ten-syllable lines are printed in full. Corrections aiming to improve the reading of some octosyllabic lines are also offered. The words and syllables in brackets are the emended forms, while those in parentheses appear in the MS.

§ 77. *Six syllables restored to eight.*—

- 246 *E (del un) [de leüns] e [de] tuz blez.*
 575 *L'enfant [Edmund] tost apela.*
 794 *Reçut [Dampne] Deus en sa gloire.*
 993 *Ne sanz mon fiz [la mer] passer.*
 1001 *Kant [Offe] de lui s'en ala.*
 1060 *[Si] cum[e] mesmes vostre cors.*
 1162 *Pur Deu [e] en pel[e]rinage.*
 1316 *[En] porterunt s'almë en ciel or, porterunt (s)[ue] almë en ciel.*
 1789 *Kant [l'enfant] Edmund li seint ber.*
 2063 *D'am[bedous] parz trestuz s'armerent.*
 2176 *Iluc meint [Edmund] ceo dit hum.*
 2305 *Il seit tesmoign[erre] de mei.*
 2380 *Pur poi que mort [li reis] ne fu.*
 2451 *Tanque le seint[isme] martir.*
 2719 *Par treis (feiz) [feïes], her, her, her!.*
 3144 *Kar l'uis voelt [fraindre e] descloer.*
 3270 *(E) li grant, [li meien], e li mendre.*
 3275 *Dit en ai [une] grant partie.*
 3473 *Ne nul [hum] ne s'en (perneit) [purveët] or, ne nul ne s'en [aperceveit].*

L. 297 is also two syllables short.

§ 78. Seven syllables restored to eight.—

A. By the insertion, (1) of a conjunction: *e* 4, 265, 427, 522, 529, 563, 616, 756, 969, 1288, 1846, 1959, 2004, 2015, 2070, 2152, 2206, 2581, 2638, 2680, 2856, 2900, 2958, 3014, 3091, 3110, 3383, 3555, 3558, 3629, 3758, 3875 (unless *contreire* should be read as a fem. noun); *que* 681, 3927; *kar* 776; *ne* 1260, 1731 (or *jeo*), 1826, 2798, 3828, 3890; (2) of an adverb: *en* 33, 1677, 1834, 2381 (or *dunkes*), *s'en fu* 1501; *i* 483, 488, 1041, 1045, 1337, 1550, 2277, 2432, 2801, 3118, 3170, 3940; *si* 22; *mais estre* 31; *tut ensemment* 305; *quant* 751, the Latin reads: *QUIA IN CHRISTO OBIT REX HUMILIS ET PEREGRINUS* (*Memorials*, I, 97), hence read *en J.C.* instead of *de J.C.*; *ja* 1138; *n'* 2137; *ne* 2688; *mult* 2170; *tant* 2913; *desqu'a cel* 2933; (3) of a preposition: *de* before *pain* 162, *Jhesu* 1572, *pestilences* 3453; *a* before *estrus* 727, *segnur* 1639, *Edmund* 2498, *dolur* 3664; *pur sun* 2620, *hors* 3653; (4) of a pronoun: *nus* 860; *rus* 1065, 1240; *il* 1033, 3738, *il e sa gent* 3829; *l'* 1558, *la* 1380, *le* 1825, 2559, *li* 2653, *li en prist* 3045; *lor* 304, 1107, 1378, 2816; *sa voiz* 2708; *cil* 3643; (5) of *par* before *ai* 3, *tres* before *tut* 1720, *tuz* 2159; (6) of an article: *li ussier*, *li cou*, omit *e* 817, *le fiz* 1979, *li nostre* 2253, *l'oil* 2433, *le cors* 2469, *le fin* or 2510, *li* 4010; *la mer* 265, 2094; *uns sages* 1306, *un* 3476; *des* 2141; (7) of an adjective: *pius* 440, *chiers* 533, *nul si chier aveir* 1221, *nul delai* 2281, *grant peine* 2743; (8) of a noun or a name: *Edmund* after *enfant* article elided 499, 603, *reis* 100, 621, 3700, *riens* (or *choses* and read out for *aveit*) 663, *li duc*, *l'engres felun* 2334, *e Deu* 3216; (9) of a verb: *unt treit* 2415, *li cors fu* 2557, *ert enfraite* 3562, *il mielz pout* 3646, *unt qui a funz* 3696.

B. By the restoration of the correct form (1) of a verb: *feseie* 6, *grieve* 158, *furent* (*sunt*) 200, *aveient* 301, *poient* 302 cf. 254, *blesmisse* 702, *areie* 715, *feriüm* 880, *ferieie* 934, *teneient* 1137, *deviëz* or *devriëz* 1243, *areisona* 1204, *orent* (*n'unt*) 1448, *aoré* 1519, *mainteingē* or *-ent* 1620, *avruni* 1621, *returneriüm* 1661, *celeriüm* 1679, *paruni* 1754, *munteit* 1942, *furent* 2121, *parole* 2165, *veëit* 2435, *demandereient* 2649, *ajusterent* 2821, *esparpilé* 2842, *erreier* 3360, *hai* 3375, 3909, *osereient* 3606, *firent* (read *si MS son*) 3729, *choisie* 3784, 3813, *feseient* 3840; (2) of a noun: *Hunestanestun* 1498, 1513 (cf. *Memorials*, I, 100), *runcerei* 2702, *curbé* 3157, *Westsexe* (WESTSEAXAS) 3347, *forteresce* 3796, *Kanut* or *Kenut* 3987; (3) of an article: *la parfin* 446, *la fertre* 3086, *la cunté* 3528; (4) of an adjective: *trestute* 3932; (5) of a pronoun: *les escrist* 3472; (6) of an adverb: *cume sage*, *cume leal*, omit *et* 1726.

C. By restoring an *s* to the following: *sages* 887, *cointes* 936, *jesques* 952, 1537, *a merveiles* 1492, *poeples* 2257, *evesques* 3073, *sages* 3482, *riches* 3745.

D. By the substitution of another form: (1) verb: *resurst* 142, *ameine* 851, *purparolent* or insert *i* before *parolent* 1392, *esgarde* (or with hiatus *gardē e*) 1524, *poëit* 1920, *recunquerre* 3440, *demustre* 3635, *feseit* 3666, *orent* 3733, *esteient* 3896; (2) substantive: *feïe* 1096, *selve* 2569, 2582, 2666; cf. 2693; (3) adverb: *forment* 27, *dunques* 1767, 3995, *de ci quē*, or *en Northumbre*¹

¹ Cf. H. Rose, *Romanische Studien*, V, 367-68.

391, *ententivement* 1832, *neïs* 1900, *ne* 2134, *issi* 2229, *ainceis* 3185, 3427, *sicume* 3239, 3663, 4002, *ici* 3322; (4) preposition: *ovek* 24, 3406, *devers* 1182, 1529, *de devers* 1366, *desoz* 1940, 2850, *apres* 2800, *envers* 3810; (5) *li* for *le*: 527, 559, 843, 1433, 1758, 3142; (6) other words: *depuis* 1696, *nostre* (le) 1712, *de ses* (des) 3792, *ambedous* 3754.

E. By the addition of an initial *i* to demonstratives: *icest* 688, *icel* 1768, *icele* 3041, *icels* 3112, *iceo* 1226, 2736, 3611.

F. By the transposition of words: *De sen acu* 1702, *en France reveit* 3416.

§ 79. *Nine syllables restored to eight.*—A. By the omission: (1) of a conjunction: *e* 93, 474, 481, 791, 922, 1496, 1600, 1654, 1693, 1928, 2031, 2153, 2346, 2512, 2844, 2966, 3207, 3548, 3630, 3929, 3947, 3954; (2) of an adverb: *i* 181, 3778, *si* 260, 2472, 2564, *pas* 1076, 2526, 3425, *en* 1638, 3936, 4029, *la* 2061, *ja* 2475, *mult* 3618; (3) of a preposition: *a* 135, 140, 153, 580, 1682, 1728, 2833, 3776, 3964, *de* 168, 659, 3925, *en* 666, 3026, *par* 861, 1658, *hors* 1502, *pur* 2372, *od* 3145; (4) of a pronoun: *il* 28, 221, 344, 582, 588, 1351, 1936, 1995, 2082 (read *de* for *del*), 3028, 3113, 3223, 3730, 3884, 3988; *jeo* 1248, *rus* 569, 1730, 2276, *se* 2105, 2223, *que* 822, *qui* 4017, *les* 3711, *sa* 1666, *son* (read *l'anel* and *de* instead of *en*) 1672; (5) of an article: *li* 667, *le* 1999, 2478, 3540, 3823, 4006, *la* 1201, 2086, 2536, 3193, *les* 419, 3551, *un* (or read *dancel* instead of *juvencel*) 1977; (6) of an adjective: *bon* 716, 1653, *grant* 2838, *seint* 3570; (7) of a noun: *dame* (read *K'a rus ne seit*) 1223 *d'or* 3092; (8) of a verb: *ai* (read *reçui*) 2311, *est* 2906, *ad* 3279.

B. By a change usually demanded by the context (1) of the verb: *suelent* 46, *valt* 61, *morut* 147, *aveit* 148, 2022, *entre demandent* 203, *oënt* 266, *trespercent* (omit *Ke*) 315, *out* 445, 739, 741, 1552, 3480, *suelt* 655, *prit* 696, *afiez* 729, *seit* 1068, *poet* 1094, 1528, 2073, 2077, *escrieve* 1331, *crevée* 1404, *veient* 1417, *abat* 1470, *orer* 1549, *suelt* 1568, *ert* 1933, *vint* 2107, *fu* 2122, *pout* 2188, *haste* 2191, *dunt* 2215, *geinst* 2284, *ot* <AUDIT 2297, *mené* 2364, *desirent* 2612, *l'overte* (*a overte*) 2728, *funt* 2950, *issent* 2970, *parut* 3000, *cumbat* 3781; (2) of the noun or proper name: *prince* 105, *foil* 316, *Lindsie* 395, 398, *vis* 1167, 3644, *Bern* (Latin WERN) 1894, 1937, *pere* 2006, *cumpagne* 2053, *message* 2243, *ministre* 2378, 2560, *mandemenz* 2438, *decolere* 2493, *branche* 2698, *enfertez* 3454, *Edred* or *Ealured* (the Latin reads EDERED) 3505, *vesquens* 3638, *Ulfketel* 3748, *croisseiz* 3819, *soing* 3852, *espié* 3870, *erté* (or read *n'out*) 3906; (3) of an adjective: *greindre* 1012, *veire* 1264, 1265, *veir* 1265, *triste* 2645; (4) of a pronoun, article, preposition, adverb, conjunction: *cest* (*cesti*) 808, *cel* (*celi*) 3713; *d'* (*del*) 400, *al* (*of le*) 1164, *al* (*de*) 2563, *de* (*del*) 2579; *oveke* (*ovekes*) 2660; *ariers* 251, *la* 642, *unc* 743, 1906, 2946, 3243, 3420, *longes* (read *out*) 2991, *d'iluc* 3175, *ne* (*mie*) 3854; *e* (*de*) 1647.

C. By substituting another word in faulty passages: *puer* (MS *penser*) 53, *a seür* (*asez seur*) 651, *tel* (*cele*) 1114, *nel* (*nela*) 1203, *dreit* (*e veit*) 1525, *le* (*l'enfant*) 1678, *ne* (*de li*) 1943, *prest* (*prestez*) 2028, *entre* (*a tere*) 2763, *meint* (*oyent*) 3107, *jut* (*i ust*) 3161, *dunt grace* (*seit grante*) 3281, *oes* (*ose*) 3772.

D. By the transposition of words: *les oënt de joie* 47, *En ordre* (dist) [vit] *cum* (veü) [dit] *aveit* 1303, *li reis seintisme* 2330.

§ 80. *Ten syllables or more restored to eight.*—

- 614 (*E ere*) [eirre] e[n] *chimin* (e) *matin e seir*.
 643 (*Iluc*) [la] (li) *prist maladie si grant*.
 796 *Ne* (de) *cil* (*Offe*) [qui] *Seint A(i)elbrict traï*.
 874 *En maladie dunt* (*apres*) *murut*.
 1173 *Avis li fu que* (*le reis*) (*se tendi*) *s'estendi*.
 1598 *Pur le réalme Offe* (*mes*) *overreient*.
 1974 *Kantes cités e* (*kantes*) *mansüens*.
 2332 *E li mes* (*sagier*) *out passé le soil*.
 2480 *De* (*tres*) *tute la falde* (*de*) [as] *berbiz*.
 2523 (*Cil Dieus*) *pur saner nus en ceste vie*.
 2689 *Ne* (*a ceo*) *feïssent enterrement*.
 2771 *Si oblié del tut* (*en tut*) *esteit*.
 2874 *N'i vindrent* (*mie*) *soverement*.
 2968 *Tut* (*e*) (*la*) [le] *clergié de la cité*.
 3030 *Que nul* (*e*) *damisel* (*e*) *de juvent*.
 3138 (*En le*) [el] *mustier la ou* (*il*) *voleit estre*.
 3523 *Un* (*e*) (*bele*) *miracle, une grant vertu*.
 3654 (*E*) *li diables* (*resceive le malbaillie*) [*l'out en baillie*].
 3693 (*E*) *en un* (*e*) *ord* (*e*) *putel qu'ert parfanz*.

§ 81. In some octosyllabic lines, the meter is right, but the reading is obviously wrong. The following corrections may be suggested. Emendations introduced by Mrs. Ravenel in her edition are not mentioned again here. *N'en oï* 82, *levé est* 119, *la pais* 134, *galerne* 134, *ruïste* 186, *nagent* 218, *granz orent* 392, *asazées* 416 (cf. 413) order in prose: *Le païs est establi de treis cuntrées asazées de bien*, 421 *est*, that is 'East,' *nurris* 571, *estrées* 640, *pas ne* 656, [*Le*] *rei enoint e* (*umble*) *pel*[e]rin 752; cf. § 78A2, § 69, *l'escrepe* 783, *ne cil* 795, *sanz engan* 803, *einz* (*en*) 869, *pas ne me merveil* 937, *seïmes* 947, *fusum* 950, *en serement* 990, *unt* (*out*) 1013, *trovés veires cume durent* 1124 (omit *estre*), *ert forçur* (*enforcir*) 1197, *ne li* (*na li*) 1205, *l'esgarde* 1207, *treëit* 1219, *veire* 1264, *s'esluigne* 1402, *n'unt vent ne bise* 1413, the second half is not sure 1457: *li sigle eigier* or *eigüier* with *est* (or *sunt*) understood: 'the sail is watery or wet,' or without a comma after *unc* (MS *unt*): 'they never had to spread the "watery" or "wet" sail' (the form *aigüier* is found in Godefroy), *l'asen* 1475, *queste* or *quiert* 1585, *fesimes* 1676, *ovré* 1725, *voleir sunt paruni* 1754, *encuntre* 1821 (no semi-colon after 1820), *enrichiz* 1911, *amanantiz* 1912, the reading seems hopeless 1970, possibly: *lanier*, *cuart*, *malveis*, *respit!* (or *maldit*), *cunreerent* 2064, *veziez* 2087, *estenglesche* and *muntenesche* 2119–20 on account of *beste* (in 2119 hiatus with *tere*), *qu'i erent* 2131, *sil* 2221, *nen* or *n'en aiez* 2227, *recovre* 2420, *puisque oie l'unt* or *puisquë oï l'unt* 2726, *rechan* 2734, *l'esprova* 3083, *oscur* 3121, *seür* 3122, *nes eüst* (*ne les out*) 3186, *numbrez* 3289, *aümbrez* 3290, *des Franceis* 3421, *Aluré* 3441,

recovrier 3452, *a l'ure* 3568, *a or en l'entur* 3624, *esluignerent* 3741, *nes (ne)* 3845, *de fi* 3958, *une envaie* 4023. Add *pout* 2136.

LIST OF UNUSUAL WORDS

- aate*, convenable, approprié 1492 (not in Godefroy with this meaning).
acés, *par acés e par amuntées* 2043. I have not been able to find the same phrase elsewhere. Denis is fond of pairs of words expressing the same idea, e.g., *que par chemins que par estrées* 640, and so: 324, 758, 2697, 2939, 3740. Here it apparently refers to the risings of the waves and would mean: 'par flots montants et ascendants.' Cf. *le flot montant* 2108 where the flow of the tide is understood, and also *accessa maris*, *recessa maris*, *accessus maris*, in Ducange, *Gloss.*, s.v. "Accessa."
aguë, MS *aguwe* aide 1585.
aloër, placer, mettre. MS *alient* = *aliuent*, ind. pres. 6, 1388.
amuntées, 2043. See *acés*.
aramir, rassembler, raccoler 302, *areimer* 254.
arveire, illusion, mensonge 78, 1829.
asen, direction, chemin 1475.
asenément, sagement, doctement 512. This word may stand for *enseignément*.
barate, chose pénible, embarras 3280, *moveir* 3808 causer de la confusion, de l'embarras.
batestal, tapage, bruit 3163.
belbelet, objet d'ornement 3091. Cf. Fr. *bibelot*. (For a discussion of this word, see W. Foerster, *Zeitschrift f. Rom. Phil.*, XXII, 263, 509; and Miss Pope, *Étude*, p. 90).
besorder, souiller 2164.
bleste, motte de terre 2684.
bo, bracelet, anneau 3092.
boëline, bouline 1381, 1455, MS *le boëlin*. This word is usually feminine in O.F. In Denis it appears to be masc., unless the article be omitted and *boëline* be read. (As for *le* for *la*, cf. § 48, and for omission of atonic e, cf. § 65.)
compasser, ordonner, régler, bâtir, mesurer, arranger 37. The MS has *compensa* for *compassa* (or better *compessa* by Darmesteter's law). *Compas* applied to a metrical form occurs in the *Leys d'Amors*, Appel's *Prov. Chrest.*, 1912, pp. 197 ff.; cf. also: Vous, grant seigneur, vous, damoiseil, Qui a compas, qui a cisel Tailliez et compassez les rimes Equivoques et leonimes. Gautier de Coincy, from Tobler, *Versbau*⁴, p. 157. Bédier-Aubry, *Chansons de Croisade*, pp. 222, 225, have another instance of *compenser*, but the reading is doubtful.
contemple, temps, circonstance 3465.

costée, côte 1401 (not in Godefroy).

crucièment, tourment 2516.

cruïstre, grincer 1965.

decoleur, bourreau 2445, 2454.

desglagier, faire périr par le glaive, la lance, 2148, 2350. Cf. in Godefroy *deglavier*, *deglavier*, *sorglaigier* and from Wace, *Brut* 8738, *deglaveis* (var. *deglateiz*).

deshanekier, ôter les voiles ou les cordes qui tenaient les voiles serrées sur les vergues 1376 (Godefroy).

enberser, frapper, percer à coups de flèches 2457. (Not in Godefroy.) Cf. *berser*, tirer de l'arc.

encriémé, for *encriémé*, "anointed" 762, 3878. Here like Fr. *fiéffé* in *coquin fiéffé*.

engan, tromperie, fourberie 803. MS *seneghan* = *senz engan*.

erreier, être dans l'erreur 3360.

espeisse, fourré 2699.

estâif, qui séjourne, s'arrête. MS *estais* 412, 2172, MS *astais* 3880. The meaning of this word has been often misunderstood. Constans (*Rom. de Thèbes*, Voc.) translates "tranquille"; Bartsch-Horning (*La lang. et la litt. franç.*, 1887, Gloss.), "dépouillé du lard"; G. Paris (*Romania*, XVIII, 149) correctly, "qui n'avance pas, qui reste en place"; W. Foerster (*Cligés*, 1910, Gloss.), "lässig."

estuchier, enfoncer 2423. Cf. *estoquier* in Godefroy.

fierges, chaînes, entraves 3176.

fricum, (?) (Not in Godefroy.) Perhaps an error for *bricun*, scélétrat, lâche 2333.

gaāgnable, labourable, cultivable 220.

gaāgneür, laboureur 242, 2158.

galerie, vent de nord-ouest; here by extension = le nord 134.

grañt, concession, don 392. MS *grant*.

grifain, épervier 2540; this is the only definition quoted by Godefroy.

Here apparently an adj. meaning "cruel"; also cf. Italian *Grifagno* and *Grant guerre aurunt ki null lur iert griffaine*. Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique*, l. 695.

hallos (?), embarcation 2031. (Not in Godefroy with this meaning.) Cf.

the following: *hallope* 'filet de pêche' (*Romania*, XIX, 349) and *salope*, same meaning (*Dict. Gén.*); *mariesalope*, bâtiment qui porte en mer les vases, les sables (*Dict. Gén.*); it is known that a ship and a net may be called by the same name, e.g., Fr. *gabare*; *saloppe*, adj. Cotgrave (1611) looks upon this word as Orleanais; Fr. *chaloupe* appears in D'Aubigné (see Littré, *Dict.*) and in Cotgrave; Eng. *shallop*. *Hallos* rimes with *partros*. *Partros* makes no sense; possibly we should read

par tros. *Tros* means 'trouçons,' 'morceaux,' 'portions' (cf. Godefroy). Here by extension of meaning 'groupes,' 'sections.' Cf. *troche* 'quantité' 'troupe.'

ham, village 2199. (Not in Godefroy.)

hanekier, équiper, mettre 1458.

harpun, objet d'ornement 3093. Cf. *N'arunt anials as deiz, ne harpuns al col mis*. *Serm. s. le jug. de Dieu* (from Godefroy who gives no definition).

hée, haine 1948; or possibly this word may stand for *hië* or *hiée*, attaque, violence.

holgurdine(?), MS *holgurdins*, nautical term, meaning unknown 1456. Possibly the same word as *bagordinge* (*Seint Gilles*, 887) and *gurdingues* (*Wace's Brut*, 11505).

justise, juge 2304.

knivet, canif, petit couteau 347.

lof, some implement or contrivance for altering the course of a ship (from Murray's *N.E.D.*) 1378, 1454. Cf. Eng. *luff*.

mielé, doux comme le miel 1500.

molle, (?) ind. pres. 3 from inf. *moller*, mouler, faire 3559. Here possibly, by extension of meaning, 'machiner,' 'projeter.' Cf. Eng. *mull*, work mentally, cogitate (*Webster's Dict.*).

munteneis, montagnard 2120. (Not in Godefroy.) On account of *beste*, we probably should read *muntenesche*.

musceouns, (?) 347. (Not in Godefroy.) The context demands "en cachette," and this word is apparently connected with *muscier* = cacher. It may also be the same word as *musceison*, *en musceisons*, 'cachette,' 'en cachette' quoted by Godefroy, s.v. *muçoison*.

nusche, bijou, collier, boucle 3092.

partros, (?) 2032. See *hallos*.

pelfer, dérober, piller 3737; Eng. *pilfer*.

pensé de purpens pensée perfide, déloyale 1821.

perceü (?), présomptueux, immodeste, insensé 3854. MS *peresceuz*. Cf. § 8 and § 30. Also with this meaning:

Or pierderay le pris dont j'anoie granment,

Nices et perceüs et plain de fol talent.

—*Chevalier au Cygne* 28151 (from Godefroy s.v. *perçoivre*).

Fiers et estouz et parceüz

—*Claris*, 8364 (from Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.*, I, 147, note).

pumpée, feste, pompe 2315. Godefroy defines: 'arrogance.'
putel, boubrier, mare 3693.

quereür, chercheur 2711.

rifei, taillis, fourré 2681; *ruslei*, 2567, 2584. Godefroy quotes *rifeiz* only.
Rifei and *rifeiz* are doublets like *joncheiz* and *jonchei*, *ronceiz* and *roncei*.

rolle, papier, parchemin roulé; liste 3560.

selve, bois 2693.

sovenierement, MS *sovenement* souvent, fréquemment 2874.

suchier, penser, supposer 1594, 2663.

sufoir, creuser en-dessous 3147.

terel, cap, promontoire, terrain 1491. The Latin reads PROMONTORIUM (*Memorials*, I, 99). (Not in Godefroy.) *Terrel* and not *terral* may be the O.F. form for Fr. *terreau* (cf. *Dict. Gén.*, s.v. *terreau*).

tresvasé, éperdu, bouleversé 3659. (Not in Godefroy.) This word is found also in the *Reimpredigt*, st. 62 and in the *Modwenna* 1488c. (For discussion, cf. Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. 74, n., 62 f.).

vezié, prudent, rusé 1819, 3788.

welcomer, faire bon accueil 1530.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES

<i>Aelfwine</i> , Alfwin, English name 3892	<i>Bederiz</i> , Beodrich, a king 2902 (<i>Mem.</i> , I, IV, note)
<i>Aieldred</i> , Ethelred, English king 3868	<i>Berin</i> , <i>Baerin</i> , a son of Lothebroc 1937, 1894 ²
<i>Aielred</i> , Ethelred, English king 3513	<i>Bretagne</i> 128
<i>Alain</i> , king of Armorica 159	<i>Bretun</i> 136
<i>Alemagne</i> , 393	<i>Brut</i> , British king 129
<i>Aluré</i> , Alfred, English king 3479 ¹	<i>Bunde</i> , a priest 3649
<i>Ambresbire</i> , Amesbury 339 (<i>Mem.</i> , II, p. 147)	<i>Bures</i> , English town 1759
<i>Angle</i> , Anglia 383	<i>Castre</i> , Caistor(?), a town in Norfolk 1625
<i>Armoniche</i> , Armorica 152	<i>Charles li Chalf</i> , French king, 3401
<i>Arthur</i> , British king 139	<i>Costentin</i> , a pope 787
<i>Athelston</i> , Athelstan, English king 3503	<i>Cumberland</i> 3931
<i>Atle</i> , Attle, English king 1565	
<i>Atleburg</i> , Attleborough 1564	
<i>Bederichesworthe</i> , Beodrichsworth, modern Bury 2901 (<i>Mem.</i> , I, IV)	<i>Dampnedieus</i> 523

¹ This name counts for three syllables: 3441, 3483, 3489, 3497; the Latin shows ELVEREDUS, ALUREDUS, AELFREDUS (*Mem.*, I, 28-29); Alvrez counts for two syllables in Marie de France (*Fabeln*, *Epilogus*, 16) and in Wace (*Brut* 3395).

² The meter calls for *Bern*; cf. Latin WERN (*Mem.*, I, 102).

- Daneis*, the Danes, 3365
Danemarche 3917
Dieus 22
- Eadred*, Ethered, English king, 3361
Ealured, MS *Ealured*¹ 3505
Edgar, English king, 3507
Edmund, *Edmun*, Saint Edmund 80, 3294
Edward, English king 3499
Edwi, English king 3506
Eliseu, the prophet Elisha 3192
Engleis, the English 177
Englere 107
Escardeburg, Scarborough 236 (*Mem.*, II, 144)
Escoce 3905
Estantle, East-Anglia 411
Estsexe, Essex 417
- Flandres* 1422
France 3395
Franceis 3412
Frise, Friesland, 1411
- Gainesburc*, *Gheniesburc*, Gainsborough 3934, 3905
Gales, Wales 323
Galtier, French name 3890
Gernemue, Yarmouth 4004 (*Mem.*, II, 249)
Guteis, the Goths 178
Gutlande, Gothland 178
- Hailesdun*, English place 2175 (cf. *Corolla S. Ead.*, p. liii; *Mem.*, II, 198)
Hamtune, Southampton 386
Henge, Hengist, 327
Hors, *Horse*, *Horsa* 327, 343
Hospital, Knights Hospitallers of St. John 628
- Hollande*, Holland 1415
Hubbe, a son of Lothebroc 2088²
Hubert, a bishop 1763
Humbre, the river Humber or read *Northumbre* = Northumbria 391
Hunestanestun, MS *Hunstanestun* Hunstantun 1498
- Jerusalem* 447, 658
Jhesu Christ 448
- Kanut*(?), MS *Knout*,³ English king 3987
Kadawaladre, *Kadew*,⁴ MS *Rad*, British king 140, 145
- Lefstan*, a viscount 3527
Len, Lynn, 1476 (*Mem.*, II, 179)
Leafwine, English name 3891 (*Mem.*, II, 246)
Linde, a baron 397
Lindsie, MS *Lindeseie*,⁵ Lindsey 395
Lothebroc, Danish invader 1880
- Maidenesboure*, Maidensbower, a promontory 1495
Marie [*de France*], the author of the *Lais* and *Fables* 35
Markiers, Morcar, English name 3893 (*Mem.*, II, 246)
Martin, a pope 3476
Mortimer, a prominent Anglo-Norman family 1568
- Northfolk*, Norfolk 417
Northumberland 3932 *Norhumbreland* 2054
Normandie 3390
Norwiz, Norwich 1721
- Offe*, king of East-Anglia, 441
Orefort, Orford 2100 (*Mem.*, II, 196)

¹ This name probably stands for *Eadred*, since the Latin reads *EDERED* in the same passage (*Mem.*, I, 29).

² This name appears to count for two syllables, and so in Gaimar, *Ubbe*, 2896, 3152, 3158, and Pierre de Langtoft, *Hubba*, I, 312.

³ In Wace's *Roman de Rou*, *Kenut* = two syllables; in Gaimar, *Cnuht* = one syllable.

⁴ Latin, *Cadualladrus*; Wace's *Brut*, *Caluanders* = four syllables; Pierre de Langtoft, *Cadualdre* = three syllables; *Le livre de reis de Brittanie*, etc., p. 40. 18, *Cadeuualadre*.

⁵ In Wace and Gaimar this name counts for four syllables.

- Paris* 3395
Partonopé, the romance of *Partonopeus de Blois* 25
Pilate, Pontius Pilate 2366
Piramus, Denis, the author of *La vie Seint Edmunt* 16, 3279
Robert, French name 3890
Richier, French name 3889
Ringhamere, English town 3857 (*Mem.*, II, 245)
Rome 786
Samarie, Samaria 3194
Sarazin 2675
Sathanas 2314
Sesnes, MS *Sechnes*, the Saxons 103
Sessoigne, Saxony 452
Sessoigneis, the Saxons 769
Seint Aielbrict 761¹
Seint Augustin 1871
Seint Jorge 641
Seint Michiel 1315
Seint Pere, Saint Peter 1132
Selande, Zeeland 1421
Siverz, Sigferth, English name 3893 (*Mem.*, II, 246)
Sture, the River Stour 1778
Suain, Sweyn, Danish king² 3703
Suaneis, the Suiones or Swedes 3715
Suthfolk, Suffolk 417
Tamise, the Thames 386
Temple, Knights of the Temple 628
Theodred, a bishop 3071
Thinghowe, Thinghow 3549
Tiefort, Thetford 3742 (*Mem.*, II, 242)
Ulfketel, MS *Ulfeketel*, Earl of East-Anglia 3748 (*Mem.*, II, 242)
Uterpendragun, British king 135
Vortigerne, British king 133
Westmeriland, Westmoreland 3931
Westseze, Wessex, 3347
Westwikins, the western Vikings, 3716
William, French name 3890
Winedeis, the Wends 3716 (*Mem.*, II, 241)
Witheme, the river Witham(?) 402
Yngar, a son of Lothebroc 1893

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¹ The Latin reads: EDELBERTUS (*Mem.*, I, 97).² This word counts for one syllable here and also in Gaimar, but for two syllables in Wace's *Roman de Rou*, *passim*.



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THE CELTIC ELEMENTS IN THE LAYS OF *LANVAL* AND *GRAELEN*¹

The Lay of *Lanval*,² attributed to Marie de France and written during the third quarter of the twelfth century, is one of the gems of mediaeval romance. Its popularity in England is attested by the preservation in several manuscripts of an early English translation³ which became the basis of Thomas Chestre's deservedly famous *Launfal*.⁴ The main thread of Marie's poem, which differs in certain points from Chestre's, may be summarized as follows:

Lanval, one of the king's knights, who has become impoverished by lavish giving, rides forth alone to seek solace. On arriving in a meadow, he dismounts from his horse and lies down by "une ewe curant." He is soon approached by two damsels. One carries a golden basin, the other a towel. Addressing the knight, they summon him to their mistress, who, they tell him, is near at hand.

¹ This article forms the third of a series dealing with the Celtic elements in the Breton Lays. See *Revue Celtique (R.C.)*, XXXI (1910), 413 ff. (reprinted in part in *Studies in Philology* [University of North Carolina], XI [1913] [Menasha, Wis.], 26 ff.); *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, pp. 377 ff.

² Ed. Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, 2d ed., Halle, 1900, pp. 86 ff. For other editions, see *op. cit.*, p. iii. Cf. Miss A. H. Billings, *Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances* (Yale dissertation), New York, 1901, pp. 152 f.

³ See Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 3; *Percy Folio Manuscript*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, London, 1867, pp. 144 ff.; Rudolph Zimmermann, *Sir Landeval* (Königsberg dissertation), 1900; A. Kolls, *Zur Lanvalsage* (Kiel dissertation), Berlin, 1886. Cf. Miss Billings, *loc. cit.*

⁴ For editions, see *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 2. The text used for the present discussion is that of Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, London, 1802, I, 170 ff. Chestre's poem dates probably from the first or second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Following them a short distance, Lanval reaches a magnificent tent in which, reclining upon a couch, is a beautiful woman "en sa chemise senglement."

tut ot descovert le costé,
le vis, le col, e la peitrine [vss. 104 f.].

The lady recognizes Lanval at once, and addresses him as follows:

pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;
de luinz vus sui venue querre [vss. 111 f.].
. . . . jo vus aim sur tute rien [vs. 116].

If he is "pruz e curteis," he may have such "joie" and "bien" as never emperor, queen, nor king possessed. Lanval is immediately smitten with love, and promises to give up all other women for the lady. The latter now grants him her favors, but requires that he shall never mention their love. If his relation to her becomes known, he will lose her forever. She promises to visit him wherever he desires, provided the place be such that one can meet his "amie" there "senz repreuce e senz vileinie" (vs. 166). At their meetings he alone will be able to see or hear her. The lady now bestows rich clothing upon her lover, and after entertaining him at dinner, dismisses him. On reaching home, Lanval finds his retainers well clad. He has all the wealth he can desire, and is often visited by his mistress.

Some time after the meeting with the lady of the tent, Lanval receives an offer of love from the queen, but he refuses to wrong his lord the king by accepting it, and, angered by the queen's taunts, boasts of his mistress, whose beauty he asserts far surpasses that of his temptress. On returning to his dwelling, he finds that the lady of the tent does not appear at his desire. Later the queen accuses him of having insulted her, and he is arrested. It is decreed by the court that if at the expiration of one day he can produce his mistress and if she is as beautiful as he has described her, he shall be acquitted of the charge. Wild with grief at the loss of his "amie," he refuses to eat or drink. Those who visit him "mult dotouent qu'il s'afolast" (vs. 416).

At the expiration of the allotted time the barons, finding Lanval unable to fulfil the requirement, are about to pronounce judgment when the lady of the tent, preceded by two companies of lovely

damsels who herald her approach, arrives at court. Dropping her mantle, she advances into the hall. Her radiant beauty proves her lover's claim, and Lanval is acquitted. As she leaves the court, the knight leaps on her horse behind, and is carried off by her to the beautiful island of Avalun.¹

Nuls n'en of puis plus parler,
ne jeo n'en sai avant cunter [vss. 663 f.].

The main thread of Thomas Chestre's *Sir Launfal* agrees in general with that of Marie's poem, except that at the end of the English lay the hero accompanies his mistress on a horse which had been given him by her earlier in the story. Every year on a certain day the animal may be heard and seen, and its master is ready to joust with all comers.²

The twelfth-century lay of *Graelent*,³ though neither the source nor the pendant of *Lanval*, tells a very similar story. It runs as follows:

Graelent, a noble knight "de Bretuns nés" (vs. 5), is loved by the queen of Bretagne, but he refuses her offer of affection. Angered at the rebuff, the queen speaks ill of him to the king, who withholds the pay due Graelent for service in time of war. Sad at heart because of poverty, Graelent wanders into the forest, where he starts a white hind. On pursuing the animal, he comes to a beautiful fountain in which a maiden, with two attendant damsels, is bathing. Graelent steals up quietly and takes the lady's clothes. The latter at first becomes terrified and begs him to return her property, even going so far as to offer him gold. When, however, Graelent asks her love, she treats him scornfully. The knight now threatens to keep

¹ For Marie's "Avalun" Chestre's poem substitutes "Olyroun," the name of a real island (Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X, 13 f.), but the author knew that Launfal's destination was fairyland, for he tells us so (vs. 1036). Cf. Koehler in Warnke's *Die Lais*, Introd., p. cxii, n. 1.

² Besides the earlier translation of Marie's lay, Chestre used the anonymous lay of *Graelent* (see n. 3, below), and introduced into his poem two long episodes drawn from his imagination or rather from the common stock of conventional chivalric material (Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X, 5). For the purposes of the present discussion these two extraneous episodes may be disregarded. As will appear from the following pages, Chestre also probably drew certain features of his work from popular tradition.

³ Ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, Paris, 1820, pp. 486 ff. Roquefort erred in attributing *Graelent* to Marie de France. Cf. Wolf, *Über die Lais*, Heidelberg, 1841, p. 238, n. 73; and Koehler in Warnke's *Die Lais*, Introd., pp. cx ff. See further Miss Billings, *op. cit.*, p. 153. In the quotations from *Graelent* the more glaring errors in Roquefort's text have been rectified.

her garments. He finally induces her to leave the fountain and dress, whereupon he carries her into the dark forest and makes her his mistress. The lady now suddenly changes her manner entirely. She tells him that she has visited the fountain for the purpose of meeting him and that she has long known of his coming. She also grants him her love and promises him great riches, assuring him that she will visit him whenever he desires, provided he does not reveal her existence.

Like Lanval, Graeent loses his mistress through a thoughtless boast. Each year at Pentecost the king is wont to give a banquet. At the conclusion of the feast the king

La Reine faiseit munter
Sor un haut banc e deffubler [vss. 418 f.].

It was then the duty of all present to praise her and to declare that they knew nothing so beautiful. Graeent, who happens to be present at one of these strange ceremonies, keeps silent. On being asked by the king why he withholds his praise, he announces that he knows a woman thirty times as fair as the queen. The king thereupon threatens him with life imprisonment if at the expiration of a year he cannot produce the woman whom he praises so extravagantly. Graeent later finds that his mistress does not appear at his desire, and is overcome with the most bitter remorse. Finally, however, the lady of the fountain returns, arriving at court just in time to save her lover from the threatened punishment. When she departs, Graeent mounts a wonderful horse (one of his mistress's gifts), and, in spite of her warning, follows her. He rides after her into a river. Here he is on the point of being drowned when he is saved by the lady and carried off. He has never returned. The horse, escaping from the water, mourns for the loss of his master. He may still be heard at this season of the year.

The poems outlined above evidently represent variants of the same theme: a supernatural woman bestows her affection upon a mortal, but forsakes her lover when the latter breaks her command. This formula of the Offended Fée is widespread in the folk-lore of many ages and countries. It is found in the early literatures of India, Greece, Italy, and Western Europe, as well as in a large number of modern folk-tales in various languages, and is probably most

familiar in the Melusine story.¹ From what source it found its way into the poems before us is the question of which a solution is attempted in the following pages.

THE CELTIC HYPOTHESIS

The Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* belong to that class of mediaeval episodic narrative poems known as "Breton Lays"; that is to say, they claim descent from Celtic tradition. Since, however, a number of mediaeval poems calling themselves "Breton Lays" show no discernible similarity to early Celtic literature, either in material or in method of treatment,² the label "Breton Lay" taken alone cannot be regarded as justifying the inclusion of any untested poem in the Celtic heritage of Western Europe.

Per contra, we have no right to regard the occasional unsubstantiated use of the term "Breton Lay" as warrant for concluding that the designation was never applied to stories of Celtic origin. The fact that a large number of mediaeval poems were called "Breton Lays" furnishes strong presumptive evidence that tales told originally by "li Bretun"³ were known and relished in courtly circles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Moreover, the application of the term to stories bearing no distinct trace of Celtic influence argues mightily for the existence and popularity of other stories regarding which the claim was justified. The conclusion seems unavoidable that mediaeval poets first attached the label only to stories derived from Celtic sources, and that the popularity of such stories inspired other writers to adopt the title as a literary device for attracting a larger audience by claiming for their work an origin of which it could not justly boast.⁴ Indeed, the very existence of the term "Breton Lay" can be satisfactorily explained only on the

¹ See Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, Hannover, 1856, pp. 4 ff. In the stories of Psyche (Apuleius, *Met.* iv) and of Lohengrin the place of the fairy-mistress is taken by the supernatural lover.

² Cf. Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV (N. S. VIII) (1900), 173.

³ The much- vexed question of whether "Bretun" means Britons (Welsh) or Bretons is immaterial. See Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfr. Lit.*, 2d ed., Halle, 1913, pp. 335 ff. For bibliography and a collection of material, see A. B. Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on the Arth. Rom. of Chrestien de Troies* (University of Chicago diss.) Menasha, Wis., 1913, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ Compare the many palpable imitations of negro folk-tales which have appeared in recent years as a result of Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's successful retelling of the Brer Rabbit stories.

hypothesis that the first Breton Lays in French were founded on stories actually current at one time in Celtic-speaking communities. Although, aside from the evidence of place- and personal names (which is often far from conclusive),¹ the considerations set forth above furnish the chief reasons for looking to Celtic tradition for the origin of Breton Lays, they cannot in justice be disregarded. The mediaeval poet tells us that the story he relates was once current among "li Bretun"; only in case a careful search through preserved Celtic literature dating from a period earlier than the middle of the twelfth century prove unfruitful, are we at liberty to regard his claim as in the slightest degree suspicious.

It is also necessary to emphasize one or two facts sometimes overlooked by those unversed in the ways of tradition. The investigator of the Celtic origins of mediaeval romance has nothing to do with the ultimate origin of the stories with which he deals. They may be *gemeinkeltisch*; they may have got into Celtic from classical or oriental tradition, or from any other possible source; they may, as in the case before us, belong to that class of widespread tales whose beginnings are lost in the mists of unrecorded time. If the student of popular origins can show that the chief elements in a Breton Lay were present in Celtic literature at a sufficiently early period for them to have reached directly or indirectly the ears of mediaeval romancers, he has vindicated the truthfulness of the narrator.

Before proceeding to an examination of the lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent*, we shall find it convenient to summarize another Breton Lay which resembles in some respects the stories outlined above. Guingamor, the hero of the poem which bears his name,² refuses an offer of love from his uncle's wife, the queen, and through her machinations is induced to undertake the capture of a mysterious white boar which uses in a perilous forest near the court. After chasing the animal for a long time "parmi la lande aventureuse," Guingamor crosses "la rivière perilleuse," and finally reaches a magnificent, though uninhabited, palace. Leaving the building to continue

¹ Cf. Voretzsch, *loc. cit.*, and p. 393. On the Celticity of the name Lanval, see Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 798 f.; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 176, n. 1. On the name Graelent, see *infra*, p. 37, n. 4.

² Ed. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 51 ff. Cf. Schofield, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, IV (Boston, 1897), 231 ff.

the hunt, he finds himself in a "lande." Here he discovers a fountain with gravel of gold and silver, in which a damsel is bathing a beautiful woman. Guingamor steals the lady's clothes, but she, far from showing any fear, addresses him at once, and, calling him by name, rebukes him for his discourtesy. Guingamor returns her garments, whereupon she offers to entertain him and give him the boar's head. She then grants him her love, and takes him back to the palace, which, on his arrival, he finds peopled with gay knights and ladies. At the expiration of what seems to him three days Guingamor prepares to return home. On departing he is warned by his mistress against eating food on his journey. When he reaches his own country, he finds that he has been absent three hundred years. Hunger seizes him, and he eats a wild apple he comes across on the road, whereupon he falls from his horse a weak old man. He is, however, rescued from his sad plight by two mysterious women, and by them is carried back to his mistress's kingdom, where the lovers are reunited.

It is obvious that in the Lay of *Guingamor* the story of the mortal who receives the love of a *fée* and meets with disaster by disregarding her injunction, is combined with an account of a preliminary journey to the *fée's* land. The hunt for the fairy swine, which furnishes the induction to the meeting with the lovely bather, the perilous forest and river, and the empty palace which later becomes filled with knights and ladies, are all stock features of the conventional Journey to the Other World, both in popular literature and in mediaeval sophisticated romance. The scene of Guingamor's relations with the lady is evidently the fairy world; in order to reach its happy fields he must leave the land of mortals; and his misfortune from eating the apple on his return is indisputable evidence that he has been a dweller in that realm whose viands no son of earth may touch and ever again eat food on mortal soil.¹

¹ The folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* combined with the preliminary Journey to the Other World occurs in other mediaeval documents. See, for example, the early fourteenth-century Italian romance of *Lo bel Gherardino*, ed. Francesco Zambrini, in *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*, LXXIX, Bologna (Romagnoli), 1867, 21 ff. Koehler (*Die Lais der Marie de France*, p. cxv) and Panzer (*Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, CXXVII [Tübingen, 1902], lxxxv), apparently misunderstanding a reference by Schoffeld (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV [N.S. VIII] [1900], 164, n. 1), make the mistake of asserting that *Lo bel Gherardino* is published by D'Ancona in *Una poesia ed una prosa di A. Pucci*, Bologna, 1870. A somewhat similar story is told in the fifteenth-century

In the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* the situation is different. Although certain features, such as the guiding damsels in *Lanval* and the hunt for the white deer in *Graelent*, were probably borrowed from the conventional Journey to the Other World, the main events were certainly felt by the narrators as taking place in the world of mortals. In *Lanval* the fée's habitation is far from the spot where she encounters her lover, for she tells him expressly:

pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;
de luinz vus sui venue querre [vss. 111 f.].¹

Like Argante, the elfin queen who heals Arthur's wounds, and like other fairy women of mediaeval romance, she dwells in the isle of Avalon, whither, be it noted, her lover does not go until the end of the story, and whence, Marie tells us, he has never returned.²

Italian romance of *Liombruno*, summarized by Panzer (*loc. cit.*) and Koehler (*op. cit.*, pp. cxv f.; *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 308 ff.).

A late version found in the Middle High German romance of *Seifrid von Ardemont* is so much confused by the introduction of extraneous episodes as to be of little or no use for our purposes. The romance has been edited by Friedrich Panzer, "Merlin und Seifrid de Ardemont von Alberecht von Schafenberg in der Bearbeitung Ulrich Füetters." *Bibl. des litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, COXXVII, 61 ff.; cf. Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., II, 1 (1901-9), 288. In *Gauriel von Muntabel*, another late and extremely corrupt Middle High German romance, the circumstances under which the lover first met his fairy mistress are not described (*Gauriel von Muntabel, eine höfische Erzählung aus dem 13. Jahrh.*, ed. Ferdinand Khull, Graz, 1885).

The same type of story is doubtless preserved in Chrétien's *Yvain*. See A. C. L. Brown, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 1 ff.; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (1905), 674 ff.

See further *Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834; cf. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, pp. 307 f.).

¹ In *Graelent* too the fée's words imply that she has come from a distance (vs. 315). For other fairy women who have come long distances to look for their lovers, see *Perceval le Gallois* (Conte del Graal), ed. Potvin, vss. 40,589 ff.; Lay of *Melion* (vss. 111 ff.); *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37, A, st. 4).

² In the Lay of *Désiré*, which gives a version of the Offended Fée somewhat similar to those found in *Lanval* and *Graelent*, though considerably altered by the introduction of extraneous features, the meeting between the lover and his mistress evidently takes place in the world of mortals. The hero sets out to visit a good old hermit, whose abode, in the forest of "la Blanche Lande" near his home in Scotland, he has often visited as a boy. On the way he meets at a fountain under a great tree a damsel bearing two basins of gold. The latter conducts Désiré to her mistress, whom the knight finds nearby lying on a beautiful bed "dedens une foillée" and attended by a maiden. The lady at first flees from him, but when he urges his suit, she grants him her love. Before dismissing him, she gives him a ring with the caution, "Si vus meffotes de nent, | L'anel perdez hastivement". Later she forsakes her lover when he speaks of her at confession. After a year, however, she restores to him her favor, and, returning later, carries him off to her land, whence he has never returned. The Lay of *Désiré* has been edited by Francisque Michel, *Lais inédits des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1836, pp. 10 ff.

An even more obvious case in which the fairy mistress visits the world of mortals in search of her lover occurs in *Peter von Staufenberg*, a Middle High German romance

Early Celtic literature is rich in accounts of journeys to the Other World. In one of the many variants of this theme a mortal visits fairyland and wins the love of a *fée*, sometimes losing her afterward as the result of breaking her commands. In another equally well-defined type of Celtic fairy-mistress story there is no question of a journey to the Other World. The *fée* visits the land of mortals in search of her lover, and remains with him until, through his disregard of her injunctions, she disappears. In other words, the motif of the Offended *Fée* exists in early Celtic literature independent of, as well as in combination with, the Journey to the Other World.¹

which was written probably during the fourteenth century and which records a tradition associated with the Staufenberg family settled in the vicinity of Strassburg. See Edward Schröder's ed. in *Zwei allddeutsche Rittermaeren*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 1 f.; cf. *Göt. gel. Anzeigen*, 1895, pp. 407 f. The story, which Schröder regards as originating from a "keltisch-germanischer mythenwurzel," is briefly as follows: Peter von Staufenberg, while riding from his castle to Nuzbach to hear mass on Easter Day, finds by the roadside a beautiful woman sitting on a stone. On his addressing her and asking how she comes to be there alone, she replies, "da han ich, frünt, gewartet din" (vs. 331), and adds that she has loved and protected him since the beginning of his career. When he asks her love, she acquiesces at once and promises to visit him whenever he desires, but she warns him that if he takes a mortal wife, he must die. She then presents him with a ring, which, however, is not said to possess any especial virtue. She later visits him often at his castle, and gives him rich gifts, which he distributes lavishly. At length when Peter is urged to take a mortal wife, and in explanation of his refusal tells of his fairy mistress, he is assured by a priest that his supposed lady-love is really "de tuvel in der helle." He therefore agrees to wed a lady of this world. Three days after the marriage he is a dead man.

A further instance of the type of story in question is found in the fourteenth-century Italian romance of the *Pulzella gaia* (ed. Pio Rajna, *Per nozze Cassin-d'Ancona*, Florence, 1893.) Galvano finds in a forest a serpent-lady who becomes his mistress. The lady bestows upon her lover a ring which will supply all his needs, but which will disappear if he reveals her love. Later Galvano refuses the love of a queen, as a result of whose hatred he is subsequently led to boast of his fairy mistress at a tournament. Just as the unfortunate lover is about to be executed for his inability to produce his mistress, the *fée* returns and by her beauty substantiates his claim that she is fairer than the queen. She departs, however, without becoming reconciled to him. Galvano finally recovers her favor, but not until he has passed through many dangers and difficulties. (On this romance, see further E. Freymond, *Vollmöller's Krit. Jahresbericht*, III [1891-94], 2, Erlangen, 1897, p. 167; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 163 ff.; Koehler, *Warnke's Die Lais*, pp. cxv f.) The *Châtelaine de Vergi*, written during the late thirteenth century, tells how a knight, beloved by a lady who forbids him to speak of their relations, loses his mistress by revealing the secret. It has been suggested that the story is based on a scandal at the court of Burgundy during the late thirteenth century (G. Raynaud, *Rom.*, XXI [1892], 153); but there is also reason to believe that the foundation of the narrative was the folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* retold by a Burgundian author who hoped to enlist added interest for his work by connecting it with the history of his native province (cf. L. Brandin, *Introd.* to A. K. Welch's Eng. trans. of the *Châtelaine de Vergi*, London, 1908, pp. 8 f.). See further Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 176.

In another familiar type of story the fairy mistress, although visiting the world of mortals in search of her lover, carries him off at once to fairyland. The motif of the *fée*'s injunction and its breach may or may not be present. Cf. the romance of *Thomas of Erceuldoune* (ed. J. A. H. Murray, E.E.T.S., London, 1875) and the corresponding ballad of *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37); the ballad of *Tam Lin* (Child, No. 39); Miss

The influence on mediaeval romance of Celtic stories involving both the fairy mistress and the Journey to the Other World has long since been recognized. The fact appears, however, never to have been emphasized that the equally important and far simpler type also finds parallels in mediaeval sophisticated literature. The thesis maintained in the following pages is that the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* are ultimately based on Celtic tales in which the féé seeks out her lover in the land of mortals, becomes his mistress, and lays upon him commands, the breach of which results in the severance of their relations.¹

THE FAIRY MISTRESS IN THE WORLD OF MORTALS

Early Celtic literature abounds in stories of supernatural women who visit the world of mortals in search of their chosen lovers.² An Irish romance whose similarity to the lays under examination makes

Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903, pp. 19 f.; *Serglige Conchulainn*; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, pp. 81 ff.; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ireland*, I, plates 37 and 38; II, App. IVA-I, D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, I, 170 ff. (cf. especially Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zt. für vergl. Sprachforsch. u. Lit.*, XXVIII, 594 ff.); *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg* (*Ossianic Soc. Trans.*, IV [Dublin, 1859], 235 ff.); *Acallamh na Senórach*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (*S.G.*), II, London, 1892, p. 204; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, IV, ix, ed. Wright (*Camden Soc.*), 1850, pp. 170 ff.; *Echtra Condla* (see below, p. 10, n. 2).

¹ In the case of the Irish documents utilized in the course of this discussion, lists of editions and translations other than those referred to may be found in a *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* [ed. R. I. Best] (*National Library of Ireland*), Dublin, 1913; referred to as *Bibliog.*

² The *Echtra Condla*, one of the earliest and most beautiful Irish romances, tells how a fairy woman seeks her lover in the world of mortals and carries him off to the over-sea Elysium. For editions and translations see *Bibliog.*, pp. 106 f. Cf. F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVII, 559 ff.; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, London, 1895, pp. 144 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 28 f. See also C. Gough, *Prince Connla of the Golden Hair and the Fairy Maiden*, Dublin (Gill), n.d. For other Celtic stories in which fairy women visit earth to seek for mortal lovers, see *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Ériu, Jour. of the School of Irish Learning* (Dublin), III (1907), 150 ff.; Royal Irish Academy, *Irish Manuscripts Series*, I, 1 (1870), 38 f.; *Dindschenchas, Folk Lore*, III (1892), 478 f., 505; *R.C.*, XV (1894), 437 f.; *R.C.* XVI (1895), 32 ff.; *Silva Gadelica*, II, 479; *Laoidh Oisín, Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV (1859); cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 207 f., and *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1896), 186 ff. For other cases of supernatural women in the world of mortals see *S.G.*, II, 203, 214 ff., 239 ff., 257; *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, p. 236; III, 2, p. 473. Cf. *R.C.*, XXI (1900), 159; XXXII (1911), 53 f. It has been shown that the source of the Old French, Irish, and Latin versions of the Werewolf's Tale (except Marie's Lay of *Bisclavret*) contained a story in which "a féé abandons the Other World and marries a mortal" (Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 195). See also Seumas MacManus, *Donegal Fairy Tales*, pp. 177 ff.; William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (2d ser.), Penzance, 1873, pp. 288 ff. (cf. Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 149). Cf. Wace, *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. H. Andresen, Heibronn, 1879, II, 3, p. 284, vss. 6, 409 f., where the author informs us that "li Breton" of his day believed that féés might be encountered in the forest of Brechelliant. See further Gervais

it of the greatest interest for our present purpose is the *Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca* (Death of Muirchertach mac Erca).¹ Though the story in its present form postdates the Scandinavian invasion of Ireland, it must have been in existence before the middle of the twelfth century.² The thread of the narrative runs as follows:

Muirchertach, king of Ireland, while out hunting one day, sits on a hill. "He had not been there long when he saw a solitary damsel beautifully formed, fair-headed, bright-skinned, with a green mantle about her,³ sitting near him on the turfen mound; and it seemed to him that of womankind he had never beheld her equal in beauty or refinement." He immediately becomes enamored of her. The lady tells him that she is his darling and that she has come to seek him. She adds that her name (which is *Sín*, "Storm") must never be mentioned by him, and that for her he must abandon

of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, ed. Liebrecht, pp. 4 ff., 65 ff.; *Jour. Oriental Society*, XX, 150; Leopold von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Minus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 239. Lalstner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, II, 427. For modern Celtic fées who visit the world of mortals, see below, p. 33, n. 2, p. 34, n. 2, p. 37, n. 3.

¹ Ed. Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, XXIII (1902), 396 ff.

² The death of M. is mentioned in the *Book of Leinster* (LL) (written ca. 1150) in a poem attributed to Cinaed Ua Artacain († 975): D'Arbols de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, Paris, 1883, p. 29; *R.C.*, XXIII, pp. 328, 339. Two poems on M. are quoted by the annalist Tigernach († 1088). Our story is referred to in the prose *Dindsenchas* (*R.C.*, XVI [1895], 66), which, though written down probably during the twelfth century, contains a great deal of material current during the ninth and tenth centuries. Though the point is of doubtful value for establishing the date of the *A.M.*, attention should be called to the conclusion of Alfred Anscombe that Muirchertach died A.D. 515 (*St. Gildas of Ruys and the Irish Regal Chronology of the Sixth Century*, privately published, 1893, p. 44). See also *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 512, note.

³ In *Launfal* (vs. 235) the maidens who summon the knight are dressed in green. For Celtic examples of green as a color for other-world beings or objects, see *R.C.*, XXI, 159; XXIV, 136, 149; XXVIII, 155; *Ériu*, III, 169; *S.G.*, II, 203, 257; *Ir.T.*, IV, 1, p. 255; *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., p. 340; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, p. 121; *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VI (1858), 360; VII (1859), 136; Hogan, *Lays and Legends of Thomond*, new ed., Dublin, 1880, p. 149; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, pp. 14 f., 133; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, p. 204; *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 105. Among the mediaeval romances, see *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vss. 20,005, 29,822; *Liabeus Desconus*, st. 26, l. 307; Chld, *Ballade*, No. 37; cf. the Green Knight of our best Middle English romance. Examples might be multiplied.

In the final episode of *Graelent* the fée is dressed in red. Red is also a popular color in fairy lore. In Celtic, see, for example, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (ed. J. T. Gilbert), I, Dublin, 1874, xxxvii; *R.C.*, XXII, 22, 36; *Ir.T.*, II, 2, pp. 242, 248 f. Cf. *R.C.*, XXI (1900), 157; *Ériu*, III, 153; G. Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, Le Havre, 1901, pp. 11 ff.; J. G. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 22, 29; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 102, 135; Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 105; *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX (1905), 678, n. 2. Among the mediaeval romances, see *Perceval*, vss. 2,063 f, 9,292, 10,185 ff., 15,524; *Chevalier de la Charette* (Lancelot) (ed. Foerster), vss. 1,671, 5,519; *Lancelot of the Laik* (ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1865), vss. 990 f.

his mortal wife. Muirchertach takes her home to Tara, and, after expelling the queen, places Sín on the throne by his side. The woman claims to be a follower of God,¹ but she gives evidence of various uncanny powers and causes her lover no end of trouble. One night she creates a great storm, during which the king accidentally mentions the word *sín*. Thereupon she surrounds the house with a host of spirits and sets it afire. Muirchertach, unable to escape, leaps into a vat of wine and is drowned. At the funeral of the king the woman reappears. She tells how Muirchertach had killed her father, mother, and sister in battle, and how she had attached herself to him for the purpose of revenge. She had, however, apparently fallen in love with her intended victim, for she dies of grief for his death. If we separate from this story the Christian elements, which tend to transform the *fée* into a demon, and the feud motive, which tends to make her a mortal woman, we have something like the following:

A beautiful and capricious woman from the Other World comes to the land of mortals, seeks out her chosen lover, declares her affection for him, and enthralls him by the sole power of supernatural love and beauty.² She forbids him to mention her name. The disregard of her command results in disaster.

Meetings between *fées* and their earthly favorites are also described in the *Acallamh na Senórach* (Colloquy of the Old Men),³ which, though compiled in its present form about the end of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century,⁴ contains, fitted into the framework of a dialogue between St. Patrick and the last survivors of the Fenian band, many topographical legends and other scraps of Celtic tradition which date from a much earlier period. An episode in this thesaurus of early Irish folk-lore⁵ describes a meeting between the king of Connacht and a princess of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who seem to have been early identified with the *sidhe*,

¹ For other examples of fairy beings who profess faith in Christianity, see *R.C. XXXI* (1910), 414, n. 1.

² Late in the story we have a suggestion of Sín's original character in the statement that M. thought she was "a goddess of great power" (*bandéa o morcumachta*): *ed. cit.*, pp. 406 f.

³ The best edition is that of Stokes, *Ir.T.*, IV, 1 (1900). For other editions, see *Bibliog.*, p. 189. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, ed. of 1873, Dublin, pp. 307 ff., 594 ff.; *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, Dublin, 1873, III, *passim*.

⁴ See Stern, *Zt. für celtische Philologie (C.Z.)*, III, 614. ⁵ *Ir.T.*, IV, 1, pp. 269 f.

or fairies. One day Aillenn Fial-chorcra (Purple-Veil), daughter of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* king Bodb Derg (Red), with thrice fifty attendants, appears to St. Patrick and the king of Connacht. Though the statement is not explicitly made, it is evident from the context that she declares her love for the king. St. Patrick, apparently fearful lest his royal protégé be unequally yoked with an unbeliever, requires that as a preliminary to the wedding the lady shall accept Christianity. This she does, and the couple are married.

Earlier in the *Acallamh*¹ the king of Connacht receives a similar visit, though with not quite such happy results. One evening he is approached by a beautiful damsel. "Whence art thou come, my damsel?" asks the king. The maiden, after replying that she comes from the glittering *brugh* (evidently a fairy palace) in the east, announces that she is Aillenn Ilcrothach (Multiform), daughter of Bodb Derg, and that her visit is prompted by love for the king. The latter, although deeply impressed with her beauty, confesses that he is unfortunately married and must in consequence content himself with his mortal wife. Somewhat doubtful what course to pursue, he consults St. Patrick, who decides that when his mortal wife dies, he shall be free to wed Aillenn. The *fée*, after exhibiting herself to the crowd, returns to the Other World.

An interesting variant of our theme turns up in the *Léighes Coise Chéin*, an extraordinary Middle Irish hodgepodge composed of fragments of traditional popular material.² An episode in this scrap-heap of Irish folk-lore runs as follows:

O'Cronogan, a West Munster chieftain,³ one day finds a mysterious greyhound, half white, half green,⁴ apparently sent by the *fée*

¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 245 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 243.

² Edited and translated from the late fifteenth-century MS, *Egerton 1781*, by S. H. O'Grady, *S.G.*, I, 296 ff.; II, 332 ff. The *Léighes Coise Chéin* is referred to as the most noteworthy specimen of Highland Scottish prose literature in the Rev. Donald Mac-Nicol of Lismore's Remarks on Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Hebrides*, which appeared in 1779 (cited, *Folk and Hero Tales* [Argyllshire Ser., II], MacInnes and Nutt, London, 1890, p. 464). According to J. G. Campbell (*Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 127, note), its reputation "still survives very extensively throughout the Highlands."

³ The events are traditionally assigned to the reign of Brian Boróimhe (Angl. Boru); i.e., the early eleventh century (cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 213). This fact, of course, has no bearing on the ultimate date of the tale.

⁴ On polychromatic dogs in Celtic and mediæval romance, see Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt ²/M. and London, 1913, II, 322 ff.; cf. p. 321, n. 3. See also the fairy dogs in *E.C.*, XXIV (1903), 129; *S.G.*, II, 233 f.

who appears farther on in the story. Later the hound chases a hare, which, running up to O'Cronogan and crying, "Sanctuary!" takes refuge in the hunter's bosom and immediately becomes a lovely young woman. The maiden conducts O'Cronogan into a fairy-mound, promises him anything he may desire, becomes his mistress, and next day accompanies him home. O'Cronogan, on reaching his native town, "saw there great houses and halls, and this was to him a source of wonder," for the place had recently been burned by Brian Boru, the king of Ireland, because of O'Cronogan's refusal to pay tribute. For three years the fairy woman remains with O'Cronogan, and there is prosperity within his gates, but on being insulted by Cian, her husband's overlord, she disappears.

The *Aislinge Oengusso* (Vision of Oengus),¹ which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century, certainly antedates the twelfth century,² tells how Oengus mac ind Óc³ is approached one night in his sleep⁴ by the most beautiful fairy woman in Ireland. After visiting her lover for a year, the lady, for no apparent reason, disappears. Oengus suffers greatly from love-sickness, but after a long search finds his sweetheart in the form of a swan at a lake, where he also is transformed into a swan, and the two are reunited.

An episode very much to our purpose occurs in the well-known collection of Welsh romantic tales known as the *Mabinogion*.⁵ Though the exact age of the *Mabinogion* is still a matter of dispute,

¹ Ed. R.C., III, 347 ff.

² It is mentioned in the *Book of Leinster* (ca. 1150) among the *remscéla*, or preliminary tales, to the great Irish epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. The list of *remscéla* occurs in a passage which may go back to the ninth century. Cf. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), 438; cf. p. 434, and Windisch, *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., pp. liii ff.

³ Usually regarded as a supernatural being (D'Arbols, *Le Cycle myth. irlandais*, Paris, 1884, pp. 269, 274; Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 212).

⁴ For other visits of fairy beings to sleeping mortals, see *Ir.T.*, II, 2, p. 198; cf. *Ir.T.*, III, 2, pp. 473, 489. Compare the following episode in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (I, ix, 12-15): Arthur, after hunting all day, falls asleep at the foot of a tree. It seems to him that a beautiful maiden appears, gives him her love, and tells him that she is the Queen of Faeries. On awakening, he finds "nought but pressed gras where she had lyen." Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 29, n. 1. For other ladies loved in dreams, see *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell (Albion Series), Ginn & Co., 1907, Tale XIV (p. 110); cf. *Introd.*, pp. cx f. See further the Alsatian folk-tale recorded in *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XIX (1906), 243.

⁵ *Text of the Mabinogion*, etc., ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887, p. 11; *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllheli, 1907, p. 9; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, Paris, 1913, pp. 96 ff.

it is generally accepted that the *mabinogi* of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, embodies genuine Celtic tradition practically unaffected by foreign influences. In this tale Pwyll is visited by an unknown lady on a white horse. He learns from her that he is the object of her affection, and as a result of an agreement with her he visits her father's court at the end of a year, frees her from an unwelcome suitor, and marries her. In the meantime he preserves a discreet silence concerning his relations with her. The lady, whose name is Rhiannon, is certainly a *fée*.¹

The importance of this story in connection with the present investigation can hardly be overestimated. The love-story of Pwyll and Rhiannon shows that even among the wreckage of Welsh tradition proof exists that the fairy mistress in the world of mortals was known to the Celts of Britain.

It is useless to multiply examples. Those given above demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt that stories of *fées* who hanker after earth-born lovers and who visit mortal soil in search of their mates existed in early Celtic tradition entirely apart from the conventional Journey to the *fées* to the Other World. In early Celtic, as well as in mediaeval romance, there may have been heroes who, like Sir Thopas, set out with the avowed purpose of seeking elf-queens for their lemans, but there were also plenty of mortals who received unexpected amatory visits from fairy princesses without the necessity of going off to the Other World.

THE FOUNTAIN SCENE

The setting for the meetings between the *fées* and their lovers in our poems is worthy of consideration. In *Graelett* the lady is discovered by her lover at a fountain;² in *Lanval* the hero, when approached by the *fée*'s attendants, is reclining "sur une ewe curant" (vs. 45) and is looking "a val lez la riviere" (vs. 54). That the association

¹ Compare the observations of Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 206.

² For other examples of *fées* at fountains in mediaeval romance, see *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vs. 27,399 ff., 31,654 ff., 32,175 ff.; cf. *Elucidation (Perceval)*, vss. 29 ff.; III, 87, n. 2; *Brun de la Montaigne*, ed. Paul Meyer (S.A.T.Fr.), Paris, 1875, vs. 3,095 ff. (cf. vs. 1,536 ff.); *Li Romans de Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet and Montalglon (Bibl. elzévirienne), Paris, 1856, vs. 9,177 ff. See also the maiden (really a mermaid in disguise) whom Clerk Colville meets at a fountain (Child, *Ballads*, No. 42). Cf. De la Warr B. Easter, *A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons*, Baltimore, 1906, p. 46; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 134.

of supernatural women with fountains or other bodies of water in the Lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent*, as well, it may be added, as in other romances of the *matière de Bretagne*, is not the result of the courtly poet's desire for picturesque decoration, appears in the highest degree probable from the evidence of early Celtic fairy-mistress stories.

The important place held by female water-divinities and feminine river-names among the early Celts has been strongly emphasized. "Before the Roman conquest the cult of water-goddesses, friends of mankind, must have formed a large part of the religion of Gaul. . . . Thus every spring, every woodland brook, every river in glen or valley, the roaring cataract, and the lake were haunted by divine beings, mainly thought of as beautiful females."¹ It is not at all unlikely that the cult of waters also existed in early Ireland.² In any case, the appearance of female other-world beings to chosen mortals at fountains or larger bodies of water is common enough in early Irish literature.

One of the best-known instances is found in the famous *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Wooing of Etain).³ Though wanting in the oldest manuscript of the *Tochmarc Étaíne*,⁴ the episode in point occurs in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel), which belongs to the Etain cycle and is far older than the twelfth century.⁵ The following summary is based on the version contained in the *Togail*.⁶

Eochaid Feidlech, king of Ireland, at the earnest solicitation of his subjects, consents to take a wife, and sends messengers throughout Ireland in search of a suitable consort. One day as the king and his retinue were crossing "the fairgreen of Bri Léith" [a well-known

¹ J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 184.

² For bibliography, see Dom Louis Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés cell.*, 2d ed., Paris, 1911, p. 14, n. 3.

³ For editions see *Bibliog.*, p. 84; Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, II, 422, n. 3; cf. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 1901, pp. 77 ff.; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II, 192 f.; III, 162 f., 191.

⁴ The *Lebar na h-Uidre (LU)*, written before 1104. It is, however, found in the fifteenth century MS, *Egerton 1782*, for editions of which see *Bibliog.*, p. 84.

⁵ On the date, see *R.C.*, XXXI (1910), 441, n. 1; Klttredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 192, n. 3; Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII, 587 ff.; *C.Z.*, V (1905), 522. Cf. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II (1873), 192 ff.

⁶ Ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes, *R.C.*, XXII (1901), 14 ff.

fairy mound], he saw at the edge of a fountain "a woman with a bright comb of silver adorned with gold, washing in a silver basin wherein were four golden birds and little, bright gems of purple carbuncle in the rims of the basin." Then follows a long and somewhat florid description of the maiden's personal charms.¹ "Verily, of the world's women 'twas she was the dearest and loveliest and justest that the eyes of men had ever beheld. It seemed to them [the king and his companions] that she was from the elf-mounds." Eochaid immediately asks her favors. She replies that she knows who he is and that it is for love of him she has come to the fountain. He thereupon takes her home as his wife. Owing to the confused and fragmentary character of the story, Etain's life-history from this point cannot be traced with complete certainty; but according to at least one version, Eochaid loses her, though in a way quite different from that in which the heroes of our French poems lose their mistresses.

The close parallelism between the opening episodes of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the lays under examination is significant. The story of the beautiful and unfortunate fairy princess Etain is full of popular motives, and is one of the most ancient Celtic fairy romances. It was certainly popular in mediaeval Ireland. If the accepted translation of the *Egerton* version be correct, Etain's beauty was proverbial;² and before the twelfth century the story was so well known as to be made the subject of a jocose reference in the *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*.³ It is also referred to in the *Book of Leinster (LL)* (ca. 1150) as one of a list of tales with which every Irish man of letters was required to be acquainted⁴—a fact which proves its popularity among the Goidelic Celts before the middle of the twelfth century. It is even possible that it formed part of the repertory of the numerous Irish raconteurs whose fame in England and on the Continent is so often attested in mediaeval literature.

¹ On descriptions of personal appearance in early Celtic and in the mediaeval romances, see Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, XI (1914), 452, n. 1. See further *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 134.

² The *Egerton* text reads: "Is don ingen siu atrubrath cruth cach co hEtain, coem cach co hEtain" (*Ir. T.*, I [1880], 120; cf. *R. C.*, XXII, 15-16).

³ Ed. Kuno Meyer, London, 1892, p. 152. Cf. Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 196, n. 1.

⁴ O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 585, n. 123.

Another interesting appearance of a fairy woman at a fountain turns up in the *Eachtra Mac Echach Muigmedóin*,¹ which has already furnished material toward the establishment of the Celtic origins of Arthurian romance.² The oldest version is found in the *Book of Leinster*, and the story is pretty certainly older than the twelfth century. The hero, the famous Niall of the Nine Hostages, finds at a fountain a loathly lady. In exchange for a drink of water the prince gives her a kiss, whereupon she becomes surpassingly beautiful, and tells him that she is the Sovranty of Erin. The rest of the story makes it clear that the old woman is in reality a supernatural being who has assumed a loathly disguise in order to test the mortal whom she chooses to favor.³

Though our earliest Irish romances show a great deal of confusion between the subterranean, subaqueous, and transoceanic fairylands, the relation in the popular mind between supernatural beings and the fountains at which they may appear is made pretty evident from a passage in the *Scél na Fir Flatha* (Tale of the Ordeals),⁴ which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan*, contains "the fullest account extant of the twelve ordeals of the ancient Irish." According to this document, the wife of a certain King Badurn saw at a fountain two fairy women (*da mnai as na sidhaib*). "When they beheld the [queen] coming toward them, they went under the well." The woman follows them, and finds at the bottom of the fountain a fairy palace.

That the popular fancy of the early Celts connected beings of other-worldly aspect with the bodies of water near which they might appear may perhaps be inferred also from the legend which tells how St. Patrick and his companions, while resting beside a well

¹ For the account in verse (from *LL.*), see *Ériu*, IV (1908), 101 ff.; for that in prose, *R.C.*, XXIV (1903), 190 ff. See also *S.G.*, II, 368 ff. Cf. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs*, II, 147; *Lectures*, p. 531. According to Irish tradition, Eochaid Mugmedón was high-king about the middle of the fourth century after Christ.

² See Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale* (Grimm Lib., 13), London, 1901, pp. 25 ff., and Appendix A.

³ In a modern Ossianic tale given by Campbell (*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, III, London, 1892, 421 ff.), Diarmaid is visited by an ugly hag, who becomes beautiful when he takes her under his blanket. She lays upon him an injunction, and disappears when he violates it. After a long search he finds her in the land under the sea.

⁴ *Ed. Ir. T.*, III, 2, pp. 183 ff.

at Cruachan, are mistaken for *firstdhe* (fairy men) by the daughters of King Loegaire.¹

But fountains were not the only approaches to the Celtic fairy-land under the water.² Beneath certain of the lochs and rivers of Erin were magnificent other-world duns, from which strangely beautiful women sometimes emerged, appearing on the banks³ or

¹ For a discussion of the story, which probably became connected with St. Patrick during the fifth or sixth century, see Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1895, p. 138. In the *Gilla Decair* (*S.G.*, II, 302), Dermait, accompanied by an other-world being, dives into a fountain and finds at the bottom a beautiful country. In a modern Welsh composition, apparently made up of scraps of tradition, a "black knight," who is associated with the land beneath the waves, dives into a well when he is pursued (*Y Cymmrodor*, V [1882], 90).

² The water fée is only one of a large class of other-world beings who inhabit the subaqueous world. In Irish, cf. *Fled Bricrend, Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, (1899), 39, 62 ff.; Story of Loegaire in *LL, Facsimile (R.I.A.)*, p. 275, b, 22 to p. 276, b, 25 (for the version contained in the *Book of Lismore*, see *S.G.*, II., 290 ff.). See also *Aided Echach maic Maireda, S.G.*, II, 265 ff.; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 97 ff. (cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 9 f., and O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 294). Cf. *R.C.*, XV (1894), 432 ff.; *Folk Lore*, III (1892), 489 f.; XXI (1910), 476 ff.; *Ir. T.*, I (1880), 131, l. 13 ff.; *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, 74 f. (cited by Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], p. 227, n. 2, q.v.); *Trans. of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, II (1852-53), pp. 33, 313; MacCulloch, *Reliq. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 190; *Rom.*, XXVIII, p. 325, n. 3; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 2; p. 169, n. 3; p. 185; Child, *Ballads*, No. 39; Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, lxi f.; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, I, chap. 8; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 170, 199; V (1882), 90, 124; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, p. 19; T. C. Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, London, 1834, pp. 155 ff.; *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XI (1898), 234; Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des Légendes*, Paris, 1836, pp. 111 ff.; Keightley, *The Fairy Mythol.*, London, 1860, pp. 147 ff.; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 3d ed., by E. H. Meyer, Berlin, 1900, pp. 49 f.

³ In the *Tochmarc Emire*, Derbforgaill (Cuchulainn's fairy mistress) and her maid appear in swan form at Loch Cuan (Miss Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* [Grimm Lib. 8], London, 1898, p. 82; *Arch. Rev.*, I [1888], 304; on the date, see Meyer, *R.C.*, XI [1890], 438 f.; Zimmer, *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, XXXII, 239). In another very early tale, the *Serglige Conchulainn* (Thurneysen, *Sagen*, pp. 82 ff.; *Facs. of National MSS of Ir.*, I, xxxvii), the birds which Cuchulainn attempts to kill, and which are evidently transformed fairy beings, appear at a lake.

Attention should also be called to the fact that in a number of modern Celtic folk-tales of the Offended Féé the mistress is a water-dweller. See, for example, G. Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, Le Havre, 1901, pp. 7 ff.; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1866, pp. 121 f.; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, III, London, 1892, pp. 421 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV (1881), 165 ff. (cf. Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, New York, 1885, p. 82); *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 59 ff. (for the same story, see D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, Portmadoc, 1899, pp. 161 ff.; cf. Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, New York, 1891, p. 330); *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 86 ff., 93, 94 ff. Professor A. C. L. Brown (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX [1905], 680 ff.) concludes that Chrétien's *Yeain* and its Welsh analogue go back to a partially rationalized Celtic account; cf. Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, III, 273. For other Celtic fées who live under the water, see *S.G.*, II, 265 ff. (cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, p. 29); *Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), 155 (cf. *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IX, 26 ff.; *R.C.*, XV [1894], 294 f.); Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 105, 118 f., 120 f.; Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Tales of Wales*, London, 1909, pp. 8 ff.; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and*

at the fords where the ancient highways crossed the streams and where they would be most likely to encounter the mortals upon whom they had deigned to cast the eye of love.¹

Of especial interest just at this point is an episode in the ancient Irish epic of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, the earliest redaction of which goes back to the eighth century of the Christian era or perhaps to an even earlier period. The passage in question² tells how Cuchulainn is met at a ford by a young woman "of surprising form wrapped also in a mantle of many colors."³ "Who art thou?" he asked. She made answer: "Daughter of Buan the king. I am come to thee. For the record of thy deeds I have loved thee, and all my valuables

Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1900, pp. 116, 201; F. M. Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse-Bretagne*, II, Paris, 1887, pp. 349 ff.; Rhys, *Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, *passim*; *R.C.*, IV, 186 ff. See further Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part II, London, 1911, p. 94; Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, Hanover, 1856, pp. 4, 134, n. See also Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, c. 11, *ed. cit.*, p. 77; *Faerie Queene*, VI, x, st. 7; *Nibelungenlied* (ed. Bartsch), Av., XXV, st. 1533 ff. See further Ritson, *Fairy Tales*, London, 1831, p. 14; MacCulloch, *Reliq. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 190, n. 3; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, II, New York, 1889, pp. 213 f.; *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, XV (1904), 81; *Class. Quarterly*, VII (1913), 184 ff.; *Saga Bk. of The Viking Club*, II (1898-1901), 272, n. 1. Cf. Nitzze, *Mod. Philol.*, XI (1914), 477, n. 1; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1895, pp. 142 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxlix ff. A sea-maiden was seen on the coast of Ireland as recently as 1910! (*Folk-lore*, XXI, 342 f.).

¹ At a period when roads were little more than wandering bridle paths and bridges were rare, shallow places where rivers could be forded were of course important. See Patrick Macsweeney, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, V, 29, n. 1; Archdeacon Sherlock, *Jour. Co. Kildare Arch. Soc.*, VI (1909-11), 293 ff. One of the stock episodes in early Irish literature and in the mediaeval romances describes an encounter at a ford between wandering knights or warriors of hostile tribes. See, for example Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, p. 20; *Tochmarc Emire*, Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 84; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI (1910), 89; *Fled Bricrend*, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 43 ff.; *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, *Ir.T.*, Extrab'd., *passim* (cf. Leahy, *Heretic Roms. of Ir.*, London, 1905, I, 117 ff.; *Boroma*, *R. C.*, XIII (1892), 53, 79 f.; *Tain Bo Flidais*, *Ir. T.*, II, 2, pp. 217 f., *Celtic Rev.*, II (1905-6), 303 ff., III (1906-7), 11 ff.; *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), vss. 11, 110 ff., 20,633 ff., 24,211 ff., 37,105 ff.; *Le Bel Inconnu* (ed. Hippeau), vss. 359 f. (cf. *Libeaus Desconus*, st. 24, l. 287); *Erec et Enide* (ed. Foerster), vs. 3,031; *Lancelot of the Laik* (ed. Skeat), vss. 790, 1,040, 2,583; *Lai de l'Espine* (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, p. 554), vss. 192 ff.; *Eger and Grime*, *Percy Folio MS*, ed., Hales and Furnivall, London, 1867, vss. 101 ff.

² Found only in *LU*. For trans., see Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 164 f.; cf. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), 456 ff.

³ Compare the following episode in the *Brislech mór Maíge Muirthemne*: Cuchulainn, on the way to his last battle, encounters "at the entrance into the Ford of Washing on Emania's plain . . . a maiden, slender and white of her body, yellow of her hair," washing "crimson bloody spoils." She is called "Bodb's daughter." She is the well-known "washer at the ford," the Morrígu (see below, p. 21) in one of her aliases. Note that she is here referred to as "the fairy woman" (*Cuch. Saga*, p. 247; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 88). In ancient Irish literature disaster is frequently portended by the appearance of the Badb (or Morrígu) washing bloody garments, arms, or heads at a ford. See Henderson, *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 212; *Jour. Ivernian Soc.*, I (1908-9), 159 f.; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 17. The modern banshee may also be seen washing when evil is about to occur. Cf. *Folk Lore*, XXI, 180, 188.

and my cattle I bring with me.'” The Ulster hero, who is just now engaged in an excessively hazardous undertaking, has no time for silken dalliance, and in consequence declines the fair stranger’s love. She thereupon threatens to oppose him in battle, and later by her shape-shifting power so hampers him in one of his fights that he is wounded.¹ But her anger, like that of Lanval’s mistress, does not burn forever. On the eve of Cuchulainn’s last battle the pangs of disprized love are forgotten in anxiety for the great warrior’s safety, and she seeks, though in vain, to avert his death.²

The mysterious woman who thus boldly offers her affection to Cuchulainn is the Morrígu (Morrígan). Though she is usually regarded as a battle-goddess and though her name is applied indiscriminately to three fatal sisters (Badb, Neman, and Macha), who preside over the field of slaughter and rejoice in the slain,³ she is also associated with the fairy world, and is in some situations scarcely distinguishable from the beautiful women of the *sidhe*. She belongs to the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; after one of her encounters with Cuchulainn she is said to have returned to the fairy mound of Cruachan; and in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* she is called “the Morrígu, daughter of Ernmas from the elf-mounds.”⁴ Her association with Macha

¹ *Cuch. Saga*, p. 166; cf. *Ir. T.*, Extrab’d., pp. 312 f.

² Cf. the *Aided Conchulainn* (*Cuch. Saga*, pp. 254 f.), where it is said that on the night before Cuchulainn’s last battle “the Morrígu had unyoked his chariot, for she liked not Cuchulainn’s going to the battle, for she knew that he would not come again to Emain Macha.” In the *Táin Bó Regamna*, the events of which tradition places several years before Cuchulainn’s death, the Morrígu appears to the Ulster champion, and in the course of a rather violent argument tells him, “I am guarding your death-bed, and I shall be guarding it henceforth” (*Cuch. Saga.*, p. 105). See further *R.C.*, I, 47; III, 175 ff.

³ Heathen gods frequently have many names: Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., Part IV, London, 1911, pp. 318 ff. Cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 71. For the identification of the Morrígu with the Badb, see Windisch, *Ir. T.*, Extrab’d., p. 312, n. 1. A gloss in *LL* equates her with Nemain (Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 338, note; p. 380, n. 1). See further Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, privately printed, Lusk, 1860, p. 44; *Cormac’s Glossary* (trans. O’Donovan and ed. Stokes, Calcutta, 1868, p. 25); *R.C.*, I, 34; XII, 128; XVI, 63; XXXI, 436, n. 1; Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 127; *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ireland*, I, 359. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 187, n. 1, and the documents there cited. The following gloss occurs in the fourteenth-century MS, H. 2. 16 (T.C.D.): *Machac. i. badb; no as i an tres morrigan: “Machae, a scald-crow; or she is the third Morrigan”* (*R.C.*, XII, 127). O’Clery’s seventeenth-century glossary gives: *Macha. i. Badhb* (Macha; i.e., Badhb) (quoted by Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 840, n. 1). See further Windisch, *Abhandl. der königl. sächsisch. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil. Hist. Kl., XXIX (1913), 77 f., 109.

⁴ *Ir. T.*, Extrab’d., p. 185; cf. pp. 313, 331; *S.G.*, II, 225. In the *Leabhar Gabhala* she is associated with Ana (Anu) (Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 139), who in *Cormac’s Glossary* is called *mater deorum hibernensium* (*Three Irish Glossaries*, ed. W[hitley]

suggests the *Noinden Ulad*, an exceedingly close parallel to our type, which presents Macha with undoubted fairy characteristics and which will be treated later.¹ The heroine of the *Noinden Ulad* is called "Macha, daughter of 'Strangeness son of Ocean" (*Macha inghen Sainreth mac Imbaith*)—a fact which connects her at once with the watery world.² One of Cuchulainn's famous horses, the Liath (Gray One) of Macha, came out of a lake,³ and his name implies that he had been sent from Macha's fairy abode as a gift to her mortal protégé.⁴

S[tokes], London and Edinburgh, 1862, p. 2), and who apparently figures under the name Aine as a fairy mistress in modern tales. Cf. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1896), 367. *R.C.*, IV, 186 ff. Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythology*, passim), in her comparison between the Morrígu and Morgan la fée, emphasizes both the love and enmity of the former toward Cuchulainn. Cf. Mead, *Selections from the Morte Darther* (Ath. Press Ser.), p. 257, note. Though Miss Paton's effort to connect the Irish name *Morrígan* with the Arthurian *Morga(i)n* cannot be regarded as successful (Jeanroy, *Rom.* XXXIV [1905], 117, n. 2 [cf. *Lot, Rom.*, XXVIII (1899), 324]; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *R.C.*, XXIV [1903], 325 f.), the personality *Morga(i)n la fée* of Arthurian romance is certainly close kin to the Celtic fairy women with whose character the Morrígu has so much in common.

¹ See below, pp. 39 ff.

² Cf. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 32. On the possible etymological connection between the *Morgain* of Arthurian romance and the Irish *Muirgen* (child [lit., birth] of the sea), one of the names of an aquatic lady in early Irish romance, see *Lot, Rom.*, XXIV, 324 ff. Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 373. Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythol.*, pp. 10 ff.) objects to this etymology on the ground that *Morgain* is seldom regarded as a water-dweller. It is, however, worth while to observe that *Morgain's* frequent association with the ocean island of Avalon may be a reflection of her original connection with the watery world. The *Morgan*, a kind of female water-nymph who figures in Armorican folk-lore, dwells in a magnificent palace of gold and crystal beneath the water. Cf. Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz*, 6th ed., Paris, 1867, p. liv. See further Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 149.

³ Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 f. On Cuchulainn's horses, see *Ir. Texts Soc.*, II, 39; cf. pp. 62 ff.; *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 488 f., 670, n. 5. Subaqueous horses which came out of Loch Owel are associated with a fairy mistress of the *Lanval* type in an Irish folk-tale recorded in *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 93. In a Celtic story given by Henderson (*Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, Glasgow, 1911, pp. 137 f.), a water-horse plays a part somewhat resembling that of the Offended Fée. A horse living at the bottom of a lake on the island of Mull is caught by a farmer and used for plowing. When whipped, the animal becomes a terrible Boorie, and disappears in the lake. For similar stories, see *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 106 f.; William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, 2d ser., Penzance, 1873, pp. 73 ff. St. Fechin of Fore had a water-horse which he forced to draw his chariot and which under his influence became "gentler than any other horse": *R.C.*, XII, 347. For other Celtic water-horses, see *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1st ser., I (1849-51), pp. 366 f., where a water-horse becomes the lover of a mortal maiden; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 203, 214 f.; *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, IV, 336; Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.; Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore Welsh and Manx*, I, Oxford, 1901, pp. 324, 334 ff.; *Pic Nics from the Dublin Penny Jour.*, Dublin, 1836, pp. 66 ff.

For other subaqueous animals in Celtic, cf. Campbell, *Superstitions*, p. 5; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, pp. cxlvii, 66 ff. See also above, p. 19, n. 2.

⁴ Attention should be called to the fact that in four of our mediaeval versions of the story of the Offended Fée—*Lanval*, *Graelent*, *Lo bel Gherardino*, and *Pulzella gaia*—the heroes receive fairy horses from their mistresses.

Another encounter between Cuchulainn and a supernatural woman at a ford occurs in the *Fled Bricrend acus Longes Mac n-Duil Dermait* (Feast of Bricriu and the Exile of the Sons of Doel D.), not to be confused with the longer *Fled Bricrend*, which forms part of the same cycle. In the shorter *Fled Bricrend*, which in its original form dates from the ninth century or an even earlier period,¹ Cuchulainn and his companions find at a ford a band of Connachtmen (their enemies) with Findchoem (Fair-Beautiful), the daughter of King Eocho, who, as appears later in the story, is a supernatural being. The lady declares her love for Cuchulainn, who at once takes her under his protection, carries her home, and, after going through some thrilling adventures, wins her for his mistress.

In the *Tochmarc Becfola*,² which, though found in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth century, has been recognized as embodying very ancient tradition,³ Diarmait, son of Aed Slane (king of Ireland), meets at a ford a solitary, gorgeously appareled fairy woman (*bentside*), and takes her home as his mistress. [When questioned concerning her origin, Dermait refuses to tell.]⁴ For a time the *fée* remains with her lover, but, like many other supernatural women who condescend to dwell for a time with mortals, she at length becomes weary of her earthly life and goes off with a fairy lover.

A fairy woman by a stream also turns up in the *Acallamh na Senórach*,⁵ from which we have already had occasion to quote. On one occasion Finn and his companions find at a ford "a lone young woman girt with a silken tunic and wrapped in a green mantle held with a brooch of gold; on her head was a golden diadem, emblem of a queen." The lady announces that she is Doireann, daughter

¹ Strachan on linguistic grounds places it in a group of heroic tales which he regards as more or less faithful transcriptions of texts certainly as old as and perhaps even antedating the ninth century (*Philol. Soc. Transactions*, 1891-94, pp. 498, 555). For trans. see *Ir. T.*, II, 1, pp. 173 ff.; *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, pp. 149 ff. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 463 f.; *On the Manners*, III, 106, 360.

² Ed. B. O'Looney, *R.I.A.*, Ir. MSS Ser., I, 1 (1870), 174 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 91 ff.

³ By O'Looney, *op. cit.*, p. 172; O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 283.

⁴ The bracketed passage is taken from the version found in the fifteenth-century MS, *Egerton 1781*.

⁵ *S.G.*, II, 220. See also *Ir. T.*, IV, 1, p. 135. In a much-abbreviated and evidently ill-comprehended modern tale recorded in the *Jour. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, II (1902), 117, several men enter a cave and find a woman washing at a river. One of them never returns.

of Bodb Derg, son of the Dagda (i.e., she is a fairy princess), and that she desires to become Finn's mistress. The conditions she imposes are, however, so unsatisfactory that Finn declines the honor.

Though Celtic stories of fées who appeared at fountains or fords were doubtless influenced by an actual practice among the early inhabitants of Western Europe and the British Isles,¹ the passages cited above make plain the points essential for our discussion: viz., the subaqueous fairy princess was perfectly familiar to the ancient Celts, and the appearance of beautiful women from fairyland to chosen mortals beside fountains or larger bodies of water is a stock feature of Celtic fairy-mistress stories.

The facts just presented suggest that the fountain scene in *Graelent* originated in a Celtic account of a similar meeting between a fée and her mortal lover.² Though the likeness between our Celtic instances and the lover's meeting with his mistress in *Lanval* is not so striking, a comparison may prove instructive. In Marie's lay the hero is approached by two maidens carrying a gold basin and a towel from a stream to their scantily dressed mistress, who lies in a gorgeous tent near by. As Professor Schofield pointed out some years ago,³ "the maidens are simply getting water . . . for use in bathing the hands before meat," as was customary in good society during the twelfth century. If we make the almost inevitable

¹ The daughters of King Loegaire, on the occasion of their meeting with St. Patrick, were coming to the fountain "to wash their hands, as was their custom." Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, I, London, 1903, p. 255; cf. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, p. 138; Todd, *St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, p. 452. In the *Bruiden Atha* (*R.C.*, XIV, 243), Find finds by the river Suir a herdsman's daughter washing her head, and carries her off. Cf. Atkinson, *Facs. of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (*R.I.A.*), pp. 13 f. In the *Esnada Tige Buchet* Cormac finds a poor maiden by a stream, and, falling in love with her, has her brought to him by force (*R.C.*, XXV, 19 f.; Keating, *History of Ir.* [*Ir. Texts Soc.*], II [1908], 305; cf. *Gaelic Journal*, V [1894-95], 186; Atkinson, *Facs. of the Book of Leinster* [*R.I.A.*], p. 61; Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of the Western Gael*, London, 1865, pp. 243 f.). In the *Acallamh na Senbrach* we read that the daughter of the king of Munster used to visit the "well of the women" every morning with her attendants, "and in its blue-surfaced water they used to wash their faces and their hands" (*S.G.*, II, 178 l.). For other cases, see *Ir. T.*, II, 2, p. 234; *R.C.*, VI, 179 (cf. Zimmer, *Haupt's Zt.*, XXXII, 265, n. 1; *Bibliog.*, p. 89); *Ériu*, II, 179 f.; III, 22 f.; *R.C.*, XXIV, p. 133 (cf. Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1895-98, p. 79, n. 2); *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., VII, pp. 28 f.; *R.C.*, XV, 425; XVI, 146, 309; *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., II (1897), 330. See further, Tacitus *Germania*, chap. 16; Caesar *B.G.* vi, 21. See also above, p. 20, n. 1.

² All the evidence at the writer's command indicates that in *Guingamor* the fountain scene has been introduced into a portion of the story to which it did not originally belong. See the remarks in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 387.

³ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 145; cf. Zimmermann, *Sir Landeval*, p. 57, note.

assumption that the Lay of *Lanval* is ultimately based on a tale current among the folk, we may rest assured that such preprandial niceties and twelfth-century paraphernalia as are here described were not characteristic of the society in which the original took shape. Axel Ahlström's contention that the episode in *Lanval* is a reworking of the fountain-scene in *Graellent*,¹ and that Lanval's mistress had to be satisfied to take her bath indoors because the climate of Carlisle in Cumberland (where the scene of Marie's poem is laid) was too cold to admit of beautiful fées bathing in the open, scarcely deserves consideration.² *Lanval* is not the pendant of *Graellent*, and the opening episode in the former gives no evidence of being a transformed fountain-scene.³ From our Celtic analogues it seems much more probable that originally Lanval's mistress appeared with two attendants bathing in a stream, and that when her character as a water-fée was forgotten,⁴ she was rationalized into a twelfth-century fine lady reclining in an ornate pavilion, her original scanty attire (if, indeed, she wore any clothes) was changed into a shocking deshabille, and her fairy companions were transformed into drawers

¹ *Mélanges de phil. romane*, Mâcon, 1896, p. 296.

² *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 55.

³ In *Désiré* the single attendant with two basins of gold at the fountain and the mistress with another attendant "dedens une follée" near by, are probably reminiscences of a fountain scene, it is true; but the confused character of the lay taken as a whole makes it probable that we have here a later and more corrupt, rather than an earlier and purer, version of the stories told in *Lanval* and *Graellent*.

⁴ The value of the suggestion that the lady in *Lanval* was originally a water-fée is not affected by Marie's statement that she dwells in the far-off island of Avalun, nor by her own assertion that she has come a long distance to meet her lover. Chestre substitutes for the imaginary a real island, but adds the information that the lady's "fadyr was king of fayrye, | Of Occlent fer and nyze (vss. 280 f.). Occient apparently means "ocean," which interpretation, if it be correct, connects Launfal's mistress with the watery world, and indicates that, however confused the poet may have been regarding the lady's place of residence, he had some inkling of her true character as a water-fée (cf. Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 171, n. 1). However this may be, misunderstanding regarding the character of the fée and the location of her realm pretty certainly existed long before the story reached the ears of Marie. Confusion regarding the location of the Other World is common, even in our earliest Celtic stories. In one of the *Dindshenchas* poems, for example, the fairy-mound of Nento is said to be *iar n-uiciu* (beyond the water) (*R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IX [1906], 8 f.); in another text (*Ir. T.*, III, 1, p. 238) it is located *fo huisce* (under the water). See also the *Echtra Condla Chaim* (Windisch, *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik*, pp. 118 f.) Instances might easily be multiplied. See Brown, *Iwain*, p. 40, n. 2. Cf. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, VII, 195 f. Judging by these facts, we should indeed be surprised if under rationalizing influences the subaqueous fairy world, as being least in accordance with human experience, were not replaced by the over-sea Elysium or some other more credible conception long before our story reached the ears of sophisticated writers of mediæval romance.

of water for my lady's hands before her twelfth-century picnic luncheon.¹

THE CHARACTER OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

In Marie's lay there is obviously nothing accidental about Lanval's meeting with the *fée*. Of the maidens who conduct him to the tent, we read:

Celes l'unt primes salué,
 lur message li unt cunté.
 "Sire Lanval, ma dameisele,
 ki mult par est curteise e bele,
 ele nus enveie pur vus:
 kar i venez ensemble od nus!
 Salvement vus i cunduiruns.
 Veez, pres est sis paveilluns!" [vss. 69 ff.]

The *fée* too knows his name, and addresses him as soon as he enters the tent.

"Lanval," fet ele, "bels amis,
 pur vus vinc jeo fors de ma terre;
 de luinz vus sui venue querre.
 Se vus estes pruz e curteis,
 emperere ne quens ne reis
 n'ot unkes tant joie ne bien;
 kar jo vus aim sur tute rien" [vss. 110 ff.]

Lanval is immediately attracted by her beauty and is smitten with love.

Il l'esguarda, si la vit bele;
 amurs le point de l'estencele
 ki sun quer alume e esprent [vss. 117 ff.]

If she will consent to become his mistress, he will abandon all other women.

"Bele," fet il, "se vus plaiseit
 e cele joie m'aveneit
 que vus me volsissiez amer,
 ne savriëz rien comander
 que jeo ne face a mun poeir,
 turt a folie u a saveir.
 Jeo ferai voz comandemenz;
 pur vus guerpilai tutes genz" [vss. 121 ff.]

¹ Originally the river or fountain was probably thought of as a goddess; then comes the idea of a tutelary divinity dwelling beneath the water; later the goddess of the silver wave becomes a mere water-*fée*; and finally we have the damsel of the romances, met, as it were, by accident beside a fountain or stream. Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, New York, 1889, pp. 209, 212.

The fée then grants him her love, and, after forbidding him to mention her existence, bestows upon him rich gifts, and promises to meet him at any place where one

. . . . peüst avoir s'amie
senz reprice e senz vileinie. [vss. 165 f.]¹

She then dismisses him.²

In *Guingamor* the lover, like Lanval, falls in love as soon as he sees the lady.

Des que Guingamors l'ot veue,
Conmeuz est de sa biauté [vss. 434 f.]³

He steals her clothes, but she, far from showing any fear, addresses her would-be captor angrily, and, calling him by name, rebukes him for his discourtesy. She then takes matters into her own hands, and tells him:

Venez avant, n'aiez esfroi;
Herbergiez vos hui mes o moi [vss. 453 ff.].

She knows the purpose of his hunt, and offers to bestow on him the boar if he will live with her for three days. Upon his acquiescing, she receives him as her lover.

These ladies, who so boldly offer themselves to men, have long since reminded scholars of the forth-putting women with which the pages of early Celtic literature are filled.⁴ In early Irish saga both

¹ In the ancient Irish romance of the *Serglige Conchulainn*, which contains the story of the Offended Fée combined with the preliminary Journey to the Other World, Cuchulainn, on returning to the world of mortals, receives from his mistress a promise that she will meet him wherever he desires (*L'Épopée celtique*, I, 208; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ir.*, II, IV-H). Cf. *Tochmarc Emire, Cuch. Saga*, p. 82.

² The English *Sir Launfal* contains a very similar dialogue, except that the hero, instead of voluntarily promising, is required by his mistress, to give up all other women for her. In Chestre's poem *Triamour* (the lady of the tent) tells Launfal:

Yf thou wylt truly to me take,
And all women for me forsake,
Ryche i wyll make the [vss. 316 f.].

It should be observed that in the *Tochmarc Éidine* the lover promises, and that in the *Aidead Murchertaig* he is required, to forsake all earthly women for the fée.

³ Mortal women also have a way of falling in love with fairy lovers on sight. Cf. *Lay of Yonec* (Warnke, *Die Lais*, pp. 123 ff.; *R.C.*, XXXI, 413 ff.); *Lay of Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, 67 ff. v. 71.). In Christianized versions of fairy-mistress stories the fée is not infrequently mistaken for an angel or the Virgin Mary. Cf. Child, *Ballads*, I, 319; II, 504; *Sir Lambwell*, vs. 136; *Libeaus Desconus*, st. 127, l. 1,519 ff.; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 232. Schofield in 1900 compared the episode of the forth-putting queen in our poems with the Morrigan's offer of love and Cuchulainn's rebuff in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1). See further, Nitzke, *Mod. Philol.*, IX, 315 f.

the fée and her mortal prototype generally take the initiative in love-making.¹ As Heinrich Zimmer showed in one of his latest discussions,² the women of early Irish saga exhibit a freedom in sexual matters which is quite foreign to the great Aryan peoples—a situation which points to a high degree of antiquity for the traditions recorded, and may even reflect a pre-Celtic (non-Aryan) culture.

A dialogue strikingly similar to that between the fée and Lanval occurs in the passage summarized above from the *Tochmarc Étaíne*. As soon as Eochaid sees Etain at the fountain, “a longing for her immediately seized the king” (*gabais . . . saint an ríig n-jimpe focetoir*). He thereupon sends forward one of his retinue to seize the girl and hold her before him. On his inquiring whence she comes, the maiden replies, “I am Etain, daughter of the king of the horsemen from the elf-mounds” (*Etainmissi, ingen Eatair ri eochraidi a sidib*). She also tells him that though fairy kings have wooed her, she would none of them. She has come for the sole purpose of meeting Eochaid, for, she explains, “Ever since I was able to speak, I have loved thee and given thee a child’s love for the high tales about thee and thy splendour. And though I had never seen thee, I knew thee at once from thy description” (*rot-carusa [7 tucus] seirc lelbhan o ba tualaing labartha ar th’airscealaib 7 t’aniu, 7 ni-tacca riam, 7 atot-gen focetoir ar do thuarascbail*).³ On hearing these

¹ It is important to note that the term *aitheda* (applied to a well-known class of early Irish stories which tell how maidens or wives ran away with lovers) signifies “elopements,” not, as often translated, “abductions.”

² *Sitzungsberichte der königl.-preuss. Gesell. der Wiss.*, 1911, pp. 174 ff. Cf. *R.C.*, XXXII (1911), 232. See further d’Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit Celtique*, I, Paris, 1895, pp. 224 ff.

³ So too the Morrighu has fallen in love with Cuchulainn from hearsay (*Cattle-Raid of Cuainge*, trans. by Miss W. L. Faraday [Grimm Lib., 16], London, 1904, p. 74; *Ir. T.*, Extrab’d., pp. 312 ff.; *Introd.*, pp. xxvii f.). “Love in absence” (*Lat. amor in absentia*, *Ir. grád émaissi*) is common in folk-lore. In Celtic, see *R.C.*, XXIV, 128; *Peredur ab Efracw*, ed. Kuno Meyer, Leipzig, 1887, p. 27, sec. 58, ll. 10 f.; *Loth*, *Les Mab.*, II, 98 (cf. I, 248); *Ériu*, III, 153; *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O’Donovan), I, p. 18, n. 5; p. 30; *Ir. T.*, II, 1, p. 80; II, 2, p. 216 f.; III, 2, pp. 301 f.; *S.G.*, II, 120, 214, 307; *Laoidh Oisín*, *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV, 239 f.; *C.Z.*, VI, 107, n. 1; *Folk Lore*, III, 506; *Battle of Magh Leana*, ed. E. Curry (Celtic Soc.), 1855, p. xxi; Keating, *History of Ir.*, (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II (1908), 165, 217, 283; Meyer, *Cath Finntraga* (Anec. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. I, iv), Oxford, 1885, p. 6, cf. p. 78; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxxxiii, n. 1; *C.Z.*, V, 26. See further the *Green Knight* (*Percy Folio MS.*, p. 60, vs. 47); *Hist. Litt. de la Fr.*, XXX, 56, 82, 83; *Perceval*, vss. 10,385, 12,157 ff., 29,035 ff.; *Partonopeus*, vs. 1,368; *Yonec*, vss. 131 f.; Walter Map (*De Nugis Cur.*, Dist. III, c. ii, ed. cit., pp. 108 f.). Cf. Hartland, *Leg. of Perseus*, III, London, 1894, p. 9; *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, New York, 1891, pp. 285 ff.; Pietro Toldo, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 621; Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems* (trans. Schofield), London, 1899, pp. 190, 194; *Faerie Queene*, Book III, il, 18. Professor

words, the king bids her welcome, and assures her, "Every other woman shall be forsaken for thee, and with thee alone will I be as long as thou has honor" (*lecfider cach bean do mnaib airiut, 7 is acut t'aenur biasa cein bas miad lat*). Etain now accompanies the king to Tara and becomes his wife.

The dialogue between Muirchertach and the fée in the *Aided Muirchertaig* is also worthy of attention. As soon as the king saw Síu, "all his body and his nature were filled with love for her, for gazing at her it seemed to him that he would give the whole of Ireland for one night's loan of her, so utterly did he love her at sight" (*linustar a cholann uile dá grad, 7 a aicned, uair dar leis re ségad doberad Érin uile ar a htasacht oén-aidche, mar do char co hadbal hi re faicsin*). He "asked tidings of her," whereupon she replied, "I am the darling of Muirchertach son of Erc, king of Erin, and to seek him I came here" (*leannansa do Muirchertach mac Erca, do rig Erenn, 7 is da shaigid tánagus inso*). She recognizes the king at once, and agrees to become his mistress on conditions much like those imposed by the fairy women in the Old French lays: for her he must abandon all other women, and he must never mention her name.

In one of the episodes summarized from the *Acallamh na Senórach*, the beautiful Aillenn, on being asked by the king of Connacht whence she comes, replies that she is from fairyland. "For what hast thou come?" says the king. "Thou art a sweetheart of mine," is the reply. In the story of Doireann from the same document the lone woman at the ford, on seeing the Fenian band, asks at once to speak to Finn. To the latter's question, "Who art thou, maiden, and what is thy desire?" she replies that she is a fairy princess, and adds, "To sleep with thee in exchange for bride-price and gifts have I come" (*d'feis letsu thanac tarcend tindscra 7 tirochraici: ll. 4452 f.*)¹.

In the shorter *Fled Bricrend* also the woman at the stream recognizes Cuchulainn at once and declares her love for him. "Who is it that you seek?" she is asked. "Cuchulaind mac Soaltam," she replies; "I have loved him because of the stories about him"

George L. Hamilton refers me also to Chauvin, *Bibliog. des ouvrages arabes*, pp. 132, 255; Paris, *Rev. hist.*, pp. 53, 225; *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 152; E. Liebrecht, *Gött. gel. Anzeiger*, 1868, p. 196.

¹ O'Grady's translation of this passage (*S.G.*, II, 220) is inexact.

(*Cuchulaind mac Soaltaim . . . ro charus ar a airscealib*). She then asks for mercy, whereupon Cuchulainn "makes a hero-leap across . . . to her." "She rises toward him, and throws both hands about his neck and gives him a kiss." Cuchulainn then takes her home with him.¹

The dialogue between the prince and Rhiannon in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll* is of especial importance. As soon as Pwyll comes near the mysterious lady on the white horse, he inquires, "'Princess, whence comest thou and why art thou travelling?' 'On my own errand,' answered she, 'and I am glad to see thee.' 'Welcome' [replied the prince]. Then he thought the face of all the maidens or women he had ever seen possessed no charm compared with hers (*yma medyl yaw a wnaeth bot yn diuwyn ganthaw pryt a welsei eiryoet o vorwyn a gwreic y wrth y phryt hi*). 'Princess,' he continued, 'wilt thou tell me a word of thy errand?' 'Yes, by heaven,' answered she, 'my principal business was to seek to see thee'" (*Pennaf neges uu ymi keisaw dy welet ti*). At these words Pwyll expresses gratification, and inquires the lady's name. She replies that she is Rhiannon, and adds that though she has been urged to take a husband, she will marry no one but him (*Riannon verch heueyd hen wyf i am rodi y wr om hanvod yd ydys. Ac ny mynneis inheu un gwr. A hynny oth garyat ti. Ac nys mynnaf ettwa. onyt ti am gurthyt*). "If I were permitted to choose among all the women and damsels in the world," answers the prince, "I would choose thee" (*pei caffwn dewis ar holl wraged a morynyon y byt. mae ti a dewisswn*).

The striking similarity between the dialogues in the Celtic and the Romance accounts outlined above hardly needs emphasizing.²

¹ See also the words of Cuchulainn and the Morrighu in the passage cited above from the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. For similar dialogues, see *Laoidh Oisín* (ed. cit., pp. 235 ff.); *Eachtra Airt meic Cuind* (*Ériu*, III, 153). In the latter the confusion in persons is probably due to the fact that the romance is a combination of at least two different stories.

² The likeness of the dialogue in the *Tochmarc Éitáine* to that between a mortal and fée in the Lay of *Melion* has been used by Professor Kittredge in connection with his argument for the Celtic origin of the latter. ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 192f.) Melion while hunting encounters a beautiful maiden riding toward him through the forest. He salutes her, and addresses her as follows:

"Dites moi dont vos estes née
Et que ici vos a menée."
Cele respont: "Jel vos dirai,
Que ja de mot ne mentirai.
Je sui assés de haut parage,
Et née de gentil lignage;
D'Yrlande sui a vos venue;

In every case the woman does the wooing. Even before the mortal arrives, she knows and loves him, and she has come for the sole purpose of meeting him and declaring her affection. Her love is irresistible,¹ and she bestows it where she wills. She is, however, never coerced into becoming the mistress of anyone,² and when she joins her fortunes to those of a mortal, she proposes her own conditions, which must be fulfilled to the letter if her lover is to enjoy her favor.

Viewed in the light of the passages quoted above, the behavior of Graelett's mistress shows certain inconsistencies which can hardly be explained as the result of mere feminine caprice. On seeing the lady bathing with her damsels in the fountain, the hero, like Lanval, falls in love at once. After watching her for some time, he steals up quietly and gets possession of her clothes. The lady is at once filled with terror and begs him to return her garments, even going so far as to offer him money. When, however, Graelett replies that he is not a seller of clothes and boldly asks her love, she treats him with scorn. The knight now threatens to leave her naked in the forest unless she comes out of the water. She does so, but not

Sachés que je sui mout vo drue;
 Onques home fors vos n'amai,
 Ne jamals plus n'en ameral.
 Forment vos ai de loer;
 Onques ne volote altre amer
 Fors vos tot seul, ne jamals jor
 Vers nul autre n'avrai amor" [vss. 103 ff.].

Mellon takes the lady home and marries her. In Manneker's continuation of Chretien's *Perceval* (ed. Potvin), a she-devil (Christianized fée) visits Perceval and tells him:

Sachés que de lolntaine terre
 Sui chi venue por vous querre,
 Je vous conois, en mole fol.
 Moult mius ke vous ne faites mol;
 Allours de chi vous ai vëu,
 Ne vous ai pas mescounëu [vss. 40589 ff.].

See further *Thomas of Erceldoune* (vss. 75 ff.); *Thomas Rymer* (Child, *Ballads*, No. 37, A, st. 4); *Brun de la Montaigne* (vss. 3104 ff.).

¹ Though the irresistibility of the fairy spell seems to have bred a certain amount of fear and suspicion even among the early Irish and though mortals are scarcely ever quite happy under fairy influence, the other-world women of pagan Celtic story were an infinitely less pernicious race than the malignant female demons (transformed fées) who make love to mortals in some Christianized versions of our theme. On the harmless character of the early Celtic fée, see Beauvois, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, VII (1883), 317 f. A good example of the Christianized type is furnished by *Peter von Staufenberg* (see above, p. 8, n. 2). For confusions of fées with demons in Celtic, see *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, I, 192; *Ir. T.*, IV, 1, pp. 242 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, clxxxi, n. 8; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 70 f., 105; cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, II, 190 f.

² Cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 232; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 26.

until she has exacted a promise, "k'il ne li face nul anui" (vs. 257). When she is dressed, Graelent takes her into the dark forest, and there "a fait de li ce que li plest." The lady now changes her manner with astonishing suddenness. She informs Graelent that she has come to the fountain purposely to meet him; she gives him her love, promises him bountiful treasures, and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires. She warns him, however, that if at any time he reveals their relations, he will lose her.

Graelent, vos estes leiaus
 Prox e curtois e assés biax:
 Pur vus ving jou à la fontaine,
 Pur vus souferai jou grant paine;
 Bien saveie ceste aventure [vss. 315 ff.].

Having won her affection, Graelent assures her that he will love her loyally and well and will never part from her.

As Professor Schofield pointed out some years ago,¹ the inconsistency here lies in the fact that the lady, though at first apparently surprised and terror-stricken, later betrays the fact that she already knows her would-be captor and in fact has come to the fountain for the special purpose of meeting him. This contradiction Professor Schofield thinks is due to the influence of Germanic swan-maiden stories—a type of folk-tale in which a supernatural woman appears in swan form at a lake or fountain, and may easily be captured when deprived of her feather garment, which she lays aside before entering the water and without which she is absolutely powerless. Like the Celtic *fée*, she is beautiful, but she is a weak, helpless creature, entirely lacking in the independence and regal condescension of her forth-putting kinswoman.

The suggestion that the inconsistency in the language and attitude of Graelent's mistress is due to the influence of Germanic tradition requires examination. The two types of supernatural beings known as the "Celtic *fée*" and the "Germanic swan-maiden" (the former bold and imperious, the latter timorous and shrinking), are but the reflections of two different types of woman found in real life in different stages of the development of the human race. The heroine of our earliest Irish sagas and romantic tales is the

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 132 ff.

product of an extremely ancient social system, Celtic or pre-Celtic, in which, as Zimmer has shown, women exercised an astonishing freedom in the choice or abandonment of their mates, as well as in their general attitude toward the opposite sex. Under a different social system, where marriage by capture was practiced or where marital bonds, once formed, were less easily severed, other-worldly maidens (like their mortal prototypes) were more skittish and could be induced to join their fortunes to those of mortal lovers only by guile.

Which of these two social systems is the older does not concern us here.¹ The one which finally became established in Western Europe was that in accordance with which the man does the wooing, the woman playing a more or less passive rôle both before and during the marriage ceremony; hence the second type of fairy mistress gradually triumphed and still predominates in popular and sophisticated literature. The process must have begun early, for even in our oldest Irish sagas there are inconsistencies explicable only on the hypothesis that during the early Christian centuries stories originating in a society where woman took the lead in matrimonial affairs were being retold by people among whom she was more coy and retiring. It is therefore in the highest degree probable that the other-world woman of the swan-maiden type, generally regarded as distinctively characteristic of Germanic tradition, figured in Celtic popular literature before the twelfth century.² Side by side with her

¹ The old view that the position of women, even among the less advanced races of savage people, is necessarily one of abject servitude needs to be modified (see Westermarck, "The Position of Woman in Early Civilization," *Sociological Papers*, published by the Sociological Society, London, 1905, p. 147 ff.). MacCulloch (*Reliq. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 223) suggests that the prominence accorded to goddesses and heroines and the frequency with which women choose their mates in the early Irish sagas, point to a state of society in which matriarchy was prevalent (cf. D'Arbols, *Nouv. rev. hist. de droit*, XV [1891], 304 f.); and Hartland (*Sci. of Fairy Tales*, p. 289) thinks that stories in which women have power reflect the matriarchal stage of culture and calls attention to the fact that the persecuting husband appears only in later versions; but especial emphasis should be laid on Crawley's assertion that "there is no evidence that the maternal system was ever general or always preceded the paternal" (*The Mystic Rose*, p. 369). On the position of women in early Celtic civilization, see *R.C.*, XXXI, 454, n. 1; Stokes, *Anecdota Oxon.* (Med. and Mod. Ser., 5), p. cxi; *Bibliog.*, p. 256 f. On the evidence for matriarchy among the early Celts, see MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 222 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 50.

² The captured fée is found in a number of early Celtic traditions. The following story is told by Walter Map (*De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, c. xii, *ed. cit.*, p. 79 ff.) concerning Wild Edric (lord of Ledbury North, on the border of Wales) and probably embodies a Celtic tradition current during the twelfth century. One day, while returning from the hunt, Edric loses his way in the forest. About midnight he comes to a brilliantly lighted house, within which he sees a band of lovely women. Smitten

there existed the so-called typically Celtic fairy-princess, who, long after the disappearance of the conditions which gave her birth, remained a stock figure in traditional tales, and who found greater favor with the writers of French romance because she fitted more readily into writings designed to exemplify certain doctrines of Courtly Love.¹ That the two types should have become confused in popular tradition is inevitable. The unreasonableness in the behavior of Graelent's mistress can therefore be most easily explained on the hypothesis that the lay in question is based directly or indirectly on a Celtic account in which the forth-putting fée was confused with the captured swan-maiden.²

with love, he seizes the most beautiful and carries her home. She yields to his caresses, but remains mute for three days. On the fourth day she exclaims, "Hail, my dearest!" and tells her lover that he will be happy and prosperous until he reproaches her with the place where she was found or "concerning anything of the sort." The lover promises to avoid the forbidden subject, but of course breaks his word and loses his wife. He dies of grief.

It will be recalled that in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* (one of our earliest cases) the king has Etain seized before he addresses her and that in the shorter *Fled Bricrend* an already captive maiden appeals to her future lover for help. In the undoubtedly pre-twelfth-century *Aided Echach mheic Mhaireda* (S.G., II, 265 ff.), a mermaid is represented as being caught in a net. For another version of the story, see *Martyrology of Oengus*, ed. Stokes (Hy. Bradshaw Soc., XXIX), p. 53.

The frequency with which the timorous fée, helpless in the hands of her mortal captor, turns up in Irish, Scottish, and Welsh fairy-mistress stories taken down from popular sources in recent years can hardly be explained satisfactorily except on the hypothesis that she has long been indigenous to Celtic soil. A familiar Irish tradition tells how the Earl of Desmond found the lake-fée Aine combing her hair at the water's edge and by stealing her cloak won her love (R. C., IV [1879-80], 186 ff.). For other examples see Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 121 f.; *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 341; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 187, 188, 192; V, 93, 118 f., 120 f.; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 201. See further, below, p. 34, n. 2.

Professor Nitze calls my attention to the fact that in the French Epic, which many consider Germanic in origin, woman often takes the initiative in love-making. In this connection he refers me to *Raoul de Cambrai*, vss. 5,696 ff.; Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, IX, 315 ff.; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, pp. 306 ff.

¹ Cf. Nutt's remarks, *Pop. Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore*, London, 1899, p. 26. An apparent reflection of this type, probably colored more or less by Christian prejudice, is found in modern Celtic folk-tales in which amorous fées carry off men against their will. Cf. *Celtic Mag.*, IX (1884), 203 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 100.

² The signs of confusion indicated above (p. 33, n. 2) as occurring in early Celtic literature are even more marked in modern Celtic versions of the Offended Fée. The following tale is translated by Sir John Rhys from the Welsh of Glasynys (Owen Wyn Jones) (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 86 ff.). A poor fisherman "makes the acquaintance of" a mermaid in a cave on the seacoast. At first the water-woman screeches wildly, but soon becomes calm enough to warn her captor against her brother and make an appointment with him for the next day. She then departs, but later appears dressed "like a lady," and tells him that though she is a king's daughter, she has "come to live among the inhabitants of the land." She has "a cap of wonderful workmanship," which,

It is obvious that in both *Graelett* and *Guingamor* the garments by which the fountain ladies set such store are rationalized feather-skins,¹ and are derived ultimately from stories of animal marriages. To peoples in the animistic or totemistic stages of culture unions

instead of preserving carefully as her only means of returning to her native element, she stupidly presents to her lover with the ridiculous injunction that he shall always keep it out of her sight. The two are now married. After several years of wedded felicity, the wife, on finding that her real character has been discovered by one of her children, dives into the sea, carrying her husband with her. The cap, without which she ought to be powerless to return to the Other World, has dropped out of the story.

In another Welsh tale, current in the neighborhood of Bedd Gelert and said to have variants in many parts of Wales, a youth captures a fairy woman, but the lady agrees to marry him only on condition that he discover her name. This he succeeds in doing, but before the *fée* will become his wife, she imposes the further condition that he shall never touch her with iron. Long she remains with him, and his affairs prosper greatly, but when at length he accidentally touches her with an iron bit, she disappears (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 59 ff.; cf. D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, Portmadoc, 1899, pp. 161 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor* IV, 180 ff.). According to a literary version of the same story, the *fée*, instead of showing fear at her lover's approach, exclaims, "Idol of my hopes, thou hast come at last!" The prohibition against touching the wife with iron is here imposed by the father, an indication that the lady, instead of being free, is hampered by paternal control (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 63 ff.). Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 180, 188, 191, 201, 208. According to a variant, which seems to have come from the vicinity of Llanberis, a lake *fée*, on being seized by a farmer, screams lustily, whereupon her father appears and imposes a somewhat similar condition before he will allow the wedding to take place (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 94 ff.). See further the Carmarthenshire story told by Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 275 f.

A Breton folk-tale taken down in 1873 and recorded by Luzel (*Contes pop. de Basse Bretagne*, II, 349 ff.), tells how a shepherd boy sees at a pond three white swans which have the power of transforming themselves into beautiful girls. By his grandmother's advice he steals the swan-garment of the youngest and most attractive. As in *Graelett*, the maiden alternately prays and scolds, but the youth holds on to her covering until she promises to transport him to her palace beyond the sea. On arriving in fairyland, the shepherd becomes the *fée*'s lover.

In an Irish popular story translated by George Dottin (*Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff.), a boy, while sitting on the shore, sees three swans approach him across the ocean. The birds eat the bread-crumbs which he offers them, but when he attempts to catch them, they elude his grasp. Drawn by an irresistible impulse, the youth follows them across the ocean, paddling himself on a plank. He at last reaches a beautiful palace under the sea, where he finds three fair ladies. He later returns to earth, but pines away and dies of longing for the swan-women. This story suggests the well-known Carmarthenshire tradition copied by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 164 ff.), from Rees's *The Physicians of Myddvai* (Welsh MS Soc.), Llandovery, 1861: a youth wins the love of a water-*fée* by a gift of bread, but loses his mistress by breaking her command. Cf. Lalstner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 189.

¹ As early as 1837 F. Wolf, reviewing Michel's edition of *Désiré*, regarded the line "Sanz guimpe estelt échevelée," applied to the attendant at the fountain, as an indication of her original swan-maiden character. "Die hier angeführte Jungfrau ist offenbar eine Schwanjungfrau; die ihr Schwanhemd abgelegt (sanz guimpe), um in der Quelle zu baden (vgl. J. Grimm, *deutsche Mythologie*, S. 241)." See *Kleinere Schriften von Ferdinand Wolf*, ed., E. Stengel, Marburg, 1890, p. 128, n. 1. Stengel reprints Wolf's review as it appeared in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, Berlin, 1837, Bd. II, Sp. 139-58. It may be suggested that the unnecessary display of the *fée*'s person in *Lanval* (*en sa chemise senglement . . . tut ot decouvert le costé, le vis, le col e la peitrine*), is also a reminiscence of an earlier bathing scene.

between men and animals are perfectly natural and acceptable,¹ but to later and more enlightened peoples the moral and intellectual shock is too great. The bride, at first an animal *sans phrase*, becomes a supernatural woman in animal form,² and finally a fairy maiden whose power resides in her clothing. The predominance among civilized peoples of the swan over the many other forms of animal bride known to savages is probably due to a recognition of its peculiar appropriateness as a disguise for a beautiful *fée*. The natural association of swans with water furnishes an easy explanation of the confusion between swan-women and water-fées, as in so many versions of the Offended *Fée*, including our two Old French poems.

That supernatural women who appear in the form of swans are not exclusively denizens of Germanic territory should be obvious to all students of popular literature.³ As indicated above, unions between men and animals are found the world over.⁴ Early Celtic literature contains many accounts of other-world women who appear in the form of birds. Of the cases most clearly germane to the present discussion may be mentioned the fairy mistresses of Oengus (*Aislinge*

¹ Cf. S. Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Religions*, pp. 6 f.

² In rationalized versions of the folk-tale of the Offended *Fée* the swan form of the lady is not infrequently explained as due to enchantment. Cf. *Bibl. des litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, CCXXVII, lxxv f.

³ On swan-maidens in general, see Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 256 ff.; Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, *Introd.*, esp. pp. lxi f. (cf. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, I, 116 ff., 241 ff.; II, 427, 432; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 254 ff. Professor Hamilton also refers me to Hoffmann u. Grimm, *Alldeutsche Blätter*, I, 128 ff.; Groome, *Gypsy Folk Tales*, No. 50, pp. 188 ff.; Frobenius, *Im Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, I, 304 ff.; P. Ehrenreich, *Myth. u. Leg. der südamerik. Urvölker*, Berlin, 1905, p. 72 (*Zt. f. Ethn.*, Supplement to v. 37); E. Maas, *N. J. f. kl. Alt.*, XXVII, 26, n. 4 (referring to Anton. Liberal, 16). See further *Nibelungenlied* (ed. Bartsch), *Äventüre XXV*, st. 1533 ff.; cf. Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 134.

⁴ Animal mates other than the swan occur in Celtic folk-lore. A passage in the fourteenth-century manuscript H. 2. 16 (T.C.D.) tells how a water-horse was the lover of a mortal maiden and by her became the father of a monstrosity (*Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 1st ser., I [1849-51], 366 f.). The famous Oisín was the son of a deer. See *Silva Gadelica*, II, 476, 522. Cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 150; *R. I. A.*, Todd Lect. Ser. XVI, p. xxviii, n. 3; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, Longmans, 1903, II, 460. For other Celtic water-horse stories which seem to preserve traces of animal-marriages, see above, p. 22, n. 3. Cf. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, p. 122. In a Breton folk-tale (Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse Bretagne*, I, 291 ff.), a nobleman marries a wild sow. After bearing nine children, the animal becomes a beautiful princess. See also the various accounts of seal-wives in Celtic (enumerated below, p. 37, n. 3). Cf. Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff. On animal marriages see further, *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, XII (1899), 22 f.; XVIII (1905), 6.

Oengusso)¹ and Cuchulainn (*Tochmarc Emire*),² who appear to their lovers in swan form by the side of a lake; and the beautiful Etain, who disappears from her husband's dwelling in the form of a swan.³

The conclusion of the whole matter is that the fundamental elements of the fountain episodes in *Graeent* and *Guingamor* were probably accessible in Celtic tradition before the twelfth century, and that therefore it is unnecessary to look for them elsewhere.⁴

¹ *R.C.*, III, 349. The swan-maiden character of the heroine is recognized by Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, p. 259, n. 1, and by Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 196, note. Cf. T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, London, 1911, pp. 121 f.

² *Arch. Rev.*, I, 304; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 82 (cf. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894 ff., II, 50, 255).

³ Leahy, *Heoric Rones. of Ir.*, II, 161; *C.Z.*, V, 534. For other cases see *Serglige Conchulainn* (Thurneysen, *Sagen*, p. 82; D'Arbois, *L'Épopée celt. en Ir.*, I, 170 ff.; *Facs. of Nat'l. MSS of Ir.*, I, xxxvii); *Bibliog.*, p. 94; *Aided Conrói maic Dóiri* (*Ériu*, II, 18 ff.; *C.Z.*, III, 40 ff.); *Comfert Conchulainn* (Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 15); *Acallamh na Senórach* (*Ir. T.*, IV, 1, p. 242 ff.; *S.G.*, II, 141); *Bruiden Da Chocas* (*R.C.*, XXI, 155). See further *Aidead Chlainne Lir* (Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 82 f.); D'Arbois, *La Civilis'n des Celtes*, etc., Paris, 1899, pp. 194 ff.; *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux*, Paris, 1906, pp. 141 ff.; Cross, *R.C.*, XXXI, 435 ff.; cf. *R.C.*, XX, 89 f., 209 f.; *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, V (1860), 235; Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 97, 148, 307, n. 2 (cf. p. 265, n. 7; II, 12 f.); W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, London, 1893, p. 183 (cf. p. 186); *R.C.*, IV, 188 (where the son of a féa appears in the form of a goose); and *Y Cymmrodor* IV, 177 f. (where in one version of the *Myddval* story the lover "thought [the fairy woman] was a goose"). See also Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, pp. 115 f. In Todd's *Irish Nennius* (Dublin, 1848, pp. 210 f.) a man brings down with a stone a swan which immediately becomes a woman. For modern Celtic examples of the fairy mistress in swan form, see Luzel, *Contes pop. de Basse-Bretagne*, II, 349 ff.; Dottin, *Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff. In the Scottish Highlands the sea-maiden may be captured when she is deprived of her skin. Her covering must, however, be carefully guarded, for if she gets possession of it, she is sure to slip it on and go back to her native element. There are many tales of unions between fishermen and sea-maidens. In some stories the supernatural wife is a seal (silkie). When the animal lays aside its skin, it becomes a woman. See Kennedy's account of the fisherman who got a silkie wife by stealing her skin (*Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, pp. 122 f.). For another version, see Keightley, *The Fairy Mythol.*, London, 1860, pp. 163, 169 f. In more rationalized versions the *muir-óigh* (sea-maiden) has "a cap of salmon skin" (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 93) or "a nice little magical cap" (Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 121). Whoever gets the head-gear has the lady in his power. See further Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ir.*, Boston, 1906, p. 38; *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 184, 483. For other magic talismans owned by fairy-women, see Grimm, *Deutch. Mythol.*, p. 355; Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 154 ff.

⁴ Professor Schofield believes that the particular form of Germanic swan-maiden story which influenced the lay of *Graeent* was that connected with Wayland the Smith and his two brothers. It is referred to in the *Völundarkviða* and is told in greater detail in the fourteenth century German romance of *Friedrich von Schwaben*. The title of the French poem he thinks results from the identification of the Old French *G(u)alant* (Wayland) with Gradlon Mor (Muer), a legendary Armorican king of the fifth century (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 128 ff.; cf. Koehler, Warnke's *Die Lais*, p. cxiv). The difficulty in deriving *Graeent Mor* from *Gradlon Mor* does not seem to be materially lessened by the introduction of the name *G(u)alant* into the problem. Moreover, as I have shown above, the swan-maiden elements in *Graeent* may be accounted for on a less

THE GES

In at least one of the Celtic stories outlined above—the *Aided Muirchertaig*—the fairy mistress lays upon her lover a *ges*, or tabu: Muirchertach must never mention her name. Injunctions to silence in love, so common everywhere in popular stories of the Offended Fée, appear to have had their origin, not only in considerations of practical prudence, but also in that elaborate system of prohibitions with which early society is “entangled and hidebound.” As Crawley observes, “the universal desire for solitude during the performance of certain physical functions, shared by man with the higher animals, is an extension of the organic instinct for safety and self-preservation. These functions, especially the nutritive, sexual, and excretory, are not only of supreme importance in organic life, but their performance exposes the individual to danger, by rendering him defenceless for the time being.”¹ Probably some such consideration as this underlies the savage custom which requires that for a certain period the lover shall visit his mistress, the husband his wife, secretly.² Again, among peoples relatively close to the primitive stage of culture, one’s name is regarded as being in a very emphatic sense a part of one’s self, and as such it must be guarded with the greatest care lest it become known to an enemy, who may use it to the detriment of the owner.³ Thus supernatural beings the world over, following the example of the mortals to whose imagination they owe their existence, shrink from publicity. None but the chosen lover must

complicated hypothesis; and the theft of the garments occurs in *Guingamor*, the title of which is not connected with the name G(u)alant. Attention should be called to the possibility that the swan-maiden episode in the *Vølundarkvida* originated in Celtic tradition. It formed no part of the original Wayland saga (R. C. Boer, *Arkiv för nordisk Filol.*, XXIII [n. f. XIX] [1907], 129 ff.); the story, which Bugge thinks reached the Scandinavians from England, makes one of the three maidens the daughter of an Irish king (Klavalr Cearball); and the author had probably traveled in the British Isles (“The Norse Lay of Wayland and its Relation to English Tradition,” *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, II (1898–1901), 283, 294 ff.; cf. *Arkiv för nordisk Filol.*, XXVI (n. f. XXII), (1910), 33 ff.; *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 10, 390).

¹ *The Mystic Rose*, p. 134.

² See MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, New York, 1905, pp. 328, 336; J. J. Atkinson in Andrew Lang’s *Social Origins*, Longmans, 1903, p. 265; Kittredge, *Am. Jour. Philol.*, X (1889), 19. See further S. Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Religions* (trans., E. Frost), p. 36. Cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, clxxxiii.

³ Lord Avebury, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion*, Longmans, 1911, p. 119; MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 337; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., II (“Taboo,” etc.), London, 1911, pp. 318 ff.; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 309 ff.

know of his fairy mistress's existence, lest others acquire the power which he alone should possess.¹

As a prohibition similar to that in the *Aided Muirchertaig* forms an important part of the lays we are examining, and as it occurs in another Irish story of the Offended Fée in the World of Mortals, we must again summarize.

The *Noinden Ulad* (Nine Days' Sickness of the Ulstermen) is a very ancient Irish tale. It is found in the *Book of Leinster*, and is mentioned in the same codex as one of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*²—facts which prove its existence and popularity prior to the middle of the twelfth century. Its highly barbaric character, to which attention will be drawn later, also speaks strongly for its antiquity. The following summary is based on Windisch's translation of the *Leinster* copy, with a few details added from the version contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript, *Harleian 5280*.³

"The debility of the Ulstermen, whence comes it? Not hard [to answer]!" Crunniuc, son of Agnoman, was a wealthy farmer. After the death of his wife he lived a solitary life in the mountains.

¹ Among certain savage tribes "persons most intimately connected by blood and especially by marriage . . . are often forbidden, not only to pronounce each other's names, but even to utter ordinary words which resemble or have a single syllable in common with these names" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 335). Among the Tcherkes it is a gross insult to ask a man how his wife is (MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 336). For modern Celtic folk-tales containing tabus imposed by fairy wives, see *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 165 ff. See further Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.*, pp. 353 ff.; Lalstner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 186 ff. ("Das Namengeheimnis"); Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 312 f.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 77, 94 ff. On the dislike of fairies for being seen by mortals, cf. *Jour. Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 2d ser., I, 137; II, 319; XVII, 122, 127; *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III, 98 f.; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 130; Miss Hull, *Folk Lore* (1901), p. 51; Reiffenberg, *Chev. au Cygne*, pp. lxxii, lvi f. Compare the attitude of the other-world lovers in the lays of *Yonac* (cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 457, n. 2) and *Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, vss. 69 f., 214). The Celtic peasant of the isolated districts prefers to call the fairies the *daoine maith* (good people), *daoine beaga* (little people), or *tylwyth teg* (fair family), rather than speak of them by their real name, lest by so doing he incur their displeasure. Compare the Greek Eumenides and the Hebrew euphemistic names for the Deity. See further Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 392 ff. See also the tabus in the stories of Cupid and Psyche, of Melusine, and of Lohengrin. See further *Partonopeus*, ed. Crapelet, vss. 4,512 ff.; Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

² D'Arbois, *Catalogue*, p. 89. O'Curry thinks it was known to the compiler of the list of heroic tales in *LL* (*Lectures*, pp. 584 ff., n. 130).

³ *Ber. über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Ct., XXXVI (1884), 342 ff. Cf. Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 97 ff. For other translations see *Bibliog.*, pp. 88 ff. See further Todd, *R.I.A.*, Ir. MSS Ser., I, 1, pp. 17 f.; *Folk Lore*, IV, 481; *R.C.*, XVI, pp. 45 f.; Keating, *Hist. of Ir.* (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II (1908), 155 ff.; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 49; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, pp. 71 f.; Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Lays of The Western Gael*, London, 1865, pp. 233 f. (cf. his "Tain-Quest," *op. cit.*, p. 23).

One day, when he was alone in his house, there entered a stately (*Harl.*: young) woman, who behaved as though she had been there before. She prepared excellent food,¹ and that night slept with Cruinniuc. The woman was pleased with her lover. Long she remained with him, and thanks to her he prospered greatly. Her name is Macha. One day Cruinniuc prepared to attend one of the great periodical festivals of the Ulstermen at Emain Macha, the capital of the kingdom. "It behooves you," said the woman to him, "not to be overweening and say an imprudent thing." (*Harl.*: "You must not go . . . that you may not run into danger of speaking of us, for our union will last only as long as you do not speak of me in the assembly.") "That shall not occur," said he; and so he went. At the fair the king's horses win the race. [Then bards came to praise the king and the queen and the poets and the Druids, the household, the people and the whole assembly]. The people cry that the king's horses are the swiftest in Ireland, but Cruinniuc maintains that his wife is swifter than they. At the king's command he is seized and threatened with death unless he can prove his assertion. The woman is informed of her lover's strait, and, though far gone in pregnancy, comes to his assistance. The king, brutally unmindful of her condition, forces her to run the race. She succeeds in winning, but at the end of the course she is taken with birth pangs and brings forth twins (*Emain, Emuin*).² Her dying cry causes all who hear her to suffer the weakness of a woman in childbed for four days and five nights—a form of debility which returns upon the Ulstermen periodically for nine generations. "Hence is the debility of the Ulstermen (*Noinden Ulad*), and *Emuin Macha* (Macha's twins)."³

In the *Noinden Ulad* an early Celtic version of the Offended Fée has been utilized to explain on the basis of popular etymology

¹ In an Ojibway tale referred to by Andrew Lang (*Custom and Myth*, p. 79), a beaver appears to an Indian in the form of a woman, becomes his mistress, and sets his wigwam in order. For similar cases, see MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 261 and note.

² In a Welsh tale translated by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 86 ff.), a mermaid married to a mortal gives birth to five sets of twins. On the disfavor with which twins are regarded among savage peoples, see Lubbock, *Origins of Civilization*, 1870, pp. 20 ff.; Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 386 f.; J. A. Tillinghast, *Publ. Amer. Economic Assn.*, 3d ser., III (1902), No. 2, p. 66. During the Middle Ages the mother of twins was generally suspected of being an adulteress. For many instances, see Koehler in Warnke, *Die Laïs*, *Introd.*, pp. xci ff.

³ Attention was called to this story in connection with *Lanval* and *Graelent* by Professor Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 165 ff. See also Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, pp. 31 ff.

the place-name Emain Macha and to account for the periodical weakness, from an attack of which the Ulster warriors are represented as suffering when the Amazonian Medb and her allies descend upon them on the famous cattle-raid of Cualnge.¹ Although, to suit the immediate purposes of the story, Crunniuc's mistress has been rationalized into a mortal woman subject to death² and other mundane ills, she belongs to that company of fair immortals whose relations with the sons of men play so large a part in early Irish literature. Although, as already indicated,³ Macha is usually regarded as one of the battle-goddesses of the ancient Irish, she is associated with the fairy people and with the beautiful world beneath or beyond the waves,⁴ and in a poetical version of our story, preserved in the *Book of Lecan* and printed from O'Curry's transcript by Archbishop Reeves in his *Ancient Churches of Armagh*,⁵ she is twice called the daughter of Midir of Bri Léith, who figures as the fairy lover of the heroine in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*. Through these variants, which illustrate so admirably the confusion in the mind of the early Celts regarding the genealogy of their other-world beings, the original character of Crunniuc's mistress shines clearly. She is a fairy princess. Age cannot wither her nor custom stale her infinite variety; she bestows her affection according to her own choice; she forbids

¹ This weakness may be a reminiscence of the *couvade*, a practice common to many savage peoples. See Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 31, n. 1; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 292; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, I, 84; Lubbock, *Origins of Civilisation*, 1870, pp. 10 ff.; Crawley, *op. cit.*, pp. 417 f.; Ploss, *Das Kind im Brauch u. Sitte*, 2d ed., II, 248 ff.; *Das Weib*, II, 398 ff.; D'Arbois, *R.C.*, VII, 225 ff. Cf. *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 2d ser. (1895-96), pp. 140 f.; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 224 (cf. pp. 129 f.); Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Fisihs in Ir.*, II, 42 ff. The "pangs of a woman in child-birth" form part of a curse imposed by a woman in the *Cathréim Conghail Cláiringhnaigh, Ir. Texts Soc.*, V, 113.

² The disappearance of the fairy mistress or lover is not infrequently attributed to death (cf. *R.C.*, XXXI, 459), but the canny ones among the folk know better. See, for example, the folk-tale printed in the *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 134. One of the O'Neills married a beautiful woman, who for no apparent reason pined away and died, "it was said—but," adds the narrator, "if she did, no human eyes ever saw the corp"; there was a grand funeral—the O'Neill's always had that—but the lady wasn't in it; her own Gentle People [the fairies] took her to themselves, and had her in their own dominions before that, as every one in the castle knew well enough at the time." See also Kittredge, *J. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1905), 12, n. 1.

³ Above, p. 21.

⁴ In the *LL* version she is called "Daughter of Strangeness son of Ocean." Cf. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 32. See above, pp. 22, 25, n. 4.

⁵ Privately printed, Lusk, 1860, pp. 41 ff. Cf. Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, ed. cit., I (1902), 219; *Folk-Lore*, IV, 481; *R. C.*, XVI, 45.

her mortal favorite to speak of her before the world; and when he breaks her command, she forsakes him. Young, beautiful, immortal, she is beyond the realm of moral and physical law.

In both prose versions of the *Noinden Ulad Macha's* injunction takes the form of a prohibition against mentioning her name. The *Harleian* account is more specific: "“You must not go,” said the woman, ‘that you may not run into danger of speaking of us, for our union will last only as long as you do not speak of me in the assembly’” (*Ni rega, ol in ben, ‘nachat rab boegal dier n-imradadh, ar bid hi ar n-oenta co sin dianom nimraidiu-sa issan oenach’*).

In the obviously corrupt version of the *Léiges Coise Chéin* summarized above from a fifteenth-century manuscript, the féé forsakes her lover simply because she has been insulted by another man! Her departure, here so unsatisfactorily explained, is accounted for in a highly gratifying fashion in two modern Scottish Gaelic versions of the story, collected from oral tradition by the Rev. D. MacInnes¹ and J. G. Campbell.² In MacInnes's version the fairy woman agrees to become the hero's wife on three conditions: the king must never be invited to dinner without her previous knowledge; her husband must never reproach her with her origin; she must never be left in the company of another man. The tabus are, of course, broken one after another, the departure of the lady being occasioned, as in the Irish account, by an insult from Cian. Instead of the triple tabu there was doubtless originally but one prohibition, that against reproaching the wife with her origin—mentioning the name which she bore in the Other World. Like the serpent-lady in Keats's poem, she should remain unaffected by the insults of others; it is only her lover who, by uttering the fatal word, can force her to desert him.

In the *Aided Muirchertaig* the *ges*, though somewhat modified by Christian influence, is nevertheless perfectly clear. Sín tells her lover: "My name must never be uttered by thee, and Duuibsech, the mother of thy children, must not be in my sight, and the clerics must never enter the house that I am in" (*cen m'ainm-sea do ráda*

¹ Recorded in *Folk and Hero Tales* (Argyllshire Ser., II), ed. MacInnes & Nutt, London, 1890, pp. 207 ff.

² *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 127 ff.

duitsiu co brath, 7 cen Duabsig máthair do claindi do beith im aigid, 7 cen na clerig do thoidecht i n-oentach rium co brath).

A prohibition against mentioning the fée's name is also implied in the *Egerton* version of the *Tochmarc Beofola* (see above, p. 23): the king, when asked whence his mistress came, refuses to tell. So, too, in the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll* (see above, p. 15), the prince, when questioned regarding the lady on the white horse, preserves a discreet silence.¹ "Whatever question was asked him concerning the maiden, he passed to other matters" (*Pa amouyn bynnac a vei ganthunt wy y wrth y uorwyn y chwedleu ereill y trosseu ynteu*).²

When we recall that the examples enumerated above are but a few preserved by accident from a mass of folk-tradition now lost in the backward and abysm of time, we may get some faint idea of how popular among the early Celts was the tale of a fairy woman who visits earth, and unites with a mortal lover upon whom she lays strange commands.

The similarity of our Breton Lays to the Celtic stories in the matter of the prohibition need hardly be dwelt upon. In *Lanval* the fée tells her lover:

"Amis or vus chasti,
si vus comant e si vus pri:
ne vus descovrez a nul hume!
De ceo vus dirai jeo la sume.
A tuz jurs m'avriëz perdue,
se ceste amurs esteit seüe" [vss. 143 ff.]

The heroine of the English poem words her command somewhat differently:

. . . . of othyng, syr knyght, i warne the,
That thou make no bost of me,
For no kennes mede;
And yf thou dost, y warny the before,
All my love thou hast forlore [vss. 361 ff.].

¹ In a Welsh tale translated by Rhys (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 84), a shepherd boy who has won the love of a fée evades all inquiries concerning his mistress's pedigree.

² In the *Aislinge Oengusso* (see above, p. 14), the presence of a *gea* in an earliest form of the story may be easily inferred from other versions of the type we are investigating. An astonishingly close parallel is furnished by the ancient Indian story of Purúravas and Urvaci. Here the goddess can remain with her lover only until she sees him naked. When he finds her again, she appears in the form of a swan at a lake. The tabu is omitted in the Vedic hymn dealing with the fortunes of the two chief characters, but it is preserved in the *Śatapathabrahmana* and other documents of undoubted

Graelent's mistress addresses her lover as follows:

“ . . . une chose vus deffent,
 Que ne dirés parole aperte
 Dunt nostre amurs seit descuverte

 Gardés que pas ne vus vantés
 De chose par quoi me perdés” [vss. 302 ff.; vss. 319 ff.].

Though some form of tabu is almost universally characteristic of stories in which supernatural beings enter into relations with mortals, the presence of the name-tabu in early Celtic literature, and in Breton Lays showing other evidences of Celtic influence, forges another link in our chain of evidence designed to establish the Celtic origin of *Lanval* and *Graelent*. It is important to note also that the popularity of fairy-mistress stories involving the name-tabu was doubtless greatly enhanced during the Middle Ages by their obvious suitability for enforcing one of the most important doctrines of Courtly Love: *Amor raro consuevit durare vulgatus*.¹

THE FAIRY GIFTS

Lanval's mistress, though capricious, is munificent. After being assured of the hero's love, she grants him the power to have whatever he desires. She gives him new garments, and when he reaches home, “ses umes treuve bien vestuz” (vs. 202). As the result of her bounty, Lanval is enabled to give and spend lavishly. The English *Sir Launfal* contains a more detailed account, which, though perhaps in part due to Chestre's imagination, may prove to contain one or two traditional features. The *fée*, before dismissing her lover, gives him a suit of impenetrable armor, and an “alner” wherein he will always find “a mark of gold.” Next day she sends him “ryche clothes and armure bryght” (vs. 383), as well as gold, silver, and a horse named Blanchard. In *Graelent* the lady promises her *ami* “Deniers e dras, or e argent” (vs. 306), and after his return home she sends him, along with the clothing and other gifts, the swiftest and most beautiful horse in the world.

antiquity. See Leopold von Schroeder, *Mysterium u. Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 239. I am indebted to Dr. W. E. Clark for calling my attention to this story.

¹ Article XIII of the Code as arranged by Andreas Capellanus (Andreas Capellani, *De Amore*, Recens. E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892, p. 310). Cf. L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, Ginn & Co., 1896, p. 59.

In the *Noinden Ulad* Crunniuc's mistress, like the fairy *amies* of Lanval and Graelent, at first brings her lover nothing but good luck. The *Leinster* version tells us that Crunniuc prospered greatly because of his connection with Macha: "thanks to her they had no lack of anything profitable, either food, clothing, or possessions" (*ní búí ní ba terc dóib lee-sí dí cach thorud eter biad 7 etach 7 indbass*). The *Harleian* account contains the statement that "by his union with her his wealth became still greater" (*Moiti dana a indbus-som dia hoentaid-sie*).

It will also be recalled that in the unquestionably pre-twelfth-century account of Cuchulainn's meeting with the Morrígu, the beautiful other-world woman offers her mortal favorite "all her cattle and possessions" as an inducement to accept her love.

The happy results of union with a *fée* are well illustrated in the story of O'Cronogan. The hero, on returning home with his fairy mistress, finds "great houses and halls" in place of the ashes of his dwelling, recently destroyed by the insatiable tax-collectors of Brian Boru. A later statement is more specific. "To three years' end that woman dwelt with him, and O'Cronogan prospered again [i.e., after Brian's restraint on him], so that he had a great troop of horsemen and many people" (*ocus do bí in ben sin aige co cenn trí mbliadan. ocus do bí O Cronógáin ag techt ar a agaid arís innus co roibe se marcshluag mór ocus dáine imda*).¹

Another story of gifts bestowed by a fairy woman upon her mortal lover is told in the *Annals of the Four Masters*² in the *Flathhiusa h-Erenn*,³ and in the prose *Dindshenchas*,⁴ which latter Kuno Meyer regards as "eine im 12. Jahrhundert verfasste Prosa-Auflösung der in den Schulen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Lehrgedichte über irische Topographie."⁵ According to the version in the *Dindshenchas*, Crimthann, son of Lugaid, was the husband of Nar the fairy woman,⁶ with whom he lived for six weeks.

¹ The modern oral versions are careful to make clear that the *fée* bestows upon her lover a magnificent palace and great possessions: *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 215 ff.; *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, pp. 127 ff.

² Ed. O'Donovan, I, 93.

³ Cited by Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 318.

⁴ *R.C.*, XV, 332 ff.

⁵ *Festschrift* presented to Whitley Stokes, Leipzig, 1900, p. 1, n. 1.

⁶ According to *LU* she was of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* (*ar ba do Thuath Déa ben. í. Nár*), *R.C.*, XV, 333, note. Her fairy character is also vouched for in both versions of the *Cóir Anmann* (*Ir.T.*, III, 2, p. 286).

"And to him she gave many treasures, including the gilt chariot and the draught-board of gold, and Crimthann's *cétach*, a beautiful mantle, and many other treasures also." The *Flathiusa h-Ereenn*, which is contained in the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of Lecan*, includes among the gifts "a spear that caused mortal wounds" and "a sling of unfailling cast."

An interesting example of fairy gifts turns up in the *Táin Bó Dartada*,¹ which in substance probably long antedates the twelfth century.² One night King Eocho Beg is visited in his sleep by a maiden and a young man. The former tells him that his visitors are from the fairy mound of Cuillne (*sid Cuillne*), and adds that on the morrow he shall have fifty horses, fifty bridles ornamented with gold and silver, and fifty suits of fairy garments.³ The gifts arrive next morning, as is also the case in *Launfal*.

The lays and Celtic stories enumerated above illustrate a belief which, like others brought out in the course of this study, is found pretty much all over the world: the favor of fairy beings brings good fortune. The nature of the gifts conferred by the *fée* upon her lover varies to suit the social *milieux* in which the stories took shape, but the Celtic and Romance accounts have this in common: each in the spirit of its own time has made the other-world woman bestow upon the mortal the things most to be desired by warriors in the barbaric and chivalric ages respectively—rich garments, a valuable chess-board, a gilt chariot, impenetrable armor,⁴ and magic horses.

¹ Trans. Windisch, *Ir.T.*, II, 2, pp. 198 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 96. See also *R.C.*, XV, 495 f.

² It is given as one of the *remscéla* to the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, and occurs in fragmentary form in *LU*. Cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 185; D'Arbols, *Catalogue*, p. 216.

³ In the Edinburgh version of the very ancient *Táin Bó Fraich* (MS XL, Adv. Lib.), the hero, who is about to go a-wooing, receives from his aunt (a *fée*) a wonderful outfit of clothes, armor, horses, and attendants (*R.C.*, XXIV, 128 f.). For other examples of fairy gifts in Celtic, see *Ériu*, I, 190, n. 3; *Ulster Jour. of Arch.*, 1st ser., VII (1859), 131.

⁴ This feature occurs only in *Launfal*, and is not improbably the result of Chestre's own elaboration of the original theme. It is, however, worth while to note that magic swords and other arms, so common in Germanic tradition, are found in Celtic. See, for example, *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III, 91; *Ir.T.*, III, 1, p. 209; III, 2, p. 337; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 44 f.; *Ir.T.*, Extrad'd., p. lix, p. 438, n. 1; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XIV, 27; XVI, 49; *Gaelic Jour.*, IX (1898-99), 268; *Battle of Magh Rath*, ed. O'Donovan (*Ir. Arch. Soc.*), Dublin, 1842, p. 279; Plummer, *Vitas Sanctorum Hib.*, I, clxxxv; MacManus, *Donegal Fairy Tales*, p. 163; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, p. 5; *S.G.*, II, 121, 254; *Ir.T.*, IV, 1, p. 256; *Ériu*, I, 190, n. 3. See further Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, xcvi ff., cxlix; Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 199, n. 1; Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 42, n. 1; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 48 ff. Miss Schoepferle (*op. cit.*, II, 316) treats inhospitably the suggestion that Tristan's *arc qui ne faut* is Celtic.

In *Launfal* and in *Graelent* the minor gifts are described so briefly as to render doubtful the value of a detailed account of the Celtic parallels, but the horses appear worthy of a more careful examination.¹ In Marie's version the hero finally goes off to the Other World on the fée's white horse.² The ending of Chestre's poem is somewhat different. Launfal rides away in company with the lady on the horse formerly given him by her. On a certain day each year horse and rider may still be seen.

Every yer upon a certayn day
 Me may here Launfales stede nay,
 And hym se with syght.
 Ho that wyll there axsy justus,
 To kepe hys armes fro the rustus,
 In turnement other fyght;
 Dar he never forther gon,
 Ther he may fynde justes anon,
 Wyth syr Launfal the knyght [vss. 1025 ff.].

When at the end of *Graelent* the fée leaves the court, the hero mounts the wonderful steed given him by her, and follows. In spite of her warning, he rides after her into a stream, in which he is nearly drowned. He is, however, saved by the lady, and is carried off to her country. How he made the journey is not told.

Ses destriers qui d'eve eschapa,
 Pur sun Segnur grant dol mena:
 En la forest fist sun retur,
 Ne fu en pais ne nuit ne jur;
 Des piés grata; forment heni,
 Par la cuntrée fu oï.
 Prendre cuident e retenir,
 Unques nus d'aus nel pot saisir:
 Il ne voleit nului atendre,
 Nus ne le puet lacier ne prendre [vss. 711 ff.].

At this season of the year he may still be heard.

¹ In *Lo bel Gherardino* and the *Pulzella gaia* also the heroes receive horses from their fairy mistresses. Cf. Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 276 f. For Celtic horses with magic qualities, see Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 38, 77; *S.G.*, II, 199; cf. *Folk Lore*, IV, 474; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, new ed., 1890, III, 24; Henderson, *Survivals in Belief*, p. 118. See further *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 37; Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 157 ff.; Reiffenberg, *Chev. au Cygne*, I, cxv; Child, *Ballads*, No. 30, st. 27.

² Fairy beings often ride white horses. Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 5; *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed* (Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, p. 93); Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 30. Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, p. 122.

Even if, as Professor Schofield points out,¹ Chestre borrowed certain features of his poem from *Graelent*, the variations in the two episodes given above indicate that in the present instance the English poet not only discarded part of the French account but even introduced material from another source. It therefore seems probable even at first blush that in the final episodes of *Launfal* and *Graelent* we have partially independent scraps of popular tradition about supernatural horses: one steed carries its rider to the Other World; the other, also associated with fairyland, mourns in human fashion for the loss of its master.

Fairy horses which transport mortals to fairyland are common enough in Celtic romance. In the *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg*,² an eighteenth-century literary version of a traditional tale, a fairy princess visits Oisín, declares her love for him, and carries him off to the Other World on her white horse. The *Acallamh na Senórach*³ tells how Ciaban and his companions journey part of the way to the Other World on the back of Manannan's famous steed, which is also used by travelers in the *Aidead Chlainne Tuirend*.⁴ This beast goes equally well on land or sea, and is "as swift as the clear, cold wind of spring." In the *Aidead Ferghusa*,⁵ contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript,⁶ a dwarf attached to the court of King Fergus of Ulster visits the land of the *Lepracans* in company with one of the "little people" on a diminutive horse which has "an exquisite pure crimson mane, four green legs, and a long tail that floated in many curls."⁷

Graelent's horse recalls one of Cuchulainn's steeds, the Gray (Liath) of Macha, to which attention has already been drawn.⁸

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 155 ff.

² *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, IV, 245.

³ *S.G.*, II, 199.

⁴ Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 38.

⁵ *S.G.*, II, 275.

⁶ *Egerton 1782*, written between 1419 and 1517.

⁷ In the *Gilla Decair* (*S.G.*, II, 296 ff.), which, though found in no ancient manuscript, appears to contain much early material (cf. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 103, n. 2), Conan and other Fenians are carried to the Other World on the horse of the Slothful Gillie (a supernatural being). Sir Walter Scott, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh, London, and New York, 1902, pp. 359 ff.), tells how Sir Godfrey Macculloch, when condemned to death, escaped by jumping on the white horse of an other-world being who appeared just as the execution was about to take place. He was never seen afterward. See further *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 89; Larminie, *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, pp. 211 ff.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, cxxxii, n. 7; p. 69, note. Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 93, n. 5.

⁸ See above, p. 22.

The supernatural character of this animal is established by the fact that it dwelt at the bottom of a lake, and the name (Gray of Macha), renders plausible the suggestion that it was originally a gift from Macha, who appears with such marked fairy characteristics in the *Noinden Ulad*, and who is identified with the Morrígu, Cuchulainn's would-be mistress in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. When Cuchulainn prepares for his last battle,¹ the Gray of Macha "came, and let his big round tears of blood fall on Cuchulainn's feet,"² and tried to prevent his master from going forth. When wounded in the battle, the horse goes back to his home in the lake, but just before Cuchulainn is overpowered, he reappears, and with teeth and heels defends his master as long as the latter is alive.³ Another striking parallel to the behavior of Graelett's horse is furnished by one of those scraps of popular tradition so often found imbedded in Irish Christian literature. The story is told by Adamnan⁴ concerning St. Columba and an old white pack-horse belonging to the great apostle's monastery. Just before Columba's death the animal approached the saint and gave evidence of profound emotion at the prospect of his demise.⁵ "Coepit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere." A passage in the prose *Dindshenchas* from the *Book of Lecan* tells how the cattle of Iuchna Horsemouth, after their master's death were "for three days and three nights killing each other, bewailing Iuchna, so that their horns fell off them."⁶ Another passage in the Rennes manuscript of the same document tells how certain cattle shed their horns in sorrow for their herd, who was smothered in a quicksand.⁷

Professor Schofield notes the similarity in the behavior of the horses in the *Aided Conchulainn*, the *Vita Columbae*, and *Graelett*;

¹ The episode occurs in the *Aided Conchulainn*, Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 254 (cf. p. 244). See also *R.C.*, III, 176 ff.; *Bibliog.*, p. 86; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxxxii, n. 8.

² On weeping tears of blood, see *R.C.*, XXI, p. 393; *R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IV, p. 2.

³ Compare the fighting horses of Gwyn, *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, ed. J. G. Evans, Pwllhell, 1906, *Introd.*, p. xi, p. 99, 5-6.

⁴ *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Clarendon Press, 1894, p. 156; *trans.*, *Prophecies, Miracles and Visions of St. Columba*, Clarendon Press, p. 133. Cf. Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (Ir. Arch. and Celtic Soc.), Dublin, 1857, p. 232; *Historians of Scotland*, VI (1874), 96, 212.

⁵ Professor Schofield is wrong in making the horse weep for St. Adamnan: *Pub.*, *Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 159.

⁶ *R.C.*, XV, 309, note; cf. *S.G.*, II, 483, 531.

⁷ *R.C.*, XVI, 75.

but he also calls attention to the sorrowing of Sigurth's horse, Grani, in the so-called "Second" *Lay of Guthrún* in the Elder Edda, paraphrased in the *Völsungasaga*, and suggests the possibility that the feature "got to the Bretons, like the story of Wayland, through the Normans."¹ Thankful, helpful, or sympathetic animals are common enough in folk-lore,² but in the case before us the presence of the mourning horse both in Celtic and in a Breton lay exhibiting so many other points of resemblance to Celtic tradition seems to indicate the latter rather than Germanic as the source. Added weight is given to this conclusion by the fact that in the *Aided Conchulainn* the feature is connected with the Ulster hero and with Macha, the associate of the Morrígu, whose relations with Cuchulainn furnish other parallels to our lay. However, even if it could be proved that the sorrowing of Graeent's horse found its way into the French poem from a Germanic rather than a Celtic source, the conclusions to be deduced from the present study would not be materially affected, since the feature of greatest significance for the thread of the narrative is not the lachrymose character of the animal, but the fact that he is of fairy origin and that he transports his master to the border of the Other World. It is highly probable that in a simpler form of the story Graeent's horse, like Launfal's, simply carried his master to fairyland, perhaps returning at regular intervals, as did the famous Irish *Each Labhra* (Speaking Horse).³ The episode of the return of horse and rider in *Launfal* resembles a tradition current in the vicinity of Cambridge and recorded by Gervais of Tilbury.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² On helpful animals, see Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX, 679, n. 1; p. 703, nn. 1, 2, 3; p. 704, n. 4; Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 226, n. 3; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, cxliii f.; Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Longmans, I (1906), 58 f.; Salomon Reinach, *Cults, Myths and Relig.* (trans. E. Frost), pp. 19 f.

³ This animal was wont to issue from a mound on every midsummer eve, and answer questions regarding the events of the coming year. See Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Ir. Celts*, p. 135, note; cf. MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, p. 215. In the *Lai de l'Espine* (Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, p. 554, vss. 192 ff.), there is an account of the "gué de l'Espine," where each year on St. John's Eve one can find a notable adventure. It is here that the hero of the story fights with two knights and wins a lady. In the Welsh *Peredur*, the hero, at the instance of a maiden, climbs a hill and "asks three times for someone to fight with him," whereupon a black knight on a bony horse appears from beneath a flat stone (cromlech?) and attacks him. Cf. Loth (*Les Mab.*, II, 117 f.), who compares Wauchier's continuation of *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, IV, 85).

⁴ *Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 26; the same story is told by the author of the *Gesta Romanorum*, who cites Gervais as his authority. See *Gesta Rom.*, ed. Oersterley, Berlin, 1872, pp. 533 ff. Cf. Herrtage's ed. of the English versions, E.E.T.S., E.S., XXXIII, 1879, p. 525.

Not far from Cambridge is a hill on whose summit a supernatural warrior on horseback meets all who challenge him on moonlight nights.

THE LOSS OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

Though the *fée's* command and its subsequent disregard by her lover are constantly recurring features of the folk-tale of the Offended *Fée*, the events which furnish the motive for the catastrophe may be freely altered without disturbing the general development of the story. We should not, therefore, be surprised to find wide variations in this part of the narrative.

In the Lanval poems the fatal revelation of the *fée's* existence is motivated by a device long familiar in popular literature. Queen Guenevere offers Lanval her favors. He refuses to dishonor the king by accepting her love, and in a thoughtless moment boasts of his *amie's* beauty just as Crunniuc does of his wife's speed. The jealous queen now accuses Lanval of having insulted her.¹ At her instigation the knight is condemned to produce his mistress by a certain day or suffer punishment. He finds to his utter dismay that the lady of the tent no longer appears at his summons, but just at the expiration of the allotted time she returns, proves her lover's claim, and departs with him to the Other World.

Attention has already been called to the frequency with which the women of early Celtic literature offer themselves to men. Though the forth-putting woman was of course known outside of Celtic and though her popularity in literature was probably increased by the well-known Bible story of Potiphar's wife, it is important to insist that the attitude of women toward men reflected in early Celtic sagas and romantic tales strongly predisposes us to expect her to reappear in mediaeval documents the origin of which other considerations lead us to look for in Celtic.

Queen Guenevere,² notorious for her adultery and described by Chestre as having "lemannys unther her lord" (vs. 47), immediately

¹ The same motif furnishes the cause for the lover's unfortunate words in the *Châtelaine de Vergi*, in *Gauriel von Muntabel*, and indirectly in the *Pulzella gaia* (cf. Ahlström, *Studier*, p. 69, n. 5). See also Walter Map's story of Sadius and Galo (*De Nugis Curialium*, III, ll, ed. cit. pp. 108 ff.); Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1.

² The connection of Guenevere with the episode is probably late, but it was her already notorious character which made possible the connection. Cf. Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 162, n. 1.

suggests the famous Queen Medb of Connacht. The latter tells her hen-pecked husband, Ailill, that she "has never . . . been without having one man in the shadow of another";¹ she openly offers her favors (*cardes mo shiasta fessin*) to Dáire mac Fachtnai in exchange for the brown bull of Cualnge;² and during the lifetime of her husband she entertains as her lover the exiled Ulsterman Fergus mac Roig and has children by him.³

Two of the most striking Celtic instances of the forth-putting woman occur in the *Longes Mac n-Uisnig* (Exile of the Sons of Usnech)⁴ and the *Tóruigheacht Dharmada agus Ghráinne* (Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne).⁵ The former is found in the *Book of Leinster* and certainly dates from a period long before the twelfth century. The latter appears to have been traditional as early as the ninth century.⁶ In both, the heroines make violent love to men who at first resist their advances, and who are forced to accept their favors only by the imposition of a *ges*, or tabu. The following summary of another ancient tale is contained in *Cormac's Glossary*, which was

¹ See Zimmer's interesting observations on this passage (*Sitzungsb. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss'n.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., 1909, p. 64). Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. for 1911, p. 178.

² *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 14; *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, trans. Miss Faraday, p. 101. In the *Glenmasan MS of the Táin Bó Flidais* Medb makes the same offer to others (*Celtic Review*, III [1906-7], 125). Cf. *Fled Bricrend, Ir. T. Soc.*, II, p. 69; Keating, *Hist. of Ireland (Ir. Texts Soc.)*, II (1908), 189.

³ *Celtic Review*, I (1904-5), 227 ff.; *Ir. T.*, II, 2, p. 176; *Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, trans. Miss Faraday, pp. 44, 52. Cf. *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 414, 860; *R. I. A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XIV, 33; *R. C.*, XXVIII, 101; Zimmer, *Sitzungsb. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss'n.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., 1911, p. 184; Keating, *op. cit.*, II, 195. Flidais, the wife of a chieftain named Ailill Fhinn, loves Fergus mac Roig, and urges him to elope with her (*Celtic Review*, II [1905-6], p. 23; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 96); Blathnat, the wife of Curáí mac Dáiri, conspires against the life of her husband and elopes with Cuchulainn (*Ériu*, II [1905], 23; Keating, *History of Ir.*, (*Ir. Texts Soc.*), II, 223; cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 87; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, p. 284, n. 1); and Clothru offers herself to her three brothers, and by them becomes the mother of Lugaid Riab n-Derg (*R. C.*, XVI, 149; cf. O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 479). See also *Comperit Conchobuir*, (*Hibernica Minora*, ed., Kuno Meyer (Anec. Oxon.), 1894, Ap., p. 50).

In the *Duanairé Fhinn*, (ed. MacNeill [*Ir. Texts Soc.*], p. 30), Donn is changed into a stag by a woman who failed to seduce him. For an instance in Christian legend, see *R. C.*, XXXI, 304. For a collection of passages illustrating the irregularity of the early Irish in sexual matters, see Zimmer, *Haupt's Zt.*, XXXIII, 281, n. 1. On the forth-putting woman in early Celtic, see further *Ir. T.*, III, 2, p. 311; *Arch. Rev.*, I, 234; *R. C.*, XXV, 347; XXVIII, 101; Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, XXVIII, 451. Professor Schofield calls attention to the similarity between the Potiphar's wife episode in our lays and the Morrigan-Cuchulainn scene in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 147, n. 1).

⁴ *Ed. Ir. T.*, I, 73; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 92f. The so-called translation in Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (Longmans, 1907, pp. 427 ff.) omits part of the episode in point.

⁵ *Oss. Soc. Trans.*, III (1855), 40 ff.; cf. *Bibliog.*, pp. 103 f.

⁶ The evidence as to the date has been collected by Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolde*, II, 398 f.

written not later than the tenth century. Caier, king of Connacht, adopted as his son his nephew Nede. "The mind of Caier's wife clave to Nede. She gave an apple of silver to Nede for his love. Nede consented not, and she promised him the realm of Caier, if he would go in to her."¹

The woman whose love is slighted for dear honor's sake, and who out of jealousy falsely accuses him whom she has tempted, turns up in the *Fingal Ronain*,² which in its main lines suggests the Greek account of Phaedra's love for Hippolytus. The story must have been known before the twelfth century, for it is contained in the *Book of Leinster* and is mentioned in the same manuscript along with other stories well known about the year 1150.³ The *Fingal Ronain* may be briefly summarized as follows:

Ronan son of Aed, king of Leinster, marries Ethne, who dies, leaving one son Mael-Forthartaig. In spite of the son's protest, the king marries a young wife. The latter falls in love with Mael-Forthartaig, and offers herself to him, but the prince refuses on the ground that she is his father's wife. The queen now complains to her husband that Mael-Forthartaig has made improper proposals to her. Ronan thereupon slays his son. In revenge Dond, one of the young prince's foster-brothers, murders the woman's father along with the latter's wife and son. He then throws the father's head upon the bosom of the young queen, who, to cap the climax of these "carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts," commits suicide.⁴

Whether the story of the *Fingal Ronain* was invented by the Celts or was borrowed by them from classical tradition or from any other source, is of no especial importance here. It is sufficient that the tale as we have it existed in Celtic and that by the middle of the twelfth century it was popular enough to be included in a list of Irish stories with which every professional antiquarian was required to be familiar. In view of the large amount of variation possible in the part of our story under examination, it is of course especially

¹ *Three Irish Glossaries*, pp. xxxvi f.

² *R.C.*, XIII, 372 ff.

³ The events are traditionally assigned to the seventh century after Christ (*R.C.*, XIII, 368 f.; O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 277); but the historicity of the tale is not established.

⁴ Keating records the case of Corc mac Luighdheach, who refuses the love of his stepmother, and who, on the woman's complaining to his father, is banished (*Hist. of Ir. [Ir. Texts Soc.]*, II [1908], 383 f.).

difficult to dogmatize as to its ultimate origin, but the material presented above at least renders it impossible to deny that the forth-putting woman found her way into the Lanval story from Celtic tradition.¹

In *Graelent* an entirely different motive is used to explain the lover's ill-considered boast regarding his fairy mistress. Once a year, so runs the story, the king held a great assembly at court. After meat he had the queen placed on a bench:

La Reïne faiseit munter
Sor un haut banc e deffubler [vss. 417 f.].

It was then the business of the courtiers to praise her beauty. Graelent, who is present at this ceremony, fails to contribute his quota of admiration.

A tox le conveneit loer,
E au Roi dire et afremer
K'il ne sevent nule si bele,
Mescine, Dame ne Pucele.
N'i ot un seul ne le prisast,
E sa biauté ne li loast,
Fors Graelent qui s'en taiseit
Des autres teneit à folie
Ki de tutes parts s'escrieient
E la Reïne si loeient [vss. 423 ff.].

The knight, on being questioned by the king as to the cause of his silence, declares that he knows a woman more beautiful than the queen. Like Lanval and Crunniuc, he is seized at once and threatened with severe punishment unless he can produce the fair one of whom he boasts.

¹ Professor Schofield believes that the author of *Graelent* knew at least two versions of the story of the Offended Fée: one containing the Potiphar's wife episode, the other the bench scene as the motive for the lover's boast; "for, although he does not use [the former] in the place where it was originally inserted, he did not leave it out altogether, but unwisely transferred it to the beginning of his lay, where It did nought but cause confusion and inconsistency" (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 170). Though the explanation seems plausible, attention should be called to the fact that in the lay of *Guingamor*, which also contains the Offended Fée, the Potiphar's wife episode comes at the beginning of the story, as it does also in Walter Map's tale of Sadius and Galo (*De Nug. Cur.*, III, 2). In Map's account the knight, angry at the slighted queen's asking him why he is so thoughtful, boasts of loving a lady whom he has never seen and whose affection he does not win until long afterward. Whether or not the Potiphar's wife episode stood near the beginning of the story on which the author of *Graelent* based his poem, his source was certainly markedly different from that used by Marie, for

The scene here depicted is obviously not in its proper social setting. Professor Schofield has noted its similarity to the barbaric episode of the horse-race in the *Noinden Ulad*,¹ where, as we are told, "bards appeared to praise the king and the queen" and the whole crowd joined in declaring that the king's victorious steeds were the swiftest in Ireland.² There are, however, other features in the French account which suggest even more strongly that we have here a reminiscence of a primitive custom imperfectly fitted into a twelfth-century chivalric setting. It is true that the dropping of the mantle as a sign of respect was common both among men and women in mediaeval courtly circles,³ but it is also true that no twelfth-century king would be likely to display his wife in a conspicuous place and force his courtiers to admire her in extravagant language unless he were "merry with wine" as was King Ahasuerus when he tried to force Queen Vashti to come forth "with the crown royal, to show the people and the princes her beauty."⁴ On the other hand, the unabashed exhibition of the human figure with the avowed purpose of eliciting admiration appears to have been a common practice among the early Celts as among other peoples relatively low down the ladder of culture.

An early example is found in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, where it is said that Cuchulainn went forth "to show his beautiful, pleasing figure" (*do thasbénad a chrotha d'ágin alaind*) to the women and maidens attached to the army of Connacht. For this purpose he decorates his person with the most bizarre and barbaric magnificence. "Then the maidens begged the men of Ireland to raise them upon the surfaces of shields above the shoulders of the men, to view Cuchulainn's figure" (*do thaidbriud chrotha Conculaind*).⁵ Another case, found in

the fairy hunt, the fountain, the swan-maiden elements in the fée's character, the bench episode, and the behavior of the lover's horse, are all wanting in Marie's poem. The inconsistency in *Graelett* is apparently reflected in *Launfal* (see Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 162).

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XV, 169. The assembly and horse-race in the *Noinden Ulad* may also be compared with the tournaments which furnish the setting for the lovers' unfortunate boasts in *Liombruno* and the *Pulsella gaia*.

² On the fondness of the early Celts for panegyrics, see Zimmer, *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 810 f.; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hib.*, I, ciii, nn. 3, 4. Cf. *Ir. T.*, I, 319 f.

³ Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 405, n. 5.

⁴ Esther 1:11.

⁵ *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., pp. 386 ff.; Miss Hull, *Cuch. Saga*, pp. 177 ff., cf. p. 200.

the Rennes manuscript of the prose *Dindsenchas*, is connected with the death of the famous King Niall of the Nine Hostages. While the king was on an expedition in France, one Eochaid "advised the women [of France] to ask that [Niall's] form might be shown to them. Wherefore, after undressing, Niall displayed himself to them" (*taiselb iarna dietgudh doib*). While thus engaged, he was slain by Eochaid.¹ The Irish redactor of the "Destruction of Troy" (*Togail Troi*) contributes on his own account the information that Alexander came before Helen "to show his form and habit, his garment and vesture" (*Tanic dano Alaxander i fadnaisi na hingine do thaiselbadh a crotha 7 a écosca, a eirraid 7 étaig*).² In the story of Aillenn the Multiform and the king of Connacht (see above, p. 13), the fée, after her conversation with the king and before returning to fairyland, displays herself to the people just as the lady does in *Lanval*, where we are expressly told that on her visit to the court to prove her lover's boast, she let fall her mantle before the assembled court, "que mienz la peüssent veoir" (vs. 622).³

The Irish parallels enumerated above reflect an extremely early state of society,⁴ and the presence of the bench scene in *Graelent*, an

¹ R.C., XV, 295 f. According to a variant account given in the *Orcuin Neill Noigialais*, the king was slain "among the bards of the Pict-folk as he was exhibiting his shape to them" (*Olta Merseiana*, II, Liverpool, 1900, pp. 84 ff.). Cf. *Bibliog.*, p. 110.

² *Ir. T.*, II, 1 (1884), pp. 17 f., 81.

³ The exposure of the person for the purpose of inspiring other emotions is also referred to in Celtic literature. When the youthful Cuchulainn returns in a berserk rage from his first manly exploit, a hundred and fifty "bold, stark-naked women" are sent to meet him "to show him all their nakedness and their shame." On seeing them the boy hides his face, whereupon he is seized and plunged into vats of water until his violence has passed (*Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 166). Compare the pagan Irish women who expose themselves naked to drive away Christian monks in the *Vita Sancti David*, ed. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandoverly, 1853, p. 125; cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* I, clxvi. In the *Chase of Síd na mBan Finn* (*R.I.A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., XVI, 71), "fierce, stark-naked men" are sent against the stronghold of Finn and his band. For possible Gaulish instances, see Caesar *B.G.*, VII. 4; cf. *Ir. T.*, Extrab'd., p. 166, n. 2; D'Arbois, *La Civilis'n. des Celtes* (*Cours de litt. celt.* VI), Paris, 1899, p. 321. See also the naked wild Irishman in George Borrow's *Wild Wales*, chap. xiv. See further Herodotus, *History*, I, 8; John Gillies, *Hist. of Anc. Greece*, I, Dublin, 1786, p. 124, n. 96; Stokes, *R.C.*, XVI, 308, note. Cf. *Roman de Thèbes*, vss. 939 ff., quoted by Professor Nitze (*Mod. Philol.*, XI, 452, n. 1), who personally suggests that the Sparrowhawk Adventure in *Erec et Enide* may contain a reminiscence of a custom like that preserved in the bench episode in *Graelent*. For various versions of the Sparrowhawk Adventure, see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 450, n. 1.

⁴ Leaving aside the perplexed question of the ultimate origin of the sentiment of modesty, we should recall that among savage peoples the feeling about nudity and clothing is *toto coelo* different from ours. Cf. S. Reinach, *Myths, Cults and Religions* (trans. E. Frost), pp. 177 f.

Old French poem portraying a social system in which such a ceremony is so obviously out of place, can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the author was imperfectly adapting to twelfth-century conditions an ancient Celtic story.

THE RETURN OF THE FAIRY MISTRESS

Lanval and Graelent, after the loss of their *amies*, experience the most excruciating mental suffering.¹ Their troubles are, however, only temporary; in both cases the ladies finally return, thereby signifying their willingness to forgive the offending lovers. In our Celtic stories of the Offended Fée the ending is generally quite different. In only one—the *Aislinge Oengusso*—does the breach of the fée's commands result in aught but irreparable tragedy or eternal loss.² The fact that the two groups of stories differ so essentially in their conclusions need not, however, alarm us. They simply represent two different stages in the development of the same widespread theme, of which the Celtic accounts represent the earlier,

¹ Love-sickness is a constant result of the loss of the fée, both in popular and sophisticated versions of our story. So in Walter Map's tale of Wild Edric (*De Nugis Cur.*, II, 12), the lover, after the disappearance of his mistress, "wept day and night even to the point of foolishness toward himself, for he wore out his life in perpetual grief." Compare the oft-quoted case of Cuchulainn, who, after being abandoned by Fand, "was for a long time without drink or food in the mountains" until he was finally cured of his madness (Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, p. 104; *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, I, 215). See Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, p. 40, where the passage is compared with Yvain's madness after the loss of Laudine in Chrétien's *Chevalier au Lion*. See further *Ir. T.*, I, 121 f.; *S.G.*, II, 196; cf. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the I. Celts*, p. 124; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, p. clxxxvi, n. 10; Mead, *Morte Darthur* (Ath. Press. Ser.), p. 245, note. On the connection between love-sickness and the lethargy which affects mortals brought under fairy influence, see the interesting remarks of Professor Nitze, *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 14, n. 1, and p. 125. On savage beliefs regarding the origin of love, see Crawley, *op. cit.*, p. 29. One of the doctrines of mediaeval Courtly Love required that the lover who had offended his lady-love should suffer great mental agony—a fact which doubtless assisted the popularity of stories like *Lanval* and *Graelent*. Cf. L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, pp. 85 f., 122 f.; J. J. Meyer, *Isolde Gottesurteil in seiner erotischen Bedeutung*, Berlin, 1914, p. 18.

² The tragic ending occurs in the following modern Celtic parallels: J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands*, pp. 116, 201; *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 180 f.; V, 59 ff., 93; cf. D. E. Jenkins, *Badd Gelerf*, pp. 161 ff. Cf. Map's story of Wild Edric (*De Nug. Cur.*, II, 12), where the offended fée never returns. In the Irish swan-maiden story given by Dottin (*Contes et Légendes d'Irlande*, pp. 7 ff.), the lover, after returning from the fée's realm, pines away and dies. In the modern Ossianic tale published by Campbell (*Pop. Tales of the West Highlands*, III, 421 ff.), the offended fée must be sought in the Other World and is recovered only with great difficulty. For other cases of punishment inflicted upon mortals by their fairy mistresses, see Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, Intro., pp. lx f.; *Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. Crapelet), Paris, 1834, vss. 5,412 ff.; Child, *Ballads*, No. 39, Notes; Nos. 41, 42; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Camb.*, I, chap. 8; Lalstner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, I, 186 ff.; *Y Cymmrodor*, V, 99, 103; *Lohengrin*; and the various versions of the Melusine and Cupid and Psyche stories.

the romances the later form. E. S. Hartland has pointed out that in stories of our type "the episode of the recovery of the bride is scarcely ever found in the sagas of modern Europe, or indeed of any nation that has progressed beyond a certain mark of civilization. But," adds the writer, "it is common in their *Märchen*, as well as in the sagas of more backward nations. In the sagas of the advanced races, with rare exceptions, the most we get is what looks like a reminiscence of the episode in the occasional reappearance of the supernatural wife to her children, or as a banshee."¹ In the cases before us the tragic termination is much more in accord with the general character of the *fée* as she appears in our earliest Celtic documents. Her commands are but the result of an unalterable law of her fairy nature, and when they are broken, she returns to her own country. She has sisters all over the world, who, even in the absence of broken injunctions, can remain on earth for only a limited time.² As long as the story-teller remembered vividly the character of the Celtic fairy mistress, and felt the responsibility of the epic narrator who tells the story as it is laid upon him, just so long would the Offended *Fée* be irretrievably lost. At a later date or even at the same period in the hands of a narrator with a less conscientious attitude toward his work the happy ending might be added. This statement does not, however, mean that the feature of the recovery is confined to the realms of sophisticated literature. It is simply a question of whether the story is in the saga or the *Märchen* stage of development—whether the teller out of regard for artistic or other considerations allowed himself to give a more pleasing conclusion to his tale.³ It is probable that the episode in which the *fée* carries off her lover to the Other World was connected with the stories underlying *Lanval* and *Graelent* long before they

¹ *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 284 f. Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 193 f., 201; Gervais of Tilbury, *Ot. Imp.*, p. 66. In discussing the Cupid and Psyche story, MacCulloch (*Childhood of Fiction*, p. 258), regards the tragic ending as an indication of extreme antiquity.

² Cf. MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 346; Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 83.

³ In one of two variants of a Bedd Gelert tradition the offended *fée* returns once to give instructions regarding the care of her children; in the other she cannot return to mortal soil, but is allowed to hold converse with her husband from an island of sod floating in a lake (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, 59 ff.; D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, pp. 161 f., cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IV, 193). A possible reflection of the original situation is found in the words of *Lanval's* mistress: If the lover reveals her existence, he will lose her forever ("a tuz jurz m'avriëz perdue"). So in *Désiré* and in *Gauriel von Muntabel*, though in the former the offended lady returns twice, and in the latter both offense and reconciliation occur twice.

reached the ears of courtly poets.¹ In the *Aislinge Oengusso* the Offended Fée is at last recovered; in the *Noinden Ulad* she returns long enough to extricate her lover from his difficulty; and, in any case, the happy ending would be readily suggested by another common type of fairy-mistress story in which the fée visits the world of mortals and carries off her lover immediately, as happens in the *Echtra Condla* and the *Laoidh Oisín*. In the former the hero sails to a beautiful island in the fée's crystal boat; in the latter Oisín accompanies his mistress to *Tír na n-Óg* on the latter's white horse.

The popularity of the type of story in which the Offended Fée at last relents was doubtless greatly increased in the eyes of mediaeval courtly poets by the ease with which it could be made a vehicle for the doctrines of Courtly Love. Though the ideal courtly lover was absolutely subservient to his lady's will, was forbidden even to mention her name, and must undergo the most exquisite suffering on having offended her, in the end love was triumphant.² The offended *amie's* favor might long be withheld, and the hero might be forced to languish in love-sickness, wear out shoes of iron, or climb mountains of ice; but his constancy was at last rewarded and he regained the heaven of his lady's grace.

From the standpoint of narrative interest also the recovery of the fairy mistress would prove more attractive to the writers of mediaeval romance. It offered endless opportunities for the introduction of thrilling and marvelous adventures through which the hero must pass ere he won back his lady-love.³ In late and decadent versions

¹ Attention should, however, be called to Chrétien's *Yvain*, which presents somewhat the same difficulty as do our lays. Here the hero visits the Other World, and wins the love of a lady who is associated with a fountain. He returns to the world of mortals, and loses his mistress by breaking his promise, whereupon he goes temporarily insane. Upon recovering he goes through another series of thrilling adventures which finally lead him back to the fée's realm, where the two are reunited. There are abundant Celtic analogues to the leading episodes in the two parts of the romance: (1) the Journey to the Other World with the acquisition and loss of the fairy mistress; (2) the hero's experiences after his madness, and the recovery of the fairy mistress (cf. Brown, *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 674 f.), but not a single early Celtic story furnishes a good parallel to both parts. As early as 1903 Brown had suggested that "the ultimate reconciliation of Iwain to Laudine, and probably also a journey of wonderful adventure that led him back to her land, formed a part of the Celtic material that Chrétien used" ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 146). In the lay of *Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII, 66 ff.), where the fairy mistress is replaced by the fairy lover, the latter disappears forever when his existence is discovered by a third party. Cf. my "Celtic Origin of the lay of *Yonec*," *R. C.*, XXXI, 459 f.

² See Mott, *Syst. of Courtly Love*, pp. 80, 98, 116.

³ As, for example, in *Partonopeus*, *Liombruno* and the *Pulsella gaia*.

he might even be made to lose and regain his mistress twice, as happens in *Gauriel von Muntabel*. In *Désiré* too the story has apparently been lengthened from sheer love of long-winded narration, for the *fée* returns twice—once to restore to *Désiré* her favor, a year later to carry him off to her own land.

As the material presented in this study has abundantly shown, the claims of the authors that the lays of *Lanval* and *Graelent* are based on traditions current among the Celts are justified. The *fée*'s visit to the world of mortals in search of her lover, her dialogue with him, her strange command, her relation with the fountain or stream (in one case the swan-maiden elements in her character), her munificence, the disregard of her warning and the episodes connected therewith, her disappearance and the lover's subsequent remorse, her final return and her departure with her lover to the Other World, the fairy steeds and the part played by them, may all be accounted for in early Celtic tradition, and their presence in the French poems can most easily be explained on the Celtic hypothesis. In conclusion it should be added that these observations in no way contradict the fact that the lays are in spirit courtly and chivalric. Their mystery and charm, such as they are, differ essentially from the mystery and charm of Celtic romance. The bones are Celtic; the flesh is French.

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GERMANIC *naxt* IN GALLO-ROMAN

The dialect of Namur has long *ū* in the equivalents of French *cuir, cuire, cuit, cuite, huit, luit*, but its ordinary word for "night" is *nē*,¹ though there is a variant with *ū* in *bonnūt*. Apparently *bonnūt* was taken from French² several centuries ago; *nē* is derived from Germanic *naxt*, the group *aχ* being treated as in *fē* < **faxto** < *factu*, *wētt* < **waitier* = French *guetter* < *guaitier* = German *wachten*.

The dialect of Liège agrees with that of Namur in the development of long *ū* from *ūi*, but has short *ū* in the noun *nūt*.⁴ I think this peculiar difference can be explained in only one way: *nūt* is a slightly altered form of the early French word. If the Walloon of Liège had developed long *ū* in a derivative of *nocte*, it is not likely that the vowel would have been affected by the French form. We may assume that Liège shared with Namur the development of *nē* from *naxt*; afterward the Germanic word was replaced by a Romanic equivalent. Probably the derivative of *nocte* disappeared from all the dialects spoken in the neighborhood of Liège, so that in order to get a Romanic "night," Liège had to borrow it from France. It may seem strange that Liège, near the German border, should have become linguistically less Germanic than Namur; but we do not need to go a great distance to find a parallel reaction against foreign influence: the modern Dutch of Belgium uses French words less freely than the Dutch of Holland.⁵

In Middle High German the word *naxt*, commonly spelled *naht*, had *nehte* for the genitive and dative singular, and in the plural; the dative plural *nehten* was used adverbially with the meaning of Spanish *anoche*. The dialects of eastern France have been in contact with German for many centuries, so it is possible that some of them contain words derived from *naxt*- rather than from the primitive stem

¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXIV, 27; Feller, *Orthographe wallonne*, Liège, 1905, p. 62.

² Foreigners in America often use *good night* and similar interjectional expressions, such as *good-bye* and *sure* (=yes), in speech that otherwise shows little or no influence of English.

³ *Modern Language Review*, VIII, 492.

⁴ Feller, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Remouchamps, *Tout l' pèriquet*, Liège, 1911, p. 54; *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, I, 194.

⁵ Te Winkel, in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, Strassburg, 1901, p. 804.

naχt. The dialect of Bourberain (Côte d'Or) has for "night" the form *nai*¹ with the same diphthong as in *lai* < *lectu*, also *nâū*² corresponding to *kâū* < **cocit*, *kâū* < *coctu*. As this dialect has *fa* < *factu*, *fâ* < *fagea*, *ma* < *magis*, we can assume *nai* < *next*-, if the adoption of the Germanic word was contemporary with **faχto*. The possibility of a basis *next*-, instead of *naχt*, may be admitted for some of the words mentioned below.

In Switzerland the form *né* seems to be much more widespread than *é*-derivatives of *coctu* and *octo*. If *né* < *naχt* occurs in dialects that have *fa* or *fè* instead of *fé* < *factu*, we may assume that some of the equivalents of *factu* have undergone analogic alteration, or that the *aχ* of **faχto* became a simple vowel before *naχt* was adopted. The dialect of Saint-Jean-de-Bournay (Isère) has developed close long *e*, which I write *ê*, in *nê*³ as in *ê* < **aio*, *fêrô* < *facere*, *mê* < *magis*, *sê* < **saio*. This dialect, which has borrowed "eight" from French, has *sa* < *sapit*, *kwè* < *coctu*, and *fa* corresponding to *factu*; but in the neighboring village of Bourgoïn, ten miles from Saint-Jean, we find the infinitive *fârô*⁴ beside *faré* < *facere* **aio*, *fé* < *factu*, *mé* < *magis*, *trêrô* < **tragere*, and *pârô* < *patre*. If the *fa* of Saint-Jean is not analogic, we could assume that here too the alteration of **faχto* was earlier than the introduction of *naχt*.

In some of the Gascon dialects the word "night" has the same diphthong as *hèit* < *factu*, and in many of them it lacks the *w* found in derivatives of *coctu* and *octo*.⁵ Thus the possibility of the development *nèit* < *naχt* is plain enough; its probability is a matter that is not easy to settle. The difficulty of the problem is increased by the fact that we find *kèit*, or something similar, as the derivative of *coctu* in various dialects of southern France. It does not seem likely that Gascon *nèit* was borrowed from the *kèit*-regions; but a change of *nwèit* to *nèit* might be normal in dialects that keep the *w* of *kwèit*. The group *kw* is common in Gascon, being generally kept, for example, in "four," while *w* following a dental seems to be rather rare.

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¹ *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 262.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 39. I use *â* for a vowel like that of English *black*.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 278.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 206.

⁵ Millardet, *Études de dialectologie landaise*, Toulouse, 1910, p. 205; Vignaux, *Poésies de Guillaume Ader*, Toulouse, 1904, p. 36. Ader, who was born about 1570, rimes *neit* with *leit* < *lectu*.

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