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JAMES W. BRIGHT
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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TO
PROFESSOR A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT,
THE FOUNDER OF
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
AND FOR NINE YEARS ITS ZEALOUS LEADER
AND FAITHFUL SECRETARY, THIS
VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED
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PUBLICATIONS
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MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1893.

(VOL. VIII, 1.)

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, 1.

I.—DIE BEZIEHUNG DER SATIRE RABELAIS' ZU
ERASMUS' ENCOMIUM MORIAE UND COLLOQUIA.

Die Beziehung Rabelais' zu Erasmus von Rotterdam drängt sich beim Studium der beiderseitigen, zumal satirischen Schriften mächtig von selber auf und ist infolge dessen auch längst erkannt worden. Keiner hat diese Beziehung stärker betont als Birch-Hirschfeld.¹ Aber eine eingehende Abhandlung, eigens zu dem Zwecke verfasst zu erweisen, warum Rabelais fast in allen Stücken seiner Satire mit dem wahlverwandten Erasmus übereinstimmt, steht meines Wissens noch aus.

Bedenkt man jedoch die ungeheure Bedeutung, den unendlich breiten Raum, den beide Männer in der Weltliteratur einnehmen, dann lohnt es sich wohl der Mühe, den Zusammenhang und die Beziehung zwischen den Werken der beiden unstreitig genialsten Satiriker und Humanisten des XVI Jahrhunderts ins Auge zu fassen. Wenn man ferner

¹ *Gesch. der Französ. Lit.* I, 215–216, 217—(Erasmus Schriften bei Rabelais gefunden).

den breiten Strom der französischen Literatur¹ betrachtet, der sich gerade im XVI Jahrhundert nach Deutschland ergoss, so ist es tröstlich zu wissen, dass der Gegenstrom, der von den deutschen Humanisten und Reformatoren aus nach Frankreich strömte, vielleicht noch mehr kulturbestimmend gewesen. "Die Schilderung des Einflusses, welchen Erasmus auf die strebenden und reifen Männer Frankreichs und Englands übte, gehört der Culturgeschichte der genannten Länder an. Nur so viel ist kurz zu constatiren, dass die Umwandlung der Universität Paris aus einer Hochburg des Scholasticismus in eine Pflanzstätte humanistischer Wissenschaft teilweise sein Werk ist, und dass England im Wesentlichen ihm die Vertrautheit mit der klassischen Literatur zu verdanken hat."² Freilich ist es hierbei nötig gewesen, noch den Beweis zu führen, dass Erasmus thatsächlich deutsch war nach Eigenart, Gesinnung und Bildung, ein Beweis, der L. Geiger trefflich gelungen ist.³ So viel steht fest, dass Reuchlin ("Egregius ille trilinguis eruditionis Phoenix." *Apotheosis Capnionis.*) und Erasmus nach des urdeutschen Hutten Wort als "die beiden Augen Deutschlands" galten. Jedenfalls bedeutet Erasmus, der mit Spott und Sophistik das verderbte Kirchentum seiner Zeit untergräbt, schöpferisch ist in der Theorie der Pädagogik, durch seine Leistungen auf dem Gebiete eines

¹ Caesar Fleischlen's *Graphische Literatur-Tafel*: Die deutsche Lit. u. der Einfluss fremder Literaturen auf ihren Verlauf in graphischer Darstellung. Stuttgart, 1890.

² Ludwig Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus*, p. 528.

³ *Ren. u. Hum.*, p. 527: "Zehn Jahre lang gehörte er, der Niederländer, Frankreich und England, hier Paris, dort London u. Oxford, an. Trotzdem ist er weder Engländer noch Franzose geworden. . . Während aber jene beiden Nationen bei aller Verehrung ihn nicht als den ihrigen betrachteten, fingen die Deutschen schon damals an, ihn als ihren Landsmann anzusehen. . . . So spät er sich auch entschloss, von nostra Germania zu reden, so hatten die Deutschen doch Recht, ihn als den ihrigen zu bezeichnen. Nur in Deutschland erscheint er fast in gleichem Maasse als *Geber* und *Empfänger* (cf. *Modern Language Notes*, Febr., March, June, 1892: meine Aufsätze: "Brant und Erasmus"), in allen anderen Ländern ist er entweder das Eine oder das Andere. . ."

klassischen Latein und Griechisch, dessen Aussprache er durch eine scharfsinnige Schrift: *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronunciatione*, fixirt, die ausschliesslich auf seine Autorität hin herrschend wurde, für Deutschland den Höhepunkt des Humanismus unter den humanistischen Grössen, die das Bildungsmaterial, welches das Altertum hinterlassen hatte, methodisch dem Inhalte nach zu bewältigen suchten, um sich nicht in dem blanken Formenkram der Italiener zu verlieren. Er darf als der Vollender dessen gelten, was ein Ennea Silvio Piccolomini, der Apostel des Humanismus unter den Deutschen, die von Conrad Celtes gestiftete rheinische Gesellschaft begannen, was auf den Universitäten Heidelberg und Tübingen, was unter den sechs Männern von der Schule zu Deventer, unter denen der berühmteste Rudolf Agricola, Blüten zu treiben anfang. Von den Gelehrten aller vom Humanismus berührten Länder bis hinauf nach Polen bewundert, von den Grossen der Erde gesucht, die höchste wissenschaftliche Autorität seiner Zeit war die Wirkung seiner unzähligen Schriften eine ungeheure für Deutschland.

Uns aber soll hier hauptsächlich seine tiefeinschneidende Wirkung auf die französische Renaissance beschäftigen. Die scholastischen Nichtigkeiten jener Zeit, die Frevel und Sünden der Fürsten und Grossen, die Versunkenheit der Geistlichkeit, die Sophisterei der Juristen, die "in einem Atemzuge eine grosse Anzahl aus der Luft gegriffener Gesetze zusammendreheln," kurz die Unsitten aller Stände seines Zeitalters finden keinen rücksichtsloseren Aufdecker als Erasmus, und sein Geist, seine Kritik und Satire durchdringt intensiv verstärkt den genialsten, ihm geistesverwandten Franzosen des XVI Jahrhunderts—seinen unmittelbaren Schüler und Gesinnungsgenossen, François Rabelais mit seiner encyclopädischen klassischen Bildung, den gewaltigsten Satiriker Frankreichs: "Rabelais, le plus grand des romanciers et des poètes du temps, le bouffon (?) et sublime Rabelais."¹

¹Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau de la Poésie Française au XVI^e siècle*, p. 259.

Hatte sich Erasmus in seiner Satire par excellence, dem *Encomium Moriae*, insbesondere an Brant's *Narrenschiff*—freilich original als "ein Mann für sich"—angeschlossen,¹ so schloss sich Rabelais ebenso original und selbstständig an seinen Meister Erasmus an.² Und in Erasmus haben wir in letzter Instanz die Quelle des breiten, weitverzweigten Stromes zu suchen, der sich aus Rabelais nach allen Richtungen der Weltliteratur ergoss.

Aus Rabelais schöpfte Fischart nicht nur seinen *Gargantua*, eines der wertvollsten Satirenwerke unserer Literatur, weit mehr als eine blosse Übersetzung (Scherer, pp. 291, 371, 672), sondern auch den Geist der Freiheit für seine anderen freigeistigen und patriotischen Schriften.

Rabelais' Geist wirkte fort in unserem humoristischen Roman bei Hippel und Jean Paul.³ Selbst der einzige Goethe hat Rabelais nachzuahmen versucht, ist aber in diesem Versuche noch nicht recht gewürdigt worden.

Jedenfalls brachte er dem Rabelais ein gutes Verständnis entgegen, wie aus seinem politisch-satirischen Romanfragment *Reise der Söhne Megaprazons* hervorgeht, das sich an den schon früh gelesenen Pantagruel von Rabelais anlehnte.⁴

¹ Scherer, *Gesch. der Deutschen Lit.*, p. 273. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Febr. März, 1892: "Brant u. Erasmus."

² Freilich hat wohl auch Rab. Brant's *NS.* unmittelbar benutzt, cf. Louis Spach, *Bulletin de la Société littéraire de Strassbourg*, 1862, I, 38. Süpfle, *Gesch. des deutschen Cultureinflusses auf Frankreich*, I, 31 ff. In Brant's cap. 108 [*das schluraffenschiff*] scheint mir die Narrenfahrt nach *Montflascun* (cf. Goedeke's Note 7) ["all port durchsuchen wir und gstad"] sicher dem Rabelais bei der Fahrt nach der heiligen Flasche Quelle gewesen zu sein; vide Rab. V, 15 ff. (wenn echt).

³ Scherer, p. 672: "Die ganze Art erinnert an Rabelais und noch mehr an Fischart."

⁴ Es sei hier gestattet, teils an der Hand H. Düntzer's (Goethe's Werke, Band XIV, in *Deutsche Nat. Lit.*, Einl. zu *Reise der Söhne Meg.*) teils im Widerspruch gegen ihn zu einer Würdigung des goethischen Fragmentes in seinem Verhältnis zu Rabelais kurz abzuschweifen. Goethe schreibt selbst darüber: "Ich hatte seit der Revolution, um mich von dem wilden Wesen einigermaassen zu zerstreuen, ein wunderbares Werk begonnen, eine Reise von sieben [sechs] Brüdern verschiedener Art, jeder nach seiner

Auch in England hat das geniale Werk Rabelais' einen weiten Widerhall gefunden und tief nachgewirkt. Jonathan Swift¹ erneuert in der satirischen Erzählung die Weise des

Weise dem Bunde dienend; durchaus abenteuerlich und märchenhaft, *verworren, Aussicht und Absicht verbergend* [war das Goethe's Meinung über Rabelais' Werk?], ein Gleichnis unseres eigenen Zustandes."

Plan und Ausführung des Fragment-Romans stellt sich wie folgt:

I. Die Namen zweier Söhne, Epistemon und Panurg, sind aus Rabelais entlehnt.

II. Der Umschwung in den Prosperitätsverhältnissen der von ihrem Ahnherrn Pantagrue entdeckten Inseln Papimanie und Papefigue ist durchaus beabsichtigt; seit Rab. ist der Gegenschlag erfolgt, und die Insel der Papimanie ist verfallen und verödet, wie einst bei Rab. die unglückliche Insel der Papifiguen, ein charakteristischer Beleg für Goethe's historische Sinnesart.

III. Eine offenbare Beziehung auf die französische Revolution tritt in der gewaltsamen Sprengung der Insel der Monarchomanen durch vulkanische Gewalten zu Tage. Die drei zersprengten Teile sind unverkennbar nicht—wie Düntzer will—das Königtum, der Adel und das Volk, sondern der revolutionäre "tiers état," der mit Feuer und Schwert Königtum und Adel einerseits, andererseits den Clerus sprengt. Hier wird in rabelaisischer Art eine sociale Frage abgehandelt, die zu Rabelais' Zeiten noch nicht existirte. ["Ihr habt von der grossen Insel der Monarchomanen gehört?" "Wir haben nichts davon gehört," sagte Epistemon, "es wundert mich um so mehr, als einer unserer Ahnherren in diesen Meeren auf Entdeckungen ausging."]

IV. Die Erzählung des Papimanie von der Insel der Monarchomanen ist vortrefflich: "Die Residenz (Paris), ein Wunder der Welt, war auf dem Vorgebirge angelegt, und alle Künste hatten sich vereinigt, dieses Gebäude zu verherrlichen. . . . Hier thronte der König [Louis XVI] in seiner Herrlichkeit, und Niemand schien ihm auf der ganzen Erde gleich zu sein." Dann kam die vulkanische Sprengung. Leider gestattet das Fragment keinen Einblick in die Ereignisse der von Pantagrue gleichfalls entdeckten Laterneninsel und bei dem Orakel der heiligen Flasche, die in dem Briefe Megaprazon's erwähnt sind.

Dieser Brief des Megaprazon an seine Söhne ist durchaus nach dem Briefe des alten Gargantua an seinen Sohn Pantagrue (*Oeuvres*, II, VIII) modellirt. Wie hier Rab. (Garg.) mit tiefem Ernst und vollendeter Weisheit die geistigen Kräfte seines Sohnes auf das Höchste entwickeln will, so sucht Megaprazon bei Goethe alle Fähigkeiten, welche die Natur in die Seele jedes einzelnen seiner Söhne gelegt hat, zu erwecken und anzuregen.

¹Scherer, p. 371.—Schon in seinem *Märchen von der Tonne* (*The Tale of a Tub*, 1704), einem beissenden Pasquill gegen Papismus, Luthertum

Rabelais. *Tristram Shandy*, Lawrence Sterne's geistvoller Roman von feinstem Humor, den aber Birch-Hirschfeld wegen der beabsichtigten "Lüsterheiten und Zweideutigkeiten," die Rabelais fernliegen,¹ dem Werke des letzteren mit Recht unterordnet, würde ohne die anregende französische Quelle nicht existiren. Southey, einer der keuschesten englischen Dichter, bezieht sich nicht nur beständig auf Rabelais, sondern lässt sich in *The Doctor* über einige seiner Episoden des Breiteren aus, während Coleridge, die höchste Autorität auf dem Gebiet der Kritik, sich mit Bezug auf Rabelais rühmt, "that he could write a treatise which would make the Church stare and the conventicle groan and yet it would be truth and nothing but the truth."

In der romanischen Literatur hat Italien allein dem grossen Rabelais die Gefolgschaft versagt: die kirchentreuen Schriftsteller Italiens haben die (angeblichen) menschlichen Schwächen Rabelais' zu Unrecht in den schwärzesten Farben gemalt. Erst G. Martinozzi² sucht die Berechtigung dieser Feindseligkeiten gegen Rabelais in Italien zu widerlegen. Er sieht in dem Werke nur ein Produkt heiterer Laune und echt dichterischer Phantasie. Der Grundgedanke sei die Parodie der Romantik des Mittelalters, ihre Tendenz sei weder politisch, noch kirchenfeindlich, noch gar pädagogisch, sondern die treute, naturwahre, an die Diagnose des Arztes erinnernde Schilderung der Zeit und der Menschen. Dieser zahme Standpunkt Martinozzi's scheint mir absolut einseitig, wenn nicht ganz falsch.

und Calvinismus, werden die Streitigkeiten der Kirche in einer Weise veranschaulicht, die Papimaniens und Papifiguiens nicht unwürdig sind. Besonders aber sein Werk *Travels of Lemuel Gulliver* (1726) enthält eine erasmisch-rabelaisische Satire auf menschliche Torheit und Schwäche mit zahlreichen Schlaglichtern auf die politischen, religiösen und socialen Zustände seiner Zeit und seines Landes.

¹ Burgaud-Rathéry, *Oeuvres*, III, XXXIV, Anm. 2: Hat Swift die Geschichte von der Nonnenbeichte, die die Nonnen einander ablegen wollen, nicht dem Priester, aus Rab.? cf. Birch-H., *Gesch. der Französ. Lit.*, p. 262.

² *Il Pantagruelle di Francesco Rabelais, Città di Castello, Lapi 1885.* Bespr. von Mahrenholtz, *Neufranzös. Zeitschr.*, 1886, II, 3-5.

Dagegen verdankt ihm Spanien einen grossen Teil der Blüte seiner Literatur. Cervantes und Quevedo stehen auf Rabelais' Schultern. Don Quixote in Spanien ist das letzte Echo und die Parodie der Romantik der Ritterromane, ein Echo, das aus Rabelais wiederhallt und vielleicht aus Erasmus,¹ der wohl jene Art Dichter im Sinne hat, wenn er sagt: “. . . poetae . . ., quorum omne studium non alio pertinet, quam ad demulcendas stultorum aures, idque meris nugamentis, ac ridiculis fabulis.” Sainte-Beuve² citirt einen Ausspruch des Bernardin de St.-Pierre: “C'en était fait du bonheur des peuples et même de la religion, lorsque deux hommes de lettres, Rabelais et Michel Cervantès, s'élevèrent, l'un en France et l'autre en Espagne, et ébranlèrent à la fois le pouvoir monacal et celui de la chevalerie. Pour renverser ces deux colosses, ils n'employèrent d'autres armes que le ridicule, ce contraste naturel de la terreur humaine. Semblables aux enfants, les peuples rirent et se rassurèrent.” “Das sei zwar ein wenig zu viel gesagt,” meint Sainte-Beuve, “il y a pourtant du vrai dans cette manière d'envisager Rabelais, le franc rieur, au sortir des terreurs du moyen âge et du labyrinthe de la scolastique, comme ayant consolé et rassuré le genre humain.” Nur darf man dabei nicht vergessen, dass dieser Geist des Rabelais in gleicher Weise erasmischer Geist ist und von diesem abstammt.

In seiner eigenen Heimat ist naturgemäss der Einfluss des genialen Franzosen am intensivsten gewesen. Zwar in der Beurteilung seiner Zeit schwankt eben sein Bild “von der Parteien Hass und Gunst verwirrt.”³

Aber über seinen Einfluss auf die nach folgenden Generationen Frankreichs scheint mir Jacob Bibliophile's (Paul Lacroix) Schlussurteil in seiner *Notice Historique sur Rabelais* nicht übertrieben: “Rabelais, le plus grand génie de

¹ *Enc. Moriae.*

² *Causeries du Lundi.*

³ John Colin Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, p. 307: “Few writers have been more reviled and extolled than Rab.” . . . cf. Mahrenholtz, *Neufranzös. Zeitschr.*, 1886, II, 3-5: Verschiedene Beurteilung des Rab. in verschiedenen Ländern und Zeiten.

son époque, n'a pas fait seulement ce roman si comique, si profond, si vaste, si sublime, qui survivra même à la langue française, il a fait de plus Molière,¹ La Fontaine,¹ Le Sage,² et Paul-Louis Courier.

Diese kurze, bei einem flüchtigen Blick auf das Feld der nachfolgenden Literaturgeschichte sich von selbst ergebende Ährenlese der aus rabeläischem Geiste entsprossenen Saat legt nicht nur die Berechtigung, sondern sogar die Verpflichtung nahe, das Quellenstudium Rabelais' eingehender zu behandeln und möglichst zu erweisen, in wie weit rabeläischer Geist erasmischer Geist ist, d. h. aus diesem geflossen oder durch die Geistesanlage beider Männer letzterem unbewusst verwandt ist.

Zwar dass der nucleus von Rabelais' Werk in den alt celtischen populären Traditionen zu suchen ist,³ steht wohl nunmehr fest, obwohl es befremdlicher Weise erst am Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts erkannt worden ist. Eloi Johanneau äusserte die Meinung, Gargantua wäre der "Hercule Pantomime" der Gallier. Im Jahre 1829 sagte Philarète Chasles: "Il y avait en Touraine un Gargantua obscur et chimérique qui avait une grossière légende; Rabelais emprunta au peuple

¹ Sainte-B., *Tabl. Historique et Critique de la Poésie Française au XVI^e siècle* p. 259: "Certains pages de son livre font déjà penser à Molière, à La Fontaine; comme eux, il est profondément humain et vrai; dans son langage aussi bien que dans sa pensée; il sait s'élever du ton le plus familier à l'éloquence la plus haute."

Molière hat wiederholt Stoff und Geist aus Rab. entlehnt, z. B., III, XXXIV: Die Geschichte von der stummen Frau, cf. Rathéry's Anm. 3 (p. 678); III, XXXV u. XXXVI, Rathéry's Anm. 1; III, XLI, Rathéry's Anm. 4 (p. 712); III, LII, Rathéry's Anm. 10 (Ende, p. 759).

² Bei Le Sage scheint die ganze Form und Fassung des *Gil Blas de Santillane* auf Rab. hinzuweisen. Schon am Eingang erinnert die Geschichte der zwei Studenten, von denen der eine die Seele des Licentiaten Garcia unter dem Grabstein sucht, an die Büchse mit der „celeste et impreciable drogue;" so auch die Durchhechelung aller Stände. "Les Panurge et les Gil Blas ne sont pas rares." "Il faut chercher l'origine du genre dans la nature humaine elle-même." Paul Albert, *La Prose: Le Roman*, p. 437.

³ Paul Sébillot, *Gargantua dans les Traditions Populaires*, Paris 1883. (*Les Littératures Populaires*, Tome XII).

ce héros fabuleux." Auch Jacob Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, 2 Ausg.) sah darin eine Tradition, die in die celtische Zeit zurückreichte. Bourquelot und Henri Gaidoz¹ sind derselben Meinung. Nur Gaston Paris,² allerdings ein starker Gewährsmann, hegt Zweifel über die Schlüsse Gaidoz. Aber die von Burgaud et Rathéry (*Einl.*, p. 29) vorgebrachten Beweise sind überzeugend genug, um uns Sébillot's (*Einl.* 27) Schlussurteil beizustimmen zu lassen: "Rabelais, fort au courant des croyances et des traditions de son temps, a pu en avoir connaissance et, transformant au gré de son génie le récit confus du peuple, il en a fait l'oeuvre immortelle que l'on connaît."

Das Studium der unzähligen Quellen aus der Klassik³ und der französischen Literaturvergangenheit, die Rabelais' unendlich reicher Bildung zu Gebote standen, würde das Studium der Geschichte seiner Bildung bedeuten. Der umfassenden und zusammenfassenden Darlegung und dem statistischen Nachweis bei Birch-Hirschfeld ist schwerlich etwas Neues beizufügen. Die Spiele der Innung Bazoche von satirischem Gehalt und allegorischer Form (Moralitäten), die "société des enfants sans souci"⁴ mit ihrer sottie,⁵ die lustige Predigt,⁶ die Farce, die ihren Höhepunkt schon im XV Jahrhundert mit *Pathelin* erreicht hat, sind von Birch-Hirschf. klar als Quellen des Rabelais dargethan.⁷

¹ *Revue archéologique*, Sept., 1868, pp. 172-191.

² *Revue critique*, 1868, pp. 326 ff.

³ Birch-Hirschfeld, I, 274-275. Burgaud et Rathéry, *Not. Biogr.*, p. 3. Rabelais selbst lässt sich im *Prol.* zum II. Buche über das französ. Literaturmaterial aus. P. Albert, *La Prose*, p. 437: "Le Roman a tenu, on ne peut le méconnaître, une place considérable. C'est un genre aussi riche en chef-d'œuvre que pas un. . . La nature humaine y est représentée sous une foule d'aspects divers et par des types qu'il n'est pas permis d'ignorer."

⁴ Birch-H. I, 44-45.

⁵ p. 46.

⁶ p. 47.

⁷ Berufungen und Anklänge an *Pathelin* habe ich bei genauerer Prüfung des rabelaisischen Werkes folgende gefunden (19 Stellen, incl. V. Buch 21): *Oeuvres*:

I, 1: Retournons à nos moutons; I, 11; III, 34 (Ende); Rathéry sagt zu III, 34, Anm. 4 (p. 678): "Rab. n'a peut-être pas moins contribué que

In wie weit Rabelais deutsche Quellen benutzt hat, hat Th. Süpffe¹ zu erforschen versucht. Es ist dies wahrscheinlich hinsichtlich des Eulenspiegel² und steht fest hinsichtlich Heinr. Bebel's,³ Professors in Tübingen, eines schwäbischen Bauernsohnes, der in seinem *Triumph der Venus* eine Satire auf alle Stände unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Liebe, wie sie in den

l'auteur de l'Arovat Pathelin à faire passer cette phrase en proverbe." "Das 'revenons à nos moutons' ist nach meiner Ansicht in Deutschland erst sprichwörtlich geworden, nachdem es Kotzebue in den deutschen Kleinstädtern verwertet hatte." A. von Weilen bei Bespr. von "Holstein, *Reuchlins Komödien*" in *Zeitschr. für Deutsches Alt.* XXXV, 50.

I, 5 (gegen Ende): bien drappé et de bonne laine. (Rathéry, Anm. 1 (Allusion).

I, 20: . . . comme fait Pat(h)elin son drap.

II, 9: languaige patelinois.

II, 12: "Six blancs; j'entends, par mon serment, de laine." Anm. bei Rath.

II, 17: "six solz et maille Que ne vivent oncq pere ny mere." (Vers du Pathelin).

II, 30: "Je veis Pathelin, thesorier de Rhadamantle."

III, 4: "le noble Pat(h)elin . . . rien plus ne dist, sinon:

Et si prestoit
Ses denrées à qui en vouloit."

III, 22: O quel patelineux (von Raminogrobis gesagt).

III, 30: Rathéry, p. 659, Anm. 5. Jacob Bibliophile, Edition 1869, p. 266, Anm. 4.

III, 34: "Je ne ris onques tant que je fis à ce Patelinage." Rath., p. 678, Anm. 3.

III, 41: (Rath., p. 712, Anm. 3: Onq lard en pois n'escheut si bien. *Pathelin*).

IV, *Nouveau Prol.*: "Et mon urine Vous dit elle point que je meure?" (Pathelin's Worte).

Nouv. Prol.: "en ay je," Jacob p. 332 u. Anm. 7, cf. V, 17. (Jacob p. 487, Anm. 15).

IV, 6: bes, bes, bes. . . , wie in der Farce Pathelin.

IV, 25: vide Rath., Anm. 4: "Il y aura beu et guallé Chez moi, ains que vous en aliez."

V, 27 (unecht? Birch-H. I, 281, u. Anm. 10 zu pag 257): "car je n'entendois leur patelin" (in demselben Sinne wie II, 9).

¹*Gesch. des deutschen Cultureinflusses auf Frankreich*, Gotha, 1886.

²Süpffe, I, 37, Anm. 91.

³*Ib.*, I, 37, Anm. 90.

Fastnachtspielen üblich war, lieferte.¹ Es ist überhaupt anzunehmen, dass dem grossen Linguisten Rabelais nicht leicht etwas Wesentliches aus der deutschen Literatur entgangen sein mag, denn er kannte die deutsche Sprache genau,² im Gegensatz zu Erasmus, dem die Sprache der Engländer und Franzosen fast ebenso verschlossen blieb, wie die deutsche.³ Rabelais' Beeinflussung durch Luther in erzieherischer Hinsicht versucht Otto Haupt⁴ zu erweisen. Sicherlich hat Rathéry nicht zu viel gesagt, wenn er behauptet: ⁵ "Rabelais, lui aussi, prenait son bien où il le trouvait, et il embellissait son modèle."

An encyclopädischer Fülle von verwertetem Quellenmaterial hat es also Rabelais gewiss nicht gefehlt. Aber durch den Reichtum der mannichfachen Quellen, die von Rabelais original aufgefasst und verwertet wurden, zieht sich wie ein roter Faden, auf Schritt und Tritt mehr oder minder buchstäblich oder selbstständig sich in dem Genius Rabelais' widerspiegelnd, erasmischer Geist. Er ist von diesem erasmischen Geiste förmlich durchtränkt und hat sich augenscheinlich mit den Schriften des Erasmus so vertraut gemacht, dass dessen Ideen oder Anklänge an dieselben, sowie unzählige erasmische *Adagia* überall hervorbrechen und bei der Behandlung jeden Gebietes menschlicher Verrichtungen und Torheiten das rabeläische Werk von Seite zu Seite füllen, freilich immer wieder in vereigentümlicher selbstständiger Weise. Ja, eine genaue Lectüre des erasmischen Satirenwerkes *Encomium Moriae* und der ebenso erzieherischen, wie kritisch-satirischen *Colloquia* erweisen, dass fast alle Zustände und Personen, denen Rabelais seine Satire zuwendet, im Keime oder auch in ausführlicher Behandlung bei Erasmus vorhanden sind, wie eine Vergleichung der beiderseitigen Werke ergeben

¹ Scherer, *Gesch. der deut. Lit.*, p. 272.

² Vide Süpffe, I, 67, 68 (Anm. 158), 77.

³ Geiger, *Ren. u. Ref.*, p. 527; dagegen streitet A. Richter (*Erasmusstudien*, Leipz. Diss.) in einem Anhang gegen die Behauptung, dass sich Er. gegen die Volkssprache der Länder, wo er sich aufhielt, teilnahmslos verhalten habe.

⁴ Leipz. Diss., pp. 40–47.

⁵ Anm. zu III, 23 (p. 621).

und aus inneren Gründen die Beziehung zwischen Erasmus und Rabelais darthun wird.¹

Es ist eine bewiesene Thatsache, dass Rabelais in seinem frühen Jünglingsalter erasmische Schriften zu seinem Specialstudium gemacht hat. Erasmus kam im Jahre 1496 das erste Mal nach Paris; sein ständiger Aufenthalt daselbst fällt in die Jahre 1503–1504. Die erste Ausgabe seiner *Adagia* erfolgte 1500, die aber in der definitiven Ausgabe seit 1515, in der sie wohl Rabelais benutzt, aus einem "opus jejunum atque inops" zu einem starken Folianten mit mehr als 4000 Sprichwörtern geworden war, voll von den heftigsten Ausfällen gegen die Frauen, Juristen, Adligen, gegen die Eitelkeit der verschiedenen Stände und Nationen und besonders gegen die Feinde der Humanisten, die Mönche, Ceremonien, Vernachlässigung des wahren Inhalts der Religion, die weltliche Macht der Päbste. Erasmus war bereits das anerkannte Haupt des Humanismus und der bestgehasste Mann seitens der Scholastiker und Mönche, als um das Jahr 1523 in den Zellen des Franziskanerklosters zu Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou bei Pierre Amy² und unserem Rabelais griechische Bücher³ und einige theologische und politische Schriften des Erasmus, den man der Anhängerschaft an Luther verdächtigte, gefunden wurden.⁴ Er entging

¹ Die folgende Bemerkung Sainte-Beuve's, so geistreich sie ist, ist schief, ja sogar falsch, weil sie Erasmus vor anderen Quellen nicht scharf genug hervortreten lässt: "Ce fut tout à la fois Erasme et Boccace, Reuchlin et Marguerite de Navarre: ou plutôt de tous ces souvenirs, confondus, digérés et vivifiés au sein d'un génie original, sortit une oeuvre inouïe, mêlée de science, d'obscénité, de comique, d'éloquence et de fantaisie, qui rappelle tout, sans être comparable à rien, qui vous saisit et vous déconcerte, vous enivre et vous dégoûte, et dont on peut, après s'y être beaucoup plu et l'avoir beaucoup admiré, se demander sérieusement, si on l'a comprise." *Tabl. de la Poésie Fr. au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 260–261.

² "Qui disputait à Rabelais l'honneur de correspondre en grec avec Guillaume Budé." Jacob, *Einl.* 5.

³ On a trouvé depuis peu une nouvelle langue qu'on appelle grecque. Il faut s'en garder avec soin: cette langue enfante toutes les hérésies. (Nisard, *Hist. de la Litt. franç.* I, 248.

⁴ Budaei *Epistolae graecae*, pp. 136, 137, 145. Vide Rathéry, *Notice sur Rab.*, p. 12, Anm. 2 u. 3.

der Gefahr indes dank dem Einfluss des Budaeus und anderer mächtiger Freunde; wie viel er aber den erasmischen Studien in der Klosterzelle verdankte, bekannte er selbst in jenem berühmten Briefe¹ aus der Periode seines Aufenthalts zu Lyon (1532–1535 [März]), über dessen Adressaten lange eine Controverse geschwebt, bis Birch-Hirschfeld² aus inneren Gründen zur Evidenz nachgewiesen, dass er nicht, wie Rathéry (*Notice*, 28), Marty-Laveaux (III, 322), Paul Lacroix (*Einl.*, p. 18) will, an "Barthélemy Salignac, gentilhomme berruyer" gerichtet ist, sondern eben an Erasmus (geschrieben am 30. Nov. 1532, als Rabelais gerade an seinem Pantagrueil arbeitet).

Eine weitere starke Evidenz für die literarische Anlehnung Rabelais' an den grossen Meister liegt neben der inneren Verwandtschaft der beiderseitigen satirischen Schriften in der nahezu gleichen Lebensführung und den Lebensschicksalen beider Männer, die gleiche Wirkungen zur Folge hatten.

Der Ursprung beider Männer liegt nicht in historischer Klarheit vor. Die uneheliche Geburt des Erasmus ist für ihn später eine Quelle beschämender Demütigung geworden.³ Auch Rabelais' Geburtsumstände sind noch nicht gehörig geklärt. Wenn man 1495 (Jacob 1483?) als Datum seiner Geburt, den Stand seines Vaters als den eines Landwirthes und Weinbauers (nach anderen Apothekers) annimmt, so wissen wir über seine Mutter absolut gar Nichts.

Beide Männer durchliefen ungefähr denselben Klostergang und dieselben Vergewaltigungen des Geistes zeitigten die nämlichen Resultate. Bitterkeit und Reue über den Verlust kostbarer Zeit und über die falsche Jugendrichtung begleitete Erasmus durch das Leben. In der Klosterhaft zu Stein

¹ Mitgeteilt bei Jacob, *Einl.*, p. 19: ". . . ἀπὸ τοῦτο σὺν ἔπαθες, qui me tibi de facie ignotum, . . . sic educasti, sic castissimis divinae tuae uberibus usque aluisti, ut quidquid sum et valeo, tibi id uni acceptum, ni feram, hominum omnium . . . ingratus sim."

² I, 216, Anm. 8.—cf. Th. Ziesing: *Erasmus ou Salignac?* Paris, 1887.

³ Nisard, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 1835, vol. III: "Le fameux Julius Scaliger qui avait une jalousie misérable contre Erasme, ne pouvant rien contre ses écrits, s'en prit honteusement à sa naissance."

(Emmaus) bei Gouda haben sich seine antiklösterlichen und antimönchischen Tendenzen gebildet und im späteren Leben gefestigt.

Ganz so ist es Rabelais ergangen.¹ Die Benediktinerabtei Seully, wie der Minoritenconvent (La Basmette), sowie der mehr als zehnjährige Aufenthalt im Franziskanerkloster Fontenay mit den mannichfachen trüben Erfahrungen daselbst nährte seinen Hass gegen das Kloster und Mönchswesen, von dem seine späteren Schriften zeugen. Widerrechtlich schied er aus, erlangte aber Clemens' VII Indult (1524), in die Benediktinerabtei Maillezais überzusiedeln, aber auch hier dauerte sein Aufenthalt nicht lange; etwa 1526 gab er seinem äusseren Leben eine neue Wendung² und begab sich auf die Wanderschaft, erst i. J. 1530 nach Montpellier, um Medizin zu studieren. Aber er begegnete viele Jahre später (1535) der ev. daraus resultirenden Gefahr durch eine supplicatio pro apostasia an Paul III,³ der denn auch seinem "geliebten Sohn" väterlich verzieh.

Dieselben Vorgänge hatten sich fast in allen Stücken in Erasmus' Leben ereignet. Auch er hatte das Priesterkleid abgelegt, als er in Bologna auf Grund dieser Kleidung für einen Pestarzt gehalten und angefallen worden war. Auch er erwirkte, wie Rabelais später, päpstliche Breve, verstand sein eigenmächtiges Vorgehen nachträglich durch die höchste kirchliche Gewalt mit dem Schein des Rechtes zu umkleiden; auch er richtete Supplicationen an den heiligen Stuhl, um für Ablegung des Mönchsgewandes Verzeihung zu erlangen. In dem Breve vom 26. Januar 1517 willfahrte Pabst Leo X dem "geliebten Sohne," dessen Sittenreinheit, Gelehrsamkeit und

¹ Ausführlich bei Birch-H. I, 218 ff.

² "Il jeta, comme on dit, le froc aux orties." Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*.

³ Jacob, *Einl.* 33, Text der suppl. *ibid.* *Einl.* 35 u. 36, Breve: "omnem inhabilitatis et infamiae maculam sive notam ex praemissis insurgentem penitus abolemus teque in pristinum statum restituimus et plenarie reintegramus."

sonstige Verdienste auszeichnendes Lob erhalten.¹ Ganz derselbe Process wiederholte sich auch bei Hutten,² allerdings ohne die nachträgliche päpstliche Sanction, denn er allein blieb durchweg consequent in seinem Handeln. Als der Abt Johann II, Graf v. Henneberg, aus den Mauern seines Stifts zu Fulda alle weltlichen Beschäftigungen ausschloss, brachte die Flucht allein Rettung.

Seit jenem Conflict beginnt die eigentliche Ruhmeslaufbahn aller dieser geistigen Führer—bei Erasmus und Rabelais wenn auch äusserlich verschieden, so doch innerlich nach derselben humanistischen Richtung und—mutatis mutandis—gleich angefeindet aus gleichen Ursachen und von den gleichen Elementen,—beide “*précurseurs et initiateurs de l'esprit moderne* ;” das “*celeste manne de honneste savoir*” beseeligt beide, um eine neue Epoche einer neuen Welt zu inauguriren.

BILDUNGSBESTREBUNGEN UND ALLGEMEINE SATIRE BEI ERASMUS UND RABELAIS.

Hirschfeld's³ Worte : “Rabelais liegt vor Allem der Fortschritt der Menschheit durch die ‘Wiederherstellung der guten Wissenschaften’ am Herzen ; sein Interesse ist daher kein kirchliches, kein politisches, auch nicht vorzugsweise ein religiöses, sondern vorzugsweise ein Bildungsinteresse, daher sein Kampf gegen das bildungsfeindliche Mönchswesen,” diese prägnanten Worte gelten wörtlich und unvermindert auch für Erasmus. Ihre Achtung und Liebe für die Bildung ist analog. Mit Beziehung auf die *Apotheosis Capnionis* erklärt er in *De Colloquiorum Utilitate* seine Lehre, “quantum honoris

¹Karl Hartfelder, *Desid. Erasmus und die Päbste seiner Zeit*. Hist. Taschenbuch, VI. Folge, 11. Jahrg. pp. 131–132. Nisard, *Rev. des D. M.* 1835.

²Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, p. 15: “Gleichsam vorbildlich steht in dem Jugendleben verschiedener zur freien Entwicklung und zur Befreiung anderer berufnen Menschen eine solche Flucht. . . . Die Fessel wird gesprengt, u. damit hat der Character u. das fernere Leben sein bleibendes Gepräge erhalten. So bei Schiller, so bei Hutten !”

³I, 268.

debeatur egregiis viris, qui suis vigiliis bene meriti sunt de liberalibus studiis."

Derselbe Reichtum an Material und Ideen, die nämlichen Anregungen des Wissens und des Lebens, derselbe Geist der Reform jedoch in geistiger Unabhängigkeit, der Rabelais am Ende mit Calvin, wie Erasmus mit Luther und dem den letzteren noch verteidigenden Hutten¹ zusammenstossen liess, ein Geist, der die Reinigung ohne die furchtbare Revolution im Schoosse der katholischen Kirche vornehmen lassen wollte; derselbe Kampf gegen das Veraltete, missbräuchlich Gewordene, Klosterleben, unsinnigen Heiligencult (denn das persönlich Heilige erkannten Beide an), Reliquienschwindel, Ablasswesen, wie es in ihrer Zeit ausgeartet, gegen die Fastengebote, Ehelosigkeit, Übergriffe des Pabsttums, die auf materiellen Erwerb erpichte Wirtschaft in Rom; dieselbe Geisselung der allen Berufständen anhaftenden Mängel; derselbe Spott über das Treiben der Fürsten und Grossen, über verderbte Richter und Beamte, Geistliche und Lehrer, sowie deren verzwickte, brutale, scholastische Erziehung; alle diese Züge finden sich Zug für Zug bei Rabelais wie bei Erasmus, wobei in beiden Fällen die Satire und der Spott—wenn nicht etwa der helle Zorn über die "besterie" hervorbricht—durch die "humanitas," das Verständnis für menschliche Schwäche—"tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner"—gemildert wird, die Fehler nicht selten mit dem Schleier der Narrenkappe christlich zugedeckt werden. Nur wählt Rabelais der Natur seines Kunstromanes nach Charactere als Repräsentanten der Stände, Erasmus im *Encomium Moriae* die Stände als Ganzes: "Iam vero ut de mordacitatis cavillatione respondeam, semper haec ingeniis libertas permissa fuit, ut in communem hominum vitam salibus luderent impune, modo ne licentia exiret in rabiem. . . . At enim qui vitas hominum ita taxat, ut neminem omnino perstringat nominatim, quaeso, utrum is

¹Strauss hat schwerlich Unrecht, wenn er behauptet, dass auch Hutten, hätte er länger gelebt später mit Luther in Conflict geraten wäre, freilich aus etwas verschiedenen Ursachen als Erasmus.

mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere? . . . Praeterea qui nullum hominum genus praetermittit, is nulli homini, vitii omnibus iratus videtur. Ergo si quis exstiterit, qui sese laesum clamabit, is aut conscientiam prodet, aut certe metum. . . . Nos praeterquam quod a nominibus in totum abstinemus, ita praeterea stilum temperavimus, ut cordatus lector facile sit intellecturus *nos voluptatem magis quam morsum quaesisse.*” Freilich ist Erasmus gar oft von diesem Princip abgewichen und hat sich besonders in den *Colloquia* durchaus nicht gescheut, selbst hohe und einflussreiche Personen durchsichtig genug zu persiffliren, was auch Rabelais in Ausfällen wider Pontanus, Galland, Ramus, Calvin reichlich gethan hat.¹ Bei der Congenialität Beider lag es nahe, dass sie angesichts derselben Missbräuche in Deutschland und Frankreich dieselben Stände in den Kreis ihrer Betrachtungen zogen, und das waren fast alle: “Atque hic sermo per omnes ordinum et professionum formas circumferri potest.”²

Beiden “hat es so wollen behagen, mit Lachen die Wahrheit zu sagen,” denn “le ryre est le propre de l’homme” sagt Rabelais, und Erasmus: “Ut enim nihil nugacius, quam seria nugatorie tractare, ita nihil festivius, quam ita tractare nugas, ut nihil minus quam nugatus fuisse videaris. . . . Stultitiam laudavimus, sed non omnino stulte.”³

Aber beide Humanisten machen von vornherein den Leser auf den kostbaren Schatz, der unter der sonderbaren Hülle ihres Werkes verborgen ist, aufmerksam. Das Horazische “ludo quaerere vera” müsse auch dem Gelehrten erlaubt sein: “Nam quae tandem est iniquitas, quum omni vitae instituto suos lusus concedamus, studiis nullum omnino lusum permittere, maxime si nugae seria ducunt atque ita tractentur ludicra, ut ex his aliquanto plus frugis referat lector non om-

¹ Birch-H. I, 270.

² *Ἰχθυοφαγία*.—Über Rab.’s Weltsatire cf. den Satz De Thou’s: “Scriptum edidit ingeniosissimum, quo vitae regnique omnes ordines, quasi in scenam sub fictis nominibus produxit et populo deridendos propinavit.”

³ *Praefatio E. M.*

nino naris obesae, quam ex quorundam tetricis ac splendidis argumentis?”¹

Und Rabelais? Er ist sich der oft anstössigen Form seines Werkes wohl bewusst. Wie man für Socrates [“sans controverse prince des philosophes”] nicht einen Pffferling gegeben hätte [“n’en eussiez donné un coupon d’oignon”] nach seiner äusseren Erscheinung [“tant laid il était de corps, et ridicule en son maintien . . . le visage d’un fol etc.”], aber auch sein göttliches Wissen immer verbergend,² so sollte der Leser aus den spassigen Titeln seiner Bücher nicht etwa auf törichte Spässe schliessen [“n’être au dedans traité que moqueries, folateries et menteries joyeuses”], denn “das Kleid macht nicht den Mönch,” sondern er sollte das göttliche Mark (“la mouelle qui est aliment élaboré à perfection de nature”) aus seinem Werke schöpfen: . . . “car en icelle bien autre goust trouverez, et doctrine plus absconse, laquelle vous revelera de tres hauts sacremens et mysteres horrifiques, tant en ce que concerne nostre religion, que aussi l’estat politicq et vie oeconomicque.” Belehren und nebenher alles Wissenswerte in Form von Geschichten, Anekdoten, Belegstellen etc. ausstreuen, das ist die Methode Beider: “Ut enim omittam tot serias sententias mediis iocis admixtas; tot fabulas, tot historias, tot rerum naturas dignas cognitu,”³ . . . und wiederum: “Socrates philosophiam coelo deduxit in terras: ego philosophiam etiam in lusus, confabulationes et computationes deduxi. Oportet enim et ludicra Christianorum sapere philosophiam”⁴ . . . und einige Seiten weiter: “Atque hic libellus tradet illos ad multas disciplinas magis habiles, ad poëticen, ad rhetoricen.” . . .

Aber bei beiden Humanisten liegt für den Leser bei der Auslegung eine Gefahr nahe, nämlich die: “legt ihr nicht aus, so legt ihr unter.” Beide haben sich denn auch gegen diese Unterstellungen verwahrt. So Erasmus in seinem *De Utilitate*

¹ Praef. E. M.

² Verborgene socratische Weisheit, wie oben.

³ *De Colloquiorum Utilitate.* ⁴ *Colloqu. Senile.*

Colloquiorum ad Lectorem: “Adeo nunc in omnes et in omnia per universum orbem grassatur comitata Furiis ἡ διαβολή, ut tutum non sit ullum emittere librum, nisi satellitio munitum. Quamquam quid satis esse tutum possit adversus sycophantae morsum, qui, velut aspis ad vocem incantantis, ita ad omnem purgationem quamvis iustissimam obturat aures?” . . . So weist auch Rabelais die Ausleger ab mit ihrer Sucht “de gallefreter des allegories qu'onques ne furent songees par l'auteur,”¹ eine Verwahrung, die den in demselben Prolog vorher gethanen Äusserungen, “das Mark auszusaugen,” nicht etwa widerspricht, wie denn auch—nach Birch-H.'s² richtiger Bemerkung—Anspielungen auf Selbsterlebtes, auf bekannte Persönlichkeiten, bestimmte politische Zustände und geschichtliche Vorgänge deutlich genug hervortreten.

Beide Satiriker und Humanisten haben das Unglück gehabt, dass Teile ihrer Werke unter ihrer Hand wider ihren Willen verändert und herausgegeben wurden und einen gefährlichen Sturm gegen sie erregten. Es gab zwar in den Werken Beider an sich genug des dem Angriff Offnen, und Beide haben sich wohl hinter diesen imaginären Schutzwall der angeblichen Fälschung durch andere gestellt, um sich erfolgreicher verteidigen zu können. Beide bedauerten wohl nachträglich, Manches so crass ausgesprochen zu haben, und Rathéry behauptet wohl mit Recht von Rabelais: “Les altérations du texte de

¹ Freilich bleibt des Dunklen, Unerklärbaren bei dem genialen, tiefen Denker Rab. so viel, dass Burgaud Des Marets' geistreiche Bemerkung ihren tiefen Sinn hat: “Moi aussi je sais quand Dante, Rabelais et le géant Shakespeare ne seront plus compris de personne . . . le lendemain du jour où les commentateurs auront tout expliqué.” Es wäre freilich wünschenswert, Rab. hätte uns etwas deutlicher sein Leben und seine Zeit vorgeführt, um eben das viele Raten und Irren der Zukunft zu ersparen. “Je voudrais que les auteurs nous donnassent l'histoire de leurs découvertes et les progrès par lesquels y sont arrivés. Quand il ne le font point, il faut tâcher de les deviner pour mieux profiter de leurs ouvrages.” Leibniz, ed. Erdmann, p. 722 b.

²I, 271.

Rabelais sont dues à l'obligation où s'est trouvé l'auteur de supprimer les hardiesses des premières éditions pour éviter que lui et le livre ne fussent jetés au bûcher." Wiederholt beklagt sich Erasmus über jene angeblichen Fälschungen, so z. B. in einem Briefe vom 5. Oktober 1532 an Johannes Cholerus: "Lambertus Campester, qui olim Lutetiae edidit colloquia mea velut a me emendata, persuaso typographo rem esse vendibilem, et sub nomine meo praefatur, et admixtis per totum opus miris emblematis . . ." in einem anderen Briefe vom 22. April 1536: "Huius generis erant colloquia, quae Helenius quidam, haud scio unde nactus, nam apud me nullum unquam fuit exemplar, care vendidit Joanni Frobenio, simulans alios esse typographos qui empta cuperent." Damit war dann natürlich auch jeder Missbrauch ermöglicht. Ausführlich behandelt Erasmus diesen Gegenstand in "*Coronis Apologetica Pro Coll. Er. De Sycophantiis et imposturis cuiusdam Dominicani, qui in Gallia Colloquia Erasmi, a se ridicule interpolata, edi curaverat, Erasmi Admonitiuncula:*" "Addidit impostor novam praefationem meo nomine, in qua fecit tres viros in uno puero instituendo sudantes; Capitonem, qui tradidit literas Hebraicas, Beatum, qui Graecas; me, qui Latinas significans, in colloquiis inspersa quaedam, quae Lutheri resipiant dogmata; und etwas später: Olim capitale erat edere quicquam alieno nomine; nunc tales sycophantias in vulgus spargere, ficto ipsius nomine qui traducitur, ludus est theologorum: nam vult theologus videri, quum res illum clamitet ne pilum quidem tenere rei theologiae. . . . Qui tale facinus audet, idem non dubitabit incendium aut veneficium admittere."

Dasselbe ist Rabelais wenigstens mit einem Buche passirt. Birch-H.¹ sagt darüber: "Sicher ohne Einwilligung des Verfassers erschien aber bald darauf eine Fortsetzung des Pantagruel (als IV Buch) in Lyons. Diese *unrechtmässige* Ausgabe enthält nur einen Entwurf der späteren Ausführung." Und ein Privileg Heinrichs II constatirt, dass Rabelais sich

¹ I, 244.

über die Drucker beklagt habe, die sein Werk an verschiedenen Stellen geändert, verderbt und verdreht haben. Rathéry meint mit Bezug darauf: "Cette allégation n'était qu'une finesse, bien excusable en face du bûcher toujours allumé!" Jedenfalls bedurfte es des ganzen Einflusses des mächtigen Beschützers, Bischofs du Châtel, der ihn zur Fortsetzung seines Werkes ermuntert haben soll,¹ gegen die Censur der Sorbonne und das Verbot des Parlaments das IV Buch drucken zu lassen.

Beide Männer haben der Haeresie und somit dem Scheitern nahe genug gestanden. Beide haben sich wiederholt —zuweilen fast mit denselben Worten—gegen die Anklagen der Ketzerei, die von der katholischen wie antikatholischen Seite gegen sie erhoben wurden, verteidigen müssen. So Erasmus:² "Demiror, Dolae tantum posse duos Franciscanos. Colloquia et venduntur et excuduntur Lutetiae, et Dolae exulant. Qui dicunt, in illis aliquid esse haereticum, sive docti sive indocti, mentiuntur. Id liquido perspiciet qui legerit meas declarationes." Mit scharfem, geistreichem Sarcasmus läßt er die Dirne in *Coll. Adolescentis et Scorti* sagen: "Aiunt illum (sc. Erasmus) esse *sesquihaereticum*," mit dem Seitenhieb, den er den Mönchen versetzt, sie (die Dirne) habe das von den "viris reverendis" (ihren besten Kunden) gehört.

So verteidigt auch Rabelais stets seinen rechten Glauben:³ "Car l'une des moindres contumelies dont ilz usoient, estoit que telz livres tous estoient farziz d'heresies diverses: n'en pouvoient toutes fois une seule exhiber en endroit aucun; de folastries joyeuses, hors l'offense de Dieu et du Roy, prou; d'heresies point; . . . si en ma vie, escrits, paroles, voire certes pensées, je recognoissois scintille aucune d'heresie, ilz ne tomberoient tant detestablement es laes de l'esprit calomniateur, c'est diabolos,⁴ qui par leur ministere me suscite tel crime."

¹ Prol. IV: "par votre exhortation tant honorable m'avez donné et courage et invention."

² In epistola scripta Basileae, anno 1536. 17 Maii.

³ *Epître a Monseigneur Odet*, IV.

⁴ Cf. Grassatur Furiis comitata ἡ διαβολή. (Erasm.)

Aber Stellen wie die stupende Äusserung über die christliche Religion und ihre Verwandtschaft mit der Torheit im *E. M.*—wenn auch nur im Scherz gesagt—und eine Bemerkung im *Merdardus*, so wie der Scherz des Buchstabenspiels “âne” statt “âme,”¹ Leichtfertigkeiten, wie sie Birch-H.² aufzählt, boten wohl Handhaben genug zum Angriff bei Beiden, mochte Rabelais beabsichtigte oder unbeabsichtigte Druckfehler vorschützen oder Erasmus das als Verleumdungen hinstellen: “Ea vox Sycophantae fuit, non Erasmi.”

Am besten erscheint die Congenialität des Rabelais und Erasmus und die Beziehung des ersteren zu dem letzteren aus den Freunden und Feinden der Werke Beider. Zu den Feinden und Hassern unserer Satiriker und Humanisten gehören nun in erster Reihe die Leute, die man gemeinlich als “Dunkelmänner” bezeichnet, dann aber sind auch ihre Gesinnungsgenossen beinah aus denselben Ursachen ihnen gram geworden. Hutten³ geriet in eine erbitterte Fehde mit Erasmus, weil dieser “nachdem er das Ei gelegt, das Luther ausgebrütet,” sich scheu und ängstlich vor den Folgen verbarg und dem tapferen Ritter beinah feig erscheinen musste; Rabelais seinerseits wird von Desperiers in dem 1537 in Paris erscheinenden “Cymbalum Mundi” (Weltglocke) tüchtig durchgehechelt.⁴ In dem letzten der vier Gespräche steht eine Unterhaltung zwischen Pamphagus (Rabelais) und Hylaktor (Dolet?), zwei Hunden, die beide nicht zufrieden sind; aber Hylaktor giebt seiner Misstimmung offen Ausdruck, indes Pamphagus vorsichtig ermahnt zur Jagd zurückzukehren, um “mit offenem Maul und hervorstehender Zunge” den Glauben zu erwecken, sie wären mitgerannt. In den bitteren Vorwürfen Huttens gegen Erasmus und der versteckten Satire Despe-

¹ *Oeuvres*, III, 22 Anm. 11 (bei Rathéry).

² I, 275, Anm.

³ “Als nach des hellen freisinnigen Zwingli Falle der geistvolle, aber finstere Calvin den Scheiterhaufen Servets schürte und die Praedestinationslehre ausbildete, da wäre auch in diesem Lager seines Bleibens nicht länger gewesen;”—Strauss, *U. v. Hutten*, p. 572.

⁴ Birch-H. p. 38.

riers gegen Rabelais ist ein gutes Stück Wahrheit enthalten, aber nicht in allen Stücken.

Erasmus und Rabelais mussten es der Natur ihres Wesens nach mit beiden Lagern verderben.¹ Denn bei beiden ist der humanistische Radikalismus vorherrschend, wenn auch Beide Sätze aufgestellt haben, die Protestanten und Katholiken, Indifferente und Radikale berechtigen können, sie Beide als die ihrigen zu betrachten. Daher kommt es, dass die Führer des Potestantismus, hier Luther, dort Calvin, viel erbitterter gegen diese Männer auftreten, als gegen die Häupter der katholischen Kirche, während diese sich nur mit Widerwillen die compromittirenden Bundesgenossen gefallen lassen.

Zwar zuerst scheint es, als ob Erasmus mit Luther, Rabelais mit Calvin gemeinsame Sache machen würden, aber bald glaubte Luther zu erkennen, dass Erasmus "ein listiger, tückischer Mann, ein Spötter und Verwüster der Religion sei."² "Er hat das Pabstthum gereizt u. vexirt, nun zeucht er den Kopf aus der Schlingen" (61, 93). "Ob er gleich den Pabst mit seinen Ceremonien verspottet, so hat er ihn doch nicht confutirt noch erlegt; denn mit Vexiren und Spotten schlägt man die Feinde nicht; ja, indem er das Pabstthum spottet, verspottet er Christum." . . . "Erasmus is ein gottloser Mensch, hat keinen Glauben, denn eben den rechten römischen Glauben, gläubt eben das, das Pabst Clemens gläubt. Ich will ihn einmal von dem Argwohn erledigen bei den Papisten, dass er nicht lutherisch ist, sondern ein papistischer Klotz, der Alles

¹So auch der berühmte Wilibald Pirckheimer: "Er sei anfänglich gut lutherisch gewesen, wie der selige Albrecht Dürer (†1528) auch," bekennt er kurz vor seinem Tode in einem merkwürdigen Briefe, "weil sie gehofft haben, die römische Büberei, desgleichen der Mönche und Pfaffen Schalkheit sollte gebessert werden. Allein statt dessen habe sich die Sache also verschlimmert, dass in Vergleichung mit den evangelischen Buben die vorigen fromm erscheinen. Das schreibe er jedoch nicht darum, dass er des Pabstes und seiner Pfaffen und Mönche Wesen loben könnte oder möchte; vielmehr wisse er, dass es in viel Weg sträflich sei und einer Besserung bedürfe; nur sei leider vor Augen, dass auch das neue Wesen in keiner Weise zu loben." D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, p. 556.

²Joh. Conr. Irmischer, *Band 61*, p. 33 ff., 100 ff., 107, 112 f.

gläubt, was der Pabst will, und doch Alles verlacht und treibt sein Gespött draus" (61, 95). "Da Erasmus sein Buch *Moriam* geschrieben, hat er eine Tochter gezeuget, die ist wie er. Denn also pflegt sich der Ael zu schlingen, winden und beissen; aber er als ein Morio und Stocknarr hat *Moriam*, eine rechte Narre-*rei* geschrieben" (61, 99). Derselbe Gegensatz, der später Rabelais mit Calvin in dem Streite über den freien Willen collidiren machte, der Gegensatz zwischen der "Fais ce que voudras" Maxime des Klosters Thelème und der Praedestinationslehre Calvins entbrannte auch zwischen Luther und Erasmus: "Und zwar hat er wider mich geschrieben in seinem Büchlein *Hyperaspiste*, in dem er vertheidigen will sein Buch vom *freien Willen*, dawider ich in meinem Buch vom *knechtischen Willen* geschrieben hab, das er noch nicht verlegt hat und nimmermehr in Ewigkeit verlegen wird können" (61, 106).

Erasmus selbst hat seine Polemik gegen Luther viel rücksichtsvoller geführt. Überall da, wo er mit den reformatorischen Männern selbst, mit Luther, Melanchthon, Spalatin, Justus Jonas, Zwingli, u. s. w. verkehrt, lässt er Mahnungen zur Sanftmut, zum Maasshalten, zur Vorsicht einfließen. Man sollte sich den geordneten Autoritäten des Pabstes, der Bischöfe, der Fürsten unterordnen, nicht das Volk in Aufregung versetzen, man sollte lieber in Einigem den Irrthum und den Missbrauch noch dulden, als im Kampfe für die Wahrheit die Welt in Unruhe versetzen; es sei nicht angebracht, stets die Wahrheit zu sagen; die Gelehrten sollen sich unter einander über die Mittel zur Besserung beraten und ihre Vorschläge sodann in geheimen Briefen dem Pabst und dem Kaiser zu geneigter Beachtung vorlegen!¹

Derselbe Gegensatz entwickelte sich zwischen Rabelais und Calvin bis ins Einzelne. Auch Calvin hatte gehofft, den bedeutenden, geistesgewaltigen Rabelais ganz und gar für sich gewinnen zu können. Aber seine Natur und Gesinnung der

¹ Rudolf Stähelin, *Erasmus' Stellung zur Reformation*, Basel 1873.

Herbheit und Intoleranz widerstrebte allzusehr der humanitären, milden Toleranz des Rabelais,¹ und ausserdem widerstrebte ihm die Bildung einer neuen Secte ebenso, wie dem Erasmus, weil durch deren Bildung der Bestand der Gemeinschaft gefährdet erschien. So kam er denn schliesslich dahin, den neuen Religionsstifter und dessen ihm so widerwärtige Vorbestimmungslehre bitter anzugreifen,² was ihm denn auch von Calvin und dessen Anhängern Robert und Henri Estienne,³ Theodor Beza u. s. w. reichlich vergolten wurde.⁴

Aus ihrem eigenen Lager, aus dem sich Beide nominell nie entfernt hatten, wenn auch Erasmus factisch Grundlehren der katholischen Kirche, wie die Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit, die Erbsünde, die Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl, das Recht der Heiligenverehrung, das Wesen der Höllestrafen, die Berechtigung der Messe, der Beichte und des Ablasses angriff, und Rabelais auf Grund seiner Satire auf ebendieselben Einrichtungen und Missstände der römischen Kirche von Birch-H.⁵ geradezu als Evangelischer und Anhänger der französischen Reformation hingestellt wird, häufen sich die Angriffe und Anklagen der Ketzerei gegen Beide in schreckenerregender Weise. Von welcher Art diese Anklagen gewesen, lässt sich am besten aus den gelegentlichen Verteidigungen und Widerlegungen unserer Autoren reconstruiren. In *Coronis Apologetica*, gerichtet an die Theologen zu Loewen, thut Erasmus einen Kläffer für alle ab und führt die Angriffe auf ihr wahres Wesen zurück: . . . "Quis non intelligit, ista [gehässige

¹"l'humeur chagrine (sc. de Calvin) avait de tout temps répugné à sa nature franchement Gauloise." Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 62.

²"Les Démoniacles Calvins, imposteurs de Geneve," *Oeuvres* IV, 32.

³"Quoique Rab. semble être des nôtres, toutefois il jette souvent des pierres dans notre jardin." (*Apologie pour Hérodote*).

⁴Ausführlich bei Birch-H. I, 246 ff. Rathéry, *Notice*, pp. 62-63. Jacob Bibliophile, *Notice*, 54.

⁵I, 265-267.

Vgl. dagegen Colletet's Bemerkung (bei Burgand et Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 35): "Rab. ne laissait pas d'avoir de pieux et dévots sentiments et de déférer merveilleusement (?) aux saintes constitutions de l'Eglise catholique et orthodoxe qu'il reconnut toujours pour sa véritable mère."

Angriffe] proficisci a privato quodam odio? Quamquam a me quidem in nulla re laesus est; *nisi quod favi bonis litteris, quas ille plus quam capitaliter odit, nec scit quam ob rem.*¹ Et interim gloriatur, sibi quoque telum esse, quo se ulciscatur . . . Quid furiosius, quam quod Mechliniae in publica concione monuit populum, ut caveret ab haeresi Lutheri et Erasmi? . . . Isti, quidquid odit, Lutheranum est et haeticum. Sic opinor tenue zythum, vapidum vinum, et ius insipidum isti Lutheranum vocabitur: *et lingua Graeca, quam unice odit*, opinor ob id, quod hanc apostoli tanto honore dignati sint, ut non alia scripserint, Lutherana vocabitur." . . . "Clamat totum Lutherum esse in libris meis, omnia undique scatere haeticis erroribus." Gegen die ganze Klasse seiner Widersacher verwahrt er sich in *De Colloquiorum Utilitate*: . . . "Genus mire biliteou, qui sic pronunciant de meis colloquiis, opus esse fugiendum, praesertim monachis, quos illi Religiosos appellant, et adolescentibus, eo quod ieiunia et abstinentiae ecclesiae parvi peuderentur: beatae virginis et sanctorum pro ludibrio haberentur suffragia; virginitas, si coniugio conferatur, nullius esse aut parvi momenti: religionis etiam dissuaderetur omnibus ingressus: quodque in eo arduae theologiae questiones grammaticulis proponantur, contra statuta per magistros in artibus iurata." Also hier giebt Erasmus selbst eine ganze Disposition der gegen ihn erhobenen Vorwürfe der Ketzerei, Vorwürfe, die Punkt für Punkt² auch gegen Rabelais erhoben wurden. Gabriel de Puits-Herbault übernimmt ihm gegenüber die Rolle des Loewener Theologen, nach Antoine Leroy ebenfalls mehr aus persönlicher Feindschaft, als aus Fanatismus.³ Das Fatale dieses Angriffs⁴ lag für Rabelais darin,

¹ La vraie querelle, dit il en mille endroits de ses ouvrages, c'est celle qu'on fait aux lettres; les vrais ennemis, ce sont les anciens qu'on veut faire rentrer dans leurs tombes; le fond de la guerre religieuse, c'est une guerre de l'ignorance contre la lumière de l'antiquité." Nisard, *Erasme*.— So auch Rab., cf. Birch-H. I, 268.

² Birch-H. I, 265 (oben).

³ Zwar wäre der Umstand, dass Rab. ihn als Modell für seinen geistig freien Jean des Entommeures benutzt habe, sicher kein Grund zum Hasse, wie Rathéry (*Notice*, p. 54 oben) zu vermuten geneigt ist.

⁴ Birch-H. I, 248. Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 52.

dass die unglücklichen Zustände in Frankreich nach Franz' I am 31. März 1547 erfolgten Tode ihn ins Exil trieben, wo er in bitteres Elend geriet.¹ Es ist eine gewisse Analogie zwischen der Flucht Rabelais' nach Metz und der förmlichen Flucht des Erasmus aus Basel, der Unterschied liegt nur darin, dass ersterer vor seinen rechtgläubigen Brüdern floh, der andere nicht in der reformirten Stadt bleiben konnte oder wollte.

Es wäre ein vergebliches Beginnen, bei Beiden alle die Stellen anzumerken, wo sie mit Zorn oder spöttischer Satire gegen die Intoleranz der Mönche und ihre Sünden ankämpfen.² In allen Lebenslagen und von allen Seiten kommen sie auf diese Hemmnisse "der guten Wissenschaften" zurück; es ist das *ceterum censeo* bei Beiden. In dem *Lob der Narrheit* nimmt die Satire die bitterste Form an und bei Rabelais steigert sie sich von Buch zu Buch.

Rabelais ist so gut wie Erasmus³ ein vollendeter Humanist. Particen wie die von klassischer, edler Beredsamkeit getragene Harangue d'Ulrich Gallet à Picrochole (I, 31.), Concion que fit Gargantua es vaincus (I, 50.), der Brief des Gargantua an

¹ A. Heulhard, *Rabelais, voyages en Italie, son exil à Metz*. Athenaeum, 3327. Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 52.

² Rabelais' "enragé Putherbe" und Erasmus' Mönche, "qui suis sententiis homines pertrahunt ad incendium" sind ganz identisch. — "Ce n'est de maintenant que les gens reduits a la creance evangelique sont persecutés." (I, 58). Dem Vorwurf, er begünstige die Ketzer, begegnet Erasmus recht geistreich: "Nihil est sanctius quam favere haeticis . . . An non favet ille, qui studet, ut quis ex malo fiat bonus, ex mortuo vivus?" (*Inquisitio de Fide*).

³ Er vergöttert förmlich Cicero ("non possum legere librum Ciceronis . . . quin aliquoties exosculer codicem," *Conv. Relig.*), fühlt sich oft versucht zu sagen: "Sancte Socrates ora pro nobis!" Ganz wie das horazische Wort: "Haec exemplaria Graeca versate manu, versate diurna, versate nocturna" klingt seine Mahnung: "Officia Ciceronis nunquam de manibus deponenda, et sunt quidem digna, quae cum ab omnibus tum praecipue ab his, qui destinandi sunt administrandae rei publicae, ad verbum ediscantur;" dagegen lassen ihn die Neueren kalt: "ego citius patiar perire totum *Scotum* cum aliquot sui similibus quam libros unius Ciceronis aut Plutarchi." Er duldet Thomas und Scotus in den Schulen nur, bis etwas Besseres gefunden ist ("fons Scoti, lacus ranarum," *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii*).—cf. "Barbouillamenta Scoti" bei Rab. II, 7 unter den lächerlich gemachten, fingirten Büchern der Bibliothek St.-Victor.

Pantagruel (II, 8.) beweisen das zur Evidenz. Rabelais lässt Gargantua seine eigenen Ansichten über das Aufblühen der Wissenschaften in jener grossen Zeit ausdrücken: "Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées, Grecque, sans laquelle c'est honte qu'une personne se die savant, Hebraïque, Caldaïque, Latine." Der treffliche Erziehungsplan wetteifert mit dem des Erasmus und Montaigne, ja ist ersterem durch die unbeanstandete Anerkennung der Naturwissenschaften,¹ letzterem durch die Befürwortung der Frauenerziehung weit überlegen. Er ist ein Hütten in der Bekämpfung der Dunkelmänner, ein Erasmus im Aufbau des Humanismus; wie dieser zerstört er durch Spott und Satire den alten, schlechten Bau, aber er ist nicht nur "ein Geist, der stets verneint," sondern er führt ganz wie Erasmus, wenn auch verschieden in der Methode, einen neuen Bau auf.

Ein Verdienst von weit grösserer Tragweite, als bisher erkannt worden, erwarben beide Männer auf Grund ihrer erfolgreichen Bekämpfung jeglichen Aberglaubens, in welcher Gestalt derselbe auch immer erscheinen mochte. Hatte Erasmus schon gelegentlich in der *Inquisitio de Fide* geäussert: ". . . totam fiduciam et spem in illum unum transfero, detestans Satanam, omnemque idololatriam, et *quidquid est artium magicarum*;" so hat er die Vernichtung der Magie, Astrologie und Goldmacherkunst² in einen eigenen Colloquium (*Alcumistica*), die der

¹ Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 19. (Colletet's und Rouzeau's Aussprüche).—III, 49, Anm. 3. (Rab. botaniste).—III, 52, Anm. 10. (Rab. und die Naturwissenschaften, Jaubert's Rede zu Montpellier vor der botanischen Gesellschaft.)

² Vorläufer unserer beiden Humanisten im Kampfe gegen die Astrologie, Alchymie und Magie ist Petrarca. "Zunächst und vor Allem zieht er vor seine Schranken die Astrologen, Alchymisten und alle die betrogenen Betrüger, welche durch ihre Künste das zukünftige Schicksal der Menschen zu ergründen oder der Natur ihre Geheimnisse abzulauschen vorgeben. Eine That des Mutes, so rücksichts- und bedingungslos wie Petrarca den Trug und den Aberglauben zu brandmarken. Hat er gleich noch Jahrhundertlang fortgedauert, so hat doch unausgesetzt der Humanismus den Kampf dagegen wie ein Erbe seines Erzvaters auf sich genommen und nahezu durchgeführt." Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klass. Altertums*, I, 75.

Chiromantie im *“Coll. Senile”* unternommen. Auf die Frage des Polygamus, woher Pampirus die Reisekosten zur Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem genommen habe, antwortet dieser: “. . . τὸ τέχνηιον πᾶσα γῆ τρέφει.” *“Quam artem circumferabas?”* *“Chiromanticam.”* *“Ubi eam didiceras?”* *“Quid refert?”* *“Quo praeceptore?”* *“Eo, qui nihil non docet, ventre. Praedicebam praeterita, futura, praesentia.”* *“Et sciebas?”* *“Nihil minus; sed divinabam audacter, idque tuto, videlicet prius accepto pretio.”* *“An ars tam ridicula poterat alere te?”* *“Poterat, et quidem cum duobus famulis. Tantum est ubique fatuorum et fatuarum.”* Ganz dieselbe Meinung dem Sinne nach äussert Rabelais wiederholentlich, so in dem bekannten Briefe II, 8: *“Laisse moi l’astrologie divinatrice, et l’art de Lullius (sc. alchimie), comme abus et vanités.”* Die Satire auf Her Trippa ist doch jedenfalls gegen die Astrologen und Geomanten gerichtet, die Kapitel von der Sibylle (III, 16, 17, 18) sind auf den Aberglauben des Traumdeutens, der Orakel mit zweifachen Auslegungen gemünzt.—Augenscheinlich ist die Mummerei der Gespensterscene (*Oeuvres*, IV, 13), die den Geisterglauben satirisiren soll, dem erasmischen Muster (*“Exorcismus sive Spectrum”*) nachgebildet. Nur ist der Ausgang des spiritistischen Gaukelspiels mit dem geöffniten Canonicus Faunus scherzhafter als bei Rabelais und enthält die Lehre: *“Antehac non soleo multum tribuere fabulis, quae vulgo feruntur de spectris; sed posthac multo minus tribuam: suspicor enim, ab hominibus credulis et Fauni similibus multa pro veris prodita literis, quae simili artificio sunt simulata.”* Bei Rabelais artet derselbe Scherz leider, wie so oft, in grausamer Weise aus. Hier wird Frater Ettienne Tappecoue, weil er nach den Statuten seines Ordens Kapuze und Stola für das Passionsspiel des Meister François Villon nicht hatte leihen wollen, von diesem und seinen verummumten Teufeln auf seinem Heimritt grausam erschreckt und von dem erschreckten, scheu gewordenen Pferde zu Tode geschleift, worüber dann Meister Villon eine unbändige Freude empfindet.¹

¹Siehe darüber Birch-H. I, 260–261.

Von welcher Culturbedeutung aber der Erweis der Nichtigkeit des Gespensterglaubens, der Alchymie und Wahrsagekunst in jener glaubenstollen Zeit sein musste, lässt sich leicht ermes sen.

Dass indes wenigstens Erasmus, der doch den Heiligencultus im *Encheiridion Militis Christiani* als Überrest des Heidentums, als Heroencultus bezeichnet hat, nicht ganz frei war, belegt die Thatsache, dass er gesteht, seine eigene Heilung der Hilfe der heiligen Genovefa (*Ep. Append.* 504, p. 1884) zu verdanken.¹ Rabelais aber bleibt sich unwandelbar consequent. Obgleich er sich wohl in der Serie seiner Kalender, die sich mit Unterbrechungen von 1533–1550 erstreckt,² scherzweise einen Propheten nannte, so protestirt er doch ausdrücklich gegen jeden Aberglauben,³ so in dem *Kalender* von 1535: “Prédire seroit légèreté à moi, comme à vous simplesse d’y ajouter foi. Et n’est encore, depuis la création d’Adam, né homme qui en ait traité ou baillé chose à quoi l’on dût acquiescer et arrêter en assurance.”

Um nunmehr die allgemeine Vergleichung zwischen Erasmus und Rabelais abzuschliessen, sei hier noch das vollständige, positive Glaubensbekenntnis, das Erasmus in der *Inquisitio de Fide* ablegt, kurz mitgetheilt. In den Grundformen der Religion weicht er seiner Überzeugung nach von der Rechtgläubigkeit nicht ab, aber auf die Frage: “Credis in sanctam ecclesiam?” antwortet er fest: “Non” und begründet diese Antwort: “Sic me docuit divus Cyprianus: in solum Deum esse credendum, in quo simpliciter omnem fiduciam reponimus.

¹ Nisard, *Erasmus*: “. . . car il a son grain de superstition, lui-aussi, quoi qu’il se moque des franciscains, lesquels disent au peuple que les moucheronns qui voltigent sur le corps du franciscain qu’on mène en terre sont des démons qui n’osent pas se poser sur la face bénie du defunt. Déjà, dans la maladie qu’il fit à Paris par l’effet des oeufs pourris et des chambres malsaines de Montaignu, n’avait-il pas attribué à l’intercession de Ste.-Geneviève son retour à la santé?”

² Birch-H. I, 245. Anm. ††.

³ Rathéry, *Notice*, 26. Anm 1: “Je vous envoie un livre de prognostics, duquel toute cette ville est embesoignée . . . De ma part je n’y adjouste foy aucune.”

Ecclesia vero proprie dicta, quamquam non constat nisi ex bonis,¹ *tamen ex hominibus constat, qui ex bonis possunt fieri mali, qui falli possunt et fallere.*“ Damit ist der Autoritätsglauben an die Kirche, deren Berechtigung, neue Satzungen aufzustellen, für Erasmus aufgehoben: der Conflict mit dem katholischen Clerus, der gerade dieses Recht für sich in Anspruch nimmt, gegeben. Ganz analog hat auch Rabelais gedacht, wenn er auch seiner Stellung nach sich nicht so frei und offen gegen die Unfehlbarkeit der Kirche als solchen aussprechen konnte. Aber wo sich die Gelegenheit dazu bietet, verweist er auf Gott allein: “. . . il te convient servir, aimer et craindre Dieu, et en luy mettre toutes tes pensées et tout ton espoir; et, par foy formée de charité, estre à lui adjoinct, en sorte que jamais n'en sois deseparé par peché!“ (*Oeuvres*, II, 8). Gott und Menschenliebe sind die Pfeiler der Religion, die er empfiehlt,² gegen die meisten kirchlichen d. h. menschlichen Einrichtungen und Formen in Glaubenssachen bäumt sich seine Natur gerade so wie die des anderen Humanisten in zersetzender Satire auf.

POLITISCHE SATIRE.

Fürsten und Grosse.

Interessant und wertvoll ist eine Würdigung der von beiden Wahlverwandten in Ernst und Spott ausgesprochenen Meinungen über das Herrschertum, Fürsten und Grosse. In seiner Jugend hatte Erasmus eine gute Meinung von den Herrschern der Welt, aber seine Enttäuschungen durch Heinrich VIII von England und die Fürsten, mit denen er sonst in Beziehung gestanden, änderten seine Gesinnungen—ich möchte fast sagen—zu demokratischer Herbheit, während Rabelais bei dem Schutz, den er gerade bei Franz I und Heinrich II fand, in seiner Satire sehr vorsichtig ist und meist eben

¹ Eine *captatio benevolentiae*, die bei seinem Hasse gegen die Mönche und Theologen ihm wohl schwerlich von Herzen kam.

² Birch-H. I, 267 Anm.

nur Caricaturen von Fürsten wie Picrochole, Anarchie zum Gegenstand seiner Satire wählt.—Nicht lange dauerte die gute Meinung, die Erasmus in einem Jugendgedicht an den nachmaligen Heinrich VIII, den er als Prinzen durch den gelehrten, gemütvollen, characterfesten Thomas Morus kennen gelernt hatte, aussprach, wo er das Lob Englands und seines Königs sang, der “patriotischer als die Dacier, gottesfürchtiger als Numa, beredter als Nestor, diplomatischer als Cäsar, freigebiger als Mäcenas und nur mit etwas sparsam sei, nämlich mit dem Blute seiner Unterthanen.” Aber schon in den *Adagia*, begegnet man den radicalsten Ausfällen gegen das Fürstentum; ¹ alle paar hundert Jahre habe es höchstens einen order den anderen Fürsten gegeben, der nicht durch ganz hervorragende Torheit der Welt verderblich geworden wäre; jeder Beruf müsse erlernt werden, aber den schwersten und wichtigsten vertrane man dem Zufall fürstlicher Geburt an, und es genüge schon, wenn der Prinz überhaupt nur einem Menschen ähnlich sehe. Den Königen, die er in der Regel für Narren, deren Finanzpolitik er für Raub und Erpressung erklärt, stellt er die städtische Cultur, die trefflichen Gesetze und die Friedensliebe der Democratie gegenüber.² Die Hauptstelle für seine Überzeugungen hinsichtlich der Fürsten ist

¹ Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Litt. Franç. au XVI siècle*, p. 24.: Erasme lançait aux rois des traits d'une mordante ironie. Quoi de plus violent que l'Adage de l'Escarbot et de l'Aigle (*Adages*, Chiliade III, centurie 7; coll. 709 de l'édition in folio, de Paris 1589) dans lequel l'auteur compare les souverains à l'aigle, le premier des oiseaux de proie? Ces yeux rapaces et méchants (de l'aigle), ce rictus menaçant, ces joues horribles, ce front farouche, n'est-ce pas l'image d'un roi plein de magnificence et de majesté . . . A ce cri d'aigle la foule entière tremble, le sénat s'efface, la noblesse rampe, la justice s'assouplit, les théologiens se taisent, les légistes approuvent, les lois cèdent, les constitutions ploient; droit, religion, justice, humanité sont des mots sans valeur.

² Bezold, *Gesch. der deut. Ref.* p. 233.—Soweit ist der seinem Könige loyale Rabelais nie gegangen, wenn auch Hallam's Bemerkung: “Nowhere does Rab. satirize the institution of royalty, or the profession of healing, the two things in the world for which he seems to have had a real respect,” wenigstens in ihrem ersten Teil unrichtig ist, wie bald erscheinen wird.

wohl jener Abschnitt im *E. M.* Die Narrheit spricht: "Schon lange habe ich vor, euch etwas von den Fürsten und Grossen am Hofe zu sagen, die mich ohne Falsch und Verstellung mit der ganzen Offenheit, die ihrem Range zukommt, verehren. Wenn sie auch nur eine halbe Unze Weisheit besäßen, gäbe es dann etwas Traurigeres, etwas Verabscheuungswürdigeres als ihren Stand? Gewiss wird niemand mehr durch Meineid und Mord nach der Krone streben wollen, der aufmerksam über die ungeheure Last nachgedacht hat, die auf den Schultern eines guten Landesherrn ruht." Nun kommt die treffliche Aufzählung der Pflichten eines Königs, Pflichten die Rabelais (*Ouvres*, III, 1) in seinem kräftigen Lapidarstil in der Person seines edlen Königs Pantagruel als verwirklicht darstellt: ". . . la manière d'entretenir et retenir pays nouvellement conquestés¹ n'est les peuples pillant, forçant, angariant, ruinant, mal vexant et regissant avec verges de fer; brief, les peuples mangeant et devorant . . . Comme enfant nouvellement né, les faut alaicter, bercer, esjouir. Comme arbre nouvellement plantée, les faut appuyer, asseurer, defendre de toutes vimères, injures et calamités . . . De sorte qu'ilz conçoivent en soy ceste opinion n'estre on monde roy ne prince, que moins voulsissent ennemy, plus optassent amy. . . .

Et plus en heur ne peut le conquerant regner, soit roy, soit prince, ou philosophe que faisant justice à vertus succeder . . . sa justice apparoistra en ce que, par la volonté et bonne affec-

¹ Erasmus billigt Eroberungskriege unter keinen Umständen; kaum dass er den Glaubens- und Verteidigungskrieg gegen den Türken zulassen will. Rabelais weist ungerechte Kriege zornig zurück: "Le temps n'est plus d'ainsi conquerer les royaumes, avec dommages de son prochain frere christian: ceste imitation des anciens Hercules, Alexandres, . . . est contraire à la profession de l'Evangile, par lequel nous est commandé garder, sauver, regir, et administrer chascun ses pays et terres, *non hostilement envahir les autres*. Et ce que Sarrasins et barbares jadis appelloient prouesses, maintenant nous appellons briganderies et meschancetés." Dennoch ist die Behandlung des kriegsgefangenen Königs Picrochole, dank dem guten König Gargantua, ganz verschieden von der des Anarche, bei dem der Lump Panurg das Verfügungsrecht hat.

tion du peuple, donnera loix, publiera edicts, establira religions, fera droit à un chascun." . . . So auch Erasmus (*E. M.*): "Hänget ihm die goldene Halskette um, ein Schmuck, der die feste Verbindung sämmtlicher Tugenden anzeigt, setzt ihm die Krone aufs Haupt, die ihn daran mahnen soll, dass er an Heldensinn Alle weit übertreffen müsse, gebt ihm das Scepter in die Hand, das Sinnbild der Gerechtigkeit und eines völlig unbestechlichen Herzens, bekleidet ihn schliesslich mit dem Purpurmantel, diesem Symbol der glühenden Liebe zu Staat und Bürgerschaft, und das Bild ist fertig!

Wenn aber der Fürst diesen königlichen Schmuck mit seinem wirklichen Lebenswandel vergliche, scheint euch da noch zweifelhaft, dass er über seinen Aufputz Scham empfinden und fürchten würde, es möchte irgend ein Spassvogel die an sich sehr ernstesten Insignien verlachen und verspotten?" Und dieser Spassvogel ist wirklich in Rabelais erschienen, der den vermeintlichen Heroismus und die Ländergier des Picrochole und seiner Berater in einer herrlichen Satire (*Oeuvres*, I, 33) verspottete, den König Anarche in Erinnerung an die Könige in der Unterwelt (II, 30)¹ zum crieur de saulce verte machte, mit einem alten Höckerweib (*vieille lanterne*) verheiratete und ihn von derselben durchprügeln liess.² Doch galt er ihm in diesem Zustande noch in höherem Grade als Ehrenmann, denn in seiner Eigenschaft als König.³

In der *Ἰχθυοφαγία* hält Erasmus seinem Kaiser Karl V einen echten Fürstenspiegel vor: ⁴ Die fingirte Rede, die er an Karls Stelle an den gefangenen König Franz halten würde, ist ein Muster edler Gesinnung und Friedensliebe. Und was

¹ ". . . comment estoient traités les rois et riches de ce monde par les Champs Elysées, et comment ilz gaignoient pour lors leur vie à vilz et salles mestiers." II, 31.

² "sa femme le bat comme plastre, et le pauvre sot ne se ose defendre, tant il est niays."

³ "ces diables de rois ici ne sont que veaulx, et ne savent ny ne valent rien, sinon à faire des maulx es pauvres subjects, et à troubler tout le monde par guerre, pour leur inique et detestable plaisir."

⁴ "Verum si quis me faciat Caesarem, scio quid sim facturus."

wäre der Erfolg einer solchen Handlungsweise! “*Quam magnificam, quamque plausibilem gloriam haec humanitas per universum orbem pararet Carolo? Quae natio se non lubens tam humano, tamque clementi principi submitteret?*” Ganz dieselben herrlichen Principien eines Königs lässt Rabelais den Grandgousier in dem Briefe an seinen Sohn (I, 29) aussprechen, mögen dieselben an die Adresse des Königs Franz I gerichtet sein oder nicht: “*Ma deliberation n'est de provoquer, ains d'apaiser; d'assaillir, mais de defendre; de conquerer, mais de garder mes feaux subjects et terres hereditaires. Esquelles est hostilement entré Picrochole, sans cause ny occasion, et de jour en jour poursuit sa furieuse entreprise,*” . . . nachdem er schon I, 28 die Rüstung als erzwungen hingestellt und erst alle Mittel des Friedens versucht hat, um seine geliebten Unterthanen, die ihn nähren und unterhalten, zu schonen: “*pour secourir et garantir mes pauvres subjects. Car de leur labeur je suis entretenu, et de leur sueur je suis nourry, moy, mes enfans et ma famille. Ce non obstant, je n'entreprendray guerre que je n'aye essayé tous les arts et moyens de paix; là je me resouls*” [conträr entgegengesetzt dem berüchtigten “*car tel est notre bon plaisir.*”]. Von dem Schlage des guten Grandgousier, Gargantua, Pantagruel müssen die Könige sein, von denen das Wort der Pilger in I, 45 gilt: “*O que heureux est le pays qui a pour seigneur un tel homme.*” “*C'est, dist Gargantua, ce que dit Platon, que lors les republicues seroient heurieuses, quand les roys philosophoient, ou les philosophes regneroient.*”

“*Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*” Diese horazische Idee ist auch die des Erasmus. Im *Charon*, einem Colloquium, das dieser schrieb, als der Krieg Karls V im Bunde mit Heinrich VIII gegen Franz I am wildesten wütete, zeigt er die Schrecken des Krieges für die Völker: “*Furiae non minus gnauiter quam feliciter gesserunt suum negotium; nullam orbis partem non infecerunt malis tartareis, dissidiis, bellis, latrociniiis, pestilentiiis, adeo ut plane iam caluae emissis colubris sint,* . . . *Mox ventura est tanta umbrarum*

multitudo, ut verear ne non sufficiat omnibus transmittendis . . . Tres orbis monarchas capitalibus odiis in mutuum exitium ruere, nec ullam orbis Christiani partem immunem esse a belli furis; nam tres illi reliquos omnes pertrahunt in belli consortium. Omnes esse talibus animis, ut nemo velit alteri cedere . . . moliri dira; pestilentiam ubique saevire. Ad haec novam esse luem ex opinionum varietate natam, quae sic vitia vitiosos, ut . . . frater fratri diffidat, nec uxori cum marito conveniat." Und die Pfaffen schüren nur noch den Brand, weil die Toten grösseren Vorteil bringen, als die Lebenden. ("sunt testamenta, parentalia, bullae, multa que alia non aspernanda lucra" . . . "Bellum multos gignit episcopos, qui in pace ne terencii quidem fiebant.") Dazu kommt der Aufruhr und die Klagen der Völker; "Murmurant et civitates taedio malorum: conferunt susurros populi nescio qui, dictitantes iniquum ut ob privatas iras aut ambitionem duorum triumve res humanae sursum deorsum misceantur: sed vincent, mihi crede, quamlibet recta consilia Furiae."¹ Die graphische Schilderung der politischen und kirchlichen Lage geht mit Karl und Ferdinand streng zu Gericht; bespricht ironisch Franz' I Gefangenschaft,² tadelt Karls Expansionsgelüste, ["Carolus molitur monarchiae proferre pomoeria"]: beklagt den Bankrott der Höfe und der Völker ["bulimia pecuniarum urget aulas omnes"],³ die Bauernaufstände und die Anarchie, den Zerfall der Kirche ["periculosos motus concitant agricolae,

¹ cf. *Senatulus*: "Videmus, monarchas tot iam annis nihil aliud quam beligerari; inter theologos, sacerdotes, episcopos et populum nihil convenire; quot homines, tot sententiae; et in his ipsis plus quam muliebris inconstantia."

² "Franciscus hospes est Hispaniarum, nescio quam ex ipsius animi sententia, vir certe dignus meliore fortuna." Franz' Behandlung durch Karl V findet Er. ebenso unwürdig wie Rab.: "Au cas que les autres roys et empereurs, voire qui se font nommer catholiques [mit augenscheinlicher Anspielung auf Karl V, v. Anm. 4 bei Rathéry], l'eussent miserablement traicté, durement emprisonné, et rançonné extremement, . . ."

³ Diesen Fehler fasst Rab. eben weniger tragisch auf: "Villain, disons nous, parce que un noble prince n'a jamais un sou." "Thesaurier est fait de vilain;" cf. auch Erasm. ἰππεὺς ἕμιππος: "Immo nulla est commodior via, quam debere quam plurimis," und später: "Nulli magis obaerati quam principes."

nec tot stragibus ab instituto deterrentur : populus meditatatur anarchiam : periculosis factionibus collabitur ecclesiae domus : hinc atque hinc distrahitur illa Jesu tunica inconsutilis.”¹ Ist es da ein Wunder, dass Erasmus zu der stupenden republikanischen Auffassung gelangt: “Fortasse primum fuerit, leonem in civitatem non recipere: proximum, sic auctoritate senatus, magistratum, ac civium moderari potentiam illius, ut non facile erumpat in tyrannidem (also constitutionelle Monarchie das nächstbeste). Sed omnium potissimum, dum adhuc puer est, et se principem esse nescit, sanctis praeceptis formare pectus illius.” (*Convivium Religiosum*). Das letzere ist das Mittel, das Rabelais gewählt hat, um treffliche Fürsten zu erziehen. Für ihn ist das Königtum der einzige Schutz gegen Übergriffe von innen und von aussen, Hüter der Moral,² Verteidiger des rechten Glaubens.³

Unvergleichlich ist auch bei beiden Autoren die Satire auf den Adel und solche, die sich ihrer hohen Geburt rühmen, während sie sich an Gaben des Herzens und Geistes gar nicht von der Hefe des Volkes unterscheiden; aber auch darin tritt die Satire bei Erasmus stärker hervor, der durch seinen Streit mit dem Ritter Hutten, durch die schlechte Behandlung seitens der hohen Herren, die ihn wohl eine Zeitlang liberal unterstützen, dann aber fallen liessen, vergassen, ihn so oft zu jenen beschämenden, demütigenden Lobesepisteln zwangen, während Rabelais bei den Grossen weltlichen und geistlichen Standes Schutz fand gegen die Ketzeranklagen der Sorbonne, des Parlaments, der Geistlichkeit.

Zu den Toren rechnet also Erasmus diejenigen, welche glauben aus besonderem Holz geschnitzt zu sein: “Haud

¹Über die Verwilderung der Soldateska siehe *Militis confessio* und *Miles et Carthusianus*.

²Z. B. gegen die Hazardspiele: “Vous savez comment Gargantua, mon père, par tous ses royaumes l’a defendu, bruslé avec les moules et protraicts, et du tout exterminé, supprimé et aboly, comme peste tres dangereuse.” III, 11.

³“Par toutes contrées . . . je feray prescher ton saint évangile purement, simplement, et entièrement.” II, 29.

possum istos silentio praetercurrere, qui quum nihil ab infimo cerdone differant, tamen inani nobilitatis titulo mirum quam sibi blandiuntur; alius ad Aeneam, alius ad Brutum, alius ad Arcturum genus suum refert: ostendunt undique sculptas et pictas maiorum imagines: numerant proavos atque atavos, et antiqua cognomina commemorant, quum ipsi non multum absint a muta statua . . . et tamen hac tam suavi philautia felicem prorsus vitam agunt, neque desunt aequae stulti,¹ qui hoc belluarum genus, perinde ut deos, suspiciunt."

In derselben Weise, aber ungemein witziger, behandelt Rabelais den Ahnenstolz in den Stammbäumen des Gargantua und Pantagruel mit analogen Bemerkungen über adlige und plebeische Geburt: "Pleust à Dieu qu'un chascun sceut aussi certainement sa genealogie, depuis l'arche de Noë jusques à cest aage. Je pense que plusieurs sont aujourd'hui empereurs, rois, ducs, princes, et papes, en la terre, lesquelz sont descenduz de quelques porteurs de rogatons et de costrets. Comme, au rebours, plusieurs sont gueux de l'hostiaire, souffreteux et miserables, lesquelz sont descenduz de sang et ligne de grands rois et empereurs." . . . Ja Rabelais selbst vermeint im Scherz von sehr hohen Herren abzustammen wegen seiner noblen Passionen: "Et, pour vous donner à entendre de moy, qui parle, je cuide que sois descendu de quelque riche roy, ou prince, au temps jadis. Car onques ne vistes homme qui eust plus grande affection d'estre roy et riche que moy: afin de faire grand chère, pas ne travailler, point ne me soucier, et bien enrichir mes amis, et tous gens de bien et de savoir."—Am widerwärtigsten von allen noblen Passionen der Grossen ist dem zartgesinnten Erasmus das Jagdvergnügen mit seinem verrohenden Einfluss: "Ad hunc ordinem (i. e. stultorum) pertinent et isti, qui prae venatu ferarum omnia contemnunt, atque incredibilem animi voluptatem percipere se praedicant, quoties foedum illum

¹ Der Respect der Deutschen vor dem Adel wird in *Diversoria* lächerlich gemacht: "Solos enim nobiles suae gentis habent pro hominibus, et horum insignia nusquam non ostentant;" eine Persiflage auf die alte Idee: "der Mensch fängt erst beim Baron an."

cornuum cantum audierint, quoties, canum eiulatus. . . . Deinde quae suavitas, quoties fera lanienda est! Tauros et verveces humili plebi laniare licet, feram nisi a generoso secari nefas. . . . Porro cui contigerit, e bellua nonnihil gustare, is vero existimat sibi non parum nobilitatis accedere. Itaque quum isti assidua ferarum insectatione atque esu nihil aliud assequantur, nisi ut ipsi propemodum in feras degenerent, tamen interea regiam vitam agere se putant.”¹ In die schwärzesten Farben ist aber sein Griffel getaucht bei der bitter satirischen Beschreibung des infolge von Unsittlichkeit mit einer ekelhaften Krankheit behafteten Ritters und seiner Heirat im Ἄγαμος Γάμος und im Ἰππεὺς ἄνιππος.² Hier wird spöttisch die raubritterliche Maxime ausgesprochen: “Iam illud equestre dogma semper erit tuendum, Jus fasque esse equiti, plebeium viatorem exonerare pecunia. Quid enim indignius, quam ignobilem negotiatorem abundare, nummis, quum interim eques non habeat, quod impendat scortis et aleae?” Welch’ beissende, geistreiche Satire! Ferner giebt Nestorius dem Harpalus Ratschläge, wie er sich benehmen muss, um als Ritter zu gelten:³ “Ni sis bonus aleator, probus chartarius, scortator improbus, potator strenuus, profusor audax, decoctor et conflator aeris alieni, deinde scabie ornatus Gallica, vix quisquam te credet equitem;” später: “Postremo, quum inundaverit aeris alieni magnitudo, fictis caussis alio demigra, atque inde rursus alio.”⁴ Kurz, Erasmus giebt hier ein plastisches Bild eines verlumpten, heruntergekommenen Ritters, das nur dadurch Einbusse erleidet, dass es auf den trefflichen Hutten gemünzt ist. Die Satire auf Wappen, Emblème und Farben ist bei Erasmus in

¹ Die Quelle habe ich in Brant, *NS. Absch. LXXIV*, zu erweisen versucht, cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June 1892, pp. 345–347.

² cf. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*.

³ Fast mit denselben Worten characterisirt Erasm. den Ritter in *De Rebus ac Vocabulis*: “Si nihil bonae rei gerat, si splendide vestiatur, si incedat annulatus, si gnaviter scortetur, si aleam ludat assidue, si certet chartis, si computationibus aetatem absumat, si nihil loquatur plebeium, sed arces, pugnas, ac bella mera crepet.” . . .

⁴ Deutliche Auspielungen auf seinen Feind, den edlen Ulrich von Hutten u. dessen Wandertrieb.

demselben Colloquium (Ἰππεὺς ἀνιππος) ebenso witzig behandelt, wie bei Rabelais¹ (I, 9 u. 10). Nestorius empfiehlt dem Harpalus als Wappen drei goldene Gänseköpfe in rotem Felde, denn er wird, wenn er auch nicht im Kriege gewesen, dem Bauern etliche Gänse geköpft haben, und auf dem Helm einen schwarzen Hundskopf, und dabei mag er sich einen Harpalus, Gauch von Gauchberg-Goldenfels, nennen (“Ergo sis Harpalus eques ab aurea rupe”). Die Symbolik der Farben verspottet Rabelais doch gewiss in der Erklärung, weshalb der Löwe, der doch mit seinem blossen Gebrüll alle Tiere erschreckt, sich einzig und allein vor dem weissen Hahn fürchtet (I, 10), und weshalb die Franzosen² gern weisse Federn auf ihren Hüten tragen.

Die Päbste.

Über die historischen Beziehungen des Erasmus zu den Päbsten seiner Zeit hat Karl Hartfelder eine eingehende Studie geliefert.³ Es erübrigt sich somit, eine eingehende Wiederholung des Gegenstandes, und es kommt nur darauf an, die Sinnesart des grossen Humanisten mit der des Rabelais hinsichtlich des Pabsttums zu vergleichen. Wie bereits angedeutet, sind beide Männer in ihren Conflicten mit ihrem geistlichen Stande und ihren geistlichen Behörden von den Päbsten ihrer Zeit geradezu gerettet worden. Das begründet denn auch natürlich das demütige, achtungsvolle Entgegenkommen der Supplicanten in ihren Bittgesuchen, und Erasmus hat besonders Leo II (1513–1521) Huldigungen, ja sogar Schmeicheleien entge-

¹Schon I, 8 erwähnt Rab. den Ring als Emblème des Adels: “Pour ses anneaux (lesquelz voulut son pere qu’il portast pour renouveler le signe antique de noblesse).” . . .

²C’est la cause pour quoi *Gali* (ce sont les François, ainsi appellés parce que blancs sont naturellement comme laict, que les Grecs nomment *Gala*) volontiers portent plumes blanches sus leurs bonnetz. Car, par nature, ilz sont joyeux, candides, gracieux et bien amés; et, pour leur symbole et enseigne, ont la fleur plus que nulle autre blanche, c’est le lys.

³*Hist. Taschenbuch* v. Wilh. Maurenbrecher, VI, Folge, 11, Jahrg.

gebracht, die das Maass des Statthaften weit überschritten, wenn er z. B. den Pabst so unendlich hoch über die gewöhnlichen Sterblichen stellt, wie diese über die Tiere, mögen auch manche Floskeln nur rhetorisch sein, wie: "Utinam liceat vere beatissimis istis advolutum pedibus oscula figere."

Sonst aber hat Erasmus, wie unzählige Stellen in seinen Schriften beweisen, seinem Freimut und seiner wahren Herzensüberzeugung in Ernst und Satire die Zügel schiessen lassen, und kaum irgendwo ist die Analogie der Satire bei ihm und Rabelais so vollkommen, wie in der Pabstfrage und der Behandlung der Geistlichkeit überhaupt. Die kleinen Historien und Anekdoten von persönlichen Spässen, die sich Rabelais mit Clemens VII u. Paul III¹ erlaubt haben soll, hat Rathéry in seiner Notiz glücklich und effectiv abgethan. Aber auch er hat im Ernst,² aber unendlich öfter in der Satire das Pabstum einer schneidenden Kritik unterworfen.

Zunächst wendet sich Erasmus gegen die Infallibilität des Pabstes und die übermässige, beinah göttliche Verehrung, die ihm das Volk angedeihen lässt: "Nam et in pontificem, ut hominem, cadit ignorantia personae factive;"³ und wieder: "Impium est, honores soli Deo debitos transferre in homines, et dum impense reveremur hominem, parum revereri Deum;" und ebenso Praef. *E. M.*: "Porro nonnullos adeo praepostere religiosos videas, ut vel gravissima in Christum convicia ferant citius, quam pontificem aut principem levissimo ioco aspergi; praesertim si quid πρὸς τὰ ἀλφίτα attinet." Diesen selben Gedanken führt Rabelais in äusserst witziger, drastischer Weise aus in IV, 48, wo der Eifer für den Pabst in Raserei ausartet, der Pabst als "l'Unique," "celuy qui est,"⁴ "Dieu en terre,"⁵

¹ v. Jacob, *Notice*, pp. 26-27, p. 38.

² v. Jacob, *Notice*, 38-39 und Anm. 1: Lettres VI et XV à l'évêque de Maillezais. Panurge's Worte enthalten eine Anspielung auf das unsittliche Leben mancher Päbste jener Zeit II, 17.

³ Ἰχθυοφαγία.

⁴ "Ich bin, der Ich bin." Exodus, III, 14.

⁵ Die Erwartung der Ankunft dieses Dieu de bien en terre in dem Lande der Papimanen wird von Rab. zu einem bitter satirischen Schlag gegen das

bezeichnet wird, und der Fusskuss Gelegenheit zu einer scherzhaften Obscoenität bietet.

Die zerschmetternde Satire auf Päbste und Cardinäle folgt der zerschmetternden Satire auf Fürsten und Grosse im *Lob der Narrheit*: "Ac principum quidem institutum summi pontifices, cardinales et episcopi iam pridem gnaviter aemulantur ac prope superant." (Und das will nach der Darstellung des principum institutum in den grellsten Farben viel sagen!) Nachdem er sodann ihre Pflichten dargelegt, zeigt er den Contrast ihrer Handlungsweise. Und wenn die Päbste dem Leben Christi nacheiferten, wie unendlich entsagungsvoll wäre dann auch das ihrige! Wer möchte dann jene Würde mit allen Mitteln zu erwerben suchen, und wenn er sie erworben hat, dieselbe mit Dolch und Gift und allen möglichen Gewaltmitteln zu erhalten suchen? Aber wie sieht es jetzt aus? Die Mühen und Beschwerden überlassen sie dem heiligen Peter und Paul, die genug Musse dazu haben; den Glanz und Genuss aber nehmen sie für sich in Anspruch. In Weichlichkeit und Sorglosigkeit bringen sie ihr Leben zu und meinen sich mit Christus reichlich abzufinden, wenn sie die Rolle eines Seelsorgers in wunderbarem, fast theatralischem Aufzuge spielen, wobei es mit den Titeln: "Gottbegnadigter," "Hochwürdigster," "Allerheiligster" und mit Segen und Fluch fürwahr nicht sparsam hergehen darf. Es ist veraltet und unzeitgemäss, Wunder zu thun, die Belehrung des Volkes ist zu ermüdend, die Erläuterung der heiligen Schrift gilt als Schulfuchseriei, Beten als zeitraubend, die Thräne der Barmherzigkeit als niedrig und weibisch, Armut als gemein, sich rühren lassen als schmähhlich und unwürdig eines Mannes, der kaum den mächtigsten Königen gestattet, seinen gebenedeiten Fuss zu küssen, sterben endlich ist widerwärtig, und ans Kreuz geschlagen

Ablässwesen benutzt: "O l'heureuse et désirée et tant attendue journée! Et vous heureux et bienheureux qui tant avez eu les astres favorables, que avez vivement en face veu et realement celuy bon Dieu en terre, duquel voyant seulement le portraict, *pleine remission gaignons de tous nos pechés memorables: ensemble la tierce partie, avec dix huit quarantaines des pechés oubliés!*" Cf. dabei Anm. 1, bei Rathéry.

werden, gilt als Schmach. Es bleiben ihnen als Waffen nur jene "süssen Segensprüche," von denen Paulus spricht, ferner das Interdikt, die Amtsentsetzung, die Drohung mit dem Bann, die verschärfte Androhung des Bannes, die Verketzerungen, die Schreckbilder und schliesslich jener fürchterliche Blitzstrahl, kraft dessen sie durch einen einzigen Wink die Seelen der Sterblichen mit so reissendem Schwunge in den Tartarus schleudern, dass sie sogar manchmal auf der andern Seite wieder hinausfliegen . . . Ländereien, Städte, Abgaben, Zölle und Güter¹ gehören ihnen als das Erbe Petri, der doch alles verlassen, um Christo zu folgen. Mit Feuer und Schwert kämpfen sie zur Wahrung dieses reichen Besitzes und vergiessen Ströme christlichen Blutes, führen die Sache Christi mit dem Schwerte, als wäre der Heiland zum Schutze und zur Verteidigung der Seinen nicht mehr da. (Sodann folgt eine Definition der Greuel des Krieges, wie sie plastischer und graphischer wohl nie gegeben worden ist.) Aber trotzdem der Krieg etwas so Grausames ist, dass er sich eher für wilde Tiere als für Menschen eignet, so lassen doch einige von den höchsten Priestern alles Andere ausser Acht und widmen sich einzig und allein dem Kriege.

Den Pabst Julius satirisirt Erasmus ausdrücklich im *Coll. Senile*, wo er Eusebius und Pampirus redend einführt: "Itane religionem vena-

Analoge Satire auf Alexander VI und bes. den kriegerischen Julius II: "Il me semble que ce portraict (nämlich das eines Friedenspapstes à la tiare,

¹ Die Habsucht und der Geldgeiz des römischen Hofes jener Zeit wird von Rabelais ebenfalls oft angegriffen, z. B. III, 42:

Roma manus rodit, quas rodere non valet, odit.

Dantes custodit, non dantes spernit et odit;

glossa canonica :

Accipe, sume, cape, sunt verba placentia papae.

Die Käuflichkeit und Bestechlichkeit wird II, 30 angedeutet, wo Rabelais den Historiker und Pabstfeind Jean le Maire einführt, "qui contrefaisait du pape, et à tous ces pauvres rois et papes de ce monde faisoit baiser ses pieds; et, en faisant du grobis, leur donnoit sa benediction, disant: Gaignez les pardons, coquins, gaignez, *ilz sont à bon marché*. Je vous absouls de pain et de soupe [blasphemische Travestie für de peine et de coulpe]. . ."

baris in bello? quo quid esse potest sceleratius?" "Erat sancta militia." "Fortassis in Turcas?" "Imo sanctius quiddam, ut tum quidem praedicabant." "Quidnam?" "Julius Secundus belligerabatur adversus Gallos."(!) Über denselben Pabst äussert sich Erasmus am Schluss seiner Einleitung zu einigen von ihm übersetzten Lucian-Dialogen: "In praesentia quidem in Italia mire frigent studia, fervent bella. Summus Pontifex Julius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, planeque Julium agit." Nisard¹ giebt ein treffliches Stimmungsbild des Erasmus, als er wenige Tage vor dem Einzuge Julius' II, des Siegers der Romagna, nach Bologna kam: "Mêlé à la foule du peuple qui battait des mains 'au destructeur des tyrans,' il dut sourire amèrement à l'aspect de cette papauté bottée et éperonnée, donnant à baiser aux populations stupides ses pieds blanchis par la poussière des champs de bataille, brandissant l'épée enguise des clés de St.-Pierre, et poussant son cheval sur les brèches des murailles renversées pour lui faire honneur. J'aime à me le représenter, dans la grande rue de Bologne, adossé contre une muraille, enveloppé dans ses fourrures, la figure légèrement ironique, regardant passer le cortège, et méditant ses prudentes critiques contre la papauté belliqueuse, dont ses adversaires devaient faire plus tard des hérésies dignes du feu. Cette entrée lui inspira de belles pages sur l'amour de la paix.

à l'aumusse, au rochet, à la pantoufle) fault (i. e. est fautif) en nos derniers papes. Car je les ay veu non aumusse, ains armet en teste porter, thymbré d'une tiare Persicque. Et tout l'empire estant en paix et silence, eux seulz guerre faire felonnie et très cruelle." "Ja, das ist sehr entschuldbar, meint der Papimane Homenaz, *c'estoit contre les rebelles, hereticques, protestans desesperés, non obeissans à la sainteté de ce bon Dieu enterre. Cela luy est non seulement permis et licite, mais commandé par les sacres Decretales, et doibt à feu incontinent empereurs, rois, ducs, princes, republicques et à sang mettre qu'ilz transgresseront un iota de ses mandemens: les spolier de leurs biens, les deposseder de leurs royaumes, les proscrire, les anathematiser, et non seulement leurs corps, et de leurs enfans et parens autres occire, mais aussi leurs anes damner au parfond de la plus ardente chaudiere qui soit en enfer.*" Diese bittere Satire wird durch die unehrlich gemeinte Zustimmung des Heuchlers Panurge, der ja vorhin die Bemerkung gegen die blutgierigen letzten Päbste gemacht, nur noch verschärft: "Jci ne sont ilz hereticques comme fut Raminagrobis, et comme ilz sont parmi les Allemaignes, et Angleterre. Ihr seid die wahren, erprobten Christen!" Als Raminagrobis die Mönche wie zudringliche Kötter von seinem Sterbelager scheuchte, übernahm Panurge, der nicht ernst zu nehmen und ein compromittirender Anwalt ist, etwa wie Sganarelle im Don Juan des Molière, mit rechtgläubigem Pathos die Verteidigung der "guten geistlichen Brüder."

¹ Erasme, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1835, vol. 3.

Während aber Erasmus seine Satire direkt gegen die schlechten Päbste richtet, gestaltet Rabelais die seinige noch viel wirkungsvoller durch die überaus witzige und geistreiche ironische Lobrede auf die Decretalen der Päbste, die er dem pabsttollen Homenaz¹ in den Mund legt; nebenbei führt er einen Schlag gegen den Peterpfennig² und seine Verwendung und gegen die Kraft der Decretalen, "die jedes Jahr mehr als 400,000 Dukaten aus Frankreich nach Rom ziehen." "Qui fait et journellement augmente en abondance de tous biens temporelz, corporelz, et spirituelz le fameux et celebre patrimoine de saint Pierre? *Saintes Decretales*. Qui fait le saint Siege apostolique en Rome de tout temps et aujourd'hui tant redoutable en l'univers, que tous rois, empereurs, potentats et seigneurs pendent de luy, tiennent de luy, par luy soient couronnés, confirmés, autorisés, viennent là boucquer et se prosterner à la mirifique pantoufle, de laquelle avez veu le protraict? *Belles Decretales de Dieu*." Und nun enthüllt Homenaz ein Geheimnis: "Ce sont les Decretales, sans lesquelles periroient les privileges de toutes Universités."³ In demselben Kapitel legt Rabelais dem Homenaz den furchtbaren Fluch in den Mund gegen diese "meschans heretiques Decretalifuges, Decretalicides, pires qu'homicides, pires que parricides, decretalictones (*κτείνω*) du diable."

Satire auf das Klosterwesen und Mönchstum, den Aberglauben und unbiblische Satzungen.

Ein ungeheures Feld, ein wahrer embarras de richesse bietet sich bei der Durchsicht und Prüfung der Werke unserer Autoren zum Zweck ihrer in fast allen Stücken analogen Anschauung, Gesinnung und Überzeugung hinsichtlich der geist-

¹ Honorat, *Dict. de la langue d'oc*, "grand et vilain homme, hommasse."

² "Sortans du temple, ilz apporterent à Homenaz leurs bassins tous pleins de monnoye papimanicque . . .," um gut zu essen und gut zu trinken, "suivant une mirifique glosse cachée en un certain coignet de leurs saintes Decretates," IV, 51.

³ IV, 53. v. Anm. 7 bei Rathéry.

lichen und kirchlichen Zustände ihrer vielbewegten Zeit. Beide sind, jeder in seiner Art, geistige Führer: eine neue Weltanschauung, ein neues Lebensideal des Humanismus und der Humanität leuchtet aus ihren Werken hervor. "Die Kirche hatte bisher das Denken durch ihre Dienerin, die Scholastik, in Zucht und Banden gehalten, den Sinn für das Schöne suchte sie nur aus ihren eigenen Schätzen zu nähren und erdrückte ihn lieber, als dass sie ihn aus den Literaturschätzen der klassischen Vergangenheit, die nicht ihre eigne war, bereichert hätte. Die Werke der Klassik, die wir freilich den Klosterbrüdern verdanken, so weit sie sie uns eben erhalten wollten, wurden nach einem bestimmten Zweck zugeschnitten, nach Belieben verkürzt oder erweitert, verchristlicht und verstümmelt. Dasselbe Dasein, welches die klassischen Bücher in den Klöstern geführt, lebte ihr Inhalt in den Geistern, oft genug waren sie nur ein Spiel in den Händen der Geistlichen der vorhumanistischen Zeit. Die Individualität des einzelnen Menschen wurde unterdrückt, Jeder musste sich als Glied in der Kette der kirchlichen Systematik unterordnen, und erst mit dem Erbleichen der kirchlichen Sonne trat das Mondlicht des klassischen Heidentums, welches lange von ihr überstrahlt worden, mit seiner ewigjungen Schönheit wieder hervor." In den allerersten, allergrössten Original- und Individualkräften jener an grossen Männern so reichen Zeit des Humanismus und der Renaissance aber, die das Erbe der klassischen Nationen antraten, das Kloster und die geistliche Zucht verliessen, Kutte und Messgewandt von sich warfen und mit einer neuen und selbstständigen Bildung gegen die Scholastik, den klösterlichen Zwang, veraltete und verrottete Schäden des geistig siech gewordenen Mittelalters in die Schranken traten, gehören die grossen Gesinnungsgenossen und Wahlverwandten Erasmus und Rabelais. Beide lehnen sich gegen die verzehrende Dictatur der Kirche und der Scholastik, wie überhaupt gegen jeden geistigen Zwang¹ auf und suchen den wüsten Schlackenhaufen,

¹"Parce que gens libres, bien nés, bien instruits, conversans en compagnies honnestes, ont par nature un instinct et aiguillon qui tousjours les

der von der scholastischen Methode zusammengehäuft war, als völlig unnütz und schädlich ohne Schonung wegzuräumen. So ist auch die Methode beider zuerst negativ, bevor sie positiv sein kann. Erst nachdem er das alte Kloster durch seine Satire vernichtet, kann Rabelais das Ideal eines solchen geben, wie es sein sollte; erst nachdem er die schmähhchen, hässlichen Früchte des scholastischen Unterrichts bei dem jungen Gargantua dargethan, giebt er den Contrast als Resultat einer vernünftigen humanistischen Erziehung.

In seinem berühmten Roman *Les Misérables* (II, 300 u. 304) spricht sich Victor Hugo über das Kloster- und Mönchstum folgendermaassen aus: "Au point de vue de l'histoire, de la raison et de la vérité, le monachisme est condamné. Les monastères, quand ils abondent chez une nation, sont des noeuds à la circulation, des établissements encombrants, des centres de paresse où il faut des centres de travail. Le monachisme, tel qu'il existait en Espagne et tel qu'il existe au Thibet, est pour la civilisation une sorte de phthisie. Il arrête net la vie. Il dépeuple tout simplement. Clausturation, Castration. Il a été le fléau en Europe. Ajoutez à cela la violence si souvent faite à la conscience, les vocations forcées, la féodalité s'appuyant au cloître, l'aïnesse . . . enterrement des âmes toutes vives. . . Superstitions, bigotismes, cagotismes, préjugés, ces larves, toutes larves qu'elles sont, sont tenaces à la vie; elles ont des dents et des ongles dans leur fumée; et il faut les étreindre corps à corps, et leur faire la guerre et la leur faire sans trêve; car c'est une des fatalités de l'humanité d'être condamnée à l'éternel combat des fantômes. L'ombre est difficile à prendre à la gorge et à terrasser. Un couvent en France, en plein midi du dix-neuvième

pousse à faits vertueux, et retire de vice: lequel ilz nommoient honneur. Iceux, quand par vile subjection et contraincte sont deprimés et asservis, detournent la noble affection par laquelle à vertu franchement tendoient, à deposer et enfreindre ce joug de servitude. Car nous entreprenons tous-jours choses defendues et convoitons ce que nous est denié." [ruimus in veritum], (*Oeuvres*, I, 57).

siècle, est un collège de hiboux faisant face au jour. Un cloître en flagrant délit d'ascétisme, c'est un anachronisme. Combattons !”

Diese modernisirte Auffassung des Kloster- und Mönchswesens findet sich Punkt für Punkt bei unseren Autoren, und auch den Schlachtruf haben beide Männer vor mehr als drei und ein halb Jahrhunderten in einer Weise befolgt, die sie gar oft an den stets brennenden Scheiterhaufen streifen liess. Die tragische Beschreibung des Klosterlebens findet sich oft genug bei Erasmus ebenso tragisch, oft aber auch bitter satirisch und mit höhnischer Ironie behandelt, man begreift wohl aus den Schilderungen des letzteren und den eigenen Klostererlebnissen des Rabelais, wie derselbe zu *seiner* Idee eines Klosters gekommen ist, wie er sie am Ende seines ersten Buches ausgeführt hat. Man kann hier Zug für Zug die Schrecken des Klosterlebens und die Mittel für die Abhilfe all der Übel bei Rabelais in seinem Idealbilde eines Klosters verfolgen. Die Wege und Methoden der drei genialen Männer sind verschieden, der Geist ist derselbe. Erasmus malt, wie Hugo, mit den dunklen Farben der traurigen Wahrheit, der letztere malt den Contrast, das Widerspiel des Klosterlebens seiner Zeit—ein fideles Gefängnis—mit feinem Humor und Lachen. Aber der Schrecken vor dem Schmachten im Kloster und der Widerwillen gegen die alten Erinnerungen malen sich sattsam aus den Darstellungen *ex contrario*.

Erasmus wendet sich gleichermaassen gegen den Schmutz mancher Klöster und besonders Klosterschulen wie gegen den verschwenderischen unkirchlichen Luxus anderer. Erasmus identificirt sich wohl mit Salsamentarius in der *Ἰχθυοφαγία*, wenn er denselben sagen lässt: “Ante annos triginta vixi Lutetiae in collegio, cui cognomen ab aceto [collegium Montis acuti, Montaigne]. Ego tamen (quamquam parietes ipsi mentem habent theologicam) praeter corpus pessimis infectum humoribus et pediculorum largissimam copiam nihil illinc extuli.” Dies, die Härte der Klosterregeln und die urteilslose Behandlung und perverse Erziehung konnte oder musste wohl Resultate zeitigen,

wie er sie weiter angiebt: "In eo collegio tum regnabat Joannes Standoneus, vir in quo non damnasses affectum, sed iudicium omnino desiderasses. . . Quod rem aggressus est cubitu tam duro, victu tam aspero parcoque, vigiliis ac laboribus tam gravibus, ut intra annum prima experientia multos iuvenes, felici indole praeditos, ac spem amplissimam prae se ferentes, alios neci dederit, alios caecitati, alios dementiae, nonnullos et leprae, . . . Nec his contentus addidit pallium et cucullam, ademit in totum esum carniarum. . . Ceterum in morbos, in delirationem, in mortem his rebus impellere fratrem crudelitas est, parricidium est, etc. etc."¹ Und solche Klöster finde man überall in Hülle und Fülle: "Mihi vix contigit ullum ingredi monasterium Carthusianorum, quin illic offenderim unum atque alterum aut simpliciter mente captum, aut delirantem."

Gegen ebendasselbe Kloster Montaigu hat Rabelais seine Philippika (I, 37) gerichtet: "Dea, mon bon filz, sagt Grandgousier zu seinem Sohn, nous as tu apporté jusques ici des esparviers de Montagu?"² Je n'entendois que là tu fisses residence." Dagegen verwahrt sich Ponocrates emphatisch: "Seigneur, ne pensez pas que je l'aye mis au colliege de pouillierie qu'on nomme Montagu: mieulx l'enusse voulu mettre entre les guenaux de Saint Innocent, pour l'énorme cruaulté et villenie que j'y ay cogneu. . . . Et, si j'estois roy de Paris, le diable m'emport si je ne mettois le feu dedans, et faisois brusler et principal et regens, qui endurent ceste inhumanité devant leurs yeulx estre exercée." Auch sonst greift er die Klöster bitter an: ". . . P'on les [i. e. les moines] rejette en leur retraicts; ce sont leurs convents et abbayes, séparés de conversation politicque, comme sont les retraicts d'une maison." (I, 40.)

Mit derselben Schärfe jedoch, mit der Erasmus die "Läuseschule" und andere Institute der Art angreift, wendet er sich wider den unkirchlichen Luxus, der an manchen Klöstern

¹ Cf. Birch-H. I, 232-233 (Anm.).

² v. Anm. 5 bei Rathéry.

gang und gäbe war,¹ während ringsumher das Land verarmte: "Unde mihi videntur vix excusari posse a peccato capitali, qui sumptibus immodicis aut exstruunt aut ornant monasteria seu templa, quum interim tot viva Christi templa fame periclitentur, nuditate horreant, rerumque necessariarum inopia discrucientur. Quum essem apud Britannos, vidi tumbam divi Thomae gemmis innumeris summique pretii onustam, praeter alia miracula divitiarum. Ego malim ista, quae superflua sunt, elargiri in usus pauperum, quam servare satrapis aliquando semel omnia disrepturis; ac tumbam ornare frondibus ac flosculis: id opinor gratius esset illi sanctissimo viro. . . . Quorsum autem attinebat tantum pecuniarum effundere, ut pauci monachi solitarii canerent in templo marmoreo?". . . (*Convivium Religiosum*); und fast analog ist derselbe Gedanke in *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo* ausgedrückt: "Mihi nonnunquam serio venit in mentem, quo colore possint excusari a crimine, qui tantum opum insumunt templis exstruendis, ornandis, locupletandis, ut nullus omnino sit modus. Fateor, in sacris vestibus, in vasis templi, deberi cultui sollemni suam dignitatem: volo et structuram habere maiestatem suam. Sed quorsum attinent tot baptisteria, tot candelabra, tot statuæ aureæ? . . . quorsum ille musicus hinnitus, magno censu conducendus, quum interim fratres et sorores nostræ vivaque Christi

¹"Quid igitur dicemus de tot monasteriis Conventualium, qui pecunias habent, qui potant, ludunt aleam, scortantur, et palam alunt domi concubinas, ne plura commemorem" (*Exequiæ Seraphicæ*).—Luxus und Habsucht sind Zwillingslaster, das letztere war notwendig, um dem ersteren zu fröhnen. Ämterschleicherei und Bestechung waren an der Tagesordnung: "Redis igitur nobis onustus sacerdotiis?" "Venatus equidem sum sedulo: at parum favit Delia. Nam complures illic piscantur hamo, quod dici solet, aureo" (*Coll. de Captandis Sacerdotiis*); und ähnlich im *Coll. Senile* mit scharfer Satire: "Nihil religiosius(!) ordinibus Mendicantium; et tamen nihil similis negotiationi. Volitant per omnes terras ac maria, multa vident, multa audiunt: penetrant omnes domos plebeiorum, nobilium, atque regum. At non cauponantur. Sæpe nobis felicius!" Im *Convivium Religiosum* sagt Timotheus: "Ich meine die Geistlichen und Mönche, welche um des Gewinnes willen im dichtesten Gedränge der Städte weilen wollen, indem dort der Gewinn zu finden sei, wo das Volk sei."

templa siti fameque contabescant?"¹ Hier steht scheinbar Rabelais in direktem Gegensatz zu seinem Meister, denn sein Idealkloster Thelema ist ja ein architektonischer Prachtbau, ausgestattet mit allen Werken der Bildhauerkunst und Malerei.² Aber sein Kloster ist ja kein Kloster im gewöhnlichen Sinne mehr, sondern ein Musensitz, "ein Menschheitsideal, das erreicht wird in der freien Ausübung eines durch gute Erziehung geregelten Willens," ein humanistisches Phantasiegebilde aus der Renaissance.

Hat indes Rabelais durch die Thatsache selbst, dass er von seiner frühesten Jugend an sich den Klosterregeln nicht anpassen konnte,³ sondern stets mit ihnen in Conflict geriet, von welchem Orden sie auch immer ausgingen, dass er das Klosterleben mit seinen vielen Lastern und Nachteilen für die Erziehung und Bildung unzählige Male angriff und verspottete, den indirecten Beweis gegen den Eintritt in das Kloster erbracht, so ist Erasmus direct und positiv dagegen aufgetreten. In seiner Verteidigungsschrift *De Colloquiorum Utilitate* sagt er deutlich mit Beziehung auf den unvernünftigen Einfluss, der geübt wurde, um Unmündige, die den Schritt noch nicht ermes- sen konnten, zu veranlassen, das Klosterkleid anzunehmen: ". . . detestor eos, qui adolescentes aut puellas invitibus pelliciunt in monasterium, abutentes illorum vel simplicitate vel superstitione; persuadentes eis non esse spem salutis extra monasteria. Nisi talibus piscatoribus plenus esset mundus: nisi innumera felicissima ingenia per istos infelicissime sepelirentur ac defoderentur viva, quae fuissent electa vasa

¹ In gleichem Sinne predigt der ehemalige Franciscanermönch Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, ein starker Anhänger Luthers, gegen den Luxus der Kirchen, während das Land daran verarme. Janssen, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, vol. II, 184.

² Birch-H. I, 272-273 u. Anm.

³ Il avait commencé par être moine et moine "Cordelier. Le sérieux et l'élevation de ses goûts, la liberté naturelle et généreuse de ses inclinations le rendirent bientôt un objet déplacé dans un couvent de cet Ordre, en cet âge de décadence. Il en sortit, essaya d'un autre Ordre moins méprisable, de celui des Bénédictins, mais ne put s'en accomoder davantage." Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*.

domini, si iudicio sumpsissent institutum naturae congruens." Im *Coll. Militis et Carthusiani* sagt der Soldat zu dem Karthäuser: "War denn kein Arzt da, den du dein Hirn hättest prüfen lassen können, bevor du dich kopfüber in eine solche Slaverei stürztest? Wozu war es nötig, dich vorzeitig zu begraben, da du genügende Mittel hattest, um bequem in der Welt zu leben? Dort bist du wie in eine Höhle eingeschlossen: fügst du nun noch die Tonsur, das Mönchsgewand, die Einsamkeit, den beständigen Fischgenuss hinzu, so ist es nicht zu verwundern, wenn du selbst in einen Fisch verwandelt wirst. . . . Ich zweifle nicht, dass es dich schon längst reut, in das Kloster eingetreten zu sein; denn ich kenne wenige, die nicht die Reue erfasst." Besonders aber behandelt er diesen wunden Punkt in der *Virgo Misogamos* und in der *Pietas Puerilis*. Es liege eine grosse Gefahr für die Sittlichkeit in dem Kloster. Sicherer seien die Jungfrauen bei den Eltern als dort (*quam apud illos crassos, semper cibo distentos monachos*). Der Abt sei ein wahnsinniger Säufer, Pater Johannes besitze nicht einen Funken Bildung und nicht viel mehr gesunden Verstand, Pater Iodocus ist so dumm, dass er, wenn nicht das heilige Gewand ihn empfähle, in der Narrenkappe mit Schellen und Eselsohren öffentlich herumlaufen würde. . . . Auch finden sich im Kloster mehr Jungfrauen, die den Sitten der Sappho nachleben, als solche, die ihren Geist widerspiegeln. Daher will sich der weise Jüngling, den Erasmus in *Piet. Puer.* als Muster anführt, nicht in die Klosterhaft begeben, obgleich man ihn sehr dazu gedrängt hat: "*crebro sollicitatus sum a quibusdam, ab hoc seculo, velut a naufragio, ad portum monasteriorum vocantibus. Sed mihi stat sententia, non addicere me vel sacerdotio, vel instituto monachorum, unde post me non queam extricare, priusquam mihi fuero pulchre notus.*"¹

¹Eine reiche Zusammenstellung von Aussprüchen des Erasmus über Mönchstum und Klosterwesen bei Stichart, *Er. v. Rotterdam*. Seine Stellung zu der Kirche und zu den kirchl. Bewegungen seiner Zeit. Leipzig, 1870, pp. 92-119.

Es genügt, die Inschrift über dem Eingangstor zum Kloster Thelema genau durchzulesen und die Elemente, die Rabelais ausgeschossen haben will, genau zu verstehen,¹ um zu finden, dass die Auffassung des Erasmus und Rabelais über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Klöster ihrer Zeit völlig identisch war.

Um uns nicht auf dem weiten Meer der tausendgestaltigen Satire gegen die Mönche und die ausschliesslich scholastisch gebildeten Theologen bei Erasmus und Rabelais zu verlieren, müssen wir uns auf einige Hauptzüge beschränken, die besonders hervorstechend sind, und die ihrem Geist, oft auch ihrer Form nach die directe Beziehung und Anlehnung Rabelais' an seinen Meister erweisen; Vollständigkeit der Würdigung der unzähligen Aussprüche unserer Meister, die mit einem ungeheuren Wissen ausgestattet aus dem Vollen schöpfend gegen eine versinkende Zeit ihre Pfeile schärften, wird nicht einmal für möglich gehalten, viel weniger versucht.

Nachdem Erasmus in der *Inquisitio de Fide* sein Glaubensbekenntnis abgelegt ("summam catholicae professionis, idque aliquanto vividius ac liquidius, quam docent theologi quidam magni nominis, inter quos pono et Gersonem"), und auch sonst auf einem gereinigten, vernunftbegründeten Gottesglauben seine Ethik beruhen lässt, nachdem auch Rabelais sein Evangelium von Gott und Menschenliebe verkündet ["que Dieu ne doit estre adoré en façon vulgaire, mais en façon esleue et religieuse"], steht beiden Männern nun das weite Feld des in Aberglauben, Stumpfheit und scholastische Tüftelei ausgearteten wahren, echten Christentums zur Satire, zum Angriff offen.

Schuld an dem Untergange wahrer Frömmigkeit sind aber die, welche die Hüter derselben sein sollten: Sunt homunculi quidam, infimae quidem sortis, sed tamen malitiosi, non minus atri quam scarabaei, neque minus putidi, neque minus abiecti; qui tamen pertinaci quadam ingenii malitia, cum nulli omnino mortalium prodesse possint, magnis etiam viris facessunt nego-

¹ V. die Würdigung des Klosters Thelema bei Birch-H. I, 236-239.

tium. Territant nigrore, obstrepunt stridore, obturbant foetore; circumvolitant, haerent, insidiantur, ut non paullo satius sit cum magnis aliquando viris simultatem suscipere, quam hos lacescere scarabaeos,¹ quos pudeat etiam vicisse, quosque nec excutere possis, neque conflictari cum illis queas, nisi discedas contaminatiores (*Adagia*, Chil. III cent VII, 1). Ungefähr dieselben Züge legt Rabelais den unglücklichen Opfern seiner Satire bei und verschärft den Gegensatz nur noch mehr durch das Gegenbild, den braven, resoluten, lustigen Bruder Jean des Entommeures mit seinen Tugenden der Nächstenliebe und ewiger nützlicher Thätigkeit. (*Oeuvres*, I, 40; cf. Birch-H. I, 234–236). Die „Gastrolatres“ (*Oeuvres*, IV, 58), die Bauchfröhner oder Magenanbieter,² „tous ocieux, rien ne faisans, point ne travaillans, poids et charge inutile de la terre; craignant le Ventre offenser et emmaigrir,“ die den Gaster als ihren einzigen Gott anbeten, verraten sich leicht unter ihrer durchsichtigen Maske; gegen diese sprichwörtliche Faulheit der Mönche jener Zeit erhebt Erasmus sein „otium ceu pestem quandam fugio“ (*Piet. Puer.*) zum Princip.

Den breitesten Raum nimmt jedoch bei Erasmus wie Rabelais die Satire auf die Unwissenheit, Bildungsfeindschaft und den scholastischen Dünkel der Mönche jener Zeit ein. Wir haben bei dem kurzen Abriss der Biographien beider Humanisten gesehen, wie die Klassik in den Klosterschulen in völlige Barbarei ausgeartet war, die Erziehung etwa in der Weise gehandhabt wurde, wie sie Rabelais beschreibt, und deren Gehalt darin bestand, „à entendre les cloches du monastère, les beaux preschans et les beaux répons des religieux, à voir de belles processions et à ne rien faire, en passant le temps, comme les petits

¹ Die mönchische Rachsucht erwähnt Erasm. in *Exequiae Seraphicae*: „Tutius esse regem quemlibet potentem laedere, quam quemlibet ex ordine Franciscanorum aut Dominicanorum.“

² „Vides ós κάκιστον θηρίον έστιν ή γαστήρ“ sagt Erasm. in *Concio sive M.* mit Beziehung auf die Mönche. „Ad edendum et bibendum plus quam viri estis, ad laborandum nec manus habetis, nec pedes.“ Πτωχοπλούσιοι *Franciscani*.

enfants du pays, c'est à savoir à boire, manger et dormir etc.," wie der junge Gargantua unter den Sophisten und Scholastikern in seiner Erziehung herunterkommt ("il se conduit déjà comme le plus cancre et le plus glouton des moines de ce temps-là," Sainte-Beuve, *Caus.*), wie Erasmus den Tod oder Wahnsinn als Resultat der klösterlichen Zucht angiebt.

Viele Äusserungen des Erasmus und Rabelais¹ bestätigen denn auch den Stand der Bildung der entarteten Pfaffen: "Nihil aliud video caussae, nisi quod multi theologi neglexerint et linguarum peritiam, et Latini sermonis studium, una cum priscis ecclesiae doctoribus, qui sine hisce praesidiis ad plenum intelligi non queant: praeterea quod difficillimum sit revellere, si quid penitus insederit animo. Porro videas quosdam tantum *scholasticis placitis* tribuere, ut malint ad ea detorquere scripturam, quam ad scripturae regulam opiniones humanas corrigere" (*Concio sive M.*); und weiter: "Non dererunt a puero operam litteris; nec est illis praeceptorum aut librorum copia, et si quid istiusmodi facultatis obtigit, malunt abdomini impendere. Sacrosanctam illam vestem² existimant abunde sufficere et ad pietatis et ad eruditionis opinionem. Postremo putant nonnullam esse religionis partem, si cum suo Francisco ne Latine quidem loqui sciant. . . ."

¹ Die Hauptstellen gegen die Unwissenheit der Mönche finden sich vollzählig bei Birch-H.—I, 40 zählt alle ihre Sünden auf, die Polemik gegen die "moinerie," gegen "tas de villains, immondes et pestilentes bestes noires, etc. (III, 21) zieht sich durch den ganzen Roman (III, 15. 19; IV, 46, 50 etc).

² v. Πρωχοπλοῦσιοι *Franciscani*: "Sunt qui desperent se posse a morbo revalescere, ni vestiantur cultu Dominicano: imo, qui ne sepeliri quidem velint nisi veste Franciscana." "Ista qui suadent, aut captatores sunt aut fatui; qui credunt superstitiosi. Deus non minus dignoscit nebulonem in veste Franciscana, quam in militari."

Auch Rab. macht sich über die Kleidergebote lustig. "Trinken wir, sagt Gymnaste, deposita cappa, ostons ce froc." "Ho, par Dieu, dist le moine, il y a un chapitre in statutis ordinis, auquel ne plairoit le cas [Anm. bei Rathéry]. Ich trinke nur um so besser . . . und (ironisch) Gott behütet die Gesellschaft vor Bösem (sc. wenn ich die Kutte anhabe)." cf. *Oeuvres I, Prologue*: "l'habit ne fait point le moyne."

Die Mönche¹ sind schuld an dem Reformationssturm: "Totum hoc incendium, per monachos ortum, per eosdem huc usque incanduit, quod non aliter nunc quoque conantur extinguere, quam si oleum, quod aiunt, addant camino," (mit Anspielung auf die Ketzerverbrände).

Die mönchische Ignoranz wird auch im "*Synodo Grammaticorum*" satirisirt, in dem Erasmus sagt: ". . . rideo studium cuiusdam Carthusiani, suo iudicio doctissimi, qui quum in Graecas litteras solet stolidissime debacchari, nunc libro suo indiderit Graecum titulum, sed ridicule." . . . Bruder Jean erzählt (I, 39) von solch einem weissen Raben von Mönch, der studiert, im Gegensatz zu den Mitgliedern seines eigenen Klosters: "Cognoissez vous frere Claude de Saint Denys? Mais quelle moushe l'à picqué? Il ne fait rien qu'estudier depuis je ne sçay quand. Je n'estudie point de ma part. En nostre abbaye nous n'estudions jamais, de peur des auripeaux. *Nostre feu abbé disoit que c'est chose monstrueuse voir un moine savant.* Par Dieu, magis magis clericos non sunt magis magis sapientes (Pardieu, les plus grands clerics ne sont pas les plus fins. Regniers, *Sat.* III)." ² Etwa dieselbe Meinung hat der Abt Antronius im *Coll. Abbatibus et Eruditae*, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach das Prototyp des rabeläsischen. Der Abt

¹ "Sie haben die Welt durch ihre Missbräuche vergiftet und eine Reform nötig gemacht," sagt Rab. von ihnen II, 29. Pantagruel macht sich anheischig, sie aus seinem Lande Utopien zu vertreiben: "Je te fais voeu que, par toutes contrées tant de ce pays de Utopie que d'ailleurs, ou j'auray puissance et autorité, je ferai prescher ton saint evangile purement, simplement, et entierement; si que les abus d'un tas de papelars et faulx prophetes, qui ont par constitutions humaines et inventions depravées envenimé tout le monde, seront d'entour moy exterminés."

² Führt uns Erasmus in der hochgebildeten Magdala ein Frauenmuster vor, so erweitert Rab. die Forderung einer tüchtigen Bildung auf das ganze Geschlecht: wie vorteilhaft sticht z. B. Rab.'s Princip der Frauenerziehung ab von Montaigne's engherzigen Ansichten, der selbst das Studium der Rhetorik verbieten will, "um nicht ihre natürlichen Reize unter erborgten Formen zu verstecken." Mit Anerkennung spricht sich Rab. über die Frauen aus, welche sich von den Bildungsidealen der Epoche des Humanismus begeistern lassen. Vgl. darüber Birch-H.'s treffliche Studie, I, 170-177: *Die Frau und der Humanismus.*

behauptet dort: "Ego nolim meos monachos frequenter esse in libris;" und antwortet auf die Frage der gebildeten Magdala: "Sed quam ob rem tandem non probas hoc in monachis tuis?" "Quoniam experior illos minus morigeros: responsant ex Decretis, Decretalibus, ex Petro et Paulo . . . Quid illi doceant nescio, sed tamen non amo monachum responsatorem: neque velim quemquam plus sapere quam ego sapiam." Der Abt selbst sieht sich am Studium gehindert durch "prolixae preces, cura rei domesticae, venatus, equi, cultus aulae." Im weiteren Verlauf des Dialoges hält der Abt dafür, Frauen dürften kein Latein verstehen, weil dies wenig zur Bewahrung ihrer Keuschheit beiträgt.

Mag.: "Ergo nugacissimis fabulis pleni libri Gallice scripti faciunt ad pudicitiam?"

Abt: "Tutiores sunt a sacerdotibus (sc. mulieres), si nesciant Latine."

Mag.: "O da ist keine Gefahr . . ; quandoquidem hoc agitis sedulo, ne sciatis Latine."

Sodann schliesst sie mit der echt humanistischen Wendung: ". . . malim (sc. facultates meas) in bonis studiis consumere, quam in precibus sine mente dictis, in pernoctibus conviviiis, in exhauriendis capacibus pateris;" und fährt dann fort: "Einst war ein ungebildeter Abt ein seltener Vogel, jetzt giebt es nichts Gewöhnlicheres. . . Wenn Ihr Ignoranten-Theologen Euch nicht hütet,¹ so wird es noch dahin kommen, dass wir Frauen

¹ Welche Blüten die Ignoranz der Mönche zuweilen trieb, ist in der *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo* ergötzlich zu lesen. Eine mit lateinischen Majuskeln geschriebene Motivtafel wird von den Mönchen für hebräisch gehalten ("isti, quidquid non intelligunt, Hebraicum vocant"). Nach Erklärung der lächerlichen grammatischen Ungeheuerlichkeit *πρῶτος ὑστέρος* für Subprior fährt der dummbigotte Ogygius fort, der Subprior habe ihn höflich empfangen, ihm erzählt, wie viele über der Erklärung der Motivtafel geschwitzet haben. So oft ein alter Dr. theol. oder jur. gekommen sei, habe man ihn zu der Tafel geführt; der eine habe die Schriftzüge für Arabisch, der andere für imaginär erklärt. Endlich sei einer gekommen, der den mit grossen lateinischen Buchstaben geschriebenen Titel gelesen habe. Die Verse waren griechisch mit grossen griechischen Buchstaben geschrieben, die beim ersten Anschein wie die lateinischen aussehen.

in den Theologenschulen den Vorsitz führen, in den Tempeln predigen . . . : schon ändert sich die Weltbühne, ein neuer Morgen tagt, eine neue Welt geht auf!"

Bei genauerer Prüfung und Vergleichung des erasmischen Colloquiums *Funus* und den Sterbeszenen des *Raminagrobis* bei Rabelais, III, 21, 22, 23, finde ich so viele Anklänge, dass ich jenes Coll. für die Quelle des Rabelais halte.

Nachdem nämlich Erasmus die letzten Stunden¹ des Georgius besprochen, den Ärzten einige Seitenhiebe versetzt, besonders aber die Streitigkeiten der Dominikaner, Franziscaner, Augustiner, Carmeliten etc., die bald in Schlägereien am Totenbette ausarteten, die Caeremonien der Beichte etc. ("numquam audivi mortem operosiorum, nec funus ambitiosius") verspottet, giebt er einen Bericht eines diametral verschiedenen Hinganges, den Tod des Cornelius ("ut vixit nulli molestus, ita mortuus est"). Dieser bereitet sich still auf den Tod vor, nimmt nur einen Arzt ("non minus bonum virum, quam bonum medicum"), thut Bedürftigen Gutes, sorgt für seine Familie, bestimmt Nichts für das Kloster, lässt nicht einen Mönch an sein Bett rufen, empfängt die letzte Ölung, legt aber keine Beichte ab, indem keine Gewissensbisse in seinem Gemüte zurückgeblieben seien, und stirbt leicht und friedlich ("numquam audivi mortem minus operosam").²

¹ Die Satire auf die Trauerfeierlichkeiten nimmt Erasm. wieder auf im *E. M.*: "Ad hoc collegium (i. e. stultorum) pertinent, qui vivi, qua funeris pompa velint efferri, tam diligenter statuunt, ut nominatim etiam praescribant, quot taedas, quot pullatos, quot cantores velint adesse . . . , quam si aediles creati ludos aut epulum edere studeant." Cf. auch *Exsequiae Seraphicae*.

² Cf. *Conv. Relig.*: "At ego quot vidi Christianos quam frigide morientes! Quidam fidunt in his rebus, quibus non est fidendum: quidam ob conscientiam scelorum et scrupulos, quibus indocti quidam (d. i. Geistliche) obstrepunt morituro, pene desperantes exhalant animam. Nec mirum eos sic mori, qui per omnem vitam tantum philosophati sunt in *ceremoniis!*" Erasmus selbst wünscht in seinem Testament vom 22. Januar 1527, das Ludwig Sieber herausgegeben (Basel 1889, Schweighauser, 28 S.), "sein Begräbnis weder ärmlich noch luxuriös" und "ritu ecclesiastico, sicut nemo queri possit." K. Hartfelder, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift*, vom 17. Sept. 1892.

Ganz ähnlich spielt sich die Todesscene bei Raminagrobis ab. Pantagruel und seine Freunde fanden den guten Greis im Todeskampfe "avec maintien joyeux, face ouverte, et regard lumineux." Nur entledigt er sich der Pfaffen verschieden von Cornelius in rabelaisischer Weise: "J'ay ce jourd'hui, qui est le dernier et de may et de moy, hors ma maison à grande fatigue et difficulté, chassé un tas de villaines, immondes et pestilentes bestes, noires, . . . , lesquelles laisser ne me vouloient à mon aise mourir; et, par fraudulentés pointures, . . . importunités freslonniques, toutes forgées en l'officine de ne sçay quelle insatiabilité, me evocoient du doux pensement onquel je acquiesçois, contemplant, voyant, et ja touchant et goustant le bien et felicité, que le bon Dieu a préparé à ses fideles et esleuz, en l'autre vie, et estat de immortalité. Thut nicht, wie jene! Declinez de leur voye, ne soyez à elles (bestes) semblables, plus ne me molestez. . . ."

An dieser Stelle brach Erasmus bei Cornelius ab, denn er hatte seinen Zweck erreicht; Rabelais aber hat noch mehr zu sagen, um die Mönche abzuthun. Der heuchlerische, abergläubische Panurge discutirt den "Ketzertod" und rühmt die guten "peres mendians cordeliers, et jacobins, qui sont les deux hemispheres de la christienté," mit ironischer Heuchelei, welche die Satire nur um so schärfer hervortreten lässt. Dagegen nimmt der gute Bruder Jean die Ketzerei des Dichters nicht so tragisch: "Ilz mesdisent de tout le monde; si tout le monde mesdit d'eux, je n'y pretends aucun interest."

Übrigens spielt Rabelais auf Erasmus' *Ἰχθυοφαγία*, wo dieser die Mönche so scharf hernimmt, deutlich genug an, wenn er den Panurge sagen lässt: "Mais que tous les diables luy ont fait les pauvres diables de Capussins, et Minimes? Ne sont ilz assez meshaignés les pauvres diables? Ne sont ilz assez enfumés et perfumés de misere et calamité, les pauvres haïres, *extraicts de ICHTHYOPHAGIE?*"—die Absicht der Satire auf die *πρωχοπλούσιοι* ist hier evident.

In Erasmus' *Naufragium* ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Quelle zu der graphischen Beschreibung des Seesturmes,

der komisch wirkenden Todesangst des Panurge mit seinen Gelübden, der gefassten Ruhe des Pantagruel und Bruder Jean zu suchen (IV, 18–24). Nur werden alle die in der Angst abgelegten Gelübde im *Naufragium* dem feigen Heuchler Panurge zugewiesen. Die Seekrankheit, das Gebet an die heilige Jungfrau, die unerfüllbaren Versprechungen, das Verlangen nach der Beichte, alle diese Züge finden sich bei Panurge wieder.

“Unum audivi, erzählt Adolphus, non sine risu, qui clara voce, ne non exaudiretur, polliceretur Christophoro qui est Lutetiae in summo templo, mons verius quam statua, cereum tantum, quantus esset ipse. Haec cum vociferans quantum poterat identidem inculcasset, qui forte proximus assistebat illi notus, cubito tetigit eum ac submonuit. Vide quid pollicearis: etiamsi rerum omnium tuarum auctionem facias, non fueris solvendo. Tum ille voce iam pressiore, ne videlicet exaudiret Christophorus: Tace, inquit fatue; an credis me ex animi sententia loqui? Si semel contigero terram, non daturus sum illi candelam sebaceam.” (!)

“Aderat et Dominicanus quidam. Huic confessi sunt qui volebant,” nachdem ein gewisser Greis Adamus aus dem Gerson die fünf Wahrheiten über den Nutzen der Beichte auseinandergelegt.

Man vergleiche auch die Analogie in dem kurzen Gebet des Pantagruel, direkt an Gott gerichtet, (IV, 21) mit dem des weisen Adolphus, der kein Gelübde ablegt, weil er mit den

“Saint Michel d’Aure: Saint Nicolas, à ceste fois et jamais plus, betet Panurge. Je vous fais icy bon voeu et à Nostre Seigneur, [in zweiter Reihe!] que si à ce coup m’estes aidans, j’entends que me mettez en terre hors ce danger icy, je vous edifieray une belle grande petite chapelle ou deux

Entre Quande et Monssoreau,
Et n’y paistra vache ne veau.”

Die Pointe versteht sich hier von selbst; dass er sein Gelübde nicht halten wird, ist klar. Aber er spricht es nicht aus, wie der Dummkopf bei Erasm., der den heil. Christoph betrügen will. Übrigens trifft sich Panurge mit jenem, wenn er zu dem fluchenden Bruder Jean sagt: “Ne jurons point pour ceste heure. *De main tant que vous voudrez.* (IV, 19).”¹

Die Beichte drastischer bei Rabelais: Zalas, frere Jean, mon pere, mon amy, confession. Me voyez cy à genoulx. Confiteor, vostre sainte benediction.”

¹ Bruder Jean hat überhaupt ein Faible für das Fluchen, entschuldigt es witzig I, 39 (Ende): “Ce n’est que pour orner mon langage. Ce sont couleurs de rhetorique Ciceroniane.” (v. Anm. bei Rath.)

Heiligen keine Verträge abschliessen will [“do, si facias: aut faciam, si facias: dabo cereum, si enatem; ibo Romam, si serves”], sondern sich direkt an Gott wendet [“Nemo divorum illo citius audit, aut libentius donat quod petitur”], um nicht während der Unterhandlungen z. B. des heiligen Peter mit Gott unterzugehen [“Si cui divo commendaro meam salutem, puta Sancto Petro, qui fortasse primus audiet, quod adstet ostio; (welch feine Ironie!) priusquam ille conveniat Deum, priusquam exponat caussam, ego iam periero.”].

Ist in diesem Abschnitt, der die wahre Frömmigkeit in der Stunde der Gefahr behandelt und die wahnwitzige Heuchelei persifflirt, die Ähnlichkeit der rabelaisischen Satire mit der erasmischen deutlich genug hervorgetreten, so lässt sich die Beziehung der Satire auf alle kirchlichen Einrichtungen, die nicht in Gottes Wort wurzeln, bei Beiden genau bis ins Einzelne verfolgen.

Zunächst ist das Caelibat beiden Satirikern ein Dorn im Auge, weil es gegen die Natur und die menschliche Freiheit verstösst.

In der “*Ἰχθυοφαγία*” sagt Erasmus ausdrücklich: “Matrimonii votum est iuris sine controversia divini; et tamen dirimitur per monasticae vitae professionem ab hominibus reperitam;” im *Conv. Religiosum*: “Paulus vult, unumquemque suo frui affectu citra contumeliam alterius . . . Fit enim saepe numero, ut vescens gratior sit Deo, quam non vescens, et diem festum violans acceptior sit Deo, quam is, qui videtur observare: et matrimonium huius gratius sit oculis Dei, quam multorum caelibatus;” und im weiteren Verlauf: “Nec enim mihi placet eorum sententia, qui fortunatum putant, uxorem habuisse nunquam: magis arridet, quod ait sapiens Hebraeus, ei bonam sortem obtigisse, cui obtigit uxor bona.” In allen Colloquien, wo Erasmus die Belehrung von Frauen, Jungfrauen, Jünglingen unternimmt, tritt er als Anwalt einer keuschen, reinen Ehe ein, so in der *Puerpera*, der *Virgo μισόγαμος*, *Uxor μεμφίγαμος*; überall erscheint ihm die Ehe als das Fundament der bürgerlichen Ordnung. Rabelais ist durchaus ein warmer

Verfechter der Ehe, wohl nicht bloss darum, dass er selbst mit dem Caelibat in Conflict geraten ist,¹ sondern weil er die Ehe für eine sittliche wie physiologische² Notwendigkeit gehalten. Keiner hat geistreicher und schärfer die Schäden und Sünden markirt, die sich aus dem Caelibat bei dem Priesterstand ergeben, als eben er.

Aber er hat ebenso wie Erasmus ausdrücklich darauf bestanden, dass die Verheiratung der jungen Leute von den Eltern sanktionirt werden müsse. Es hatte sich nämlich nach dem canonischen Recht ein Missbrauch ausgebildet, dass die Zustimmung der Eltern zur Eheschliessung ihrer Kinder durchaus nicht nötig sei.³ Dagegen wendet sich Rabelais in einem langen Kapitel (III, 48). "Je n'ay jamais entendu que par loy aucune, fust sacre, fust prophane et barbare, ait esté en arbitre des enfans soy marier, non consentans, voulans, et promovens leurs peres, meres et parens prochains. Tous legislateurs ont es enfans ceste liberté tollue, es parens l'ont reservée," sagt der musterhafte Königssohn Pantagruel. Ganz in demselben Sinne hatte schon Erasmus in der *Virgoμισόγαμος* die Streitfrage entschieden, indem er den Eubulus (*εὐβουλή*) sagen lässt: "Quae est igitur ista nova religio, quae facit irritum, quod et naturae lex sanxit, et vetus lex docuit, et Evangelica lex comprobavit, et Apostolica doctrina confirmavit? Isthuc decretum non est a Deo proditum, sed in monachorum senatu repertum. Sic definiunt quidam, et matrimonium esse ratum, quod insciis, aut etiam invitis parentibus inter puerum et puellam per verba *de praesenti*⁴ (sic enim illi loquuntur) con-

¹Vide den Abschnitt über seinen zweijährig verstorbenen Sohn Théodule bei Rathéry, *Notice*, pp. 70-72. Marty-Laveaux, IV, 394.

²cf. *Oeuvres*, III, 4 (sub fine): die Ehe ist eine Pflicht. "Peine par nature est au refusant interminée, . . . furie parmy les sens;" cf. Luthers "melius nubere quam uri."

³Rathéry's Anm. 1 zu *Oeuvres*, IV, 48. Birch-H. I, 251, Anm.

⁴D'après une ancienne règle de droit canonique la simple déclaration, faite devant un prêtre, par deux personnes, qu'elles entendaient actuellement se prendre pour mari et femme emportait mariage, pourvu qu'elle fût suivie de la cohabitation. C'est ce qu'on appelait paroles *de praesenti*. Rathéry, Anm. 6. zu *Oeuvres*, IV, 48.

tractum est. Atqui istud dogma, nec naturae sensus approbat, nec veterum leges, nec Moyses ipse, nec Evangelica aut Apostolica doctrina." Übrigens wurde der Missbrauch durch das Regierungsedict von 1556 und die Verordnung von 1560 auch beseitigt.

Mit dem neunten Kapitel des III Buches beginnt die wichtige Frage, ob sich Panurge verheiraten soll oder nicht, eine Frage, so bedeutungsvoll, so schwer zu entscheiden, dass sie erst in der Reise nach dem Orakel zur heiligen Flasche auslautet und nicht einmal hier ihre Entscheidung findet. Das Unsichere liegt aber vorzüglich darin, dass *Panurge* heiraten soll, nicht in der Heirat selbst; denn Rabelais selbst ist der Meinung des Weisen: "Là où n'est femme, j'entends mere familles, et en mariage legitime, le malade est en grand estrif. [Ubi non est mulier, ingemiscit egens. *Vulgata.*] J'en ay veu claire experience en papes, legatz, cardinaux, evesques, abbés, prieurs, prestres et moines."

Eine Fülle von Untersuchungen sind über Wesen und Ursprung dieses Kapitels angestellt worden. Für uns ist es unwesentlich, ob Rabelais die Plaidoyers der Rechtsgelehrten Bouchard und Tiraqueau für und gegen die Frauen in geistreichem Scherz verwendet.¹

Der Prediger Raulin² lässt seinen Pfarrer auf die Frage jener Wittwe, ob sie ihren Knecht heiraten soll, in ähnlicher Weise antworten, wie Pantagruel auf die des Panurge. Le Duchat hat zuerst die Anklänge an die *Facetiae* von Pogge und das *Echo* von Erasmus herausgefunden.³ Molière hat von diesem Kapitel im *Mariage forcé* Gebrauch gemacht.

Die absolute Anlehnung des Rabelais an das *Echo* des Erasmus in *Form und Stoff* ist ganz in die Augen fallend. Dieselbe Frage "heiraten oder nicht heiraten" wird hier, wie dort ventilirt, freilich mit geringerer Wortfülle bei Erasmus:

¹ Rathéry, *Notice*, p. 9.

² *Opus sermonum de Adventu*, Paris, 1519. Sermo III. De Viduitate.

³ Paul Lacroix (Jacob Bibliophile), Anm. 1. zu Rab. IV, 9. Rathéry, Schlussanm. zu dem Kap.

Erit auspicatum, si uxorem duxero? Sero.

Quid si mihi veniat usu, quod his qui incidunt in uxores parum pudicas parumque frugiferas? Feras.

Atqui cum talibus morte durior est vita. Vita (cave).

Siccine in rebus humanis dominari fortunam? Unam.

Attamen miserum est homines vivere solos. Ὀλωσ.

“Mais, dist Panurge, si vous cognoissiez que mon meilleur fust tel que je suis demeuré, sans entreprendre cas de nouvelleté, j'aimerais mieux ne me marier point.” “Point donc ne vous mariez.”

“Mais si ma femme me faisoit coqu, comme vous savez qu'il en est grande année, ce seroit assez pour me faire trespasser hors les gonds de patience.” “Ce qu' à autruy tu auras fait, sois certain qu'autruy te fera.”

“Mais, pour mourir, je ne le voudrois estre.

(J'aimerais mieux être mort que cocu. Anm. Rath.)

C'est un point *qui trop me poingt.*” “Point etc.”

“N'estes vous assuré de vostre vouloir?

Le point principal y gist: *tout le reste est fortuit, et dependant des fatales dispositions du ciel*” (cap. 10).

“Voire mais voudriez vous qu'ainsi seulet je demeurasse toute ma vie, sans compagnie conjugale. Vous savez qu'il est escrit: *Vae soli.* L'homme seul n'a jamais tel soulas qu'on voit entre gens mariés.” “Mariez vous donc.”

Und so liesse sich das ernste Spiel noch weiter fortsetzen, um zu zeigen, dass dem Rabelais das Original bestimmt vorgelegen haben muss.¹

¹ In dem Volksliede “Der beständige Freier” findet sich dieselbe Spielerei: “Andreas, lieber Schutzpatron, | Gieb mir doch einen Mann! | Räche doch jetzt meinen Hohn, | Sich mein schönes Alter an!

Krieg ich einen oder *keinen*? *Einen.*

weiter: gefallen? *allen.*

kältlich? *ältlich.*

Gleichen? *Leichen.*

Länge? *Enge, etc.*

Fr. K. von Erlach, *Die Volkslieder der Deutschen.*

II. Fliegende Blätter meist aus des Knaben Wunderhorn.

Ein der schärfsten Satire würdiger Aberglaube scheint dem Erasmus wie Rabelais das Pilgerwesen zu sein. Zusammenfassend äussert sich ersterer darüber wie folgt:¹

“In colloquio *de visendo loca sacra* cohibetur superstitiosus et immodicus quorundam affectus, qui summam pietatem esse ducunt vidisse Hierosolymam: et huc per tanta terrarum marisque spatia currunt senes episcopi, relicto grege, qui curandus erat; huc viri principes, relicta familia ac ditione; huc mariti, relicta domi liberis et uxore, quorum moribus ac pudicitiae necessarius erat custos; huc adolescentes ac foeminae, non sine gravi discrimine morum et integritatis. Quidam etiam iterum atque iterum recurrunt,² nec aliud faciunt per omnem vitam, et interim superstitioni, inconstantiae, stultitiae, temeritati praetexitur religionis titulus, ac desertor suorum, contra doctrinam Pauli, sanctimoniae laudem aufert, ac sibi quoque pietatis omnes numeros explesse videtur. . . . Quid dicturus (Paulus) de maritis, qui destitutis teneris liberis, uxore iuvenula, idque in re tenui, proficiscuntur Hierosolymam. (Dann folgt das Beispiel einer solchen verhängnisvollen Pilgerfahrt.) Clamat Sanctus Hieronymus: Non magnum est Hierosolymis fuisse; sed bene vixisse magnum est.”

Im Coll. *De Votis Temere Susceptis* bekennt Cornelius, die Torheit habe ihn, so wie viele andere, nach Jerusalem geführt, überall habe er Barbarei gesehen; arm und moralisch schlechter sei er zurückgekehrt. Sein Mit-

Die Hauptstelle, wo sich Rab. gegen die Pilgerfahrten ausspricht, ist I, 45: Die Pilger kommen von Saint-Sebastian bei Nantes, wo sie dem Heiligen ihre Gelübde gegen die Pest abgelegt haben. Auf die ironische Frage des Grandgousier, ob denn die Pest von dem heil. Sebastian ausgehe, versichert der Sprecher: “Gewiss, unsere Prediger versichern es uns.” “Ouy, dist Grandgousier, les faulx prophetes vous annoncent ilz telz abus? Blasphement ilz en ceste façon les justes et saints de Dieu, qu’ilz les font semblables aux diables, qui ne font que mal entre les humains? . . . Ainsi preschoit un caphart, que saint Antoine mettoit le feu es jambes; saint Eutrope faisoit les hydriques; saint Gildas les fous; saint Genou les gouttes. Mais je le punis en tel exemple, quoiqu’il m’appelast heretique, que depuis ce temps caphart quiconques n’est osé entrer en mes terres. Et m’esbahis si vostre roy les laisse prescher par son royaume telz scandales. Car plus sont à punir que ceux qui par art magique ou autre engin auroient mis la peste par le pays. La peste ne tue que le corps, mais ces predications diaboliques infectionnent les ames des pauvres et simples gens.” Auch hier wird die Gefahr für die zurückbleibenden Frauen und Töchter der Pilger—freilich mit den drastischen

¹ *De Coll. Util.*

² Video quosdam septies illo (sc. Romam) recurrere. Adeo scabies illa sine fine solet prurire, si quem semel invaserit.

sprecher Arnoldus ist indessen nach einem in der Trunkenheit abgelegten Gelübde in Rom und Compostella gewesen. Nicht Pallas, sondern die Moria selbst habe ihn hingeführt, zumal er eine jugendliche Gattin, einige Kinder und einen von seiner Arbeit abhängigen Haushalt zurückgelassen habe.—Im *Colloquium Senile* sagt Pampirus ironisch: "Tandem fessus inquirendo (d. i. von Kloster zu Kloster die Frömmigkeit zu suchen) sic mecum cogitabam: ut semel omnem sanctimoniam assequar, petam terram sanctam, ac redibo domum sanctimonia onustus. . . Attamen cum Hierosolymam adirem, addideram me in comitatum cuiusdam magnatis praedivitis, qui natus annos septuaginta negabat se aequo animo moriturum, nisi prius adisset Hierosolymam. Ac domi reliquerat uxorem atque etiam liberos sex. . ." Aber er selbst sei um ein Beträchtliches schlechter zurückgekommen, als er gegangen sei.

raeläischen Farben, die in solchen Fällen ins Obscoene überzugehen pflegen—geschildert.

Der gute Grandgousier entläßt die Pilger mit denselben Belehrungen, die wir aus Erasmus ziehen können: "Allez vous en, pauvres gens, au nom de Dieu le createur, lequel vous soit en guide perpetuelle. *Et dorenavant ne soyez faciles à ces creieux et inutiles voyages. Entretenez vos familles, travaillez chacun en sa vacation, instruisez vos enfans, et vivez comme vous enseignez le bon apostre saint Paul.*"

Der lächerliche Aufzug eines solchen Pilgers wird in der *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo* beschrieben: "Menedemus: . . . obsitus es conchis imbricatis, stanneis ac plumbeis imaginibus oppletus undique, culmeis ornatus torquibus; brachium habet ova serpentum (Rosenkranz, bestehend aus kleinen Kugeln, wie Schlangeneier, zum Zählen der Gebete)." Der so vermummte Ogygius hat den heil. Jacob von Compostella und die Virgo Parathalassia in England besucht; seine Schwiegermutter hatte nämlich das Gelübde abgelegt, dass er, wenn ihre Tochter einen Knaben zur Welt brächte, den heiligen Jacob persönlich besuchen sollte. Der weitere Verlauf dieses Dialoges von dem dankbaren Zunicken des Heiligen, dem Wunderbriefe der Mutter Gottes, der von dem Engel ausgehauenen Inschrift ist sehr interessant und ironisch.

Die falsche, sinnlose Heiligenanbetung bietet ebenfalls Beiden reichen Stoff zur Satire. Ganze Abschnitte des *Narrenlobes* sind ihr geweiht. "Wenn sie (d. i. die Narren) das Glück gehabt haben, eine Holzstatue oder sonst eine Abbildung ihres Polyphem, des heiligen Christophorus,¹ zu sehen, glauben sie an jenem Tage vor dem Tode sicher zu sein, oder wenn ein Soldat vor dem Bilde der heiligen Barbara sein Gebet verrichtet hat, so hofft er unversehrt aus der Schlacht heimzukehren. Man ruft auch Erasmus an bestimmten Tagen, mit bestimmten wächsernen Weihgeschenken und unter bestimmten frommen Sprüchen als einen Heiligen an und erwartet, demnächst ein reicher Mann zu werden. Und nun erst ihr Hercules, der heilige Georg! . . . Und weiter, gehört es nicht beinahe in dieselbe Kategorie, dass jedes Land seinen besonderen Heiligen hat? Man betet diese himmlischen Herren auf die mannigfachste Weise an und teilt ihnen die verschiedensten Arten des Schutzes zu: ² der eine heilt Zahnschmerzen, der andere steht den Gebärenden bei; dieser bringt Gestohlenes zurück, jener rettet aus den Gefahren des Schiffbruchs; ein anderer sorgt für die Sicherheit der Heerden, u. dgl. m.; die

¹ "Praecipua spes erat in divo Christophoro, cuius imaginem quotidie contemplabar." (Sein Bild war im Zelt mit Kohle an die Wand gemalt). "*Militis Confessio*."

² Bei dem feindlichen Einfall (*Oeuvres*, I, 27) "wussten die armen Teufel von Mönchen nicht, welchem ihrer Heiligen sie sich zuerst weihen sollten." Sodann riefen die Feinde unter Bruder Jean's Streichen zu allen Heiligen, die er namhaft macht, aber das nützte nichts. Einige beichteten den Mönchen, aber als sie durch die Bresche fliehen wollten, tötete sie der tapfere Jean mit Hohnworten: "die haben gebeichtet und Gnade gewonnen; fort mit ihnen geradenwegs zum Paradies." Also auch die Beichte nützte den armen Teufeln nichts. Als Jean, wie Absalom, an dem Baume hing (I, 42), rief er dem Gargantua und Eudemon zu, die wackere Reden führten, statt ihm zu helfen: "Vous me semblez les prescheurs decretalistes, qui disent que quiconques verra son prochain en danger de mort, il le doit, sus peine d'excommunication trisulce, plus tost admonester de soy confesser et mettre en estat de grace que de luy aider." "Quand donc je les verray tombés en la rivière et prestz d'estre noyés, en lieu de les aller querir et bailler la main, je leur feray un beau et long sermon de contemptu mundi et fuga seculi; et, lors qu'ilz seront roides mors, je les iray pescher."

Zeit würde mir fehlen, alles aufzuzählen. Auch giebt es Heilige, deren Ansehen und Macht sich auf verschiedene Gebiete erstreckt; ich nenne vor allem die Mutter Gottes, die in den Augen des Volkes eine fast noch höhere Gewalt besitzt, als ihr Sohn. Und um was Alles werden nicht diese Heiligen gebeten? Wie könnte ich diese Flut von Aberglauben angreifen; es ist wie eine lernäische Schlange; mit hundert Zungen und einer Stimme von Erz könnte ich nicht die unzähligen Torheiten aufzählen. Die Priester hegen und pflegen indes das Unkraut herzlich gern, wissen sie doch recht wohl, welcher Nutzen daraus erwächst."

Sodann giebt Erasmus seine Version der Absolution der Sünden: "Lebet in echt christlichem Sinne und euer Ende wird ein gesegnetes sein. Sühnet eure Vergehen, aber spendet nicht nur ein geringes Geldstück, sondern hasset auch wahrhaft das Böse, jammert, wachet, betet, fastet und ändert euren ganzen Wandel. Folget im Leben dem Beispiel eures Heiligen, und ihr werdet euch seine Gunst erwerben."

Aber wie sieht es mit der Beichte und Absolution aus? Beide halten von der Beichte, wie sie zu ihrer Zeit geübt wurde, nicht viel.

"*Illi confiteor, qui vere solus remittit peccata, cui est potestas universa, Christo. Is enim auctor est omnis boni: sed an ipse instituerit hanc confessionem, qualis nunc est in usu ecclesiae, theologis excutiendum relinquo. Haec est certe praecipua confessio: nec est facile, confiteri Christo. Non confitetur illi, nisi qui ex animo irascitur suo peccato. Apud illum expono deploroque, si quid admisi gravius; clamor, lacrymor, ploro, me ipsum execror, illius imploro misericordiam: nec finem facio, donec sensero peccandi affectum penitus expurgatum e medullis animi, et succedere tranquillitatem aliquam et alacritatem, condonati criminis argu-*

Rab. satirisirt die Beichte z. B. IV, 49, wo Homenaz den Reisenden erlauben will die Decretalen zu küssen; "mais il vous conviendra paravant trois jours jeuner, et regulierement confesser, curieusement espluchans et inventorizans vos pechés tant dru, qu'en terre ne tombast une seule circonstance, comme divinement nous chantent les dives Decretales que voyez." Vgl. einige Zeilen später den schnöden Witz in dem Wortspiel des Panurge.

mentum." Er weist ferner die Beichte vor dem Priester nicht ganz zurück,¹ glaubt aber, dass nicht Alles eine Todsünde ist, was gegen menschliche Einrichtungen der Kirche verstößt. Der weise Knabe ist eben religiös, ohne abergläubisch zu sein. (*Piet. Puerilis.*)

In noch höherem Grade ist die Art der Absolution, des Ablasses des Sünden, beiden Männern ein Dorn im Auge. Es ist ja besonders aus Luthers Schriften sattsam bekannt, was aus dem Ablass am Ende des XV und am Anfange des XVI Jahrhunderts geworden. Erasmus verabsäumt keine Gelegenheit, die Entartung des Ablasses zu brandmarken, und Rabelais entlehnt der Einrichtung unter anderem das drastisch satirische Kapitel II, 17: "*Comment Panurge gagnait les pardons.*"²

Am heftigsten lässt sich Erasmus gegen den Ablass, wie er damals geworden, im *Encomium* aus: "Was soll man von denjenigen sagen," bricht er los, "qui magicis quibusdam notulis ac preculis, quas pius aliquis impostor, vel animi causa vel ad quaestum excogitavit, freti, nihil sibi non pollicentur, opes, honores, voluptates, saturitates, valetudinem perpetuo prosperam, vitam longaevam . . . denique proximum Christi apud

¹ *Coronis Apologetica*: "Ne mihi quidem ipsi satis adhuc plene constat, quod ecclesia definierit, hanc confessionem ut nunc fit, esse ex institutione Christi. Sunt enim permulta argumenta, mihi quidem insolubilia, quae suadent contrarium." Aber er unterwirft sich der Autorität der Kirche: "Et tamen hunc animi mei sensum ubique submitto iudicio ecclesiae, libenter sequuturus, simulatque certum vigilans claram illius vocem audiero. . . ."

² Oder hat Rab. auch diese Episode direkt aus Erasmus "*Peregrinatio Religionis* ergo" gezogen? Dort erzählt Ogygius: "Imo vero sunt quidam adeo dediti sanctissimae virgini, ut dum simulant sese munus imponere altari, mira dexteritate suffurentur, quod alius posuerat." Auf den Einwurf des Menedemus: "An non in tales illico fulminaret Virgo?" erwidert Og.: "Qui magis id faceret Virgo, quam ipse pater aethereus, quem non verentur nudare suis ornamentis, vel perfosso templi pariete?" Panurge führt dasselbe Manöver in allen Kirchen von Paris aus, rechtfertigt aber den Diebstahl in cynischer Weise: "Car les pardonnaires me le donnent, quand ilz me disent, en presentant les reliques à baiser, centuplum accipies, que pour un denier j'en prenne cent."

superos consessum. . . . Hic mihi puta negotiator aliquis, aut miles, aut iudex, abiecto ex tot rapinis unico nummulo, universam vitae Lernam semel expurgatam putat, totque per-
iuria, tot libidines, tot ebrietates, tot rixas, tot caedes, tot im-
posturas, tot perfidias, tot proditioes existimat velut ex pacto
redimi, et ita redimi, ut iam liceat ad novum scelorum orbem
de integro reverti." Noch schärfer tritt die Satire hervor:
"De Votis Temere Susceptis." Es wird von einem Pilger erzählt,
er sei längst im Himmel, denn er habe den Gürtel mit den
reichsten Indulgenzen gefüllt gehabt. Und der Weg zum
Himmel war ihm gebahnt, denn er war mit Diplomen genü-
gend ausgerüstet. Auf den Einwurf, wenn er nun aber einen
Engel träfe, der kein Latein verstünde, erfolgt die Antwort:
Dann müsste er nach Rom zurückkehren und ein neues Diplom
holen; denn Bullen werden dort auch an Tote verkauft.

In *Militis Confessio* hofft der Soldat, der eben von sich
eingeräumt, "Plus illic (i. e. in bello) scelorum et vidi et *patravi*,
quam unquam antehoc in omni vita" und vorher: "sceleribus
onustus redeo" dennoch auf völligen Ablass seiner Sünden bei
den Dominikanern: "Etiam si Christum spoliasset ac deco-
lasset (!) etiam; largas habent indulgentias et auctoritatem
componendi." . . . Den Reliquenschwindel entlarvt Erasmus
besonders in der *Peregrinatio* und der *Inquisitio de Fide*. Das
riesige Glied des Mittelfingers des heiligen Petrus wird gezeigt,
sodann werden die Pilger zu der Milch der gebenedeiten
Jungfrau geführt. "O matrem filii simillimam! ille nobis
tantum sanguinis sui reliquit in terris; haec tantum lactis,
quantum vix credibile est esse posse uni mulieri uniparae,
etiamsi nihil bibisset infans." Dasselbe gilt von den Kreuz-
reliquien: "Idem caussantur de cruce Domini, quae privatim
ac publice tot locis ostenditur, ut si fragmenta conferantur in
unum, navis onerariae iustum onus videri possint; et tamen
totam crucem suam baiulavit Dominus." Die Erklärung des
Ogygius, dass Gott gemäss seiner Allmacht das Holz nach
seinem Willen vermehren kann, weist Menedemus zurück:

“Pie tu quidem interpretaris : at ego vereor ne multa talia finguntur ad quaestum, etc., etc.”

Gegen das kirchliche Gebot der Fasten hat Erasmus wie Rabelais viel zu sagen. Zwar will er nicht das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten, aber er will Maass und Vernunft dabei angewendet wissen : “In *Convivio profano* non damno constitutiones ecclesiae de ieiuniis ac delectum ciborum ; sed indico superstitionem quorundam, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, negligentes eorum quae magis faciunt ad pietatem : damnoque eorum crudelitatem, qui haec exigunt ab his, a quibus ecclesiae mens non exigit (mit Anspielung auf seine eigene Constitution, welche die Fasten und der Fischgenuss nicht vertragen konnte) : item eorum praeposteram sanctimoniam, qui ex huiusmodi rebus contemnunt proximum. .” Etwas energischer klingt schon der Angriff gegen die Speisevorschriften in *Coronis Apologetica* : “Porro non fit illic mentio de *ieiunio*, ad quod nos hortatur evangelium et apostolicae litterae, sed de *delectu ciborum*, quem palam contemnit in evangelio Christus, nec raro damnant Paulinae litterae : praesertim Judaicum est superstitiosum.¹ Dicet aliquis : hoc est accusare pontificem Romanum, qui hoc praecipiat, quod damnat apostolus. Pontifex ipse declaret, quo animo iubeat, quod non exigit evangelium. . .” Aber seine wahre Überzeugung erscheint wohl an Stellen, wie die folgende : “Cum ieiunio mihi nihil est negotii. Sic enim me docuit Hieronymus non esse valetudinem atterendam ieiuniis” (*Piet. Puer.*), und besonders ironisch in der *Ιχθυοφαγία* : “Telum ingens necessitas, grave tormentum fames.”

Rabelais seinerseits hat sich durch die Fastengebote zu jener trefflichen Satire auf den mageren König Quaresmeprenant

¹Überhaupt wirft er den Gesetzen der Juden vor, dass sie mehr die Formen, als den Inhalt des Heiligen pflegen : “Sunt enim quaedam praescripta Judaeis in lege, quae significant magis sanctimoniam quam praestant : quod genus sunt dies festi, sabbatismi, ieiunia, sacrificia.” Seine Meinung ist : “Misericordiam volui, et non sacrificium, et scientiam Dei plus quam holocausta ; . . umbras amplectebantur, rem negligebant” (sc. Judaei). (*Conv. Relig.*)

(“Qu. ne désigne pas ici, comme à l'ordinaire, le mardi-gras, mais bien le carême personnifié. Jacob Bibliophile”) begeistern lassen, “confalonnier (Fahnenträger) des Ichthyophages, pere et nourrisson des medecins, foisonnant en pardons, indulgences et stations : homme de bien, bon catholique et de grande devotion . . .” (IV, 29); “Voylà une estrange et monstrueuse membreure d'homme, si homme le doibs nommer” (IV, 32). Auch dieser unförmliche, unnatürliche Fester ist dem Rabelais eine Ausgeburt der Antiphysis, der Unnatur, welche die Bewunderung aller hirnlosen, vernunftberaubten Leute erregte, und damit ja kein Zweifel über seine Meinung übrig bliebe, verbrüdert er den Quaresmeprenant mit den anderen Söhnen der Antiphysis, die er wohlgeordnet in Klassen teilt: “les Matagotz, Cagotz et Papelars: les Maniacles Pistolets, les Demoniacles Calvins, imposteurs de Geneve; les enraigés Putherbes, . . . Capphars . . . Cannibales, et autres monstres difformes et contrefaits, en despit de nature (Schluss, IV, 32; cf. Anm. bei Rathéry).

Man ersieht aus diesen wenigen Belegen, die sich leicht vervielfältigen liessen, dass die Analogien in der Bekämpfung und Verspottung jener Einrichtungen, die der pfäffische Gegner des Erasmus zu Ketzereien stempeln will,¹ ihrem Wesen, wenn nicht ihrer Form nach so auffallend sind, dass teils die Geistesverwandtschaft beider Männer in der Religionsanschauung, teils die erasmische Quelle bei Rabelais sich von selbst aufdrängt. Auch die *Messe* gilt beiden Männern durchaus nicht als ein wesentlicher und notwendiger Bestandteil der Religion. Erasmus hält die Meinung derer für irrig, “qui se non credant esse Christianos, nisi quotidie Missam, ut appellant, audierint.” Zwar verdammt er die Einrichtung nicht unter allem Umständen: “Horum institutum equidem non damno: praesertim in his, qui abundant otio, quive totos dies occupantur profanis negotiis. Tantum illos non approbo, qui superstitiose sibi persuaserunt, diem fore parum faustum, nisi fuerint eum auspicati a Missa: et statim

¹“Jactat ac vociferatur, in libello colloquiorum quatuor esse loca plus quam haeretica: de esu carniū, et ieiunio; de indulgentiis, ac de votis.” (*Coronis Apologetica.*)

a sacro se conferunt vel ad negotiationem, vel ad praedam, vel ad aulam: ubi, si, quod per fas nefasque gerunt, successerit, Missae imputant" (*Piet. Puer.*).

Rabelais seinerseits hat die Messe aus seinem Christentum, soweit es aus seinem Roman hervorgeht, praktisch ausgeschlossen. "Rabelais ist ferner ein Verächter der Messe. So oft Gargantua oder Pantagruel in ernsten, gottesdienstlichen Verrichtungen erscheinen, vor der Schlacht, nach gewonnenem Siege, vor Antritt der Seereise ist von der Messe keine Rede und hat die religiöse Feier ganz protestantischen Anstrich." (Birch-H. I, 263-264.)

Auch das übermässige, sinnlose Abbeten von unzähligen Gebeten weisen Beide zurück: "Praestat enim pauca avide [mit Inbrunst] dicere, quam multa cum taedio devorare" (*Conv. Relig.*); und in der *Piet. puerilis*: "Oro, sed cogitatione magis, quam strepitu labiorum. . . . Quod si sensero vagari cogitationem, lego psalmos aliquot, aut aliud quippiam pium, quod animum ab evagando cohibeat."

Rabelais lässt den Gargantua, der nicht schlafen kann, durch das Ableiern von Gebeten einschläfern und zwar durch Bruder Jean, der ehrlich bekennt: "Je ne dors jamais bien à mon aise sinon quand je suis au sermon, ou quand je prie Dieu. Je vous supplie, commençons vous et moy les sept pseumes,¹ pour voir si tantost ne serez endormy." L'invention pleut tres bien à Gargantua. Et commencans le premier pseume, sus le point de *beati quorum* s'endormirent et l'un et l'autre (I, 41). Unter seinen scholastischen Lehrern pflegte Gargantua jeden Morgen in die Kirche zu gehen mit einem ungeheuren Brevier, hörte dort an die 26-30 Messen: "inzwischen kam sein Horasbeter, verquaselt wie ein Wiedehopf—mit dem mämmelt'er all sein Kyrieleisli und körnt' sie so sorgsam aus, dass auch nicht ein einigs Sämlein davon zur Erde fiel. . . . Mit einem grossen Prast Paternoster ging er im Kloster, im Kreuzgang oder im Garten auf und ab und betet

¹Erasm. *E. M.*: "Giebt es wohl törichtere Menschen als jene Frommen, die durch Herbeten sieben bestimmter Psalmenverse das Reich Gottes zu erlangen hoffen."

ihrer mehr denn sechzehn Klausner an den Fingern herunter" (I, 21) (Birch-H. I, 234, nach Regis).

Aber das sei eben der Fluch des durch den Formen- und Formelnkram verderbten Scholasticismus, dass das Wesen der Religion in den Formen gesucht wird statt in dem Geist.¹ Nicht der fällt z. B. von dem Franziscanerorden ab, der ein lasterhaftes Leben führt, sondern der, welcher das heilige Gewand abwirft (*Exequiae Seraphicae*); "in veste, cibo, preculis, caeterisque ceremoniis ponitis fiduciam, neglecto studio pietatis Evangelicae" (*Miles et Carth.*). "Itidem videmus, multos in tantum fidere corporalibus caeremoniis, ut his freti negligant ea, quae sunt verae pietatis" (*Ἰχθυοφαγία*).² Hierfür bringt Erasmus manche anekdotenhafte Belege bei, unter anderen jene bekannte Anekdote von der Nonne, die Rabelais (III, 19) mit grossem Wohlgefallen verwendet und um einen Zug bereichert hat, dass ihr nämlich nach der That von dem Mönche in der Beichte die Busse auferlegt worden sei, nichts zu verraten. Mit der eben entwickelten erasmischen Idee schliesst das Kapitel in ernsthafter Weise ab: "Je sçay assez que toute moinerie moins crainet les commandemens de Dieu transgresser, que leurs statutz provinciaulx."

SCHLUSS.

Das bisher Gebotene dürfte nicht nur die ideelle Wahlverwandtschaft Beider, sondern auch die actuelle Beziehung des jüngeren Mannes zu seinem Meister erwiesen haben. Ihre

¹ Im *E. M.* wendet sich Er. mit Bitterkeit gegen den starren Glauben ("Verum exstiterunt hoc saeculo quidam qui docent, hominem sola fide iustificari, nullo operum praesidio," etc.), die als wesentliche Bestandteile der Kirche vorgeschriebenen äusseren und äusserlichen Formen: "Rursus audio videoque plurimos esse, qui in locis, vestibus, cibis, ieiuniis, gesticulationibus, cantibus summam pietatis constituunt, et ex his proximum iudicant, contra praeceptum evangelicum. Unde fit, ut, cum omnia referantur ad fidem et caritatem, harum rerum superstitione extinguatur utrumque."

² Ibid. "Nunc praeter tot vestium praescripta et interdictas formas et colores accessit capitis rasura eaque varia; ne commemorem interim confessionis onus . . . aliaque permulta, quae faciunt, ut ex hac parte non paulo commodior videatur fuisse Judaeorum, quam nostra conditio."

weltbewegende Bedeutung beruht in dem bewussten und beabsichtigten Ziel, das sich Beide gestellt, nämlich in der Rückkehr zur Natur auf dem Gebiet aller menschlichen Verrichtungen und geistigen Bestrebungen. Hatte der Druck der führenden Elemente in der damaligen Kirche die Menschheit im Laufe des Mittelalters der Natur entfremdet und im trüben Spiegel finsterner Askese und haarspaltender Scholastik die physische Natur als ein Zerrbild des Paradieses, die menschliche Natur, falls sie sich ungezwungener Heiterkeit, freier Forschung, uneingedämmtem Denken hingab, als einen Abfall vom Glauben dargestellt, so führten unsere beiden Humanisten den Gegenschlag, der aber auch die vielen Schäden und Vergewaltigungen der Vernunft, wie sie die deutsche und schweizerische Reform zu Wege brachte, bitter aber heilsam traf. Am meisten kam der neue Geist den Universitäten zu Gute. Hatte sich in der Facultät der Artisten der Unterricht bisher nur um den scholastischen Streit der Realisten und Nominalisten gedreht, so befürwortet Erasmus wie Rabelais eine weite und weitherzige, undogmatische, unbeschränkte, eklektische Philosophie; statt der barbarischen Schulpflege, bei der körperliche Züchtigung eine grosse Rolle spielte, und der mittelalterlichen Vernachlässigung der Körperpflege, treten sie für die Humanität in der Schule ein, befürworten das Princip, dass nur in einem reinen Körper eine reine Seele wohnen könne. War die Sprachverderbnis bis zum äussersten gestiegen, das Latcinische entweder in sinnloser ciceronianischer Nachahmung starr geworden oder durch maasslose Licenz ausgeartet,¹ so findet diese Barbarei ihre Rächer in Rabelais, der den sprachverderbenden Limousiner geisselt, oder in Erasmus, der den Dunkelmann abthut, welcher ausschliesslich nach Cicero seine Phrasen drehselt. Drohte das Büchermaterial der Scholastik in der Absurdität, in die es am Schlusse der scholastischen Entwick-

¹ Le latin était comme une langue vivante dont chacun disposait à son gré, usant avec une liberté sans limite du droit de fabriquer les mots et de les construire à volonté. Nul n'égalait le dédain de nos docteurs pour la grammaire et l'usage, leur intrépidité à dire en latin ce que le latin n'avait jamais dit. J. V. le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire*, XXIV, p. 268.

lung versunken war, Alles zu verdummen und das Denken zu verkümmern, so liess der Eine in der Aufzählung der Schätze der Bibliothek von St.-Victor, der Andere in gelegentlichen Bemerkungen über den 'Froschteich des Duns Scotus' seine heilsame Satire spielen. War ferner das Gezänk der Schulen unerträglich geworden, hatten die Dialektiker und Redekünstler unter dem erstarrten Formelnkram den Inhalt und Geist verloren, so war es wieder Rabelais, der etwa in der Rede des Janotus de Bragmardo (I, 18, 19) und der lächerlichen Zeichencasuistik (II, 18 ff.) die scholastische Sophisterei und sinnlose Vielwisserei verspottet, dem Sinne nach ganz wie Erasmus, der sich darüber so äussert: "Mit diesem und zahllosem anderen läppischen Zeug haben sie ihren Kopf so voll gepropft, dass selbst Jupiters Gehirn nicht umfangreicher gewesen sein kann, als er, um von Pallas entbunden zu werden, Vulcans Axt um Hilfe anfehte. Selbst ich (sc. die Torheit) muss bisweilen darüber lachen, wie sich die Gelehrten erst dann als vollkommen ansehen, wenn sie ihr garstiges Kauderwelsch gänzlich beherrschen und so confuses Zeug zusammenreden, dass höchstens ein Verrückter sie verstehen kann."

Aus äusserlichen Gründen bleibt es mir versagt, an dieser Stelle das gesammelte Material für ihre Beurteilung der Medizin und der Ärzte, gegen die sie nur äusserst selten satirisch vorgehen, zu vergleichen. Aber auch hier sind die Analogien auffallend, sowie in der Verspottung der Juristen ("qui jamais n'entendirent la moindre loy des Pandectes," II, 10) und juristischen Facultäten, in denen das canonische Recht alles überwucherte, der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit, der Streitigkeiten, welche die politische Unruhe und die ewigen Kriege fördern ("Sed aequumne tibi videtur, ut ob iuriconsultorum rixas et contractuum moras totus orbis tantum perpetiatur mali," Ἰχθυοφαγία); denn wie die Bärin durch vieles Lecken ihre Jungen wachsen und sich entwickeln lässt, so auch die Juristen ihre Streitigkeiten und Prozesse (*Oeuvres*, III, 42).—Indess soll dieses interessante Feld für eine spätere Studie aufbewahrt werden.

HERMANN SCHOENFELD.

II.—THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL.

Of the main streams of medieval poetry three were so seriously checked by the Renaissance that they are only at the present day beginning to flow again as literary influences. They are the Norse Edda, the German Heldensage, and the Celtic national cycle. From these abundant sources the literature of Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries drew but little.

Spenser and Shakespeare, Racine and Molière, who all were sturdy robbers of old plots and incidents, we seldom find turning to the Middle Ages for material. Fashion and the times pointed to other springs, to the Greek and Latin, and then to the Hebrew classics. In the eighteenth century recourse was had to them still less than in the two preceding. When even Dante was unknown to most men and unappreciated by all, it could not be expected that people of "sensibility" should relish the barbaric utterances of our northern fathers. And indeed, considering how recent has been the work of editing and translating the manuscripts containing these three stupendous bodies of poetry, we cannot censure a Voltaire or a Dryden for neglecting them, but can only wonder what the accomplished versifiers of their times would have achieved with this material, so much more suggestive than any they employed. Probably nothing of note, for it has been reserved to our century to find itself in sympathy with the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth. These centuries, the heart of the Middle Ages, were an epoch of unconscious self-development, an epoch of bold experimentation and independent working-out of native ideas. Shut off from the quarries of the past by an abyss of ignorance, the thinkers of that day built on such foundations as they could themselves construct. They possessed that lightness of fancy, that brilliant self-assertion, which are

among the marks of young creative genius in the full consciousness of its strength and liberty. Apart from their deference to the precepts of Aristotle, whom only the most learned even half understood, they were bound to no such distinct traditions in philosophy, religion, political economy, poetics, and all other lines of intellectual effort as were their successors of the next age. They were not characterized by great respect for authority, since authorities were few and obscurely comprehended. They were not much given to dogmatic assertion. The centuries of creed-making and creed-imposing preceded and followed this central period of the Middle Ages, which was an epoch rather of ready and fanciful invention, of keen delight in artistic construction, of liberty to think. It is a mark of wonderful vigor and elasticity that Western Christendom, while still under the influence of Germanic and Celtic paganism, could assimilate so much as it did of two such diverse and alien matters as the learning of the Greeks and of the Arabs. And this, during the Crusades, was quickly and gaily accomplished. The grotesqueness of medieval art, so often patronizingly alluded to by eighteenth-century writers and even by Goethe, is but evidence of that exuberant and unreflecting vitality.

This abundance of life, this zest in expression, manifested themselves in all sorts of wayward fashions, very distasteful to the more methodical people of the Renaissance. In religion they gave birth to a multitude of bold inventions, to an extraordinary development of legends and heresies and cathedrals and pious orders. In philosophy the venturesome mysticism of Eckart, Tauler, and Suso was tolerated side by side with the orthodox system of Thomas Aquinas, anchored to authority at every point; and both in turn left room for the still barer and safer scholasticism of Raymond Lully, who taught how to solve all the problems of logic and metaphysics by means of a cardboard machine. In literature—but here all was invention, and seldom has poetry been so truly a liberal art. No bonds had yet been laid on the creative instinct, and even theology, as we have seen, had not yet entered the prison-house of either Roman

or Protestant dogmatism. Religious and poetical expression were still unsevered, as the feelings which prompt them frequently are; they are inseparable in Dante, in Saint Francis of Assisi, in Saint Catherine of Siena. It is in speaking of this period and of medieval literature that Renan eloquently exclaims: Qui osera dire où est ici-bas la limite de la raison et du songe? Lequel vaut mieux des instincts imaginatifs de l'homme ou d'une orthodoxie étroite qui prétend rester sensée en parlant des choses divines? Pour moi je préfère la franche mythologie, avec ses égarements, à une théologie si mesquine, si vulgaire, si incolore, que ce serait faire injure à Dieu de croire qu'après avoir fait le monde visible si beau, il eût fait le monde invisible si platement raisonnable.

The three streams of poetry which the diverting influence of classical models caused to dwindle for four hundred years and almost disappear have one common feature: they all arise in the remote fastnesses of heathen antiquity, they are all tinged with the dark waters of Druidical or Northern lore. The first of them, the Norse anthology—for the Edda songs can hardly be more than fragments of the body of mythology to which they bear witness—is of greater value than either of the others, both intrinsically and for purposes of historical science, comprising the earliest and most complete record we possess of the religious system of the primitive Teutonic race. But the day of renewed influence for the Edda is only just dawning, despite the labors of such popular interpreters as Karl Simrock and William Morris.

Celtic literature, however, has been hitherto the strongest of these influencing streams. Through filtration, when it was first put into writing, through translation, both medieval and modern, through an unperceived power of suggestion in all ages, it has affected European poetry from the Irish coast to the shores of the Euxine and from Norway to Spain. There has been forever in it a subtle sympathetic appeal to the finer poetic sense; not the sense which Homer satisfies with his clear, beautiful, vigorous action, nor that which the Song of Songs

soothes with its languorous sweetness, but the nerve that vibrates to those delicate, fleeting touches which occasionally startle and hold us spell-bound in English poetry as nowhere else. We hear this appeal in the unexpected change from the tempestuous workings of the first act of *Macbeth* to the soft breath of summer evening, when Duncan, unconscious of his doom, casting an untroubled eye up to the heavens, says to Banquo :

“This castle hath a pleasant seat ; the air
Nimble and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.”

and Banquo answers :

“This guest of summer,
The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,
By his loved mansionry, that the heaven's breath
Smells wooingly here : no jutting, frieze,
Buttress, nor coign of vantage, but this bird
Hath made his pendent bed and procreant cradle :
Where they most breed and haunt, I have observed,
The air is delicate.”

We hear it again, but how changed, in Wordsworth's

“Old, unhappy far-off things,
And battles long ago.”

And the same strain, just as melancholy, just as suggestive, just as haunting, with the same intimate apprehension of the workings of nature and the same plaintive yet distinct utterance, is audible in the ancient ballad of *The Two Corbies*. The one to the other says of the new slain knight, deserted by his false lady fair :

“Ye'll sit on his white hause bane,
And I'll pike out his bonny blue een :
Wi' ae lock o' his gowden hair,
We'll theek our nest when it grows bare.”

The character of the Celts, proud and vindictive, shy and elusive, and strangely moved at times with a gay melancholy, is plainly discoverable in these passages. Irish wit and Scot-

tish music have this character, and I think the Highlander and the Breton exhibit it in their lives and speech. The feeling of interpenetration with external things, the passion for beauty which excludes all grossness, the despair of perfection which forbids the commonplace, the immanent persuasion of natural magic—these, then, are some of the marks of that Celtic spirit which with fairy lightness winged its unsubstantial way so fast into men's hearts, eight hundred years ago. No poetical influence was at that time half so widespread as that which started from Wales. In this fact there is a touching vindication of the Celtic race, a recompense to it, in the realm of mind, for its long-drawn material defeat.

The consciousness of this defeat can never have been more bitter than at the end of the eleventh century, when the Norman barons, with appetites whetted in Teutonic England, burst through the barriers of the Welsh mountains and all but completed the subjugation of that unhappy remnant whom Saxon and Dane had spared. The victory of their Saxon conquerors, six hundred years before, had been to the Celts at first like the going down of the world. It had seemed as if their own higher civilization, their new and enthusiastically entertained Christianity ought to save them. But nothing had availed. Accompanying this overthrow, and doubtless to console them for it, there was a revival of national poetry in the sixth century, of which many scattered traces have come down to us. Then succeeded an era which, according to the prevailing opinion, was one of rapid extinction. We frequently read of conquered races being exterminated, and it is generally stated that few if any Britons were left in England proper by the time of the Norman invasion; but there is a great deal of analogy, besides inherent improbability, against that conclusion and in favor of the opinion that there is still a considerable element of Celtic blood in the so-called Anglo-Saxon race, due to admixture before and during the eleventh century. But however that may be, there were free Celts in Wales at the

beginning of Norman rule, and in a little more than a hundred years they had lost their independence.

And now, at the beginning of the twelfth century, how stood the Celtic world? Whether in Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, or the Western Isles, they were a crushed, divided, and one would suppose humiliated race. But though politically almost annihilated, they were by no means humble. They had two titles, they thought, to glory. They remembered that they were the original possessors of the land. Their sense of antiquity was strengthened by a revival, in noble song, of the old heathen mythology, just as it had been revived in the days of Taliesin, after the Saxon conquest. Secondly, they were conscious of being older as a Christian people than either Saxons or Normans. They claimed an authority independent of Rome, or at least the original Irish church had done so, centuries before, and we may be sure the contention was remembered now. The Irish church in days gone by had kept alive the purest form of Christianity, and maintained the highest scholarship in Europe. It had been the great missionary and educational fountain. The tendency of the Celts in Great Britain and Ireland has at all times been towards separation from the type of worship and church government prevailing in England.

It was after a century of misfortune, when only their faith in their destiny and their consciousness of their distinction remained, that the Celtic spirit asserted itself. Then was manifested the power of a national ideal. To find courage for the losing struggle in which they were engaged, and especially to console themselves in the day of final disaster, they turned again to the songs of their fathers. As a result, not only had the Welsh themselves begun to see new meanings in their old poetry, but the stories of their heroes were brought to the attention of the outside world. Somewhere between 1135 and 1150 Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia Britonum*, a legendary account of the supposed early kings of Britain, containing the prophecies of Merlin, the record of "the princes whose reign had preceded the birth of Jesus Christ, and of

Arthur and the princes who had reigned in Britain since the incarnation." Geoffrey declared that his book was an exact translation of a book in Celtic which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, had brought into England from Brittany. The French critic Paulin Paris maintains that the original was more probably the Chronicle of Nennius, a Latin work of the ninth century; but in either case it was the main source of what English writers of the twelfth century, such as Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmsbury, knew concerning the legendary history of the Celts. The *Historia Britonum* speedily attained a world-wide circulation, and meanwhile the task of arousing Celtic resistance went steadily on in Wales.

The reigns of the two Llewellyns, extending from 1195 to 1283, were marked by such an outburst of patriotic song as can be paralleled only by the Hebrew poetry of the exile. National heroes were brought to life again and warlike achievements of the great dead kings were invented with a boldness justified by the cause,—and by the result, for this fervor was not ineffectual; the invaders discovered an unexpected resistance and were held at bay until the policy and military prowess of Edward the First of England compelled an honorable submission. In their zeal to inspire courage by means of heroic memories from a distant past, the bards of the thirteenth century revived what was left in the Welsh mind of Druidical superstition. They often gave to their own exciting compositions the authority of poets belonging to the older generation, pretending to have found ancient books or to have received occult traditions. "Mysterious prophecies," says J. R. Green, "floated from lip to lip, till the name of Merlin was heard along the Seine and the Rhine. Medrawd and Arthur would appear once more on earth to fight over again the fatal battle of Camlan. The last conqueror of the Celtic race, Cadwallon, still lived to combat for his people. The supposed verses of Taliesin expressed the undying hope of a restoration of the Cymry." Augustin Thierry remarks (*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*): "The reputation of the Welsh for prophecy

in the Middle Ages came from their stubbornness in affirming the future of their race."

It will never be known how much of this poetry was really ancient and how much pure forgery. It may be doubted whether in those exciting times the bards themselves knew. All France and England became acquainted with the Welsh and Breton legends and predictions, largely through Geoffrey of Monmouth's work, which he revised and augmented from time to time, and of which manuscripts were numerous. The *Historia Britonum*, whether based on a Breton or a Latin book, derived its material ultimately from Armorican lays and legends. The encounter of Breton and Welsh stories and the harmony discovered between them concerning events supposed to have happened on British soil doubtless confirmed Geoffrey and others in a belief that their substance was historically true, and gave an impulse to further composition. The story of Arthur and his Round Table was accepted with especial readiness. "Charlemagne and Alexander, the sagas of Teutonic tribes, the tale of Imperial Rome itself, though still affording subject matter to the wandering jongleur or monkish annalist, paled before the fame of the British King. The instinct which led the twelfth and thirteenth centuries thus to place the Arthurian story above all others was a true one. It was charged with the spirit of romance, and they were pre-eminently the ages of the romantic temper."¹

With characteristic levity the Welsh genius had failed to localize the legends. There was nothing in them to disturb the conquerors, who were charmed, rather, by their tender melancholy. "It is by this trait of idealism and universality," says M. Renan, "that the story of Arthur won such astonishing vogue throughout the whole world." So from this inward cause, no doubt, but also from the fact that Brittany too was Celtic and both Brittany and Wales were contiguous to great nations where French was the language of at least the upper

¹ Nutt: *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 229.

classes, the body of Celtic legend was broken up and carried all over Western Europe with amazing rapidity. Thus from about 1145, when Geoffrey of Monmouth first opened the door, it was not a generation until this legendary matter was incorporated in all the romantic poetry of Christendom, and by the end of the century the assimilation was complete. The quickness and thoroughness of this absorption will be apparent later, when I shall present a list of the versions still extant of one story for which a Celtic origin is claimed.

It is only within the last sixty years that the vast body of romance which goes under the name of the Legend of the Holy Grail has been made the subject either of critical analysis or of literary reconstruction. Its earliest students suffered for lack of complete texts. Not all of the manuscripts up to that time discovered were yet available. Many of the conclusions reached, while testifying to great acumen, have been one after another proved inconsistent with new-found facts, and thus one of the most fascinating of poetical subjects has, from its difficulty, become scarcely less alluring as a field of scholarship. Several recent publications in particular have rendered untenable the views of many authorities still referred to, and have opened long reaches of speculation yet untrodden.

The latest stage of discussion began with the appearance of Birch-Hirschfeld's *Die Sage vom Gral*, in 1877; and the most recent contributions to it include, besides articles in specialist periodicals, the searching and all-embracing work of Alfred Nutt in the publications of the Folk-lore Society of England,¹ and the studies of the Oxford professor of Celtic.²

The appearance of so much new and valuable information reversing previous conceptions of the legend, justifies an attempt

¹ "Mabinogion Studies," by Alfred Nutt, in vol. V of *The Folk-lore Record*, London, 1882. "The Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula Among the Celts," in vol. IV of *The Folk-lore Record*, London; "Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail," in the publications of the Folk-lore Society, London, 1888.

² *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, by John Rhys, M. A., Fellow of Jesus College and Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. Published at the Clarendon Press, 1891.

to present synthetically the history of its origin, spread, and influence. The accounts given in many popular works are seriously misleading. For instance, the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, by Thomas Arnold, presents an outline which was based largely on the edition of 1876 of Paulin Paris' *Les Romains de la Table Ronde*, and is in accordance with the view commonly entertained by all except the most recent students of the subject. It represents well enough the results of investigation prior to the last fifteen years. According to it "The 'Saint Greal' was the name given—if not originally, yet very soon after the conception was started—to the dish, or shallow bowl (in French *escuelle*) from which Jesus Christ was said to have eaten the paschal lamb on the evening of the Last Supper with his disciples. In the French prose romance of the *Saint Graal*, it is said that Joseph of Arimathea, having obtained leave from Pilate to take down the body of Jesus from the cross, proceeded first to the upper room where the supper was held and found there this vessel; then as he took down the Lord's dead body, he received into the vessel many drops of blood which issued from the still open wounds in his feet, hands, and side. . . . According to Catholic theology, where the body or the blood of Christ is, there, by virtue of the hypostatic union, are His soul and His divinity." It is then shown that the legend declares this holy vessel to have been brought to England and treasured there by the descendants of Joseph of Arimathea, who established the royal line of Britain. The presence of the vessel in the British Church sanctioned the latter's existence and gave virtue to its eucharist. The writer condenses Paulin Paris' theory of the origin of the legend as follows: "The original conception came from some Welsh monk or hermit who lived early in the eighth century; its guiding and essential import was an assertion for the British Church of an independent derivation of its Christianity direct from Palestine, and not through Rome; the conception was embodied in a book, called *Liber Gradalis* or *de Gradali*; this book was kept in abeyance by

the British clergy for more than three hundred years, from a fear lest it should bring them into collision with the hierarchy and make their orthodoxy suspected; it came to be known and read in the second half of the twelfth century; a French poet, Robert de Boron, who probably had not seen the book, but received information about it, was the first to embody the conception in a vernacular literary form by writing his poem of *Joseph d'Arimathée*; and after Boron, Walter Map and others came into the field." Mr. Arnold himself inclines to think that Walter Map, about 1170-1180, connected the story of Joseph of Arimathea "with the Grail legend and both with Arthur;" and accepts Paulin Paris' now exploded derivation of the word Graal, to the effect that "graal is a corruption of *gradale* or *graduale*, the Latin name for a liturgical collection of psalms and texts of scripture, so-called 'quod in gradibus canitur,' as the priest is passing from the epistle to the gospel side of the altar. The author of the Graal conception meant by graal, or *graduale*, not the sacred dish (*escuelle*), but the mysterious book . . . in which he finds the history of the *escuelle*."

The romances, in prose and verse, which constitute the Grail cycle and which were written between the appearance of the *Historia Britonum* and the death of Wolfram von Eschenbach, about 1225, are so numerous, so long, so intricate, and so similar to each other in detail and general character, that it is no wonder there has been confusion; and I am far from thinking that anything like an equilibrium of opinion concerning their order of creation is likely to be established soon. Enough has been said to account for the suddenness of the phenomena—a dozen or more romances springing up within a half century, in three, or perhaps five languages. I propose further to exhibit, with incidental criticisms, the result of the latest work, presenting first the legend in synthetic form.

Now when the products of recent inquiry are taken and weighed, the statement of this interesting case must be somewhat as follows: There existed among the Celts from pre-

Christian times a folk-tale which may be called the Great Fool story, and which has been found, in some shape or other, among nearly all the peoples of Aryan race. The hero is a boy, usually a young prince, born, or at least brought up, in a wilderness, to escape the jealousy of his dead father's rival. In some cases his father was a great hero, in others a god, and generally there have been signs and wonders indicating that the boy will grow to be a mighty warrior. He is reared by his anxious mother in innocence of worldly ways, and consequently, though powerful and courageous, appears stupid beyond measure. His chief characteristics are his simplicity, strength, boldness, awkwardness, chastity, and ignorance. By some chance, he gains knowledge of the outer world, and hastens headlong from the sheltering forest and his protesting mother. In the world, none is braver or clumsier than he, and his prowess brings him in contact with the great of the earth and with monsters. After slaying dragons and winning battles he returns to his mother and comes back again into his rights.

This outline is what has been termed the Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula.¹ Mr. Nutt claims to have found eight stories built on this model in Celtic literature alone. And he does not include the Breton tales of Morvan lez Breiz and Peronnik (although they are of the same character), because their originality has been called in question.

We know also that the Welsh possessed from time immemorial a body of legend with Arthur for its centre. Whether or not the basis of this tradition was to any considerable extent historical, the whole matter is undoubtedly Celtic. Thirdly, there exist in Irish and Gaelic folklore many references to a talismanic spear and cup, the former representing the powers of destruction, the latter the powers of healing. In Welsh literature the vessel is a magic cauldron which brings to life dead bodies that have been thrown into it. There is no longer much question of the pagan mythological origin of all these

¹ See von Hahn's *Arische Aussetzung und Rückkehr Formel*.

stories. By some scholars they are even connected with other more primitive legends of Eastern origin and held to have been originally part of an ancient nature-worship.

Sensible of their mystery and antiquity, and not too careful to offer an explanation of their meaning, the Welsh bards during the Norman conquest revived these slumbering traditions, no doubt largely for the patriotic reasons I have mentioned. One is tempted to see in the story of the Great Fool, who suffers contumely for a season, only to triumph eventually, one of those political prophecies with which the bards were wont to stir up resistance to the invader.

There are three members of the Grail cycle of romances which bear a striking similarity to each other, and which have not been proved to be derived directly from any known source or to have been entirely modelled on one another, and which, in spite of many efforts to show that they are later, appear all to have originated in the latter part of the twelfth century. They have each been held to be the earliest treatment of the subject which has come down to us. They all of them pre-suppose an acquaintance with the three traditions just mentioned, and thus the opinion is justified that some poet, now forever unknown, worked this mythological material into a romance which either directly or indirectly supplied three men of three different nations with the thread of three closely-related stories. These stories are that part of the *Conte du Graal* composed by Chrestien de Troyes, about 1190, in French; the English metrical romance, *Sir Perceval*, found in the Thornton manuscript; and the Welsh mabinogi, or prose romance, *Peredur, the Son of Evrawc*. The Thornton *Sir Perceval*, a fine old poem in racy English, is accessible in the publications of the Camden Society, for which it was edited by Halliwell. The *Peredur* is also accessible to English readers in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*.

I will now give a summary of Chrestien's poem, which has never been translated into English. The Knight Bliocadran is slain at a tournament given by the King of Wales and

Cornwall. During his absence his wife has borne a son, Perceval, whom, on hearing the sad news, she takes with her to the Waste Forest. She warns him, to preserve him from his father's fate, that men in iron armor are devils; but one day, in the joyous springtime, he comes running home to say he has met five knights, and that they are angels and not devils. He is determined to follow these shining creatures. She pleads with him in vain. He has learned from his new acquaintances that knighthood may be won from King Arthur. So, in despair, she makes him a rude dress of leather and gives him some curious and enigmatical advice, namely, that if he meets a maiden he is to take her ring and girdle, if he can, and kiss her if she is willing. He fares forth boldly, leaving his mother in a swoon, and the first of his adventures is with a maiden whom he discovers in a tent, and from whom he wrests kisses, ring, and girdle, as advised. Coming to Arthur's court, he bears himself bravely, but boorishly, and is accounted a fool for his pains. He sallies out, however, in pursuit of a Red Knight who has insulted the Queen. After slaying the Red Knight, whose armor he dons and whose steed he mounts, Perceval comes to the castle of an old knight, Gonemans, who teaches him the arts and manners of a gentleman warrior, counselling him especially not to be too quick to ask and answer questions. After a series of adventures and a love passage with Blanche fleur, Gonemans' niece, who dwells in a castle a day's journey further on, he sets forth to seek his mother. But he has scarcely departed when he meets two men fishing from a boat in a river. One of them directs him to his own castle, whither Perceval goes alone and with some misgiving, as it is hard to find. Suddenly it rises before him. He is courteously received, clothed in scarlet, and led into a great hall, where an old man lies upon a couch before a fire, with four hundred men about him. A young man enters with a sword, on which is written that it will break only in one peril, and that its maker alone knows. The old man gives it to Perceval, as a guerdon from a fair lady, his niece. Another

attendant now advances with a bleeding lance. Two other men then enter with candlesticks, and a maiden accompanies them, bearing a shining *graal*. Another maiden carries a plate. Though all these objects are borne past him, Perceval essays not to ask concerning them, remembering Gonemans' advice. Supper is served, the *graal* re-enters, and Perceval still forbears to ask. After supper he is shown to his chamber.

On the morrow he finds the castle deserted and silent, and his horse waiting for him already saddled. When he rides out over the drawbridge the portcullis closes so suddenly that they are almost caught. On his journey that day he encounters a maiden mourning over a dead knight. When she hears his story she tells him that the fisher and the old man on the couch were the same; that he often fished, to forget the pain of a spear-thrust through the thighs from which he suffered, and that from this he was called the Fisher King. She asks Perceval his own name. He is ignorant of it, but she tells him he is Perceval le Gallois and should be called Perceval the Caitiff, for that if he had asked the meaning of the lance, the *graal*, and the plate, his question would have brought health to the king and other benefits. After conducting himself nobly in many more adventures, which are related with great breadth of detail, Perceval rejoins Arthur's court at Carlion (Caerleon), and is there again reproached for his backwardness in not asking the desired questions. This time his accuser is a damsel fouler to view than anything imaginable outside hell, and she comes riding into court on a yellow mule. If he had asked, the King would have recovered and reigned in peace; but now slaughter and disgrace will come upon the land, maidens will suffer shame, widows and orphans will increase, and many good knights will lose their lives.

A long section of the poem is here devoted to the career of Gauvain, a knight of Arthur's court, who finally goes forth in search of the bleeding lance. Meanwhile Perceval, who has wandered to and fro on the earth for five years, doing valiant service as a knight, but forgetful of God in his heart, meets,

one Good Friday, three knights with their ladies, all dressed as penitents. They rebuke Perceval for his irreligion in riding armed on that day, and convicted of his sin he hastens to a holy hermit, to whom he confesses that he has neglected God out of spite and grief at his failure to discover the meaning of the *graal*. The hermit, who turns out to be his uncle, tells Perceval that the sin which stands between him and the knowledge of that mystery, and which binds his tongue from asking concerning *graal* and lance, is having caused the death of his mother by his desertion of her. From this sin and all others his hermit-uncle absolves him, and he rides forth new-consecrated to the quest. The story here returns to Gauwain, and Chrestien's portion breaks off suddenly.

Its Northern-French continuators wrote later, of course, and on plans and from sources different from Chrestien's. Enough has been given to show how these early Grail romances treated the young Perceval saga and the talismans. The mabinogi and the Thornton *Sir Perceval*, as has been said, although corresponding to Chrestien's fragment, the former almost incident for incident, cannot be proved to have been based entirely upon it. They bear the marks of an equal antiquity, and the Welsh story especially is penetrated with a local and racial spirit. Here is an episode related in nearly all the romances of the cycle, but in none so beautifully and with such richness of detail as in the mabinogi; I quote Lady Charlotte Guest's translation:

“And in the evening he entered a valley, and at the head of the valley he came to a hermit's cell, and the hermit welcomed him gladly, and there he spent the night. And in the morning he arose, and when he went forth, behold a shower of snow had fallen the night before, and a hawk had killed a wild fowl in front of the cell. And the noise of the horse scared the hawk away, and a raven alighted upon the bird. And Peredur (Perceval) stood, and compared the blackness of the raven and the whiteness of the snow and the redness of the blood to the hair of the lady that best he loved, which was blacker than jet, and to her skin which was whiter than the snow, and to the two red

spots upon her cheeks, which were redder than the blood upon the snow appeared to be."

There is another incident in the mabinogi, which bears a striking likeness to some of the main features of the Siegfried myth in the German Heldensage. Peredur has just overcome in single combat a terrible, one-eyed "black man," the father of a beautiful maiden, whose sympathies were with the youthful knight. "'Black man,' cries Peredur, 'thou shalt have mercy provided thou tell me who thou art, and who put out thine eye.' 'Lord, I will tell thee; I lost it in fighting with the Black Serpent of the Carn. There is a mound, which is called the Mound of Mourning; and upon the mound there is a carn, and in the carn there is a serpent, and on the tail of the serpent there is a stone, and the virtues of the stone are such that whosoever should hold it in one hand, in the other he will have as much gold as he may desire.'" This monster Peredur slays, and cuts off its head. Earlier in the same mabinogi there is a very similar mention made of what is evidently the same serpent, and the fact that the incident has been thus divided goes towards proving that the author was following two originals of the same story and confounded their several relations of one event. We must suppose that at least one of the originals was obscure through age or through being in a foreign language, or else that one or both of the sources was popular tradition. The other mention of a serpent is as follows: "Peredur rode forward next day, and he traversed a vast tract of desert, in which no dwellings were. And at length he came to a habitation, mean and small. And there he heard that there was a serpent that lay upon a gold ring, and suffered none to inhabit the country for seven miles around. And Peredur came to the place where he heard the serpent was. And angrily, furiously, and desperately fought he with the serpent; and at last he killed it and took away the ring."

But this is the Young Siegfried myth! With a few changes of name, we have before us the old German saga of the Rhine-gold! The one-eyed black man recalls Wotan, the dark, one-

eyed, blue-cloaked wanderer, of the Heldensage, the Odin of the Edda; the serpent and ring seem unmistakably related to the Dragon guarding the Nibelungen ring, which conferred wealth upon its possessor; the beautiful daughter bears a fainter resemblance to Brünhilde, and Peredur, not only here, but in many other passages in the Celtic cycle, is closely analogous to Siegfried. But this ought not to surprise any one who had read attentively the story of Young Perceval and his mother in the Forest, which already suggests the Horny Siegfried of German poetry. There is in the mabinogi, moreover, a sword-test similar to that imposed upon the Volsung hero. Peredur is challenged to try his strength by cutting through an iron staple. He twice partially succeeds, but the severed fragments jump together again. The third time they do not unite. Compare in the Elder Edda the song of Sigurd (Siegfried) the Slayer of Fafnir, "Sigurdharkvidha Fafnisbana önnur," and its repetition in the Prose Edda.

It will be seen later that the Knights of the Grail, after eating of the food prepared by the holy vessel, became filled with more than human knowledge. Thus to Adam and Eve came knowledge through eating, and thus Siegfried, after tasting the Dragon's blood, had power to understand the speech of birds.

Apart from these marks of antiquity, there is something in the style of the mabinogi which stamps it as unquestionably Celtic in substance, if not in original conception. The following passage is notably delicate, quivering with sensitiveness to the impressions made by nature: "And he came towards a valley, through which ran a river; and the borders of the valley were wooded, and on each side of the river were level meadows. And on one side of the river he saw a flock of white sheep, and on the other a flock of black sheep. And whenever one of the white sheep bleated, one of the black sheep would cross over and become white; and when one of the black sheep bleated, one of the white sheep would cross over, and become black. And he saw a tall tree by the side

of the river, one-half of which was in flames from the root to the top, and the other half was green and in full leaf. And nigh thereto he saw a youth sitting upon a mound, and two greyhounds, white-breasted and spotted, in leashes, lying by his side. And certain was he that he had never seen a youth of so royal a bearing as he. And in the wood opposite he heard hounds raising a herd of deer. And Peredur saluted the youth, and the youth greeted him in turn."

Whichever of these three versions may be the oldest, and no order of priority has yet been established, it seems clear that in some such shape as they present them the germs of the Legend of the Holy Grail are found. This is proved by the immaturity of the ancient elements that occur in them (the Young Perceval story, hints of the Grail, allusions to Arthur). No one would have written thus vaguely who had before him detailed accounts such as the *Queste* and Robert de Borron's trilogy, which Birch-Hirschfeld reckons as the earliest existing members of the cycle. Moreover, the mabinogi, the Thornton *Sir Perceval*, and Chrestien's poem are naive creations, very simple and antique in spirit, as compared with the other romances, which are in a tone of highly developed chivalry.

It is probable that some Norman-English compiler, during the time of interest in Welsh affairs under Henry the Second, introduced the story to the French-reading world in a version which we do not possess. This version Chrestien and the authors of the mabinogi and of *Sir Perceval* used as the chief basis for their own. There may indeed have been also an independent Latin version, as maintained by the medieval romance-writers themselves. The main feature of this original was not the *grail*, for neither the English nor the Welsh version directly mentions such a thing; it is simply the old and widespread folk-tale of the Great Fool, derived through Celtic tradition and bearing traces of its passage. There are talismans, to be sure, and there are Arthur and his court, but these features, while likewise Celtic, are evidently not the core

of the romance as thus far developed. The talismans, indeed, are not mentioned in the English *Sir Perceval*.

Up to this time there has been no evidence that any Christian symbolical meaning was attached to the *graal*, beyond the fact that Perceval, as directed by the holy hermit, expected to obtain a spiritual benefit if he discovered it and the lance and asked concerning them. They are invariably spoken of with awe and veneration, but there is still a vast difference between this tone and the accents of purely Christian devotion with which readers of monkish legends are familiar. It is possible to discern a general reference to the crusades, but so indefinite that the advocates of a classical origin for these romances (and I believe there are two such advocates, the authors of the article "Romance" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) might as easily discover allusions to the Quest of the Golden Fleece.

It is at this stage of development that the legend is released from its local and national limitations and begins its progress around the world. Just what Chrestien understood by the word *graal* is not clear, but he evidently felt that there was in it a mysterious import, and no doubt would have developed his idea much further if he had lived to complete his poem. That he had no precise conception of its meaning and yet wished to appear to have, is evident from his equivocal allusions to it.

The meaning of the word *graal* has been the subject of much discussion. The romance writers themselves derived it from the French verb *agréer*, 'to please,' or directly from the Latin adjective *gratus*, and frequently spelled it *gréaus*. It seems to me that their allusions to this etymology are not merely in the nature of puns, but were intended seriously; it is thus plain that they did not know the real meaning of the word. It is in fact from the Low Latin *gradale*, from a diminutive, *cratella*, of the Latin *cratera*, sometimes *crattera*, Greek *κρατήρ* or *κρατηρία*, 'a mixing-bowl.' There is no reason whatever for accepting the explanation, so often put forward, that *san greal* is derived from *sang real*, the royal blood. For one thing, the word *graal* occurs too often and too early out of connection

with the *san*. A most interesting, but somewhat frail supposition, is that which connects *gradale*, 'a bowl,' with *gradale* or *graduale*, 'a mass-book' containing responses for the priest or choir *in gradibus*. Paulin Paris, whose acceptance of this view is responsible for its general adoption, bases his theory on the following passage from the chronicle of Helinandus, a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Froidmond, in the diocese of Beauvais. The chronicle runs down to 1209 and must therefore have been completed not earlier than that year: Anno 717. Hoc tempore, cuidam eremitae monstrata est mirabilis quaedam visio per Angelum, de sancto Josepho, decurione nobili, qui corpus Domini deposuit de cruce; et de catino illo vel paropside in quo Dominus coenavit cum discipulis suis; de qua ab eodem eremita descripta est historia quae dicitur *Gradal*. Gradalis autem vel Gradale dicitur gallicè scutella lata et aliquantum profunda in qua pretiosae dapes, cum suo jure (in their juice) divitibus solent apponi, et dicitur nomine *Graal*. . . Hanc historiam latinè scriptam invenire non potui; sed tantum gallicè scripta habetur a quibusdam proceribus; nec facilè, ut aiunt, tota inveniri potest. Hanc autem nondum potui ad legendum sedulo ab aliquo impetrare.¹

Chrestien's poem contains 10,601 verses. It was continued to verse 34,934 by Gautier de Douvens, who probably took up the work soon after Chrestien's death. In his portion very little light is thrown upon the meaning and origin of the *graal*, which, however, has now become manifestly the central feature of the poem. We know nothing about this Gautier except what the manuscripts of his poem themselves tell us, and they merely declare that he was its author, in the following passage, verses 33,755-8 (Potvin's edition):

Gautiers de Douvens, qui l'estore,
Nos a mis avant en memore,
dist et conte que Perchevaus
li bons chevaliers, li loiaus.

¹ For a more minute account of what has been written about the etymology of the word *graal*, see Skeat's preface, p. xxxvi, to the Early English Text Society's edition of *Joseph of Arimathie*.

Doulens is near Amiens, and the dialect is Picard. The *Conte du Graal* had other continuators, but they were considerably later (1216–1225), and there are passages even in the earlier portions, those attributed to Chrestien and Gautier, which are considered by both Birch-Hirschfeld and Nutt to be late interpolations. The latter says of one of these “interpolations” (the passage found in the Berne MS. and incorporated in Gautier’s section): “The existence of this fragment shows the necessity of collating all the MSS. of the *Conte du Graal* and the impossibility of arriving at definite conclusions respecting the growth of the work before this is done. . . . It is hopeless, in the present state of knowledge, to do more than map out approximately the leading sections of the work.”

At some point in the period to which Chrestien’s poem is assigned (1170–1212), there appeared the earliest versions we possess of a Christian legend which was destined soon to be combined and inextricably complicated with the story of Young Perceval, the talismans, and Arthur’s court. One of these versions is found interpolated, in several manuscripts, between Chrestien’s and Gautier’s sections of the *Conte du Graal*. The substance of it is as follows (I quote Nutt’s summary): “Joseph of Barimacie¹ had a dish made; with it he caught the blood running from the Saviour’s body as it hung on the Cross; he afterward begged the body of Pilate; for the devotion showed the Grail he was denounced to the Jews, thrown into prison, delivered thence by the Lord, exiled together with the sister of Nicodemus, who had an image of the Lord. Joseph and his companions came to the promised land, the White Isle, a part of England. There they warred against them of the land. When Joseph was short of food he prayed to the Creator to send him the Grail wherein he had gathered the holy blood, after which to them that sat at table the Grail brought bread and wine and meat in plenty. At his death Joseph begged the

¹*Joseph of Arimathia*. Nutt remarks that the form Barimacie bears witness to a Latin original, being corrupted evidently from *ab Arimathia*.

Grail might remain with his seed, and thus it was that no one, of however high condition, might see it save he was of Joseph's blood. The Rich Fisher was of that kin, and so was Greloguevaus, from whom came Perceval." The date of this passage cannot be even approximately ascertained; but it is not the only version of the legend. It is evident from the increased attention Gautier pays to the *graal* that he was acquainted with some such account. Besides, he tells that the *gréaus* was given by the King of kings as he hung on the Cross, and that "the devil may not lead astray any man on the same day he sees it."

But in addition to these witnesses we have a detailed poem by Robert de Borron (a reference he makes to his lord, Walter of Montbeliard, fixes its date between 1170 and 1212) on the early history of the Grail. Here for the first time we enter an atmosphere apparently of prevailing Christian tone. Beginning with Borron's poem, we have many accounts of the origin, the wanderings, the miracles, and the spiritual significance of the Grail. They agree substantially to this effect: The Grail was the vessel used by Christ at the Last Supper, obtained from Pilate by Joseph of Arimathia, who received in it the blood from Christ's wounds when our Lord's body was taken from the Cross. During a long captivity which he suffered for his fidelity, Joseph was fed and comforted by the holy vessel, which came to him in his prison, filling it with glorious light. Upon his release Joseph brought the sacred emblem to England, where he or his descendants founded the British church. It would remain in the keeping of Joseph's family until a chosen knight should come, to be its king and guardian. Some versions relate that the Grail was brought to England by Brons, Joseph's brother-in-law; others that Joseph, after bringing it to England himself, confided it to Brons.

Somewhere about this time, but the dates and order are matter of vexed discussion, were written the prose romances, the *Queste del Saint Graal* and the *Grand Saint Graal*. Robert de Borron's poetical romance was originally in three parts,

Joseph d'Arimathie, Merlin, Perceval. Of the first part we possess nearly all, of the second the beginning; the third is lost; but of the first two parts and perhaps of all three, there have come down to us versions in prose. Furthermore, we have another independent prose version, entitled *Perceval le Gallois*, the German poetical version *Parzival*, of Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Die Crône*, not to mention in this connection mere fragments, variants, and translations.

The incidents of the Grail's "early history" are, at first blush, similar in character to those of most other monkish legends. They furnish a good illustration of how far, at that time, the canon of the New Testament scriptures was from being established, and with how little compunction medieval religious writers sometimes mingled their own inventions with the sacred narratives. Statements of canonical and apocryphal books are not distinguished from mouth to mouth tradition or from sheer fiction. The apocryphal authority most used is the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, which was known and popular in England several centuries before it is mentioned by any continental writer except Gregory of Tours. The apocryphal narrative of Joseph was also employed, and the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. The accounts of the early history of the Grail are in all but two romances bound up with a history of the quest, based upon stories of Perceval's youth, the talismans, and Arthur's court, which we have seen are of Celtic pagan origin.

The *Queste del Saint Graal*, a prose romance attributed in the manuscripts themselves to Walter Map, and found generally in the same manuscripts with the *Lancelot* and the *Mort Artur*, is plainly of secondary or tertiary construction, although dating from the period 1190-1200, and written without knowledge of Borron's poem. Birch-Hirschfeld has done what he could to shake the statement that Walter Map was its author. I am glad to believe that he has not succeeded. It is a great satisfaction to have in the cycle at least one author about whose life and character we possess some outside knowledge. Walter

Map was born before 1143 and died in 1210. He was one of the most versatile writers of his day, a prominent courtier under Henry the Second and perhaps also under Richard and John, and one of the highest dignitaries of the English church. Having been educated at the University of Paris, he was several times chosen to fill important political and ecclesiastical posts on the Continent. His writings are in French and Latin, although he was an Englishman, and probably a native of the Welsh border. His most celebrated Latin work, *De Nugis Curialium*, is a book of personal reminiscences and miscellaneous gossip, and shows the immense range of his experience and his curiosity in many fields of literary attainment. His long sojourns in France, his intellectual eminence, and the fact that he was born just when and where he was, make possible his having been able at least to know all the legends and romances upon which the *Queste del Saint Graal* is based, and to conceive the idea of writing a book which should combine them and transfuse them with new spiritual significance.

Birch-Hirschfeld's chief argument against his authorship is that he could not have had time, in his busy life of civil and ecclesiastical politics, to compose the vast romances which call themselves his. Yet precisely in his travels in France and England, and in his diplomatic activity, would he have found material for his works, which are chiefly the piling up of adventure upon adventure, with very little attempt at coördination. If a learned and travelled man had kept account of all the stories of chivalry that fell under his notice, he might quickly and easily have strung them together in his old age. Mr. Skeat, in the preface to his edition of the Vernon MS. *Joseph of Arimathia*, printed for the Early English Text Society in 1871, takes a view, however, that is entirely too radical, especially as it is unsupported by proofs, when he says: "The Lancelot of Chrestien de Troyes has been proved conclusively by a Flemish scholar, W. J. A. Jonckbloet, to have been founded upon the Lancelot of Walter Map; and in like manner I suppose that Chrestien borrowed his Perceval le Gallois from

Map also, in a great measure. I can see no reason why we may not assume Walter Map's romance, of which the original Latin version is lost, to have been the real original from which all the rest were more or less imitated." He quotes with approbation Professor Morley's exclamation: "Where was there an author able to invent it and to write it with a talent so 'prodigious,' except Walter Map, to whom alone, and to whom always, positively, it has been ascribed?" Again Mr. Skeat says: "The original Latin text by Walter Map being lost, we are left to conjecture what it was like from the various translations and imitations of it. And first, there is the Romance in French verse, as composed by Robert de Boron about A. D. 1170." Whether Map learned from Borron or Borron from Map, or both, as is more likely, from common sources, the Frenchman's poem and the Englishman's *Queste* are the earliest and best presentations of the Early History, or Christian legend, of the Grail. The elements of this legend, though old enough, far older doubtless than any version we possess, can hardly compare in antiquity with the pagan mythological sources from which sprang the story of Young Perceval.

It would seem a difficult task to show how the two streams, thus starting far apart, one pagan and the other Christian, flowed together, blending into the great spiritual legend of which the one transcendent outcome is the Grail, the symbol of Christ's visible presence and the object of the purest human aspiration. It is indeed a problem which has taxed and baffled the minds of many scholars. Only of very recent years has a solution been proposed which in a measure satisfies the requirements of probability and is in accord with the great mass of other phenomena in comparative literature. This triumph was reserved for students of specifically Celtic mythology and folk-lore. If their conclusions appear disappointing to those who would fain discover a Christian origin for the noblest of medieval legends, on the other hand they must prove gratifying to all lovers of consistency. What these Celtic scholars have done is no less than to show that the real origin of the

early history as well as of the quest is Celtic and pagan! Mr. Nutt, whose researches seem to have been inspired and assisted by J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, finds in Bran, the hero of an Irish myth, "the starting-point of the Christian transformation of the legend." Brons is no other than Bran, who, in Celtic tradition, is "ruler of the other world," of Avalon, the land of the blessed, beyond the western sea, whither the choicest heroes go questing. In the Christian legend the seat of Brons' influence, where he began the conversion of the Britons, is Glastonbury, which was one of the first centres of Christian influence in Britain. Mr. Nutt asks: "Is it too rash a conjecture that the Christian church may have taken the place of some Celtic temple or holy spot specially dedicated to the cult of the dead and of that Lord of the Shades from which the Celts feigned their descent?"

This is indeed a bold speculation, particularly when we consider the earliness of Borron's poem and the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and their thorough Christian character, and remember also the rapidity with which all subsequent writers accepted the Christian-legendary account. I do not see either why Mr. Nutt should give so little weight to the early influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. His view, however, is consistent with the shrewd proposition which he assumes in starting, but happily does not lay too much stress upon, viz: that the tendency in medieval literature is from the racial-heathen towards the Christian-legendary. However valuable this principle, and by the analogy of Scandinavian and German literatures it is most excellent, the force of Mr. Nutt's argument depends entirely upon the character of the Celtic folk-stories to which he and Professor Rhys, who follows him enthusiastically, refer. The whole field is open only to them and other learned Celtic students like them; but they have provided us samples enough to furnish a judgment, and their conclusions on this head must be regarded as final in the present state of knowledge.

We have now reached the following results respecting the ultimate sources of the Holy Grail legend: First, the source

whence sprang the most beautiful feature, the feature which was the most prominent one in early versions, is the Young Perceval folk-tale. This story, as found among nearly all peoples of Aryan race, is called the Expulsion and Return formula, and has been connected by many recent investigators with a solar myth, as representing the setting and rising of the sun, or a secular myth, as representing the departure and return of spring. While the formula is almost universal, the particular variety in this case is Celtic. Secondly, the poets of the Holy Grail cycle availed themselves of the legends about Merlin and Arthur and other figures of Celtic mythology which were prominent in the twelfth century. These legends had been in part revived, in part forged, in part new created, and all for a political reason which the history of Wales makes sufficiently clear. Thirdly, there exist, even in our earliest versions, mysterious and pregnant allusions to certain objects, either pagan talismans or Christian relics; and in the later growth of the legend it is to these that a predominating development is given. The most recent phase of study has been the discussion of the complicated problem here presented: Are these objects in their remotest origin pagan or Christian? Do they represent some ancient Druidical usage and was the knowledge of them kept alive through Celtic tradition; or were they of monkish creation, the outgrowth of the scriptural and apocryphal and legendary accounts of the early Christian church?

Now it is evident that if the Christian-origin hypothesis were true we should find the sacred objects treated as Christian symbols in the earliest as well as the latest versions we possess. But such is not the case, unless I am wrong in claiming an earlier date for Chrestien's poem, the mabinogi, and the Thornton *Sir Perceval* than for the works of Robert Borron and Walter Map. In the Thornton *Sir Perceval* there is no mention whatever of sword, lance, spear, dish, *graal*, or salver, whether as Christian relics or as pagan talismans. In Chrestien's portion of the *Conte du Graal* the mention is not such as to justify the Christian-origin hypothesis. Mysterious objects are alluded

to in such a way as to indicate that the author did not understand their nature or significance, or else did not wish yet to inform his readers on these points. This has been explained by saying that Chrestien was reserving this information for the conclusion of his poem, when it was to be introduced with some effect of surprise. But Gautier, who continued Chrestien's poem almost immediately and probably had access to the same material as Chrestien, is only a little more definite than he, and in the meanwhile the transformation is conceded to have begun. In the mabinogi a bleeding spear and a salver containing a man's head are introduced, but with no hint of their being relics of Christ's passion. Furthermore, Wolfram, who based his poem largely on Chrestien's, states explicitly that he had another source as well, the now lost Kiot. I think Wolfram's declaration worthy of credence, although that is a very bold thing to do, since most of his recent critics, and the best of them, at that, have denied the existence of this Kiot and given the lie to that most worthy and Christian knight, Wolfram von Eschenbach, who proudly asserted that he was no mere literary man. Now Wolfram, while penetrated to the heart with the most fervent Christian mysticism and displaying everywhere his love of allegory and his faith in God's special interferences, does nowhere regard the *graal* as the vessel which received Christ's blood. Its significance for him is indeed religious, but he has evidently never heard of the origin ascribed to it by the authors of the *Joseph*, the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and the *Grand Saint Graal*, by Robert de Borron and Walter Map; and all the writers who adopt the legendary story.

In Wolfram's *Parzival* the *graal* is a precious stone, yielding bounteous store of food and drink; to it, every passion week, flutters down from heaven a *dove*, which places upon it a holy wafer. At the fall of the rebellious angels it was received from God by Titurel and his dynasty, and preserved by them in Montsalvat, the Grail Castle. It chooses its own guardians, a sacred knighthood, vowed to virginity, all except their king.

Anfortas, the maimed king, was wounded not more in body than in soul, "for having taken up arms in the cause of worldly and unlawful love." Now if Wolfram had any other model besides Chrestien, and he says he had Kiot, this ignorance of his shows that another and still older writer was also ignorant of the Joseph legend. Wolfram, discontented with Chrestien's lack of moral and religious profundity, protests against being considered an imitator of his, and informs us that his model was Kiot the Provençal (or Kiot of Provins). There is absolutely no trace of such a poet except in Wolfram. Spanish and Provençal literatures have been searched through in vain for evidence of the existence in medieval Provençal of a Grail romance. But Wolfram's assertions are too explicit to be lightly passed over. Let us take his words in evidence.

In *Parzival*, 452, 29, speaking of the pious Trevrezent, a hermit whom the hero encounters on his travels :

an dem ervert nu Parzival
 diu verholnen mære umben grâl.
 Swer mich dervon ê frâgte
 unt drumbe mit mir bâgte,
 ob ichs im niht sagte,
 umprîs der dran bejagte.
 mich batez helen Kyôt,
 wand im diu âventiure gebôt
 daz es immer man gedæhte,
 ê ez d'âventiure bræhte
 mit worten an der mæhre gruoz
 daz man dervon doch sprechen muoz.

Kyôt der meister wol bekant
 ze Dôlet verworfen ligen vant
 in heidenischer schrifte
 dirre âventiure gestifte.
 der karakter â b c
 muoser hân gelernet ê,
 ân den list von negrômanzi.
 es half daz im der touf was bî :
 anders waer diz maer noch unvernunn.
 kein heidensch list möht uns gefrumn
 ze künden umbes grâles art,
 wie man stner tougen inne wart.

ein heiden Flegetânîs
 bejagte an künste hôhen pris.
 der selbe fisêôn
 was gehorn von Salmôn,
 ûz israhêlscher sippe erzilt
 von alter her, unz unser schilt
 der touf wart fürz hellefiur.
 der schreip vons grâles âventiur.
 Er was ein heiden vaterhalp
 Flegetânîs, der an ein kalp
 bette als op ez wær sîn got.
 wie mac der tievel selhen spot
 gefüegen an sô wîser diet,
 daz si niht scheidet ode schiet
 dâ von der treit die höhsten haut
 unt dem elliu wunder sint bekant?

Flegetânîs der heiden
 kunde uns wol bescheiden
 iesliches sternen hinganc
 unt siner künfte widerwanc;
 wie lange ieslicher umbe gêt,
 ê er wider an sîn zil gestêt.
 mit der sternen umbereise vart
 ist gepüfel aller menschlier art.
 Flegetânîs der heiden sach,
 dâ von er blûwecliche sprach,
 im gestîrn mit sînen ougen
 verholenbæriu tougen.
 er jach, es hiez ein dinc der grâl:
 des namen las er sunder twâl
 inne gestirne, wie der hiez.
 'ein schar in ûf der erden liez:
 diu fuor ûf über die sterne hôch.
 op die ir unschult wider zôch,
 sît muoz sîn pfegn getouftiu fruht
 mit alsô kiuschlicher zuht:
 diu menscheit ist immer wert,
 der zuo dem grâle wirt gegert.'

Sus schreip dervon Flegetânîs.
 Kyôt der meister wis
 diz mære begunde suochen
 in latînschen buochen,
 wâ gewesen wære
 ein volc dâ zuo gebære
 daz ez des grâles pflæge

unt der kiusche sich bewæge.
 er las der lande chrônica
 ze Britâne unt anderswâ,
 ze Francriche unt in Yrlant:
 ze Anschouwe er diu mære vant.
 er las von Mazadân
 mit wârheite sunder wân:
 umb allez sîn geslehte
 stuont dâ geschriben-rehte,
 unt anderhalb wie Tyturel
 unt des sun Frimutel
 den grâl bræht ûf Amfortas,
 des swester Herzeloyde was,
 bî der Gahmuret ein kint
 gewan, des disiu mære sint.¹

It is scarcely likely that Wolfram could read Provençal, or indeed that Kiot wrote in that language. It is probable that he used a Northern French dialect, though it is not necessary to suppose that the chronicle of Anjou really did furnish him anything about the Grail. The fact that he is called Kiot the Provençal would indicate that he did *not* live in Provence; else why should his nationality be emphasized? Without denying that this story about Flegetanis and Kiot has many elements of the fictitious, for the most part it seems to me credible enough. Wolfram is almost as serious and reliable as Dante. Who would think of disbelieving the Italian poet's downright and oft-repeated assertions? And Wolfram insists on Kiot. I am not, however, insusceptible to the force of Birch-Hirschfeld's argument that Wolfram, having borrowed wholesale from Chrestien, and wishing to draw attention from that fact, pretended to have a recondite source in Kiot, of whom no trace exists, and made as little mention of Chrestien as possible. I will admit further that there occurs to me, in support of Birch-Hirschfeld's theory, a reason which I have never seen advanced, namely that Wolfram has not always wrought with that sad sincerity becoming to a medieval religious poet, but indulges on every opportunity in his peculiar humor; his assertion that

¹I have translated this important and interesting passage in Appendix A.

he could not read and was no mere literary man may be taken as an example, for it is preposterous to suppose that he was illiterate, and the connection in which the remark occurs is full of repartee with imaginary readers. But just because of these readers, he could not have been romancing in so serious a matter as the Kiot authorship, for he evidently wrote in anticipation of being read by court people of his own acquaintance, who would be sure to bring him to book for his statements, as he says certain ladies had done once before.

The Anglo-Norman writers of the Holy Grail cycle also insist on certain Latin books, whose existence Mr. Nutt seems to scoff at; and I see no reason to deny that there may have been versions in Latin, or in French either, which have been lost.¹ Indeed the inconsistency, coupled with similarity, of the versions we do possess points irresistibly to such a conclusion. There is no use in making the problem harder than it is by shutting ourselves up with the versions we have and trying to make them fit together, when they absolutely will not fit. If ever there was room for the respectful consideration of unknown quantities it is here. If ever speculation was justifiable, besides being delightful, it is also here.

Whatever its origin, the Legend of the Holy Grail speedily acquired a tone of Christian mysticism. The Grail itself, which was so little alluded to at first, grew to a figure of paramount importance. An amazing number of versions sprang up within a single half-century. Looking at the legend as a supernatural being may be supposed to regard all mundane phenomena,—that is independently of the limitations and order of time, it must be admitted that its root and life, its fruit, its purpose, its essential principle, its promise for the future, is the beautiful idea of a spiritual knighthood, seeking not earthly love and favor, but the sacred emblem of our Saviour's sacrifice, the

¹ Again I plead for more faith in MS. statements. MS. 2,455 Bibl. Nat. (of the *Grand Saint Graal*) says: Or dist li contes qui est estrais de toutes les ystoires, si come Robers de Borons le translatoit de latin en romans, à l'ayde de maistre Gautier Map.

miraculous vessel of his immanent grace, the medium of his bounty. The lapse of ages has enabled us to look backward with somewhat of supernatural freedom from ordinary logic; and we may, without great violence to historical facts, transfer the final cause to the position of the formal cause, and declare that in this transcendental sense Tennyson and Wagner are nearer the truth than Mr. Nutt and Professor Rhÿs. Yet from an every-day point of view the latter, it appears to me, have given us at last a sound theory as to the ultimate sources of the legend.

The embodiment of the legend is in the following versions, which have come down to us. I have endeavored to arrange them as nearly as possible in chronological order, that being, however, a matter of much uncertainty. Mr. Nutt's work, the most elaborate treatment of the subject, and based on vast research, and conducted with judgment and fairness, affords authority for most of the table.

1. Chrestien's portion of the *Conte du Graal*. The *Conte du Graal* is a poem containing over 60,000 verses, of which Chrestien de Troyes, a celebrated Northern French poet, wrote 10,600. Ch. Potvin printed, for the first time, 45,379 verses, from a MS. in the library of Mons, Belgium: *Le Conte du Graal*, 6 vols., 8vo.; Mons, 1866-71. A complete edition of Chrestien's works is now being edited by Foerster. Of this three volumes have already appeared, containing the *Chevalier au Lyon* and the *Erec et Enide*; Halle, 1890. Chrestien dedicates his poem to Count Philip of Flanders, who *li bailla le livre*, gave him the book, upon which it is based. Nutt and Birch-Hirschfeld agree in supposing, from references to Count Philip, that the work was begun about 1189. Three of the continuators of the poem name themselves and claim their share of credit for it; one of them, Gerbert, even states expressly that Chrestien was prevented by death from proceeding with it:

ce nous dist Chrestiens de Troyes
qui de Percheval comencha
mais la mors qui l'adevancha
ne li laissa pas traire affin.

2. The mabinogi of *Peredur ab Eivrawc*, as already explained, though probably written later than Chrestien's fragment, is not modelled on it necessarily, and is at least equally ancient in conception and material. It is a Welsh prose romance found in MSS. of the end of the thirteenth century, but particularly in the Red Book of Hergest, a MS. of the end of the fourteenth, preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, from which it was printed, in 1838, by Lady Charlotte Guest, in her English translation of the *Mabinogion*.

3. *Sir Perceval of Galles*, an old English poem, first printed by Halliwell for the Camden Society, in 1844, from the Thornton MS. of about 1440, bears much the same relation to Chrestien's fragment and to the mabinogi that they bear to each other. The Thornton MS. is thought to be a very late copy.

4. Gautier's portion of the *Conte du Graal* (verses 10,601–34,934) was probably written shortly after Chrestien's death. The MSS. differ as to Gautier's full name, but probably it was Gautier de Douvens (a small town in Picardy, near Amiens). He mentions himself in verse 33,755.

5. The introduction to Chrestien's poem, though purporting to be by him, is evidently of later origin than the next 10,600 lines. It lays great stress on the grail and lance and on the Rich Fisher, though not generally in such a way as to imply a knowledge of the Christian legend, but rather in the full spirit of Celtic pagan folk-lore. There is one reference, however, which proves that the author, whoever he was, had begun to connect the Druidical symbols with Christian relics. The supposed discovery of the lance with which the Roman soldier pierced the side of Jesus was one of the great sensations of the first crusade. The story as told in Gibbon, chapter 58, is well known. The pseudo-Chrestien introduction relates how the court of the Rich Fisher was entertained with seven tales, of which the seventh and most pleasing "tells of the lance where-with Longis pierced the side of the king of holy Majesty."

6. Robert de Borron's trilogy in French verse, *Joseph, Merlin, Perceval*, of which we have the *Joseph* and part of the *Merlin*,

was written probably a good while before the close of the twelfth century. It bears the signature of genius, and one is not tempted to seek for other "sources" than the author's originality, except in so far as we know he must have used traditions which had long before grown out of the canonical and apocryphal gospels. Borron's poem breathes a spirit of profoundest mysticism. For him all incidents of his story are fraught with a divine intention, pointing to the spiritual reign of Christ. Almost everything he mentions is typical of some religious doctrine. Ordinarily in literary criticism it is unsafe to yield to a temptation to seek cryptic meanings; in medieval poetry of a religious character, it is necessary to exercise the speculative and sympathetic faculties. Borron connects the contemplation of the Grail with the celebration of the Sacrament of the Supper, and the Sacrament in turn typifies the manner and instruments of Christ's death. "No Sacrament shall ever be celebrated but Joseph shall be remembered. The bread and wine are Christ's flesh and blood, the tomb is the Altar; the grave-cloth the Corporal, the vessel wherein the blood was put shall be called Chalice, the cup-platter signifies the tombstone. All who see Joseph's vessel shall be of Christ's company, have fulfilment of their heart's wish and joy eternal." But with one side of the matter Borron was not so well acquainted, and this is of importance for us. He himself declares:

Je n'ose parler ne retraire,
 Ne je ne le porroie faire,
 (Neis se jè feire le voloie)
 Se je le grant livre n'aveie
 Oû les estoires sont escrites,
 Par les grans clerks feites et dites.
 Là sont li grant secré escrit.
 Qu'on nomme le Graal.

"I dare not speak of nor repeat [Joseph's secret], and not even if I wished to do it could I do it, without having the great book in which the stories are written, made, and told

by the great clerks. Therein are set forth the great secrets which are called the Grail." This is the sense in which Paulin Paris translates *se je le grant livre n'aveie*. Mr. Skeat, on p. xxxv of his preface to *The English Alliterative Poem Joseph of Arimathie*, published for the English Text Society, objects to this rendering, and Mr. Nutt agrees with him, translating the sentence thus: "I dare not, nor could not, tell this but that I had the great book, &c.," concluding of course that he *had* the book, whereas the inference from the former translation is that Robert de Borron believed in the existence of the *grand livre latin*, but did *not* have it under his eyes. Among the legends employed is that of St. Veronica, under the name of Verrine, who "wiped Christ's face and thus got the likeness of Him." The Holy Grail is called *Graal* because it is agreeable to all who see it. A significant feature is that Alain is commanded "to take charge of his brethren and sisters and go westwards," to Avaron, which can be nothing else than Avalon, the Elysian Fields of Druidical mythology. At the close of the *Merlin* occur the words: "And I, Robert of Borron, writer of this book, may not speak longer of Arthur till I have told of Alain, son of Brons, and how the woes of Britain were caused; and as the book tells so must I what man Alain was, and what life he led, and of his seed and their life. And when I have spoken of these things I will tell again of Arthur." We perceive the author's intention of connecting the first Christian church in Jerusalem with the church of Britain. The unique MS. is in the Bibliothèque nationale, and contains 4,018 verses, of which 3,514 constitute the *Joseph*. It has been printed by Furnivall for the Roxburgh Club, in two volumes, London, 1861-63. The poem is often called the *Petit Saint Graal*. Nutt holds that it remained unknown for many years after its composition, since he finds no trace of its influence on romances of later date. Birch-Hirschfeld, believing he finds evidence of its influence even in the *Conte du Graal*, makes it the original member of the cycle, thus setting up a theory utterly opposed to the one we have followed.

7. The interpolation already noted and summarized, occurring in several MSS. of the *Conte du Graal*, in the midst of Gautier's portion. This was evidently written some time later than Gautier's portion and inserted into his account to give a representation of the Christian legend, which had by this time made credit for itself as the true and acceptable early history of the mysterious symbols.

8. An independent ending of Gautier's portion, found in the Berne MS., concluding with the following statements (I quote Nutt's summary): "The Fisher King is father to Alain le Gros, husband to Enigeus, sister to the Joseph who, when Christ's body was taken down from the Cross, had it from Pilate as a reward for his services. Joseph had the vessel prepared to catch in it the blood from the body; it was the same Jesus had made the Sacrament in, on the Thursday before. The Fisher King dies on the third day and Perceval reigns in his stead." The author of this fragment must have been acquainted with Borron's poem.

9. The *Queste del Saint Graal*, a French prose romance, was printed for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1864, by Furnivall. Although Walter Map's authorship of it is denied by high authority, we have seen that the MSS. claim him and that there is no sufficient reason to doubt that he wrote it. A Welsh version exists, which though differing in many particulars from any hitherto discovered French MS., appears to be a translation of the *Queste*. This Welsh version was printed, with a translation, by the Rev. Robert Williams, from a MS. of the fifteenth century: *Y Seint Graal*, London, 1876.

10. The *Grand Saint Graal*, a French prose romance, printed by Furnivall. The Early English Text Society has published an English metrical version based on this French original, by Herry Lonelich, of about the middle of the fifteenth century. Both Birch-Hirschfeld and Nutt, in spite of a hint in the MS. which might be taken as an ascription of it to Robert de Borron, declare that the authorship is unknown. There is contemporary evidence (the reference to it by Helindandus)

that this romance was known before 1204. Nutt holds that our version of the *Grand Saint Graal* is the result of incorporating an original of that name, now lost, with Borron's poem.

11. Manessier, a Northern French poet, under the patronage of "Jehanne la Comtesse, qu'est de Flandre dame et mestresse," took up the *Conte du Graal* at line 34,934 and finished it at line 45,379. Jehanne was sole ruler of Flanders between 1214 and 1227.

12. Another conclusion of the *Conte du Graal* is by Gerbert. Birch-Hirschfeld maintains that this was Gerbert de Montreuil, author of the *Roman de la Violette*, and furthermore that the 15,000 lines, more or less, here employed were part of a complete work of his, which was mutilated to furnish an ending to the work of Chrestien and Gautier.

13. Prose adaptations of Borron's trilogy. Their date is uncertain, but they were probably written in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Nutt calls the prose romance of *Perceval* (the Didot-Perceval) a sequel to Borron's poem, made under the influence of the *Conte du Graal* and the *Queste*, or of material on which they are based, and maintains that it is later than all the other members of the cycle, and cannot therefore be used to prove that the third member of Borron's trilogy was of such and such a character.

14. The *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach is preserved in numerous complete and well-authenticated MSS. It has been twice translated from the Middle High German original into Modern German verse, by San Marte and later by Simrock. Wolfram was a Bavarian and lived probably between 1170 and 1220. Wolfram's complete works have been published in a critical edition by Karl Lachmann, Berlin, 1879 (fourth edition).

15. *Perceval le Gallois*, a French prose romance, is held by all critics to be of late origin, probably about 1225. There is an ancient Welsh translation of it, representing a text different from any we possess.

16. *Diu Crône*, by Heinrich von dem Türlin, another ancient German version, is subsequent to *Parzival* and based on it.

17. Ancient translations: a translation of the *Conte du Graal* into Flemish verse, begun by Pennine and finished, in 1350, by Peter Vorstaert; another of the same in Icelandic, preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm. There is also in Icelandic an ancient short compilation based on the *Conte du Graal*.

18. The *Morte Darthur*, of Sir Thomas Malory, printed by Caxton, in 1485, has been the medium through which the English-speaking race has derived most of its knowledge of the Arthurian romances, including the story of the Grail. It has grown out from the obscurer and duller versions of the earlier age and by its own popularity doomed them to long oblivion. The English poets, and especially Tennyson, have drawn rich stores from it. Caxton said that Malory took his matter "out of certain books of French and reduced it into English." Nevertheless he cannot be denied great originality, both for substance and arrangement, and his style alone, which has at all times received praise, would mark him as no mere compiler. The editio princeps has been critically studied and republished in superb form, with a learned introduction, by H. O. Sommer, 3 vols., London, 1891. The bibliographical notes are of great value. Malory, who probably completed his work about 1470, is, with respect to his attitude towards the Grail material, the first of a new class of writers, those who employ it freely, though reverently, as substance for original creations, modern in form and spirit. Not only Tennyson, but Spenser, Swinburne, William Morris, Matthew Arnold, R. S. Hawker, and half a dozen other English poets have essayed this theme of the Grail quest, or the kindred themes of Arthur's kingship, Lancelot's sin, and the luxurious woe of Tristram and Iseult. Mr. Sommer bears witness that the vitality and popularity of the Arthurian romances is, however, due to their internal connection with the legend of the Holy Grail. "What chivalry, with all its warlike prowess, was unable to effect by itself, was achieved by chivalry blended with Christianity. As long as Arthur's knights vowed themselves solely to worldly adventures, they were like ordinary men; but when they entered upon

the quest of the Holy Grail, the search for the supernatural, the struggle for the spiritual stamped upon them immortality."

At no time since the thirteenth century have more contributions been made to the legend of the Grail than in our own time, a time profoundly in sympathy with that earlier age. The works of Tennyson and Wagner, while in so far original that they present the most modern conceptions of chivalry, morality, and religion, are yet legitimate and generic developments of the medieval material. The text of Richard Wagner's music-drama *Parsifal* is based on Wolfram. There could be no better preparation for the study of how Wolfram himself treated Chrestien's poem or Malory adapted the matter found in his "French books," than a consideration of the way in which this most modern of poets chose what suited the demands of his imperious purpose. Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, in his delightful *Studies in the Wagnerian Drama*, has traced for English readers, but only too briefly, the genesis of Wagner's conception: how he, at an early point in his career, outlined a tragedy, *Jesus of Nazareth*, and eight years later, in 1856, another, *The Victors*, from a Buddhistic legend. Wagner himself has told us that at this time his mind was possessed by the philosophy of Schopenhauer. The theme of *The Victors* was to be abnegation, the voluntary annihilation of life. The love of the hero and heroine, Prakriti and Ananda, was to be surrendered at the instance of Buddha, and they were to retire from the world and live in celibacy. In this tone of mind, which was in fact the dominating mood of his art-life, Wagner composed *Tristan und Isolde*; this underlying idea gave birth to much of the philosophy of the Nibelungen trilogy; it is in virtue of heroic renunciation that Hans Sachs becomes the central figure of the *Meistersinger*, for dignity and pathos; and the informing idea of *Lohengrin*, also, is that better than all the sunlit joys of life, dearer than woman's favor and men's homage, stands the law of obedience to some master who is not of this world,—and the Swan Knight leaves his Elsa and his

fair kingdom for an empire of shadow. It is not enough to say that the stuff of all tragedy is just this thing—a noble soul's voluntary acceptance of the sharp decrees of higher law. The individual qualities of Wagner's tragic conceptions are in keeping with that Oriental philosophy to which Schopenhauer introduced him. So when, after rejecting both his earlier plans, he came to write *Parsifal*, it is comprehensible enough that the result, however Christian the theme and medieval the material, should betray the influence of his besetting thought.

Now what elements in Wolfram's story lend themselves to such change, not to say distortion? Manifestly the conception of the hero's purity. To bring out this quality and make it a determining factor of the drama, was therefore a temptation Wagner could not resist, although in accomplishing his purpose he must depart essentially from Wolfram. So the "loathly damsel" Kundrie, in Wolfram the Grail Messenger, is endowed with supernatural beauty and with powers of magic, is identified, moreover, with that Herodias who was doomed to walk the earth in fruitless penitence, enticing men to their ruin, until some pure soul should resist her unwillingly-exerted charms. To unify his plot Wagner made Parsifal's power to do this depend on his being touched with pity for Anfortas' pains and with horror at the sin of sensuality which had brought them upon that suffering Grail King. Wagner did no violence to the general spirit of medieval romance, in making celibate chastity the crown of all virtues; but Wolfram was peculiar in differing from his monkish predecessors on just this point, for his Parzival is no ascetic. We cannot, of course, challenge Wagner's right to re-inspire his material and make the flame white or red as he pleased. That he made it white, only proves his dramatic vigor and his vast sweep of view in the study of sources. For he was writing a medieval drama, and surely he produced a more consistent effect thus than he would have done had he strictly followed Wolfram. And, moreover, the conception of abnegation is not solely modern nor Oriental. It is to be found, for example, in the Eddas

and in the Celtic myths of Avalon and the Isles beyond the Western Sea. Possibly it has been suggested to all races, at all times, by the sight of death in the young and strong. Wagner's semi-identification of Parsifal with Christ is a proceeding less easily defensible from a dramatic point of view; but in general one may say that this poem is one more evidence, if any were needed after the *Nibelungen* and *Tristan*, of the intellectual supremacy of Richard Wagner. His successive conquests of whole territories of obscure myth and legend are as remarkable as those of the brothers Grimm themselves. The way in which he gathered his substance and harmonized it in *Parsifal* is a grand illustration of the magnetic quality of a soul-possession idea, which draws all things to itself.

I have been led to accept Nutt's list as the main authority for the order of most of the above cited versions from a belief in the soundness of his two statements, viz: first, an à priori principle that the tendency in bodies of medieval literature is to develop from the racial-heathen towards the Christian-legendary form and not vice versa; and secondly, that the poetical motive of a search or quest of the grail symbols is of older origin than the accounts which various versions give of the Christian origin of those symbols. Furthermore, Mr. Nutt has shown that there existed in Celtic literature abundant suggestion for a grail-myth independent of any Christian source. But it would not be fair to omit to say that the views of Birch-Hirschfeld, which are the reverse of all this, are more simply and clearly sustained than those of Nutt, who seems to labor under his great burden of minute information. I cannot profess to be convinced that Borron's poem may not have been, after all, as Birch-Hirschfeld maintains, written before Chrestien's. The difficulties encountered in this investigation impress me with a sense of how little the best inductive criticism can achieve when once a few bare facts about dates and sources and persons are lost. Birch-Hirschfeld, putting Borron first, and showing how, after monkish fashion, he wove a tale based on holy scripture and apocryphal books, makes Chrestien follow him, while the

mabinogi is an imitation of the *Conte du Graal*. Everyone must admit, however, that the story of Young Perceval and many other incidents are of ancient Celtic and non-Christian origin.

But the power of the Christian conception, and also the trend of time, making constantly towards Christ, are seen in the subsequent history of the legend. The poem of Wolfram, later and more perfect than the French originals, is no less than the story of Mansoul lifted out of grossness, despite dark doubt, by aspiration after God as He is manifested in the mystery of the Grail. *Parzival* is a noble forerunner of *Faust*; it makes the same bitter cry for the same sad woes; it leads through unbelief to triumphant faith; it teaches, finally, that spiritual attainment cannot be, until the soul forgets herself in humble sympathy for the sorrows of others. And this poem of the Middle Ages, thus worthy to stand side by side with that other great product of the spiritual German nation, contains no moral beauties, the germs of which cannot be found in those earlier, less serious, less consciously religious Welsh, French, and English works.

The Grail as typifying the sacrament of the supper, and that again as symbolizing the continued presence of Christ in the world, to help and save—this was the final cause, the unacknowledged reason, the unknown beginning, of the whole cycle. It is as if a divine hand had been holding the hands of all the writers of these books; and there can be few plainer triumphs of the Christian ideal than this, of having converted and drawn unto itself an obscure pagan myth, a stupid and unhistorical monkish fiction, many vain and worldly "adventures," until they appear at last fused into one as Wolfram's *Parzival*, as Tennyson's *Holy Grail*, as Wagner's *Parsifal*. In whatever shape, of mere frivolous romance, or of mythological tradition, or of garrulous monkish invention, the legend may have originated, its destiny was, to become increasingly moral, to embody a most spiritual religious doctrine; and whether or no its kernel is a survival of Druidical ceremonies

and superstitions, its character developed more and more in the direction of Christian symbolism. Words alone, beautiful as Wagner's are, did not seem to this greatest of modern Germans capable of holding the intense fervor of his theme; and the legend has found its latest expression in the latest and most wonderful art of man's invention, the music-drama, and in the supreme work of that art's first master. Wagner wrote his poem in fuller accord with the medieval conception than Tennyson, as he was obliged to do in order to preserve the sense of objective reality necessary in an acted drama, the medieval story being in all points capable of scenic representation. Tennyson, as we know, has transcendentalized it, employing the later, Christian-legendary account, and not the mythological one.

"The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
 Drank at the last sad supper with his own.
 This, from the blessed land of Aromat—
 After the day of darkness, when the dead
 Went wandering o'er Moriah—the good saint,
 Arimathæan Joseph, journeying brought
 To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
 Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.
 And there awhile it bode: and if a man
 Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,
 By faith, of all his ills."

What thing the Grail was, Percivale's sister, the ecstatic nun, essays to tell:

"Sweet brother, I have seen the Holy Grail:
 For, waked at dead of night, I heard a sound
 As of a silver horn from o'er the hills
 Blown, and I thought, 'It is not Arthur's use
 To hunt by moonlight;' and the slender sound
 As from a distance beyond distance grew
 Coming upon me—O never harp nor horn,
 Nor aught we blow with breath, or touch with hand,
 Was like that music as it came; and then
 Stream'd through my cell a cold and silver beam,
 And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail,

Rose-red with beatings in it, as if alive,
 Till all the white walls of my cell were dyed
 With rosy colors leaping on the wall;
 And then the music faded, and the Grail
 Pass'd, and the beam decay'd, and from the walls
 The rosy quiverings died into the night."

No other version equals Tennyson's description of the origin of the quest :

"Then of a summer night it came to pass.
 While the great banquet lay along the hall,
 That Galahad would sit down in Merlin's chair.
 And all at once, as there we sat, we heard
 A cracking and a riving of the roofs,
 And rending, and a blast, and overhead
 Thunder, and in the thunder was a cry.
 And in the blast there smote along the hall
 A beam of light seven times more clear than day:
 And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail
 All over covered with a luminous cloud,
 And none might see who bore it, and it past.
 But every knight beheld his fellow's face
 As in a glory, and all the knights arose,
 And staring each at other like dumb men
 Stood, till I found a voice and swore a vow.
 I swore a vow before them all, that I,
 Because I had not seen the Grail, would ride
 A twelvemonth and a day in quest of it,
 Until I found and saw it, as the nun
 My sister saw it; and Galahad swore the vow,
 And good Sir Bors, our Lancelot's cousin, swore,
 And Lancelot swore, and many among the knights,
 And Gawain swore, and louder than the rest."

And so on through those familiar lines describing how Galahad attained to perfect vision and Percivale to such a sight that henceforth he

"cared but to pass into the silent life,"

and Lancelot, for his sin, was granted only a terrific glimpse.

Tennyson's melodious creation is known to all, and haunts the memory like one of Doré's dream-cities, with clustering and

forehead-meeting towers. Wagner's is compounded of poetry and the indescribable and not-to-be-discussed diviner art of music. But Wolfram's *Parzival*, the only great poem by a single known author between the Latin classics and Dante, might be described briefly and made to show what pre-Dantean medieval art was. I have attempted to translate a few of Wolfram's rapid and somewhat uncouth verses. The original metre and rhyming system have been for the most part preserved, my aim being as much literalness as is consistent with clearness and grace. Indeed, in all but a few passages of overweening tenderness and beauty, Wolfram himself seems to aspire rather to force than to elegance, as became a warrior, who disclaimed all purpose of trying to win favor by words,

When Love's the stake and Knighthood plays.

The poem is in sixteen books of about 1,550 lines each. The versification is irregular, iambic tetrameter being, however, by far the most frequent form of the verses, which rhyme in successive pairs, but not necessarily in couplets: that is to say, two rhyming lines belong frequently to different sentences, so that the assonance is sometimes purely artificial and void of all pleasing effect.

The first two books, which are considered to have been written last, are filled, after a few introductory lines, with the adventures of Parzival's father Gahmuret,—incidents which have no connection with the Grail or any of the leading threads of narrative which follow. In the words of prelude, however, Wolfram does announce one of the moral motives of his work. They begin as follows :

When doubt a human conscience gnaws,
Peace from that breast her light withdraws.
Beauty and ugliness we find
Even in the bravest heart combined,
If taint be in him, great or slight,
As in the magpie black and white.
Yet oftentimes may he saved be,

For both share in his destiny—
High heaven and the abyss of hell.
But when the man is infidel
Of midnight blackness is his soul,
His course is towards yon pitchy hole;
While he of steady mind pursues
The shining road the righteous choose.

True to his Germanic blood, Wolfram introduces his hearers at once into an atmosphere of moral inquiry, and the subject of his poem is not mere courtly adventure, tinged with religious mysticism, as is the case with the French, Welsh, and English versions, but besides this and underlying it, the eternal warfare of doubt against the soul's activity. The rest of his introduction is broadly executed, being a rambling discourse on fidelity, love, and woman, to our ears a strange medley of grave and humorous. And then he plunges into the recital of Gahmuret's adventures. The fact that they have no essential connection with the rest of the poem shows how fond were medieval audiences of mere narration for its own sake. Wolfram briefly praises his unborn hero Parzival, a man of unalloyed courage, to whom fear and deceit were unknown, and then tells how his father Gahmuret, the younger son of Gandein, king of Anjou, enters the service of the Kalif of Bagdad, winning the love of the heathen queen Belakane, whom he forsakes because she will not become a Christian. He subsequently marries a lady named Herzeloide. He is slain in battle, and Herzeloide, hearing the news, buries herself in the wilderness of Soltane with her son, whom she resolves to protect from his father's fate by keeping him in ignorance of chivalry and warfare.

Then begins the recital proper, the first episode, which I have translated, being the idyllic story of Parzival's youth, told much more fully and picturesquely by Wolfram than by any of the other romancers. For the purposes of scientific investigation it would be better to consider this incident in one of the older accounts, such as the mabinogi, but if we are concerned to feel the pulse-beat of the highest poetic fervor attained

by any of the old writers of the cycle, we must seek it here. Indeed, as Wolfram is acknowledged to be the most profound and at times the sweetest of the old German singers, and as none of his other work equals this episode in tenderness and spring-like freshness, it has always appealed to me as the most beautiful sustained passage in medieval literature previous to Dante.

Another may with worthier thought
 Of women speak—I hate him not;
 I court their favor everywhere;
 Only to one no meed I bear
 Of service humble and true;
 Towards her my wrath is ever new
 Since first she harmed me with a lie.
 Wolfram von Eschenbach am I—
 Can bear a part in all your songs;
 And fast, as with a pair of tongs,
 For her I hold resentment hot
 Who such affliction on me brought.
 How can I help but hate her, who
 Gave me such harsh misdeeds to rue?
 Why other ladies hate me then,
 Alack, that is beyond my ken!

If their dislike does me no good,
 Still 'tis a proof of womanhood,
 And since my words were none too fine,
 To bear the blame be also mine!
 This shall not soon again befall,
 But if it does I warn you all,
 Good ladies, storm not as before
 My house about my ears. Of war
 I understand the tactics quite;
 Your foibles and your faults I might
 Too well disclose. But for a pure
 And modest woman I'd endure
 All bitter strife; to ease her woe
 My heart would fain all joys forgo.

On broken crutches halts his fame
 Who, angered by his scornful dame,
 Dares to speak ill of womankind.
 And first, that none offense may find,
 With poet's arts I'll not ensnare
 Her who may grant me audience fair.

A knight-at-arms am I by birth;
 In me sleep warlike strength and worth;
 She who might love me for my song
 Would show a judgment sadly wrong.
 For if I seek a lady's grace
 And may not go before her face
 With honors won by shield and sword,
 I will not woe her, by my word!
 No other game can have my praise
 When Love's the stake and Knighthood plays.
 And seeméd it not flattery
 Of ladies, I should let you see
 Straight to the end of my narration
 And much that's new in the creation.
 If anyone enjoys the tale
 Let him take notice, without fail,
 This is no book. Letters I know not.
 To them for leaven I go not,
 As others use; and these adventures
 Shall come to end without such censures.
 Rather than have them thought a book
 I'd naked sit, without a smock,—
 That is, in a bath-tub 't would be,
 With a bathing-towel to cover me.

I find the usage much to blame
 Which makes no difference in the name
 Of women false and women true.
 Clear-voiced are all, but not a few
 Quickly to evil courses run,
 While others every folly shun.
 So goes the world, but still 'tis shame
 The bad ones share that honored name.
 Loyal and fair is womanhood,
 When once the name is understood.

Many there are who cannot see
 Anything good in poverty.
 But he who bears its trials well
 May save his faithful soul from hell!
 These trials once a woman bore
 And gained thereby of grace a store.
 Not many in their youth resign
 Riches in life for wealth divine.
 I know not one in all the earth,
 Whate'er the sex or age or birth,
 For mortals' all in this agree.

But Herzeloide the rich ladie
From her three lands afar did go—
She bore such heavy weight of woe,
In her was no unfaithfulness,
As every witness did confess.
All dark to her was now the sun ;
The world's delights she fain would shun.
Alike to her were night and day,
For sorrow followed her alway.

Now went the mourning lady good
Forth from her realm into a wood
In Soltane the wilderness ;
Not for flowers, as you might guess ;
Her heart with sorrow was so full
She had no mind sweet flowers to pull,
Red though they were and bright, or pale.
She brought with her to that safe vale
Great Gahmuret's her lord's young child.
Her servants, with them there exiled,
Tilled the scant glebe with hoe and plough.
To run with them she'd oft allow
Her son. And e'er his mind awoke
She summoned all this vassal folk,
And on them singly, woman and man,
She laid this strange and solemn ban :
Never of knights to utter word,
"For if of them my darling heard,
And knightly life and knightly fare,
'Twould be a grief to me and care.
Now guard your speech and hark to me,
And tell him naught of chivalrie."

With troubled mien they all withdrew
And so concealed the young boy grew
Soltane's greenwood far within.
No royal sports he might begin
Save one—to draw the bow
And bring the birds above him low
With arrows cut by his own hand,
All in that forest land.

But when one day a singing bird
He shot, and now no longer heard
Its thrilling note, he wept aloud,
This boy so innocent yet proud,
And beat his breast and tore his hair
This boy so wild yet wondrous fair.

At the spring in the glade
 He every day his toilet made.
 Free had he been from sorrow
 Till now when he must borrow
 Sweet pain from birds.
 Into his heart their music pressed
 And swelled it with a strange unrest.
 Straight to the queen he then did run;
 She said: "Who hurt thee, pretty son?"
 But nought could he in answer say—
 'Tis so with children in our day.

Long mused the queen what this might be,
 Till once beneath a greenwood tree
 She saw him gazing and sighing still,
 Then knew 'twas a bird's song did fill
 Her darling's breast with yearning pain
 And haunting mystery.

Queen Herzeloide's anger burned
 Against the birds, she knew not why;
 Her serving-folk she on them turned
 And bade to quench their hated cry,
 And chase and beat and kill
 In every brake, on every hill.
 Few were the birds that flew away
 And saved their lives in that fierce fray;
 Yet some escaped to live and sing
 Joyous, and make the forest ring.

Unto the queen then spoke the boy:
 "Why do you rob them of their joy?"
 Such intercession then he made,
 His mother kissed him while she said:
 "Why should I break God's law and rob
 The birds of innocent delight?"
 Then to his mother spoke the boy:
 "O mother, what is God?"

"My son, in solemn truth I say
 He is far brighter than the day,
 Though once his countenance did change
 Into the face of man.
 O son of mine, give wisely heed,
 And call on Him in time of need,
 Whose faithfulness has never failed
 Since first the world began.
 And one there is, the lord of hell,
 Black and unfaithful, as I tell;

Bear thou towards him a courage stout,
And wander not in paths of doubt."

His mother taught him to discern
Darkness and light; he quick did learn.
The lesson done, away he'd spring
To practice with the dart and sling.
Full many an antlered stag he shot
And home to his lady mother brought;
Through snow or floods, it was the same,
Still harried he the game.

Now hear the tale of wonder:
When he had brought a great stag low,
Burden a mule might stagger under,
He'd shoulder it and homeward go!

Now it fell out upon a day
He wandered down a long wood-way
And plucked a leaf and whistled shrill,
Near by a road that crossed a hill.
And thence he heard sharp hoof-strokes ring,
And quick his javelin did swing,
Then cried: "Now what is this I hear?
What if the devil now appear,
With anger hot, and grim?
But, certain, I will not flee him!
Such fearful things my mother told—
I ween her heart is none too bold."

All ready thus for strife he stood,
When lo! there galloped through the wood
Three riders, shining in the light,
From head to foot in armor dight.
The boy all innocently thought
Each one a god, as he was taught.
No longer upright then stood he,
But in the path he bent his knee.
Aloud he called, and clear and brave,
"Save, God, for thou alone canst save!"
The foremost rider spoke in wrath
Because the boy lay in the path:
"This clumsy Welsh boy
Hinders our rapid course."
A name we Bavarians wear
Must the Welsh also bear:
They are clumsier even than we,
But good fighters too, you'll agree.

A graceful man within the round
Of these two lands is rarely found.

That moment came a knight
In battle-gear dedight,
Galloping hard and grim
Over the mountain's rim.
The rest had ridden on before,
Pursuing two false knights, who bore
A lady from his land.
That touched him near at hand ;
The maid he pitied sore,
Who sadly rode before.
After his men he held his course,
Upon a fine Castilian horse.
His shield bore marks of many a lance ;
His name—Karnacharnanz,
Le comte Ulterlec.

Quoth he: "Who dares to block our way?"
And forth he strode to see the youth,
Who thought him now a god in sooth,
For that he was a shining-one:
His dewy armor caught the sun,
And with small golden bells were hung
The stirrup-straps, that blithely swung
Before his greavéd thighs
And from his feet likewise.
Bells on his right arm tinkled soft
Did he but raise his hand aloft.
Bright gleamed that arm from many a stroke,
Warded since first to fame he woke.
Thus rode the princely knight,
In wondrous armor dight.

That flower of manly grace and joy,
Karnacharnanz, now asked the boy:
"My lad, hast seen pass by this way
Two knights that grossly disobey
The rules of all knight-errantry?
For with a helpless maid they flee,
Whom all unwilling they have stolen,
To honor lost, with mischief swollen."
The boy still thought, despite his speech,
That this was God, for so did teach
His mother Herzeloide, the queen—
To know Him by his dazzling sheen.
He cried in all humility:

"Help, God, for all help comes from thee!"
 And fell in louder suppliance yet
 Le fils du roi Gahmuret.

"I am not God," the prince replied,
 "Though in his law I would abide.
 Four knights we are, couldst thou but see
 What things before thine eyen be."

At this the boy his words did stay:
 "Thou namest knights, but what are they?
 And if thou hast not power divine
 Tell me, who gives, then, knighthood's sign?"

"King Arthur, lad, it is,
 And goest thou to him, I wis
 That if he gives thee knighthood's name
 Thou'lt have in that no cause for shame.
 Thou hast indeed a knightly mien."
 The chevalier had quickly seen
 How God's good favor on him lay.
 The legend telleth what I say,
 And further doth confirm the boast
 That he in beauty was the first
 Of men since Adam's time: this praise
 Was his from womankind always.

Then asked he in his innocence,
 Whereon they laughed at his expense:
 "Aye, good sir knight, what mayst thou be,
 That hast these many rings I see
 Upon thy body closely bound
 And reaching downward to the ground?"
 With that he touched the rings of steel
 Which clothed the knight from head to heel,
 And viewed his harness curiously.
 "My mother's maids," commented he,
 "Wear rings, but have them strung on cords,
 And not so many as my lord's."

Again he asked, so bold his heart:
 "And what's the use of every part?
 What good do all these iron things?
 I cannot break these little rings."

The prince then showed his battle-blade:
 "Now look ye, with this good sword's aid,
 I can defend my life from danger
 If overfallen by a stranger,
 And for his thrust and for his blow
 I wrap myself in harness so."

Quick spoke the boy his hidden thought:
 "Tis well the forest stags bear not
 Such coats of mail, for then my spear
 Would never slay so many deer."

By this the other knights were vexed
 Their lord should talk with a fool perplexed.
 The prince ended: "God guard thee well,
 And would that I had thy beauty's spell!
 And hadst thou wit, then were thy dower
 The richest one in heaven's power.
 May God's grace ever with thee stay."
 Whereat they all four rode away,
 Until they came to a field
 In the dark forest concealed.
 There found the prince some peasant-folk
 Of Herzeloide with plow and yoke.
 Their lot had never been so hard,
 Driving the oxen yard by yard,
 For they must toil to reap the fruit
 Which first was seed and then was root.

The prince bade them good day,
 And asked if there had passed that way
 A maiden in distressful plight.
 They could not help but answer right,
 And this is what the peasants said:
 "Two horsemen and a maid
 We saw pass by this morning,
 The lady, full of scorning,
 Rode near a knight who spurred her horse
 With iron heel and language coarse."

That was Meliakanz;
 After him rode Karnacharnanz.
 By force he wrested the maid from him;
 She trembled with joy in every limb.
 Her name, Imaine
 Of Bellefontaine.

The peasant folk were sore afraid
 Because this quest the heroes made;
 They cried: "What evil day for us!
 For has young master seen them thus
 In iron clad from top to toe,
 The fault is ours, ours too the woe!
 And the queen's anger sure will fall
 With perfect justice on us all,

Because the boy, while she was sleeping,
Came out this morning in our keeping."

The boy, untroubled by such fear,
Was shooting wild stags far and near;
Home to his mother he ran at length
And told his story; and all strength
Fled from her limbs, and down she sank,
And the world to her senses was a blank.

When now the queen
Opened her eyelids' screen,
Though great had been her dread
She asked: "Son, tell me who has fed
Thy fancy with these stories
Of knighthood's empty glories?"
"Mother, I saw four men so bright
That God himself gives not more light;
Of courtly life they spoke to me
And told how Arthur's chivalry
Doth teach all knighthood's office
To every willing novice."

Again the queen's heart 'gan to beat.
His wayward purpose to defeat
She thought her of a plan
To keep at home the little man.

The noble boy, in simplest course,
Begged his mother for a horse.
Her secret woe broke out anew;
She said: "Albeit I shall rue
This gift, I can deny him nought.
Yet there are men," she sudden thought,
"Whose laughter is right hard to bear,
And if fool's dress my son should wear
On his beautiful shining limbs,
Their scorn will scatter all these whims,
And he'll return without delay."
This trick she used, alack the day!
A piece of coarse sack-cloth she chose
And cut thereout doublet and hose,
From his neck to his white knees,
And all from one great piece,
With a cap to cover head and ears,
For such was a fool's dress in those years.
Then instead of stockings she bound
Two calfskin strips his legs around.

None would have said he was the same,
And all who saw him wept for shame.

The queen, with pity, bade him stay
Until the dawn of a new day ;
"Thou must not leave me yet," beseeching,
"Till I have given thee all my teaching :
On unknown roads thou must not try
To ford a stream if it be high ;
But if it's shallow and clear
Pass over without fear.

Be careful everyone to greet
Whom on thy travels thou mayst meet,
And if any greybearded man
Will teach thee manners, as such men can,
Be sure to follow him, word and deed ;
Despise him not, as I thee reed.
One special counsel, son, is mine :
Wherever thou, for favor's sign,
Canst win a good woman's ring or smile,
Take them, thy sorrows to beguile.
Canst kiss her too, by any art,
And hold her beauty to thy heart,
'Twill bring thee luck and lofty mood,
If she chaste is, and good.

"Lachelein, the proud and bold,
Won from thy princes of old—
I'd have thee know, O son of mine—
Two lands that should be fiefs of thine,
Waleis and Norgals.

One of thy princes, Turkentals,
Received his death from this foe's hands ;
And on thy people he threw bands."

"Mother, for that I'll vengeance wreak ;
My javelin his heart shall seek."

Next morning at first break of day
The proud young warrior rode away.
The thought of Arthur filled his mind.
Herzeloide kissed him and ran behind.
The world's worst woe did then befall.
When no more she saw young Parzival
(He rode away. Whom bettered be?)
The queen from every falseness free
Fell to the earth, where anguish soon
Gave her Death's bitter boon.
Her loyal death

Saves her from hell's hot breath.
'Twas well she had known motherhood!
Thus sailed this root of every good,
Whose flower was humility,
Across that rich-rewarding sea.
Alas for us, that of her race
Till the twelfth age she left no trace!
Hence see we so much falsehood thrive.
Yet every loyal woman alive
For this boy's life and peace should pray,
As he leaves his mother and rides away.

In the remainder of the third book and in the fourth, Parzival meets with many adventures and incurs a great deal of trouble in following his mother's singular advice, and reaches Arthur's court only to be laughed at for his outlandish garb. But he comes away determined to win a place for himself at the Round Table. The counsels of his mother are supplemented by the advice of a wise man, Gurnemanz, whom he encounters, to the effect that he must never ask questions, no matter what may excite his curiosity. His days are henceforth spent in riding on in the hope of finding fit occasions for exercising his bravery and gallantry. In Book V he encounters, one evening, a sad-faced, richly-dressed Fisher beside a lake, who directs him to his castle, where he will find refreshment. On riding thither Parzival finds grass in the court-yard, a sign that no jousting takes place there. He is well received and bidden presently to appear before the Fisher-King, who turns out to be the old man whom he met fishing. Him he finds wrapped in furs upon a couch beside the middle one of three great marble fireplaces in the hall. This spacious apartment is illuminated by a hundred chandeliers and contains a hundred other couches, on each of which recline four knights. Aromatic wood blazes on the hearths. Parzival now is bidden to take his place beside the king. Presently a young attendant bears through the hall a long lance dripping blood. At this sight all the spectators break forth into cries of lamentation. A stately and magnificently-attired band of

noble ladies now enter, bearing candles and the appurtenances of a banquet. At last appears the queen-maiden Repanse de Schoie herself, who for her purity is permitted to carry the Grail. This she sets before the king, and retires to the midst of her four and twenty virgins. Then a hundred tables are brought in and set, on each of which other attendants place a bowl of water and a towel for hand-washing. Each table is waited upon by four pages, with every mark of religious awe. Four wagons roll through the hall with drinking vessels, which are distributed to all the tables. A hundred pages take from before the Grail white napkins containing bread, which they distribute, and from the Grail indeed come food and drink to all desiring. Parzival, mindful of Gurnemanz' counsel, forbears to ask the meaning of these marvels, and remains silent even when the king, presenting him with a costly sword, mentions that he is suffering from a grievous wound.

When the repast is concluded, the food and utensils disappear in the same order in which they came. There is evident disappointment at something Parzival has done or failed to do, but he is led away to sleep in a grand chamber, where dreams torment him in the night, and where he awakes in solitude next day, to find his armor at his bedside and preparations made for his immediate departure. In vain he calls. The castle is empty and silent, and he rides forth at last in troubled wonder. A page instantly raises the drawbridge behind him and reproaches him for not having questioned his host. He presently encounters a lady, who tells him he has been on Montsalvat, where no man arrives except unknowingly. When she learns of his omission to inquire the meaning of what he saw, she blames him bitterly for the fatal mistake, and he rides sadly away. The king was Anfortas, keeper of the Grail. All this, and Parzival's failure to inquire the cause of his wound, are announced to Arthur and the knights, on Parzival's return among them, by Kundrie¹ the sorceress, the

¹There is in this Kundrie, "the loathly damsel," the bearer of the Grail's decrees, as treated variously in the different romances, a hint of the Germanic Walküre, and more than a hint of Herodias.

dreadful messenger of the Grail. She curses Parzival, who in despair, and distrusting even God himself, rides forth once more, dedicating his life to the quest of the sacred symbol. Those knights whom he overcomes with his spear he sends on parole to seek the Grail for him.

Omitting the long series of adventures by Gawan and others, and by Parzival himself, which intervene, we find him in the ninth book overcoming a knight of the Grail who has offered him battle because he came too near Montsalvat. Parzival takes the knight's horse, which wears the sign of the Grail, a dove. On Good Friday Parzival turns in at the hut of a hermit, who reproves him for his irreligion, and to whom Parzival confesses that for several years he has not set foot in a house of God because of the hatred he bears in his heart toward Him. The hermit instructs him in heavenly matters and especially in the history of the Grail, whose divine origin he sets forth. It is a rich and wondrous stone, called *lapis exillis*, endowed with miraculous power of sustaining life. It has the virtue of gathering about it those whom it elects, and by them it is watched. Anfortas, king of these knights and chief guardian of the Grail, sinned in seeking earthly love, and was sore wounded. Only one thing could restore him: spontaneous inquiry into his condition by some one who should arrive unwittingly at the Grail Castle. When the hermit learns that his guest has had this opportunity and failed to accept it, he blames him severely and tells him further of the mystic art of the stone: how every Good Friday a dove comes down from heaven and places the sacramental wafer on it, and how it indicates its chosen keepers in a miraculous writing which appears upon its side.

Fourteen days pass thus in high converse between Parzival and the hermit, until the latter absolves the young knight, now filled with the one longing—to find his name written on the divine stone. And in the fifteenth book, while sitting at Arthur's Round Table, after many days of weary search, he is surprised by Kundrie the messenger, with the news that he has been chosen King of the Grail, and that his son Loherangrin shall succeed him in that office. He hastens to the Castle, casts

himself before the Grail, and asks Anfortas the cause of his pain. Instantly the aged sufferer is healed and becomes beautiful as sunlight. The former ceremony is repeated with great splendor. The poet then relates how Loherangrin was sent as husband to the young duchess of Brabant, how a swan drew him to Antwerp in a boat, how the duchess disobeyed his request, which was the Grail's command, not to seek to know his origin, and how in sorrow he withdrew.¹

From a poem of 24,810 verses it has been impossible to give more than the absolutely essential features referring to the Grail. There are long passages which would repay reading even yet, either in the original or in Simrock's very literal translation into modern German. When we compare the moral elements of Wolfram's story with those of the Faust legend as Goethe found them, the question arises: What might not a modern German poet make of this great epic of faith? Although originality of incident may be denied Wolfram, yet it seems to me that the spirit of his story, and particularly of the Young Parzival episode, is both personal and national. The recognition of a close relation between theology and conduct is one thing which distinguishes Wolfram's *Parzival* from all earlier versions of the legend.

APPENDIX A.—Translation of extract from Wolfram given on pages 106-108 :

From him now Parzival learns the hidden story of the Grail. If anyone had asked me about it before, and been angry at me for not telling it to him, his grumbling would have been in vain. Kiot bade me keep it secret, because the "Aventure" commanded him to guard it still undivulged; no one was to learn it until in the course of the narration the time came to speak of it. Kiot, the well-known master, found in Toledo,

¹ This request and its consequence, like Parzival's refraining to ask concerning Anfortas and the troubles caused by his not doing so, point to the ultimate connection between this romance material and the fairy literature not only of Europe, but of Asia.

lying thrown away, and in heathen writing, the story which treats of the Grail. He must first have been acquainted with the characters A, B, C, without necromancy. The grace of baptism stood him there in good stead, or the story would be still untold. No heathen art could e'er avail us to disclose what is revealed of the Grail's character and power. A heathen, Flegetanis, was held in esteem for his rare arts. A seer, he descended from Solomon, arriving from Israelitish blood ages ago, before baptism was our shield against the torment of hell. He wrote about the Grail's history. He was a heathen on his father's side, this Flegetanis, who still prayed to a calf as if it were his God. How dare the devil work such contempt on such wise peoples? Will the hand of the All-highest, to whom all wonders are manifest, not deign to keep them from it? Flegetanis the heathen could announce to us well the outgoing course of all the stars and their future return—how long each has to go till we see it at its goal. Human fate and being are to be read in the march of the stars. Flegetanis, the heathen, when he turned his gaze toward heaven, discovered mysterious lore. He spake thereof with hesitating tongue: There is a thing called the Grail. In the stars found he its name written as it is called. "A company which flew again to heaven, whether drawn home by grace or disfavor, left it on the earth. Then baptised fruit [Christians] tended it with humility and pure discipline. Those men are always worthy who are required for the Grail's service." Thus Flegetanis wrote of it. Kiot, the master wise, began to seek in Latin books where there could ever have been people worthy the honor of tending the Grail and nourishing chastity in their hearts. He read the national chronicles in Britain and elsewhere, in France and Ireland, until he found the story in Anjou. There in unfailling truth he read about Mazadan, and found all written correctly about his race; and on the other hand how Titurel and his son Frimutel delivered the Grail to Anfortás, whose sister was called Herzeloide, by whom Gahmuret had a child, of whom these stories tell.

APPENDIX B.—Meaning of the name Fisher King.

I must beg attention here for a speculation of my own, which, being nothing more, should not be allowed to affect the questions still at issue regarding the origin of the legend, especially as Professor Rhÿs and Mr. Nutt, with something more than speculation, have developed an entirely contradictory idea. They connect the episodes of the Fisher King, and this appellation itself, with a number of Irish stories, for which great antiquity is claimed, and which do indeed seem related to the pagan mythology of Scandinavia. But it has occurred to me that the fishing of the king may have been attributed to him because of his name, and that the names *Roi Pêcheur* and Fisher King are only old translations of the word *Herodius*, which itself was wrongly written for *Herodes*. Attention was long ago, in Germany, called to the numerous allusions to St. John the Baptist that occur in the Grail legends. San Marte and Simrock, fifty years ago, pointed out the resemblance between the Grail knights (in Wolfram called *Templeisen*) and the Templars, who were accused of worshipping a miracle-working head. In the *mabinogi* the Grail is a salver containing a man's head floating in blood. Wagner's treatment of *Kundrie* is not far from what seems to have been an idea hovering in the minds of some of the earliest creators of the legend, namely that she was *Herodias*, or possibly the daughter of *Herodias*, pursued by a "ernel immortality." Let us suppose that the "great Latin book," or some lost Latin original, contained the word *Herodes* where we find *roi pêcheur* in the French. A slovenly or officious copyist might easily make it *Herodius*. Another copyist or a translator, taking this for a name derived from a common noun, might translate it into French. *Herodius* is the name of a bird. It occurs twice that I know of in the Vulgate: in Deuteronomy 14, 16, where the English has "the little owl," and in Psalm 104 (Vulgate 103), 17, where the English has "stork." The exact meaning of *herodius* is unknown, but it would not be strange if this copyist or translator had rendered it by *roi pêcheur*, English kingfisher.

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III.—THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN ITALIAN.

INTRODUCTION.

The Possessive Pronouns existing in literary Italian are :

<i>mio</i>	MEUM,	<i>mia</i>	MEAM,
<i>miei</i>	MEI,	<i>mie</i>	MEAE,
<i>tuo</i>	TUUM,	<i>tua</i>	TUAM,
<i>tuoi</i>	TUI,	<i>tue</i>	TUAE,
<i>suo</i>	SUUM,	<i>sua</i>	SUAM,
<i>sui</i>	SUI,	<i>sue</i>	SUAE,
<i>nostro</i>	NOSTRUM,	<i>nostra</i>	NOSTRAM,
<i>nostri</i>	NOSTRI,	<i>nostre</i>	NOSTRAE,
<i>vostro</i>	VOSTRUM,	<i>vostra</i>	VOSTRAM,
<i>vostri</i>	VOSTRI,	<i>vostre</i>	VOSTRAE.

These literary forms, as given, are found in the earliest texts. But a mere casual reading of the texts will reveal also many variants; this makes evident the fact that a succession of stages or steps was gone through before the above forms were adopted

as the regular ones. The simplest method to be followed in discovering what these successive stages of development were must be to begin with the earliest texts in which the variants were sometimes the rule, and follow the occurrence of these variants in chronological order down into those texts in which they are exceptions; thus finally arriving at literary monuments in which no variants occur, but where they have been merged completely into the prevailing literary forms.

Such a study involves the investigation of one of the most interesting and difficult questions of Italian Philology; namely, the development of the Latin hiatus vowels *ε* and *υ*.

In the course of a research carried on as just suggested are discovered irregular forms which appear and disappear without any apparent preceding stage, and leaving no successors on their disappearance. At a certain time in the history of the Italian language there is a frequent use of the anomalous *mia, tua, sua*; they are found with the plurals of masculine and feminine nouns alike. This is the sole marked irregularity in the use of plural Possessive Pronouns in Italian, and for a full understanding of the general subject of the pronoun in this language, the appearance of these abnormal forms must be accounted for.

The study thus divides itself into two parts: first, it must be determined what the irregular forms are; they must be explained and eliminated; then the development of the regular forms can be discovered. A division of the material within these limits is carried out in the following monograph. In Chapter I the irregular *mia, tua, sua*, and all irregular uses of the Possessive Pronouns connected with these forms, are considered. In Chapter II the regular developments are taken up which can be understood only when definite hiatus laws for *ε* and *υ* have been established,—so that in this chapter (II), in addition to the Possessive Pronouns, all words in which these hiatus vowels occur are studied. When, from a consideration of all the phenomena, the laws of growth are discovered, these laws are applied to the development of the Possessive

Pronouns which are thus seen to evolve regularly and according to fixed principles from the Latin.

The following texts have been examined; they comprise the works of Tuscan authors for a period of three hundred years, from Guittone d'Arezzo (1250) to Torquato Tasso (1595). As it may be of interest to students of Italian to know where certain rare editions which are included in this Bibliography were found, I will state that all such works mentioned were consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. There also are to be found the works of the early Italian grammarians who will be quoted in the course of this monograph. The authors will be referred to hereafter as A, B, C, etc., according to the letter of the alphabet placed in front of their names.

A.—Guittone d'Arezzo: (In) *Rime di diversi antichi autori Toscani in dieci libri raccolte*. Venegia, 1532.

B.—Chiaro Davanzati: (In) *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare*. III, 1-177; 261-265; 387-389.

C.—Cino da Pistoja: *Le Rime di Messer Cino da Pistoja, ridotte a miglior lezione da Bindi e Fanfani*. Pistoja, 1878. Also in A.

D.—Riccomano Jacopi: *Libro della Tavola di Ric. Jac.*, edited by Carlo Vesme, (in) *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 3^a serie, Vol. XVIII (1873).

E.—Dante da Maiono: In A, pp. 74-90, 134, 138, 140, 141.

F.—Albertano di Brescia: *Volgarizzamento dei Trattati Morali di Albertano Giudice di Brescia*. Fatto innanzi al 1278. Trovato da S. Ciampi. Firenze, 1832.

G.—Ricordi di una Famiglia Senese del secolo decimoterzo (1231-1243). Pub. by G. Milanese in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Appendice, Vol. v. Firenze, 1847.

H.—Ranieri Sardo: *Cronaca Pisana di Ran. Sar.*, Dall' Anno 962 sino al 1400. Pub. by F. Bonaini in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* Vol. VI, parte 2^a, pp. 73-244. Firenze, 1845.

I.—Fiore di filosofi e di molti savi, attribuito a Brunetto Latini. Testo in parte inedito, citato dalla Crusca, e ridotto a

miglior lezione da Antonio Cappelli. (In) Scelta di curiosità letterarie o rare, Vol. LXIII. Bologna, 1865.

J.—Lettere Volgari del secolo XIII, scritte da Senesi. Pub. by Paoli e Piccolomini in Scelta ecc., CXVI. Bologna, 1871.

K.—Dodici Conti Morali d'Anonimo Senese. Testo inedito del secolo XIII, pub. da Zambrini. Scelta ecc., IX. Bologna, 1862.

L.—Conti di Antichi Cavalieri. (In) Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Vol. III, pp. 192–217. Torino, 1884.

M.—Le ciento Novelle Antike. Bologna (Gualteruzzi), 1525.

N.—La Tavola Ritonda, o l'Istoria di Tristano. Pub. in two vols. by F.-L. Polidori in Collezione di Opere inedite o rare. Bologna, 1864.

O.—Guido Cavalcanti: Le Rime di Guid. Cav. Testo critico pubb. dal Prof. Nicola Arnone. Firenze, 1881. Also in A.

P.—Dante: Le Prime Quattro Edizione della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate per cura di G. J. Warren, Baron Vernon. Londra, 1858.

Q.—Petrarca: Rime di Pet. 2 vols. Padova, 1819.

R.—Jacopo di Pistoja: Statuti dell'Opera di S. Jacopo di Pistoja, volgarizzati l'anno MCCCXIII da Mazzeo di Ser Giovanni Bellebuoni, con due inventarj del 1340 e del 1401. Pubbl. da S. Ciampi. Pisa, 1814.

S.—Bindo Bonichi: Rime di Bind. Bon. da Siena. Scelta ecc., LXXXII. Bologna, 1867.

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CHAPTER I.

IRREGULAR FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TWO-GENDER PLURALS *mia, tua, sua*.

1. *Collection of all irregular uses in texts examined.*

I do not hold the opinion that irregularities which occur in the singular had anything to do with corresponding ones in the plural; that, for instance, *mia* in *mia cavallo* (supposing such an example to exist) had anything in common with *mia* in *mia cavalli*. But such an opinion has been expressed. Schuchardt, in writing of a kindred topic, says:¹ “Gelegentlich der Formen *mia, tua, sua*, möchte ich hier eine Frage vorbringen die allerdings mit der Hauptfrage Nichts zu thun hat. Ich finde überall nur von ihrer pluralischen Verwendung gesprochen; ich habe mir aber vor fast einem Vierteljahrhundert in Rom, allerdings nicht aus gehörter Rede, und auch nicht aus Belli, sondern aus andern Schriften in römischer Mundart Fälle wie *fijo mia, er nome sua, a commido sua, lo sposo mia*, u. s. w. aufgezeichnet. Kommt nun Solches wirklich in der Volkssprache vor?”

¹*Literaturblatt*, Dec., 1891, col. 413.

Now, to ascertain the truth of the connection, if any exist, between singular and plural irregularities of the kind under discussion, I have noted all irregular uses occurring in the singular as well as in the plural and treated them in the first part of this essay, where I have attempted explanations of them. I then show that these irregularities in the singular cannot be the origin of like irregularities in the plural, nor those in the plural the origin of corresponding forms in the singular. My plan is to mention in chronological sequence all the texts I have consulted giving the irregularities in the following order :

First Person,	Masc. Sing.	Fem. Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.
Second Person,	“ Sing.	“ Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.
Third Person,	“ Sing.	“ Sing.
“	“ Plu.	“ Plu.

The discussion of these pronouns is reserved until the full list of texts has been examined wherein all forms are omitted that are not concerned in the development of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*. (A few texts will be mentioned in which no irregularities occur, but these authors are given to show the extent of the occurrences in the period of time represented by the texts quoted as bearing directly on my subject.)¹

A.—In the few pages of this collection which contain the poetry of Guittone no irregularities occur.

B.—This author sometimes uses the atonic forms *mi'* (masc. and fem.) and *su'* (masc.).—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 68, *li tuo filgli*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 14, *li suo filgli*; p. 167, *i suo sembianti*.

C.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 4, *occhj mie'*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 229, *de' tuo filgli*.—*suoi* = *sue*: p. 81, *In quelle parti, che furon già suoi*.

D.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 1, *suo' santi*.

¹*Nostro*, etc., *vostro*, etc., are directly from *NOSTRUM*, etc., *VOSTRUM*, etc., with no intervening stage in the development, and they will therefore not be mentioned again.

E.—No irregularities.

F.—*tu'* = *tuo* : p. 10, *tu' viaggio*.—*tuo* = *tua* : p. 51, *la tuo volontà*.—*tuo'* = *tuo*i : p. 6, *i tuo' facti*; p. 47, *li vecchi tuo'*; p. 65, *tuo' aversarii*; p. 66, *tuo' nemici*; p. 73, *tuo' consigli*.—*tuo*i = *tue* : pp. 15, 27, *le tuo*i parole.—*su'* = *suo* : p. 36, *su' abitamento*.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 19, *li suo' capelli*.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 76, *per suo*i parole.

G.—No irregularities.

H.—*su'* = *sua* : p. 161, *colla su' arme*.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 84, *le suo*i rughe; p. 86, *le suo*i intrate, *le suo*i castella; p. 94, *le suo*i genti; p. 95, *a suo*i spese; p. 114, *di suo*i cose.

I.—No irregularities.

J.—No irregularities.

K.—No irregularities.

L.—*mei* = *miei*, p. 211.—*suoi* = *sue* : p. 205, *le cose suo*i.—*suoe* = *sue* : p. 208, *ossa suo*e.

M.—No irregularities.

N.—*mie'* = *mia* : pp. 479, 486, 487, *per mie' fè*.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 78, *suo' baroni*; p. 284, *suo' fratelli*; p. 324, *suo' figli*.

O.—*mi'* = *mio* : p. 24, *mi' parere*; p. 43, *mi' core*.—*mie* = *mio* : p. 65, *mie spirito* (variant).—*tu'* = *tuo* : pp. 14, 61, *tu' pensiero*; p. 71, *tu' amore*.—*su'* = *suo* : p. 15, *su' riso*; p. 16, *su' valore*; p. 18, *su' viso*, etc., *su'* thus occurring sixteen times.—*suo* = *sua* : p. 4, *suo virtu e suo potenza* (variant).—*mie'* = *miei* : p. 64, *mie' martiri*; p. 74, *mie' foll occhi*. One of the manuscripts from which variants are given (Laurent. B. xv cent.) reads *mia* in the following cases where the editor has adopted *miei* for the published text : pp. 20, 26, *occhi mia*; pp. 35, 48, *mia spiriti*; p. 64, *mia desiri*. Several other variants read *mei* in these instances.

P.—*mei* = *miei* : Inf. I, 23, *parenti mei*; XIV, 6; XXXI, 33, *occhi mei*; XXVI, 41, *mei compagni*; Purg. I, 6, 29; IV, 29; X, 39; XXI, 42; XXIV, 34, *occhi mei*; I, 38, *mei passi*; III, 41, *peccati mei*; XVII, 4, *mei compassi*; XXXI, 5, *frati mei*; XXVII, 23, *mei saggi*; XXVIII, 20, *prieghi mei*; Par. XVII, 37, *mei carmi*; XXIII, 27; XXVI, 38; XXVII, 4; XXX, 25; XXXI,

47, *occhi mei*.—*mie* = *miei*: Inf. x, 28, *mie popoli*; xv, 32, *orecchie mie*; xviii, 14; xxv, 49, *occhi mie*; xxvi, 41, *mie compagni*; xxxiii, 13, *mie figliuoli*; Purg. i, 6; viii, 29; x, 39, *occhi mie*; i, 38; xxv, 42, *mie passi*; xi, 21, *mie maggiori*; xiii, 38, *mie anni*; xxiv, 48, *mie dottori*; xxx, 47, *prieghi mie*; xxxi, 8, *mie desiri*; Par. xiv, 26, 28, *occhi mie*; iv, 3, *mie dubi*; xvi, 10, *mie blandimenti*; xvi, 15, *mie maggiori*; xvii, 37, *mie carmi*; xxiv, 20, *mie concepti*; xvii, 29, *mie piedi*.—*toi* = *tuoi*: Inf. xx, 34, *toi ragionamenti*; xxii, 11, *toi concepti*.—*tui* = *tuoi*: Inf. x, 14, *maggior tui*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: Inf. v, 39, *tuo marriti*; xxvi, 2, *tuo cittadini*; xxx, 40, *tuo fratelli*; Purg. i, 28, *tuo regni*; vi, 37, *tuo gentili*; xi, 47, *tuo vicini*; xiii, 7, *tuo raggi*; Par. xi, 7, *tuo pensieri*; xxi, 6, *occhi tuo*; xxviii, 20, *tuo diti*.—*tuoe* = *tue*: Inf. ii, 46, *parole tuoe*.—*soi* = *suoi*: Inf. i, 19, *soi pensier*; ix, 38, *soi termini*; xi, 14, *soi beni*; xix, 11, *soi conforti*; xix, 12, *soi torti*; xxiii, 18, *soi pie*; xxix, 14, *soi conversi*; Purg. iv, 41, *atti soi*; vii, 44; xxvii, 42; xxi, 37, *occhi soi*; Par. xv, 12, *occhi soi*.—*sui* = *suoi*: Inf. ii, 26, *cerchi sui*; iii, 21, *inimici sui*; ix, *corpi sui*.—*suo* = *suoi*: Inf. iv, 20, *suo nati*; xix, 11, *suo conforti*; Purg. i, 12, *suo capelli*; iii, 6; vi, 19, *suo raggi*; xxi, 12, *suo pie*; xxvii, 18, *occhi suo*; xxvii, 36, *suo belli occhi*; xxix, 4, *suo passi*; Par. xvi, 20, *suo figli*; xx, 3, *suo dieci*; xxiii, 1, *suo nati*; xxxi, 23, *suo meriti*; xxxii, 2, *suo piedi*.—*suoe* = *sue*: Inf. xiii, 34, *suoe spalle*.—*suo* = *sue*: Inf. xiv, 12, *suo schieri*; Purg. iv, 7, *suo spine*; ix, 13, *suo braccia*; xxviii, 9, *suo picciol onde*; Par. vii, 37, *le suo vie*. A variant to Purg. ix, 13, reads *le sua braccia*.

Q.—*mie'* = *miei*: i, 162, *mie' affanni*; ii, 196, *mie' ingegni*; *mie' arti*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: ii, 12, *tuo' ingegni*; ii, 144, *tuo' piedi*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: i, 35, *suo' laudi*; ii, 176, *suo' argomenti*.

R.—*miei* = *mie*: p. 2, *alle miei mani*.

S.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 201, *la tuo derrata*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 185, *tuo' scalzi*.—*su'* = *suo*: p. 174, *su' or*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 1, *su' arte*.—*sua* = *suoi*: p. 42, *sua fatti* (variant).

T.—*mei* = *miei* occurs twenty times.

U.—*mio* = *mia* : pp. 29, 30, *metà mio* (on both pages occurs also *metà mia*).—*miee* = *mie* : p. 25, *nipote miee*.—*suoe* = *sue* : p. 63, *suoe spesie*.

V.—*Fiammetta*. *mei* = *miei* : p. 23, *mei conforti* ; p. 138, *mei danni*.—*mie* = *miei* : p. 136, *mie desiderij*.—*tuo* = *tuoi* : p. 32, *tuo sudditi*.—*suo* = *suoi* : p. 43, *suo homeri*.

Ameto. *mie* = *miei* : p. 8, *mie aspetti*.—*mei* = *miei* : p. 31, *desiderij mei*.—*tuo* = *tuoi* : p. 24, *tuo versi*.—*suo* = *suoi* : p. 42, *suo frutti* ; p. 78, *suo compagni*.—*sua* = *sue* : p. 56, *le sua corna* ; p. 57, *le labra sua*.

Decamerone. *mei* = *miei* occurs eleven times.—*miei* = *mie* : Lbj 3,¹ *le miei novelle*.—*tuoe* = *tue* : Yiiiij, *tuoe nocte*, *tuoe promissioni*.—*suo* = *suoi* : Cb, *suo discendenti* ; H, *suo ufficiali*.—*suoe* = *sue* : Zb, *suoe robe*.

W.—No irregularities.

X.—*mie* = *mia* : giiij 8, *la mie speranza* ; qiiij 2, *la mie guida*.—*mi* = *mia* : hiiij, *mi voglia*.—*mie* = *miei* occurs seven times (cf. aiiij 6, bij, eij, fij, giiij, kij, 9iiij 8), and *mei* = *miei* twenty-two times (cf. Aiiij 7, Bj, ciiij, diij 9, etc.).—*miei* = *mie* : eiiij 2, *le miei confine* ; iiiij 2 ; kj, *le miei gente* ; kij, *li-magine miei* ; Eiiij, siiij 4, *le parole miei* ; t, *le miei guide*.—*me* = *miei* : eij, *i me danni*.—*me* = *mie* : diij 6, *le me ziglia*.—*tuo* = *tuoi* : C, *tuo brevi prologi*.—*sue* = *suo* : fij, *al sue desio* ; Oiiij 8, *el sue nome* ; ciiij, *el sue grembo*.—*sua* = *suo* : giiij, *per sua dardano* ; Dj, *el maschio sua*.—*suo* = *suoi* occurs twenty-four times (cf. diij, eij, fiiij, hj, etc.).—*sue* = *sua* : diij 2, *la sue spoglia* ; hiiij 6, *la sue lucie* ; &iiij 2, *la sue virtu*.—*suo* = *sua* : giiij 6, *ogne suo virtu* ; hiiij, *la suo matricola* ; miiij 2, *ogni suo empresa* ; piiij 2, *suo arte* ; piiij 8, *suo posta* ; uiiij 3, *suo giorno* ; 9j, *suo pincerna* ; Biiij 7, *la suo tromba*.—*suoi* = *sue* : siiij 3, *le suoi schiumi* ; tij, *le suoi confini* ; z, *suoi pendice*.—*suo* = *sue* : diij 6, *le suo porti* ; tiij, *le bataglie suo* ; fiij, *le suo*

¹ In looking for this reference it will be necessary to count three pages forward from the folio lettered Lbj. This system is observed in giving references to all editions divided according to folios.

sorte; niii, *le suo arte*; piii 7, qiii, *le suo cose*; qj, *le suo ripe*; sii, *le suo parole*; tiii 6, *le suo rene*; 9iii 6, *le sorelle suo*.

Y.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 35, *passi mie'*; p. 42, *i mie' giorni*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 44, *tuo' paesi*.

Z.—*miei* = *mie*: p. 109, *de' miei robe*; p. 240, *le miei brigate*.—*tuoi* = *tue*: p. 240, *dell' opere tuoi*; p. 98, *tuoi gioie*.—*suoi* = *sue*: p. 11, *suoi gare*; p. 169, *le suoi ingiurie*; p. 170, *le suoi infinite (cose)*; p. 84, *le suoi figliuole*; p. 176, *le suoi scritture*; p. 228, *le suoi terre*; p. 260, *le suoi genti*; p. 260, *le suoi brigate*.

AA.—*mie'* = *miei*: II, 13, *mie' di*; II, 211, *mie' signori*.—*mia* = *miei*: I, 139, *li fatti mia*; II, 248, *certi mia fatti*; III, 179, *a mia parenti*.—*mia* = *mie*: II, 77, *le mia forme*; III, 6, *mia dipinture*; III, 217, *le carni mia*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: II, 122, *con tuo' strufinacci*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: I, 76, *suo' parenti*; I, 77, *suo' vicini*; I, 198, *suo' dazj*; III, 185, *suo' pari*; III, 336, *suo' casi*.—*sua* = *suoi*: I, 6, *sudditi sua*; I, 124, *sua cavalli*; I, 200, *sua fatti*; III, 251, *sua panni*.—*sua* = *sue*: II, 98, *le carne sua*.

BB.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 55, *e' mie' chiovi*.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 6, *la tuo moneta*; p. 39, *tuo misericordia*; p. 71, *la tuo gran cortesia*; p. 60, *la tuo mente*; p. 81, *la tuo beatrice*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 59, *tuo disii*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 35, *di suo' guai*; p. 70, *ne suo' versi*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 16, *la su' arte*.—*suo* = *sua*: p. 4, *suo ira*; p. 53, *suo possa*; pp. 45, 85, 88, *la suo vita*; p. 79, *la suo ghirlanda*; p. 68, *la suo gran chiarezza*; p. 71, *la suo vista*; p. 80, *la suo luce*; p. 86, *suo partenza*; p. 89, *suo volonta*; p. 89, *suo bocca*; p. 90, *suo bilancia*.—*suo* = *sue*: p. 83, *suo cose*.

CC.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 266, *li tuo' dolci occhi*.

DD.—*mie* = *mio*: pp. 5, 12, *mie padre*.—*mie* = *mia*: pp. 14, 26, *mie madre*; p. 17, *mie sorella*; p. 49, *mie vita*; p. 52, *mie leanza*; p. 59, *mie spada*.—*tuo* = *tua*: p. 13, *tuo nazione*, *tuo madre*, *tuo condizione*; p. 18, *tuo sorella*; pp. 32, 58, *tuo bontade*; p. 52, *tuo contrada*; p. 54, *tuo presenza*; pp. 58, 62, *tuo vita*; p. 61, *tuo posanza*.—*suo* = *sua*: p. 4, *suo gente*; p.

12, *suo baronia, suo madre*; p. 17, *suo arte*; p. 20, *suo corte*; p. 25, *suo virtue*; p. 35, *suo gara*; p. 43, *suo ciera*; p. 51, *suo parte*; p. 54, *suo via*; p. 61, *suo spada*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 13, *suo fratei*; p. 14, *suo baroni*.—*suo* = *sue*: p. 9, *suo gioie*; p. 17, *suo voglie*.

EE.—*mei* = *miei*: p. 2, *mei amori*; p. 3, *mei errori*; p. 15, *mei sospiri*; p. 16, *mei pensieri*; p. 21, *mei mali*; p. 27, *amici mei*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: p. 6, *tuo doni*.—*suo* = *suoi*: p. 26, *suo crucci*.

FF.—*mi'* = *mio*: p. 173, *al mi' ingegno*.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 2, *mie' pensieri*; p. 20, *mie' mirti*; p. 89, *mie' toscani*; p. 180, *mie' martiri*.—*su'* = *sua*: p. 29, *la su' razza*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 68, *suo' gesti*.—*su'* = *sue*: p. 20, *tutte su' piaghe*.

GG.—*mei* = *miei*: fo. e 4, *mei compagni*.—*mie* = *miei*: fo. a 3, *mie fratelli*.—*tuo* = *tua*: fo. i 3, *ogni cosa sia tuo*; fo. a 4, *tuo vilania*.—*tua* = *tue*: fo. d, *alle tua mura*.—*suo* = *sua*: fo. a 4, *suo coda*.—*suo* = *suoi*: fo. b 1, *suo fratei*: fo. e 2, *suo baroni*; fo. e 4, *suo tradimenti*; fo. i 3, *suo suggesti*.

HH.—*mie'* = *miei*: i, 6, *mie' versi*.

II.—*mie* = *mio*: fo. eq 6, *un mie sonetto*.—*mei* = *miei*: fo. cq, *mei occhi*; *spiriti mei*; fo. diij, *signor mei*; fo. dq 2, *tutti i mei*; fo. g, *parenti mei*; fo. r, *occhi mei*; fo. gq 9, *mei amici*.—*mie* = *miei*: fo. hq 5, *mie detti*.—*mia* = *mie*: fo. bq 6, *le parole mia*.—*tuo* = *tuoi*: fo. gz, *tuo belli occhi*.—*tua* = *tuoi*: fo. eq 8, *tua sciochi*.—*suo* = *suoi*: fo. c, *suo fior*; *suo greci*.—*sua* = *suoi*: fo. dq, *sua panni*.—*sua* = *sue*: fo. fq 6, *le sua alia*.

JJ.—*mie'* = *miei*: p. 241, *mie' giovenchi*.—*mei* = *miei*: p. 133, *i pensier mei*.—*mia* = *miei*: p. 118, *a' pianti mia*; p. 70, *occhi stanchi mia*; p. 244, *de' fatti mia*.—*mia* = *mie*: p. 372, *le membra mia*.—*tuo'* = *tuoi*: p. 239, *tuo' pagliai*; p. 249, *tuo' begli occhi*; p. 361, *tuo' prieghi*; p. 377, *tuo' fratelli*.—*tua* = *tuoi*: p. 255, *i colpi tua*.—*tua* = *tue*: p. 241, *le tua bestie*.—*suo'* = *suoi*: p. 302, *suo' anni*.—*suo'* = *sue*: p. 292, *suo' foglie*.

KK.—*mia* = *mio*: XII, 66, *alcun tempo mia* (rhyme).—*mei* = *miei*: LIII, 18, *mei baroni*.—*tu'* = *tuoi*: XXVII, 37, *de' tu' occhi*.

LL.—*mia* = *mie*: p. 38, *ossa mia*.

MM.—*mia* = *miei*: I, 12, 203, 222, 426; II, 127, 159, 362, *i casi mia*; I, 39, 60, 60, 72, 349, 354, 363; II, 198, 295, 296, 300, 413, 308, 379, *i mia danari*; I, 43, 44, 46; II, 71, *avversarj mia*; I, 54; II, 202, *mia pari*; I, 54; II, 195, 303, 317, *mia disegni*; I, 60; II, 295, *mia scudi*; I, 62, *mia affari*; I, 62; II, 12, 491, *mia figliuoli*; I, 83, *studj mia*; II, 380, *mia studj*; II, 478, *mia danni*; I, 393; II, 299, *mia dispiaceri*; I, 327, 392, *mia ferruzzi*; I, 254, 293, 385, *nemici mia*; I, 204, 236, 383, 396; II, 108, 167, 191, 248, *fatti mia*; I, 434, 438; II, 307, *mia occhi*; I, 422; II, 110, *mia libri*; I, 422, *mia uomini*; I, 164, 232, 236, 261, 262, 263, 386, *mia nemici*; I, 384, 384, 385, 415; II, 56, 113, 400, *mia servitori*; I, 99, *mia acciari*; I, 115, 252, 253, 288, 300, 307, 310, 312, 317, 353, 363, 400, 410, 413; II, 132, 233, *mia amici*; I, 132, *mia soffi-
oni*; I, 190, *mia affanni*; I, 194, 460; II, 31, 68, 100, 170, 195, 279, 292, 349, *mia lavoranti*; I, 287, *mia ferri*; I, 295, *mia scoppietti*; I, 295, *mia modelletti*; I, 310, *mia piedi*; I, 315, *mia stivali*; I, 317; II, 147, *mia conoscenti*; I, 339, *mia Italiani*; I, 347, 350, 351, 358, 384; II, 20, 22, 23, 27, 56, 71, 112, 116, 120, *mia giovani*; I, 361, *mia cavalli*; I, 369, *signori
mia*; II, 291, *signori mia*; II, 97, 274, *mia travagli*; II, 114, *occhi mia*; II, 124, *mia fatti*; II, 154, 356, *mia salarj*; II, 162, *mia spiriti*; II, 178, *mia compagni*; II, 181, *mia ribaldi*; II, 193, 234, *mia bisogni*; II, 199, *mia pensieri*; II, 202, *pari
mia*; II, 211, *mia allevati*; II, 282, *mia panni*; II, 285, *mia
piatti*; II, 286, *mia conati*; II, 319, 320, *mia bastoni*; II, 367, *mia
anni*; II, 379, *mia ajuti*; II, 452, *mia debitori*; *mia eredi*.

mia = *mie*: I, 25, *mia belle-*; *mia sorelle*; I, 338, *cose mia*; I, 390, *mia lenzuole*; II, 73, *mia teste*; II, 74, *mia forme*; II, 125, *mia mani*; II, 274, *mia nepotine*.

tua = *tuoi*: I, 24, *figliuoli tua*; I, 29, *tua disegni*; I, 60, *tua
scudi*; I, 218, *fatti tua*; I, 251, *casi tua*; II, 481, *tua bisogni*;
II, 482, *tua piaceri*.

sua = *suoi*: I, 63, *sua atti*; I, 68, 394, 403, 404, *sua gen-
tiluomini*; I, 97, 253, *sua amici*; I, 112, *sua capitani*; I, 156, *sua
affanni*; *sua scritti*; I, 271, *casi sua*; I, 284, *sua ferri*;

I, 305, *bisogni sua*; I, 173, 220; II, 234, *sua danari*; I, 217, *sua birreschi*; I, 220; II, 295, *sua scudi*; I, 331, *sua domestici*; I, 302, *ornamenti sua*; I, 368, *sua caporali*; I, 370, *sua regni*; I, 379, *vizj sua*; I, 388, *medici sua*; I, 388, 403, 439, 448, *sua servitori*; I, 390, *tutti i sua-*; I, 412, *amici sua*; I, 452, *segreti sua*; II, 377, *sua piedi*; II, 394, *sua lavoranti*; II, 442, *sua eredi*; II, 12, 461, *sua figliuoli*; II, 44, 377, *sua cortigiani*; II, 57, *sua ribaldj*; II, 303, *sua segretarj*; II, 117, 117, *nemici sua*; II, 169, *tempj sua*; II, 202, *sua pari*; II, 445, *sua vocaboli*; II, 486, *sua confini*; III, 238, *sua squadratori*; III, 248, 248, *sua modelli*.

sua = sue: I, 256, *cose sua*; II, 30, *lettere sua*; II, 109, *faccende sua*.

NN.—*mie' = miei*: v, 27, *li mie' uguali*; xxxviii, 84, *mie' figli*.—*toi = tuoi*: xxxv, 43, *toi prigion* (variant).—*tuoi' = tuoi*: xxiii, 73, *tuoi' vestigi*; xxxviii, 63, *tuoi' infiniti*. (A variant reads here *tui*.)—*suo' = suoi*: xxv, 49, *suo' begli occhi* (variant); xxv, 5, *suo' amici* (var.); xxxix, 33, *suo' amici* (as a variant to this appears *sua*); xxxi, 82, *suo' amici*; xli, 49, *suo' amori*.—*sui = suoi*: iv, *occhi sui*; xvii, 114, *cavalieri sui*; xviii, 153, *tutti i sui-*; xxiii, 22; xxxvii, 36, *fratelli sui*; xxxi, 35, *cugin sui*; xxxiii, 18, *servitori sui*; xxxiv, 82, *fatti sui*; xliv, 59, *affanni sui*; xlv, 44, *de' sui-*.—*soi = suoi*: xxxiii, 124, *soi baroni*.

OO.—*mie' = miei*: p. 276, *mie' affanni*.—*mia = miei*: p. 257, *mia desiderj*; p. 257, *mia martiri*; p. 396, *pensier mia*.—*tuoi' = tuoi*: p. 394, *tuoi' accenti*.—*tua = tuoi*: p. 260, *tua conforti*; p. 393, *tua lumi*.

PP, QQ, RR, no irregularities.

SS.—*tuoi = tua*: p. 8, *guerra tuo*.—*suo' = suoi*: p. 4, *suo' fanti*; p. 28, *suo' mali*; p. 43, *suo' error*; p. 52, *suo' casi*.—*su' = suoi*: p. 49, *de' su' officj*.

TT.—*mie = mio*: p. 63, *mie male*; p. 73, *un mie pari*; p. 78, *el mie martire*; p. 104, *mie padron*; *mie difetto*; p. 105, *mie canto*.—*mie = mia*: pp. 56, 64, 75, 85, *la mie manza*; p. 62, *mie vita*; p. 86, *mie dama*; p. 88, *mie persona*; p. 104,

mie moglie ; *mie colpa*.—*tuo* = *tua* : p. 58, *tuo bella manza* ; p. 85, *la tuo speranza* ; p. 87, *tuo voglia* ; pp. 92, 98, *tuo valentia* ; p. 96, *tuo moglie*.—*tuo* = *tue* : p. 87, *le tuo spalle*.—*suo* = *sua* : p. 63, *la suo vita*.—*suo'* = *suoi* : p. 88, *e' suo' fatti*.—*suo'* = *sue* : p. 76, *le suo' mercanzie*.

UU.—*mie'* = *mio* : p. 415, *un mie' sparvier* ; p. 427, *'l mie' sparvero* ; p. 428, *'l mie' difetto* ; p. 437, *'l mie' amore*.—*mie'* = *mia* : p. 408, *mie' compagna* ; p. 437, *mie' donna*.—*tuo'* = *tua* : p. 435, *di tuo' biltate*.—*suo'* = *sua* : p. 428, *suo' tana* ; p. 436, *suo' pena*.—*suo'* = *sue* : p. 425, *di suo' penne* ; p. 442, *le suo' ali*.

Résumé.

The following Table gives a résumé of the examples of irregularities noted above. The capital letters refer to the authors, the numerals to the number of times a given irregularity occurs in the author mentioned. Where forms were printed with the apostrophe, these are placed first ; the corresponding form without the apostrophe to the right of that with it.

mi' = *mio*, B, O2, FF1.

mi' = *mia*, B.

mi = *mia*, X2.

me = *miei*, X1.

me = *mie*, X1.

tu' = *tuo*, F1, O2.

tu' = *tuoi*, KK1.

su' = *suo*, B, F1, O2, S1.

su' = *sua*, H1, S1, BB1, FF1.

su' = *suoi*, SS1.

su' = *sue*, FF1.

mie' = *mio*, UU4.

mie' = *mia*, N3, UU2.

mie = *mio*, O1, DD2, II1, TT6.

mie = *mia*, X2, DD6, TT6.

mio = *mia*, U2.

tuo' = *tua*, UU1.

tuo = *tua*, F1, S1, BB5,

DD11, GG2, SS1, TT6.

sue = *suo*, X3.

sua = *suo*, X2.

sue = *sua*, X3.

suo' = *sua*, UU2. *suo* = *sua*, O2, X8, BB11, DD11, GG1, TT1.

mei = *miei*, B1, L1, P22, T20, V14, X22, EE6, GG1, II8, JJ1, KK1.

mie' = *miei*, C1, O2, Q3, Y2, AA2, BB1, FF4, HH1, JJ1, NN2, OO1.

mie = *miei*, P25, V2, X7, GG1, II1.

tuo' = *tuoi*, F5, P10, Q2, S1, Y2, AA1, CC1, FF1, JJ4, NN2, OO1, TT1.

tuo = *tuoi*, B1, C1, V2, X1, BB1, EE1, II1.

suo' = *suoi*, D1, F1, N3, P14, Q2, AA5, BB2, FF1, JJ1, NN2, SS4, TT1.

suo = *suoi*, B2, V5, X24, DD2, EE1, GG4, II2.

miei = *mie*, R1, V1, X5, Z2.

tuoi = *tue*, F1, Z2.

suoi = *sue*, C1, F1, H6, L1, X3, Z8.

miee = *mie*, U1.

tuoe = *tue*, P1, V2.

suoe = *sue*, L1, P1, U1, V1.

tuo = *tue*, FF1.

suo' = *sue*, JJ1, TT1, UU2.

suo = *sue*, P6, X9, BB1, DD2.

mia = *miei*, O3, AA3, JJ3, MM157, OO3.

mia = *mie*, AA3, II1, JJ1, LL1, MM8.

tua = *tuoi*, II1, JJ1, MM7, OO2.

tua = *tue*, GG1, JJ1.

sua = *suoi*, S1, AA4, II1, MM51, NN1.

sua = *sue*, P1, V2, AA1, II1, MM3.

2. *Irregularities in the Singular discussed.*

If we view the irregularities occurring in the singular as a whole, three general reasons for them suggest themselves.

First, it is to be remarked that in the greater number of cases the masculine is used for the feminine form (cf. Table, *suo* = *sua*, *tuo* = *tua*, etc.). In the plural the feminine is never used for the masculine. When the indefinite *tuo'*, *suo'*, as used for masculine and feminine alike (cf. Table, *tuo* = *tuoi* and *tue*, *suo* = *suoi* and *sue*), take on again the full forms *tuoi* and *suoi* for the masculine, not only are the regular *tue*, *sue* not adopted for the feminine in all instances, but *tuoi*, *suoi* are used for feminine as well as masculine (the same remark applies to *miei*; cf. Table, *miei* = *mie*; *tuoi* = *tue*; *suoi* = *sue*). We may say then that *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, are used for *mia*, *tua*, *sua* (and this use includes the largest part of the irregularities) and thus follow this seeming general tendency to adopt masculine for feminine.

Secondly, the irregularities may have arisen from a desire (on the part of the writer or speaker) to indicate the sex of the possessor by using the masculine or feminine pronoun with regard to the possessor and not to the gender of the object possessed. In DD, where the masculine form is so often used for both genders, the desire to differentiate sex may well be the reason for the masculine form, since, with few exceptions, the irregular possessives refer to characters of the male gender (Carduino, Tristano or Lanciellotto), there being few other personages mentioned. Thus, in speaking of Carduino's mother, the writer uses (p. 12) *suo madre*, corresponding to English "his mother," whereas, if he had referred to the heroine's mother, he would doubtless have said *sua madre*, "her mother."—Or, again, such a use might have arisen in constructions such as are found in H, cf. p. 114, *di suoi cose, o danari o panni*, where the objects implied in the *cose* (*panni* and *danari*) are both masculine and the speaker probably in anticipation of their gender used the masculine *suoi*.—Again, it would be

natural for irregularities to arise where there was a habit of separating the pronoun from its noun, as may be noted in S: p. 65, *guai a chi nel tormento, sua non puo spander voce*; p. 82, *molto ho cercato e suo non trovo nome*; p. 83, *et tua taci sentenza*.

Thirdly, an explanation that might apply to all irregularities of the kind under discussion would be to take as points of departure the remnants of the atonic forms *mi'*, *tu'*, *su'*, which are sometimes found in literary productions and are constantly used by the people. We may assume that when a consciousness was aroused of the incorrectness of certain pronominal uses terminational vowels were added (to *mi'*, *tu'*, *su'*), but the speaker, being unaccustomed to proper grammatical forms, added these vowels at random, and hence the confusion of genders.

Any one of these suggestions might explain, in a general way, the beginnings of abnormal forms, and once introduced, their use would naturally be extended; but I think the following statement will account for the origin of the peculiarities under discussion in a more satisfactory way.

mie = *mio* and *mia*; *mio* = *mia*.

In N, where the examples of *per mie' fè* were noted, the editor (Parodi) says the *mie'* is an abbreviation of the ancient **miea*. Where *mie'* is used as masculine, then, it was evidently in the mind of the writer that it was an abbreviation of **mieo*. The scholar Carducci had such a form in mind when he wrote the form with the apostrophe (cf. UU). In a discussion of these and other shortened forms one must suppose that the original was with an apostrophe; to think otherwise would be to become involved in inextricable difficulties. Thus *mie'* as an abbreviation of *mie-o* and *mie-a* would naturally be used for masculine and feminine alike.¹—An explanation of *mio* (= *mia*) follows here, for just as the abbreviated form *mie'* was used for both genders, so, when the regular *mio* was again

¹Cf. p. 155.

adopted for the masculine, the difference in termination was sometimes overlooked, and we find it used occasionally for the feminine also. A speaker who had been accustomed to using *mie'* as an indifferent form for masculine or feminine would be likely to use the regular *mio* and *mia* indifferently also; we find *mia* used for *mio* only once, however, and then for the sake of the rhyme (cf. KK).

tuo = *tua*; *suo* = *sua*.

I think this use arose from a confusion with *tuo'*, *suo'*, as representing *tuo*i, *tue*,—*suoi*, *sue*. We find these forms, *tuo'*, *suo'* (written as often without as with the apostrophe) used promiscuously for masculine and feminine (*tuo*e and *suo*e, written in full, occur in L, P, U and V,—cf. Table). It is easily conceivable how such a form, used thus for three parts of the possessive,—the masculine singular and masculine and feminine plural,—should have been adopted for the fourth (the feminine singular). I am convinced that this supposition represents a highly probable mode of development of these abnormal constructions, for we find that in the same texts in which *tuo*, *suo* are used for one form of the possessive (the feminine singular, for example) they (*tuo*, *suo*) are also used for the other two forms, the masculine and feminine plural [cf. Table. In BB, DD, TT, X, for example, *suo* is thus equivalent to *suoi*, *sue* (under the form *suo*e) and *sua*].

sue = *suo* and *sua*; *sua* = *suo*.

These three irregularities are found in one and the same text (X)—a fact which indicates that they were peculiar to this author rather than in general use (contrary to the peculiar uses just noted which seem to have been quite widely diffused; cf. Table). This writer also used *mie* thus indiscriminately for masculine and feminine, and may have carried its last vowel, *-e*, to *sue*, or, since we have *suo* used for *sua* and *sue*, we expect an interchange in the opposite direction,

where *sue* is used for *sua* and *suo*.—I think any idea that this *suo* was a remnant of *suoe* was lost with the majority of writers, for we find it in many texts written without an apostrophe before masculine and feminine nouns alike. Thus used, there was evidently no consciousness of any correctness of termination, and one is not surprised to find it employed for all forms, nor, on the contrary, to see other forms substituted for it.

I do not claim that these suggestions are more than possible explanations of the *beginnings* of the irregular forms under discussion. No one would suppose that in the mind of the average speaker there was an idea of the existence of any etymological ground for the irregularity he was employing.

I have offered no phonetical explanation because I cannot conceive of one. The fact that masculine singular forms predominate does not necessarily indicate a disposition toward the use of *-o* terminations; for, to prove such a tendency in the language would involve a demonstration that parts of speech other than the singular possessive pronouns terminated thus irregularly in *-o*, and I do not think that such a phenomenon can be proved for the Italian. In addition to this, although the masculine form is used in the majority of cases yet other forms occur too often to admit of the possibility of such an explanation even for the possessive pronouns.

a. Irregularities in the Singular have no explanation in common with that for the irregular plurals *mia, tua, sua*.

It was observed in the beginning of this essay that I do not believe in any connection between the irregularities in the singular just spoken of, and like ones in the plural—*mia, tua, sua*, which remain to be discussed. My reasons for this conclusion are,

First, if *mia, tua, sua* are to be explained as extensions from the singular to the plural, it will have to be shown that they were so often used in the singular for the masculine, as well as for the feminine, that they were finally adopted as the

general forms for both genders and numbers of the possessive pronoun on account of this frequency of usage. But, as shown above (cf. Table), the opposite is the case, the masculine being the form most generally used, and, if such an extension had been carried out, *mio*, *tuo*, *suo* would have been the forms adopted, and not *mia*, *tua*, *sua*. *Mia* occurs only once for *mio* (UU) and, in this instance, for rhyme; *sua* for *suo*, only twice (X). Also, because of the infrequency of such occurrences, it would be very difficult to prove that the irregularity originated in the singular,—a fact which must be established if it is asserted that it was extended from singular to plural.

Secondly, considering the mixture of forms noted in the Table, it is natural to suppose that, for example, as *suo* was used for *sua*, *suoi* and *sue*, so *sue* might be used for *suo*, *sua*, *suoi*, and *sua* for *suo*, *suoi*, *sue*; that is, there was a promiscuous interchange of forms, and finally, for some reason, *sua* predominated (and similarly *mia* predominated over *mio*, *mie*, *miei*, and *tua* over *tuo*, *tue*, *tuoi*); hence these forms as found in so many texts. But the fact that effectually annuls such a supposition is, that by comparison of texts where *mia*, *tua*, *sua* (plurals) are found with those where irregularities in the singular occur, we discover that only two of the texts containing the *mia*, *tua*, *sua* forms have any irregularities in the singular (O and II; cf. Table). In these two authors the plural forms can arise from no mixture with the singular, for the irregularity referred to in the singular is in the use of *mie* for *mio* and *suo* for *sua* (where in *mie*, *mio*, *mia* is not in question); and even if *sua* was used for *suo*, there would be no connection between it and *sua* of the plural (= *suoi* or *sue*).

If these two objections just given were not sufficient of themselves to militate against any supposable analogy of singular and plural irregularities, either by extension from singular to plural, or by crossing of singular and plural, I should still fail to see the necessity of casting about for such an explanation when these forms (*mia*, *tua*, *sua*) can be logically accounted for as plurals. And now, assuming it as pretty well settled that

the singular plays no part in the development of such plural forms (*mia, tua, sua*), I shall proceed to discuss them.

3. *Notice taken by early grammarians of the irregular plurals, mia, tua, sua.*

The first notice of them that I find is in the work of Mutio.¹ In discussing the Florentine as a model form of speech the writer says (p. 12): "Ma per Dio veggiamo ancora un poco, quanto sia vera, che essi da' padre e dalle madre piccioli fanciulli la buona lingua apprendano. In quel libro del Tolomei lodansi le piu Toscane città di Toscano si dà loro questo vanto, che parlano, piu che le altre Fiorentinamente. Et dicesi in Firenze: *I versi mia* (etc., enumerating a number of similar irregularities)—nelle quali non si serva ne numero, ne genere, ne desinenza, ne forma di diritto parlare."

Again, a notice of them is found in a work by Beni;² the writer mentions defects of the Florentine speech and says (p. 42): "Sicom anco il dir *dua* per *due*; *mia, tua, sua* per *mie, tue, sue*," etc.

4. *Explanations offered by later grammarians.*

Among the more modern grammarians we find these peculiar forms first mentioned by Blanc.³ He says (p. 277): "Statt *miei, tuoi, suoi*; *mie, tue, sue*, liebten die Alten, besonders die Florentiner, *mia, tua, sua*." He gives three examples without comment.

Diez,⁴ *Gram.* II, 90, takes no notice of them, except in a footnote referring to the passage in Blanc just quoted.

Körting⁵ does not mention them.

¹ *Battaglie di Hieronimo Mutio, per difesa dell' Italica lingua.* Vinegia, 1582.

² Paolo Beni, *L' Anticrusca ovvero Il Paragone dell' Italiana Lingua.* Padova, 1612.

³ *Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache.* Halle, 1844.

⁴ *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen,* 4^{te} Auflage. Bonn, 1876.

⁵ *Encyclopædie und Methodologie der romanischen Philologie.* Heilbronn, 1886.

The only writer who has spoken of them at length is d'Ovidio, who in the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* (IX, 1886: footnote, p. 54), says: "Ognun ricorda i plurali ambigenieri *mia, tua, sua*, del toscano antico e moderno: forme popolari, comparse solo sporadicamente e timidamente, in tutti i tempi, nella lingua colta, e pur di vita tenacissima. Io vi ho sempre riconosciuto una bella continuazione del neutro plurale latino. Una ipotesi, fonetica, potrebbe sorgere a contrastare la nostra spiegazione morfologica dei plurali *mia* ecc. La grammatica neo-latina, e la dialettologia italiana in ispecie, ci dà copiosa messe di *-a* epitetici oppur sostituentisi ad altre atone finali. Già finora ne siam venuti dando, a più riprese, parecchi begli essemplj, e qui possiam aggiungere il milan. *indova* (= *dove*), lad. *nua*, abruzz. *donna* (= *donde*), leccese *fraima* (= *fratello*). Or, data questa tendenza all' *-a*, niente, si potrebbe dire, di più naturale che i pl. fem. *mie, tue* ecc. direttamente, e i masch. *miei, tuoi* ecc. mercè l'apocope dell' *-i* e la ritrazion dell' accento fattisi *mie', tuo'* ecc., si riducesser tutti a *mia, tua* ecc. Senonchè, appunto la tendenza all' *-a* per ogni altro paese è stata dimostrata che per la Toscana! E se *mie'* ecc. si fosse per semplice vezzo fonetico fatto *mia* ecc., non si capirebbe come questo vezzo non attaccasse anche le voci del singolare! L'essere semplici plurali quelli, è prova che l'origin loro è schiettamente morfologica."

a. Further suggestions which are unsatisfactory. *mei* > *mia* by analogy to *lei* > *lia*.

Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*,¹ § 375, after quoting from this statement of d'Ovidio, makes another suggestion to the following effect: out of the shortened forms *mie', tuo', suo'*, as used for both genders, the full forms *miei, tuoi, suoi* were developed and used for both genders (cf. Table). Now, just as these full two-gendered forms originated in the masculine plural, so *mia* comes from the masculine plural form *mei*, and then is used for both

¹*Italienische Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1890.

genders similarly to *miei, tuoi, suoi*. (Instances of *mei* used for the feminine may be found in *Crestomazia*,¹ p. 148, line 119, *le mei vertude nè le mei force*; line 120, *le mei mani*. But occurrences of it have not been noted in Tuscan texts; the selection from which the examples just given were taken, is in old Venetian). The author's explanation of *mia* is as follows: "Wie in toskanischen Mundarten *lei* zu *lia* wird² so könnte *mia* aus *mei* auf lautlichem Wege entstanden sein, und wäre im XIV bis XVI Jahr. auch in die Litterärsprache, wenigstens in die Prosa, gedrungen."—My objection to this theory is: *mei* and *lei* as phonetical elements are not analogous, and the *-ei* in the two words cannot be supposed to have undergone a like development because of the difference in the preceding consonants, *m* and *l*. In X, fo. &ijj, occurs the form *glia* where *l* mouillé was probably the factor which raised *e* to *i*, and the development of *lia* < *lei* (no matter at what stage of the language) always went hand in hand with the pronunciation of *l* as a mouillé element; it is impossible to omit the *i* in pronunciation in removing the tongue from the mouillé to a lower position.³—Further proof that *ia* < *ei* is due to the preceding *l* mouillé is found in the fact that no example of *ei* > *ia* is noted in other words; for example, *ria* (= *rei*), *dia* (= *dei*, DEI), *sia* (= *sei*, SEX) do not exist.⁴ [Dialectic *sia* (2nd. pers. sing. Pres. Subj.) and conditionals in *-ria* (for *-rei*) cannot be adduced as established illustrations of the phonetic change under discussion since there is no objection to supposing the former < V. L.

¹*Crestomazia Italiana dei Primi Secoli*. Per Ernesto Monaci. Fascicolo Primo. Città di Castello, 1889.

²An example of such a *lia* may be seen in *Crestomazia*, p. 22, line 114.

³It will probably be objected to this that the process was the reverse of what I have indicated and that *l* did not become *l* mouillé until after *e* had become *i*. If this is true, *i* is the factor that developed *l* mouillé, not *l* mouillé the one which developed *i*. The question cannot be decided until something more definite is known as to the history of this peculiar form *lia*.

⁴On p. 178 will be found an example of *dia* = *dei* (DEBES), which would be a closer analogy for *mei* than *lei* is. But it probably owes its existence to a confusion with the Subjunctive Present *dia* < *dea* < *deva*.

SEAS, and the latter had its origin in Imperfects in *-ea*.] A further objection to *mia* < *mei* is evident in *tua, sua*, unless these forms be regarded as analogical to *mia*; but I can scarcely believe that forms of the second and third possessive pronoun are developed by analogy with a like form of the first person.

b. Result of position in stress-group.

Again, I have taken as my norm the precept of Neumann:¹ “Wir müssen stets einen Satz im Auge behalten: ein Wort entwickelt sich nie an sich, sondern stets nur gemäss der Stellung, die es im Satzzusammenhang einnimmt. So kann ein Wort, resp. die Silbe eines Wortes in verschiedenem Satzzusammenhange oft ganz verschiedene Betonung haben, es kann einmal den Hohton, ein ander Mal Nebenton oder gar keinen accent haben, wodurch naturgemäss eine verschiedene Lautentwicklung bedingt ist.” I have tried to apply this principle in accounting for the development of *mia, tua, sua*; for example, in MM, where such numbers of these irregular pronominal forms occur, of the whole number of *mia* combinations found (in masc. plu.) one hundred and thirty are before the noun, twenty-seven after it. Of the feminine plurals (*mia*) six are before the noun, two after it; of *tua* (masc. plu.) three are before the noun, four after it; of *sua* (masc. plu.) thirty-six are before the noun, fifteen after it; of *sua* (fem. plu.) the three forms found are after nouns. But these proportional uses show nothing, since the occurrence of more irregular forms before than after the noun simply agrees with the construction of the regular forms.—By glancing at the Table (p. 156) it will be observed that while the number of poets who employ these peculiar forms is greater than that of the prose writers, yet the use of them is so limited that no conclusion can be drawn from a study of the metre, rhyme, etc. It is evident, therefore, that the position of *mia, tua, sua* in the sentence does not assist in discovering their origin.

¹ *Literaturblatt*, III, 467.

c. Phonetical reductions.

The phonetical development of these forms, as mentioned by d'Ovidio (cf. p. 163) was not satisfactory to him, since he saw at once the inconsistency of positing that for the plural, *mie'*, *tuo'*, *suo'* were reduced to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, but the singular forms, *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, remained unaffected. I think if such a reduction had taken place, the reduced forms would have been *mi*, *tu*, *su*, and not with an *-a* borrowed elsewhere,—that is, reduction would have induced a shortening of the forms, not merely a change of final *-e* to *-a*. There is such a *mi* found. In O (p. 56, line 10, note) the editor (Prof. Nicola Arnone) says: "Il *mi* non è che un' abbreviazione di *mie'*;" the sentence in which the *mi*, spoken of by him, occurred was "da li occhi *mi*[*e'*] passò, etc."—Such a reduction of *mie'* > *mia* will be still more difficult to prove, when the examples of an opposite reduction on p. 176 are considered; we there observe many instances of the first and third person present Subjunctive *sia* reduced to *sie*; so that *mie*, as used in the feminine singular for *mia*, might have been originally a reduction of the latter;¹ but for the opposite *mie'* > *mia* the only analogy found is that of *die* DIES > *dia*, but in this case the change is due to rhyme.

d. *Mia* adopted from a confusion of *mie'* = *miei* and *mie'* = *mia* (Sing.).

The form *mie'* (= **miea*?) noted above (cf. Table) might have had some influence in producing the irregular *mia*. On the supposition that it (*mie'*) existed by the side of the shortened form of the masculine plural (*mie'*) there might have arisen in the minds of the people using them a confusion as to the difference of gender and number of the two. Thus, on analogy to the masculine MĒŪS a MĒA was formed out of which developed **miea*, while out of the regular MĒA a *mia* also existed. We would then have:

¹ Cf. p. 158.

Masc. Plu. *miei*—*mie'*,
 Fem. Sing. **miea*—*mie'*—*mia*.

Now, when *mie'* (fem.) ceased to be used and *mia* was the only form existing, the masculine plural *mie'* (= same as feminine *mie'* which is supposed to be used no more, but is replaced by *mia*) might also have been changed to *mia* on account of this confusion of *mie'* (fem. sing.) and *mie'* (masc. plu.). This explanation I would regard as preferable to that of a phonetical reduction of *mie'* to *mia*, since in the latter case the *-a* has to be explained (a thing not satisfactorily done up to the present), whereas on my supposition there is a crossing of two forms, one of which already had the *-a*. Given this analogical effect as a starting point, might not subsequent speakers, having lost sight of its origin (as a crossing with feminine singular *mia*) have looked upon this *mia* (= *mie'* masc. plu.) as a feminine also used indifferently for the masculine plural? Then *tua*, *sua*, feminine singulars of the second and third persons were adopted in the same manner for masculine plurals? The extension of the use (of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*) from masculine to feminine plural would be rendered all the easier from the fact that so many feminine plurals also ended in *-a* (from the Latin Neuters). The objection might be raised to this supposition that these forms, *mia*, *tua*, *sua*, are not also extended to the singular *mio*, *tuo*, *suo*, but the analogical development suggested above is sufficient answer to this; I changed the *-e* of *mie'* (*miei*) to *-a* from the crossing of this form with an original *-a* (*mia*); and *tua*, *sua* followed by analogy to this. Hence it would be inappropriate to ask of me why *tuo* (sing.) does not go into *tua* as well as *tuo'* (*tuoi*).—This development would also have the merit of being evidently an early one, and therefore capable of accounting for an early appearance of *mia*, *tua*, *sua*.

Though I hold this explanation of the phenomena before us to be more plausible than those offered up to the present, yet it is unsatisfactory also to me, for while it explains *mia*,

it does not explain *tua*, *sua*, which have to be supposed as analogous to *mia*: the latter supposition is contrary to my assumption (cf. p. 165) that analogy plays no perceptible part in the development of the forms under discussion.

Résumé of unsatisfactory explanations.

After this brief review of opinions touching the development of the forms under discussion, I hold that the following explanations of *mia*, *tua*, *sua* are unsatisfactory for the reasons given above.

1. That they are extensions of irregularities in the singular.
2. That *mia* was developed from *mei* and then used for both genders as *miei*, *tuoi*, *sui* once were so used. (This I consider as the strongest phonetical explanation suggested, but the phonetic improbabilities that led me to reject it strengthens more firmly my confidence in the explanation given below.)
3. That the irregularities may have developed by virtue of their position in the sentence, as tonic or atonic, before or after the noun (or otherwise).
4. That *mie'*, *tuoi'*, *sui'*, (= *miei*, *tuoi*, *sui*) were reduced phonetically to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*.
5. That on account of a confusion in the use of *mie'* (*miei*) and *mie'* (**miea*?), when *mia* was adopted as the only form of the feminine singular, *mie'* of the masculine plural was likewise reduced to *mia*.

5. *Mia*, *tua*, *sua* are remnants of the Latin Neuter Plural.

What explanation, then, remains? A phonetical development is doubted; analogy is not admitted; therefore, the origin must be morphological, and the only morphological explanation tenable is that *mia*, *tua*, *sua* rest on the old Latin Neuter Plural. Strengthening such a supposition is the fact that we find many remnants of the old Latin Neuter in the noun present in the texts examined; for example, in H, pp. 86, 98,

101, *castella*; T, *ossa*; V, *Ameto*, p. 56, *le sua corna*; p. 57, *le labra sua*; EE, p. 21, *dua ciglia*; GG, fo. q 2, *dua braccia*; fo. d, *le tua mura*; II, fo. fq 6, *le sua alia*; JJ, p. 372, *le membra mia*; LL, p. 38, *ossa mia*; MM, I, 390, *mia lenzuola*. In F, p. 23, occurs *tucta chotai chose*.—Neuter plurals of the Latin were preserved in Italian as feminine plurals when they had collective significations,¹ and it may be seen from the examples just cited that *mia*, *tua*, *sua* are found before such nouns. I think that the existence of the irregular *sua* in Dante (*Purg. ix*, 13, *le sua braccia*), where it has this collective signification, settles beyond doubt the origin of the form as a Latin Neuter Plural. What strengthens the supposition that this is a Latin form is, that Dante employs the Latin *SUI* also.²—Now, from their (*mia*, *tua*, *sua*) use before original Latin neuters with collective meaning, they were next employed with words, not derived from Latin neuters, but yet having a dual signification; for example, in AA, III, 179, *mia parenti*; JJ, p. 70, *occhi mia*; MM, I, 310, *mia piedi*; *mia (due) giovani*, etc. Many of the forms noted in MM were used in connection with *dua*; in fact I think there must have been a strong analogy between these pronominal forms and *dua*, since as neuters they would often have a dual signification, and in addition to this here is a word (*dua*) whose formation is quite like that of *tua*, *sua*. *Dua* is used in O, GG, II, JJ, LL, MM and NN, and it is to be noted that in all of these texts the irregular *mia*, *tua*, *sua* occur, and especially that *dua* does not occur earlier than these forms do, but they (*dua*, *mia*, etc.) seem to appear together and to be used side by side, and that in the same texts Latin neuter plurals of nouns are preserved. Thus all these phenomena (*dua*; *mia*, *tua*, *sua*; and the nouns) appear as a revival of the Latin Neuter under the influence of which all these forms seem to have arisen about the same time; the other forms parallel to *mia*, *tua*, *sua*

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, §§ 329 and 341.

² Cf. Zehle, *Laut- und Flexionslehre in Dante's Divina Commedia*. Marburg, 1886, p. 13: "Neben *tui*, *suoi* stehen bei Dante die Latinismen *SUI* und *TUI*."

strengthen the supposition that these (*mia, tua, sua*) too are neuter plurals and not mere isolated examples.—Lastly, from the use of these pronouns before original neuters with collective signification; then before nouns, not neuters but having such signification, they were used indiscriminately before substantives of all kinds, regardless of their meaning.

a. Time of appearance; originated among the people; extent of employ; conclusion.

As may be seen from the Table (p. 156) the forms under discussion are found in texts before Dante; from the nature of their origin (as Neuter Plurals) we would naturally expect a line of direct transmission from the Latin; the fact, therefore, of their occurrence in the oldest texts is further proof of their origin from the neuter. Diez¹ remarks: "Von einem Altitalienischen im Sinne des Altfranzösischen kann keine Rede sein; die Sprache des XIII Jh. unterscheidet sich nur durch einzelne, namentlich volksmässige Formen und Wörter, nicht durch grammatischen Bau, von der Spättern." The same applies to *mia, tua, sua*; they were first used by the early writers who employed them conscientiously as neuter plurals; from these neuter forms their use was extended by the people, with whom the forms have been in vogue ever since, appearing from time to time in literary productions.

Did these forms originate with the writers, and were they carried from them to the people, or was the reverse the case? Castelvetro, speaking of other words,² says: "Conciosia cosa che i popoli non prendano i vocaboli da poeti & spetialmente da simili a Dante & al Petrarca & a tali quali ha poeti la lingua nostra, che a pena sono letti & intesi degli 'ntendenti huomini con molto studio.—Non trassero dunque i nostri poeti le predette parole da volumi de provenzali, ma della commune usanza del parlare italiano." I think these remarks apply also to

¹ *Gram.* I, 79.

² *Corretione d'alcune cose del dialogo delle lingue di Varchi, et una giunta al primo libro delle prose di M. Pietro Bembo.* Basilea, 1572; p. 175.

mia, tua, sua, and for two reasons: first, their existence in the Latin, and appearance later in early Italian necessarily indicates their preservation by the people during the time for which we have no texts; and secondly, because, as may be seen from the Table, they were used most frequently by popular writers.

Extent of employ. The proportion in MM, where the greatest number of these irregular pronouns was found, is as follows:

<i>miei</i> , 54 times,	<i>mia</i> (= <i>miei</i>), 157 times.
<i>tuo</i> i, 8 “	<i>tua</i> (= <i>tuo</i> i), 7 “
<i>suo</i> i, 68 “	<i>sua</i> (= <i>suo</i> i), 51 “
<i>mie</i> , 189 “	<i>mia</i> (= <i>mie</i>), 8 “
<i>tue</i> , 17 “	
<i>sue</i> , 145 “	<i>sua</i> (= <i>sue</i>), 3 “

I have marked both regular and irregular forms throughout my reading, and I may give those of V as an example of the small proportion of irregular to regular constructions. In this author we find the regular

<i>miei</i> , 211 times;	<i>mie</i> , 144 times.
<i>tuo</i> i, 96 “	<i>tue</i> , 57 “
<i>suo</i> i, 461 “	<i>sue</i> , 244 “

(Irregular forms from V have been given above, p. 150.) A like enumeration for the other texts would show a similar proportion.

Meyer-Lübke, after making his suggestion as to the development of *mia* (cf. p. 163) remarks: ¹ “Genaue Untersuchungen über die Verbreitung von *mia* in alter und neuer Zeit werden darüber Auskunft geben.” He and all other writers on the subject treat this irregularity as specifically Florentine. I have made the research he asked for, and among Florentine writers of four centuries, with the results indicated above.

¹ *It. Gr.* § 375.

CHAPTER II.

REGULAR FORMS OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

A. TONIC E AND I IN HIATUS; *mio*; *miei*.1. *Previous treatment of hiatus E.*

This subject has been treated, according to my knowledge, as follows: Meyer-Lübke says:¹ "Im Hiatus steht für *e* vor *i* der Diphthong *ie*, vor den anderen Vokalen *i* ohne Rücksicht darauf ob *ē*, *e* oder *i* zu Grunde liege: *mio*, *mia*, *mie*: *miei*, *dio*, *rio*, *dī* und *dia*, *zio*, *sia*, *pria*, *via*, *io*, *cria*. Als Buchwörter sind *reo* bei Brunetto und Dante, *rie*, *rea* bei Dante zu betrachten.—Beachtenswerth sind ven.-pad. *pria* neben *piera* (PETRA), *drīo* Cort."—Again:² "Vortonvokale im Hiatus sind selten, meist sind I, E und U in dieser Stellung schon im Vulgärlateinischen zu *ī*, *ū* geworden, daher fürs Italienische, Konsonanten. In Buchwörtern oder bei sekundärem Hiatus bleibt meist der Vokal unverändert, doch zeigt *e* vor *o* and *e* Neigung zu *i* zu werden: *lione*, *niente* aber *reina*."—Further, d'Ovidio:³ "í im lateinischen Hiatus beharrt als *i* oder wird wieder zu *i*: *via*, *sia*, *pria*, *dī* vom arch. *die*, *dia*. (Indirekt gehört auch *brio* hierher, das von *brioso* EBRIOSUS abstrahiert wurde)."—Again:⁴ "Es giebt eine Reihe Wörter, die den Diphthongen nicht haben und die doch nur volkstümlich sein können: *sei* Verb, *sei* Zahlwort, *è* EST.—*Sçi* Verb, welches ES ist mit vorgeschlagenem *s* von *sono*, lautete einst *siei*; das erste *i* wurde ausgestossen durch Dissimilation und auch in Folge häufiger proclitischer Stellung des Wortes; dasselbe gilt von *sei* SEX, obschon es ein tosc. *siei* nicht giebt. Die Proclisis erklärt auch *è* EST."—Also:⁵ "Eine eigene Gruppe

¹ *It. Gr.* § 96.² *Ibid.* § 141.³ In *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*. Herausg. von Gustav Gröber. Strassburg, 1888. I, 503, § 15.⁴ *Grundriss*, I, 512, § 26.⁵ *Grundriss*, I, 514, § 29.

bilden die Wörter, in denen ě im Hiats steht : dies wurde zuerst zu *ie* und verengte sich dann unter dem Einfluss des Hiats zu *i*: *dio* = **dīeo* DEUS, arch. *rio* REUM, arch. *cria* CREAT, *mio*, *mīa*, *mīe* MEUS, *io* *EO. Gelehrt oder halbgelehrt sind dagegen : *dēa*, *dēi*, *rēo*, *crēa*. In *miēi* MĚI behauptete sich *ie* = ě unter dem Einfluss des Schlussvokals."—Finally Caix remarks :¹ "Tutto questo c'induce a concludere che nella prima lingua poetica le forme con *e* dovettero essere di gran lunga le più frequenti.—Ma nel Toscano fin dai più antichi documenti non s'incontrano che forme con *i*. Dante scrisse *Deo* solo in rima e il Petrarca raramente *meo*.—Da notare è solo quanto a REUS che *rio* è del verso, e *reo* della prosa."

These quotations include many words which will come up for discussion in the present division of this monograph ; their occurrence, as well as other forms to be considered, is represented as follows in the texts consulted :

io,—A20,² B133, C rule,³ D5, E20, F rule, G1, H4, I11, J110, K161, L4, N rule, O26, P rule, Q rule, R1, S16 ; rule in T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, EE, FF, GG, HH, JJ, KK, MM, NN, OO, PP, QQ, RR, SS.

eo,—A57, B26, E75, F1, L14, O4, S1, X1.

mio,—A13, B59, C rule, E6, F rule, G1, I2, J15, K46, L4, N rule, O5 ; rule in P, Q, S(7), T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD(19), EE, FF, GG, HH, JJ, KK, LL, MM, NN, OO, PP, QQ, RR, SS, TT(8).

meo,—A38, B32, E76, L2, CC1, X1.

mīa,—B126, C rule, E48, F rule, I3, J11, K21, O rule, P rule, Q rule, R1, S1, T1 ; rule in U, V, X, Z, AA, BB(32), DD(13), EE, FF, GG, HH, KK, MM, PP, TT.

mea,—E1, X2.

¹ *Origini della Lingua Poetica Italiana*. Firenze, 1880. § 14.

² The numeral following a capital letter represents the number of times a form occurs in the given author.

³ 'Rule' indicates that a given form is found to the exclusion of variants of the same.

mie,—B5, G1, J2, K3, M2, R1, T12, U2, V144, X rule, Y2, Z7, AA16, BB1, CC5, DD1, EE25, FF13, GG34, JJ24, LL8, MM189, SS20, TT3.

dio,—A1, B20, C rule, D2, E2, F rule, G1, H14, I9, J42, K153, L4, M30, N rule, P31, Q rule, R2, S2; rule in T, U, V, W, X(10), Y, Z, AA, BB, DD(4), EE, FF, HH, JJ, KK (51), LL, MM, NN(135), PP, SS.

deo,—A12, B10, E4, L11, P1,¹ X1.

dia (= fem. of *dio*),—X1,² FF1.³

dee (= fem. plu. of *dio*),—P2,⁴ V4,⁵ Y rule, LL2.

rio,—B3, E1, F rule, K2, N rule, P2, S1, V2, X14, Z rule, AA rule, BB2, CC1, FF2, GG7, HH rule, JJ5, KK10, MM rule, NN44, PP rule, SS5, TT2.

reo,—A2, B12, N1, P7, V8, X14, FF6, GG6, II4, JJ1, NN4, SS4.

ria,—B4, F rule, H1, K2, N rule, P5, S1, V1, X3, AA rule, BB1, FF1, GG3, HH rule, JJ3, KK11, MM rule, NN37, PP rule, SS4, TT1.

rea,—E1, N2, P1, V13, X9, BB2, CC1, FF2, GG5, II1, KK1, NN26, SS13.

rie,—F rule, H1, K1, N3, NN3.

ree,—M1, N2, P1, NN4.

fio,—B5, E1, O1, X1.

feo,—B1,⁶ H1.

pio,—O, T, V, SS.

pia,—V.

mei,—All examples of this have been given above (cf. Table, p. 156).

miei,—A2, B4, C rule, F rule, J4, K4, L3, M9, N22, O10, R1, S1, V211, X rule, Y8, Z8, AA44, BB7, CC11, DD1,

¹ Purg. xvi, 35: *reo: feo*.

² fo. hij: *profecia: maria*.

³ p. 184: Singular *mia* madonna ed alma *dia*. These are the only examples found of *dia*; in all other cases the Latin *dea* is preserved.

⁴ Purg. xxxii, 3; Par. xxviii, 41.

⁵ *Ameto*, pp. 11, 65, 86.

⁶ p. 121: *reo: feo*.

EE20, FF15, GG28, HH rule, JJ70, KK35, LL8, MM54, NN44, PP rule, SS28, TT5.

dei,—L4, P4, X11, Y6, BB1, LL6, NN10, SS rule.

dii,—K2, P1,¹ T71, V124,² X2, Y1, BB5, EE1, OO.

rei,—B3, I4, K2, L1, M1, T1, V rule, X6, FF4, TT1.

riei,—F9.

rii,—P1.³

lei,—B1, C1, F rule, L1, O rule, T, X rule.

liei,—G1,⁴ J1,⁵ K2, L1,⁶ N1,⁷ TT4.⁸

sei (= Ěs),—C1, P, F1, V rule, X, Y rule, Z1, II rule, LL3, SS rule, FF1.

siei (= *sei*, ES),—J1.⁹

pedi (= PEDES),—H, I4, U rule, X.

piei,—H2, J2, K3, X3, TT rule.

pei,—X1.

dei (= DEBES),—C5, F112, M1, N2, O1, P, T3, V rule, X3, Z rule, GG4,¹⁰ LLI, SS4.

diei (= *dei*, DEBES),—K6.¹¹

se' (= *sei*, ES),—F20, N1,¹² O1, P, S1, Z11, BB1, CCI, FF1, GG, LL, TT1.

see (= *sei*),—N3.¹³

sie (= *sei*),—F8,¹⁴ P2,¹⁵ V1,¹⁶ TT2.¹⁷

¹ Also *pii* (plu. of *pìo*): Purg. xxi, 24; Par. ix, 26.

² *dei* occurs also in V.

³ Inf. xxi, 22: *desii: rii: partii*.

⁴ p. 35.

⁵ p. 41.

⁶ p. 198.

⁷ p. 3.

⁸ pp. 56, 59, 80 (*liei: miei*), 109. In this author occur also, p. 76, *costiei: piei*; p. 78, *costiei: miei*; p. 82, *coliei*.

⁹ Cf. *Crestomazia*, p. 161, line 10. Same line, *stiei*.

¹⁰ Here also *debi*; cf. fo. b 3.

¹¹ First example is on p. 28. Occurrences of *giudei*, *sei* (SEX), *bei* (*bevi*) have been noted, but they do not occur in any of the texts examined, under diphthongized forms.

¹² p. 267.

¹³ pp. 69, 215.

¹⁴ First ex. p. 5.

¹⁵ Purg. xxv, 11.

¹⁶ *Decam.* fo. Bb: *tu sie il ben venuto*.

¹⁷ p. 86: *tu sie la ben trovata*; p. 87: *sa' che tu sie sì crudel*.

- sie* (= 1st pers. Subj. Pres.),—TT1,¹ P1.²
sie (= 2nd pers. Subj. Pres.),—P3,³ V5,⁴ II2,⁵ TT4.⁶
sie (= 3rd pers. Subj. Pres.),—P1,⁷ V3.⁸
sia (= SIS),—P1.⁹
sii (= *sei*, ES),—V2,¹⁰ Z1.¹¹

dia (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—C rule, F1, H1, J7, K1, N1, R1, T rule, DD3, KK6, TT1.

dea (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—B3, D1, M3,¹² N2,¹³ P2,¹⁴ V6.¹⁵

dii (= 2nd. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—V1.¹⁶

die (= 3d. pers. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—DD1.¹⁷

¹ p. 55: d'onorar un tal giorno non *sie* ingrato.

² Purg. xx, 14: prima che (*io*) *sie* morto.

³ Purg. xvi, 5: Guarda, che da me *tu non sie* mozzo; Par. xv, 16: benedetto *sie tu*; Par. xxix, 22: *sie (tu)* certo.

⁴ *Decam.* fo. C (twice); fo. Lb; fo. Mij; fo. Y.

⁵ fo. ez: fa (*tu*) che non *sie* polaco ne tedesco; fo. fq. 8: Fiolo mio, *sie* vago du dire cosa ecc.

⁶ p. 58: che *tu non sie* veduto; p. 78: che *tu sie* nostra; vogliam che *tu sie* la nostra dama; p. 86: che *tu sie* benedetta.

⁷ Purg. xxx, 36: Perchè *sie* colpa. *Sie* is the reading of three of the Mss., *sia* that of one.

⁸ *Decam.* fos. Cij; Cbj 6; Xij.

⁹ Purg. xx, 4; one Ms. here reads: maladetta *sia tu*, the three others *sie*.

¹⁰ *Decam.* fo. Obj 2: quanto *tu sii* da me amata; *Ameto*, p. 78: *tu sola sii* donna di me.

¹¹ *tu sii* la ben tornata. Cf. here *Il Torto e il Diritto del non si Può, dato in giudicio sopra molte regole della lingua Italiana*. Esaminato da Ferrante Longobardi. Roma, 1655, p. 77: *Tu sii* e *tu sia* si dice ugualmente bene ne tempi che cotal terminatione ricevono. E simile delle altre maniere de' verbi che 'l soffrono; avegna che alcuni scrittori e infra gli altri il Boccaccio habbiano piu volentieri finiti così fatti tempi delle seconde persone in *i* che in *a*.

¹² pp. 25, 35.

¹³ pp. 50, 457.

¹⁴ Inf. xxxiii, 42: Innanzi ch'Atropos mossa le *dea*; Purg. xxi, 5: Dio vi *dea* pace.

¹⁵ *Decam.* fo. Jbj 8, 9: Dio gli *dea* il buon anno; Dio mi *dea* la gratia sua; fo. Hjv: se Dio ti *dea* buona ventura, etc.

¹⁶ *Ameto*, p. 50: innanzi che *tu dii* materia di turbamento.

¹⁷ Dio ti *die* grazia.

deano (= 3d. pers. Plu. Subj. Pres. of *dare*),—V1.¹

stia (= 3d. pers. Pres. Subj. of *stare*),—B1, I1, K1, R1, T1.

stea (= 3d. pers. Pres. Subj. of *stare*),—B2, M2,² P5,³ V10,⁴

KK1.⁵

stii (= 2nd. pers. Subj. Pres. of *stare*),—BB1.⁶

steano (= 3rd. pers. Plu. Subj. Pres. of *stare*),—V1.⁷

dève,—C2, S1, T4, SS3.

dee (= *deve*),—B2, C7, D9, E2, F6, H3, I16, M3, N30, P, R4, S7, T1, V rule, X1, AA2, FF1, GG4, KK6, LL6, SS5.

de (= *deve*),—B7, C5, D1, F68, H6, N1, P, S6, T5, U rule, X1, Z8.

de (= *dei*, DEBES),—F28, Z1.⁸

dì (= *deve*),—N.⁹

die (= *deve*),—G rule,¹⁰ J7, K12,¹¹ N3,¹² S2, T9, EE1.¹³

¹Decam. fo. Dbj 2.

²pp. 10, 13: non piaccia che l'anima *stea* in prigione.

³Inf. xxxiii, 41: Come il mio corpo *stea*; Purg. ix, 48, Quando a cantar con organi si *stea*; Purg. xvii, 28: Se i piè si stanno, non *stea* tuo sermone; Par. ii, 33: Fa che * * * ti *stea* un lume; Par. xxxi, 15: E spera già ridir com' ello *stea*.

⁴*Ameto*, p. 39: che seguer i suoi piacer, convien che *stea*
A tal dover con l'animo soggetto,
Che quel che se non vuole, altrui non *dea*.

ibid. p. 43: voi dovete imaginare come egli *stea*. *ibid.* p. 61:

Et di quel caldo tal frutto si *crea*
Che se ne acquista il conoscere iddio
Et come vada, & venga, & dove *stea*.

ibid. p. 77: sia adunque * * * et *dea* al vero effetto. Decam. fo. Hbj 4: luna qui si *stea* dentro; also fos. Pbj 2, Qbj, Xij, Yb, Aaiij, Aabj 9.

⁵xxix, 26.

⁶p. 8: non vo' che tu *stii*.

⁷Decam. fo. Xijj.

⁸p. 61.

⁹p. 24: vostra fine non *dì* essere. There is a note to this as follows Intendi, *dì* per *die*, o *dee*, o *de'*. Come qui presso ed altrove: *de'* essere.

¹⁰*deve*, *dee* and *de'* do not occur in this text.

¹¹First example, p. 36.

¹²p. 12: si *die* pensare; p. 34: gli porti 'l censo che gli *die* dare; p. 37: uomo *die* morire.

¹³che *die* venire.

die (= *dei*),—K4.¹

dea (= *deva*),—S1, FF2.²

dia (= *deva*),—S4.³

dia (= *dei*),—T1.⁴

dei (= *deve*),—F7.⁵

deono (= *devono*),—D1, H4, J3, N1, V rule, Z2.

diano (= *devono*),—L1.⁶

dieno (= *devono*),—P1.⁷

dia (= *DIES*),—DD2.⁸

Die (= *Dio*, *DEUS*),—DD1,⁹ TT1.¹⁰

leone,—I, M1, N3, O1, P5, T8, X, Y, BB rule, GG22, SS3, LL5.

lione,—N15, P1, T1, CC1, GG51.

leoni,—M1, N1, T3, GG2, SS1.

lioni,—N13, GG5.

leale,—A1, B1, E1, M rule, N49, S rule, FF rule.

¹An evident contraction of *diei*.

²p. 100: *dea*: *Citerea*; p. 120: come *dea* far chi vuol prender dottrina.

³The variants of different Mss. of the canzoni of this author read alternately *dee*, *die*, *dia* and *dea*. The two latter are equivalent to *deve* in meaning, but the *-a* shows that they must be substitutions of Subjunctive for Indicative.

⁴priego che tu mandi colui che *tu dia* mandare.

⁵p. 9: parole non *dei* usare *chi*, etc. p. 12: ti *dei* muovere; p. 66: *s'ella* si fae sì come non *dei*; p. 66: (*egli*) non *dei* curare.—Aside from any phonetic reason that may be assigned for this form, a reasonable explanation may be found in the indiscriminate use of *dei* for both second and third person singular. On the same page occurs a direct admonition: "*tu non dei*, ecc.," and immediately afterward follows an indefinite statement: "*egli non dei*, ecc."

⁶p. 200: le gioie che d'amore *diano* venire.

⁷Purg. XIII, 7: Esser *dien* sempre li tuoi raggi duci.—In various texts occur the forms *beo* (*bevo*), *creo* (*credo*), *veo* (*veggio*). In N are many examples of *bee*, *bea* (cf. pp. 158, 471) which are always printed with the circumflex accent, *bée*, *béu*, as is also *dée*.

⁸p. 5: *dia*: *mia*; p. 31: *dia*: *partia*; *die* also occurs in a few cases.

⁹p. 15: *Die* ti mantenga.

¹⁰p. 72: che *Die* gli dia.

liale,—L1, N26.

leali,—N14.

liali,—N10.

leanza,—B1, C1, E1, N4.

lianza,—N6.

reale,—rule in H, I, N(3), T, BB, FF, SS.

reama,—C1, H rule, J10, M4, N1, rule in T, V, X, Z.

torneamento,—N35, P1.

tornamento,—N22, P1.

neuno,—F rule, I7, J27, K9, L2, M3, N14, V1, Z13.

niuno,—C1, H28, I27, M18, N100, T16, V4, Z1, EE, II rule.

neuna,—F rule, I4, J13, K7, L4, N32, Z3.

niuna,—H8, I24, M8, N102, F5, EE rule.¹

neente,—C1, K3, M15, S3, Z15.

niente,—C, H3, I8, K5, S10, rule in V, X(2), Y, Z(20), FF, II, LL(1).

The examples given above (pp. 173–179) will now be used in the consideration of three questions which arise in a study of hiatus E :

Does hiatus prevent the development of $\check{I} > e$?

Does hiatus close E, thus making it *i*?

Does hiatus prevent the development of $E > ie$?

2. Does hiatus prevent the development of $\check{I} > e$?

Where *i* is found alike in a Latin and Italian word, has it been preserved in the latter directly from its Latin form, or has it first developed into *e* (as it does in positions other than hiatus) and then been raised again to *i*? In a treatment of this question, the following words must be considered: *brio*, *dia* and *die*, *pio*, *pria*, *quia*, *sia*, *stria*, *via*.

¹The proportional use in the *Bandi Lucchesi del sec. XIV*. Bologna, 1863, is: *neuno*, 42, *neuna*, 118.

niuno, 9, *niuna*, 3.

brio (< EBRĪO,—ARE).¹

This word does not occur as *breo*.

dia and *die* (= DĪEM).

That this word passed through an *e*-stage (**de*, **dea*) is hardly probable; a comparison with other Romance languages indicates that it did not thus develop in a part of the field, at least; for it is found preserved in Sardinian (*die*), Provençal (*dis*, *dia*), Old French (*die*) and Spanish (*dia*).

pio (= PĪUS).

Corresponding to this is *pio*, Span., *piu-s* Prov., and no preceding *e*-stage is to be supposed for either of these languages.

pria (= PRĪA).

This word exists only in Italian, and no preceding **prea* has been noted for it.

quia (= QUĪA).

It is hardly to be questioned that *quia* is a preservation of the Latin form.

sia (= SIM and SĪT).

In this set of Tuscan texts examined by me, no form *sea* occurs. It is remarkable that authors who use *dia* and *dea* (*dare*), *stia* and *stea* (*stare*)² should seem to recognize *sia* as the only form for this verb; the fact that *dea* and *stea* are found in the earliest texts and as late as Bojardo, while *sea* does not so occur, seems to indicate that, for the Tuscan, *sea* never existed. The parallelism does not appear between the Tuscan and northern dialects, such as will be noted in the case of hiatus ů.³ The latter developed *o* in both of the territories just indicated but *e* out of hiatus ĩ is found only in the North.⁴

¹Ascoli, *Archiv. Glot. Ital.*, III, 455.

²Cf. p. 176.

³Cf. p. 201.

⁴Examples of *sea* may be found in the *Crestomazia*: pp. 86, l. 44; 102, l. 20; 105, l. 147; 112, l. 113; 113, l. 134; 135, l. 15; 137, l. 28; 141, l. 87; 145, l. 14, 20; 146, l. 41, 48, 55; 147, l. 65, 66.—A statement as to the dislike of the Tuscan for the *e*-forms is found in *Ampliazione della lingua volgare*

This word should not be included in the examples given by Meyer-Lübke,¹ for from his rule we are to understand that all words mentioned there passed through an *e*-stage. The explanation of the word as given in § 448 contradicts this supposition, however, and seems to imply that the *i* is supposed to have remained: "Der Konjunktiv *sia* erklärt sich aus älterem *SIM* durch Anfügung des Konjunktiv *-a*."

stria (= STRĪA).

The *i* is kept here also in Fr. *strie*,² Span. *estria*.

via (= VĪAM).

Via and *sia* are parallel in their development. Fr. *voie*, *soit* leave no room for doubt that for this language there was a preceding *VEA*, *SEAT* (later *veie*, *seit* > *voie*, *soit*). But for the Tuscan no *vea* is found.

These examples show that in Tuscan no *e*-stage is to be supposed for words which have lived on with primary hiatus *ī*.

To this list must be added words that have originally Latin *ī*, which is retained in both primary and secondary hiatus: *zio* (*THĪUM), *stio* (AESTĪVUM), *vie* (VĪVE), *rio* (poetic form of *rivo* < RĪVUM).

Also to be added are *sio* (botanical), *ghio* (maritime), *trio*, *dia* ('divine,' Par XIV, 11; XXIII, 36; XXVI, 3), *spio* and *fio*. The germanic *fēhu* gave in Italian *fio* and *feudo*, and the *e* in the example of *feo* (cited above, p. 174) was probably introduced from analogy to *feudo*.

Thus, the answer to our first question (Does hiatus prevent the development of *ī* > *e*?) must be given in the affirmative;

by M. Vitale Papazzoni. Venetia, 1587, p. 5: "*Dea* per *dia* dal Verbo *dare*, usano alcuni moderni contra 'l commun' uso degli altri, & non so perchè. Nè io per me lascierei il mio & degli altri solito *dia*, salvo se non volessi parer piu tosto Napolitano che Toscano o Lombardo ragionevole."

¹ *It. Gr.* § 96. Rule quoted above, p. 172.

² cf. Scheler, *Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Française*. 3me Ed. Paris et Bruxelles, 1888. p. 476.

the Tuscan treats alike \bar{i} and \bar{y} in hiatus, since it preserves both of them.¹

3. Does hiatus close E, thus making it *i*?

This question has been considered by d'Ovidio,² and his conclusion is (p. 37): "Nessun certo esempio, adunque, ci occorre di *e* da \bar{E} lat., o di *e* romanza qualunque, che si chiuda in *i* per l'iato." A difficulty arises here because of the lack of examples of original Latin hiatus \bar{E} , the rule being, as given by Seelmann:³ "Kürzung von vocalen konnte erfolgen, wenn denselben direct andere folgten." There is one case, however, of *e* in secondary hiatus before *e*, with the result that it was raised to *i*; this *e* (afterward *i*) was also long, and hence could not have been diphthongized ($>ie$) and reduced later to *i*. This example is *die* (= *dee* = *deve*, cf. p. 177). It is treated by d'Ovidio, but the only example of its occurrence which he found was that from "un antico testo forse fiorentino." Caix⁴ mentions "*die, dia-no* accanto a *dea*, forma del congiuntivo che in Guittone vale anche per l'indicativo," and again (p. 220) "in Barberino tanto *dea*, quanto *dia* e *dieno* occorrono più volte." The examples gathered from our texts show a more extended use of the forms than these quotations would indicate. For *die* there can be but one explanation; its Latin original was $\bar{D}\bar{E}B\bar{E}T$ and hence the tonic \bar{E} never diphthongized; the immediate predecessor of the present form was *dee*, and the hiatus position of e is the only cause which suggests itself for the raising of this *e* to *i*.—Similarly in the plural,

¹ None of the words thus far treated are covered by Meyer-Lübke's rule (*It. Gr.* § 96) since the beginning of the rule—"Im Hiatus steht für *e*"—implies that all words mentioned under it were either originally E or $e < \bar{y}$; in either case, he supposed an *e*-stage to have preceded any later change. The rule would even seem to imply that the \bar{i} in $*THIUM$ developed $*zto$, then *zio*, as this example is found among those given under the rubric.

² *Arch. Glot. It.* IX, 35-37.

³ *Die Aussprache des Latein.* Heilbronn, 1885, p. 79.

⁴ *Origini*, p. 219, § 215.

apart from the variants of the ending *-ono*; as, *-ano* or *-eno*,¹ the change of *e > i* is due to hiatus position.² The form *di'* (= *dee*) as found in N in the construction *di'èssare* might seem to have developed in pretonic position (in which position every *E > i*;³ as, *misúra* < *MENSÚRAM*, *sicúro* < *SECÚRUM*), and if *die* is understood to have thus developed, hiatus would not enter here into consideration. But the tendency for pretonic *E* to become *i* was a popular one, and if the *e* in *dee* had thus become *i*, the resultant form that would have been used most frequently and been preserved, would be *die*, not *dee*, just as we have *misura*, *sicuro* and many similar words with *i*, not *e*. The fact that *dee* has always been the more common form indicates, therefore, that *die* is not a development due to pretonic position, but that the word developed independently, the first *e* becoming *i* because of its hiatus position.

Dea, *stea* (< *dare*, *stare*) may have developed later into *dia*, *stia* through the closure of *e > i* in hiatus, but these words cannot be adduced as reliable examples of such a change, since it is probable that they became *dia*, *stia*, by analogy to *sia*;⁴ reciprocal influences of *DARE*, *STARE* and *ESSERE* forms constantly occur in the Romance languages.

a. Further proof of *e > i* in hiatus: conditionals in *-ria*.

We must here consider conditionals in *-ria* instead of *-rei*,⁵ the former being < the Infinitive with Imperfect of *avere*; the latter (*-rei*) offers nothing for consideration in connection with the present topic (of *e* being raised to *i* by hiatus). The successive stages of development of this *-ria* formation may be

¹ And in F *deuno* is found.

² *Dieno* is not to be supposed as analogical to forms like *sieno* or conditionals like *sarieno*, for in these cases the preceding stage was *siano*, *sariano*; the point to be noted in *dieno* is not the ending *-eno* but the fact that *e > i* before this ending, however the latter may have originated. (Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 540, § 94: Ist *ea iá* von einem konsonanten gefolgt, so entsteht daraus *ie* also *avia*, *avieno*, etc.)

³ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.* § 123.

⁴ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 461.

⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 403, 404.

traced in our texts. First, in L, we find the Imperfect alone used for the Conditional (p. 203): "chesso dicea quelli ke fugera delabatallia non fugera dalicani, ke le sue carne *facia* alimastini mangiare;"—(p. 208): "el medico di Pirro venne a Fabritio celatamente e disseli ke selli livolea dare cotanto avere chelli *ucidea* Pirro." The next step was *-rea*, which is found represented in the same text (L) in forms such as *mectare-a* (p. 200), *piacciere-a* (p. 202), *avere-a* (p. 211), *sire-a* (p. 212). The last stage was *-ria*. This form is found as follows:¹ A11, B77, C44, E29, K2, L9, N42, O12, P69, S24, T15, V74, X7, Y8, Z24, BB7, CC2, DD4, EE1, FF1, GG34, II6, LL8, SS21, TT5. Is this an example of hiatus *e* (*-rea*) raised to *i* (*-ria*)? If we accept the testimony of Castelvetro we must answer in the negative. In his work cited (p. 170) p. 190 he is discussing a number of words which, according to Bembo, Petrarch took from the Provençal, among them *havia*, *solia*, *credia*; of these he observes: "Niuno nega, che non sia uso della Provenza il dire *havia*, *solia*, *credia*, ma cio non basta a provar lo 'ntendimento del Bembo. Adunque bisognerebbe che egli potesse negare con verita, che fosse o fosse stato uso d'una buona parte d'Italia mai, & spetialmente della patria mia, nella quale non solo si dice *havia*, *solia*, *credia*, ma anchora *haviva*, *soliva*, *crediva*, donde e non di Provenza l'hanno prese & il Petrarca & Dante & gli altri poeti Italiani." If the Imperfect was in this form—*ia* (*-iva*)—at the time of its junction with the Infinitive to form the Conditional, there would be no further explanation necessary for the *-ria*.² But an observance of imperfects occurring in our texts shows that forms in *-ia* were exceptional; if the latter had been the prevalent form (instead of *-ea*) his explanation would have been accepted and numerous subsequent discussions avoided. Nor is it to be sup-

¹The numerals to the right of author mentioned refer, as usual, to the number of times this form occurs in the given author.

²And Castelvetro in his Conditional gives Infinitive with *-IBAM*, etc. Cf. *Modern Language Notes*, VII, 243: "Lebrija and the Romance Future Tense" (A. M. E.).

posed that *avea*, etc., when joined to the Infinitive, became *avia*, etc., by analogy to Imperfects of the fourth Conjugation (in *-ia*), for the number of verbs in the latter is too small, as compared with those in the other conjugations, to have exercised such an influence. D'Ovidio suggests¹ that *aveva* being a "voce servile" when joined to the Infinitive might have undergone an alteration ($>$ (*av*)*ia*) which it did not suffer when used alone; in this connection it is to be remarked that the majority of words found under this form of the conditional (*-ria*) in our texts are words frequently used; such as, *saria*, *potria*, *avria*, *vorria*, *dovria*, *anderia*, *faria*, *verria*, etc., which would support his suggestion; for, naturally, words most frequently used are the first to be affected by phonetic changes, and the change from *-rea* to *-ria* may have begun with these vocables. If we admit that the change thus took place, the cause of the variation is still a question; and until a better reason is offered the phenomenon may well be attributed to the raising of *e* to *i* by hiatus. Why then did not the *e* in the syncopated imperfects, such as *avea*, *dovea*, *facea*, *vedea*, etc., also become *i*? The following is offered as a possible explanation (which, as far as I know, has not hitherto been suggested) for this anomaly, and also helps to establish the probability of the raising of *e* to *i* in the Conditional: in searching for like developments where $e > i$, our attention is attracted to a certain set of words, now definitely fixed in form, which represent the lost stage of growth preceding the final development. These words had originally *e* + Vowel, but they now have *i* + Vowel, and for this reason their development may be compared with that of the Conditional (*-rea* $>$ *-ria*): *lione* (LEONEM), *niuno* (NEC + UNUM), *niente* (NEC + *ENTEM), and similar. Here the regular products are represented by *neiente* (B13, E1, F14), *beiendo* (N), *beiamo* (II), *leiale*, (R), *Tarpeia* (P). Such variants [that is, those with an *i* between *e* and *o* (*u*)] do not occur for *lione*, *niuno*. Does this not show a difference

¹Arch. Glot. It., ix, 35.

between the quality of the *e* (*i*) before *o* and *u* and that of the *e* before *a* and *e*, or that there was an uncertainty in the latter case (evidenced by the writing *ei*) which was not felt in the former? If so, is not the following suggestion as to these words justifiable? Before *o* and *u* (*leone, neuno*) *e* passes directly to *i*, all traces of the intervening consonant (*c*) in the latter word being lost; before *a* and *e* uncertainty prevails as to the pronunciation before the adoption of the *i*; this uncertainty is represented by the writing of both vowels, *ei* (*neiente, leiale, beiamo*). Now where the intervening consonant definitely drops, the *e* brought before *e*, *a*, develops into *i* (*niente, liale*); where it sometimes disappears (*beamo*), again does not (*bevamo*), the consciousness of use of the consonant prevents the development of *e* > *i* in the cases where it is dropped [hence we have *beo* (*bevo*), *creo* (*credo*), *veo* (*veggio*), etc.].—Now, if we apply this to the development of the Imperfect (*aveva*) and the Conditional (*avria*), the *v* of the former is never forgotten, and a collection of comparative uses of *-eva* and *-ea* terminations in our texts shows the two side by side, no author employing the *-ea* to the exclusion of the *-eva* form. It was not to be expected that *e* in the latter (*-eva*) should develop *i*, the only case in which it might be expected to do so being when the *v* drops; but the *v* does not drop leaving *-ea* as the only form, so that even when *-ea* is used, the consciousness of the *-eva* is never absent from the mind of the speaker and prevents the development of *-ea* > *-ia* otherwise to be expected, since the speech-consciousness with reference to *-ea* was exactly the same as that of *-eva*. It is therefore no argument against this theory (namely, hiatus raises *e* > *i*) that *avea*, *dovea*, etc., do not develop *avia*, *dovia*, etc. But if this *v* was present to prevent said change (*-ea* > *-ia*) in the Imperfect when used alone, the condition was altered when the same Imperfect, *avea*, was joined to the Infinitive to form the Conditional. No Tuscan text shows the form *dovreva*. A few dialects may show such forms,¹ but they

¹ Cf. *Grundriss*, I, 544, § 103: "Dialekte bewahren 1 Sg. noch rein: bresc. bol. *portareve*."

were at no time the rule, nor was it natural that they should be, for such a form was cumbersome and liable to reduction. It is not claimed, however, that such Conditionals (in *-ria*) originated in the Tuscan; whatever may be their source, the fact still remains that they are found in Tuscan only as *-rea* and *-ria*; whenever they were introduced they were subject to phonetic tendencies already existing in Tuscan, and the phonetic trend that may explain *-rea* > *-ria* is the raising of hiatus *e* to *i*; no traces of the (once) intervening *v* are preserved; our consciousness of its presence, if it existed, has been lost.—As a résumé we have: Conditionals in *-ria* are examples of the raising of hiatus *e* (*-rea*) to *i* (*-ria*); the difference between its development (> *ia*) and that of similar forms with an original intervening *v* (*-eva*, *-evo*, etc.) being, that in the Conditional the *v* was dropped early and definitely, in the other cases it has been preserved up to the present time. Even when it was dropped, the consciousness of its presence in the form allied to it (with *v*) prevented the usual hiatus development of *e* > *i*. The fact, therefore, that in our texts words which, for the most part, have preserved their *v* do sometimes (after the fall of the *v*) develop *e* > *i* is a strong proof of the phonetic tendency just noted; such words are *die* (= *dee* = *deve*) and imperfects like *credia*, *avia* (A), *volia* (J), *paria* (Purg. II, 18), *solia* (S), *tenia*, *rompia*, *paria* (T), *tenia*, *sapia* (X), *prendia*, *rendia*, *volia*, *avia* (DD), *avia*, *facia*, *credia*, *riprendia* (FF), *facia*, *dicia*, *avia* (GG), etc.; in these instances, in spite of the corresponding forms *aveva*, *credeva*, etc., *avea*, *credea*, etc., show the tendency to raise the *e* > *i* in hiatus and develop *avia*, *credia*, etc.

Our second question (Does hiatus cause *e* to become *i*) is, then, answered in the affirmative, except for the cases to be considered in our next question.

4. Does hiatus prevent the development of E > ie?

There is no doubt as to this development of E when found before *i*: *miei*, *riei*, *liei*, *costiei*, *siei* (ES), *diei* (DĒBES). The

last example (*diei*) which is < *dei* (from DEBES), with an original long E, seems to indicate that all *e*'s when brought before *i* could be treated as open and diphthongize. In the next following section of this essay the same phenomenon will be met with in respect to hiatus $\varrho < \check{u}$, which diphthongizes before *i* (*noi* > *nuoi*, *soi* > *suoi*); it appears, therefore, that for the Italian no exception to hiatus rules need be made for these words, but examples show that in this language ϱ and ϵ are treated as ϱ and ϵ when before *i*.¹ Here, then, the Italian offers a divergence from the general rule for such vowels: "Des voyelles qui ne furent en contact qu' à la suite de lois phonétiques propres au latin vulgaire conservèrent la nuance en rapport avec leur ancienne quantité; ainsi on eut IUS de—IVUS, SIAT de SĪT, EO de ĚGO,"²—the divergence being that when an *i* directly follows *o* or *e* these vowels may become open, though they were originally long.

a. Does MEUS > *mieo*?

Is *e* before *a*, *e*, *o*, diphthongized as is the case before *i*? The Tuscan texts show no certain example of such procedure. D'Ovidio (l. c.) supposes diphthongization in these cases, and remarks that *io*, *mio*, *dio*, etc., are reductions from **ieo*, **mieo*, **dieo*, etc. As a confirmation of this supposition he finds several parallel cases; namely, *pria* < **priea* < *piera* < *pietra*; *arria* < **arriea* < *arrieri*; *bue* < *buoe* < BŒVEM. The first two examples are not taken from Tuscan texts, and it is to be questioned whether the last one is not analogical. In treating *mio*, *bue*, as reductions of **mieo*, **buoe*, it must be asked why the plural *miei*, *buoi* retained its full form and was not reduced to *mii*, *bui*; and if these two, *mii*, *bui* (which do occur), are such reductions, why was the full form also retained for the plural and only the re-

¹ Cf. p. 197.

² *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, par W. Meyer-Lübke. Paris, 1890, I, 246, § 276.

duced form for the singular? No explanation for this fact has been offered, as far as I am aware, and no parallel phenomenon exists in the language. If **mieo*, **buoe* ever existed, the plurals *miei*, *buoi* would certainly have a tendency to keep them on account of similarity in form, just as *mii*, *dii*, *rii*, etc., are formed according to *mio*, *dio*, *rio*, etc. This crossing of forms is a strong principle in the language and has its weight in a discussion of the present question (of the existence of a **mieo*); for example, in the present tense of *essere*, we find *siete* built up according to *siei*; *siemo*, according to *siete*;¹ in the nouns, we find the plural *uomi* formed on *uomo*, and the singular *uomine* on *uomini*.² On this principle, then, of crossing or assimilation of singular and plural forms one expects *mii* formed on *mio* and such a form is found. On the other hand, one expects also **mieo* formed on *miei*. But the fact that no such form (**mieo*), if it ever existed, remained, although it had this principle of form association (similarity to *miei*) to preserve it, is strong evidence of the non-existence of **mieo* at any period of the Tuscan.

5. *Do the texts examined contain sufficient material for explanations of all forms studied without recourse to constructive forms?*

If the statement of the non-existence of a given form be characterized as untenable since the texts examined begin only with the middle of the thirteenth century leaving unrepresented the products of the language of the several preceding centuries when the language was in its formative state, it may be urged in reply: I believe it is better to accept the explanation of a given phenomenon with what proof for it may be found in existing products, than to cast about for uncertain explanations based on uncertain (constructive) forms. Besides, it is claimed in this essay that the language of the texts exam-

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 447.

² *Ibid.*, § 339.

ined contains sufficient material for the explanation of all the forms studied; if this material agrees with that which probably existed in the postulated language of the three or four centuries preceding these texts, so much the better; if not, it must be accepted as our norm until more is known regarding the possible developments of said postulated speech. It is a fact that where a number of varying forms of one and the same word has been found, it has been possible, for the most part, to establish a logical connection between these different forms, to discover which was the oldest, which the intermediate growth that preceded the final resultant form now found in the modern language. Thus, for the Conditional we have *avea -avrea -avria*, for the explanation of which (*avria*) there is no need of an intermediate borrowed form; in the next section I shall show that the texts indicate like conclusions for the second possessive pronoun, *TUI -toi -tuoi*, where the last form is the outgrowth of the first two; similarly, in products where only two stages are represented it is reasonable to explain for the most part the second as the outgrowth of the first.

Applying these remarks to the case in hand, we find *eo, io; meo, mio; deo, dio; reo, rio—mea, mia; mee, mie*, etc., with no probable intermediate stage¹ to indicate that they ever existed as diphthongized forms in the Tuscan. Under our second question it was shown to be probable that hiatus can raise *e > i*; we find here forms with *e*, again with *i*, and the conclusion naturally follows that these words also are illustrations of the principle of hiatus *e > i*; thus understood, there is no necessity

¹The form *mie'* has been noted as occurring in the *Tavola Ritonda* in the expression *per mie' fè*, where it was supposed to be equivalent to an old **miea*. It is a curious fact that the same locution occurs several times in Cellini. Now it is not to be supposed that the latter had any idea of an old **miea* when he used *mie'*, for two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the writing of the *Tavola* and the form had disappeared in the meantime. But there is a fact that may account for its use by both, without supposing it equivalent to **miea*; that is, both were French imitations. Cellini often uses French expressions; why these authors supposed this *mie'* (= *mia*) to be the Italian equivalent of the French possessive, however, is not apparent.

for supposing an intermediate **mieo*, or any similar constructive form. It was stated above that the Tuscan dislikes such a form as **mieo* (cf. p. 189). If the pronoun is supposed to have existed under this form, it constitutes an exception to the development to be expected, for the *ē* in *MEUM* in Vulg. Lat. is long.¹ But if *mio* is taken as from *mēo*, it agrees with the development of *dee* (*DĒBET*) > *die*, described above, and no exception need be made for it, nor for the similar *dio*, *rio*, etc.

The answer to the third question (Does hiatus prevent the development of *e* > *ie*) is represented in résumé by the following statement: When the *e* is before *i* it diphthongizes even if from an original *ē*; but before *a*, *e*, *o*, the treatment is the same as that noted under 3 (p. 182), that is *e* > *i*.

6. Conclusions.

1. Latin *ī* and *ŷ* occurring in Tuscan in hiatus position are both retained; no example where the latter (*ŷ*) has given *ē* has been found in hiatus: **THĪUM* > *zio*; *PIŪM* > *pio*.

2. *ē* and *ĕ* in Tuscan, before *i* give the same result, *-ie*, the *ē* being treated as *ĕ* in hiatus before this vowel (*i*); both are diphthongized: *DĒBES* > *dei* > *diei*; *MĒI* > *miei*.

3. *e* before the other vowels (*a*, *e*, *o*) is close and hence never diphthongizes, but is raised to *i* in hiatus: *dēe* > *die*; *mēo* > *mio*.

It was my original intention to give here all words in the language in which hiatus *e* or *i* occurs, in positions other than those considered above. Such has been done for hiatus *o* and *u* (cf. p. 205); but the number of these words amounts to nearly four thousand, and lack of space does not permit their being printed here. My plan was to arrange them according to the system followed for hiatus *u* and *o* (p. 205): those with *i* corresponding to the latter in *u*, those with *e* corresponding to

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. Langues Rom.*, I, § 276: "le singulier *MĒUS* se règle sur le pluriel *MĒI*."

the latter in *o*. As *u* + Vowel is the rule, so is *i* + Vowel in all positions, and the proportional relations of the two sets are—*e* + Vowel : *i* + Vowel = *o* + Vowel : *u* + Vowel. Words with *e* + Vowel are mostly “mots savants” or borrowed. The list of this set (*e* + Vowel) is swelled by numbers of terms that belong to special professions; as, medicine or law, or special sciences. These terms, of course, never underwent popular phonetic development.—Opportunity may offer to publish these lists at some time in the future.

B. TONIC Ů IN HIATUS; *tuo*; *tuoi*; *suo*; *suoi*.

1. *Previous explanations.*

Several explanations have been offered as to the development of *tuoi*, *suoi*. One is that quoted (p. 198) from Meyer-Lübke:¹ “*duoi et suoi * * * * pourraient reposer sur DUOS, SUOS.*” Phonetically this would be regular, according to the principle announced by d’Ovidio:² “Im Auslaute verstummt *s*, entwickelt aber nach betonten Vokalen ein *i*: *dai, assai, noi, poi.*” But there are two grave objections to *tuoi* < *tuos*, *suoi* < *suos*. The first is, that to suppose the Italian forms derived from the Latin accusative is contrary to the law of preservation of the Latin accusative plural in other instances, notably in nouns. Cf. Meyer-Lübke:³ “Der Nominativ pluralis der ersten und zweiten lateinischen Deklination ist geblieben: *-e* kann nur auf

¹*Gr. d. Lang. Rom.*, I, § 276.

²*Grundriss*, I, 532, § 74. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, § 270.

³*It. Gr.*, § 321. I have taken the liberty here of correcting this section as it reads in Meyer-Lübke’s *Grammatik*; it stands there: “*-e* kann nur auf *-AE*, *-i* auf *-A* zurückgehen, da *-AS* zu *-e*, *-os* zu *-o* geworden wäre.” “*-i* auf *-A*” is incorrect since the Nom. Plu. of the second Lat. Decl. in *-i* is referred to, and the meaning is evident: just as *-AE* (of the first Decl.) > *-e*, so *-I* (of the second Decl.) > *-i*; “da *-AS* zu *-e*” evidently does not express the author’s meaning, for if *-AE* > *-e* and *-AS* > *-e* this would not show in itself whether the Acc. or Nom. of the Latin was preserved in Italian. But *-AS* > *-i* regularly; cf. *ibid.*, § 106, *AMAS* > *-es* > *-i*.

-AE, -i auf -I zurückgehen, da -AS zu *i*, -OS zu -o geworden wäre. In den andern Klassen sind Nominativ und Accusativ gleichlautend, kommen also nicht weiter in Betracht." TUUS, SUUS were declined according to the second Lat. Decl., and here, as with nouns, we expect the Latin Nominative Plural—TUI, SUI—to be preserved in Italian, and not the Accusative TUOS, SUOS.—Again, a fact points still more strongly against the derivation of *tuoi*, *suoi* from the Latin Accusative in that the possessive pronoun of the first person (*miei*) can come only from the Latin Nominative Plural MEI; MEUS was likewise declined according to the second Latin declension, and it would be inconsistent to maintain that MEI was preserved in one case, while TUOS, SUOS were kept in the other.—We have another objection in that the derivation of *tuoi*, *suoi* from TUOS, SUOS would make triphthongs of the Italian forms, the *i* < s counting as a syllable (cf. *assai*, *piui*- PLUS). Rhymes gathered from any Italian poet would prove this to be impossible, since *tuoi*, *suoi* always count as two syllables, and, if they were triphthongs, they could not be made to rhyme with *noi*, *voi*, etc., which rhymes are of frequent occurrence. For example, in Cino da Pistoja, in the strophe preceding that quoted (p. 197) are the lines:

"In quelle parti, che furon già *suoi*,
Quando trova il Signor parlar di *voi*."

P. D. Bartoli observes with reference to *vuo'* = *vui*:¹ "Questo *vuo'* per *vui* cui non v'è chi contradica come mal accorciato, mi ricorda l'insegnarsi da alcuni *vui*, *suoi*, *tuoi*, *miei*, esser Trittonghi; il che se fosse, come potrebbero accorciarsi più de' Dittonghi, de' quali confessano non potersi? E pur tutto dî scriviamo, e bene, *tu vuo'*, *i suo'*, *a' mie'*. Oltre di ciò, se fosser trittonghi, non potrebbero farsi due sillabe come pur gli ha tante volte il Petrarca in rima con *noi*, *voi*, *poi*: e *miei* con *lei*, *dei*, *vorrei*.—Ben può il verso restringere le lor due sillabe

¹ *Dell' Ortografia Italiana*. Roma, 1670, p. 101.

in una, ma senza pregiudicio del poterle usare ancora per quelle due sillabe che pur sono : e se due sillabe adunque non un trittongo.”

A second explanation of *tuoi, suoi* is that given by Diez :¹ “Der diphthongierte plural *miei* weckte den Diphthong auch in *tuoi, suoi*, der eigentlich nicht regelrecht ist.” Just above this he observes : “Die nach *mio* geformten *tio* und *sio* finden sich.”—If the singular, formed on *mio*, is *tio, sio*, would not the plural formed on *miei* be similarly *tiei, siei*?

We have a third explanation by Körting :² “Abnorm sind die Pluralbildungen *tuoi, suoi*; vermuthlich sind sie aus Sg. *tuo, suo*, durch Anfügung eines *i* nach Analogie der substantivischen Plurale auf *-i* entstanden.”—An analogy such as is here noted is impossible, since the plural of masculine substantives in *-o* is formed by replacing the *-o* by an *-i*. One does not decline *amico*—**amicoi*, but *amico*—*amici*. On the same principle a plural formed on the singular *tuo, suo*, would be *tui, sui*; the latter forms do occur and are possibly constructed in this way. Furthermore, if such an explanation as this were accepted, we should have to explain also why *mio* did not give **mioi* just as *tuo* > *tuoi*.

An explanation of *tuoi, suoi* which is based on a study of the history of hiatus *u* will now be attempted.

2. *Uses in texts consulted.*

We find in Latin *tŭi, sŭi*; in Italian *tui, sui*; *toi, soi*; *tuoi, suoi*. The first two (*tui, sui*; *toi, soi*) are used only sporadically, the last (*tuoi, suoi*) prevail as the regular developments from the Latin. If we consider the three different forms, what were the successive stages of development that culminated in *tuoi, suoi*?

In our texts we observe the following uses :³

¹ *Gram.* II⁴, 90.

² *Encyc.* III, 652.

³ *tuo', suo'*; *tuoē, suoē* are given above (p. 156).

tuo, *suo*: A, B, C, D, F, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U, V, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF, GG, II, LL, SS, TT.

tue, *sue*: B, C, F, G, H, I, J, K, M, N, O, P, T, V, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF, GG, II, LL, SS, TT.

duoi: L, N, T, V, EE, GG, LL, OO.

due: B, F, G, H, I, J, K, M, N, O, T, V, X, BB, EE, GG, LL, SS.

soi: G, I, J, L, O, P, T, V, X, GG, NN.

toi: P, T, V, X, LL, MM.

doi: L, N, T, X, EE, LL, SS.

sui: C, K, N, O, P, V, X, FF, KK, NN, SS.

tui: P, V, FF, GG.

dui: I, N, T, V, X, Y, BB, KK, LL, SS.

muoi (= MÖVES): P.

puoi (= PÖTES): F, I, J, K, O, P, S, V, W, X, Z, CC, EE, FF, GG, LL, SS.

puoi (= PÖST): G, J, K, P, T, V.

vuoi (= VÖLES): P, S, T, V, W, X, Z, BB, EE, FF, LL, SS.

buoi (= BÖVES): H, P, V, X, GG.

nuoi (= NÖS): P, V.

vuoi (= VÖS): P, EE, GG.

moi (= MÖVES): P.

poi (= PÖTES): P, T, V, X, II.

voi (= VÖLES): P, I, V, X, EE, GG, II, LL.

boi (= BÖVES): P, T, X.

nui (= NÖS): C, P, V, GG, LL, NN, SS.

vui (= VÖS): C, O, P, T, X, LL, NN, SS.

bui (= BÖVES): X, BB, KK.

toa, *soa*: P, T, X.

toe: V.

soe: T, V, X, GG.

doe: L, T.

3. *Development of toi, soi.*

The latter part of Meyer-Lübke's rule quoted (p. 172) is of no assistance here: "Ebenso haben wir nur *u* und *uo* bei den velaren Vokalen: *fui, cui, grue, due, tuo, tua, tuoi, bue, altrui.*"—Caix observes:¹ "ŭ (tonico) diviene *o* come nell' uso generale romanzo: *croce, giovane, sopra.* Ma grande divergenza è nei riflessi dei bisillabi *SUUS, TUUS, DUO, FUI.* Da una parte la tendenza al suono chiuso dà *tuo, due*,—in corrispondenza con *mio, dio*; dall' altra la preferanza pel suono aperto dà *to (toa), so (soa), doe, foi*,—in corrispondenza con *meo, deo, eo.* Dove cioè prevale la formula *e^v* si preferisce *o^v*, e dove prevale *i^v* si preferisce *u^v*. Anche qui è da avvertire che le due formule erano largamente diffuse, ma che la formula con *o* pare essere stata la più generale.—Ma nel siciliano, e nella gran maggioranza dei mss. toscani la formula con *u* è la sola in uso. Tantochè si dice, per la stessa tendenza non solo *suo, tuo, ecc.*, ma anche *bue* (= BÖVE)."

We thus have in *toi, soi* "la preferanza pel suono aperto." This phenomenon is encountered in Provençal,² where we know it is directly from *TUI, SUI*, for the oblique forms, *teus, seus* (< *TUOS, SUOS*) also exist.

As to how this *toi, soi* developed from *TUI, SUI*, a comparison with the corresponding forms in French may give us some light. Neumann remarks with reference to *o*:³ "Im Lateinischen existirt neben einander *NŎVUS* und *DÉNŪO* (aus *DÉNŎVO*) ersteres die betonte,—*NUO* in letzterem die in unbetontem Zustande entwickelte Form desselben Wortes. Auch für das Pron. poss. (*TUUM* und *SUUM*) wird es im Lat. zwei verschiedene Formen, je nachdem es betont oder unbetont war, gegeben haben. Nach dem Klass. Lat. Muster *NŎVUS—DÉNŪO* werden dieselben gewesen sein **TŎVUM, *SŎVUM, TUUM, SUUM.*"⁴—This

¹ *Origini*, § 55.² *Grundriss*, I, 626, § 65.³ *Literaturblatt*, 1882, col. 468.⁴ Cf. Schwan, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*. 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1893. §§ 21, 2; 33, 2 and 409, 3.

observation is made in explanation of the Old French *tuen*, *suen*, where the *ö* before *u* (by fall of the *v*) > *o* and diphthongizes. Might not Italian *toi*, *soi* have similarly derived from **TÖVI*, **SÖVI*? A seeming corroboration of this supposition is the fact that in T *bovi* and *boi* exist side by side.

Whether it was through the medium of a **tovi*, **sovi* or not, the development of *ŭ* > *o* in hiatus as well as before consonants is not difficult of comprehension, for the use of the two (*u* and *o*) by the early poets shows that there must have been a marked resemblance in the phonetic value of these vowels. On this point is the testimony of Celso Cittadini who observes in regard to *ŭ* > *o*:¹ "Non essendo veramente *u* altro che un *o*, o si pur simigliantissimo ad esso, la onde appo i nostri antichi rimatori era fatto rimar con *o*, facendo, per caso, risponder *lui* a *voi*, *lume* a *nome*; e simili altri come in particolar leggiamo appo Dante Alighieri nel sonetto che incomincia 'L'anima mia:'

"Dicendo: io voglio Amor ciò che tu *vuoi*,
E piange entro quell'hor, pregando *lui*."²

E così nel sonetto 'Pietà e mercè' fa rimar: *colui: voi: poi*. E Guido Cavalcanti nella sua nobile Canzone d'Amore: *come: nome: costume*."—Similar rhymes may be found in GG, fo. h *lui: fui: suoi*.

4. *o* before *i* > *o* and diphthongizes.

Were *tuo*i, *suo*i developed directly from *toi*, *soi*? The examples, as given above, go to show this to be the case. Such a statement, of course, seems directly contrary to acknowledged hiatus laws, because in *toi*, *soi* the *o* is close and as such could not diphthongize, and Meyer-Lübke³ regards this vowel development as an exception, since after giving the law [*ĕ* + *i* >

¹ *Origini della volgar Toscana favella*. Siena, 1604, p. 16.

² I had noted the same example in C, where it is placed among the rhymes of Cino da Pistoja.

³ *Gr. d. Lang. Rom.* I, § 276.

ε, + A > ε; ö + U > o, + A, I > o (u)] he observes: "Mais ces lois ont été troublées déjà dans le Latin vulgaire: le singulier MEÛS se règle sur le pluriel MEI, et le pluriel SŒI sur le singulier SŒUS." From this remark one might suppose that the writer holds *suoi* to be < *soi*, but he evidently does not consider the form thus developed, since (l. c. § 279) he remarks: "Nous avons pour ũ du latin vulgaire DŪAS, SŪAS, ital. *due, sua*; *duoi* et *suoi* sont douteux puisqu'ils pourraient reposer sur DUOS, SUOS." But this exception for *toi*, *soi* does not cover all the words which we have noted with *uo* before *i*, notably *nuoi*, *vuoi* (= *noi*, *voi* = NŌS, VŌS); and the fact seems to be that when *o* occurs before *i*, whether after the fall of a *v* (*TOVI, *SOVI) or not (*noi*, *voi*), it becomes open and diphthongizes.¹ A safer statement than this one would be: *nuoi* and *vuoi* are exceptional forms, and, after accepting the explanation of the *o* in *soi* as given above, we have all words in this category with an *o*,—*soi*, *toi* (analogically); *poi* (PŌTES), *poi* (PŌST), *voi* (VŌLES), *boi* (*böves*) have original *o*; nothing, therefore, hinders here the diphthongization. Perhaps the writers who used *nuoi*, *vuoi*, employed them along with *noi*, *voi*, just as they did *toi*, *tuoi*; *soi*, *suoi*. While such explanations of the irregularity (-*o* > -*uo*) may be safer, yet it is claimed in this monograph that there is sufficient evidence to make it very probable that *o* and *e* before *i* diphthongize regularly.

5. Influence of *v* element.

What part did *v* play in the development of the words indicated; and where *o* + *v* + *i* occurred, did the *o* diphthongize before or after the fall of the *v*? On this point evidence seems to be contradictory. D'Ovidio observes:² "Auch im Hiat blieb der betonte Vokal nicht unverändert. Die Vergleichung mit anderen romanischen Sprachen und ital. Dialekten lehrt,

¹ Cf. above p. 188, where the example of *diei* (= *dei* = DĒBES) seems to indicate that *e* also (before *i*) becomes open and diphthongizes.

² *Grundriss*, I, 525, § 52.

das *mio*, *bue* einst *MIEO, *BUOE lauteten. Jene schon vulgärlateinischen *MIEO, *BUOE erlitten nun die verschiedensten Schicksale; bald wurden beide vereinfacht, wie im Toskanischen, jedoch nur im Singular."

Did not the *-uo* develop from BÖVE > *BUOVE > *BUOE > *bue*? To suppose that the *v* fell and the *o* > *u* on account of hiatus would be contrary to what we find in Old French *buef*, Spanish *buey*, Provençal *buous*. Similarly in the plural, Was not the development BÖVES > *bovi* > *buovi* > *buoi*? Such a form, *buovi*, is recorded.¹ If the *v* fell before this development of *-o* (> *-uo*), the latter (according to hiatus law quoted above, p. 198) would become *o*, and we would not expect it to diphthongize. But on the supposition that the diphthongization of *noi*, *voi* > *nuoi*, *vuoi* is original (not analogical to *tui*, *suoi*), there is no reason why *boi* should not have a similar development.

If now a *v*-stage may be supposed for all the words under consideration the *toi*, *soi*, *boi* can be treated as further reductions: thus *TÖVI > *TUOVI > *tui* > *toi* (and *soi*, *boi* in like manner). But this supposition is untenable; the word *puoi* < *poi* < PÖST shows the contrary to be the case; there is no possibility that any phonetic element was ever introduced between the *o* and *i* here; the *o* = original *o*. Of the two forms *poi* and *puoi* there is no question as to the *poi* being the original one and this seems to point to a similar development of *tui*, *suoi* < *toi*, *soi* (not < *TUOVI, *SUOVI).² The conclusion, then, as to *v* is: There is evidence of the development of *ö* > *uo* before *v* and that the *v* afterward fell (*buovi* > *buoi*); but, taking this word, the form *boi* cannot be supposed as a further reduction from *buoi* because a comparison with *puoi* < *poi* < PÖST, where *poi* is the immediate background of *puoi*, shows that *boi* also probably preceded *buoi*. Again: *buovi* occurs³ and cannot be

¹ *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, IX, 542.

² In FF, p. 125, is found *suoli* (SÖLES); in BB, pp. 34 and 60, occurs *toi* (TÖLLES)—these forms are mentioned for comparison.

³ Cf. in P *voli* (VÖLES) Inf. XXIX, 34; *suoli* (SÖLES) Inf. IV, 6; *duoli* (DÖLES) Inf. XXI, 44.

disregarded ; we must, then, if we maintain the priority of *boi* and acknowledging *buovi*, admit a parallel development of two forms from the Latin, both resulting in the same product (*buoi*) in Italian. Thus $\text{BÖVES} > b\text{qvi} > \left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{buovi} \\ \textit{boi} \end{array} \right\} > \textit{buoi}$.

6. o before a, e, o > u.

How does the development of the singular *bue* compare with that of the plural just described? Is the process here: $\text{BÖVEM} > \textit{bove} < \left. \begin{array}{l} *buove \\ boe \end{array} \right\} > \left. \begin{array}{l} *buoe \\ (boe) \end{array} \right\} > \textit{bue}$? Another question arises here: Does o before e diphthongize (*boe* > **buoe*) after the fall of the v (both forms **buoe* < **buove* and **buoe* < *boe* being reduced afterward to *bue*), or is the o raised to u by hiatus before e? This is difficult to answer from the fact that examples of *buove* and *boe* have not been found.¹ But there is no reason why *bqve* should not have given **buove* > **buoe* > *bue*, so that we have to consider only *bue* < *boe*. From a comparison with words of similar development we observe the following: *boa*, *canoa*, *eroe* have kept o; *bua*, *prua* have developed o > u. *Boa* is a zoölogical term; *canoa* is spoken of by Scheler² as follows: "Les mots esp. et it. *canoa*, angl. *canoe* sont tirés de *candoa* de la langue des Caraïbes;" *eroe* is < HERÖEM; *bua* is < BÖÖ—ÄRE;³ *prua* is < *PRÖDÄM.⁴ The appropriate form here is *bua* < BÖ-, and it furnishes a parallel for the raising of o > u in hiatus. For *boe* > **buoe* there is no parallel. Examples of *tuoe*, *suoe* have been given above,⁵ but they are easily explained as analogous to the masculine *tuoi*, *suoi*; that is, a full feminine form *tuoe*, *suoe* was constructed to correspond to the masculine

¹ *bue* occurs in T, X, GG, II, LL; *bove* in T, X; *bo* in LL (p. 184: che come il *bo* la notte voi facciate).

² *Dict. d'Et. Fr.*, p. 86: *canot*.

³ Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*. Paderborn, 1891. col. 127, no. 1283.

⁴ And is Genoese. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.*, p. 42, § 59.

⁵ Cf. p. 156.

tuoi, suoi. For the singular, therefore, as for the plural, *bue* may be the result of two forms, **buoe* or *boe*; $b\ddot{v}e > \left. \begin{array}{l} *buove \\ boe \end{array} \right\} > \left. \begin{array}{l} *buoe \\ (boe) \end{array} \right\} > bue.^1$

The final application of this example to the development of *tuoi, suoi* is as follows: First, it shows the varying treatment of *o* according as it occurs before *i* or *e*, giving *-uo* (*buoi*) in the first case, being raised to *u* (*bue*) in the second; secondly, it shows that *toi, soi* must have preceded *tuoi, suoi*, just as *boi, poi* preceded *buoi, puoi*; the form *puoi* < *poi* < PÖST where no product like **puovi* is possible, shows that the development of *tuoi* < *toi* and of *suoi* < *soi* may be independent of **TÖVI, *SÖVI*; the non-occurrence of *tuovi, suovi* indicates the same thing. The development of *noi, voi* > *nuoi, vuoi* from a close vowel (*o*) evidences a strong tendency to diphthongization when *o* occurred before *i*, so that the preferable development of *tuoi, suoi* would seem to be: *TŪI* > *tōi* > *tuoi*; *SŪI* > *sōi* > *suoi*. The forms *toi, soi* as existing to-day in dialects of North Italy have morphologically a close *o*, whether they come directly from *TŪI, SŪI*, or from **TÖVI, *SÖVI*,² so that for their further development into *-uo* in Tuscan it may be necessary to accept the exception noted above (p. 198) "le pluriel *soi* se règle sur le singulier *sous*."

a. *tui, bui, nui*, etc.

All of this points very clearly toward *TŪI* > *toi* > *tuoi*, and this development destroys the likelihood that *toi* is a reduction of *tuoi*, a suggestion by d'Ovidio: ³ "il *toi, soi* in quanto si trovi in testi italiani, di qualunque regione, è proprio certo che metta capo a *TUI*, o non piuttosto a *tuoi TUOS*?" The forms *poi*—

¹ In N (p. 2) occurs *là due* (= *là dove*). Here the process was probably *dove* > *doe* > *due*.

² For in the latter case, after the fall of the *v*, the *ö* > *o*. Cf. Hiatus law, p. 198.

³ *Archiv. Glot. Ital.*, IX, 44, note 1.

puoi cited above show which was the original; also according to the development¹ of **buoe* > *bue*, a reduced form of *tuoi* would be *tui*. This leads to the question as to what these forms, *tui*, *sui*, *dui*, *nui*, *vui*, *bui*, are. The quotation cited from Zehle (p. 169) was to the effect that *tui*, *sui* are Latinisms in Dante; again a suggestion has been made that they are plurals formed on the singular *tuo*, *suo* by changing *-o* > *-i*, the usual manner of forming plurals of substantives in *-o* (p. 194). D'Ovidio remarks:² "In *tui*, *sui*, acc. a *tuoi*, *suoi* = ΤΥΟΣ, ΣΥΟΣ, non so, se s'abbiano a vedere degli assottigliamenti fonetici, o delle continuazioni popolari delle forme nominativi latine, o meri latinismi, o mere formazioni fatte sul sing. *tuo*, ecc., com' è *mii*." The six words just mentioned (*tui*, *sui*, *nui*, *bui*, *vui*, *dui*) have been treated under other forms (as *toi*, *tuoi*, *voi*, *vuoi*, etc.) as parallels in development; this would indicate that in their treatment under this form (*-ui*) all should in like manner be classed together, and if they are thus considered, no one of the explanations suggested up to the present time will account for all these forms, but only for *tui*, *sui*, *dui*. *Nui*, *vui*, *bui* cannot be latinisms, they cannot be plurals formed on a singular **nuo*, **vuo*, **buo*; it is hardly probable that by a phonetic reduction from *tuoi*, etc., the unaccented vowel *u* should have been preserved, nor would this explain *nui*, *vui*, since *nuoi*, *vuoi* are rare forms. Granted the explanation as noted below for such products, they all fall under a like treatment and also agree with the development of their fuller forms, *tuoi*, etc. According to the law for hiatus (cf. p. 198), $\delta + \iota > \varrho$ or υ ; in looking upon the *u* in *tui*, *bui*, etc., as a variation of ϱ [$T\ddot{U}I > t\varrho i$ (*t\ddot{u}i*)], we have a logical explanation for the whole set. What renders this still more probable is the fact, that words with an original ϱ —*p\varrho i* (PÖST), *p\varrho i*, (PÖTES), *v\varrho i* (VÖLES)—do not occur under the forms *pui*, *vui*. (Excepting an isolated example of *piue* in FF, p. 98; and *pui* occurs in C a few times for the sake of rhyme).

¹ Which was suggested by d'Ovidio, cf. p. 199.

² *Arch. Glot. It.*, IX, 40, note 2.

As a result of the preceding discussion it appears that the three forms—*tui*, *toi*, *tuoi*—are to be explained as follows: *tui* is not a latinism, nor a reduction < *tuoi*, nor formed on the singular *tuo*, but a variant of *toi*;—*toi* is not a reduction of *tuoi*, but from TŪI directly or through the medium of *TŌVI, in either case with an *o*;—*tuoi* is not < TUOS, but < *toi*, TŪI. The differentiation of the Italian from the other Romance Languages consists in the development of this *o* > *uo* before *i*, for by the side of words for which analogy can be found (SŌI: SOUS) exist *noi*, *vōi* > *nuoi*, *vuo*i with no such supposable analogy. All the forms: *toi*, *soi*, *doi*, *boi* were originally with *o*, for the *u* in the variant *tui*, etc., could not be from an *o*. Either *nuoi*, *vuo*i must be analogous to *tuoi*, *suoi*, or words like *pōi*, *vōi*, PŌST, VŌLES with an original *o* must have influenced other words in *-oi* because of the similarity in form of *pōi*, *vōi*, etc., with the words in *-oi* (*tōi*, *sōi*, etc.), so that all were diphthongized alike; this seems the preferable explanation, if it is not considered that *o* may become *o* before *i* and then diphthongize.

b. *tuo*, *suo*; *tue*, *sue*, etc.

The feminine forms *toe*, *soe*, *doe*, etc., have a development parallel, up to a certain point, with that of the masculines; that is, they may be taken as directly from TŪAE, or from *TŌVAE.¹ Out of *toe*, etc., develops *tue*,² etc., just as *bue* is < *boe*.—Similarly in the singular *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* first developed < *TŌVUM, *TŌVAM; *SŌVUM, *SŌVAM;³ then the *o* in *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* was raised to *u* by hiatus before *o* and *a* and the forms became *tuo*, *tua*; *suo*, *sua*. Or *too*, *toa*; *soo*, *soa* came directly from TŪUM, TŪAM; SŪUM, SŪAM, which is more probable, it having been shown (p. 201) that a v-stage is unnecessary.

¹ For AE > e, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *It. Gr.* § 106: "AE [atonic] wird e: le aus ILLAE, etc."

² Or one might easily see here a feminine plural formed on the singular *tua*.

³ Cf. *Crestomazia*, p. 126, line 234, where one Ms. reads *sovo filio*, another *suo*.

C. TONIC Ū IN HIATUS.

Having thus disposed of hiatus ū, it is not difficult to formulate a law for the words in which ū occurs, for these (as well as those with ū) are few; their occurrence in the list of texts examined proves that, for the Tuscan, ū in hiatus remains *u*: *cui, fui, lui, costui, grua*.¹ These words never give in Tuscan *coi*,² *foi, loi, costoi, groa*; such forms are avoided, for instance in C (p. 28) occur the rhymes *altrui: lui: vui: pui*; p. 74, *vui: altrui: sui: fui*; p. 116, *colui: vui: lui: sui*; p. 119, *pui: lui*, where original *voi, poi, soi* are changed to *vui, pui, sui* in order to rhyme with *fui, lui*, instead of changing the latter to **foi, *loi* to rhyme with *voi, poi, soi*, which indicates a strong tendency to preserve the ū.

Conclusions.

From all the discussion given above the following points may be postulated:

1. All words with tonic *o + i* diphthongize (*soi > suoï*); *noi > nuoi*, etc.); other forms (*lui, fui, cui*, etc.) do not diphthongize; therefore, before diphthongization takes place, an *o*-stage is to be supposed. This *o*-stage (*toi, soi*, etc.) appears in Tuscan; it is a logical explanation, therefore, to derive *tuoi, suoï*, etc., from it.

2. There must be reason why other words (*lui, fui*, etc.) do not pass through this *o*-stage; this cause is attributed to the

¹ Perhaps also *frui* FRŪCTUS should be mentioned here; it occurs in P, Par. XIX, 1, rhyming with *cui: lui*.—One exception to the rule just given is found; in FF occurs *fuoi*: p. 118: non so si *fuoi* portato o s'io sognai; p. 127: io *fuoi* falconier del re; p. 127: di Capouana *fuoi*; p. 129: i' *fuoi* Sanese; p. 130: i' *fuoi* quel Baldassare; p. 131: i' *fuoi* bon soldata, etc., pp. 133, 135, 136, 138, 145, 161. But *foi* does not occur here or elsewhere, and *fuoi* must be considered as analogical to *vui* (VOLES), *puoi* (POTES), which are of frequent occurrence in this author.

² Does this not prove, so far as Italian can show, that *u* in *CUI* is long? cf. Körting, *Wtb.* no. 6570.

varying quantity of the original Latin vowel, it being long in *lui, fui*, etc. Hence, in Tuscan, Latin *ū* in hiatus remains unchanged.

3. Latin *ŭ* for hiatus position develops in Tuscan into *o*, just as it does in other positions: *TŪAM* > *tōa*; *TŪI* > *tōi*, etc. Both this *o* < *ŭ* and original *o* (*nōi nōs*) before *i* may diphthongize, since, in Tuscan, *e* and *o* are treated as *e* and *o* before this vowel (*i*). If such a development (*o* > *uo*) is looked upon as doubtful, *toi, soi*, etc., may be considered to have developed by analogy to *pōi* < *PŌST, vōi* > *vōLES*, etc., words exactly similar in form and with original *o*; the analogy having worked, all alike give *-uo*: *puoi, vuoi, tuoi, suoi*.

Before *a* (*tua*), *e* (*tue, bue* < *boe*), *o* (*tuo*), *o* is raised to *u*.

The following lists show the relative proportion in the use of hiatus *u* or *o* in words not treated in the preceding pages. *a* indicates any vowel. The dash (—) is used to indicate syllables that follow or precede the accent.

<i>uá</i> —	<i>babbuino</i>	<i>contribuire</i>
<i>abituale</i>	<i>baluardo</i>	<i>conventuale</i>
<i>abitulare</i>	<i>belzuino</i>	<i>cuccuino</i>
<i>accentuale</i>	<i>bezzuarro</i>	<i>defluire</i>
<i>accentuare</i>	<i>bruire</i>	<i>destruire</i>
<i>adduare</i>	<i>buaccio</i>	<i>destituire</i>
<i>affettuare</i>	<i>buessa</i>	<i>destruente</i>
<i>affettuoso</i>	<i>buino</i>	<i>diluire</i>
<i>affituale</i>	<i>casuale</i>	<i>diminuire</i>
<i>affluenza</i>	<i>casuale</i>	<i>distribuire</i>
<i>affluire</i>	<i>censuale</i>	<i>diale</i>
<i>aggraduirsi</i>	<i>censuato</i>	<i>duello</i>
<i>alituoso</i>	<i>circumfluenza</i>	<i>duino</i>
<i>amminuire</i>	<i>circuire</i>	<i>eccetuare</i>
<i>annuale</i>	<i>confluente</i>	<i>effetuare</i>
<i>annuire</i>	<i>confluenza</i>	<i>effetuare</i>
<i>attenuare</i>	<i>congruente</i>	<i>estenuare</i>
<i>attuale</i>	<i>congruenza</i>	<i>evacuare</i>
<i>attulare</i>	<i>constituire</i>	<i>eventuale</i>
	<i>construire</i>	

<i>fluire</i>	<i>proventuale</i>	<i>oá</i> —
<i>fluttuare</i>	<i>pruina</i>	
<i>fruire</i>	<i>puntuale</i>	<i>benzoato</i>
<i>fruttuare</i>	<i>quatriduano</i>	<i>benzoino</i>
<i>fruttuoso</i>	<i>questuare</i>	<i>boaro</i>
<i>genuino</i>	<i>residuare</i>	<i>boato</i>
<i>gesuita</i>	<i>residuale</i>	<i>doana</i>
<i>graduare</i>	<i>restituire</i>	<i>eroessa</i>
<i>graduare</i>	<i>retribuire</i>	<i>eroina</i>
<i>graduale</i>	<i>rituale</i>	<i>eroismo</i>
<i>gratuire</i>	<i>ruina</i>	<i>gioire</i>
<i>gruale</i>	<i>ruire</i>	<i>incoata</i>
<i>gruino</i>	<i>sensuale</i>	<i>moine</i>
<i>imbuire</i>	<i>sinuoso</i>	<i>oboista</i>
<i>impetuoso</i>	<i>situare</i>	<i>pirietta</i>
<i>importuoso</i>	<i>sentuoso</i>	<i>poema</i>
<i>incestuare</i>	<i>sostituire</i>	<i>poeta</i>
<i>incestuoso</i>	<i>spirituale</i>	<i>proavo</i>
<i>incruento</i>	<i>statuare</i>	<i>roano</i>
<i>individuale</i>	<i>statuale</i>	<i>soatto</i>
<i>individuare</i>	<i>statuino</i>	<i>strettoino</i>
<i>induire</i>	<i>statuetta</i>	
<i>infatuare</i>	<i>statuista</i>	<i>ua</i> ¹ —
<i>influenza</i>	<i>statuire</i>	
<i>influire</i>	<i>stemuare</i>	<i>abituattezza</i>
<i>insinuare</i>	<i>strettuale</i>	<i>accuorare</i>
<i>instituire</i>	<i>stribuire</i>	<i>annualmente</i>
<i>instruire</i>	<i>suino</i>	<i>ardualmente</i>
<i>intellettuale</i>	<i>suismo</i>	<i>assiduamente</i>
<i>intuire</i>	<i>taccuino</i>	<i>attualmente</i>
<i>intuarsi</i>	<i>tatuaggio</i>	<i>buacciolo</i>
<i>irruenza</i>	<i>tatuarsi</i>	<i>casualmente</i>
<i>luttuoso</i>	<i>testuale</i>	<i>congruamente</i>
<i>manuale</i>	<i>tortuoso</i>	<i>diminimento</i>
<i>menstruale</i>	<i>triduano</i>	<i>distributare</i>
<i>mensuale</i>	<i>tumultuare</i>	<i>druidessa</i>
<i>minuale</i>	<i>tumultuoso</i>	<i>dualismo</i>
<i>minuire</i>	<i>untuoso</i>	<i>duellare</i>
<i>montuoso</i>	<i>vacuare</i>	<i>eccettuativo</i>
<i>mutuante</i>	<i>vacuetto</i>	<i>effettualmente</i>
<i>ostruire</i>	<i>virtuale</i>	<i>estenuativo</i>
<i>perpetuale</i>	<i>virtuoso</i>	<i>flutare</i>
<i>perpetuare</i>	<i>visuale</i>	<i>gesuitajo</i>
<i>perpetuanza</i>	<i>volutuoso</i>	<i>gesuitare</i>
<i>prostituire</i>		<i>gesuitessa</i>

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 tumultuario
 usufruttuario
 usuario
 voluttuario

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		aracnoide	schizatojo
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doario		astroite	scolatojo
noetico		benzoico	scoreitojo
poetico		cissoide	scorificatojo
proavolo		coito	scorsojo
proemio		cometoide	scorticatojo
zodoaria		concoide	scotitojo
		conoide	scrittojo
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		emorroidi	segnatojo
duellario		eroico	serbatojo
graduatorio		eroide	sferratoja
mutuatorio		introito	soja
pituitario		ioide	sonatojo
vacuatorio		jaloide	spanditojo
		lombricoide	spazzatojo
		metalloide	spegnitojo
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emorroidario		oasi	spiccatojo
		odontoide	spogliatojo
		romboide	stojat
	ua — — / —	sesamoide	squartatojo
gesuiticamente		sferoide	stenditojo
gesuitofobia		stoico	strettoja
istitutivamente		trapezoide	strozatojo
santuariamente		zoilo	svegliatojo
spiritualizzamento			svenatojo
tumultuariamente		addirizzatojo	svernatojo
		beveratojo	tagliatojo
	úa —	pastoja	temperatojo
affluere		pensatojo	tenitojo
cercuito		riserbatojo	tettoja
druido		ritenitojo	tiratojo
fortuito		salamoja	toccatojo
gratuito		saldatojo	torcitojo
intuito		salitojo	trapanatojo
pituita		scaldatojo	trebbiatojo
ruere		scalzatojo	ucellatojo
		scannatojo	varatojo
	óa —	scappatoja	vassojo
allantoide		scaricatojo	volgitojo
		scattatojo	voltojo

	<i>ua</i>	<i>vacuo</i>		<i>impetuosità</i>
			<i>oa</i>	<i>importuosità</i>
<i>annuo</i>				<i>individualità</i>
<i>arduo</i>		<i>alcool</i>		<i>intellettualità</i>
<i>assiduo</i>		<i>aloe</i>		<i>manualità</i>
<i>congruo</i>		<i>protonoe</i>		<i>montuosità</i>
<i>cospicuo</i>				<i>mostruosità</i>
<i>fatuo</i>			<i>ua</i>	<i>perpetualità</i>
<i>individuo</i>				<i>promiscuosità</i>
<i>ingenuo</i>		<i>arduità</i>		<i>puntualità</i>
<i>lituo</i>		<i>assiduità</i>		<i>sensualità</i>
<i>mellifluo</i>		<i>congruità</i>		<i>sinuosità</i>
<i>menstruo</i>		<i>cospicuità</i>		<i>sontuosità</i>
<i>nottua</i>		<i>fatuità</i>		<i>spiritualità</i>
<i>perpetuo</i>		<i>gratuità</i>		<i>tortuosità</i>
<i>perspicuo</i>		<i>ingenuità</i>		<i>untuosità</i>
<i>precipuo</i>		<i>perpetuità</i>		<i>ventuosità</i>
<i>proficuo</i>		<i>perspicuità</i>		<i>virtualità</i>
<i>promiscuo</i>		<i>strenuità</i>		<i>voluttuosità</i>
<i>questua</i>		<i>tenuità</i>		
<i>residuo</i>		<i>vacuità</i>		<i>ua</i> — — — <i>ua</i>
<i>sperpetua</i>		<i>veduità</i>		<i>insinuabilità</i>
<i>statua</i>				
<i>strenuo</i>			<i>ua</i> — — — <i>ua</i>	
<i>superfluo</i>				— <i>oé</i>
<i>tenue</i>		<i>casualità</i>		
<i>tonitruo</i>		<i>dualità</i>		<i>evoe</i>
<i>treguo</i>		<i>eventualità</i>		<i>oboe</i>
<i>triduo</i>		<i>fruttuosità</i>		<i>siloe.</i>

LOUIS EMIL MENDER.

IV.—THE ORDER OF WORDS IN ANGLO-SAXON PROSE.

I. INTRODUCTION.

(a) Few subjects connected with Anglo-Saxon prose have been so persistently slighted as that of the position of words and clauses. The grammars either omit it entirely or touch upon it only in the most vague and general terms. No monographs treating the whole subject in all its periods and aspects have yet appeared, Kube's dissertation¹ being the only attempt, so far as I know, to investigate the word-order of even a single monument of Anglo-Saxon literature. But this work, though valuable, is awkwardly arranged, and devotes too little proportionate space to the subject of dependent clauses, the element of Anglo-Saxon word-order which offers the greatest contrast to modern English and which is therefore the most interesting as well as the most important. Kube's results are further vitiated by his having selected a monument written at long intervals apart and therefore incapable, if treated as a single synchronous work, of exhibiting any successive changes in word-order, or the word-order of any fixed date.

A more suggestive study than Kube's is that of Ries.² The latter not only treats the relative positions of subject and predicate as exemplified in Old Saxon, but mingles much else that is of value to the student of word-order in general.

For the general student, however, the most suitable book is that of Weil.³ This work, whether one agrees with all the conclusions or not, is rightly called in the words of the translator, "a lucid and systematic introduction to the study of the whole question."

¹ *Die Wortstellung in der Sachsenchronik*, (Parker MS.), Jena, 1886.

² "Die Stellung von Subject und Prädicatsverbum im Héliand," *Quellen und Forschungen*, xli.

³ *The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages compared with the Modern* (translated from the French by Super, 1887).

The extensive bibliography which Schultze¹ is able to give of previous investigations into the word-order of Old French shows that, in this language at least, scholars have not been slow to appreciate the importance of word-order in its general relations to syntax. Special prominence is also given to this subject in the last edition of Allen and Greenough's *Latin Grammar* (1891), Part II, Chapter VI. The first chapter of *Cæsar* is translated and an attempt made to illustrate the various shades of thought indicated by the position of words in the original. "This subject has only just begun to receive the consideration it deserves." (Preface.)

The aspect of Anglo-Saxon word-order most urgently calling for treatment is the rhetorical aspect. There are three norms in the word-order of every language :² (1) The syntactic, or grammatical, used as a "means of indicating grammatical relations ;" (2) The rhetorical, used as a means of indicating the "relative weight and importance intended by the author ;" (3) The euphonic. The last concerns poetry and may here be omitted, but Anglo-Saxon, a highly inflected language, could better employ position for rhetorical purposes than modern English ; but what were the emphatic places in an Anglo-Saxon sentence? Were they the first (*pathetische Stellung*) and the last (*signifikante Stellung*)? Goodell admits the former for Greek but denies the latter. He declares that the tendency to emphasize by finalizing "prevails in French," is less potent in German, and that "possibly the tendency in English is due partly to the influence of French."

I shall not enter upon these rhetorical questions,³ but I wish to emphasize the fact that till statistical results have been sifted rhetorically they can not have their full value, for there is a rhetorical as well as a syntactic norm.

¹ "Die Wortstellung im altfranzösischen direkten Fragesatze," *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXI; cf., also, Thurneysen's "Stellung des Verbums im Altfranzösischen," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVI.

² See Goodell's "Order of Words in Greek," *Trans. Am. Phil. Association*, XXI, 1890.

³ Cf., however, Ries, p. 2, for authorities on *Die Voranstellung des Wichtigen*.

(b) The results obtained in the following dissertation are based equally on a study of Alfred's *Orosius* and Ælfric's *Homilies*. The figures following the citations from the *Orosius* refer to page and line of Sweet's Edition for the Early English Text Society, 1883; those following the citations from the *Homilies* refer to volume and page of Thorpe's Edition for the Ælfric Society (2 vols.), 1844, 1846.

When the order of words is the same in both, illustrative sentences are given only from the *Orosius*. The *Homilies* are cited for differences, and for the illustration of principles not sufficiently exemplified in the *Orosius*.

By keeping the two sets of citations thus distinct, I have tried to bring out more clearly the growth of Anglo-Saxon word-order in the tenth century toward the norm of modern English.

In this discussion my effort is, as was Kube's, to find the syntactic norm. Although, for example, I give statistics for all possible positions of the dependent verb, whether influenced by rhetorical considerations or not, it is not to be inferred that occasional non-final dependent verbs in the *Orosius* show a tendency necessarily in conflict with the finals. In the following sentences, for example, Alfred, evidently for rhetorical reasons, places his dependent verbs immediately before the marvels that follow, so that nothing may check the full effect of his figures:

an cild geboren, þæt hæfde III fet and III handa and III eagan and III earan 220, 14.

for þon heo [an nædre] wæs hund twelftiges fota lang 174, 16.

Yet if these examples are to be counted at all in a statistical enumeration, made to find out what the position of the verb is in the majority of cases, i. e. what the syntactic (grammatical) norm is, they must stand in a seeming conflict with the usual norm in the *Orosius* which is that a dependent verb is final. Both of them, however, are perfectly normal. They are the exceptions that prove the rule, the difference being that they follow a rhetorical norm while the final verbs follow a syntactic norm.

Ælfric has a finer feeling for rhetorical effects than Alfred. Inversion, for example, in a dependent clause is rarely found

in Anglo-Saxon prose, yet Ælfric in the following sentence skilfully employs it as a means of preserving the preceding word-order and bringing out the contrast and balance between "arleasnyssse" and "deað." He is speaking of Stephen's death:

Swiþor he besorgade þa heora synna þonne his agene wunda ; swiþor heora arleasnyssse^(a) þonne his sylfes deað^(b); and rihtlice swiþor, forþan þe heora arleasnyssse^(a) fyligde se eca deað, and þæt ece lif fyligde his deape^(b) I, 50.

In the two following sentences the pronominal objects (see p. 220 (2)) follow their verbs, so as to preserve the balance of the clause immediately preceding :

He [se deofol] and his gingran awyrdaþ^(a) manna lichaman^(b) digellice^(c) þurh^(d) deofles^(e) cræft^(f), and gehælaþ^(a) hi^(b) openlice^(c) on^(d) manna^(e) gesihþe^(f) I, 4.

He^(a) bæraþ^(b) þæt cild^(c), and þæt cild^(a) bæraþ^(b) hine^(c) I, 136.

Under the head of "Transposed Order" (see p. 235 (d)), I have summed up the chief occasions when transposition is not observed with its usual frequency, but have left untouched the changes brought about by rhetoric. The syntactic norm must be clearly established before a rhetorical norm can be thought of, for the latter is largely a simple inversion of the former. If it be established, for example, that the usual position of pronominal objects is before the verbs that govern them, it follows that any other position must by its very novelty arrest attention and make for emphasis, whatever Goodell may say of the logical or psychological aspects of the question.

(c) "Can the numerous translations of Latin works, especially the translations of Alfred, be regarded as faithful representations of the natural utterance of the translators? There seem to be strong reasons for answering this question in the affirmative, with certain limitations."¹ Wack² corroborates Sweet and adds: "Einfluss des Lateinischen auf die Sprache der Uebersetzung lässt sich weder im Wortschatz noch syntactischer Beziehung nachweisen." And again, "Wahrt Aelfred

¹ Sweet, *Introduction to Cura Pastoralis* (E. E. T. Soc.).

² *Ueber das Verhältnis von König Aelfreds Uebersetzung der Cura Pastoralis zum Original.* Greifswald, 1889.

also der Uebertragung durchweg die Freiheit und Herrschaft der germanischen Form."

Speaking of the *Orosius*, "the only translation of Aelfred's which from the similarity of its subject admits of a direct comparison," Sweet¹ says: "We find almost exactly the same language and style as in the contemporary historical pieces of the Chronicle."

Though the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan* exhibit marked variations from the general order of other portions of the *Orosius*, I see no reason for crediting the Latin with any noteworthy influence. Whatever the influence may have been, it must have been exerted in behalf of finalizing the verbs, both in dependent and independent sentences; but I find only one sentence in which this influence seems exerted—the first sentence in the book. The Latin is: *Majores nostri orbem totius terrae, Oceani limbo circumseptum, triquadrum statuere*. The Anglo-Saxon: Ure ieldran ealne þisne ymbhwyrft þises middangeardes, cwæþ Orosius, swa swa Oceanus utan ymbligeþ, þone (man) garsecg hateð, on þreo todædon. 8, 1. Here "on þreo todædon," appearing at the end of a long independent sentence, corresponds exactly in position to "triquadrum statuere," and is the most violent transposition that I have noted.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that the influence of Latin is plainly seen in the blundering awkwardness of many passages in the *Orosius*.² Sentences illustrating this are necessarily long, and the subject does not fall within the province of this paper, but the sentence beginning 106, 7 and that beginning 212, 14 will give a general idea of the incompleteness and clumsiness to be found in Alfred's frequent and vain attempts to pit the looseness of Anglo-Saxon against the compactness of Latin. In 136, 32 the attempt is made to compress two Latin sentences into one, but in none of these is the word-order abnormal.

¹ Page 40 of *Introd. to Cura Pastoralis*.

² Cf. Schilling's dissertation: *König Ælfred's Angelsächsische Bearbeitung der Weltgeschichte des Orosius* (Halle, 1886), p. 9.

The question of Latin influence does not enter into the *Homilies* except where Ælfric occasionally quotes Scriptural Latin and adds immediately a literal translation. In such cases there is noticeable at times a tendency to conform the word-order as closely as possible to the Latin,¹ so as, apparently, to impress the hearer with the fact that he is listening now not, as heretofore, to an interpretation of inspired thought, but to the inspired thought itself, dressed as far as possible in its native garb. E. g. He [Lucas] cwæþ, Postquam consummati sunt dies octo, etc. þæt is on ure geþeode, Æfter þan þe wæron gefyllede ehta dagas, etc. I, 90. Such inversion, as noted before, is rare. In the *Gospel of Luke* (II, 21) the order is, Æfter þam þe ehta dagas gefyllede wæron, and Ælfric himself observes this order in the following example, where the Latin order is exactly as before: Cum natus esset Iesus, etc. þa þa se Hælend acenned wæs, etc. I, 104. In the *Gospel of Matthew* the order is the same, though the words are different (Mat. II, 1).²

(d) Using the terms employed by Whitney in his *Compendious German Grammar*, I divide order, as related to subject and predicate into (1) Normal, (2) Inverted, and (3) Transposed. (1) Normal order = subject + verb. (2) Inverted = verb + subject. (3) Transposed = subject . . . + verb.

It is only when the last division is viewed in relation to other sentence members besides the subject and predicate, that the propriety of a special designation is seen; for subject and

¹ Ælfric, however, is almost entirely free from the examples of forced order so frequently occurring in the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*. Cf. the following, taken from the Notes to Bright's *Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 109, 110:

Luke I, 27 (*Clementine Vulgate*): Ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Ioseph, de domo David, et nomen virginis Maria.

Anglo-Saxon Gospel: tō beweddudre fæmnan ānum were, þæs nama wæs Iōsēp, of Dāuīdes hūse; and þære fæmnan nama wæs Marīa.

Ælfric, *Hom.* I, 194: tō ðām mædene þe wæs Marīa gehāten, and hēo āsprang of Dāuīdes cynne, þæs mārān cyninges, and hēo wæs beweddod þām rihtwīsan Iōsēpe. See also Notes III, 4, 5; XI, 11, 12.

² The "paving letters" in the *Rule of St. Benet* (E. E. T. Soc. No. 90) would throw invaluable light on this subject if we had the original instead of a much mutilated copy. It is at present, however, impossible to rearrange the Latin words in the original alphabetical order of the "paving letters."

predicate follow the order observed in (1), though the predicate comes last as related to its modifiers.

For the component parts of the compound tenses, I use "auxiliary" for the first member, "verb" for the second. Though not so exact as "personal verb" for the first, and "non-personal verb" for the second, or "Hilfsverbum" and "Hauptverbum," these terms have the merit of greater brevity,¹ and are equally self-defining.

By "dependent order" and "independent order," I mean the order in dependent sentences and independent sentences. When the term "verb" is used alone, it means a simple (non-compound) tense, which is always personal.

These respective orders will now be taken up in detail.

II. NORMAL ORDER.

Independent sentences.

Subject + verb + verb modifiers.

(a) By verb modifiers are meant accusative objects, dative objects, predicate nouns and adjectives, prepositional phrases, and adverbs. Of this order in general Ries remarks: "Die Voranstellung des Subjects ist im Indogermanischen, soweit die historische Kenntniss reicht, der Grundtypus der Wortfolge und ist—soweit mir bekannt—mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Keltischen, in allen Zweigen des Sprachstammes herrschend geblieben" (p. 9).

This sequence is employed in Anglo-Saxon for independent affirmative sentences.

(1) With simple tense:

Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel 20, 14.²

¹This can hardly be claimed for Ries's substitution of "irregulär-gerade Folge" for "Inversion," p. 2, though in other respects the term is a happy one.

²Arabic figures in every case show that the *Orosius* is referred to. Roman and Arabic, for volume and page, indicate the *Homilies*.

and se nimð þone læstan dæl 21, 3.

He wæs of Sicilia þæm londe 54, 17.

(2) When the verb is a compound tense the auxiliary follows the order of the simple tense noted above, the second member following immediately, medially, or finally. When the adverbial designations are numerous, or of various kinds, the verb either immediately follows its auxiliary or takes a medial position among the adverbial designations. This is often a matter of rhetoric (of emphasis) and is the principle involved in the distinction between loose and periodic sentences. The language had not yet developed a norm and was thus more flexible in this respect than modern German. The final position of the second member, is, however, the most common if the modifiers are few.

In the following examples I shall quote inverted as well as normal sentences, for as far as the relative positions of auxiliary and verb are concerned, they are not to be distinguished.

(a) Verb immediately following auxiliary :

þonne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle ða menn ðe swyftoste hors habbað 20, 33. This triple verb is evidently bunched together so that "ðe" and its clause may immediately follow "menn;" but had there been no following clausal modifier of "menn," the order would more probably have been, þonne sceolon ealle ða menn beon gesamnode. See p. 240 (4).

Seo hæfde gehaten heora gydenne Dianan þæt, etc. 108, 16.

he wolde abrecan Argus þa burg 158, 31.

nu we sindon cumen to þæm godan tidun 182, 14.

Æfter þæm wordum Pompeius wearð gefliemed mid eallum his folce 242, 12.

Antonius and Cleopatro hæfdon gegaderod sciphære on þæm Readan Sæ 246, 19.

(b) Verb medial :

þæt tacen wearð ou Romanum swiþe gesweotolad mid þæm miclan wolbryne 86, 23.

Ic hæbbe nu gesæd hiora ingewinn 88, 28.

and næron on hie hergende buton þrie dagas 92, 36.

He wearþ þeh swiþor beswicen for Alexandres searewe þonne 124, 18.

He wæs on ðæm dagum gemærsad ofer ealle oþere cyningas 154, 25.

He wæs eac on þæm dagum gleawast to wige 154, 32.

(c) Verb final :¹

and Gallie wæron ær siex monað biinnan þære byrig hergende and þa burg bærnende 94, 1.

and uneaðe mehte ær ænig þæm Gallium oðfleon oþþe oðhydan 94, 10.

þa hie ne mehton from Galliscum fyre forbærneðe weorþan 94, 14.

þa wæron ealle þa wif beforan Romana witan gelaðede 108, 31.

nu ic wille eac þæs maran Alexandres gemunende beon 110, 10.

and þær wæs his folc swa swiðe forslagen þæt etc. 244, 10.

(b) The position of datives (nouns and pronouns).

(1) The substantival dative, unless influenced by rhetorical considerations, stands between the verb and the direct object, as in modern English.

Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt, etc. 17, 1.
(This clausal object makes the above position necessary in this case).

Romane gesealdon Gaiuse Iuliuse seofon legan 238, 16.

Æfter þæm Romane witan Claudiuse þone hunger 260, 21.
he gesealde Ualente his bræðer healf his rice 288, 11.

He gesealde Persum Nissibi þa burg 286, 26.

and betahte his twæm sunum þone onwald 294, 30.

In the following sentence, the two appositive modifiers force the indirect object after the direct :

he sealde his dohtor Alexandré þæm cyninge, his agnum mæge 118, 27.

¹ Earle notes a survival of this order in the legal diction of Modern English (*English Prose*, p. 87).

(2) The pronominal dative, however, comes between the subject and the verb.

He him þa gehet 114, 25 and 27.

and him bebed 114, 30.

Hie þa sume him getygðedon 118, 15.

He þa Alexander him anum deadum lytle mildheortnesse gedyde 128, 14.

and hi him þæt swiþe ondrædan 138, 5.

he him¹ þa to fultume com 140, 22.

and hi him gefylstan 162, 20.

and him þæt rice geagnedan 224, 20.

Romane him geþancodon 224, 32.

There are many sentences in which the pronominal dative is drawn after the verb through the influence of a following word or phrase upon which the dative is dependent rather than upon the verb :

and gesetton him to cyningum twegen Hasterbalas 210, 26.

and he wearð him swa grom 260, 22.

he geceas him to fultume Traianus þone mon 264, 18.

But when dependent solely on the idea contained in the verb, the pronominal dative comes between the subject and the verb. Only nine variations are to be found in the *Orosius* (17, 9; 20, 1; 20, 4; 178, 18; 258, 28; 274, 14; 284, 5; 292, 28; 296, 5), and in some of these it is impossible to tell whether the dative is a modifier of the idea contained in the verb, the verbal modifier, or in the union of the two. Of course the dative after a preposition is here excluded.

Ælfric is not so consistent in this respect as Alfred, his sequence being more modern. In a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, there occur 86 pronominal datives, of which 64 precede the verb, 22 follow,—a ratio of about 3 to 1

an Adam him eallum naman gesceop 1, 14.

God him worhte þa reaf of fellum 1, 18.

¹ Here "him" is governed by "to fultume" rather than by "com." Most sentences of this sort observe the following order: he þa com him to fultume. See below.

Drihten him andwyrde I, 126.

But,

We seegaþ eow Godes riht I, 56.

(c) The position of direct objects (nouns, clauses, and pronouns).

(1) Nouns and clauses follow the substantival dative if there be one;¹ if not, they follow the verb but precede all other verbal modifiers.

Philippus gelædde fird on Læcedemonie and on Thebane 118, 24.

Alexander hæfde gefeoht wið Porose þæm, etc. 132, 16.

þa brohton Romane þone triumphan angean Pomp. mid, etc. 234, 27.

and mon towearp þone weal niþer oþ þone grund 238, 12.

(2) The pronominal direct object precedes the verb.

he hine oferwann and ofsloh 30, 11.

hy genamon Ioseph, and hine gesealdon cipemonnum, and hi hine gesealdon in Egypta land 34, 2 (a fine illustration of all the preceding).

he hi þær onfenge, and hi þær afedde 36, 11.

and se cyning Hasterbal hiene selfne² acwealde 212, 7.

he þa hiene selfne forbærnde 52, 7.

feng Titus to Romana onwalde, and hine hæfde II gear 264, 1.

feng Lucius Antonius to rice, and hit hæfde XIII ger 268, 26. (This oft repeated clause, "and hit hæfde" or "and hine hæfde," representing various Latin equivalents in the *Orosius*, never varies its order.)

Only four variations from the usual order are found in the *Orosius* (82, 18; 226, 10; 284, 28; 294, 28).

Ælfric, in a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, employs 108 pronominal accusatives, of which 88 precede the verb, 20 follow,—a ratio of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

¹ For examples, see p. 218 (1).

² The preference for this interposed position, both in the *Orosius* and the *Homilies*, is not shown so decidedly by these intensive forms, "him selfum" and "hiene selfne," as by the simple forms. Cf. exceptions under both heads.

and he hi lædde ofer sæ and he hi afedde I, 24.

and he hine lufode synderlice I, 58.

God on swefne hi gewarnode I, 78.

þa tungel-witegan hine gemetton mid þære meder I,
116.

But,

Stacteus astrehte hine to Johannes fotswaþum I, 68.

(d) In imperative clauses with the subject unexpressed, pronominal objects, both dative and accusative, follow the verb.

Orosius (only one such construction): Gesecgað me nu Romane, cwæð Orosius, 194, 24.

Homilies: þes is min leofa Sunu gehyraþ him I, 104.

Syle us to-dæg urne dæghwamlican hlaf. And forgyf us ure gyltas Ac alys us fram yfele I, 258.

The reason why pronouns prefer the initial positions in a sentence is to be sought, I think, in the very nature of pronouns. They are substitutes not merely for nouns, but for nouns that have preceded them in the paragraph or sentence. All pronouns are, thus, essentially relative; and just as relative pronouns proper follow as closely as possible their antecedents, so personal pronouns, partaking of the relative nature, partake also of the relative sequence.

As to whether an adverb should precede a prepositional phrase, or vice-versa,—it is purely a matter of relative emphasis. As in modern English, there was, and could be, no syntactic norm.

III. INVERTED ORDER.

Independent sentences.

Verb + subject.

(a) When a word, phrase, or clause, other than the subject or a coördinate conjunction, begins the sentence, provided it be a modifier of the verb, the verb may be drawn after it, and the subject made to follow.

Inversion presents itself under two entirely distinct aspects : (1) As a means of more closely uniting the inverted sentence with the preceding (by such words as "þa," "þonne," etc.); (2) As a means of relative stress (as e. g. when the direct object begins the sentence). The one conduces to compactness and continuousness ; the other, to emphasis and effectiveness.

Inversion is by no means consistently employed in Anglo-Saxon prose ; hence I have avoided stating the principle in a dogmatic way. Generally speaking, it may be said that the *Orosius*, on account of its narrative nature, employs inversion for the first mentioned purpose oftener than the *Homilies*; while the *Homilies*, on account of their expository nature, furnish more examples of inversion for purposes of rhetorical stress.

Kube finds the same dearth of inversion in the *Chronicle*, "her" when initial being followed by the normal more frequently than by the inverted order. The same may be said of "æfter þæm"¹ in the *Orosius*. Kube thinks that the frequent repetition of "her" had weakened its inverting power. "Es wurde ihm [dem verfasser] gleichsam zu einer einleitenden formel, nach der er seinen satz baute, wie er jeden anderen ohne diese formel gebaut haben wurde" p. 8. "Æfter þæm," however, is not of frequent occurrence in the *Orosius*, while "þa" and "þonne" are ; yet inversion after "Æfter þæm" is as rare as it is frequent after "þa" and "þonne." It must be remembered that the essence of inversion is the closeness of interdependence between verb and initial word. Consistent inversion would assume that this union is constant and indissoluble, so that to move a verbal modifier to the beginning of the sentence must necessarily move the verb with it. But this cannot be true where constructions are as yet unfettered by traditional forms. The relation between verb and verbal modifier is not constant, but varies in degree even with the same words. Rhetoric, again, has kept the language from crystallizing into hard and merely mechanical forms of construction.

¹ Æfter þæm þe" is, of course, an entirely different construction, and introduces only dependent clauses.

In the following sentences, for example,
Maximianus he sende on Affricam 280, 2.

Constantius he sende on Gallie 280, 3.

Galerius he sende on Perse 280, 8.

one feels the superior distinctness with which these names are contrasted, not only by their being placed first but equally by their not drawing (though they are direct objects) the verb with them. The reader naturally pauses briefly after each name; but had the verb immediately followed, *i. e.* had inversion taken place ("Max. sende he," etc.), there would have been no room for a pause. In these cases, therefore, rhetoric has disturbed what must still be called the usual norm.

(b) The chief cases of inversion are,

(1) By a word :

þa for Iulius to Rome 240, 15.

þær hæfdon Romane sige, and þær wæs Gallia ofslagen
232, 11.

Sipþan for Iulius on Thesaliam 240, 29.

Ne wene ic, cwæð Orosius 92, 18.

Uneaðe mæg mon gesecgan 128, 20.

þonne is þis land 19, 16.

(2) By a phrase :

For hwi besprecað nu men 54, 33.

Eac buton þæm yfele nahton hie naþer, etc. 92, 33.

Æfter his fielle wearð þara casera mægð offeallen 262, 5.

(3) By a clause :

Ær ðæm ðe Romeburh getimbred wære, ricsode
Ambictio 36, 4.

Ic wat geare, cwæð Orosius, 42, 1.

Ær þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wære wæs þætte
Pel. and Ath. winnende wæron 56, 6. (The inverted
subject is here the whole clause introduced by "þætte").

Inversion caused by an initial dependent clause is not frequent in Anglo-Saxon; for most dependent clauses, when they precede independent ones, have some correlative word to introduce the latter (þa þa, þonne þonne) :

þonne he þa oferswiðed hæfde . . . þonne dyde he, etc., 112, 23.

Here the inversion in "dyde he" is caused by the second "þonne," not by the preceding clause. Such clauses were weaker in inverting power than either single words or phrases. The fact that it contained a separate subject and predicate gave the initial clause a certain independence, an isolation, a power to stand alone, and thus widened the breach between it and the verb of the succeeding clause which it limited. No better proof of this could be given than the tendency to sum up and reinforce the weakened effect of the preceding clause by some correlative or connective word. The interdependence of the two clauses was not strongly felt. Rask¹ correctly states the principle as follows:

"In general, however, as in English, the consequent proposition is not distinguished by any sign, not even by the order of the words, the subject being also here placed before the verb." "But when the particle of time, þa or þonne, is repeated before a consequent proposition, the subject usually follows the verb, as in German and Danish."

Erdmann,² discussing a principal clause (Nachsatz) preceded by a dependent (Vordersatz), says: "Im Nhd. scheint die Voranstellung des Verbiums im Nachsatze überall herrschende Regel geworden zu sein; nur nach concessiven Vordersätzen unterbleibt sie oft, indem diese trotz ihrer Satzform für sich als selbständige Ausrufe gefasst werden und der Nachsatz dann (oft mit rhetorischer Pause) ganz ohne Rücksicht auf sie seine eigene Wortstellung bewahrt." What is here said of concessive clauses is true largely of all Anglo-Saxon dependent clauses in their effect upon succeeding clauses.

Æfter þæm þe Philippus hæfde Ath. and Thes. him under-ðieded, he begeat, etc., 112, 8.

and raþe þæs þe hie togædere coman, Romane hæfðon sige, 160, 3.

¹*Ang. Saxon Gram.* (translated by Thorpe, 1830), Fourth Part, pp. 118, 119.

²*Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 207.

Ac raþe þæs þe Hannibal to his fultume com, he gefliemde ealle þa consulas 190, 5.

In the *Voyages of Othhere and Wulfstan*, there are three initial dependent clauses without a succeeding correlative, and none of them causes inversion (18, 15; 21, 12; 21, 15).

(c) There are no instances in the *Orosius* of inversion to express condition, concession, or interrogation, and only two instances of inversion to express command or permission (100, 27; 182, 16).

The *Homilies*, however, show that the genius of the language allowed inversion for all the above purposes.

(1) Condition :

Eaþe mihte þes cwyde beon læwedum mannum bediglod, nære seo gastlice getacning I, 94.

(2) Concession :

Beon þa mædenn snotere, beon hi stunte, eallie hi moton slapan on þæm, etc. II, 566.

(3) Interrogation :

Eom ic hit, Drihten? II, 244.

and gesawe þu Abraham? II, 236.

Petrus, lufast þu me? II, 290.

ne ondrætst þu þe God? II, 256. (The negative invariably precedes in such sentences).

(4) Command :

The Lord's Prayer furnishes many examples (I, 258):
Gebiddaþ eow, Sy þin nama gehalgod, Cume þin rice, Sy þin wylla, etc.

Ne ete ge of þam lambe II, 264.

(As before, the negative must precede).

ne beo ge bitere II, 322.

Ne bere ge mid eow pusan II, 532.

Ne gecyrre ge nænne mann II, 534.

There are a few cases in which the subject precedes :

Ic wylle; and þu beo geclænsod I, 122

þæt soþe Leoht . . . onlihte ure mod II, 294.

þu soþlice cyþ þine gesihþe II, 342.

In the following sentence, the two orders are combined :

Ælc sawul sy underþeod healicrum anwealdum ; þæt is, Beo ælc man underþeod mihtigran men þonne he sylf sy. II, 362.

The occasional occurrence of inversion in dependent clauses will be treated under the proper head. See p. 241.

IV. TRANSPOSED ORDER.¹

Dependent sentences.

(1) *Subject verb.*

(2) *Subject verb + auxiliary.*

(a) Before taking up dependent sentences in detail, I wish to give the commonly accepted view in regard to the modernizing influence of French upon Anglo-Saxon transposition. This is best stated as well as exemplified by Fiedler and Sachs. The following is quoted from a paragraph headed, "Einfluss des Französischen auf die Wortstellung im Englischen :"² "Wichtiger als alle die genannten Veränderungen, welche das Französische im Englischen hervorgebracht hat, ist die Veränderung der Wortstellung. Um nicht weitläufig zu werden, beschränken wir uns, dieselbe an Beispielen klar zu machen.

Gif weofodþen be boca tæcinge his agen lif rihtlice *fadige*.

Si un prêtre *règle* sa vie sur les prescriptions des livres.

þa Darius geseah, þat he *oferwunnen* *beon* wolde.

Lorsque Darius vit, qu'il *serait vaincu*."

(I omit as unnecessary the German and English equivalents given by Fiedler and Sachs, as well as their numerous other examples.)

¹ Various explanations of Transposition have been offered, but the question is still unsettled. Cf. Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau*, 91 seq; Wackernagel, *Indogermanische Forschungen* I, 333 seq; Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, § 216, 3.

² *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, I, § 27.

Meiklejohn gives the same view (*English Language*, Part III, cap. III, § 11).

The lessons which they draw from such citations may be easily inferred; but is the claim a true one, that the resemblance between French and English order is due to the influence of Norman French? The following results, it seems to me, settle this question in the negative:

A.

If the verb be a simple tense, the following scheme represents all possible relative positions, whether with or without a direct object:

(1) *Verb final.*

a { verb (with or without object):
 { þe þæs yfeles ordfruma wæs 40, 16.

(2) *Verb non-final.*

b { object + verb:
 { for þon þe he monege anwealdas . . . geeode on þæm east-
 { londum, 150, 16.
 c { verb + object:
 { þæt þunor toslóg heora hiehstan godes hus Iofeses 160, 18.
 d { verb (no object):
 { þæt he bude on þæm lande 17, 2.

B.

If the verb be a compound tense, the following scheme represents all possible relative positions of its two members and the direct object:

(1) *Verb final.*

a { object + aux. + verb:
 { þa he hiene hæfde gelædd 286, 17.
 b { aux. + object + verb:
 { for þon þe hie hæfdon gewinn up ahæfen 278, 22.

c { aux. + verb (no object):
 { þæt hie sceoldon . . . besincan 160, 29.

(2) *Aux. final.*

d { object + verb + aux. :
 { hu he hiene beswican mehte 52, 4.
 e { verb + object + aux. :
 { Does not occur in *Or.* or *Hom.*
 f { verb + aux. (no object):
 { hwær . . . hweol on gongende wæron 38, 34.

(3) *Aux. + verb non-final.*

g { object + aux. + verb :
 { þæt he . . . gewinn mehte habban wið hiene 240, 8.
 h { aux. + object + verb :
 { ac sona swa G. hæfde . . . fultum . . . gelædd angean
 { Marius 230, 2.
 i { aux. + verb + object :
 { for þon þe elpendes hyd wile drincan wætan 230, 26.
 j { aux. + verb . . . (no object):
 { ær he ut wolde faran to gefeohte 232, 4.

(4) *Verb + aux. non-final.*

k { object + verb + aux. . . . :
 { þeh þe hie hit . . . cyþan ne dorsten for þara senatum ege
 { 232, 27.
 l { verb + object + aux. . . . :
 { Does not occur in *Or.* or *Hom.*
 m { verb + aux. + object :
 { gif hie gemunan willað . . . unclænnessa 64, 14.
 n { verb + aux. . . . (no object):
 { raþe þæs þe . . . þæt spell euð wearð Cartainiensium 170, 4.

I have noted according to these schemes 500 dependent clauses from the *Orosius*, none being omitted unless it con-

tained simply a subject and predicate (as, "ær hio gefeolle" 252, 7) and thus had the final position forced upon its verb. Of these 500, 314 have simple tenses, of which (see scheme A.),

259	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
9	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
14	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
32	"	"	"	<i>d</i>

Of the 500, 186 have compound tenses, of which (see scheme B.),

4	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
20	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
27	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
31	"	"	"	<i>d</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>e</i>
80	"	"	"	<i>f</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>g</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>h</i>
3	"	"	"	<i>i</i>
8	"	"	"	<i>j</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>k</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>l</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>m</i>
9	"	"	"	<i>n</i>

These results show that if the verb be a simple tense, Alfred prefers to place it at the end, 82% being found in this position. If a compound tense, the auxiliary follows the verb proper and occupies the extreme end position, 59% (viz. classes *d* and *f*) following this order.

But these figures show more. An examination of scheme A shows that while 259 verbs (class *a*) are transposed, 46 (classes *c* and *d*) follow normal order (the order of independent sentences); while 9 show a mingling of the two norms.

In scheme B, 111 clauses (classes *d* and *f*) show complete transposition, 47 (classes *b* and *e*) assume normal order, while 28 show again a mingling of the two orders.

Thus there is already a movement in Early West-Saxon to abandon transposition in dependent sentences and to assume normal order instead. By the Mid. Eng. period, transposition had disappeared entirely,¹ dependent sentences being leveled under the order of independent. "In der ältesten englischen Prosa aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts ist die Konstruktion bereits vorzugweise französisch" (Fiedler and Sachs, § 29). This is true, but the point I here emphasize is that, while the influence of French powerfully aided the movement against transposition, it did not create the movement, but only fostered it. The following statistics from the Homilies prove that in a century after Alfred's day and more than half a century before the Norman Conquest, normal order had already practically triumphed over transposition. Of 314 simple tenses taken, as in the *Orosius* by pages from the *Homilies*,

155	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
20	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
67	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
72	"	"	"	<i>d</i>

Of Ælfric's 186 compound tenses,

3	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
21	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
48	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
15	"	"	"	<i>d</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>e</i>

¹ The following line (No. 7827, Harl. MS., Cant. Tales) is cited by Prof. Child in his *Observations on the Lang. of Chaucer and Gower*, "Peculiar Order:"

"Of all this thing, which that I of have sayd." So rare a survival, however, does not at all disprove my statement.

38	follow	order	of	<i>f</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>g</i>
4	"	"	"	<i>h</i>
17	"	"	"	<i>i</i>
33	"	"	"	<i>j</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>k</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>l</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>m</i>
5	"	"	"	<i>n</i> .

Here, while there are no majorities, 155 simple tenses (class *a*) are transposed, 139 (classes *c* and *d*) follow normal order, while 20 show a mingling.

Of the compound tenses, 69 (classes *b* and *c*) assume normal order, 53 (classes *d* and *f*) show complete transposition, while 64 show a mingling of the two.

(*b*) Before taking up dependent clauses separately, I wish to note the occasional occurrence of transposition in independent clauses. In the *Orosius* this is found most frequently in the so-called progressive forms of the verb, and in such cases the auxiliary follows the verb proper and occupies the extreme end position, thus exhibiting both marks of complete transposition.

and hi þa x gear ymbe þa burg sittende wæron and feoh-
tende 50, 12.

þa folc him betweonum ful x winter þa gewin wraciende
wæron 50, 20.

ac Romane mid hiora cristnam . . . þowiende wæron 64, 10.

Hie þær þa winnende wæron 66, 21.

Hio mid þæm . . . farende wæs 76, 27.

Sona æfter þæm heora þeowas wið þa hlafordas winnende
wæron 86, 29.

Though these progressive verbs employ transposition most consistently, it is not confined to them. When not due to rhetorical causes, an explanation of transposition in independent sentences may often be found in the law of analogy.

(1) The analogy of dependent sentences ; (2) The analogy of independent sentences with pronominal datives or accusatives.

(1) and *genamon*^a *anne earmne mon him to consule*, þær he on his *æcere eode*^b, and his *sulh on handa hæfde*^c, and *sipþan to Fulcisci þæm londe ferdon*^d, and *hie ut forleton*^e 88, 7.

In this example, *d* is the verb of an independent clause, yet this verb follows two dependent final verbs (*b* and *c*) and is by analogy, I think, drawn into a final position. The verb *e* is also final and independent, but could not take position before "hie" (its direct object) without violating a sequence which, as before shown, is most consistently observed by Alfred.

Ne wene ic þæt ic hie on þisse bec geendian mæge ; ac ic oþere aginnan sceal 94, 16.

I do not think that "wene" extends its influence to the second predicate, but rather that the latter is drawn into the dependent (transposed) order by the magnetism of "geendian mæge."

The following is a fine illustrative sentence : *he þa wende on þa ane þe him þa getriewe wæron*, and *heora burg gefor*, and *þæt folc mid ealle fordyde*, and *heora hergas towearp*, swa he ealle dyde þe he awer mette 112, 36. (Cf. also 160, 30).

(2) By recurring to the citations given in the treatment of pronominal datives and accusatives, pp. 219, 220, and noting how frequently these pre-posed pronouns draw other words with them, one sees that a norm already existed in Alfred's prose for finalizing the verb even in independent sentences. One more citation will suffice :

Hie for þæm hie gebulgon, and *þa burg forleton*, and *mid eallum heora fultume Romane sohton* 92, 10.

Here "gebulgon," which occupies its usual position, has set the fashion for the two following verbs.

Many similar cases could be given, though I by no means limit the influence of these pronouns to sentences in which they occur in juxtaposition to independent sentences.

(c) The two schemes for dependent sentences given under A. and B. include a count of all classes,—temporal, local, rela-

tive, comparative, clauses of degree, causal, conditional, final and result clauses, concessive, indirect affirmative, indirect interrogative, and indirect imperative. I note no difference in any of these clauses as regards relative frequency or infrequency of transposition, except the three last named, which I reserve for special treatment later on.

As the difference between Alfred's word-order in dependent clauses and that of Ælfric has already been discussed, the following treatment is based wholly on the *Orosius*. In each case the list of introductory particles is exhaustive. As the word-order in the *Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan* is more like that of Ælfric than of Alfred, I shall for each class of clauses give the order peculiar to this portion of the *Orosius*.¹

(1) Temporal clauses: þa, ær, þonne, hwilum . . . þæt, þa hwile þe, oþ, þy . . . þe, siþþan, ær þæm þe, sona swa, gemong þæm þe, mid þæm þe, raþe þæs þe.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between temporal and relative clauses. They are often one and the same (cf. the frequent "þe's" in temporal introductory words), but I regard the clause as temporal whenever the adverbial idea seems more prominent than the adjectival. (It hardly need be said that "þa" and "þonne" often mean "then" not "when," that "þær" often means "there" not "where," and so for other introductory words. In such cases they have nothing to do with dependent clauses, and have already been treated under Inverted Order.)

oþ hie binnan þære byrig up eodon 90, 30.

Gemong þæm þe Pirrus wið Romane winnende wæs 160, 6.
(Cf. also 158, 16; 56, 17; 214, 16.)

The most frequently occurring temporal clause in the *Orosius* is "Ær þæm þe Romeburh getimbred wære" with the number of years. Almost every chapter of every book begins with it or its later substitute "Æfter þæm þe R. getimbred

¹ March (*Gram. of the Ang.-Sax. Lang.*) has based his discussion of Arrangement (p. 214) chiefly on this portion of the *Orosius* and Alfred's prefaces.

wæs." These clauses occur 91 times, and only twice is the order of auxiliary and verb reversed, "wæs getimbred" occurring in 270, 5 and 278, 6.

In *O. and W.* (*Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan*) the tendency is to finalize, but 4 of the 5 compound temporal clauses have aux. + verb instead of verb + aux.

(2) Local clauses: þær, hwær.

hwær þara wigwæгна hweol on gongende wæron 38, 34.

þær nan mon ær ne siþþan mid firde gefaran ne dorste, buton Al. 150, 19 (172, 19; 214, 5).

There is but one example in *O. and W.*: þær hit smalost wære 18, 32.

(3) Relative clauses: þe.

Unless "se, seo, þæt" was clearly relative, I have excluded the clause. The position of the verb in the *Orosius* is the best criterion; but to use this criterion when the position of the verb is the thing sought would, of course, be illogical. When coupled with "þe" it is relative, and often when preceded by a preposition, which "þe" never admits in the *Orosius* (Cf. 164, 23; 174, 9). Nor have I included cases of supposed omitted relatives, for in such cases it is as easy to suppose an omitted demonstrative as an omitted relative (Cf. 96, 10; 170, 31).

þe hy mæst bi libbap 30, 10.

þe þæs cristendomes wiþerflitan sint 84, 26 (98, 18; 194, 29).

Of the 16 relative clauses in *O. and W.*, 5 have independent order.

(4) Comparative clauses: þonne.

for þan þe he brycþ swiþor on þone suþdæl þonne he do on bone norþdæl 24, 26 (a good example of order influenced by balance).

þonne hio ær wære 40, 25 (210, 24; 220, 16; 222, 1; 224, 33).

There is but one comparative clause in *O. and W.*: þonne ænig man ofer seon mæge 19, 19.

(5) Clauses of degree and manner: swa.

swa hit ær wæs 40, 1.

swa hi mon syþþan het Persi 40, 34.

It is only when "swa" is doubled, "swa swa" or "swa swa," that the clause is properly one of degree rather than manner. E. g. in the following and in all those from *O. and W.*:

gesecgan swa monigfeald yfel swa on þæm þrim gearum gewurdon 128, 20.

Of the 6 in *O. and W.*, 5 follow normal order.

(6) Causal clauses: for þæm, for þæm þe, for þon, for þon þe, þæt (21, 15), nu.

for þon hy hyre nane bysene ær ne cuþan 30, 23.

nu ic longe spell habbe to secgenne 94, 16. (164, 21; 250, 31).

Of the 6 causal clauses in *O. and W.*, 5 have normal order.

(7) Conditional clauses: gyf, gif, buton, swelce, gelicost þæm þe.

buton hie on heora wifa hrif gewiton 54, 4.

swelce hie of oþerre worolde come 92, 31.

(170, 11; 214, 24; 286, 15).

The 2 in *O. and W.* (19, 13; 21, 12) are more transposed than normal.

(8) Final and Result clauses: þæt, to þon þæt.

þæt he eal þæt land mid sweflenum fyre forbærnde 32, 9.

þæt he his modor slege on his breþer gewreca mehte, 150, 34.

(240, 19; 294, 24).

Only one result clause occurs in *O. and W.* (21, 17); the verb is final, but aux. precedes verb proper, thus producing a mingling of the two norms.

(9) Concessive clauses: þeah, þeah þe, þeh, þeh þe, þa.

þa hio hit þurhteon ne mihte 30, 22.

þeah hit wind oþþe sæs flod mid sonde oferdrifen, 38, 36.

(120, 17; 232, 27; 256, 6).

O. and W.: þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealaþ oþþe wæteres 21, 15.

(d) The three dependent clauses which I have called indirect affirmative, indirect interrogative, and indirect impera-

tive,—following respectively verbs of saying, asking, and commanding,—differ from all other dependent clauses in having been once independent themselves. They fall therefore under the head of *oratio obliqua*, and are substantives while all other dependent clauses are adverbs or adjectives. This substantival trio shows a frequent tendency to return, in regard to position of words, to its original independence, and thus to dispose its words according to *oratio recta* rather than to the demands of *oratio obliqua*. Of the 500 clauses counted from the *Orosius*, 90 consist of substantival clauses introduced by “*þæt*.” Of these, 44 have compound tenses, 46 simple. Of the simple tenses (see p. 227),

21	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
2	“	“	“	<i>b</i>
9	“	“	“	<i>c</i>
14	“	“	“	<i>d</i>

Of the compound (see p. 227 seq.),

2	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
11	“	“	“	<i>b</i>
17	“	“	“	<i>c</i>
7	“	“	“	<i>d</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>e</i>
3	“	“	“	<i>f</i>
1	“	“	“	<i>g</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>h</i>
1	“	“	“	<i>i</i>
2	“	“	“	<i>j</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>k</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>l</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>m</i>
0	“	“	“	<i>n</i>

Thus it is seen that a minority of these “*þæt*” clauses fall in the predominating classes of dependent clauses, viz., *a* for

simple tenses, *d* and *f* for compound; while the majority are found in those classes which, with more or less faithfulness, follow the normal instead of the transposed order.

As was to be expected, the tendency in oratio obliqua clauses to revert to the normal order is far more marked in the *Homilies* than in the *Orosius*. Of the 500 clauses counted from the *Homilies*, 96 consist of substantival "pæt" clauses. Of these, 50 have simple tenses, 46 compound. Of the simple tenses,

13	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
7	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
15	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
15	"	"	"	<i>d</i>

Of the compound,

0	follow	order	of	<i>a</i>
8	"	"	"	<i>b</i>
7	"	"	"	<i>c</i>
2	"	"	"	<i>d</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>e</i>
7	"	"	"	<i>f</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>g</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>h</i>
9	"	"	"	<i>i</i>
11	"	"	"	<i>j</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>k</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>l</i>
0	"	"	"	<i>m</i>
1	"	"	"	<i>n</i>

The existence, then, of this group of substantival clauses, but especially the indirect affirmative clauses, which even in Alfred's time resisted transposition and reverted to their original normal order, was, I believe, an important though hitherto overlooked factor in the ultimate disappearance of transposi-

tion and the triumph of the normal order in all dependent clauses. The frequency of these "þæt" clauses is attested by the figures just given, 90 in the *Orosius*, 96 in the *Homilies*. No other dependent clause approaches this ratio.

Briefly stated, then, the leading difference between the word order in Anglo-Saxon and that in Middle English or Modern English is found in the frequent transposition occurring in Anglo-Saxon dependent clauses. But this transposition had already, even in the period of Early West-Saxon, begun to show signs of decay, and, in the Late West-Saxon period, was fast disappearing. This was due, I think, chiefly to the following three causes: (1) The greater simplicity of the normal order; (2) The norm set by independent clauses and the consequent levelling of dependent clauses under this norm; (3) The norm set by indirect affirmative clauses, which gradually spread to other dependent clauses.

The introduction of Norman French only consummated these influences.

Ries, p. 66 (see p. 210), finds that in the *Heliand* indirect affirmative clauses take the normal order, provided the introductory word be omitted; and Erdmann, p. 194 (see p. 224), remarks that, "Im Mhd. und Nhd. haben solche sätze stets die einfache Wortstellung nach Typus 1: ich weiss, er lohnt es ihm." This corroborates the view that I have been urging, yet, in many cases at least, the clause ought not to be considered dependent when "þæt" is omitted, the omission serving rather as an evidence that the thralldom of the verb of saying has ceased to be felt. The author has taken the narrative into his own hands. In the *Voyages of Othhere and Wulfstan*, for example, if "sæde" be as exacting as the Latin "dixit," one would have to consider no clause independent except the few that have this very "sæde" for their predicate. This is clearly not the case. When I speak, therefore, of "þæt" clauses, I mean those clauses preceded by "þæt" expressed, not understood.

(1) Substantival "þæt" clauses:

þæt hi gesawon mannes blod agoten 30, 8.

þæt wæs þæt forme þæt hyra wæter wurdon to blode 36, 25.

The preceding sentence is the first of the ten plagues. Throughout them all the normal order is preserved.

þæt hit wæs Godes stihtung 252, 29.

þæt hio wære mid gimstanum gefrætwed 252, 27.

þæt hie woldon þa onwaldas forlætan 280, 20.

þæt he hine mehte lædan þurh þæt westen 286, 16. (For transposed order, see 128, 5; 174, 24; 244, 17.)

Of the 15 "þæt" clauses in *O. and W.*, but one transposes:

þæt he ealra Norþmonna norþmest bude 17, 1.

(2) Indirect interrogative clauses:

hu, for hwy, hwy, hwær, hwelc, hweþer:

to geseggenne hu monege gewin siþþan wæron betuh M. and C. and S. 52, 8.

on hu micelre dysignesse men nu sindon on þeosan cristen-dome 136, 17.

for hwy hie noldon geþencan ealle þa brocu 224, 27. (For transposed order see 164, 28; 202, 33; 260, 6.)

There are but 3 such sentences in *O. and W.*, all with simple final verbs.

(3) Indirect imperative clauses: þæt:

He biddende wæs þæt hie and Lac. mosten wið Persum sumne ende gewyrca 82, 22.

bædan þæt him mon sealde ænne cucne mon 102, 28.

onbudon þæt he come mid feawum monnum to Rome 240, 2.

bebead þæt hie simle gegripen þæs licgendan feos 260, 31. (For transposition see 82, 21; 98, 14; 164, 27; 176, 2; 178, 18.)

No imperative clauses occur in *O. and W.*

The last two classes of sentences, (2) and (3), do not follow the normal order as consistently as do indirect affirmative clauses. It is to be remembered that these two classes had not the same original order in *oratio recta* that the affirmative clause had. *E. g.* "He cwæð þæt he bude on," etc., was

originally "Ic bue on" = normal order. But "Lucinius behead þæt nan cristen mon ne come on," etc., was originally "Ne come nan cristen mon on," etc. = inverted order. So also the interrogative clause was originally inverted. All had their verbs, therefore, near or at the beginning of the sentence and thus are fortified, as it were, against transposition; but the original affirmative norm proved most potent, for it had both subject and predicate already in the normal order, while the two latter classes had to re-invert before assuming the normal order.

(4) A fourth cause that operates against transposition is the tendency to bring modifying and modified words as closely together as possible. This can occur only when the second dependent clause modifies some word in the first other than the predicate. The disturbance is thus limited practically to relative and comparative clauses.

Relative clauses :

for þon þe se cyning ne gemunde þara monigra teonena þe hiora ægþer . . . gedyde 52, 21.

Here "gemunde," the predicate of the first dependent clause, could not take its usual order in the *Orosius* without separating "teonena" and "þe," modified and modifying words (cf. also 112, 24; 196, 18; 258, 27; 296, 23).

Comparative clauses :

and for ðon þe sio sunne þær gæð near on setl þonne on oðrum lande 24, 17. Here, for the same reason as above, "gæþ" could not come between "setl" and "þonne" without separating two intimately connected ideas (cf. 52, 1; 192, 28; 192, 33).

(5) Another dependent clause which violates the usual final position of the verb in the *Orosius* is the relative clause having as its predicate some form of "hatan." The complementary noun ends the sentence "þe man hæt Euxinus" being the norm and not "þe man Eux. hæt." In the first 28 pages of the *Orosius*, the geographical portion, in which this clause most frequently occurs, there are 58 instances of "þe" with

“hatan,” and in 44 of these the normal order is used instead of the transposed. Cf. also the invariable “þe oþre noman hatte” with the noun added. E. g. “þe oþre noman hatte Curtius” 102, 30.

In a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, the relative clause with “hatan” occurs 32 times; 30 of these follow the Alfredian type and thus resist transposition.

(6) Instead of the transposed or normal order, inversion is sometimes found in dependent clauses and is produced by the same causes that produce it elsewhere; viz., by some sentence member, other than the subject, following the introductory particle. It is not of frequent occurrence in the *Orosius* or the *Homilies*.

þonne þær biþ man dead 20, 20.

þæt þær com hagol 38, 8.

oþ þara Persea wæs ungemetic wæl geslægen 80, 25.

þætte on anre dune neah Romebyrig tohlad seo eorþe, and wæs byrnende fyr up of þære eorþan 160, 23.

(7) When there are many verbal modifiers, or when the idea contained in the verb is distributed (as by “ge . . . ge,” “ne . . . ne”), the verb prefers a medial position and often immediately follows the subject.

gif hie gemunan willað hiora ieldrena unclænnessa, and heora wolgewinna, and hiora monigfealdan unsibbe, and hiora unmilt sunge þe hie, etc. 64, 14.

The predicate might have been placed after the first or second of these objects, but could hardly have occupied a final position. The relative clause (see p. 240) is also a disturbing element in the above sentence.

buton þæm þe mon oft hergeade ægþer ge on hie selfe ge on heora land æt ham 90, 25.

swa . . . þæt hie naþer næfdon siþþan ne heora namon ne heora anweald 98, 7. (Cf. also 98, 22; 184, 2; 190, 7; 240, 28; for this principle as well as the disturbing influence of a relative clause, see 38, 9; 82, 18.)

These seven cases, then, are the leading instances in which both Alfred and Ælfric most consistently reject the transposed order in dependent sentences. Most of them are general causes, applicable to all Anglo-Saxon prose, and thus constitute links in the chain of influences which more and more circumscribed the sphere of the transposed order and extended that of the normal, or more natural and logical, order.

(e) In the *Orosius*, pronominal datives and accusatives precede the subject of the dependent clause as frequently as they follow it, there being no prevailing norm.

Pronouns precede subject :

oþ him Pilatus onbead 254, 23.

þæt hiene monige for god hæfde 254, 24.

oþ him þa biseapas sædon 114, 3.

oþ þæt him on se miccla firenlust on innan aweox 32, 8.

þeah hit wind oþþe sæs flod mid sonde oferdrifen 38, 36.

swa hit Gaius geþoht hæfde 258, 19.

Pronouns follow subject :

þæt ic hie . . . geendian mæge 94, 17.

þe þa Finnas him gyldaþ 18, 16.

þe he him onwinnende wæs 30, 5.

oþ hie him þær eard genamon 44, 27.

þætte þa earman wifmen hie swa tintredon 48, 13.

þeh þe hie hit openlice cyþan ne dorsten 232, 27.

In the *Homilies*, these datives and accusatives follow the subject more often than they precede it. Here, as in every case, the *Homilies* mark an advance toward a freer and more natural order; in this case the order found in independent sentences. Out of 72 datives, 52 come between the subject and the verb, 20 precede the subject. Out of 98 accusatives, not one precedes its subject.

A peculiarity of the *Orosius*, not shared by the *Homilies*, is the invariable position of the indefinite "mon" after pronominal datives and accusatives.

þæt hie mon oferswiþan mehte 160, 4.

hwæþer hiene mon . . . geflieman mehte 192, 15.

Ac þa hit mon to him brohte 242, 18.

þæt him mon sealde ænne cucne mon 102, 28.

þe him mon gebead 94, 27.

þæt him mon geswicen hæfde 52, 6.

for þæm þe him mon . . . forwiernde 78, 9.

Cf. these with "þæt mon þa þeowas freode," in which the object is not a pronoun but a noun.

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V.—THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN MIDDLE
AND MODERN ENGLISH.

INTRODUCTION.

There is much divergence of opinion among scholars as to the naming of the main periods of the English language, and hardly any two agree in regard to the limits of each period. But in treating of the absolute participle, an arbitrary division must be made according to the occurrence and development of this form in the language. The following division into three periods will therefore serve our purpose :

Anglo-Saxon—to 1150 ;
Middle English—1150 to 1500 ;
Modern English—1500 to the present.

For the Anglo-Saxon period the subject of the absolute participle has received full and scientific treatment at the hands of Morgan Callaway, Jr., in his dissertation (Johns Hopkins University), *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, Baltimore, 1889. This admirable monograph has

already received its meed of praise from scholars both in this country and abroad, and it takes rank as one of the most important contributions to the much neglected subject of English syntax. Callaway treats thoroughly of the occurrence, the uses, the origin, and the stylistic effect of the absolute participle in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature. He also discusses the origin of the construction in the other Teutonic languages, thus showing appropriate breadth of treatment. It is hardly necessary to add that this dissertation has served as a model for the present monograph in its general features.

Definitions of the absolute participial clause are not wanting, but the most comprehensive one yet given is that of Callaway: "When to a substantive not the subject of a verb and dependent upon no other word in the sentence (noun, adjective, verb, or preposition) a participle is joined as its predicate, a clause is formed that modifies the verbal predicate of the sentence and denotes an accompanying circumstance," as in: "*The train having gone*, I returned home."

The following texts have been read :

(a) MIDDLE ENGLISH :

1. *Anc. Rivle* = Morton, *The Ancren Rivle*. Camden Society, London, 1853.
2. *Ballads* = Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*. 2 vols. Boston, 1885.
3. *Caxton* = Hazlitt, *Paris and Vienna*. Roxburghe Library, London, 1868.
4. *Ch. Astrol.* = Brae, *The Treatise on the Astrolabe*. London, 1870.
5. *Ch. Boeth.* = Furnivall, *Chaucer's Boece*. Chaucer Society, London, 1886.
6. *Ch. Melib.* = *The Tale of Melibeus*, in Morris's *Chaucer*, III. 139-197.

7. *Ch. Person* = *The Persones Tale*, Morris, III. 263-368.
8. *Ch. Poems* = Morris, *Chaucer's Poetical Works*. 6 vols. London, 1888.
9. *Constance*¹ = *The Story of Constance*. Chaucer Society : *Originals and Analogues*, London, 1872.
10. *Fortescue* = *The Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy*. London, 1714.
11. *Gamelyn* = Skeat, *The Tale of Gamelyn*. Oxford, 1884.
12. *Gower* = Pauli, *The Confessio Amantis*. 3 vols. London, 1857.
13. *Hampole* = Perry, *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*. EETS., London, 1866.
14. *Havelok*¹ = Skeat, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*. EETS., London, 1868.
15. *Hoccleve* = Furnivall, *The Minor Poems*. EETS., London, 1892.
16. *Horn* = Morris, *King Horn*, in *Specimens of Early English*, I. 237-286.
17. *James I* = Skeat, *The Kingis Quair*. Scottish Text Socy., Edinburgh, 1884.
18. *Juliana* = Cockayne, *The Lifestade of St. Juliana*. EETS., London, 1872.
19. *Landry*¹ = Wright, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*. EETS., London, 1868.
20. *Langland* = Skeat, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1886.
21. *Malory* = Wright, *The History of King Arthur*. 3 vols. London, 1866.
22. *Mand. Hall.* = Halliwell, *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevice*. London, 1869.
23. *Mand.*¹ = Warner, *The Buke of John Maundevice*, with French original. Roxburghe Club, Westminster, 1889.
24. *Paston* = Gairdner, *The Paston Letters*. 3 vols. London, 1872.
25. *Pecock* = Babington, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*. Vol. I. London, 1860.

26. *Romaunt* = Morris, *The Romaunt of the Rose*, in his *Chaucer*, VI. 1-234.
27. *Wyclif Pr.* = Arnold, *Select English Works*. Vol. I. Oxford, 1869.
28. *Wyclif*¹ = Forshall and Madden, *The Holy Bible*. Vol. IV. Oxford, 1850.
29. *York Plays* = Smith, *York Mystery Plays*. Oxford, 1885.

(b) OLD FRENCH :

1. *Constance*² = Brock, *The Life of Constance*, from Trivet's *Anglo-Norman Chronicle*. Chaucer Society, London, 1872.
2. *Havelok*² = Wright, *Le Lai d'Havelok le Danois*, in Gaimar's *Anglo-Norman Metrical Chronicle*. Caxton Society, London, 1850.
3. *Landry*² = de Montaignon, *Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*. Paris, 1854.
4. *Mand.*² = See *Mand.*¹ in (a) MIDDLE ENGLISH.
5. *Map* = Furnivall, *La Queste del Saint Graal*. Roxburgh Club, London, 1864. (English in *Malory*, III. 51-187.)
6. *Melib.*² = *Histoire de Mellibée*, in *Le Menagier de Paris*, I. 186-235. Soc. des Biblioph. Franç., Paris, 1846.
7. *Roman* = Michel, *Le Roman de la Rose*. 2 vols. Paris, 1864.

(c) ITALIAN :

Fil. = *Il Filostrato*, in *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. XIII. Firenze, 1831. (English in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cryseyde*.)

(d) MODERN ENGLISH :

1. *Addison* = Green, *Essays*. London, 1890.
2. *Arnold* = *Essays in Criticism*. 1st and 2nd Series. New York, 1888.
= *Poetical Works*. London, 1890.
3. *Bacon* = Morley, *Essays*. London, 1883.

4. *Berners* = Lee, *Huon of Bordeaux*. Vol. I. EETS., London, 1882.
5. *Birrell* = *Obiter Dicta*. 1st and 2nd Series. New York, 1890.
6. *Blackmore* = Lorna Doone. 3 vols. New York, 1891.
7. *Browne* = Greenhill, *Religio Medici*. London, 1889.
8. *Browning, Mrs.* = *Aurora Leigh*. New York, n. d.
9. *Bunyan* = *The Pilgrim's Progress*. New York, n. d.
10. *Burke* = Payne, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Oxford, 1888.
11. *Cooper* = *The Spy*. Troy, 1886.
12. *Daniel* = Haslewood, *A Defence of Ryme*. London, 1815.
13. *De Quincey* = Morley, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*. London, 1886.
14. *Dickens* = *David Copperfield* and *Pickwick Papers*. Boston, 1887.
15. *Dryden* = Arnold, *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. Oxford, 1889.
= Christie, *Select Poems*. Oxford, 1883.
16. *George Eliot* = *Romola*. New York, n. d.
17. *Fielding* = *The History of Tom Jones*. 2 vols. New York, 1879.
18. *Forster* = *The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith*. Vol. I. London, 1854.
19. *Franklin* = Montgomery, *Autobiography*. Boston, 1891.
20. *Froude* = *Cæsar*. New York, 1887.
21. *Goldsmith* = *The Vicar of Wakefield*. New York, 1882.
= Dobson, *Selected Poems*. Oxford, 1887.
22. *Gosson* = Arber, *The Schoole of Abuse*. London, 1868.
23. *Gray* = Gosse, *Letters*. Vol. I. London, 1884.
24. *Greene* = Ward, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. Oxford, 1887.
25. *Hawthorne* = *The Scarlet Letter*. Boston, 1889.
26. *Holmes* = *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*. Boston, 1889.

27. *Hooker* = Morley, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. Pref. and Bk. I. London, 1888.
28. *Hughes* = *Tom Brown's School Days*. New York, 1888.
29. *Irving* = *Oliver Goldsmith*. New York, 1859.
 = *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. Phila., 1873.
 = *Conquest of Granada*. Chicago, n. d.
30. *Jefferson* = *Autobiography*. New York, 1890.
31. *Johnson* = *The History of Rasselas*. New York, 1882.
32. *Jonson* = Morley, *Discoveries*. London, 1889.
33. *Latimer* = Morley, *Sermons on the Card*. New York, 1886.
34. *Lewes* = *Life of Goethe*. London, 1864.
35. *Lodge* = Morley, *Rosalind*. New York, 1887.
36. *Lowell* = *Among my Books*. 2 vols. Boston, 1890.
37. *Lyly* = Arber, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*. London, 1868.
38. *Macaulay* = *Essays*. Vol. I. New York, 1885.
39. *Marlowe* = Ellis, *Plays*. London, 1887.
40. *Marprelate* = Petheram, *Martin Marprelate Tracts (Epistle, Epitome, and Hay any work for Cooper)*. London, 1842-45.
41. *Milton* = Morley, *English Prose Writings*. London, 1889.
 = Browne, *English Poems*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1887.
42. *Mitchell* = *Reveries of a Bachelor*. New York, 1889.
43. *More* = Lumby, *History of King Richard III*. Cambridge, 1883.
44. *Murfree* = *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*. Boston, 1889.
45. *Nashe* = Grosart, *Martin's Month's Minde*, in *The Complete Works of Nashe*, I. 141-205. 1883-84.
46. *Palgrave* (ed.) = *The Golden Treasury*. London, 1890.
47. *Parkman* = *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Vol. I. Boston, 1884.

48. *Pepys* = Braybrooke, *Diary*. Vol. I. London, 1889.
49. *Pope* = Ward, *Essay on Man* and *The Dunciad*. London, 1889.
50. *Rives* = *Barbara Dering*. Philadelphia, 1892.
51. *Ruskin* = *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Chicago, 1889.
52. *Scott* = *Ivanhoe*. New York, 1883.
= Montgomery, *Marmion*. Boston, 1891.
53. *Shakespeare* = Rolfe: *Twelfth Night*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *King Henry IV*, Pts. I and II. New York, 1890.
54. *Sidney* = Morley, *A Defence of Poesie*. London, 1889.
55. *Spenser* = Child, *The Faery Queene*. Bk. I. Boston, 1855.
56. *Stevenson* = *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and *Prince Otto*. New York, 1887.
57. *Swift* = Morley, *A Tale of a Tub*. London, 1889.
58. *Thackeray* = *Henry Esmond* and *Vanity Fair*. New York, 1885.
59. *Walpole* = Yonge, *Letters*. Vol. I. New York, 1890.
60. *Walton* = Morley, *Lives of Donne, Hooker, Wotton, and Herbert*. London, 1888.
61. *Whipple* = *Recollections of Eminent Men*. Boston, 1886.

I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

In giving his results as to the occurrence of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon Callaway says [l. c. p. 51 (3)]:

“Though seemingly frequent in some of the closer Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin, the absolute participle occurs there chiefly in certain favorite phrases. In the freer translations the absolute participle is less frequent, is found mostly in certain collocations, and, moreover, wavers between an absolute and an attributive use. In the more independ-

ent literature the absolute participle is practically unknown. Hence the absolute construction is not an organic idiom of the Anglo-Saxon language."

If this is the condition of the construction in Anglo-Saxon, what is it in Middle English? A brief examination of the occurrence of the absolute participle in this latter period will show whether or not it has become an organic idiom of the language.

I divide Middle English into two periods:

1. 1150-1350;
2. 1350-1500.

1. 1150-1350.

The results in this period were so barren that only a small portion of the literature was read. This, however, was representative.

The Ancren Riwele.

One example of the absolute participle:

306—"þe sorie sunfule thus biwet, hwu schal him þeonne stonden?"

St. Juliana.

One example of the absolute participle:

54, 4—"Te edie meiden . . . Com baldeliche forð biuoren þene reue . . . hire nebscheft schininde." The same construction occurs in the corresponding MS., Bodl. 34.

The other texts of this period—*Havelok*, *King Horn*, *Hampele*, and *Gamelyn*—do not contain a single example of the absolute participle.

2. 1350-1500.

Chaucer's Poems.

Chaucer shows in his poetry a florescence of the absolute participle during the second half of the fourteenth century.

But when we consider how much he wrote, what influences dominated him, and how comparatively few examples he furnishes of the construction, it will be seen how foreign the idiom was to the Middle English writer.

(a) Present participles (14):

- II. 70—"Smokyng the temple, . . .
This Emelye with herte debonaire
Hir body wessch."
- IV. 120—"Sche, this in blake, *likynge to Troylus*,
Over alle thinge he stode for to beholde."
- Fil.* I. xxx. 1—"Piacende questa sotto il nero manto
Oltre ad ogn' altra a Troilo . . .
Mirava di lontano."
- IV. 130—"Biwayllynge in his chaumber thus allone,
A frende of his that called was Pandare,
Come ones unwar."
- Fil.* II. i. 1—"Standosi in cotal guisa un dì soletto
Nella camera sua *Troilo pensoso*,
Vi sopravvenne un troian giovinetto."
- IV. 301—"Lyggynge in oost
The Grekes stronge aboute Troye town,
Byfel," etc.
- Fil.* IV. i. 1—"Tenendo i Greci la cittade stretta
Con forte assedio; Ettor . . .
. fe' seletta," etc.
- Other examples: II. 237, 300, 302, 311, III. 69 (2 exs.),
240, IV. 296, V. 233 (2 exs.).

(b) Past participles (15):

- II. 14—"The cause *i-knowe*,
Anon he yaf the syke man his bote."
- IV. 305—"The cause *itolde of hire comynge*, the olde
Priam
Let here-upon his parlement to holde."

Fil. IV. xiii. 3—

“*Trattatori :*

I quali, al re Priamo, il suo talento

Dissero,

. . . onde un parlamento

Di ciò si tenne.”

IV. 337—“*Thise wordes seyde, she*

Fil gruf.”

Fil. IV. cvi. 1—“*E questo detto, ricadde supina.”*

IV. 347—

“*She lay as for dede,*

Hire eyen thrown upwarde to hir hed.”

Fil. IV. cxvii. 7—“*E Troilo guardando nel suo aspetto,*

E lei chiamando, e non sentendo udirsi,

E gli occhi suo velati a lei cascante.”

V. 56—“*Than wene I that I oughte be that whyght ;*

Considered thys,” etc.

Fil. VII. liv. 4—

“*Io*

Avrei ragion se di te mi dolesse ;

Considerando,” etc.

Other examples : II. 364, IV. 54, 205, 262, 265, 309, 352,
V. 160, 310 (2 exs.).

Doubtful examples (9) : II. 9, 75, 78, 86, 365, III. 124, 136,
IV. 54, 209.

Chaucer's Boethius.

Ch. Boeth. 2. 5—“*I sawh . . a woman hyr eyen brennyng*
and cleer seyng” = *Lat.* Bk. I. Pr. 1. 4—“*Visa est mulier*
. . . oculis ardentibus, et . . . perspicacibus.” Other examples
(6) : *Ch. Boeth.* 5. 16 (*Lat.* Bk. I. Pr. 3. 1), 6. 1 (*Lat.* Bk. I.
Pr. 3), 9. 14 (*Lat.* Bk. I. Pr. 4), 69. 6 (*Lat.* Bk. III. Po. 9. 23),
86. 21 (*Lat.* Bk. IV. Pr. 1. 35).

In Chaucer's *Boethius* there are eight absolute participles,
which eight correspond to seven ablatives absolute in the Latin ;
in 5. 16 the two participles are synonyms. Hence we see that
every absolute participle in Chaucer's *Boethius* is due to an
original ablative absolute. In the Latin there are altogether
sixty-six ablatives absolute : seven are rendered as above, and

the remainder are otherwise used by him. He almost studiously avoids the use of the absolute participle.

Chaucer's Tale of Melibeus.

Ch. Melib. 184—"He schulde nought be cleped a gentil man, that, . . . *alle thinges left*, ne doth his diligence to kepe his good name" = *Melib.*² 225—"Il ne doit pas estre dit gentils homs, qui *toutes autres choses arriere mises*, . . . n'a grant diligence de garder sa bonne renommée." Other example: *Ch. Melib.* 194 (*Melib.*² 233).

Chaucer's Persones Tale.

No example found.

Chaucer's Astrolabe.

One example occurs: 34.

Langland's Vision.

Three examples are found in the B-text: XIII. 280, XVII. 212, XIX. 162. This last example is doubtless due to the ablative absolute in the Vulgate—John, XX. 26.

The Romaunt of the Rose.

Only one example:

Romaunt, 6123— "I wole and charge thee,
To telle anon thy wonyng places,
Heryng ech wight that in this place is."
Roman, 11157¹—"Convient-il, . . . sans faille,
Que ci tes mansions nous somes
Tantost oians trestous nos homes."

¹ Michel's numbering with his error of 600 lines corrected.

Oians is the same as a preposition here, being equivalent to *coram*.

Wyclif's Prose Works.

In considering the absolute participle in Wyclif a sharp line of distinction must be drawn between his original English works and his translation of the Vulgate. In the former the construction is so rare that not a single example was found in Arnold's first volume¹; in the first version of the latter the construction is very common. An examination of its occurrence in the Gospels shows how very slavish was this translation. Out of the two hundred and seventeen ablatives absolute in these Gospels the Anglo-Saxon translator rendered only sixty-six into the dative absolute. But Wyclif went further than this: in his translation there are one hundred and eighty-eight absolute participles (fifty-three of which are certainly datives absolute) corresponding to one hundred and eighty-seven ablatives absolute.² It is a noticeable fact that Purvey, in his revision of Wyclif's translation only a few years after, did away with almost every absolute participle. Skeat's³ remark (p. xi) is eminently just: "Wycliffe's literal translations are somewhat awkward, and are hardly intelligible; whereas Purvey's paraphrases, though less literal, convey just the sense required in the English idiom." One example will suffice to show this:

¹ Only one volume of Wyclif was read on account of the extreme scarcity of examples. The same was the case with Pecock.

² *Comparative Table of Absolute Participles in Wyclif's and the Latin Gospels.*

	LATIN.	WYCLIF.
<i>Matthew</i> ,	64	62
<i>Mark</i> ,	46	49
<i>Luke</i> ,	65	65
<i>John</i> ,	12	12
Total,	187	188

³ Skeat, W. W.: *Introd. to Forshall and Madden's New Testament of Wycliffe and Purvey.* Oxford, 1879.

Mark, I. 32—

Vulgate. “*Vespere autem facto, . . . afferebant ad eum omnes male habentes.*”

Wyclif. “*Forsothe the euenyng maad, . . . thei broughten to him alle hauynge yuel.*”

Purvey. “*But whanne the euentid was come,*” etc.

Gower.

Thirteen examples of the absolute participle: I. 27 (2 exs.), 115, 217; II. 150, 370; III. 62, 200, 260, 287, 339, 358, 363.

*Mandeville.*¹

Mand. Hall. 2—“It is the Herte and the myddes of all the World; *wyttenessynge the Philosophere*, that seythe thus” = *Mand.*² 1.25—“*Ceo est luy corps et ly mylieux de tote la terre de monde, et auxi, come dit le philosophe.*” Other examples (5): *Mand.*¹ 19.22 (*Mand.*² has finite verb), *Mand. Hall.* 40 (*Mand.*² 20.45), *Mand.*¹ 45.25 (*Mand. Hall.* 91—*Mand.*² has prepositional phrase), *Mand. Hall.* 234 (*Mand.*² has finite verb), *Mand.*¹ 121.6 (*Mand.*² has adverbial predicate). *Mand.*¹ 45.25 is really due to direct influence of the Vulgate or Wyclif’s translation of the same; cf. John, xx. 26. The same is the case with *Langland B.* xix. 162 (C. xxii. 167).

Hoccleve.

Thirteen examples of the absolute participle: 24, 59, 87, 110 (2 exs.), 140, 148, 165, 171, 211 (2 exs.), 221, 222.

The Paston Letters.

One hundred and eleven examples of the absolute participle.

¹ It is now held by scholars that Mandeville was not the translator of the English work that bears his name; but for convenience’ sake I shall give his name to this work.

La Tour-Landry.

*Landry*¹ 17—"Ther was moche speche; *mani folk susteninge* to take the elder" = *Landry*² 26—"Y fut assez parlé de chascune d'elles, et *y eut assés qui soustenoient à prandre l'ainsnée.*" Other examples (2): *Landry*¹ 98 (*Landry*² 152), 174 (*Landry*² 250).

The Story of Constance.

*Constance*¹ 246—"All thing lefte, he shall putte hymselfe before the kyng of England" = *Constance*² 47—"Totes autres choses lessetz, se meit de-u-aunt le Roi dengleterre." Another example: *Constance*¹ 242 (*Constance*² doubtful).

York Mystery Plays.

No example of the absolute participle.

James I.

Two examples of the absolute participle: st. 64.6, 104.1.

Pecock.

Seven examples of the absolute participle in the first volume: 49 (2 exs.), 80, 204 (2 exs.), 242 (2 exs.).

Malory.

Twenty-four examples of the absolute participle: I. 119, 168, 178, 185, 186, 187, 274; II. 63, 83 (2 exs.), 192, 230, 232 (2 exs.), 276, 346; III. 29, 128 (*Map* 153), 143, 248 (2 exs.), 257 (2 exs.), 302.

Fortescue.

Two examples of the absolute participle: 108, 136.

Paris and Vienna.

Fifteen examples of the absolute participle: 10, 20, 25, 37, 39, 40, 46, 48, 66, 67, 72, 74 (2 exs.), 75, 81.

Ballads.

Eleven examples of the absolute participle: I. 65, 86, 91 (2 exs.), 181; II. 68 (2 exs.), 104, 223, 301, 385. Three of these—86, 91 (2)—occur in a ballad of which the date is 1596.

Having gone through the Middle English texts that were read and having noted the occurrence of the absolute participle in them, it is time to seek for the origin and the cause of the development of this construction in Middle English. Before entering upon this discussion, however, it may be best to notice the remarks of Einkenkel¹ on the origin of the construction. He says (p. 69):

“Das AE . . . eine Nachbildung des lateinischen Ablativus absolutus besass und zwar in seinem absoluten Dativ. Es wäre nun von vornherein das Natürlichste gewesen, wenn die Entwicklung der betreffenden ME Formeln von der Basis dieser einheimischen absoluten Construction ausgegangen wäre. Abgesehen jedoch davon, dass die mit Hülfe von Participien gebildeten Formeln nur einen kleinen Teil der hier in Frage kommenden Formelarten darstellen, so spricht zunächst gegen eine Weiterbildung dieses AE absoluten Dativs der Umstand, dass im ME, wo fast unter allen Umständen der Dativ mit Hülfe der Präposition *to* aufgelöst werden kann, die absolute Construction wol durch *after*, *with*, nie aber mit Hülfe der Präposition *to* umschrieben wird. Ferner war der AE absolute Dativ eine fast ausschliesslich gelehrte Redeform und auch als solche durchaus nicht in so häufigem Gebrauche, dass sie eine längere Lebensdauer hätte haben oder einen tieferen Einfluss auf die Weiterentwicklung der Sprache hätte ausüben können.

¹ Einkenkel, E.: *Streifzüge durch die mittelleng. Syntax*. Münster, 1887.

“Wir sehen also, trotz des gewiss starken und nachhaltigen Einflusses des lateinischen Ablativus absolutus, der einer derartigen Aenderung zweifellos hinderlich sein musste, ist der AE absolute Dativ dennoch zu Gunsten des Afranz. absoluten Accusatives aufgegeben worden.”

The criticism to be made on Einkenel's statements is that the same rule is applied to the whole of Middle English. On the contrary, it is necessary to divide the period (as I have done in discussing the separate texts) into two parts, in each of which we see different influences at work on the development of the absolute construction. The first extends to about the middle of the fourteenth century. In this period, as is seen by the infrequency of occurrence, the construction is practically non-existent, especially in the poetry; and where it does occur in the prose, it is so sporadic that we must, I think, trace this occurrence not to any influence of Old French, but rather to a survival of the Anglo-Saxon construction. If this is not allowed, then we must trace the construction to a slight Latin influence that was present in English at the time by reason of the cultivation of Latin literature. The occurrence of the construction is so infrequent that it is almost impossible to find the cause of its origin. French had not yet exerted any appreciable influence in this direction; for, as Lounsbury¹ says (p. 42), “we have . . . the singular spectacle of two tongues flourishing side by side in the same country, and yet for centuries so utterly distinct and independent, that neither can be said to have exerted much direct appreciable influence upon the other, though in each case the indirect influence was great.” It is, therefore, safe to conclude that in our first period of Middle English we have an absolute participial construction that is most likely a survival of the Anglo-Saxon dative absolute.²

¹ Lounsbury, T. R.: *History of the English Language*. New York, 1879.

² Callaway has clearly and conclusively shown that the Anglo-Saxon construction was borrowed from the Latin; hence it seems strange to see this statement in Kellner's recent work (*Hist. Outlines of Eng. Syntax*, London, 1892, p. 34): “It is doubtful whether the Absolute Participle in Old Eng-

But when English gained the victory over French not only as the language of the people but also as the language of literature, a change was effected in the use and occurrence of the absolute construction. The influence of French¹ became perceptible, and the construction became more frequent during the second half of the fourteenth century and the whole of the fifteenth century. Its sphere of usefulness was thus expanded. But as in Anglo-Saxon the construction is a stranger, and as yet it has not become an organic idiom of the language. And in the whole range of Middle English literature there are only two monuments in which it may be said to occur somewhat commonly: Chaucer's poems and the *Paston Letters*. It now remains for me to show that in these the frequency of occurrence of the absolute participle was largely, if not entirely, due to immediate or special foreign influences.

I shall first consider the poems of Chaucer. In all his genuine poems there are twenty-nine clear examples of the absolute participle, and all these examples can be accounted for as being due to French or Italian influence. Thirteen of these are found in *Troilus and Cryseyde*, the poem possibly most strongly under Italian influence: six of these are direct or almost direct translations of the corresponding absolute constructions in the Italian, and of the remaining seven four are indirect translations of a favorite Italian expression—"considerando." It is natural to suppose that the three other examples in the poem are due to Italian influence, as the absolute construction abounds in *Il Filostrato*. The *Canterbury Tales*, more than twice the length of *Troilus and Cryseyde*, contain only nine examples, and these

lish and in the other Teutonic dialects is akin to similar constructions in Latin and Greek and thus of Aryan origin, or whether it is only borrowed from Latin." A study of the construction in English since 1150 leads to the belief that it is really a borrowing, directly or indirectly, from Latin during the whole of its history.

¹ French influence will be more fully treated in the next section.

are most likely due to French or Italian influence. This leaves seven examples in the other poems, and these examples are so isolated as to be scarcely felt.

I next take up the three volumes of the *Paston Letters*. In these there are one hundred and eleven examples of the absolute participle. Sixty-four of these are found in the letters proper where the nearest approach to vernacular English is to be seen. The remaining forty-seven are found in various documents, such as petitions, Sir John Fastolf's will, the account of the Battle of St. Albans, etc., in which the style is involved and the influence of Latin seems prominent. Among the letters are several from a Friar Brackley to various persons which show strong traces both of Latin and of French influence. I therefore conclude that nearly one-half of the examples are due to an almost direct influence either of Latin or of French.

Notes.—Several points may be treated of here that cannot properly come under the regular heads of the work: (1) Callaway (l. c. p. 21) mentions that "occasionally the A. S. absolute clause is incorrectly joined to the chief sentence by a conjunction." This practice is very common in Middle English, and the absolute clause is thereby obscured. Four examples of this use occur in *Malory* alone, and the practice continues down into very recent English; as, for example, Lowell's *Latest Literary Essays*, p. 86. (2) In some of the examples cited where the subject of the absolute clause and that of the main clause are in apposition, as in *Landry* 98, there is doubt as to whether the subordinate clause is really absolute. Possibly many such examples may be like this from Wyclif: *John*, xix. 28—"Jhesu witinge . . . that the scripture schulde be fillid, he seith," etc. = *Vulgate*—"Sciens Jesus . . . ut consummaretur Scriptura, dixit," etc. In the poetry (as in *Ch. Poems* III. 124), the superfluous substantive may be almost always looked on as introduced for the sake of the metre. (3) In such a sentence as "They went away, *the one here, the other there,*" the italicized phrases are to be looked on rather as appositive than absolute. This is borne out by the Old French construction: "Se misent en la forest, *li vns cha, et li autres la*"—*Map* 22. Here the nominative of the article is used, while the absolute case in Old French is the accusative. A Modern English example shows this apposition clearly: "We have two accusatives of slightly different functions: *the one indicating the object, . . . the other indicating the result*"—Strong, Logeman, and Wheeler: *The Hist. of Lang.*, p. 231.

TABLE OF MIDDLE ENGLISH ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLES.

WORK.	PTCS.	WORK.	PTCS.
<i>Ancren Riwe</i>	1	<i>Hoccleve</i>	13
<i>Ballads</i>	11	<i>Horn</i>	0
<i>Caxton</i>	15	<i>James I.</i>	2
<i>Ch. Astrol</i>	1	<i>Juliana</i>	1
<i>Ch. Boeth</i>	8	<i>Landry</i> ¹	3
<i>Ch. Melib</i>	2	<i>Langland</i>	3
<i>Ch. Person</i>	0	<i>Malory</i>	24
<i>Ch. Poems</i>	29	<i>Mandeville</i>	6
<i>Constance</i> ¹	2	<i>Paston</i>	111
<i>Fortescue</i>	2	<i>Pecock</i>	7
<i>Gamelyn</i>	0	<i>Romaunt</i>	1
<i>Gower</i>	13	<i>Wyclif Pr</i>	0
<i>Hampole</i>	0	<i>York</i>	0
<i>Havelok</i> ¹	0		
		Total.....	255

II. THE INFLUENCE OF OLD FRENCH AND ITALIAN ON THE MIDDLE ENGLISH ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE.

Before discussing in general the question of the influence of Old French and Italian, let us examine the texts compared and see how Middle English renders the Old French and Italian absolute participles.

1. OLD FRENCH.

(a) *Le Lai d'Havelok le Danois*.

The English author of *The Lay of Havelok* translated only a few passages with an approach to literalness, and in these only one absolute participle (which is really a preposition) occurs: *Havelok*² l. 218—"Primerement li fet jurer,
Veiant sa gent, et affier."

The English paraphrases this passage, and the absolute clause is not rendered.

(b) *Histoire de Mellibée.*

*Melib.*² 191—"Nous demandons délibération, laquelle eue, nous te conseillerons . . . chose qui sera à ton prouffit" = *Ch. Melib.* 145—"We axe deliberacioun; and we schul thanne . . . conseile the thing that schal be profytable."

*Melib.*² 192—"Ce dit, il s'assist comme tout honteulx" = *Ch. Melib.* 146—"Al schamefast, he sette him doun agayn."

*Melib.*² 203—"Tu dois tousjours eslire ce qui est ton prouffit, toutes autres choses reffusées et rabatues" = *Ch. Melib.* 158—"Thou schalt chese the beste, and weyve alle other thinges."

*Melib.*² 211—"Ta personne destruite, tu scez bien que tes richesses se diviseront en diverses parties" = *Ch. Melib.* 168—"Ye knowe also, that youre richesses mooten in divers parties be departed."

*Melib.*² 232—"Lors les amis Mellibée, toutes choses considérées et icelles dessusdictes mesmes délibérées et examinées, donnèrent conseil de paix faire" = *Ch. Melib.* 192—"Whan Melibeus frendes hadde take here avys and deliberacioun of the forsayde matier, and hadden examyned it, . . . they yafe him counsail to have pees."

In *Ch. Melib.* there are only two absolute participles, both due to two in the French. In *Melib.*² there are eight absolute participles besides the two just mentioned: two of these have really no equivalent, and the remaining six are rendered by finite verbs.

(c) *Le Roman de la Rose.*

Roman 1689—"Li diex d'Amors qui, l'arc tendu,
Avoit toute jor atendu
A moi porsivre et espier."

Romaunt 1715—"The god of love, with bowe bent,
That alle day sette hadde his talent
To pursuen and to spien me."

Roman 1892—"Lors est tout maintenant venus
Li diex d'Amors *les saus menus*."

Romaunt 1928—"The God of Love delyverly
Come *lepande* to me hastily."

In the *Romaunt* there is only one absolute participle—a translation simply of the French absolute participle. In the *Roman* there are only two other examples, both of which are rendered otherwise in the *Romaunt*.

(d) *Mandeville*.

*Mand.*² 79.28—"Bons dyamantz, qi semblent de colour trouble, *crystal ianuastre trehant a doile*" = *Mand. Hall.*¹ 157—"Gode Dyamandes, that ben of trouble Colour. *Zalow Cristalle drawethe Colour lyke Oylle*."

*Mand.*² 143.19—"Vait toutdis *goule baie*" = *Mand.*¹ 143.1—"It . . . gase all way *with þe mouth open*."

In *Mand.*¹ and *Mand. Hall.* there are six examples of the absolute participle, two of which are translations of the French absolute construction (in one case a preposition is the predicate), and four of which are rendered from a finite verb or a prepositional clause. Besides the absolute participle in O. F. just mentioned, there are two others in *Mand.*²: one is rendered in *Mand. Hall.* by a finite verb, and the other by a prepositional phrase.

(e) *La Tour-Landry*.

*Landry*² 6—"Ce fait, l'on se puet bien endormir" [so 129 (not in Eng.)] = *Landry*¹ 5—"Whanne this is done, thanne ye may slepe the beter."

*Landry*² 123—"Si vint courant *l'espée nue*" = *Landry*¹ 78—"He droughe his suerde."

The Eng. translation is not always literal, and very often, as in this case, it merely paraphrases the original text.

*Landry*² 134—"Son yre *passée*, elle luy puet bien monstrier qu'il avoit tort" = *Landry*¹ 85—"Whanne hys yre is passed, she may welle shew unto hym that he had wronge."

*Landry*² 205—"Celle . . . saillist au dehors, *les bras tenduz*"=*Landry*¹ 141—"She comithe forthe with gret ioye and embraced hym *betwene her armes*."

*Landry*² 286—"Ilz saillirent encontre, *lui faisant grant ioye*"=*Landry*¹ 201—"They went and met him *with gret ioye*."

In *Landry*¹ there are three absolute participles: two are renderings for a finite verb in the French, and one is rendered from an adjectival phrase in the French. *Landry*² contains six absolute participles: two of these are rendered in English by a finite verb, two by a prepositional phrase, and two are not rendered at all.

(f) *Constance*.

*Constance*² 37—"Veuz lez lettres, ia le Roy les lettres riens ne conysoit qil vist de son seal assellez"=*Constance*¹ 243—"Whan these letteres were seen, than the kyng merueled."

In *Constance*¹ are three absolute participles (one doubtful): one corresponds to an absolute participle in *Constance*², a second is rendered from a finite verb in the French, and a third is the translation of a prepositional phrase(?). In *Constance*² there is another absolute participle which is rendered by a finite verb in *Constance*¹.

(g) *La Queste del Saint Graal*.

In comparing this prose romance of Walter Map¹ with the corresponding English of Malory, this must be remembered: the Eng. adaptation (it can hardly be called a translation) is an abridged paraphrase, in which Malory very rarely expands Map, but very often abridges the story. For the strict purposes of comparison, such a text as this is not good; but it is valuable in showing what seemingly little influence it had on Malory as regards the absolute construction.

¹I follow Mr. Furnivall in assigning this romance to Map, though I believe the consensus of opinion now is against Map's authorship.

Map 77—"Si se fiert entr' aus, *le glaiue alongiet*" = *Malory* 93—"Then he dressed him toward the twenty men, *with his spear in the rest.*" So *Map* 79 (*Malory* 94—"set his speare"), *Map* 117 (*Malory* 108—"they put before them their speares").

Map 205—"Si lor courent sus, *les espees traites*" = *Malory* 159—"They . . . *with their swords* slew them downe right."

In *Malory* there are two absolute participles, one of which corresponds to an absolute participle in *Map* and the other has no French equivalent. In *Map*, besides the one already mentioned, there are seventeen absolute participles: two are rendered in English by a finite verb, two by a prepositional phrase, one by an object of the verb, and twelve have no correspondences at all in *Malory*.

If we can judge from the foregoing statistics, the influence of Old French on the Middle English absolute participle was not great. As we have seen, there seems to have been no appreciable influence before the middle of the fourteenth century. Besides the regular form of the absolute participle the prepositions that were originally participles, such as *except*, *save*, *notwithstanding*, are very rarely found before 1350. After that time they occur in large numbers, not only in translations but also in the native literature. That the Old French construction did not exercise any very great influence on the Middle English absolute participle, beyond keeping the form alive in the language and increasing its occurrence, is true for two reasons:

1. The small number of absolute participles that occur in Middle English after 1350. It is true that in all the Old French texts read the absolute participle is strikingly infrequent, but even the English does not equal the French as regards occurrence (*Mandeville's* work is an exception). Compare, for example, the works of *Map* and *Malory*.

2. The Old French absolute case is the accusative, and yet during the Middle English period the absolute case changes its form from dative to nominative. There seems, therefore, no influence of Old French here.

Striking and important as was the influence of Old French on the phonology, inflections and vocabulary of Middle English, we can see how small it was in this particular feature of the syntax. It increased the occurrence of the absolute participle and enlarged its scope and meaning, but it failed to hold the form to an oblique case like itself. Probably Nehry's¹ observation (p. 55) on the occurrence of the absolute participle in Old French will explain, in part at least, this lack of a strong influence of that language on the Middle English absolute construction :

“Im Afz. zeigt sich diese Art des absoluten Accus. am häufigsten in gewissen Formeln des Kanzleistils, wo ebenfalls lateinisch-gelehrter Einfluss sich unstreitig geltend machte, oder in Uebersetzungen lateinischer Originale. Die volkstümlichen Dichtungen scheinen derselben fast ganz zu entbehren ; ebenso geben die hauptsächlichsten geschichtlichen Prosawerke des Afz. nur geringe Ausbeute an hierhergehörigen Citaten.”

There is, however, a special kind of Old French influence that deserves consideration. This is the transference into Middle English of French prepositions that were originally absolute participles. Through analogy to these forms Modern English has employed a number of present and a few past participles in almost the same manner. The following is an incomplete list of these words, some of which must be classed as adverbs and conjunctions : According to, admitting, allowing, assuming, barring, bating, calling, coming to, conceding, concerning, considering, counting, during, excepting, forgetting, granting, including, judging, laying aside, leaving aside, letting alone, making, making allowance, meaning, notwithstanding, omitting, owing to, passing, pending, providing, putting, reckoning, regarding, respecting, reversing, saving, seeing that, setting apart (aside), speaking, supposing, taking, talking (followed by of, about), touching, using, waiving ; admitted, ago,

¹ Nehry, H.: *Ueber den Gebrauch des absolut. Casus obliquus des altfranz. Substantivs.* Berliner Diss. Berlin, 1882.

considered, except, given, out take (out taken or outaken—Mid. Eng.), past, provided, save, set apart (aside).

The origin of these prepositions is thus explained by Chevallet¹ (p. 365): “Ces mots ne sont, à proprement parler, que des participes présents. Les cas où ils sont considérés comme prépositions sont dus à un usage particulier de notre ancienne langue. Nos pères plaçaient souvent le participe avant le substantif auquel il se rapporte, dans certaines tournures équivalentes à l’ablatif absolu des Latins.”

2. ITALIAN.²

Fil. I. vii. 6—“Ognor la stringean più di giorno in giorno,
Concordi tutti in un pari volere.”

Ch. IV. 110—“The cité longe
Assegheden, nygh ten yer er they stente,
And in dyverise wise and oon *intente.*”

Fil. I. xviii. 1—“*Perchè venuto il vago tempo il quale*
Riveste i prati d'erbette e di fiori,

.
Li troian padri al Palladio fatale
Fer preparar li consueti onori.”

Ch. IV. 114—“And so byfel, whan comen was the tyme
Of Aperil, whan clothed is the mede

.
The folke of Troye hire observaunces olde,
Palladyones feste for to holde.”

Fil. I. xxxiii. 1—“*E partitosi ognun, tutto soletto*
In camera n'andò.”

Ch. IV. 122—“And when that he in chaumber was allon,
He down him sette.”

¹Chevallet, A. de: *Origine et Formation de la Langue Française.* 3rd ed. Tome III. Paris, 1858.

²In comparing Chaucer and his original I was very much indebted to Mr. W. M. Rossetti's admirable comparison of *Troilus and Cryseyde* and *Il Filostrato*, published by the Chaucer Society.

- Petrarch*, 88th sonnet, l. 13— "Io . . .
. . tremo a mezza state, *ardendo il verno.*"
- Ch.* iv. 124— "What is this wonder maladye?
For *hete of cold*, for *cold of hete* I dye."
- Fil.* II. xiii. 3—" *Così facendo* passano i martirj."
- Ch.* iv. 136—"So may thi woful tyme seme lesse."
Fil. II. xlix. 8— "Ed ho doglioso
Il cuore ancor della sua morte ria,
Ed avrò sempre mentre sarò in vita,
Tornandomi a memoria sua partita."
- Ch.* iv. 170— "Allas, I woful wreche!
Might he yit lyve, of me is nought to reche."
- Fil.* II. lxxviii. 1—" *Partito Pandar*, se ne gî soletta
Nella camera sua Griseida bella."
- Ch.* iv. 177—" *With this he toke his leve*, and home he wente ;
.
Criseyde aros,
. . . streght into hire closet wente anon."
- Fil.* III. xl. 1—" *Rassi curati insieme i due amanti*,
Insieme incominciario a ragionare."
- Ch.* iv. 282—"Thise ilke two,
Whan that hire hertes wel assured were,
Tho gonne they to speken."
- Fil.* IV. xxxviii. 3—"O vecchio malvissuto,
Qual fantasia ti mosse
A gire a'Greci essendo tu Troiano?"
- Ch.* iv. 313—"Calkas . . . allas ! what aylede the
To ben a Greke, *syn thou ert born Trojan?*"
- Fil.* IV. civ. 4—"Ma 'l suo m'è digran lunga maggiore,
Udendo che per me la morte brama."
- Ch.* iv. 336—"But yet to me his sorwe is muchel more,
.
Allas, *for me hath he swich hevynesse.*"
- Fil.* IV. cxx. 1—" *E fatto questo*, con animo forte
La propria spada del fodero trasse."

Ch. iv. 348—"And *after this*, with sterne and cruel herte,
His swerde anon out of his shethe he twyghte."

Fil. iv. clxvii. 7—"Ciascun, *l'un l'altro sè raccomandando*,
E così dipartirsi lagrimando."

Ch. iv. 369—"And to hire grace *he gan hym recomaunde*."

Fil. v. xlvi. 7—"Ver le lor case si son ritornati ;
Troilo dicendo pel cammino."

Ch. v. 21—"And on hire weye they speden hem to wende ;
Quod Troilus," etc.

Sim. Fil. v. l. 7 (Chaucer turns it by a finite verb—"he seide").

Fil. vi. xxiii. 3—"E *questo detto diventò vermiglio*
Come fuoco nel viso, e *la favella*
Tremante alquanto."

Ch. v. 39—"And *with that worde* he gan to wexen rede,
And *in his speche a litel while he quooke*."

Fil. vii. xi. 7—"Infine *essendo il ciel tutto stellato*,
Con Pandar dentro se n' è ritornato."

Ch. v. 49—"And *fer withinne the nyght*,
This Troilus gan homewarde for to ride."

Fil. vii. xiv. 7—"Fatto *già notte* dentro si tornavo."

Ch. v. 50—"For which *at nyght*
He wente hym home."

Fil. vii. lxxvii. 2—"Di giorno in giorno il suo dolor crescea
Mancando la speranza."

Ch. v. 59—"Encressen gan the wo fro day to nyght
Of Troilus
And *lessen gan his hope*."

In those parts of the poem translated by Chaucer there occur eight examples of the absolute construction that have no equivalents, direct or indirect, in Chaucer.

We can draw two conclusions from Chaucer's translation of *Il Filostrato* as far as the absolute construction is concerned :

1. The statistics show that Chaucer was under the domination of the Italian absolute construction in his translation, and to this fact is due the comparatively large number of

examples in this poem. *Troilus and Cryseyde* contains nearly fifty per cent. of all the absolute participles in Chaucer's poems.

2. It is highly probable that the influence of this Italian construction caused Chaucer to use the absolute participle oftener in his other poems.

The question now arises : Did this Italian absolute construction exercise any influence on the Middle English absolute participle outside of Chaucer? There is no reason for believing that it did, either in changing the case of the absolute participle or in increasing the occurrence of the construction. Long before Chaucer the heterogeneousness of the language had caused the absolute case to begin to change its form, and if the construction increased in occurrence after Chaucer, this must rather be attributed to the influence of French or Latin. To show how superficially Italian literature touched even Chaucer in a linguistic way, only the fact needs to be cited, that, as regards vocabulary, Chaucer drew only one word directly from Italian. And, as Prof. Skeat¹ says (p. 296), "after Chaucer's death, the temporary contact with Italian literature was broken." As regards the absolute construction Italian and English are two streams that flow along side by side without mingling. Italian, as being closer to the Latin, shows early the idiom in large numbers, but such is not at once the case with English. Both, however, are alike in showing a shifting of the form of the absolute case from accusative to nominative.

III. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN MODERN ENGLISH.

I begin my discussion of the absolute participle in Modern English with the opening of the sixteenth century, and here the remarks of Earle² on English prose in general at this

¹Skeat, W. W.: *Principles of English Etymology*. 2nd Series. Oxford, 1891.

²Earle, J.: *English Prose*. New York, 1891.

period of the language are especially appropriate. He says (pp. 424-25):

“The Third great era of our Prose receives its character from that wide diffusion of classical taste through the channels of education, which was the natural consequence of the Revival of Ancient Learning in the Fifteenth century. . . . It did not take many generations to develop a scholastic English prose which stood apart from the type of the Fifteenth century, even while it was built upon it. A learned style *within* the native language was the new thing that now appeared. In the former era, the learned style was either Latin or French, while English prose was homely and much on a level. This does not mean that there were *no* shades of gradation—there certainly are such, for instance in the Paston Letters—but that they did not form distinct orders of style—such distinction could only be attained at that time by writing in one of the two scholastic languages. But now within the vernacular itself began to appear a classical, learned, scholastic style; and the full significance of this new incident will not develop itself until we come to the Seventeenth century.”

It is interesting to note how exactly the history of the development of the absolute participle, a classical importation, confirms this general observation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In treating of the development of the absolute participle, Modern English must be divided into two periods:

1. 1500 to 1660;
2. 1660 to the present time.

1. 1500-1660.

More.

Fifty-eight examples of the absolute participle.

Berners.

Though a translation from the French, the first volume of this work contains only ten examples of the absolute participle.

Latimer.

Owing to the homely character of his style, only thirteen examples are found in Latimer.

Gosson.

His small treatise contains fourteen examples.

Lyly.

The absolute participle is very common here, about sixty examples being found.

Sidney.

Twenty-three examples of the absolute participle.

Lodge.

Fifty-eight examples of the absolute participle.

Nashe.

Eleven examples in his short pamphlet.

Hooker.

Earle (l. c. p. 425) speaks of "the diction of Hooker, the author most possessed of Latinity;" and this fact is seen in Hooker's extreme use of the absolute participle. In one hundred and twenty-one pages are found one hundred and seven examples.

Marprelate.

In the colloquial and vigorous language of these tracts the absolute participle is not common, twenty-seven examples being found.

Greene.

In the play read there occurs no example of the absolute participle.

Marlowe.

Twenty-three examples of the absolute participle.

Spenser.

Only eighteen examples in Book I.¹

Shakespeare.

Fifty-two examples occur in the six plays read, though twenty of these are found in one play: *King Henry IV, Pt. II.*

Daniel.

Nine examples in his short treatise.

Jonson.

As his *Discoveries* are written "in a free and easy conversational style" (Minto), they contain only seven examples.

Bacon.

Only eighteen examples of the absolute participle; for Bacon "is neither markedly Latinised nor markedly familiar."

¹In the case of several works in Mod. Eng. want of time prevented a reading of the entire work. However, the portion read was looked on as a sufficient index of the work.

Browne.

Thirty-five examples of the absolute participle.

Milton.

Milton was peculiarly under the domination of the classical spirit, both in his prose and poetry. His prose contains seventy-four examples, while in his poems are found no less than one hundred and five examples. Many of the latter are in direct imitation of the Latin construction.

Walton.

One hundred and eight examples of the absolute participle.

The peculiar conditions under which the absolute participle occurs in the above-named works of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century—viz. occurring but rarely in certain works, and in others in large numbers—show that the form had not become thoroughly naturalized. It limited itself to certain favorite authors where the classical element largely predominated, and was used but sparingly by authors whose style was essentially English.

2. 1660 to the Present Time.

Instead of considering separately the authors read, I group them under the following heads :

- (a) Fiction.
- (b) Essays and criticism.
- (c) History.
- (d) Biography.
- (e) Autobiography.
- (f) Letters.
- (g) Poetry.

(a) *Fiction.*

This department of literature is the special province of the absolute participle. Nineteen writers were read. In Bunyan occur forty-nine examples, but this comparatively large number is not surprising when we read the remarks of Minto¹ (p. 304):

“The language is homely, indeed, but it is not the everyday speech of hinds and tinkers; it is the language of the Church, of the Bible, of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, and whatever other literature Bunyan was in the habit of perusing. As for the ‘old unpolluted English language,’ it needs no microscopical eye to detect in the *Pilgrim’s Progress* a considerable sprinkling of vulgar provincialisms, and even of such Latin idioms as are to be found in his favourite old martyrologist Foxe.”

In Swift occur fifty-seven examples of the absolute participle; in Fielding, one hundred and seventy-three; in Johnson, only three; in Goldsmith, forty-seven; in Scott, eighty-eight; in Irving, one hundred and thirty-one; in Cooper, eighty; in Dickens (two works), three hundred and forty-one; in Thackeray (two works), four hundred and three; in George Eliot, ninety-one; in Hawthorne, forty-three; in Hughes, one hundred and forty-eight; in Holmes, sixty-seven; in Mitchell, twenty-seven; in Blackmore, one hundred and seventy-two; in Miss Murfree, one hundred and twenty-four; in Stevenson (two works), fifty-nine; in Miss Rives, seventy-seven.

Of all the above writers Johnson is the only exception to the frequency of the absolute participle. A casual reading has shown that the case is the same in his *Lives of the Poets*. What, then, explains this infrequency? Possibly Arnold’s² remark does (p. xix): “Johnson himself wrote a prose decidedly modern. The reproach conveyed in the phrase ‘Johnsonian

¹Minto, W.: *Manual of Eng. Prose Literature*. Boston, 1889.

²Arnold, M.: Pref. to *Johnson’s Six Chief Lives*. London, 1886.

English' must not mislead us. It is aimed at his words, not at his structure. In Johnson's prose the words are often pompous and long, but the structure is always plain and modern." Still, other modern writers of fiction and biography use the absolute participle so freely that it is almost impossible to account for Johnson's failure to employ it. The same state of things is seen later in Macaulay.

(b) *Essays and criticism.*

In Dryden are found forty-six examples of the absolute participle; in Addison, forty-six; in Burke, fourteen; in Macaulay, only ten (though the essays read were almost entirely narrative); in Arnold, fourteen; in Lowell, sixty-five; in Whipple, twenty-six; in Ruskin, one hundred and forty (the descriptive character of the work may be the cause of this frequency); in Birrell, thirty-two. The narrative element is largely lacking in Arnold, and in Burke there is really no occasion to use the absolute construction.

(c) *History.*

Naturally in historical composition the absolute participle is comparatively frequent. In Irving occur ninety-nine examples, and in Parkman, sixty-three.

(d) *Biography.*

In Irving are found thirty-four examples; in Lewes, ninety-eight; in Forster, seventy-two; in Froude, one hundred and five.

(e) *Autobiography.*

In this department the absolute participle is even more common than in the preceding. Pepys shows one hundred and eighty-eight examples; Franklin, one hundred and eighty-

three ; De Quincey, twenty-four ; Jefferson, one hundred and fifteen.

(f) *Letters.*

In the colloquial style of this department the absolute participle is not very common. In Walpole occur twenty-six examples, and in Gray, forty-six.

(g) *Poetry.*

Poetry shows a marked increase in occurrence over the first period (1500-1660). Dryden contains forty examples ; Pope, thirty-three ; Goldsmith, fifteen ; Scott, thirty-two ; Mrs. Browning, one hundred and five ; Arnold, forty-six. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, which contains poems of both periods, shows twenty examples. This indicates that the absolute participle is not at home in lyric poetry.

The above statistics raise the question, Why does the absolute participle appear so uniformly common (with varying degrees) in nearly every text of the second period ? The answer is, that the Restoration naturalized it ; for, as Matthew Arnold says (l. c. p. xix), "the Restoration marks the real moment of birth of our modern English prose." And he says further on the same point :

"Men of lucid and direct mental habit there were, such as Chillingworth, in whom before the Restoration the desire and the commencement of a modern prose show themselves. There were men like Barrow, weighty and powerful, whose mental habit the old prose suited, who continued its forms and locutions after the Restoration. But the hour was come for the new prose, and it grew and prevailed. . . . The style is ours by its organism, if not by its phrasing. It is by its organism—an organism opposed to length and involvement, and enabling us to be clear, plain, and short,—that English style after the Restoration breaks with the style of the times preceding it, finds the true law of prose, and becomes modern ; becomes, in spite of superficial differences, the style of our own day."

Having traced the development of the absolute participle in Modern English by means of its occurrence in the works of the most important writers, it is now in place to explain the cause of its frequency in this period. It has been seen that the absolute construction gradually increased in occurrence in certain works of the fifteenth century. Almost with the beginning of the sixteenth century the construction began to take on a new life, so to speak, and the reason of this is not hard to find. The increase in occurrence of the absolute participle and its general adoption are really due to that movement which so powerfully affected English at the beginning of the sixteenth century, viz., the Revival of Learning.

In considering as a whole the development of the absolute participle in Middle and Modern English, we notice three distinct and important influences on this construction :

(1) The influence of Old French that came in fully during the second half of the fourteenth century and that enriched the language with many prepositions and quasi-prepositions.

(2) Classical influence that came in about the beginning of the sixteenth century and that increased largely the occurrence of the construction.

(3) The influence of the Restoration in finally fixing and naturalizing the construction, in narrowing its domain principally to narration and description, and in giving it to poetry.

TABLE OF MODERN ENGLISH ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLES.

WORK.	PARTICIPLES.
Addison	46
Arnold : <i>Essays</i>	14
<i>Poems</i>	46
Bacon	18
Berners	10
Birrell.....	32
Blackmore.....	172

WORK.	PARTICIPLES.
Browne	35
Browning, Mrs.....	105
Bunyan.....	49
Burke.....	14
Cooper	80
Daniel.....	6
De Quincey.....	24
Dickens: <i>David Copperfield</i>	103
<i>Pickwick Papers</i>	238
Dryden: <i>Essay</i>	46
<i>Poems</i>	40
George Eliot.....	91
Fielding.....	173
Forster.....	72
Franklin.....	183
Froude.....	105
Goldsmith: <i>Vicar</i>	47
<i>Poems</i>	15
Gosson	14
Gray	46
Greene.....	0
Hawthorne.....	43
Holmes.....	67
Hooker	107
Hughes.....	148
Irving: <i>Goldsmith</i>	34
<i>Knickerbocker</i>	131
<i>Granada</i>	99
Jefferson	115
Johnson	3
Jonson	7
Latimer	13
Lewes	98
Lodge	58
Lowell	65
Lyly.....	60
Macaulay.....	10
Marlowe.....	23
Marprelate.....	27

WORK.	PARTICIPLES.
Milton: <i>Essays</i>	74
<i>Poems</i>	105
Mitchell.....	27
More.....	58
Murfree.....	124
Nashe.....	11
Palgrave.....	20
Parkman.....	63
Pepys.....	188
Pope.....	33
Rives.....	77
Ruskin.....	140
Scott: <i>Ivanhoe</i>	88
<i>Marmion</i>	32
Shakespeare.....	52
Sidney.....	23
Spenser.....	18
Stevenson: <i>Dr. Jekyll</i>	17
<i>Prince Otto</i>	42
Swift.....	57
Thackeray: <i>Henry Esmond</i>	216
<i>Vanity Fair</i>	187
Walpole.....	26
Walton.....	108
Whipple.....	26
Total.....	4744

IV. THE CASE OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN MIDDLE AND MODERN ENGLISH.

The case of the absolute participle differs with the language. The Sanskrit uses the locative, the Greek the genitive, and the Latin the ablative, while the Teutonic languages use the dative. In Anglo-Saxon "the normal absolute case is the dative." In French the case is the accusative, and in Italian there is an interchange between the nominative and the accusative. What,

then, is the case of the absolute participle in Middle and Modern English? Obviously, according to history and analogy, it should be oblique in form and signification. But in later Middle English and in Modern English the form at least is nominative. The question, therefore, arises, Has there been a change of signification as well as a change of form? Before attempting to answer this, let us try to find out when this change of form took place.

In entering upon such an investigation as this we are confronted with two difficulties. In the first place, it is impossible to arrive at absolute certainty in regard to the question in point until the whole of Middle English literature has been sifted for examples; but in the nature of things, this could not be done in the limits of time assigned to this work. Again, the only place where we can clearly distinguish the case of the absolute participle in Middle English is when the participle is used with a pronoun as subject, and in this period very few such examples occur. With these two facts clearly in mind, it will be easily seen how hard it is to assign an exact or even a closely approximate date to the change of case of the absolute construction.

As far as I can learn, Morris and Oliphant are the only writers that have attempted to assign a date to this change of form. The former¹ says (p. 103): "In the oldest English the *dative* was the absolute case, just as the ablative is in Latin. About the middle of the fourteenth century the *nominative* began to replace it." In speaking of the *Cursor Mundi* (A. D. 1290), Oliphant² says (p. 408): "The Participle Absolute had hitherto always been in the dative, and this lasted down to 1400;" but notice the following example:

"Mi felaw smord hir barn in bedd,
And siþen sco laid it priueli,
And *i slepand in bedd*, me bi."

Cursor Mundi, ed. by Morris. EETS.,
London, 1874. Pt. II., p. 500 (l. 8672).

¹ Morris, R.: *Historical Outlines of Eng. Accidence*. London, 1886.

² Oliphant, T. L. K.: *The Old and Middle English*. London, 1878.

So have the Cotton and Fairfax MSS.; but the Göttingen and Trinity MSS. have "while I slepte." And in his *New English* (I, 42) Oliphant, speaking of an alliterative poem on Alexander (about 1340), says: "There is a new idiom in p. 190; they ask Philip to be lord of their land, *þei to holden of hym*. Here a participle, such as *being bound*, is dropped after *þei*; and the nominative replaces the old Dative Absolute." This example must be looked on as a case of the nominative with the infinitive, like examples to which can be found in Chaucer (as, for instance, IV, 127).

From the first two of these statements I draw these results: Morris says that the nominative began to replace the dative about the middle of the fourteenth century; but it is seen from the example cited from the *Cursor Mundi* that this date is entirely too late. Again, Oliphant says that the dative case of the absolute participle lasted down to 1400; but it will be seen from the examples which follow that the dative case continued in use until at least the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

We cannot say with certainty when this change of form began to take place; but we can decide on a loosely approximate date when this change was finally and thoroughly effected. And in order to do this, let us direct our attention to the few clear examples of the dative and the nominative absolute that occur in the Middle English texts read.

The first example of a nominative absolute that I have been able to find in Middle English, is that cited above from the *Cursor Mundi*. The next examples found occur in Chaucer. Here we find three examples of the nominative absolute:

"What couthe a stourdy housebonde more devyse
To prove hir wyfhode,
And he contynuyng ever in stourdynesse."

II, 300.

Sim.¹ II, 311.

¹ Example similar to the one just preceding.

“*Sche*, this in blake, *likyng* to *Troilus*,
Over alle thinge he stode for to beholde.”

IV, 120.

This absolute construction is simply a translation of one in Italian, in which “*questa*” may be taken as a nominative.

That the absolute case had not changed permanently from dative to nominative before the close of the fourteenth century is shown by its use in Langland. In the B-text (A. D. 1377) occurs one example of the dative absolute :

“As in aparaille and in porte proude amonges the peple,
Otherwyse than he hath with herte or sygte shewynge ;
Hym willyng that alle men wende.”

I, 402 (B. Passus XIII, 280).

The corresponding passage in the C-text (A. D. 1393) (Passus VII, 32) has “*me wilnyng*.” Gower, however, shows one example of the nom. absol. :

“And *she constreigned* of Tarquine
To thing, which was ayein her will,
She wolde nought her selven still.”

II, 363.

I think “*constreigned*” is to be taken as an appositive participle, and that “*she*” at the beginning of the third line is really superfluous, being added merely for the sake of the metre.

The numerous examples of the dative absolute in Wyclif’s translation of the Bible do not come into consideration here. They were simply, as has been said above, bald translations of the ablatives absolute in the *Vulgate*, and were in most cases otherwise rendered by the revisers of Wyclif. One example of a nominative absolute, however, has been noted in Wyclif’s translation : in *Exodus* I, 10, we find, “*We overcumen*, he go out.” This isolated example is an additional proof of the fact that the absolute case had changed, or had begun to change, its form before Wyclif made his translation.

In *Palladius on Husbandrie*¹ (about A. D. 1420) occurs an example of the nominative absolute :

“Feed stalons fatte goth nowe to gentil marys,
And, *thay replete*, ayein thai goothe to stable ;”
Bk. IV. 780.

But this may be due to the clause being appositive rather than absolute.

In three clear examples Hoccleve shows both forms. His poem of *Jereslaus's Wife* (about A. D. 1421 or '22) contains two examples of the nominative absolute :

“And in hir bed, as shee lay on a nyght,
This yonge maide and *shee sleepynge faste*,
I kilde the chyld.” 171.

Sim. 165.

But in *How to learn to die* (the date of which is not known) is found this :

“What multitude in yeeres fewe ago,
Thee yit lyuyng, han leid been in hir grave !”
211.

The next instance of a clearly defined absolute case occurs in the *Paston Letters* under the year 1432. Here we have two datives absolute in the same clause: *Paston* I, 32—“That he take in noon of the iiij. knightes ne squyers for the body, without th' advis of my Lord of Bedford, *him being in England* and *him being out*.” But in the same collection of letters, we find twenty years later (A. D. 1452) the nominative absolute. Under date of April 23, 1452, John Paston writes to (the Sheriff of Norfolk?), and in his letter he says (l. c. I, 232): “He and v. of his felachip set upon me and . . . my servants,
. *he smyting at me.*”
That this is not an isolated example is shown by the fact that

¹ Ed. by B. Lodge. EETS, London, 1873 and 1879.

under the very same date "Some Gentlemen of Norfolk to (the Sheriff?)" say among other things (l. c. I, 231): "His Highnesse shuld come in to Norwych or Claxton, *we not beyng in certeyn* yet whedyr he shall remeve." From this date on, the nominative is the case of the absolute participle in the *Paston Letters*. Under the year 1454 there are two examples, and before 1461 three others, of the nominative absolute.

In *Landry*¹ 174 occurs an example of the nominative absolute. But this does not belong to that part of the work made by the unknown translator about 1440; it really belongs to Caxton's translation of 1483-4, parts of which were inserted where there was a break in the earlier translation. The occurrence also of the dative absolute in Pecoock's *Repressor* (A. D. 1449)—"What euer is doon in an othir mannis name (*him it witing* and not *weerning*) is doon of him" (II, 325)—is most likely due to the same cause as are Wyclif's datives absolute—direct imitation of the Latin idiom.

Malory (1469) shows eight examples of the nominative absolute, but not a single example of the dative absolute. *Paris and Vienna* (1485) contains four examples of the nominative absolute and not one of the dative absolute, thus showing that, as regards the form, the change has been thoroughly made from dative to nominative.

From the above facts I conclude that the change in form of the absolute case from dative to nominative began before the close of the thirteenth century, and was most likely thoroughly effected during the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The next question that arises is, What was the cause of this change of form in the absolute case? Various explanations have been offered in the solution of this problem. Probably it will be well to cite a few of these. Guest¹ says of the cause of the change: "The use indeed of the nominative, . . . does not admit of easy explanation. It is unknown to the older and

¹ Cited by Latham, R. G.: *A Hand-book of the English Language*. 6th ed. London, 1864 (p. 417).

purser dialects of our language, and probably originated in the use of the indeclinable pronoun." Maetzner¹ (p. 73) says: "Auffallend ist auch der Gebrauch eines Nominativs statt des hier zu erwartenden obliquen Kasus, welcher sich indessen aus einer Vermischung der im Allgemeinen gleichförmig gewordenen Kasus erklären mag. Für den häufiger gewordenen Gebrauch und die Form desselben dürfte auch die Einwirkung des Französischen nicht ausser Acht zu lassen sein." Bain² (p. 155) has the following note: "In all probability, the nominative was fixed upon from some random instances, without any deliberate consideration." Swinton³ (p. 194) says on the change: "The loss of case-inflections has led to the confounding of the cases, and modern usage requires the nominative case in this construction." Abbott⁴ (p. 275) says in the same strain: "In Anglo-Saxon a dative absolute was a common idiom. Hence, even when inflections were discarded, the idiom was retained; and, indeed, in the case of pronouns, the nominative, as being the normal state of the pronoun, was preferred to its other inflections." Einenkel (l. c. p. 70) attributes the change of form to the influence of the Italian:

"Ohne Zweifel sind alle Belege, die in diese specielle Klasse gehören, als absolute Nominative anzusehen. Sie alle haben das Gemeinsame, dass die absoluten Constructionen Bestimmungen zum Inhalte des Hauptsatzes als einem Ganzen enthalten, dass das Prädicat des absoluten Casus ein Participium Praesentis ist und, was ihre Entstehung anbelangt, nicht dem Afranz., dass diese Art der Formel kaum kennt sondern dem Italienischen nachgebildet ist."

"Wenn wir auch einigen Grund haben anzunehmen, dass abgesehen von den stehenden Participialformeln mit *veant* und *oyant*, im Afranz. zum mindesten im Curialstil jene uns fehlenden mit Participien Praesentis gebildeten absoluten Con-

¹ Maetzner, E.: *Englische Grammatik*. Berlin, 1865. Zw. Theil, zw. Hälfte.

² Bain, A.: *A Higher English Grammar*. London, 1876.

³ Swinton, W.: *A Grammar of the Eng. Lang.* New York, 1889.

⁴ Abbott, E. A.: *A Shakespearian Grammar*. London, 1888.

structionen nicht erst mit Communes, sondern schon viel eher in Gebrauch kamen, als uns die diesen Gegenstand behandelnden Arbeiten zugestehen mögen, so können wir doch vor der Hand zugeben, dass den betreffenden ME Constructionen nur italienische Vorbilder vorgelegen haben (die Lateinischen kommen des Ablativs wegen gar nicht in Frage). Denn es bedarf doch keiner langwierigen Beweisführung, dass in einer so regel- und ruhelos gährenden Sprache, wie die ME es im 14. Jahrhundert war, eine Formelarten auf längere Zeit hinaus sich nicht lediglich dadurch getrennt und selbständig erhalten konnte, dass sie einer anderen fremden Sprache nachgebildet war bekannt sein konnte, der jene Formelart zuerst anwandte, zuerst nachbildete, und der sicher selbst Diesem unbekannt geblieben ist, da man in einer Zeit, wo die Philologie im heutigen Sinne des Wortes noch nicht vorhanden war, sich über die Herkunft einer Ausdrucksweise nicht die geringsten Gedanken machte und selbst bei Nachbildungen ganz unbewusst verfuhr." The remarks made above on the influence of Italian on the Middle English absolute construction disprove this extreme view of Einkenkel.

To the above statements may be added the recent one of Kellner¹ (p. 125): "The inflexion having decayed, the dative was mistaken for the nominative."

In his article on "The Objective Absolute in English" Dr. Bright² has struck the key-note as to the change of form from dative to nominative: "Let us look at the history of the absolute construction in English. We begin with the dative absolute in Anglo-Saxon (in origin a translation of the Latin ablative absolute); as inflections break down we come upon the transition or 'crude' type, in which the pronoun remains dative in form while the participle has lost all signs of inflection. But all nouns, as well as the participle, came to lose the inflectional signs of the dative case; we then obtained the

¹ Kellner, L.: *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*. London, 1892.

² Bright, J. W., in *Modern Lang. Notes*, March, 1890, col. 159-162.

'crude' type, in which both noun and participle, though absolute, were without any trace of inflection. The final act in this history was the admission of the nominative forms of the personal pronouns into this crude absolute construction—a dative absolute in disguise."

The whole matter may be summed up as follows: During the first centuries that followed the Norman Conquest the English language was largely in the hands of the common people, Latin and French being the languages of the church, of the court, and of the higher classes. The result of the language being largely in the hands of ignorant people was confusion and heterogeneity. Changes of necessity took place rapidly, and old syntactical constructions were ignored. The absolute participle was almost forgotten, and the remarkable infrequency of the pronouns as subjects of the participle accelerated the confusion. In the nouns the nominative and dative cases were mingled, and this was also the case with the pronouns. Numerous examples occur in Middle English where the nominative was used for the accusative and *vice versa*; and so it undoubtedly was with the absolute participial construction. Such a state of things finds a parallel in the language of the uneducated of the present day. In the speech of one of the ignorant characters in Richard Malcolm Johnston's *Widow Guthrie* (p. 225), we have both the objective and nominative forms of the absolute construction: "They seldom and not always goes together, . . . but a most always sip'rate, *them with the moest childern havin' the fewest niggers, and them with a houseful o' childern sometimes havin' nare nigger. . . . Sallann mout of done it, they crowdin' in on her so rapid.*"

A third question now presents itself in regard to the absolute case: Is the absolute case in later Middle English and Modern English a real nominative? Most grammarians have in the main agreed that it is, by speaking of it as the nominative absolute without going more deeply into its meaning. A few, however, have held that it is not a true nominative. Let

us notice the testimony of the most prominent grammarians on both sides.

Murray¹ (p. 201) speaks thus positively of the case: "As in the use of the case absolute, the case is, in English, always nominative, the following example is erroneous in making it the objective. ' . . . he made as wise . . . proverbs, as any body has done since; *him* only excepted, who was a much greater man. . . ' It should be, '*he* only excepted.'" Fowler² (p. 517) gives the following rule: "A Noun with a Participle, used Independently of the Grammatical construction into which it logically enters, is in the nominative case. . . . This is called the nominative absolute." Cobbett,³ with his customary independence of speech, makes this statement (p. 118): "It appears to me impossible that a Noun or a Pronoun can exist in a grammatical state without having reference to some *verb* or preposition, either expressed or understood." In the same way he says (l. c. p. 110) as to the absolute construction: "For want of a little thought, . . . some grammarians have found out 'an absolute case,' as they call it; and Mr. Lindley Murray gives an instance of it in these words: 'Shame *being* lost, all virtue is lost.' The full meaning of the sentence is this: '*It being, or the state of things being such, that shame is lost, all virtue is lost.*'" In endeavoring to do away with the absolute construction, Cobbett simply forms two others. Brown⁴ (p. 536) has this rule: "A Noun or a Pronoun is put absolute in the nominative, when its case depends on no other word."

As far as I can find out, R. G. Latham was the first to hold that the so-called nominative absolute is not a real nominative. In regard to the case he says (l. c. p. 416):

"Of the two phrases, *him excepted* and *he excepted*, the former is the one which is *historically* correct. It is also

¹ Murray, L.: *An English Grammar*. Vol. I. York, 1808.

² Fowler, W. C.: *Eng. Grammar*. New York, 1860.

³ Cobbett, Wm.: *A Gram. of the Eng. Lang.* Revised and annotated by Alfred Ayres. New York, 1884.

⁴ Brown, Goold: *The Gram. of Eng. Grammars*. 6th ed. New York, 1861.

the one which is *logically* correct. Almost all absolute expressions of this kind have a reference, more or less direct, to the *cause* of the action denoted.
 In the sentence, *he made the best proverbs of any one, him only excepted*, the idea of cause is less plain. Still it exists. The existence of *him* (*i. e.* the particular person mentioned as pre-eminent in proverb-making) is the cause or reason why he (*i. e.* the person spoken of as the second-best proverb-maker) was not the *very best* of proverb-makers. Now the practice of language in general teaches us this, *viz.* that where there is no proper Instrumental case, expressive of cause or agency, the Ablative is the case that generally supplies its place; and where there is no Ablative, the Dative. Hence the Latins had their Ablative, the Anglo-Saxons their Dative, Absolute. In spite, however, both of history and logic, the so-called best authorities are in favour of the use of the Nominative case in the absolute construction."

Dr. Guest¹ remarks, on the "*him destroyed*" of Milton: "Instead of this dative absolute, modern English writers generally give us the pronoun in the nominative. Bentley, in his edition of the *Paradise Lost*, corrects this syntax whenever he meets with it: for *I extinct*, 9. 629; *thou looking on*, 9. 312, etc.; he reads *me extinct*, *thee looking on*, etc. His criticism was no doubt suggested by the laws of Latin grammar, but he would not have ventured upon it, had it not been borne out by contemporary English usage." This last sentence is disproved by the fact that the form prevalent at the time was the nominative absolute. When Milton, Tillotson, and possibly a few others use the dative absolute, it is in direct imitation of the Latin idiom.

Adams² follows Latham in his rejection of the current view as to the case of the absolute participle. He thus defines the construction (p. 197): "A noun or a pronoun and a participle are frequently found in the dative case to mark the time when

¹ Cited by Latham (l. c. p. 417).

² Adams, E.: *The Elements of the Eng. Language*. 13th ed. London, 1874.

an action is performed." Several examples, such as "this said" and "him destroyed" from Milton and "her attendants absent" from Shakespeare, are next cited, and Adams continues (l. c. p. 178): "These words have no grammatical connexion with the rest of the sentence; i. e. are not governed by any word or words in the sentence to which they are attached, and are therefore called *Datives Absolute*, or *Detached Datives*." The "A. S. dative was the origin of the *absolute* construction in English. Most grammarians, since the case endings are lost, prefer to call these words *nominatives*. But the loss of a suffix cannot convert one case into another. The *meaning* conveyed by these absolute words cannot be expressed by a true *nominative*." And Adams says further in the same strain (l. c. p. 179): "In A. S. these absolute words are always in the dative case, but in later English, having lost their case-endings, they are often incorrectly regarded as nominatives."

This view is held also by Schneider,¹ whose work appeared shortly after Adams's. In speaking of the dative case he says (l. c. p. 243, § 4. c): "In einem Satze wie 'this done, he retired,' . . . ist der erstere Satz vom andern unabhängig und losgetrennt. Im Angels. war es ein wirklicher Dativ (dem lat. 'Ablativus absolutus' gleichkommend); wesshalb man auch jetzt noch einen solchen Satz mit Recht 'Dative Absolute' nennt; Engländer sollten diess nie ausser Augen verlieren. Desshalb ist unrichtig zu sagen:

'But, he away, 'tis nobler.'—Shakespeare.

Der Nominativ 'he' ist falsch."

Maetzner gives (l. c. p. 72 g) simply the current view: "Der Kasus, in welchem gegenwärtig das Particip mit seinem Subjekte auftritt, ist der Nominativ, wie sich dies klar ergibt, wo das Subjekt ein Fürwort ist, dessen Nominativ sich vom obliquen Kasus unterscheiden lässt." Koch² simply says (p. 120), after giving examples of the dat. absol. from Wyclif: "Dane-

¹ Schneider, G.: *Gesch. der eng. Sprache*. Freiburg, 1863.

² Koch, C. F.: *Hist. Gram. der eng. Sprache*. 2 Aufl. Bd. I. Cassel, 1878.

ben tritt der Nominativ ;” and further (l. c. p. 122) : “Dieser Nominativ wird nun weiter verwandt.” Bain (l. c. p. 155) also says : “The absolute case, or the case of a detached participial clause, differs in different languages, but grammarians have for the most part agreed that in English it is the nominative. . . . Hence, it is common to regard as wrong the expression of Tillotson,—‘*him* only excepted.’” Bain thinks that Adams’s points against the current view are well taken. Abbott adds (l. c. p. 275) to what he says above : “The nominative absolute is much less common with us than in Elizabethan authors ;” a remark that is based on very imperfect observation, for statistics show that the nominative absolute is just as plentiful now as it was in Shakespeare’s time.

In drawing a conclusion from his sketch of the evolution of the absolute case as given above, Dr. Bright (l. c. col. 161) thus expresses himself : “It is clear that these pronouns (and the relative infrequency of their use in absolute clauses is significant) could not change the character of the construction. The conclusion is therefore arrived at that the absolute construction in English, despite the use of the nominative forms of the personal pronouns (the same is true of Italian), is historically the objective absolute.”

Latham, Adams, Schneider, and Bright have expressed the right view of the real case of the absolute participle in English. We have seen how the nominative took the place of the dative, and while it is not held for a moment that we should go back to the older and more correct form, yet it is right to parse the so-called nominative absolute as “a dative absolute in disguise.” As Latham has shown, this is correct, both logically and historically. It has also been observed by Dr. Bright (l. c. col. 160-1) that “the absolute clause expresses an oblique relation—a relation that is chiefly temporal in significance, and the use of oblique cases for this construction in Greek and Latin is an indication of the true nature of the construction in all related languages.”

In his *Latin Grammar* (§ 409) Prof. Gildersleeve says that "the Ablative Absolute may be translated by the English Objective Absolute, which is a close equivalent;" and his use here of the expression "Objective Absolute" is due to the fact that "he had in mind . . . that English in its period of full inflections had a dative absolute, and in naming its historic survival he aimed at consistency with the terminology of modern English grammar, in which all datives are classed as objectives."

V. THE STYLISTIC EFFECT OF THE ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE IN MIDDLE AND MODERN ENGLISH.

At the close of his dissertation (pp. 46-51) Callaway gives a short chapter on "The Anglo-Saxon Absolute Participle as a Norm of Style," in which he acknowledges his indebtedness to the article of Prof. Gildersleeve¹ on "The Stylistic Effect of the Greek Participle." The theory of the stylistic effect of the Greek participle is then given, and the writer asks: "Is the theory likewise applicable to the participle in Anglo-Saxon?" It is difficult to answer this question, because both the absolute and appositive participles are comparatively infrequent in Anglo-Saxon, while both are frequent in Latin and Greek. Yet this may be said (l. c. p. 52): "The stylistic effect of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon was much the same as in the classical languages: it gave movement to the sentence; it made possible flexibility and compactness. But, owing to the artificial position of the absolute construction in Anglo-Saxon, its stylistic value was reduced to a minimum, was indeed scarcely felt at all. The absolute participle rejected as an instrument of style, the Anglo-Saxon had no adequate substitute therefor. The two commonest substitutes, the dependent sentence and the co-ordinate clause, as used in Anglo-Saxon, became unwieldy and monotonous. Brevity and compactness

¹ Gildersleeve, B. L., in *The Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, ix (1888), pp. 137-157.

were impossible; the sentence was slow in movement and somewhat cumbersome. The language stood in sore need of a more flexible instrument for the notation of subordinate conceptions, of such an instrument as the absolute dative seemed capable of becoming but never became." Callaway had also said just before (l. c. p. 50): "The Anglo-Saxon to the last remained practically upon the plane held to-day by New High German. The help needed came only with the gradual development of the appositive participle; the introduction of the nominative absolute into Middle English, possibly from the French (*sic*) (Einenkel, l. c. p. 74 f.); and the rise of the Modern English *gerund*; when, it seems to us, English was put upon an equal footing with the philometochic Greek."

If this was the condition of things in Anglo-Saxon, what was it in Middle English and what is it in Modern English? First, let us notice briefly the Middle English domain. Here the same condition of things existed as in Anglo-Saxon. We have seen that up to the last half of the fourteenth century the absolute participle was practically non-existent, whether in prose or poetry. Its prevalence in Chaucer is due largely to Italian influence, in part also to French influence; and the occurrence of the participle in the works of Chaucer's contemporaries and of the fifteenth century writers is to be traced to the same French influence. But the construction was avoided as much as possible, and in its stead the various shifts that were resorted to in Anglo-Saxon were used. The absolute participle here cannot be spoken of as "a norm of style," for it was in reality an excrescence, and not an inherent quality of the style. Where it existed it gave freedom and movement, but as a construction it was scarcely felt at all. During the fifteenth century, however, just before the awakening caused by the Revival of Learning, the absolute participle became, as we have seen, somewhat prevalent and was more felt in the style. But the great infrequency of the construction in Malory's *Mort D'Arthur*, a work written under the domination of French literature and a work in which above all others in the same century we should

naturally expect the construction, shows that the absolute participle was still foreign to the genius of the language.

Secondly, we treat the Modern English period. Here we find the absolute participle assimilated, developed as a principle of style, and used by nearly all writers. English, in taking up and assimilating into itself the riches of the classical languages, did not neglect this very common idiom. What the poverty of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English failed to do, was done by Modern English. At first, the homeliest writers used the construction but rarely, but the more classical authors, like Hooker and Milton, crowded their sentences with it, and to their writings Prof. Gildersleeve's criticism (l. c. p. 148) can well apply: "The undue multiplication of participles does give an intoxication to style. The finite verb has to be reached through a crowd of circumstances, the logical relations are not clearly expressed, and the play of color in which temporal, causal, conditional, adversative rays mix and cross is maddening." Bacon and Ben Jonson are at the other extreme, and we see from these four writers that the construction has not become thoroughly naturalized. This was effected during the last half of the seventeenth century, and during the eighteenth the form was more thoroughly fixed as an inherent element of the style. It was in this condition when the novel became a distinct branch of literature, and with the novelist the construction has always been exceedingly popular. The fact that some writers use it but rarely, is rather to be explained by something peculiar to those writers than by the refusal of the language of their time to use it. Macaulay uses it rarely; but, on the other hand, Froude, whose style is strikingly like Macaulay's, uses it with great freedom.

In studying the absolute participle as a norm of style, it is well to notice that it belongs to certain kinds of literature. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it belonged largely to didactic and philosophical prose, but now its province is distinctively narration and description. In this respect it is like the Greek; for Prof. Gildersleeve has said (l. c. p. 147) of

that: "As the argumentative part of an author is the home of the articular infinitive, so the narrative is the proper sphere of the participle." And also Dr. Spieker,¹ in his article on "The Genitive Absolute in the Attic Orators" (p. 320), says on the same point: "Time is . . . throughout, and naturally so, the reigning relation expressed. This being so, we might expect it (*i. e.* the gen. abs.) more largely in narrations, and we should not be deceived, for where there is much narration there are ordinarily, relatively speaking, a large number of genitives abs." Hence, as the absolute participle occurs in English most largely in narrative and descriptive prose, we shall find it occurring most frequently in prose fiction. Next to this stand biography, history, and the essay. As in Greek, so in English, the percentage of the occurrence of the absolute participle is greater in narrations than in descriptions. In didactic prose the English of the past two centuries is not much given to the use of the construction, and Dr. Spieker shows (*l. c.* p. 320) that this was the case in Greek: "In didactic prose, where, to be sure, there is to some extent less occasion for it, the percentage is far less, in some few cases indeed none at all; in such works its use is avoided where it would be possible to have it."

In Anglo-Saxon and Middle English the absolute participle belongs almost entirely to prose. Only two examples of the dative absolute occur in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and in Middle English poetry the construction is very rare. Chaucer, in his somewhat exceptional use of it, simply imitates Boccaccio, in whose poems it is found in large numbers. Gower and Langland use it very occasionally. But in Modern English poetry the case is different. In Shakespeare and the Elizabethan poets and dramatists, the absolute construction is not common, but in Dryden's poetry and that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it often occurs. What is the explanation of this frequency? Probably it is to be found in Earle's remark

¹Spieker, E. H., in *The Amer. Journal of Phil.*, VI (1885), pp. 310-343.

(l. c. p. 461): "The Eighteenth century is emphatically *the* century of English Prose. . . . So much is prose in possession of the time, that it invades the poetry and governs it. . . . Poetry was simply annexed by Prose." In the disinclination to use the construction in poetry the earlier periods of English are like Greek. The genitive absolute is not common in Homer, and in the early elegiac poets there are but few examples found—"a fact due in part to the absence of occasion for the use of the construction, but not altogether. Indeed, there is plenty of room left for its use had it been familiar. . . . Here, as elsewhere, the norm for poetry once set was adhered to, and though the later prose use influenced the poetry of that period to some extent, we can say that throughout its frequent occurrence was a mark of prose, while poetry preserved in general the limits set by Homer and the early poets, limits that to them were natural." (Spieker.)

Some recent writers have inveighed against the use of the absolute participle. McElroy,¹ in speaking of the construction, says (p. 105, n. 7): "Even such forms as *Herod being dead, the angel warned Joseph* seem rare (*sic*) in the *best recent English*." Genung² (p. 115) thus speaks of the participle in composition: "The participial construction is a convenient means of condensation; it also promotes flexibility of style by obviating the too constant recurrence of principal verbs. Being, however, a subordinated construction, it needs careful adjustment to the principal assertion on which it depends." And again (l. c. p. 158): "The participial construction is a valuable means of cutting down a clause. The use of a participle with subject not a part of the principal sentence—a construction parallel to the Ablative Absolute in Latin—is foreign to the genius of English, and requires caution and moderation."

¹ McElroy, J. G. R.: *The Structure of English Prose*. New York, 1885.

² Genung, J. F.: *The Practical Elements of Rhetoric*. Boston, 1890.

In contrast with these pessimistic views of the absolute construction in Modern English style, may be cited the general remark of Diez¹ (p. 272): "Vermittelst der Participialconstruction zieht man mehrfache mit dem Relativpronomen oder mit Conjunctionen für Zeit und Grund gebildete Sätze in einfache zusammen. Diese Methode wird in den jüngeren Sprachen fast in demselben Umfange geübt wie in der lateinischen, so dass die Vernachlässigung derselben den guten Stil verletzen würde." Dr. Spieker notes (l. c. p. 313) in the same line: "In his treatment of the participle, Classen² deplores the almost utter absence of the German participle, except as an attributive; an absence which causes German translations to lose in force and beauty, and often makes conceptions inadequate or even utterly wrong. The English language has fared better in this respect, and every English-speaking person acquainted with the German language will agree with him."

As in the classical languages, so in Modern English, the absolute participle gives freedom and variety to the sentence, and it has become an inherent part of the syntax. It is not only used in literature proper, but it is occasionally heard in conversation. It occurs often in extemporaneous prayers and sermons; though in these last provinces of the language its use is largely restricted to set formulæ—"all things being equal," "all things considered," etc. Rhetoricians may decry its use, grammarians may remind us that it is an idiom foreign to English, and critics may tell us that its occurrence in Modern English literature is very rare; but, with all these assertions, a careful study of the construction by means of a close reading of all the prominent prose stylists of Modern English shows that the absolute participle is used by all writers, and that it has finally become a regular part of the style. It was needed to supply a want, and it has done this fully.

¹ Diez, F.: *Gram. der roman. Sprachen.* Bd. III. Bonn, 1876-7.

² In his *Beobachtungen über den Homerischen Sprachgebrauch.*

VI. RESULTS.

The following is a short summary of the results believed to be reached in the preceding pages :

1. In the development of the absolute participle in Middle English, two periods must be distinguished. In the first, which extends from 1150 to 1350, the construction is practically non-existent, and where it does appear, it must be looked on as a survival of the Anglo-Saxon absolute participle, or as a direct imitation of the Latin ablative absolute. In the second, which extends from 1350 to 1500, French influence causes an increase in occurrence, but the construction is still a stranger. In only two monuments, Chaucer's poems and the *Paston Letters*, is it at all common, and this frequency is due to an excess of foreign influence—of Italian in Chaucer, of classical in the *Paston Letters*.

2. The presence of the absolute participle in Middle English is due almost entirely to Old French influence, though this influence was not great. In the first period of Middle English it was not appreciable, but in the second period it made itself felt by the increased occurrence of the construction and by the importation of prepositions that were formerly absolute participles. Through analogy to these English has been enriched by many new prepositions and quasi-prepositions derived from participles. Old French influence, however, was not able to hold the English absolute case to an oblique form like itself. The Italian absolute construction exercised an appreciable influence on Chaucer, but there is no evidence to show that it influenced any other Middle English writer.

3. As regards the development of the absolute participle in Modern English we must also distinguish two periods. In the first, which extends, roughly, from 1500 to 1660, the construction occurs but sparingly in writers whose style is simple and English, but is very abundant in writers specially dominated by classical influence. This increase in occurrence is due to the

Revival of Learning. In the second period, extending from 1660 to the present time, the construction becomes naturalized under the influence of the Restoration, and takes its place as an inherent part of the syntax. It is given to poetry, and its sphere is largely narrowed to that of narration and description.

4. The case of the absolute participle changed its form in Middle English from dative to nominative. This change began to take place before the close of the thirteenth century, and was finally effected during the second quarter of the fifteenth. The reason of this change of form is to be found in the heterogeneous condition of the language in late Anglo-Saxon and early Middle English, by which inflections were leveled and old syntactical distinctions were forgotten. The change was a gradual process, and is not due directly to any foreign influence. The so-called nominative absolute in Modern English is really "a dative absolute in disguise." Both by history and logic it is an oblique case, and cannot be expressed by a true nominative.

5. The stylistic effect of the absolute participle in Middle English is about the same as in Anglo-Saxon: where it occurred it gave freedom and movement to the sentence, but its artificial character almost kept it from being felt. In Modern English there is a different condition of things. Here it is an important adjunct to the style, to which it imparts variety and compactness. It gives life and movement to the sentence, and is the ready resource of all writers of narration and description for the purpose of expressing subordinate conceptions.

CHARLES HUNTER ROSS.

VI.—ON THE SOURCE OF THE ITALIAN AND ENGLISH IDIOMS MEANING 'TO TAKE TIME BY THE FORELOCK,' WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BOJARDO'S ORLANDO INNAMORATO, BOOK II, CANTOS VII-IX.

The central narrative in Bojardo's epic, the *Orlando Innamorato*, relates how the appearance of the beautiful Angelica at the court of Charlemagne completely turned the heads of all the noble paladins present, notably Orlando and Rinaldo. These two cousins and brothers-in-arms now become hated rivals, and set out in pursuit of the fair maiden when she returns to her native country. Much time passes before the two knights meet, and when this finally does occur, it is before Albracca, Angelica's castle, where she is besieged by another lover, Agricane, King of Tartary. The meeting is stormy, as was to be foreseen, and a duel is begun which lasts for two days, and which would have ended badly for Rinaldo had not Angelica, who just then is in love with him, held back the blow that would have wounded him mortally. She knows that Rinaldo is safe only if Orlando can be gotten out of the way, and to do this successfully she sends the latter on a perilous and distant expedition. Among the many adventures which he encounters on this journey is the destruction of an enchanted garden which had been fabricated by an enchantress named Falerina. Orlando's impulse is to slay her as well, but his mind is changed when he learns that her death would have as consequence the death of many knights and ladies who are kept prisoners in a tower. In exchange for her life she promises to lead him to that prison (ii-v, 1-24). When they arrive there Orlando sees hanging on a tree beyond the moat the armor of his cousin Rinaldo, and, believing him dead, remorse for his former quarrels with him seizes him, and he rushes over the bridge to engage battle with Aridano, the

guardian of the tower. The two antagonists clutch, and soon roll down the shore into the enchanted lake which surrounds the prison (ii-vii, 32-63). They descend through the water until they arrive on dry ground, a meadow, lighted up by the rays of the sun, that break through the water above them. Here the battle continues, until Orlando succeeds in slaying his enemy. Then he looks about him for a way of escape. He is surrounded on every side by mountainshore and rocks; but on one side he notices a door cut into the rock, and near that entrance he sees chiselled a picture of the labyrinth and its history with the minotaur, and not far from this another picture, showing a maiden wounded in the breast by a dart of love thrown by a youth. This should have taught him the manner of escape, but he passes on without heeding its meaning. Soon he arrives at a river and a narrow bridge, on either side of which stand two iron figures, armed. Beyond it in the plain is placed the treasure of the Fata Morgana. He attempts to cross this bridge, but at every trial the two iron figures demolish it, and a new bridge at once rises in the place of the old one. Finally, with a tremendous leap he clears the river, and now he finds himself near the coveted treasure. After many wonderful incidents, which it is not to the purpose to relate, he arrives near the prison where Rinaldo is held with other knights. This latter, it should be stated, had also left Angelica after his duel with Orlando, and arrived here by a shorter way. As Orlando approaches this prison, he comes to a fissure in the rock, into which he enters, and which leads him to a door. Its cornice bears the following inscription:

Sappi che quivi facile è l'entrata,
 Ma il risalir da poi non è leggiero,
 A cui non prende quella buona fata,
 Che sempre fugge intorno il piano e'l monte,
 E dietro è calva, e'crin ha solo in fronte. (ii-viii, 39.)

The fearless count pays no attention to these words, and passes on. He comes to a flowery meadow, and soon he sees

a fountain and near it stretched in the grass lies the Fata Morgana, asleep.

Le sue fattezze riguardava il conte,
 Per non svegliarla e sta tacitamente;
Lei tutti i crini avea sopra la fronte,
 La faccia lieta mobile e ridente.
 Sempre a fuggire avea le membra pronte,
 Poca treccia di dietro, anzi niente;
 Il vestimento candido e vermiglio
 Che sempre scappa a cui gli dà di piglio.

Se tu non prendi chi ti giace avante
 Prima che la si svegli, o paladino,
 Frusterai a'tuoi piedi ambe le piante
 Seguendola per sassi e mal cammino,
 E porterai fatiche e pene tante,
Prima che tu la tenghi per il crino,
 Che sarai riputato un santo in terra,
 Se in pace porterai sì grave guerra. (ii-viii, 43-44.)

This last ottava is spoken to Orlando while he stands looking at the sleeping Fata, and when he looks up, to see whence the voice came, he recognizes Dudone but a few steps from him and rushes up to greet him. A transparent wall, however, checks his progress, while at the same time it allows him to see the other prisoners, among whom he recognizes his cousin Rinaldo. He is on the point of breaking this wall with his sword, when a maiden tells him that entrance to the space beyond can only be gained through a gate, which is in sight, and to which Morgana holds the key.

Ma prima si farà tanto seguire,
 Che ti parrebbe ogni pena men grave,
 Che seguir quella fata nel deserto,
 Con speranza fallace e dolor certo. (ii-viii-54.)

Now the count hastens back to seize the Fata by the hair, but he is too late.

Quivi trovò Morgana che con zogia
 Danzava intorno e danzando cantava;

Nè più leggier si move al vento foglia,
 Com'ella senza sosta si voltava,
 Mirando ora a la terra ed ora al sole,
 Ed al suo canto usava tal parole :

Qualunque cerca al mondo aver tesoro,
 O ver diletto, o segue onore e stato,
Ponga la mano a questa chioma d'oro,
Che io porto in fronte e lo farà beato :
 Ma quando ha il destro a far cotal lavoro,
 Non prenda indugio, chè 'l tempo passato
 Più non ritorna e non arriva mai,
 Ed io mi volto, e lui lascio con guai.

Così cantava d'iutorno girando
 La bella fata a quella fresca fonte :
 Ma come giunto vide il conte Orlando,
 Subitamente rivoltò la fronte.
 Il prato e la fontana abbandonando,
 Prese il viaggio suo verso di un monte,
 Qual chiudea la valletta piccolina :
 Quivi fuggendo Morgana cammina.

Oltra quel monte Orlando la seguia,
 Chè al tutto di pigliarla è destinato,
 Ed, essendole dietro tuttavia,
 Si avvide in un deserto esser entrato,
 Chè strada non fu mai cotanto ria,
 Però che era sassosa in ogni lato,
 Ora alta or bassa è ne le sue confine,
 Piena di bronchi e di malvagie spine. (ii-viii, 57-60.)

A storm comes up and adds to the discomfort of our paladin.
 Here the canto ends.

The next canto opens with the following moralizing strophes :

Odite ed ascoltate il mio consiglio
 Voi che di corte seguite la traccia :
 Se a la ventura non date di piglio,
 Ella si turba e voltavi la faccia :
 Allor convien tenere alzato il ciglio,
 Nè si smarrir per fronte che minaccia,
 E chiudersi le orecchie al dir d'altrui,
 Servendo sempre e non guardare a cui.

A che da voi fortuna è biastemmata,
 Che la colpa è di lei, ma il danno è vostro.
 Il tempo avviene a noi solo una fiata,
 Come al presente nel mio dir vi mostro,
 Perchè essendo Morgana addormentata
 Presso a la fonte nel fiorito chiostro,
Non seppe Orlando al ciuffo dar di mano,
 Ed or la segue pel deserto invano.

Then Bojardo continues the narrative.

Con tanta pena e con fatiche tante,
 Che ad ogni passo convien che si sforza :
 La fata sempre fugge a lui davante,
 A le sue spalle il vento si rinforza,
 E la tempesta che sfronda le piante
 Giù diramando fin sotto la scorza :
 Fuggon le fiere e il mal tempo le caccia,
 E par che il ciel in pioggia si disfaccia.

Ne l'aspro monte, e nei valloni ombrosi
 Condotta è il conte in perigliosi passi :
 Calano rivi grossi e ruinosi,
 Tirano giù le ripe arbori e sassi,
 E per quei boschi oscuri e tenebrosi
 S'odono alti rumori e gran fracassi,
 Però che'l vento e'l tuono e la tempesta
 Da le radici schianta la foresta.

Pur segue Orlando e fortuna non cura,
 Chè prender vuol Morgana a la finita ;
 Ma sempre cresce sua disavventura.
 Ecco una dama di una grotta uscita
 Pallida in faccia e magra di figura,
 Che di color di terra era vestita,
 Prese un flagello in mano aspero e grosso,
 Battendo a sè le spalle e tutto il dosso.

Piangendo si battea quella tapina,
 Sì come fosse astretta per sentenza
 A flagellarsi da sera e mattina :
 Turbossi il conte a tal appariscenza,
 E domandò chi fosse la meschina :
 Ella rispose : Io son la Penitenza,
 D'ogni diletto e d'allegrezza cassa,
 E sempre seguò chi ventura lassa.

E però vengo a farti compagnia
 Poichè lasciasti Morgana nel prato,
 E quanto durerà la mala via,
 Da me sarai battuto e flagellato,
 Nè ti varrà l'ardire o vigoria
 Se non sarai di pazienza armato.
 Presto rispose il figlio di Milone,
 La pazienza è pasto da poltrone:

Nè ti venga talento a farmi oltraggio,
 Chè paziente non sarò di certo;
 Se a me fai onta, a te farò dannaggio;
 E se mi servi ancor n'avrai buon merito:
 Dico di accompagnarmi nel viaggio
 Dov'io cammino per questo deserto.
 Così parlava Orlando, e pur Morgana
 Da lui tuttavia fugge, e si allontana.

Onde lasciando mezzo il ragionare
 Dietro a la fata si pone a seguire,
 E nel suo cor si afferma a non mancare,
 Sin che vinca la prova, o di morire;
 Ma l'altra, di cui mo v'ebbi a contare
 Qual per compagna s'ebbe a profferire,
 S'accosta a lui con atti sì villani,
 Che di cucina avrian cacciati i cani.

Perchè giungendo col flagello in mano
 Sconciamente di dietro lo battia.
 Forte turbossi il senator romano,
 E con mal viso verso lei dicia:
 Già non farai, ch'io sia tanto villano,
 Ch'io tragga contra a te la spada mia
 Ma se a la treccia ti dono di piglio,
 Io ti trarrò di sopra al cielo un miglio.

La dama, come fuor di sentimento,
 Nulla risponde, e dàgli un' altra volta;
 Il conte, a lei voltato in mal talento,
 Le mena un pugno a la sinistra golta;
 Ma, come giunto avesse a mezzo il vento,
 Ovver nel fumo o ne la nebbia folta,
 Via passò il pugno per mezzo la testa,
 D'un lato a l'altro, e cosa non l'arresta.

Ed a lei nuoce quel colpo niente,
E sempre intorno il suo flagello mena;
Ben si stupisce il conte ne la mente,
E, ciò vedendo, non lo crede a pena:
Ma pur, sendo battuto e d'ira ardente,
Raddoppia pugni e calci con più lena.
Qui sua possanza e forza nulla vale,
Come pestasse l'acqua nel mortale.

Poi che buon pezzo ha combattuto invano
Con quella dama, che un 'ombra sembrava,
Lasciolla al fine il cavalier soprano,
Chè tuttavia Morgana se ne andava,
Onde prese a seguirla a mano a mano:
Ora quest' altra già non dimorava,
Ma col flagello intorno lo ribuffa:
Egli si volta e pur con lei s'azzuffa.

Ma come l'altra volta, il franco conte
Toccar non puote quella cosa vana,
Onde lasciolla ancora e per il monte
Si pose al tutto a seguitar Morgana;
Ma sempre dietro con oltraggio ed onte
Forte lo batte la dama villana:
Il conte, che ha provato il fatto a pieno,
Più non si volta, e va rodendo il freno.

Se a Dio piace, dicea, non al demonio
Ch'io abbia pazienza, ed io me l'abbia,
Ma siami tutto il mondo testimonio,
Che io la trangujo con sapor di rabbia.
Qual frenesia di mente o quale insonio
M'ha qua giuso condotto in questa gabbia?
Dove entrai io qua dentro, o come e quando?
Son fatto un altro, o sono ancor Orlando?

Così diceva, e con molta ruina
Sempre seguia Morgana il cavaliere:
Fiacca ogni bronco ed ogni mala spina,
E lascia dietro a sè largo il sentiero,
Ed a la fata molto si avvicina,
E già di averla presa è il suo pensiero,
Ma quel pensiero è ben fallace e vano,
Perocchè presa, ancor scampa di mano.

Oh, quante volte le dette di piglio
 Ora ne' panni ed or ne la persona,
 Ma il vestimento, chè bianco e vermiglio,
 Ne la speranza presto l'abbandona!
 Pur una volta rivolgendo il ciglio,
 Come Dio volse e la ventura buona,
 Volgendo il viso quella fata al conte.
Lui ben la prese al ciuffo de la fronte.

Allor cangiossi il tempo, e l'aria scura
 Divenne chiara, e il ciel tutto sereno,
 E l'aspro monte si fece pianura,
 E dove prima fu di spine pieno,
 Si coperse di fiori e di verdura;
 E'l flagellar de l'altra venne meno,
 La qual, con miglior viso che non suole,
 Verso del conte usava tal parole:

Attenti, cavaliere, a quella chioma,
 Che ne la mano hai volta di ventura,
 E guarda d'aggiustar sì ben la soma,
 Che la non caggia per mala misura.
 Quando costei par più quieta e doma,
 Allor del suo fuggire abbi paura,
 Chè ben resta gabbato chi le crede,
 Perchè fermezza in lei non è, nè fede.

Così parlò la dama scolorita,
 E dipartissi al fin del ragionare:
 A ritrovar sua grotta se n'è gita,
 Ove si batte e stassi a lamentare;
 Ma il conte Orlando l'altra avea gremita,
 Com' io vi dissi, e senza dimorare,
 Or con minaccie, or con parlar soave,
 De la prigion domanda a lei la chiave. (ii, ix, 1-20.)

The Fata is now forced to accede to the demands of Orlando, who, however, promises in return to leave her one of the prisoners, the young knight Ziliante, with whom the Fata pretends to have fallen in love. She hands him the silver key which is to open the door of the prison. Then they proceed, Orlando

*Tenendo al ciuffo tuttavia Morgana,
Verso il giardino al fin si fu inviato,
E traversando la campagna piana,
A l'alta porta fu presto arrivato. (ii-ix, 26.)*

The prisoners, with the exception of Ziliante, are all liberated, and Bojardo proceeds to tell the new adventures which soon befell them. Orlando, however, has not yet done with the Fata Morgana. With little foresight he had granted her wish and left Ziliante behind in her power. Now he has to return once more and liberate him as well. He easily finds the way to the fountain where he had met the Fata the first time.

A questa fonte ancor stava Morgana,
E Ziliante avea resuscitato,
E tratto fuor di quella forma strana;
Più non è drago ed uomo è ritornato;
Ma pur, per tema ancor il giovenetto,
Parea smarrito alquanto ne l'aspetto.

La fata pettinava il damigello,
E spesso lo baciava con dolcezza:
Non fu mai dipintura di pennello,
Qual dimostrasse in se tanta vaghezza.
Troppo era Ziliante accorto e bello,
Che non pareva mortal la sua bellezza,
Leggiadro nel vestire e delicato,
E nel parlar cortese e costumato.

Però predea la fata alto solaccio
Mirando come un specchio quel bel viso,
E così avendo il giovenetto in braccio,
Le sembra dimorar nel paradiso.
Standosi lieta e non temendo impaccio,
Orlando le arrivò sopra improvviso,
E come quel che l'aveva provata,
Non perse il tempo come a l'altra fiata.

Ma ne la giunta diè di mano al crino
Che sventilava biondo ne la fronte.
Allor la falsa, con viso volpino,
Con dolci guardi e con parole pronte,
Domanda perdonanza al paladino,

Se mai dispetto gli avea fatto od onte,
 E per ogni fatica, in suo ristoro,
 Promette alte ricchezze e gran tesoro. (ii-xiii, 20-23.)

This time, however, Orlando turns a deaf ear to her entreaties; holding her by the hair with one hand, he leads Ziliante out of the garden, and then, before releasing his hold on her, he makes her swear, by Demogorgone, to whom every Fata is subject, that she will no longer be unfavorable to his projects.

E però il conte scongiurò la fata,
 Per quel Demogorgon, ch'è suo signore,
 La qual rimase tutta spaventata,
 E fece il giuramento in gran timore.
 Fuggì nel fondo, poi che fu lasciata. (ii-xiii, 29.)

The connection between this episode and the Italian expression *tener la fortuna pel ciuffo*, or *pel ciuffetto*, and its English equivalent *to take time by the forelock*, is so apparent, that it becomes a pertinent question to inquire into the sources of which Bojardo has made use.

The oldest occurrence in classical antiquity¹ of the notion, that the golden opportunity must be grasped when it first presents itself, lest, once missed, it escape, never to return, is in a statue by the famous Greek sculptor Lysippus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. This statue represented the figure of *Καιρός* (opportunity), and Nettleship and Sandys in their *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* call it the first occurrence of pure allegory in Greek art. The statue itself is lost, but we have a description of it by Callistratus, which was published by Dübner in Paris, 1849. I quote the pertinent passages from this description.

‘Ἐθέλω σοι καὶ τὸ Λυσίππου δημοῦργημα τῷ λόγῳ παραστήσαι, ὅπερ ἀγαλμάτων κάλλιστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τεχνησά-

¹ For the sake of completeness and convenience of reference I print here quite fully the descriptions in point from classical antiquity. A convenient summing up of the whole question may be found in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, vol. ii, s. v. Kairos.

μενος Σικυωνίοις εἰς θέαν προὔθηκε. Καιρὸς ἦν εἰς ἄγαλμα τετυπωμένοι ἐκ χαλκοῦ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀμιλλωμένης τῆς τέχνης. Παῖς δὲ ἦν ὁ Καιρὸς ἡβῶν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς πόδας ἐπανθῶν τὸ τῆς ἡβης ἄνθος. ἦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν ὠραῖος σείων ἴονθον καὶ ζεφύρω τινάσσειν, πρὸς ὃ βούλοιο, καταλείπων τὴν κόμην ἄνετον, τὴν τε χροῶν εἶχεν ἀνθηρὰν τῇ λαμπηδόνι τοῦ σώματος τὰ ἄνθη δηλῶν. ἦν δὲ Διονύσω κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐμφορῆς τὰ μὲν γὰρ μέτωπα χάρισιν ἔστιλβεν, αἱ παρεῖαι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς ἄνθος ἐρευθόμεναι νεοτήσιον ὠραῖζοντο ἐπιβάλλουσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἄπαλον ἐρύθημα, εἰστήκει σὲ ἐπὶ τινος σφαίρας ἐπ’ ἄκρων τῶν ταρσῶν βεβηκῶς ἐπτερωμένος τὸ πόδε, ἐπεφύκει δὲ σὺ νενομισμένως ἢ θριξί, ἀλλ’ ἢ μὲν κόμη κατὰ τῶν ὀφρύων ἐφέρπουσα ταῖς παρεῖαις ἐπέσειε τὸν βόστρυχον, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἦν τοῦ Καιροῦ πλοκάμων ἐλεύθερα μόνην τὴν ἐκ γενέσεως βλάστην ἐπιφαίνοντα τῆς τριχός.

Then the description dwells on the great art shown in the statue and its life-like appearance, and finally the allegory is explained in the following manner :

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν θαῦμα τοιοῦτον ἦν, εἰς δὲ τις τῶν περὶ τὰς τέχνας σοφῶν καὶ εἰδότην σὺν αἰσθήσει τεχνικωτέρα τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ἀνιχνεύειν θαύματα καὶ λογισμὸν ἐπήγη τῷ τεχνήματι, τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ σωζομένην ἐξηγούμενος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πτέρωμα τῶν ταρσῶν αἰνίττεσθαι τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ ὡς τὸν πολὺν ἀνελίπτων αἰῶνα φέρεται ταῖς ὥραις ἐποχούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπανθοῦσαν ὥραν, ὅτι πᾶν εὐκαιρον τὸ ὠραῖον καὶ μόνος κάλλους δημιουργὸς ὁ καιρὸς, τὸ δὲ ἀπηνθηκὸς ἄπαν ἔξω τῆς καιροῦ φύσεως, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου κόμην, ὅτι προσιόντος μὲν αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι ῥάδιον, παρελθόντος δὲ ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκμὴ συνεξέρχεται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὀλιγορηθέντα λαβεῖν τὸν καιρόν.¹

¹“I wish to bring before you also in a description the work of Lysippus, which as the finest of images this artist placed on exhibition before the inhabitants of Sicyon. It was *καιρὸς* fashioned into a statue of bronze, rivalling nature in art. *Καιρὸς* was a boy, blooming in the very flower of youth from head to foot; handsome in mien, his hair fluttering at the caprice of the wind, leaving his locks dishevelled; with rosy complexion,

We note the following characteristic features. The statue represents a youth, whose blond hair is falling over his forehead, while on the back of the head it is so short that it cannot be grasped. This figure stands on its toes on a sphere; its feet are winged.

But little later than this description of Callistratus is the following little epigram by Posidippus, published by Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. II, p. 49, No. XIII. Posidippus had evidently also seen the statue himself, and he furnishes us with some further particulars.

Τίς, πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; Σικυώνιος. ὄνομα δὴ τίς;
 Λύσιππος. σὺ δὲ, τίς; καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.
 τίπτε δ' ἐπ' ἄκρα βέβηκας; ἄελ τροχῶν. τὸ δὲ ταρσοῦς
 ποσσὶν ἔχεις διφυεῖς; Ἰπταμ' ὑπηνέμιος.
 χεῖρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῇ τί φέρεις ξυρόν; ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα
 ὡς ἀκμῆς πάσης ὀξύτερος τελέθω.
 ἦ δὲ κόμη, τί κατ' ὕψιν; ὑπαντιόσαντι λαβέσθαι
 νῆ Δία. τὰξόπιθεν δ' εἰς τὴν φαλακρὰ πέλει;
 τὸν γὰρ ἄπαξ πτηνοῖσι παρὰ θρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
 ὄντις ἔθ' ἰμείρων δρᾶζεται ἐξόπιθεν.

showing by the splendor of body its perfection. He was very similar to Bacchus; his forehead shone with grace, and his cheeks, like a flower, glowed in youthful splendor, showing to the eyes a tender blush. He stood on a sphere, resting on the tips of his toes, with winged feet. His hair was not, however, fashioned after the usual manner, but the thick curls fell towards his brow over his cheek, while the occiput of *καιρὸς* was destitute of hair, showing only the beginning of hairy growth."

"And this it was which seemed admirable to us. But some one of those who are wise and skilled in art, and in the possession of a trained æsthetic sense, and capable of tracing out the hidden meaning of the artist, attributed design to the work, pointing out that the idea underlying *καιρὸς* was brought out in this statue. The winged feet indicate swiftness, because time swiftly elapses with the flight of hours; its shows the bloom of youth, because the youthful is ever attractive, and *καιρὸς* alone is the creator of beauty. On the other hand, what is withered, is foreign to the nature of *καιρὸς*; again (it has) the lock on the forehead, because it is easy to seize hold of the favorable moment as it approaches, but having passed by, the opportunity for decisive action is gone, and once neglected it is no longer possible to recover it."

τοῦνεχ' ὁ τεχνίτας σε διέπλασεν; εἵνεκεν ὁμέων
 ζεῖνε, καὶ ἐν προθύροις θῆκε διδασκαλίην.¹

In addition to the information given us by Callistratus, we learn here that the statue held a razor in its right hand, which was intended to indicate the quickness and precision with which opportunity is lost, if it is not seized.

The next place in classic literature where reference seems to be made to this statue of Lysippus is in the Latin fables of Phaedrus, bk. v, no. 8. The little poem is entitled

Tempus.

Cursu volucris, pendens in novacula
 Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo occipitio
 (Quem si occuparis, teneas, elapsum semel
 Non ipse possit Juppiter reprehendere)
 Occasionem rerum significat brevem.
 Effectus impediret ne segnis mora
 Finxere antiqui talem effigiem Temporis.

Gail, in his edition of Phaedrus, Paris, 1826, vol. ii, p. 267, maintains that the reference here is not to the statue of Lysippus. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the words "in novacula pendens," which must mean "standing on a razor." This opinion is evidently followed by Siebelis in his edition of the same text, Leipzig, 1874, for he translates "eine geflügelten Laufes auf einem Scheermesser schwebende Gestalt mit kahlem Scheitel." Both editors refer the origin of this new position of

¹ "Who, whence is thy maker? Sicyon. His name is what? Lysippus. What art thou? Kairos, the all-subduer. Why doest thou stand on the tips of thy toes? I turn forever. Why hast thou double wings on either foot? I fly carried by the wind. In thy right hand why carriest thou a razor? To men a sign that quicker than any edge I am. But thy hair, why is it over the eye? In order to be grasped, forsooth, by him that meets me. The back of thy head, why is it bald? Because he, whom I have once rushed by with winged feet, will never grasp me afterwards, though he desire it. Why did the artist fashion thee? For thy sake, o stranger, he placed this warning lesson into the doorway."

the figure to the Greek expression ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς,¹ which occurs as early as *Iliad* x, 173, and had become a proverbial expression, so that it is not unfrequently found in later Greek literature. Sophocles, *Antigone* 996, has carried the figurative meaning of the expression even further, when he uses the phrase “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης βεβηκέναι.” Gail surmised that the statue of Lysippus must often have been imitated, and that some later artist placed the razor which the original figure held in the right hand, under its feet, in place of the sphere. He thinks further that the writer of the little poem in question must have had before him such a figure as he described, either in the shape of a statue or cut into a seal. However this may be, I think for the present purpose these points may without danger be disregarded. The important point, in my opinion, is the fact that here we have in Latin literature a description of a figure, bald behind, with hair streaming over the forehead, which represents “brevem Occasionem rerum.” A further interesting point to note is the evident confusion which already existed between the two words *Tempus* and *occasio* in this special signification. That the confusion did not arise at this time is evident from the following passage from Cicero’s *De Inv.*, I, chap. 27, quoted by Gail, l. c., where we read “occasio est pars temporis, habens in se alicujus rei idoneam faciendi aut non faciendi opportunitatem, quare cum tempore hoc differt; nam genere quidem utrumque idem esse intellegitur.” But in spite of the fact, thus made evident, that the allegory of Lysippus was known in Italy, still no idiomatic expression based upon it seems to have existed. The phrase *capere crines*, occurring in Plautus, *Most.*, I, 3, 69, and cited in Freund, s. v. *crinis*, has reference to a part of the Roman marriage ceremony; and other expressions such as

¹ An illustration, reproduced by Baumeister, l. c. p. 771, shows a reproduction of a relief in Torino. It is said to belong to late Roman times, but is apparently a true illustration of this ancient Greek idiom. The figure is bald, with long hair in front, wings on the shoulders and feet, and holding a scale which rests on the edge of a razor.

occasionem capere, Plaut. *Pseud.* IV, 3, 5, are non-committal as to their origin.

The next writer who gives evidence of knowing the allegory is the epigrammatist Ausonius. No. XII of the epigrams of this author, in an edition published in London, 1823, reads as follows :

In simulacrum Occasionis et Poenitentiae.

Cujus opus? Phidiae: qui signum Pallados, ejus
 Quique Jovem fecit, tertia palma ego sum.
 Sum Dea, quae rara, et paucis Occasio nota.
 Quid rotulae insistis? Stare loco nequeo.
 Quid talaria habes? Volucris sum. Mercurius quae
 Fortunare solet, tardo (*v. l. trado*) ego, cum volui.
 Crine tegis faciem? Cognosci nolo. Sed heus tu
 Occipiti calvo es. Ne teneat fugiens.
 Quae tibi juncta comes? Dicat tibi. Dic, rogo, quae sis.
 Sum Dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.
 Sum Dea, quae facti, non factique exigo poenas,
 Nempe ut poeniteat: sic Metanoea vocor.
 Tu modo dic, quid agat tecum. Si quando volavi,
 Haec manet: hanc retinent, quos ego praeterii.
 Tu quoque, dum rogitas, dum percontando moraris,
 Elapsum dices me tibi de manibus.

The literary model of Ausonius we have not far to seek. The dialogue style of this epigram points at once to the poem of Posidippus. But with the many points of contact that exist between the two epigrams, there are found also some marked points of difference. The artist's name is given as Phidias, and the figure of Occasio is here for the first time accompanied by another, called Poenitentia. It is difficult to decide whether the substitution by Ausonius of the name of Phidias for that of Lysippus is a willful one, as the editor of the epigrams supposes, or whether a link in the chain of transmission has been lost. The whole description of Ausonius has about it such an air of reality that it is difficult to believe that he refers directly to the statue described by Posidippus. Inasmuch as the facts in the case are lost, the field is open for

theories, and I offer the following as a solution of the difficulty. In the epigram of Posidippus there occurs the phrase

τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραβρέξαντά με ποσσίν
ὄβρις ἔθ' ἰμείρων δράζεται ἐξόπιθεν

and then follows an unmistakable invitation to muse over the allegory. That the statue of Lysippus was a famous one is evident from the different descriptions that were devoted to it, and that it was imitated may be supposed a priori and is proved by the description of Phaedrus. The supposition that Ausonius had before him, when he wrote, some other sculptured version of the allegory would, therefore, seem to be not at all improbable. He did not know this artist's name, but he did know that it was not Lysippus, whose statue and name he must certainly at least have known through the epigram of Posidippus, from whom he borrowed the style of his own poem. He called him Phidias, the Greek sculptor par excellence. The unknown artist, who was a Roman, introduced several changes. In the first place he had translated the Greek *καιρός* (masc.) into its Latin equivalent *occasio* (fem.). Lysippus' god became a goddess.¹ Phaedrus' model retained the original gender of the Greek, and he called the figure Tempus. In the second place, he had developed the idea contained in the two lines of Posidippus' epigram just quoted, and placed a second figure called Poenitentia beside the first. Such a grouping together of two gods is not at all unfrequent

¹The other plate in Baumeister's article, quoted above, is almost exactly an illustration of the epigram of Ausonius. It shows the figure of *καιρός*, no longer nude, with a winged wheel on each foot, holding a scale in the left and a razor in the right hand. A youth before him has seized his forelock, while an old man behind him, who has let the favorable moment pass by, stretches his left hand out in vain. With the right he angrily pulls his beard. Behind the latter stands a draped figure, representing Poenitentia. The illustration is a reproduction of a relief in Venice, but unfortunately no clue as to its age is given.

It should be added, also, that the fact of Ausonius retaining the Greek term *Metanoea* in a curious manner counterbalances his translation of *καιρός* by *occasio*.

in Roman iconology, and quite to the point I find it stated in Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen and römischen Mythologie*, s. v. Fortuna, that Fortuna and Mercurius are found together in many pictures, a point to which I shall recur presently for another reason. In this way, it seems to me, the epigram of Ausonius is explained, without doing violence to the facts as we know them.¹

The general resemblance between the episode in the *Orlando Innamorato* and the epigram of Ausonius is so marked that it is evident that Bojardo made use of it as his main source for his description of the Fata Morgana. The most conclusive proof lies in the fact that in both instances the figure of fleet-
ing Chance is accompanied by that of Poenitentia. This agreement is so striking and unexpected that there scarcely remains room for doubt, and it becomes evident that Bojardo

¹ For the sake of completeness I add here another Greek description of the statue of Lysippus, contained in an eclogue of Himerius, a contemporary of Ausonius. The account agrees in the main with those of Callistratus and Posidippus, with this difference, that the figure is said to hold a scale in the left hand. The eclogue is published in the same volume with the description by Callistratus.

Δεινὸς δὲ ἦν ἄρα οὐ χεῖρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὁ Λυσίππος. θεία γοῦν ἐκεῖνος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης τετόλμηκεν. ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μορφώσας ἀγάλματι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐξηγήσατο. Ἐχει δὲ ὠδέ πως, ὡς ἐμὲ μνημονεύειν, τὸ δαίδαλμα. Ποιεῖ παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἄβρον, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔφηβον, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὅσον ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρω τὴν δεξιὰν ὀπλισμένον, ζυγῶ τὴν λαίαν ἐπέχοντα, πτερῶν τὰ σφυρὰ, οὐχ ὡς μεταρσίον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄνω κουφίσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιψάειν τῆς γῆς, λανθάνη κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

"For Lysippus had not only a skilled hand, but also skilled judgment. Wonderful things did he by reason of this genius venture upon; he added *καιρός* to the list of gods, and by changing images has brought out his nature in a statue. The statue was wrought in this manner as I relate. He fashions a boy, delicate in appearance, in the bloom of youth, with locks of hair from the top to the forehead, but bald behind. In his right hand he was armed with a razor, holding in his left a scale, winged upon a sphere poising lightly, so that he did not rise too far above the earth, seemingly touching it, and yet gliding over it without contact."

Still more information on this question may be found in Curtius, *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1875, pp. 1-8, and Benndorf, *ibid.*, 1863, p. 81 ff.

has done here what he has done in so many other instances in his poem. He has taken a classic theme and *brettonized* it, if I may use the term. The whole atmosphere and setting of the new scene is so Arthurian that the first impulse in looking for its sources is to turn for information to the Round Table romances, rather than to a dictionary of classical antiquities.

Morgana (Fr. *Morgain*) in the Arthurian romances, as is well known, is a fairy and sister of King Arthur. She is a disciple of the enchanter Merlin, and well versed, therefore, in all kinds of magic arts as well as deceit, as Tristan learns in the end to his sorrow. Arthur had even forbidden her presence at his court, and so she lived in different enchanted castles of her making. She was a constant source of trouble to Arthur's knights; but there is, as far as the things told of her in the French romances are concerned, no reason why Bojardo should have selected this name rather than that of the *Dama del Lago*. There is only one tantalizing allusion in the French prose versions of *Tristan*, which I will relate without further comment. A knight by the name of Giflet (the name is of no consequence) arrives before a castle which is full of enchantments, and he is hindered from entering into it by the figure of a knight, "de coivre fait por (*r. par*) grant soutiliece." Morgain, we are told, is the author of the enchantments in the castle, and she established them "au tens que Tristanz de Loenoys se mist en queste por li trover."¹ Upon reading the description of this metal knight, one cannot help thinking of the two iron figures that hinder Orlando's entrance to the garden of the *Fata*.

It would seem to me, however, that a reason can be discovered for Bojardo's choice of name. The Breton cycle as a whole had gained but little foothold among the people in Italy; but nevertheless a few of its figures had entered the realm of

¹Cp. Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 223. The painstaking author of this laborious work adds as a foot-note to this passage, "nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace de cette quête."

popular tradition, and even begun to show new signs of independent growth. Of this class of stories is the miraculous disappearance of Arthur. The French traditions related that Arthur had been transported by Morgain to the island of Avalon, whence he would return in due season. This legend had been carried to Sicily by the Normans, and here the interior of Mount Aetna became the abode of both Arthur and Morgain. Graf, who reports the earliest forms of this legend in Sicily, in the *Giorn. Stor.* vol. v, p. 80 ff., shows further, how here this hiding place of the fay is embellished with regard to its scenery. All the attractive features of the isle of Avalon are ascribed to the interior of Mount Aetna. Moreover, the popular mind, once made acquainted with the supernatural powers of the fairy, soon attributed to her authorship that curious optical phenomenon known as the *mirage*, and called it the *Fata Morgana*. And this term, I think, may have suggested the name to Bojardo. I bring this explanation forward without claiming in its favor more than a high degree of probability. It is impossible to say how far back the name *Fata Morgana* dates as a term for the mirage (Graf, l. c. p. 98, quotes a passage showing that it was so used in the xviiith century), but it bears so popular an aspect that we shall certainly not be far from right if we believe that its origin dates back to the establishment of the tradition which placed both Arthur and Morgain into the Aetna, and this legend is firmly fixed in Sicily by the end of the xiiith century.¹ The official journeys of Bojardo took him into Southern Italy (he was in Naples in the year 1473), and he may well have observed the phenomenon in the sky, and become familiar with its popular name.

There is still another line of thought which connects this episode with the Breton epic, and which, therefore, seems worthy of mention. The central idea of it is that of the favorable moment which is not utilized, and which must now be sought

¹ Cp. Graf, l. c.

with much expenditure of force and penitence. This, after all, looked at from one point of view, is a prominent theme in the quest of the Holy Grail. There the Knight arrives, at nightfall, at a castle, where he sees sights that rouse his curiosity, such as the wondrous sword, the bleeding lance, and the Grail, for which he ought to demand an explanation. He neglects to do this, and when he wakes up the next morning he finds the castle deserted, and his quest begins. In this instance as well, absolute proof for the association of the two ideas can not be advanced, but, considering the fact that so much of Bojardo's poem is created by brettonizing ideas taken from the Carlovingian cycle and from classical antiquity, it is after all very possible that there exists a closer connection between the two ideas than is apparent at first sight.

There can be no question, however, as to the connection between Bojardo's episode and the Italian idiom *tener la fortuna pel ciuffetto*; but whether the passage in Bojardo gave rise to the idiom, or vice versa, is not so easily decided. Both words *ciuffo* and *ciuffetto* are quite old in Italian. *Ciuffo* is found in Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* (composed between 1348 and 1367) and *ciuffo* occurs in Dante, *Inf.*, 28-33, Boccaccio and the *Pataffio*, which has been wrongly ascribed to Ser Brunetto Latini. The question now arises whether the verbal locution *tenere pel ciuffetto*, with the meaning *to have the mastery over*, is connected with our idiom. I am inclined to think that this is not the case. Ducange, s. v. *capillus*, mentions the expression *trahere per capillos*, and says that it is described in Saxon laws as a grave insult. In a law of 1211 and 1247 it is given as punishable with death.¹ In Italian I have met the expression in Pulci's *Morg. Magg.*, VII-89, *L'angel di Dio vi tenga pel ciuffetto* and *Cirif. Calvin.* 2-64, *avere il leon pel ciuffetto*.

¹ I am undecided how much importance is to be attached to the fact that *ciuffo*, a word of Germanic origin, and not the Latin words, has been incorporated into the idiom.

The earliest instance of the longer idiom under consideration I have found noted in the *Vocabulario Universale Italiano compilato a cura della società tipografica*, Napoli, 1829, s. v. *ciuffo*, ascribed to Poliziano, Stanze 6.

Piglia il tempo che fugge pel ciuffetto
Prima che nasca qualche gran sospetto.

Unfortunately this reference has proved to be a veritable Fata Morgana in itself, for the most diligent efforts to verify it have proven useless, so that the inevitable conclusion seems to be that a typographical error has crept in. What adds to the dissatisfaction in this instance is the fact that other evidence also points to the conclusion that to the learned Poliziano is due the revival of the classical ideas which we have reviewed. In his *Liber Adagiorum* (Opera II, p. 289), Erasmus has a rather lengthy disquisition on the expression *nosce tempus*. Without mentioning names, he describes the statue of Lysippus, translating, however, continually the Greek *καιρός* by Latin *tempus*. He then goes on to say: "Ejus simulachrum ad hunc modum fingebat antiquitas. Volubilis rotæ pennatis insistens pedibus, vertigine quam citatissima semet in orbem circumagit, priore capitis parte capillis hirsuta, posteriore glabra, ut illa facile prehendi queat, hac nequaquam. Unde dictum est 'occasionem arripere.' Ad quod erudite simul et eleganter allusit quisquis¹ is fuit, qui versiculum hunc conscripsit

"Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva."

Then he gives in full the epigram of Posidippus, and a translation of it into Latin distichs. Finally he continues, "Non ab re fuerit et Ausonianum epigramma subscribere, quod ut admonet Politianus e Graeco videtur effictum quenquam cum aliis nonnullis diversum, tum illo potissimum nomine, quod

¹It would be interesting if it were possible to answer this question of Erasmus.

hic additur poenitentia comes." Then follows the epigram of Ausonius.

The absence of a complete set of the works of Poliziano from Baltimore makes verification in this case also an impossibility. But in spite of this defect, the evidence, it seems to me, is convincing. Through the influence of the great Poliziano the whole line of tradition which we have reviewed, and which found its climax in Ausonius, was made again the common property of the learned. In this way Bojardo's attention was directed to the allegory, and he was not slow in making use of it by adapting to his own needs not only the figure of Occasio, but also its companion Poenitentia. That Bojardo knew the works of Poliziano needs no proof, but I think direct indebtedness on his part can be shown. In Poliziano's *Orfeo* (1474), act i, there occurs the line

"Ella (Euridice) fugge da me sempre davante."

Though applied here to Euridice, there is great temptation to see some hidden reference to the allegory of the lost opportunity. However, this consideration is of minor weight. What is important in my opinion is the fact that Bojardo in the *Innamorato*, ii-ix, 3-c, uses almost identically the same words

"La fata sempre fugge a lui davante."

This coincidence is certainly too close to be accidental.

When the allegory had thus been revived in literature, it was soon made use of in other ways. The famous Milanese engraver, Andrea Alciato, published at various times different collections of emblems. A complete collection of all of these in Latin was published in Lyons in 1551, under the title *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Flumen abundans*, and of this edition the Holbein society has given us a fac-simile reprint (1871). On p. 133 of this modern edition can be found an emblem entitled *In Occasionem*. The cut represents the nude figure of a woman, with a long shawl thrown over her

shoulders, which she holds in her left hand while it flutters in the wind on the right. She stands on a wheel which rests horizontally on the water. On her feet, above her heels, are wings; the left foot is somewhat raised. In the right hand she holds a razor. Her long hair is fluttering in the wind and appears to be all in front. Below this figure stands the following explanation, which is evidently a paraphrase of the epigram of Posidippus:

In Occasionem.

Διαλογιστικῶς.

Lysippi hoc opus est, Sycion cui patria. Tu quis?
 Cuncta domans capti temporis articulus.
 Cur pinnis stas? usque rotor. Talaria plantis
 Cur retines? Passim me levis aura rapit.
 In dextra est tenuis dic unde novacula? Acutum
 Omni acie hoc signum me magis esse docet.
 Cur in fronte coma? Occurens ut prender. At heus tu
 Dic cur pars calva est posterior capitis?
 Ne semel alipedem si quis permittat abire,
 Ne possim apprehenso postmodo crine capi
 Tali opifex nos arte, tui causa, edidit hospes
 Utque omnes moneam; pergula aperta tenet.

Of these emblems the first collection seems to have been made in Milan in 1522, but the earliest partial edition appeared in Augsburg in 1531. Of this last mentioned edition, as well as of three others of similar nature, reprints have been published by the Holbein society (1870) under the title *Andreae Emblematum Fontes Quattuor*. From this reprint it is seen that the emblem *In Occasionem* was contained also in the Augsburg edition of 1531. The cuts in both instances are in general identical. In the earlier drawing, however, the wings on the feet seem to be absent, and the shawl is arranged so as to cover the pudenda. The figure also seems to rest on a rock, surrounded by water, in place of the horizontal wheel. But the occiput is bald and the long hair in front is blown towards the

right. The distichs beneath the cut are identical with those in the later editions.

Alciato's collection of emblems must have enjoyed a high degree of favor. The first complete Latin edition was published in 1548, and there followed a French translation in 1549, and Italian and Spanish translations in 1551. There were published besides a large number of partial editions, and all of these must have contributed greatly to make the allegory generally known. But even earlier our allegory had given rise to the Italian idiom, and we find it occurring under two forms, viz. *pigliare il tempo pel ciuffetto*, as in Poliziano, and *pigliare (tenere) la fortuna pel ciuffetto (ciuffo)* as in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, xxx-35.

Ma se fortuna le spalle vi volta
 (Che non però nel crin presa tenete)
 Causate un danno ch'a pensarvi solo
 Mi sento il petto già sparar di duolo.

and this latter is also the turn which the allegory has received in the modern language.¹ What is interesting here is the substitution of *Fortuna* or *Tempo* for the figure of *Occasio*. All three denominations, when referring to the favorable moment, are naturally so closely allied that a confusion as to their usage is not at all surprising. Nevertheless it can easily be shown that the confusion did not become fixed as an idiom before the time of Poliziano and the revival of this allegory. The two figures of *Fortuna* and *Occasio* were never confused in classical times.

¹ In Ferrazzi, *Bibliografia Ariostesca*, Bassano, 1881, p. 131, I find the following lines quoted from the Satires, vii-181.

Mentre Differendo
 Vo P'occasion fugge sdegnata
 Poi che mi porge il crine ed io nol prendo.

Here the tone of the idiom, as is seen, is still quite in accordance with the original classical notion.

Fortuna¹ was usually represented by a female figure, standing upright, and holding a cornucopia in the left and a rudder in the right hand. The rudder often rested on a sphere, and this sphere is either the symbol of her changeability, or is intended to portray her power over the whole earth. When the figure is seated, the natural inference is, that Fortuna has come to stay. Occasionally a wheel is found in the representations of this goddess, and references to this wheel of fortune can be found in Cicero,² *Dialogus* of Tacitus, Fronto, Ammianus Marcellinus,³ and the treatise *De Consolatione* of Boethius. In some instances Fortuna has wings, and sometimes the prow of a boat is shown in connection with the rudder, evidently referring to her as a goddess of the sea. She was worshipped in Rome under many different attributes, and there existed temples for some of these varieties and a public worship. Especially favorite was the *Fortuna redux*, and she is quite frequently represented in connection with a wheel. Roscher describes a coin having a picture of the *Fortuna dux*. The figure is seated, and holds the usual attributes of rudder and cornucopia. Under the stool is the representation of a wheel. The Fortuna worship seems to point to an Egyptian origin, and, according to Roscher, derives from the worship of the *Isis Fortuna* and the *Fortuna Panthea*. As *Isis Fortuna* she is pictured holding a cornucopia, rudder (often with the sphere) and the attributes of *Isis*, such as the Lotus flower, plumes, new moon, snake, sistrum, etc. The *Fortuna Panthea* has the symbols of other deities, such as wings, helmet, sheaf of wheat, etc. She was also frequently worshipped in connection with other deities, notably *Mercurius*. The two figures are found together in many representations, or Fortuna may be found alone with the symbols of *Mercurius*. This creates a strong temptation for the belief that even in the statue of Lysippus

¹ Cp. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s. v.

² *Fortunae rotam pertimescebat.* *Pison*, 10, 22.

³ *Fortunae volucris rota, adversa prosperis semper alternans.* *Ammian. Marc.*, 31-1-1.

the wings on the feet of *καιρός* were suggested by those of Hermes.¹ However this may be, it is certain that these two deities were for a long time associated together. Even as late as the *Emblems* of Alciato we find such a representation, which was contained for the first time in an edition of 1541 in Venice. Hermes there appears to have four faces, and is standing on a square stone, with wings on his feet and the winged staff in his hand. Fortuna stands by his side on a sphere, and is almost identical with the figure representing Opportunity, in the emblem *In Occasionem*. The hair is blowing distinctly towards the right. This picture was considerably changed in the Lyons edition of 1551, but Fortuna and Hermes are still associated together. Here Fortuna is resting but one foot on the sphere, and her hair is blowing toward the left.

From the foregoing remarks there can remain no doubt that the wheel is not the regular attribute of Fortuna. It rather seems to belong to another idea, which is also closely related to those under discussion, viz., that of the *Fata scribunda*. This goddess is represented by a female figure, resting one foot on a vertical wheel, while she is writing the destiny of man on a wall towards which she is bending. What is evident, however, is the fact that even in classical antiquity the wheel was used to represent the uncertainty of human existence.

The middle ages retained this idea, but varied fundamentally the manner of representation. Fortuna is now represented by a female figure, seated on a stool before a wheel which she is turning. Usually different figures representing different types of humanity are tied to the wheel. Several illustrations in point may be found in Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au moyen age, Album*. Vol. VI, series 4, plates 37, 38, 39, 40 show large

¹ Baumeister, l. c., says the idea of *καιρός* goes back to the palaestra, and sprang from the Hermes *ἐναγώνιος*, beside whom he had an altar in Olympia. Presence of mind and the necessity of grasping the favorable moment in the martial game are eminently necessary, and this god is therefore often mentioned in Pindar's *Odes*. Baumeister's hypothesis is in a manner confirmed by the phrase of Himerius *μορφώσας ἀγάλματα* quoted above.

illuminated figures representing Fortuna and her wheel. In all of them she is a young woman seated beside a wheel on which are human figures. She wears long hair and a crown. Vol. VI, series 6, plate 30, taken from a manuscript of the end of the xvth century of Boethius, *De Consolatione*, shows a figure of Fortuna with two faces and the eyes of both blind-folded. This new element evidently denotes favorable and adverse fortune. The figure has green wings besides. Agreeing with the illustrations first mentioned is a large plate in vol. II of *Les Arts somptuaires*, Paris, 1858. It is taken from a MS. of the xvth century, contained in the Arsenal Library in Paris.

As far as literature is concerned, all allusions before Poliziano and Bojardo are usually to this manner of representation. Dante's description of the goddess Fortuna, who rules supreme over her celestial circle and who

Con l'altre prime creature lieta
 Volge sua spera, e beata si gode (*Inf.*, vii, 95-96),

is well known. Similar references are found elsewhere and it is not necessary to multiply examples. Pulci in his *Morgante Maggiore* makes at least seven¹ references to this idea, and of these one merits transcription because it agrees so closely with Dante's conception.

Lascia pur volger le volubil rote
 A quella che nel ciel tutto ha veduto. (xxii-38.)

Bojardo, also, has evidently not forgotten the older notion, for *Orl. Inn.* i-xvi, 1, he says :

Tutte le cose sotto de la Luna
 L'alta ricchezza, e' regni de la terra,
 Son sottoposti a voglia di Fortuna ;
 Lei la porta apre d'improvviso e serra ;
 E quando più par bianca, divien bruna :

¹ *Morg. Mag.*, ii-49, xvii-2, xxii-38, xxv-275, xxvi-38, and x-70, xxiii-54.

Ma più si mostra ai casi de la guerra
 Instabil, *volutante* e rovinosa,
 E più fallace che alcun altra cosa.

Whether he had already in mind our episode, which was to follow some twenty-one cantos later, is a question; but certainly Fortuna's wheel is but vaguely alluded to by the word *volutante*. It would seem as though we had even here a confusion of the two ideas.

It is evident, however, from later occurrences in literature, that the confusion became absolute, so much so that the older notion of the favorable occasion was completely lost sight of; and this confusion has also left its traces in art. In the *Mirror of Maiestie* (1618), of which we have a fac-simile reprint by the Holbein Society (1870), there may be found a similar reproduction of a work entitled *Selectorum Symbolorum Heroicorum centuria Gemina enotata atque enodata a Salomone Neigebauero* a Cadano, 1619. Plate 23 of this last-mentioned work contains the emblem of Fridericus Daniae Norvegiae Seland. Gothor. Rex. It shows a Fortuna standing on a sphere, and this figure is in every respect identical with those drawn by Alciato to represent the favorable Occasion.¹

In a similar manner the two notions of *Time* and *Occasion* were confused, and substituted one for the other. Here the interchange is much older. I have already pointed out the fact that *tempus* evidently paraphrases the Greek *καῖρός* in the epigram from Phaedrus, and have also quoted Cicero's remark with regard to the confusion of the two terms. It has also been shown that Erasmus translates *καῖρός* by *tempus*. Since early in the middle ages the two notions of *Time* and *Death* were also merged in one, one is tempted to look for further evidences of a confusion with the notion of the favorable occasion in the pictorial representations of the time. It is certain that some of the illustrations which I have examined show a

¹The inscription of the emblem is "Fedeltà è cosa rara," and below stands the explanation "*Fortuna in pila volubili stans et velum vibrans . . .*"

figure of Time or Death with a distinct lock of hair on one side of the head.¹ However, I do not believe that such instances prove much, one way or the other. The general appearance of Time or Death in these pictures, with regard to the hair, is that of the living species, and I am inclined to think that the substitution was purely literary and due to a confusion of terms.

The conclusions which, I think, have been established may now be briefly restated. The revival of the allegory of Lysippus, which seems to have been completely forgotten after Ausonius, was due to Poliziano. Through him Bojardo became acquainted with the epigram of Ausonius, and he brettionized the idea in his episode of the chase of the Fata Morgana by Orlando. The formulating of the idea into an idiom seems also to be due to Poliziano. The oldest instances employ the words *tempo* and *occasione*; later Fortuna supplants almost entirely these older words.

The remaining part of this paper is to be concerned with tracing this expression into English. After having found an occurrence of it in Spenser's *Sonnet* 70 (written after 1593),

Tell her the joyous time will not be staid,
Unless she do him by the forelock take,

I found that the aid to be expected from the existing dictionaries was exhausted. I then turned for help to the learned editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*, Dr. Murray, who with great courtesy and kindness placed at my disposal those references to this expression which he possessed. Through this welcome help I learned that there is but one earlier instance of it to be

¹This can be seen in the following instances: Humphreys, *Masterpieces of early printers and engravers*, London, 1870; plate 20 of a dance of death, printed in Lyons, 1499, and also in several of the illustrations of Savonarola's "*Arte del bene morire*," reproduced in the same volume; also Langlois and Pottier, *Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 1852, p. 159 and plates xvi and xviii of Holbein's *Dance of Death*, in the same volume.

found in English, and this in Greene's *Menaphon*,¹ written in the year 1589, viz: "Pesana, thinking to make hay while the Sunne shined, and take opportunitie by his forelocks." Besides adding a list of later occurrences, to which I shall refer later, Dr. Murray was kind enough to say, "we have no earlier instances of Forelock in any sense." To Greene, then, the introduction of the idiom into English literature must be ascribed; and his general tastes and predilections make the supposition very plausible that he derived the expression from his acquaintance with Italian literature. Before the year 1592 he had written a comedy entitled *Orlando Furioso*, which was published in 1594, and where he quotes several lines from Ariosto's poem in the Italian original; cp. ed., London, 1831, p. 28. This fact would seem sufficient evidence to prove that the English idiom is a translation of the Italian. As far as Spenser is concerned, the Italian influence on his writings is also too well-known to need further proof, and the great importance of Italian influence on the English literature of this period is also well established. The first English translation of Ariosto appeared in 1591, by John Harrington. But in spite of these and many other proofs for the literary importation of our idiom, I am not entirely free from doubts. In the *Orlando Furioso* the expression, to my knowledge, occurs but once, and there the reference is to Fortuna, not to Time or Occasion. Whether Bojardo's poem was translated earlier, I am unable to say, though nothing would be gained even if such a translation could be found, for Greene certainly understood Italian thoroughly and might have read the poem in the original. However this may have been, the whole allegory contained in the expression must certainly have been known in England at least eighty years earlier. Erasmus was in Italy between the years 1506 and 1509, and during this stay he supervised an edition of his *Adagia* in Venice at the Aldine press. Then he went to England and occupied the position

¹ Ed. Arber, London, 1880, p. 65.

of Regius Reader of Greek in Cambridge from 1509 to 1513. It is but natural to suppose that with Erasmus his works became known in England, and in these *Adagia* we have found all the principal links in the history of our allegory, besides a reference to Poliziano's remarks on the epigram of Ausonius. With the name of Poliziano, moreover, the possibility arises that a knowledge at least of the classical side of the allegory should have reached England even before the arrival of Erasmus, for Linacre and Grocyn were pupils of Poliziano. If these suppositions are valid we have also at once an explanation of the fact that in the English expressions it is Time or Opportunity whose forelocks must be grasped, and not Fortuna. Erasmus speaks only of *tempus* and Poliziano of *tempo* and *occasione*. So we find the expression in Bacon's *Essay on Delays*, publ. Arber, p. 525, "for occasion (as it is in the common verse¹) turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front and no hold taken." (1625). Crosse, *Vertues Commonwealth*, p. 131 (publ. 1878), wrote in 1603 "Time flyeth away with wings, and therefore a wise man lay holde on her forelocks, while it is to-day." Later references, which might be added, would scarcely strengthen the argument.

At the same time the common middle age notion of Fortuna and her wheel was well known in England. Greene in his *Tritameron of Love* (1587), publ. in his works, vol. III, p. 133, in the Huth library, has a long passage to the point here which merits transcription, not for itself, but because it also points directly to Italy as its source.

"Because you talke of painting (quoth the lady Panthia) I remember that in the Duke of Florence chamber, I once saw a table whereon was pourtrayed the picture or counterfeit of Fortune, as neare as I can gesse in this manner. Winged she was, and standing vpon a globe, as decyphering her mutabilitie: holding in her right hand the Cornucopia or horn of abundance, which the poets faine to be full of all such heav-

¹ Could this be a reference to Erasmus' hexameter, quoted above?

enly and earthlie things as are exquisite and pretious : these she poureth out liberally, when, to whom, and where she pleaseth. In the left hande a wheele, which she tourneth about continually, whereby that part which is aboue, is presently turned downeward, thereby giuing vs to understand, that from her highest preferment she throweth downe in one instant such as are most happie into the gulfe of miserie : underneath this picture were written certain verses, thus englished

The fickle seat whereon proud Fortune sits,
 the restless globe whereon the furie stands,
 Bewraies her fond and farre inconstant fits,
 the fruitful horn she handleth in her hands,
 Bids all beware to feare her flattering smiles,
 that giueth most when most she meaneth guiles.
 The wheele that turning neuer taketh rest,
 the top whereof fond worldlings count their blisse,
 Within a minute makes a blacke exchange:
 and them the vild and lowest better is:
 Which embleme tels vs the inconstant state,
 of such as trust to Fortune or to Fate."

It would be exceedingly interesting to know the Italian original of these verses.

We have reached the end of our inquiry. Although certain points remain doubtful, still I think the main questions at issue have been cleared up. There is left the question of the originality or sources of Lysippus. But I have already gone so far out of my beaten track that I may well leave the solution of this matter to others, whose lines of work have made them more familiar with that remote period of antiquity. However, the general inquiry was directly connected with the history of the *Romanzo Cavalleresco* in Italy, and if other questions have been left unanswered I can give no better excuse than that by which Rusticiano da Pisa, in 1272, excused the lack of order and completeness in his compilation of the *Round Table Romances*: ". . . je respons que ma matiere n'ettoit pas congneue. Car je ne puis pas savoir tout ne mettre toutes mes paroles par ordre.

JOHN E. MATZKE.

VII.—LESSING'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS *NATHAN*
THE WISE.

The primitive purity of the early Church soon yielded to a Church hierarchy. In those early times, before the New Testament was admitted to equal canonical authority with the Old, the Church became the supreme authority and the Bible was subordinate. After the incorporation of the New Testament into the Bible, the Scriptures and the Church appear to be coördinate authority in the patristic writings of that period. During the Middle Ages the Church grew rapidly in political power and the influence of the Scriptures waned accordingly, so that Dante complains of the way in which not merely creeds and fathers but canon law and the decretals were studied instead of the gospels. It is true that pious people, ever since the days of Pentecost, had believed that "the inward spiritual facts of man's religious experience were of infinitely more value than their expression in stereotyped forms recognized by the Church," and that, too, "in such a solemn thing as the forgiveness of sin man could go to God directly without human mediation." These pious souls had found the pardon they sought, but the good majority were under the dominion of the Church, which at last degraded the meaning of "spiritual" so that it signified mere ritualistic service, and "thrust itself between God and the worshipper, and proclaimed that no man could draw near to God save through its appointed ways of approach. Confession was to be made to God through the priest; God spoke pardon only in the priest's absolution. When Luther attacked indulgences in the way he did he struck at the whole system." After the Reformation a reaction set in. New and better translations of the Bible were made, and the Word became accessible to everybody. The successors of the Reformers emphasized "the

verbal inspiration of the Scripture and its infallible authority (more) than had been done for the most part by the first Reformers, Luther and Calvin and their contemporaries, who never seemed to have sanctioned the famous *dictum* of Chillingworth, 'the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of the Protestants.'" The Reformers took the Holy Scriptures, because they are the divine word, and require no further supplement from tradition and custom, merely as the rule and canon of their faith. Traditions, dogmas, ordinances established by the Church, were null and void. This freedom of the religious conscience and the Holy Scriptures as the living, pure source of religion brought a rich blessing to Christians. Religion was elevated above that sphere in which mere morality and outer ordinance were the determining principles, and raised man to a new spiritual life. The real motive principle of this new life is justification by faith.

The Bible had now become the norm of faith, but who was to guide the believer in discovering its truth? Was he to be a law unto himself, or should there be a third person, or principle, who should be authority to him? Here the Reformers took two courses diametrically opposed to each other. The one party, who did not wish to trust to subjective reason, to human intellect, interpreted the truth contained in the Bible according to the public confessions and symbols of their own Church; a course not much different from that of the Roman Catholic Church, though granting greater privileges on the whole. Others, without regard to the confessions of faith in their own particular churches, made their own explanation of the Scriptures according to the *dictum* of their own subjective reason, thus endangering the truth as a whole, the real body of religious faith. For only when there is some generally recognized principle which will enable us to determine what truth the Scriptures teach, and to distinguish the true from the false, can the freedom demanded by the Reformers, independent of every mere outer authority, be brought into unison with the objective divine truth.

That truth, however, which gave such an impetus to the religious conscience of the Reformers, was wholly lost, or at least much weakened, at the time when they settled the Lutheran doctrines in the Form of Concord (1577). "His successors in the leadership of the Protestant movement eliminated all mystical elements out of their theology, and made Lutheranism a system of dry and rigid dogmatics. They gave an excessive value to doctrinal soundness, and underrated the piety of the emotions. Hence a reaction against dogmatism, of which John Arndt and Jacob Spener were moderate representatives, while Jacob Boehme and Gottfried Arnold were violent and extreme." This dogmatism was naturally not at all pleasing to the more devout, and we find mysticism rapidly gaining ground. "In its essential meaning, it is the aspiration to immediate and direct fellowship of the human spirit with God, without the intervention of form, institutions, doctrinal systems, or even intelligent ideas. It dwells on feeling, emotion, ecstasy, as the shortest way to the divine fellowship, and teaches the denial of our wills, even in things innocent, as the true preliminary to this. In theology it finds its antithesis in 'theocracy,' which brings the spirit into divine relations through institutions and laws, and in 'dogmatism,' which seeks to know God by the way of the intellect. In the New Testament we find all three elements present, as we find them also in every adequate presentation of Christianity. But in John's writings we have the element the mystics especially valued. And from his time the succession of thinkers of this type is never broken in the history of Christian theology." Later it "blended Christian teaching with the speculations of the Neoplatonist philosophy, teaching that the highest blessedness is found in the fellowship with the Divine Unity, and this is attainable by passing through the three stages of purification, illumination, and union." But mysticism was too deep for the unspeculative mind, and soon shaded off into Pietism. The latter brought back the subjective introspection which is truly the living principle of the

religious life. The origin of the pietistic movement was in the defects of the Lutheran Church "which in the 17th century had become a creed-bound theological and sacramentarian institution which orthodox theologians ruled with almost the absolutism of the papacy. Correctness of creed had taken the place of deep religious feeling and purity of life. Christian faith had been dismissed from its seat in the heart, where Luther had placed it, to the cold region of the intellect. The dogmatic formularies of the Lutheran Church had usurped the position which Luther himself had assigned to the Bible alone, and, as a consequence, they only were studied and preached, while the Bible was neglected in the family, the study, the pulpit and the university." Thus the Church had again become a despotic hierarchy. Jacob Spener was at the head of the movement which proposed a return to the Bible and to a more practical and primitive Christianity.

Pietism, which strove to give pious feeling its due rights, found its greatest opposition in the dominant orthodoxy of the day. But the real attack on the Lutheran faith came from a quarter hitherto little heeded, and with weapons which had not been used for a long time. It threatened to subvert the entire fabric. Reason in religion was the mighty force which now came to the front and began that destructive Biblical criticism which is still raging. The authority which the Reformers, when contesting the infallibility of the Church, had placed in the Holy Scriptures, had yielded to that criticism which subjected the Bible to the same tests as were applied to classic authors. The conscience became indifferent to religion, and the decision in regard to truth was left to subjective caprice, a very unsafe guide. Soon the spirit of reason in religion appeared on the field of philosophy and caused an actual breach between the faith of the Church and the pretended pure ideal of reason. As early as the sixteenth century a movement had begun which was destined to lead to this result. "Faustus Socinus, an Italian theologian of the sixteenth century, denied the Trinity, the deity of Christ, the

personality of the Devil, the native and total depravity of man, the vicarious atonement, and the eternity of future punishment." In the last decade of the same century lived Descartes (1596-1650), and in the following century Spinoza (1632-1677), Bayle (1647-1706), Leibnitz (1646-1716), Thomasius (1655-1728), Wolff (1679-1754), all of whom had contributed by their philosophies to inaugurate the so-called Age of Enlightenment. The Socinians were followed by the English Deists, or Free-thinkers, as they were usually called. In England the germ of this wide-spread intellectual revolution first came to maturity. "By the great discoveries of Newton, and the completely conceivable experimental philosophy of Locke, new life was awakened. The fall of the Stuarts and the excellent constitution with that religion of reason called Deism helped the new era." The Deists appeared in England toward the end of the seventeenth century, then spread to France and finally to Germany. They "declared that those ideas only were essential which were found in the so-called natural theology, forming a striking contrast to those doctrines of the straight-out Lutherans." Reason became the norm by which the truth of revelation was to be judged.

Spinoza contested inspiration: miracles and prophecies fell away. Whoever found Spinoza's decisive way too harsh turned to the great dictionary of Bayle and the writings of Leclerc, Basnage, Bernard. Belief became doubt, doubt rationalism. The bonds of the narrow point of view were rent asunder by the free intellect of a general civilization. Freedom of conscience and religious tolerance became the highest moral demand.

Leibnitz may justly be considered the father of German philosophy, as he is among the first of the German philosophers who created for himself a comprehensive philosophical conception of the world. But we can give the best summary of him with Wolff.

Two men appear in Germany at this time as forerunners of Lessing, Christian Thomasius, and Christian Wolff, both

already mentioned above. We must necessarily consider their influence in order to follow understandingly the religious discussions of our author. Thomasius was a pioneer and helped to prepare the way for reforms in philosophy, law, literature, social life and theology. He had a faculty for bringing the divine and human sciences into close and living contact with every-day life. He took a rational, common-sense point of view of everything and has been well called "the personified spirit of illuminationism." He helped to free politics and jurisprudence from the control of theology and fought bravely and consistently for freedom of thought and speech on religious matters. "In theology he was not a naturalist or deist, but a believer in the necessity of a revealed religion for salvation. He felt strongly the influence of the Pietists at times, particularly Spener, and there was a mystic vein in his thought; but other elements of his nature were too powerful to allow him to attach himself finally to that party." He was the leader of the school of eclecticism and sought to cull the best from sensualism, idealism, skepticism and mysticism, and rose above tradition and authority. Such a man could not but have a strong influence in clearing up the religious sky of its dogmatic and skeptical positivism. Christian Wolff was a philosopher of the Leibnitzian school and held undisputed sway in Germany till he was displaced by Kant. He modified, methodized, and reduced to dogmatic form the thoughts of the great Leibnitz, but watered and weakened them in the process. His real merits are "mainly his comprehensive view of philosophy, as embracing in its survey the whole field of human knowledge, his insistence everywhere on clear and methodic exposition, and his confidence in the power of reason to reduce all subjects to this form. . . . Wolff's moral principle was the realization of human perfection." The German theological rationalism found its chief supporters in Leibnitz and Wolff, but was also enriched by the English Deists and Moralists, though in Germany we do not find that hard skepticism of the English freethinkers, nor the flippant

wit and mockery of the French. Here there was an effort on the part of German scholarship to test thoroughly the underlying principles of the various beliefs; sift the good from the bad, and elevate the moral standard. The clear and sensible doctrine of morality which was proclaimed by the rationalists and the moral philosophers spread good morals, freedom of thought and religious tolerance. Wolff himself only held to the merely formal principle; besides the revealed religion, which was only for belief, there was a natural religion which was to be demonstrated. This natural religion, or religion of reason, had of course the precedence over the revealed. Such thinkers as H. R. Reimarus and later J. A. Eberhard, who passed for the best disciples of Wolff, sought to bring the formal rational principle of their own philosophy into unison with the doctrine of the real Deists, though without entire success. These deistic doctrines were at first friendly to the new theological movement of the day which the Age of Enlightenment had caused. The philosophy of Wolff had been instrumental in bringing this about, as many of the theologians, who believed that the real orthodox faith harmonized with Wolff's philosophy, turned to this and confidently asserted that the union between reason and revelation had been sealed forever. "Faith was called reason strengthened by miracles and signs, and reason was reasoning faith." But it must not be supposed that this new movement was entirely successful in suppressing the adherents of the old faith. This was not accomplished till the last two decades of the century, when Kant's philosophy transformed the essential doctrines of the Christian belief into general expressions of morality; however, the conflict in which Lessing took such an important part was advanced to another stadium by Kant's Philosophy of Reason. The representatives of orthodoxy, who insisted upon the authority of the Bible and the symbols and who also claimed the power of the temporal authorities for themselves, strove with all the means at their command to overthrow the enemy who was

threatening to overthrow the very foundation of the present theological system.

Among all those zealous for the purity of the orthodox faith none was more zealous than Pastor J. M. Goeze in Hamburg, who won the name of Zion's Sentinel. Thoroughly impressed with the truth of his faith, endowed with learning and good reason, he possessed in a certain sphere the right powers of observation and judgment. But on the other hand he was not without officiousness and the controversial spirit, and was not really able to grasp, where it was necessary, the inner reason on which religious knowledge rests, nor to rise to a scientific point of view. The more Goeze accomplished on this field, the more zealous he became and sought out and pursued pretended heresies so eagerly as to remind one of the intolerance so prevalent in the earlier Catholic Church. He was too good-hearted to have heretics burned, but he did insist on retraction. And this was evidently the spirit of the persecutions which the strict Churchmen carried on against those differing from them, even using the secular power to enforce their injunctions.

Early in life Lessing showed a deep interest in everything pertaining to the religious nature of man. In the fragment entitled *Thoughts on the Moravians*, composed in 1750 though first published in his literary remains, we see him seeking to vindicate for religion, whose religious truth had often been adulterated by foreign elements, that sphere which would forever make it independent of the opinions, subtleties and sophisms of reason. There he upheld poverty of knowledge over against arrogance of hollow thinking. His so-called *Vindications* were probably written in Wittenberg in 1754; viz., Vindication of Horace, Cardanus, Inepti Religiosi, and Cochlaeus. Of these that of Cardanus alone throws light upon our special topic. Cardanus had represented in his *de subtilitate* (1552) the four religions of the world: Heathendom, Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism in a dialogue in which each representative defended his own belief and sought to refute the others, and was accused of showing indifference as

to which was victor in the controversy. Lessing undertook his defence and easily proved that Cardanus really deserved the very opposite reproach of favoring Christianity because he had given to the Christian the strongest, to his opponents the weakest arguments. The Jew and the Mussulman, said Lessing, could have defended themselves against the unjust attacks of the Christian far better than Cardanus let them. Then Lessing took up the cause of the Jew and Mussulman and showed how both could and should have answered. In the defence of the Mussulman he used the arguments of the Deists to prove the excellence of his religion over the Christian. This religious feature reminds us vividly of *Nathan* and perhaps Danzel is not very wrong when he says that Lessing's first thought of *Nathan* arose here. While secretary to general Tauenzien (1760-1765), Lessing not only busied himself with the profound doctrines of Spinoza and Leibnitz, but also began his real study of the Church fathers. He acquired such accurate knowledge of these that while in Hamburg Pastor Goeze found pleasure in his intercourse and passed pleasant and instructive hours with him. Great as he was as dramaturgist and dramatic poet he proved himself equally at home in this seemingly distant field of knowledge.

What, then, was Lessing's position on the religious questions of the day? A difficult problem to solve. He certainly was not a strict orthodox and yet he did not wholly reject orthodoxy and pass over to the so-called school of neology which seemed to wish to make *tabula rasa* with the past and leave the future to wild speculation. Lessing preferred to leave the old, bad as it was, till something better could be found to take its place. The trend of Lessing's thoughts was on the side of the movement of Enlightenment. But he was by nature an investigator and needed to examine everything carefully and to consider thoroughly every possible phase of a question before he decided. In his opinion the final object of religion was not absolute salvation, no matter how, but salvation through enlightenment, for enlightenment to him meant salvation. But the bent of

his mind was toward historical researches which distinguished him from the popular philosophers of the day. This led him to his favorite idea of a graded and regular historical development of the religious nature of man. He hated dogmatism of whatever kind, whether of old tradition, of authoritative faith, or the dogmatism of Enlightenment itself, and fought it wherever he found it (cf. Zeller, *Deutsche Philosophie*, p. 290 ff.). That combination of philosophy and religion so popular in his day he opposed. He regretted that the natural partition between the two had been torn down; for "under the pretext of making us reasonable Christians they make us most unreasonable philosophers."

His controversy with Goeze gave him the desired opportunity to "explain and establish more fully his idea of religion and Christianity." He there makes the true distinction between religion *per se* and the form in which it is clothed at any definite time and by any definite sect. Whether religion with him means anything more than mere morality still remains an unsolved problem. He certainly understood the distinction between the religion of Christ and the Christian religion, that is, the religion of piety and love of mankind and the worship of Christ as a supernatural being. This is the central thought of the *Nathan*. "The *Nathan* is the poetic glorification of the idea which considers the human side of the question of more importance than the positive, the moral more important than the dogmatic, which judges man not by what he believes, but by what he is" (Zeller, l. c., 304 ff.). Lessing did not accept the orthodox doctrines of faith without questioning them; he was too independent for that. He certainly showed that he was a thinker on theological questions who understood the speculative depth inherent in the dogmas of Christianity and who took the field against the Socinians and Deists who ignored that depth. And yet, though often a defender of Lutheran orthodoxy, the time came when Lessing was considered its one great opponent, and with much justice, though he was forced into this attitude against his own wish and in self-defence.

It is quite probable that while in Hamburg Lessing made the acquaintance of the writings of Professor H. S. Reimarus (1768 †), the rationalist mentioned above, for he was well acquainted with the children of the professor, and undoubtedly received a copy of the manuscript from them. Under the title of *Fragments from an Unknown* he published parts of this manuscript while at Wolfenbüttel in his *Contributions to History and Literature*. Their publication was accompanied by Lessing's notes in which he called attention to the weakness of the author's arguments and often suggested how they could best be answered. These fragments excited but little interest at first and it was one of those peculiar accidents, which always occur so opportunely to help on a good cause, that drew public attention to them. The Hamburg Pastor Goeze was then engaged in writing the history of the Low Saxon Bibles and had written to Lessing to collate a Bible found in the library for a certain passage. Lessing was then in great anxiety about the life of his wife who lay at the point of death, and either neglected or forgot to attend to the matter. This won him the bitter enmity of Goeze who considered himself misused. Goeze now took up the subject of the fragments with fanatical rage and declared Lessing's running comments on them to be a hostile attack upon the Christian religion. When outdone by Lessing in this literary passage at arms he resorted to the Consistory at Brunswick. The fragments were confiscated and Lessing strictly forbidden for the future to publish anything on religious matters, either at home or abroad, either with or without his name, unless with the express sanction of the government. Lessing was not intimidated, and in 1776 he directed another scathing article at his foe entitled *Necessary Answer to an Unnecessary Question*. It was the last word of the whole controversy. The affair thus took a different turn from that which Lessing had at first thought to give it. His reason for publishing the fragments was in the interest of truth, not as an attack on the Bible and the Christian religion. Believing that the truth could not be

enjoyed best in idle rest, but in the activity of one's own mind, he had wished to awaken the theologians from their dangerous lethargy and set them to testing the truth once more. He now found himself obliged to shake the very foundations of the Lutheran-orthodox system and to call forth a battle between the spirit and the letter which has been left to us as an inheritance, though the weightiest truths have again been confirmed and made triumphant.

Lessing's Anti-Goeze writings which this controversy called forth have ever been admired for their wit and brilliancy. The genius of this great critic is here shown in its full power. If the wit, even where it plays with the person of Goeze, who was by no means to be despised, produces a beneficent, even an elevating feeling in us, the reason of this elevation can only be found in the fact that it is the force of the truth by which we feel ourselves imperceptibly drawn on. His first and greatest contributions are his *Axiomata*, of which the first reads thus: "The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion. The Bible contains more than belongs to religion, and it is a mere hypothesis that the Bible is equally infallible in this more." Lessing thus distinguishes between the spirit, or the absolute principle from which religion proceeds, and the Holy Scriptures, that document in which religion is contained, but in which more appears than belongs to religion. He does not deny, therefore, that that part of the Bible which contains real religious principles was inspired by the Holy Ghost. Consequently objections to the letter and the Bible are not likewise objections to the spirit and religion. His second axiom runs thus: "Religion also existed before the Bible. Christianity existed before the evangelists and apostles wrote. Some time passed before the first of these wrote, and a very considerable time before the whole canon was produced. However much we may depend on these writings, the whole truth of the Christian religion cannot possibly rest upon them. If there was indeed a period in which it had already taken possession of so many souls, and in which assuredly no letter

of that which has come to us was written, it must be possible that all that the evangelists and apostles wrote was lost and yet the religion taught by them maintained itself." Lessing could easily prove that the teaching of the first apostles was oral and that tradition was more important than the Scriptures, as his study of the Church fathers had been extensive. The *regula fidei* existed before any book of the New Testament and it became the test of the writings of the apostles by which the present choice was made, and many other epistles, though bearing the names of apostles, were rejected. He maintained that it was not possible to show that the apostles and evangelists wrote their works for the express purpose of having the Christian religion completely and wholly deduced and proved by them. Ages passed before the Scriptures acquired any authority and without the *regula fidei* it would be impossible to prove the present Christian religion. This was playing into the hands of the Catholics, but whether intentionally or rather to point out a real defect of the Protestant doctrines is left ambiguous; it is certainly the weighty point in the contest. Lessing feared that he might be misunderstood and therefore sought to forestall hostile criticisms in his third axiom where he says: "Religion is not true because the evangelists and apostles taught it, but they taught it because it is true. From its inner truth the written traditions must be explained and all written traditions can give it no inner truth when it has none." In other words religion does not receive its truth from those who proclaim it, nor does the document in which it is contained lend it a truth it does not possess itself. Religion, then, is independent of the Bible.

The enunciation of this principle caused great discontent among those who would not see any difference between religion *par excellence* and the Bible, its promulgator. Our historical knowledge of revealed religion comes to us immediately from the Bible, but the real knowledge of truth is to be found in independent inner signs which are no more dependent on the Bible than the truth of a geometrical problem is dependent on

the book in which it is found. Lessing distinguishes in the Bible the spirit from the letter, the eternal from the temporal. The truth of religion is recognized from itself, and the inner truth is the only test of the so-called hermeneutic truth which only the spirit *κατ' ἐξοχῆν*, the spirit out of which the truth contained in the Bible came (not the Holy Spirit, but the one receiving the inner witness of the Holy Spirit) can be declared absolute authority, the last instance, to decide in matters of religious belief. How the Holy Spirit, working in unison with the active thought or real reason in us offers testimony of the truth in the self-consciousness of man, Lessing did not discuss.

Lessing's contemporaries were not able to comprehend nor appreciate fully the truth which forms the basis of his polemic against his opponents, nor did its full import appear in his *Axiomata* or his *Anti-Goeze*. The politico-social conditions of that age also received his attention, in which sphere he fought the powers of prejudice in his *Ernst and Falk, or Dialogues for Freemasons*. The brilliant and well-read French writers had subjected the burgher constitutions and the social life of their times to the severest criticism, and laid bare the dark sides of the age without reserve. J. J. Rousseau had condemned the civilized state and praised the simple condition of primitive nature. Lessing was thoroughly opposed to this idea of a primitive state as the best in the social order, and considered "the ideal society one in which there would be no government." "A society of developed men who stand in no need of law because they have acquired absolute self-control: that was the end to which Lessing looked forward as the highest point mankind could reach." But this he knew could not then, perhaps, never be attained, and Falk says in one dialogue that "in civil society alone can human reason be cultivated." He was also opposed to that tendency in ancient Greek life which sacrificed the individual to the state, the belief that the welfare of the state is the end, that of the individual the means: "States unite men, that through and in

this union every individual may the better and more surely enjoy his share of welfare. The total of the welfare of its members is the welfare of the state ; besides this there is none. Every other kind of welfare of the state, whereby individuals suffer and must suffer, is a cloak for tyranny." But just what the duties of a state are to its individual members Lessing does not tell us. He dwells on some of the evils that are connected with the state as it now is, and urged the cosmopolitan and humanitarian idea with his usual vigor. He advocated no single political constitution which he considered the very best, for he knew that all nations were not equally advanced nor equally suited for the same constitution. There should be diversity to suit the diversified interests of the various nations, but all should strive to draw nearer that standard where government will not be necessary. The unavoidable evils which accompany the social life we must bear as well as possible, just as we bear the smoke of the fire which gives us warmth ; but we may build chimneys, if we will. "He does not deny the distinctions that exist, he does not pretend that so long as there are states they can be done away with, but he looks them in the face, and finds that their importance is only in name. What does it matter, he virtually asks, that a man is a prince or cobbler, an Englishman or a Russian, a Christian or a Mohammedan ? He is still a man, and his manhood are his true greatness and dignity. This is the very kernel of the most vital truth of democracy ; and because of it Lessing may be claimed as, in temper and character, one of the first and most genuine of modern democrats" (Sime II, pp. 293-4). In these five dialogues we see that Lessing takes a cosmopolitan view of the social problem and rises above all nationality ; his object is a plea for humanitarianism in its broadest sense, and that spirit of charity which admits no undue respect for rank and no narrow patriotism. Whether attainable or not in this present world, constituted as it is, it is certainly worth striving for.

Closely connected with these dialogues is the essay on the *Education of the Human Race*, in which Lessing starts out with the proposition that "what Education is to the individual man, Revelation is to the Human Race. Education is Revelation which comes to the individual man. Revelation is Education which has come to the Human Race, and is still coming." He divides God's Revelation to man into three stages: The first is that of the Israelites under the Old Dispensation, the lowest stage, where perceptible punishment and rewards are necessary. Fear of temporal punishment prevented the evil from breaking out in man. Christianity was the second stage, the spiritual religion. Christ became the teacher of the immortality of the soul and thus another true future life gained an influence upon the acts of men. "The inner purity of the heart to be recommended for another life was reserved for Christ alone." "These writings (of the New Testament) have for seventeen hundred years enlightened human reason more than all other books, if only by the light which human reason has given to them." But as the human race outgrew the Old Dispensation it will also outgrow the New. The third stage, or the stage of "the new, eternal gospel, which is promised in the elementary books of the New Testament, will surely come." This is the time of perfection, "when man, the more convinced his reason feels of the ever better future, will indeed not have to borrow motives for his actions from this future, since he will do the good because it is good, not because arbitrary rewards have been promised which should merely fix and strengthen the fickle look in order to teach the inner, better rewards of the same."

So nearly related are these two writings that we must thoroughly investigate this new gospel before we can completely understand the politico-social and religious views of our author. In the *Education of the Human Race* Lessing maintains that the inducement to do good for the professing Christian is not so much the pure love of the good as rather the prospect of eternal happiness, which, according to Chris-

tian doctrines, is the consequence of virtue. A certain eudemonistic element, therefore, will still cling to the common Christian doctrine, and it would only be reserved for the religion of the future to display virtue in its complete purity without any mixture of foreign elements. But the education of the human race indicates that Christianity already contains the truth, and that the shell in which it is often hidden will be completely broken, and the part which has hitherto been a secret will be revealed. For this reason historical Christianity holds the same relation to the New Gospel as the truth, which is still in a certain measure a mystery, holds to the absolute knowledge of the truth. The development of real truth to the truth of reason is absolutely necessary to the human race, if it is to make proper progress to the point of loving virtue for itself. For, as it is reason which thinks the revealed truths and gradually recognizes them, so it is reason also that produces that purity of heart by means of which we are made capable of loving virtue for itself. Not till the time when men recognize the truth of religion, and have given themselves wholly up to the truth with the heart freed from every emotion of eudemonism, have they arrived at that grade of development where they may expect the New Gospel. This third age will come, of that our author has no doubt. When men, the entire race as well as individuals, have attained to that point where they are capable of ruling themselves then there will be a new era for social life and the state. Then order would exist without government. The age in which men love virtue for its own sake is the same age as that in which the order of the social world will exist without government. Lessing, therefore, maintains that no positive religion has any right to claim supremacy. Particular races and particular times must have a religion suited to them and their time, which must change as they outgrow it, or as the times change. There is constant growth, constant advance, no permanency in the sense of stagnation or lack of growth. In this light no nation, no person, has the right to claim that his

religion is the only true religion ; nor can he claim his to be superior on the plea of special revelation, but only as having more of the divine nature in it. In other words, it must be less mixt with elements foreign to the true nature of religion and to God in order to be superior. This is the real basis of that "tolerance of which Nathan and Saladin are the ideal representatives. If a man believes that he possesses a truth without which the race must perish, it is impossible for him to look with calmness on opposing faiths. Let him become convinced that there is no truth essential to mankind to which all have not equal access, and it will seem strange to him that anyone should wish to restrain the free intellectual impulses of his fellows" (Sime II, pp. 271-2).

But if "no historical religion is absolute, each has a relative worth." Every positive religion (Christianity, Judaism, or other) has been beneficial to its age and believers. Lessing did not join those skeptics who were attempting to overthrow the Church and all religious belief, but he had the courage to proclaim to these iconoclasts that "they misunderstood the religion they assailed." It had achieved great good for the human race and would continue its work. "Why," he asks, "will we not rather recognize in positive religions the direction in which alone the human understanding has been able to develop itself in various places, and may yet further develop itself, than either smile or scowl at either of them? Nothing in the best of worlds deserves this our anger, this our dislike, and only our religion shall be supposed to deserve it? God has had his hand in everything, but has had nothing to do with our errors?" "These simple words sounded the doom of the only way in which it has yet occurred to the free-thinking eighteenth century to look upon religions with which it did not agree. They asserted once for all the principle that it is not by trickery that the lives of vast masses of men are controlled from generation to generation" (ibid.)

In his *Nathan* Lessing has attempted to idealize these two principles that no positive religion has an absolute value,

though having a relative one, and that there is a law of progress in human history, whether civil or religious. Does his drama reach his high ideal of religion, his noble ideal of the state, his exalted ideal of life? Or is it rather only a complement, only another example, another superior or inferior view of the discussion into which he had been drawn? To answer these questions intelligently we must subject this his drama to a critical examination.

In the Goeze controversy Lessing had violated the commands of those over him and felt that he might lose his position as librarian of Wolfenbüttel; moreover he wished to put in imperishable and popular form those ideas which the discussion had brought to light. Therefore he had conceived the idea of preparing the *Nathan* for publication and selling it on subscription. The first definite notice we find of the play is in a letter to his brother, dated August 11th, 1778, in which he says: "Many years ago I once sketched a play, the plot of which bears a kind of analogy to my present controversy, of which I did not then even dream. . . . If you and Moses (Mendelssohn) wish to know it, you may turn to the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, Giorn. I., Nov. III., Melchisedech, Giudeo. I think I have invented a very interesting episode to it, so that all will read well and I shall certainly play the theologians a greater joke than with ten more fragments." In another letter he gives the additional information that "it will be anything but a satirical piece in order to leave the battle-field with sarcastic laughter. It will be as pathetic a piece as I have ever written and Mr. Moses (Mendelssohn) has judged correctly that mockery and laughter would not be in harmony with the note I struck in my last paper [*Necessary Answer*, etc.] (which you will also find vibrating in this afterpiece), unless I wished to give up the whole controversy. But I do not yet have the least desire to abandon it, and he (Moses) shall indeed see that I am not going to injure my own cause by this dramatic digression." On another occasion he adds: "My piece has nothing to do with our present blackcoats (clericals), and I will

not block the way for its final appearance on the theatre, if a hundred years must first pass. The theologians of all revealed religions will indeed silently curse it, but they will be careful not to take sides against it openly."

However different the three religions are, according to the measure of their revelation, they are still in so far genuine that they come from God and originate in God who adapts his love to the strength of mankind in granting them the Mosaic and Muhammedan religions as those of the law and the Christian as that of freedom. By the religion of the law men become only servants, by the religion of love they become free, become the children of God and heirs of his kingdom. But God did not give the law to develop the servitude of men; the law is to be the educator that leads to Christ. When the natural man strives to rise above the law given him by the paternal love for his instruction and development, when he loves the law, understands its object and purport, then it ceases to be a law to him, he no longer feels it as a fetter, and only then is he capable of bearing true freedom; then perfection will come and patchwork will cease. We see this in the centurion of Capernium, in Nicodemus, in Nathanael the Israelite without guile, in the Samaritan, in Cornelius the centurion, who are all above the law and are no longer fettered by it. One still under the law can grow above the law, and Jew and Muhammedan can be better than their law requires of them; but they then cease to that extent to be Jew and Muhammedan that they grow into a higher order of discipline, into freedom. The Christian always fails to reach the demands of his doctrine, can never get to its highest stage of perfection, can never rise above its great truths. These embrace mankind, that universal development possible to man, while the religions of the law exclude mankind from the universality of this symmetrical development, give him a narrow and contracted education. The soul of our drama, the leading thought in it, is that piety of the heart, justice and love first impart the genuine consecration to the confession of the definite, positive faith.

This is the true principle of religion, this is the principle which Lessing wished to proclaim in his drama. We may here, indeed, pertinently ask which of the different forms of faith conforms more nearly to this true religious ideal. For this question becomes the pivotal question of the drama, and is answered, or rather its answer is attempted, in the parable of the three rings. For true religion possesses the power of making one's self well-pleasing to God and man. Religion is thus a force, and its effectiveness depends upon certain conditions; this effectiveness is, under certain circumstances, paralyzed by the resistance which it meets. Therefore, religion does not produce its true effect with everyone, but requires one condition, namely, faith or confidence, and only he who possesses this faith, this confidence, can make himself well-pleasing to God and man. The power of religion is not mechanical, but dynamical, and requires co-operation on the part of man, an inner activity of its possessor. It requires our coöperation in a twofold manner, in our relation to God and in our relation to man,—resignation to God and love to our neighbor. This is the marrow of religion and is common to all religions. They differ only in degree and only in the way in which they demand both of us. This criterion would decide the relation of the religions to one another. And this appears to be the question discussed in the *Nathan*, but only appears so. For we could not make a greater mistake than to believe that Lessing wished to compare in *Nathan* Islamism, Judaism, and Christianity and judge the three religions according to their respective merits. The very fact that Saladin is a Muhammedan, Nathan a Jew, and the Patriarch a Christian, but neither of them a true representative of his religion, contradicts this view. There is a good reason why Lessing makes the Patriarch a Christian and Nathan a Jew, as we shall see later on; it would also be folly to think that Lessing intended to make Christianity inferior to Islamism and Judaism. The heathen show their self-abnegation before God by sacrifice; the Jews by sacrifice and that inner feeling which manifests itself in

the recognition of sin and atonement ; the Christian by giving the whole heart to God, and by the regenerating process which follows this. Islamism is in this respect nearly related to Christianity, but possesses a fatalistic feature which bends the will of man to a higher will, but does not set it to work. Our relations to God determine our relations to man. All religions presuppose a moral relation of man to man, but members of the different religions are at different stages of the religious growth. Judaism did not extend the love of neighbor beyond its national boundary, and prayed for the destruction of its enemies. Islamism extended its neighborly love to all the races of its confession and put the others to fire and sword. Christianity broke down the barriers and brought true humanity into the world, and extended the love of neighbor to the love of mankind in general. The gospel of Christian love is taught in the parable of the good Samaritan and is found in the words of Christ: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you ; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven ; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (Mt. 5, 44-45). This unegoistic, disinterested love proceeding from the resignation to God forms the kernel of Christianity ; we see that Lessing acknowledges this as the vital essence of the Christian religion in his beautiful monogram : *The Testament of John*, who repeated constantly to his disciples the words "Little children, love ye one another," and when asked why, answered, "because it is the Lord's command and because when ye do that alone, ye do all."

But the growth of this religion of love may be so checked in the spiritual life of man that scarcely any trace of it shall appear, while, on the other hand, the religion of law may, under proper circumstances, produce the most disinterested love. Thus we have the Patriarch who is all the more despicable for knowing the command of love and disregard-

ing it, yet we see Nathan, in spite of the great obstacles which birth, education and environment laid upon him, crossing the narrow boundaries of his own faith and arriving at the genuine religion of love. It is not a comparison of two religions but of two men. For religion is not an outer garment, but a living, animating principle which makes its possessor well-pleasing to God and man. And yet every religion which does not confine itself to one individual but is to take root in a nation must be expressed in a certain form of divine service, in certain customs and rites. General ideas can exist as little as bodiless spirits. Without a body the spirit vanishes, without confession religion becomes a mere effusive display of sentiment, a mere empty abstraction. Every nation has its peculiar form of religion. Only when a religion is adapted to the nation which possesses it can it fulfil its mission and educate the people to true religion. Sometimes the mere outward form covers up the real kernel of religion, but as long as the real kernel is there it has some vitalizing power. True tolerance is quite opposed to mere indifference and proceeds from a firm conviction of the truth of one's own faith; it consists in the fact that we recognize in others the moral principle of their convictions and the historical right of certain symbols and rites. But he who thinks that the true essence of religion inheres in these symbols and rites alone will be just as intolerant as he who denies their origin, their significance, and their justification. Lessing cannot therefore be justly reproached with having made Christianity inferior to Islamism and Judaism, nor does any blame attach to him for having left it undecided which of the three religions is in possession of the true ring. "By their fruits ye shall know them," and has he not made it evident in his *Education of the Human Race* and other writings which of the three he considers highest? And do we not know which produces the best fruits? Let modern civilization answer those who still doubt. Although it is Christianity in which the spirit of Christ reveals the truths

of God most perfectly, it is not true of all individuals in it, and no one has the right to draw conclusions about the essence of Christianity from isolated examples. For there is a vast difference between the real, vivifying power of the gospel and sporadic distortions produced by crippled, misshapen growth; between the truth of an idea itself and individual appearances of the same; between its effect in universal history and its subjective existence in the souls of individual men.

But why, we may justly ask, did Lessing make a Jew (Nathan), a Saracen (Saladin), the representatives of his higher religion, and make of the Patriarch a true pattern of priestly arrogance and all that is most abhorrent in human nature? It has been well answered that Lessing "wished to preach to the Christians, wished to make them conscious of the foolishness and badness of their Christian views and shame them; for this purpose distortions from their own faith and noble examples from the non-christian world served him better. For Christ himself held the Good Samaritan as an example to the hard-hearted Pharisees and stiff-necked scribes; but he did not wish to place Samaritanism above Judaism for all that." We repeat that Lessing did not choose the persons of his drama as representatives of their special religions. For if the Christians of the drama are to represent Christianity, then the Jews and Muhammedans must likewise represent their religions. But neither Nathan nor Saladin, nor Sittah, nor Al Hafi represents at all his religion, but one is forced to believe that Lessing had just the opposite in view in sketching their characters and actions. For he has either completely suppressed, or at least weakened and placed in the background, the peculiar, innate marks of different faiths by the compensating power of their religion of humanity and reason. No one would be able to extract the true doctrine of Christ from the characters and acts of the Patriarch, of Daja, of the Templar, of the Cloister-brother. The only reason which induced Lessing to take his best characters from other faiths and to make the Christians

the worst is the lesson he wished to teach. He wished to "hold the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own features, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." And all for the instruction of the Christians. The negative side of the lesson is to rebuke those who put the letter above the spirit, which results in arrogance, hypocrisy, intolerance, and fanatical persecutions. This was the answer to Goeze and his clan and was the continuation of his controversy by which he hoped to defeat his opponents. Therefore he could not take his dramatic characters in which he intended to show the distortions of the Christian religion from among the Jews and Muhammedans, but must choose them from among the Christians. For his drama was intended for effect upon Christians, as he had his motive from them. Had Lessing been a Jew or Mussulman and wished to give them a lesson, he would have chosen a Christian for his model character.

But the real, deep, underlying reason for choosing a Jew as model, the positive side of Lessing's idea, lies in the fact that the best criterion of strength and skill in a warrior is the degree of strength and skill shown by his opponent over whom he wins the victory. None of the three religions under discussion offers such a contrast with the idea of the Nathan as the Jewish; therefore none of them makes it so difficult for its professor to realize this idea and so interweave it into his character as to make it a living principle of life as the Jewish; none but the Jewish offers so many obstacles for overcoming contradictory errors and vices. The belief in Jehovah as the zealous, angry God of punishment, rather nourishes hate than the common love of mankind; the belief in Jehovah and in the Jewish nation as his chosen people leads to national and religious arrogance; to contempt for the Gentiles; it obstructs, or at least renders difficult, the germination of the idea of humanitarianism and cosmopolitanism. The history of the Jews confirms this statement. Even the Templar, who had risen above nationality and positive religion, cherishes such prejudice against the Jews that at

first he will have nothing to do with Recha and Nathan: "A Jew's a Jew, and I am rude and bearish." The power of reason and love is all the more magnificent when it triumphs over such prejudices; here is the profound reason why Nathan, who so far surpassed all other characters in goodness and wisdom, is made the principal character of the drama. We must not look for his prototype either in the spirit of the time, which indeed in its tendency to enlightenment was favorable to the Jews, nor in the personal friendship of Lessing with Moses Mendelssohn, who himself says of Nathan: "After the appearance of Nathan the cabal whispered into the ear of every friend and acquaintance that Lessing had abused Christianity, though he has only ventured to reproach some Christians and at most Christianity. In very truth, however, his Nathan, as we must confess, redounds to the honor of Christianity. Upon what high plane of enlightenment and civilization must a people be in which a man can rise to this height of sentiment, can educate himself to this excellent knowledge of divine and human things. At least posterity must think so, it seems to me; but Lessing's contemporaries did not think so." Perhaps Spielhagen (*Faust und Nathan*, p. 17) is not so far wrong when he says: "In *Faust* the riddle (of life) is given up, in *Nathan* it is solved." And page 25 he adds: "*Faust* is the tragedy of universal pain, *Nathan* the Song of Songs of reconciliation. *Faust* is chaos, *Nathan* is the Iris-bow which brightly spans the abyss, a sign of comforting promise." It is safe to assume that the *Nathan* represents Lessing's third stage in the *Education of the Human Race*, the period of "Peace on earth and good will to men," the reign of universal peace where men shall do right because it is right and govern themselves without law or rulers as each one will prefer another's interest to his own.

The setting of Lessing's conception of a perfect religion is the tale of the three rings, to which we now turn our attention. In the times of the crusades the belief obtained to a considerable extent that Christians, Jews and heathen all serve one

God, or, as some stated it, God possesses three kinds of children in Christians, Jews and heathen. The decision of rank for the children of the house rests only with the father. The order of Knights Templars favored these liberal views and even the foremost thinkers among the Jews believed that Judaism and Christianity were two true religions coming from God and that neither was tainted with deceit. One of their wise rabbis (it must have originated in the eastern country which is so full of metaphorical language) has clothed this thought in a parable, afterwards known as the parable of the rings. About the year 1100 a Spanish Jew put it in its earliest and simplest Jewish form. It states that Pedro of Arragon once asked a rich Jew, who had the reputation of great wisdom, which of the two laws (Mosaic or Christian) he considered the better, in order to have an excuse for appropriating his money, no matter which way he might answer the question. The Jew took three days' time for thought, at the end of which he came back to the king in apparent confusion and related the following incident. A month ago his neighbor, a jeweler, on the point of making a long journey, comforted his two sons by giving each a precious stone. This morning they had asked him, the Jew, about the worth of the two treasures, and, on his explanation that they must wait for the return of the father who alone was competent to decide the question, they had abused him and beaten him. Pedro said that this mean conduct of the sons deserved punishment. "Let thy ear hear what thy mouth speaks," replied the Jew. "The brothers Esau and Jacob have each a precious stone, and, if you wish to know who has the better, send a messenger to the great jeweler above who alone knows the difference." Pedro, satisfied with the answer, sent the Jew away in peace.

Between this simplest parable of the precious stones and the richest in every way (Lessing's version in *Nathan*) many members and variations appear, full of pride of faith and spiritual freedom, of exclusive confidence and unsparing skepticism, of universal love of man and narrow hate. The

moral lesson contained in all these different versions is the "teaching of brotherly love, humanity, and mutual tolerance."—which forms the essence and basis of the Christian religion. And this is the same lesson which Lessing had been trying to teach in his controversy with Goeze, in the *Education of the Human Race*, and the other writings of that period, so that *Nathan* only embodies in poetic form what he had already said elsewhere. In Spain, probably, a third religion was added, the Moorish. The indecision remains, but the early Christian transformation clouded the clearness of the Spanish-Jewish anecdote. According to Wünsche (*Origin of the Parable of the Three Rings*) the next earliest account is found in the *Cento Novelle antiche*, a well-known collection of Italian stories. In number 72 is the parable of the rings which is nearly like the Arragonian, but we have here a Sultan and three rings, one genuine and two false, the father alone knowing the true one. From here the story passed into the *Gesta Romanorum* where in one of its three versions we have one additional trait which Lessing has made use of. Here the true ring has the power of making its wearer beloved by God and man. Whether Busone da Gubbio (1311) in his novel *Avventuroso Siciliano* took his version of the parable from the *Cento Novelle* or elsewhere is still doubtful, but it is certain that Boccaccio drew from him. Busone made but few changes: only one ring is genuine, but it is not left to the father to decide which religion is the true one, that still remains undecided. With Boccaccio it is no longer an indefinite sultan, but the warlike and heroic Saladin who in his need of money calls the rich and usurious Jew Melchisedec from Alexandria to Jerusalem in order to force a loan from him by means of the vexatious question which of the three religions he considers the true one. The Jew is soon resolved and recounts to Saladin as if by sudden inspiration the story of the three rings. This is essentially the same as that given in *Nathan*, Act 3, sc. 7, to which we refer the reader. The story of Boccaccio varies very little from the

other Italian accounts. He does not tell us, as the others did, for what purpose the sultan needed money. Busone also gives the reason why the sultan seeks to rob the Jew. Jews are hated, therefore they can conscientiously be robbed of their money. For the tolerant Boccaccio this was wrong, so he changes his Jew into a rich, avaricious usurer instead of leaving him a noble and wise person.

Lessing has made several changes. Besides the fact that the ring has been received from "dear hands" it has the power of making its wearer, who should have confidence in its virtue, well-pleasing before God and man. In order to prevent the son who should possess the ring from alone becoming the head and prince of the house, the father had two others made so like the original that he could not distinguish the true from the false. Rejoicing that he could now show each of his sons the same marks of love, he calls each one to him separately and gives each of them a blessing and the ring. After the father's death there arose the same controversy about the genuine ring as in the other versions, and the judge before whom all appeared could give no verdict. Boccaccio closes with the remark: "Each of the three nations believes its religion to be the real, divine revelation; but which has the true one can no more be decided than which is the true ring." Lessing does not stop there. After the judge has dismissed the three wrangling sons from his tribunal on account of lack of proof to form any decision, it occurs to him that there is a key to this seeming riddle. The true ring possesses a magic virtue which cannot fail to manifest itself in the one who has it and wears it in this confidence. As none of the three possesses the power to make himself beloved by the others, so none has the true ring; this must be lost and those they have are false; the father would not bear the tyranny of one ring any longer in his house; each may now think he has the true one, and let each strive to show the virtue of his ring.

The magic virtue is the moral effect of religion. When the judge asked the sons to help the virtue of the ring by meek-

ness, by hearty docility, by well-doing, by inner resignation to the will of God, he shows that these virtues are the moral effects of religion meant by the magic virtue of the ring. In them, and not in the outer, historical symbols and rites, lies the infallible proof of the truth of religion. That religion is the true one which produces the best men. Whether Islamism, Judaism, or Christianity is best adapted to effect this result Lessing does not say, but only implies that it is not impossible in all three. We cannot, however, deny that the way in which the principal character of the drama throws doubt on every positive religion which lays claim to objective truth has something dazzling for the great mass of mankind. It would almost appear as if the story in its comprehensive, graceful form, was well suited to spread that enlightenment which desires to resolve religion into complete agnosticism. The story is highly poetical, however, and does not completely conform to the real thought. Whether only two of the possessors of the rings, or, as the judge seems to think, all three have been deceived, cannot be decided under the circumstances. But this is only a story intended to inculcate a truth and must be judged as the parables of the Lord. As parables they may be excellent, even for the special purpose used, but if taken as truths they may be complete or incomplete, true or false in themselves, though quite proper to exemplify the truth which the one employing them wished to teach. The three religions are in so far distinguished from one another that in two of them, Islamism and Judaism, there is a difference between the objective truth sought for and the truth actually revealed, while in Christianity, where the divine and human have become thoroughly united, the truth sought in all religions is really revealed. It cannot be expected that Nathan, who, according to his own confession, does not wish to give the truth as such, but rather by means of the story which he tells the sultan thinks himself dispensed from the solution of the problem, will really state the principle which distinguishes the truth of the three religions and their relation to one another.

When Saladin objects that the religions named by him can be distinguished from one another, Nathan replies that they are all based on tradition and history, and adds that it is quite natural that we all, Muhammedans, Jews, Christians, should doubt least of all the words of those whose blood flows in our veins, of those who have given us proof of their love from our childhood.

This mode of reasoning is truly such that the conscience, which does not enter into the inner reasons upon which real knowledge rests, is satisfied. But it does not enter into the greater, profounder depths of the question where knowledge alone can guide. It is true that all religions with any real life to them have an historical background and that children accept the religion of their fathers as something from those who are nearest and dearest to them. But this is only belief founded on authority and is to be distinguished from the real religious belief founded on more perfect knowledge and the inner witness of the spirit. This is why Lessing insists on the fact that the truth of religion is to be recognized in itself, in its inner characteristics, thus rising to an ideal sphere to which Nathan does not attain. While denying that for him who would gain the knowledge, the characteristics of the truth are already present in the three religions, Nathan gives voice to the sentiment that it is the moral life, love, through which the truth of our inherited religion manifests itself. The manner in which the owners of the three rings quarrel with one another tends to show us that that miraculous force inherent in the true religion is active in none of the three religions whose symbols are the rings. Hence they are urged to emulate this love, so that perhaps later the truth might be revealed to their descendants. This love we know is the touchstone of real religion. But Nathan makes it the property of the Muhammedan, Jewish and Christian religions, when it belongs to the Christian alone. For religions of law only gain the full truth through love which is the origin of law and the essence of the moral world; even all Christians who wish to enter into the

kingdom of God must emulate this love. Christ taught it here on earth and has left it as a legacy to us. No one, however, can say that this love has been revealed to, and become the real motive of, the moral life in Judaism and Islamism, which are both national religions and neither knew nor had received any revelation of the love that absolves man from error and sin.

Having announced the doctrine of love in the story, the poet shows the moral force springing from pure love in his *denouement*. Characters separated by nationality, but obeying the purely human feelings, appear before us at the close of the drama in a real union. The powerful sultan Saladin, Nathan the rich Jew living in Jerusalem, a German Templar, prisoner of the Saracens, Sittah, Daja, Recha, are drawn to one another by similar sentiments, and the ties of blood and the benevolence of the Jew seal the bond. As in nature night yields to the rising sun, so here delusion and hate disappear from the consciences of men as soon as love appears. Oriental and Occidental, Muhammedan, Jew, Christian, rise above particular interests, feel drawn to one another as man to man, even love one another as members of one family. This is the same high standard that we saw in the *Education of the Human Race* and in *Ernst and Falk*. The conclusion of *Nathan*, moreover, is intended to let us see, imperfectly to be sure, the realization of that ideal claimed only for the future in the two articles. These characters have advanced far enough to accept the new eternal gospel. But this makes them true Christians in whose religion alone all the conditions for such a development are found.

Besides the novel in the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio already mentioned two others have an important bearing on the plot of our drama. The family history, some features in Nathan himself, and, in a certain measure, the character of the Templar are undoubtedly due to Lessing's study of this Italian author. The story related in Giorn. v, v, throws light on the family relations of our characters. It is an account of a lost child

like Recha who is reared by a kind-hearted old gentleman, Giacomino, as his own daughter. Here, however, two young men fall in love with her, one of whom turns out to be her brother and the other marries her. All the features of the Templar and Recha are present. The two servants are combined in Daja, and Bernabuccio, the father of the lost girl, is Wolf von Filneck, the father of the Templar and Recha. The lovely characteristic of Boccaccio's Giacomino, "who in his time had experienced much, who was a good-natured man, has passed over to Nathan, while the violent impetuosity of Giannole, the brother, is reflected in the Templar."

But Lessing is still further indebted to Boccaccio, *Giorn. x, Nov. III.* Here we have a man named Nathan who is exceedingly wealthy, benevolent, hospitable, of noble sentiments, giving thirty-two times to the same beggar woman without letting her see that she is recognized by him, going about in modest attire. Calm and composed when a rival in wealth and goodness comes and tells him that he is going to kill him because he outdoes him in goodness and benevolence, prudent, noble-minded and self-denying in every way. Had he talked and been a Jew he would have been Lessing's Nathan. How much the Nathan in the Novel reminds of the Nathan in the drama and yet how skilfully Lessing has transformed and remodelled his characters to suit his own idea to be represented in his drama! For the trend, the idea of the drama is profounder, more consistent, more according to the dictates of reason than any Boccaccio ever even imagined.

Boccaccio was, however, not the only source of Lessing's drama, say some critics. That absurd story that Dean Swift and Esther Johnson, or Stella, were both the natural children of Sir William Temple, the English Diplomatist and Political writer, is cited as a source. Moreover Swift wrote the *Tale of a Tub*, a parabolical comparison of the three confessions, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Calvinism, showing that all three had departed so far from the true spirit of Christianity that there was no more life in any of them.

The parable of the three rings is certainly more elevated than that of the *Tale of a Tub*, though there is a certain resemblance in the subject-matter and trend of the latter to the drama. Lessing was well acquainted with this story and also with Swift's work. But Caro (p. 74 ff.) probably goes too far when he says that Lessing here found that inner association of ideas so necessary for the unity of his drama. For there is no more inner connection between the *Tale of a Tub* and Swift's supposed love to a sister (then considered true, but now known to be false) than there is between the three novels of Boccaccio (Giorn. x, III; Giorn. v, v, I, III). For inner connection is not a personal element, but a natural cause and effect. The complete idea contained in *Nathan* had long been lying in the poet's mind; its external form was a mere secondary thought which Boccaccio's novels were as likely, and more so, to put into definite shape as Swift's story and work.

Caro's conceit that the name of Swift's supposed father, "Temple," led Lessing to call the sister's brother a Templar is a clever one, but has no force. For the historical background naturally brought the Templars into action and it was only to be expected that they would play a prominent part in the drama. It may be possible that the Swift incident had an unconscious influence upon Lessing. For when Voltaire returned from England, he brought the *Tale of a Tub* with him, asserting that this notorious *Tale of a Tub* was an imitation of the three undistinguishable rings which the father left to his three children; and we know that Lessing was an ardent admirer of Voltaire. But no one now concedes that it was the veritable source; for Boccaccio stood nearer in thought to the poet's idea than the Swift source.

It is remarkable with what masterly skill Lessing has acquired the very spirit of the Orient. The best Oriental scholars could not do better. Only the East produces such remarkable examples of generosity and liberality; here it is

a religious virtue to give. Parabolic teaching, generally in the open air, is another peculiarity of the eastern nations and Lessing has made free use of it. Nathan is master of this art and Recha is his worthy pupil. Notice also that the catastrophe of the piece is brought about by a parable. The style is simple, natural, and original. Each character uses the language peculiarly suited to it and it changes to suit the scene. Not unfrequently Lessing went into the street, as it were, and picked up most expressive phrases and legalized their use by adopting them.

Had Lessing wished to employ dramatic poetry to represent certain general phenomena of the psychological life he could have chosen no better locality or time for his purpose than Palestine during the third crusade. The East and West met here and Palestine formed the center of all the historical life of the time. Richard the Lion-hearted of England, Philip Augustus of France, Leopold of Austria, the most powerful rulers of the West, accompanied by the greatest and noblest vassals of their kingdoms, the king of Jerusalem with his barons, the bloom of knighthood in the priestly orders of the Templars and Knights of Malta, and a high clergy; Saladin, the victorious warrior of the East, who ruled from the Nile to the Euphrates and Tigris with his Emirs and Pashas. Intermingled with these were the clever merchants from the great commercial cities of the Mediterranean; Jews, experienced and educated by their journeyings in all lands, so that, as Lessing says (3, 10) "all the world flocks together here." This congregation of all mankind in a friendly and hostile manner must necessarily have exerted a peculiar influence upon the general culture, must have produced a peculiar sentiment and intellectual development, must have made a peculiar impression upon the views taken of the whole world and of life by the more enlightened individuals, especially upon the religious views, as well of the Jews as of the Christians and Mussulmans. Boccaccio had placed his Jew in Alexandria and had him called to Saladin. For his place of action Lessing chose

Jerusalem at a time when Saladin had captured the holy city from the crusaders. Here had assembled that people for worship which called itself the chosen people of God. Christ, by his glorious death on the cross, had made the city sacred and had promulgated a universal religion. But during the Middle Ages Jerusalem became the seat of the fanatical rage of both Christians and Muhammedans who there committed execrable deeds of violence and blood. The spirit of humanity displayed by noble men formed a striking contrast with most frightful intolerance, and thus set off the truths announced by our drama; this very contrast makes the ideal part of our poem more real and the real part more ideal. Lessing wished to exhibit the evils of religious fanaticism and the reign of Saladin was best suited for that. Time and place were admirably adapted to bring the representation of the three religions into close connection. For at this time the spirit of adventure reigned supreme and the air was full of strange incidents and curious events.

From the historical allusions in the play the exact time, as near as that can be determined, was probably between the first of September, 1192, and the fifth of March, 1193, that is after the conclusion of the truce with Richard the Lion-hearted and before the death of Saladin. And though Lessing paid no great attention to strict chronological order, "he still contrives to bring before us a vivid historical picture, and the local coloring is produced in a truly masterly manner."

As *Nathan the Wise* represents the conflict of tolerance with prejudice, we can on this principle divide the characters into certain groups. Nathan, Saladin and the Templar represent the cosmopolitan and humanitarian idea, while the Patriarch, and in a certain degree, Daja also, stands for narrow-mindedness and intolerance. The cloisterbrother and Al Hafi have a leaning to nature-life and are representatives of noble Naturalism. Nathan himself naturally leads the first group. Lessing is said to have glorified in him, his life-long friend, Moses Mendelssohn, but there is not a single trait in Nathan bearing

any resemblance whatever to Moses Mendelssohn. Most of the features are taken from Melchisedec and that Nathan of Boccaccio already mentioned, though they have been idealized. We have shown above why a Jew was chosen to represent this his greatest character in the drama. Nathan possesses endurance, wisdom, calmness, and affability, and is above all narrowness of nationality and religious difference. As merchant he has visited many lands and gathered experience as well as gold. He is generous and benevolent towards all. The true religion for him is the one which teaches love to God and man, gentleness, tolerance, and right-doing; for him tolerance is not a mere inclination, a mere pastime, but an inner wish, character, the man. He is in every way the opposite to Shakespeare's Shylock, and is in fact the possessor of the true ring in that he understands how to make himself well-pleasing to God and man. He is an ideal character, the embodiment of an idea, Lessing's idea of true manhood; in this respect we could with greater justice say that Lessing himself, rather than his friend, is his own prototype for his Nathan, though this would be aside from the truth. And yet we have something of the Jew in Nathan; the cunning observable in his dealings with his fellow-men, his deference to others in order to attain his ends, which indeed are always the purest and noblest, a fondness for metaphor and parable, which are all Oriental-Jewish traits. He is the ideal hero who has undergone struggles that excite our interest, and we cannot help loving and honoring him.

Next to Nathan stands Saladin, not the historic warrior, but the man in his family relations with a nature more adapted to action than to contemplation. The historic Saladin was a strict Mussulman who looked upon war against the Crusaders as his life-mission. For these his natural foes he cherished an implacable hatred. He was ever true to his word, ever kept faith with the Christians though they betrayed him again and again. Brave and intrepid by nature he was yet a peace-loving man who rose

above his environments and showed himself magnanimous alike to friend and foe. His self-abnegation was great, for at the height of power he felt no desire for mere show and magnificence, but was plain and simple in his daily life. Boccaccio had already made him a traditional hero and the Middle Ages crowned him with a halo of glory. But little was left for Lessing to do. He has idealized in him imperial greatness, noble sentiments, magnanimity and liberality. For he looks upon nobility as something akin to himself, therefore the genuine disinterestedness of the Dervish, the profound wisdom of Nathan, the knightly heroism of Richard the Lion-hearted create no envy, no malice, no surprise in him; for they seem to him only natural. In fact he would have been more surprised at their absence.

Sittah, the sister of Saladin, serves the poet as a foil to set off the excellent qualities of her brother. She is not so tolerant as he and perhaps for that very reason sees Christians and Jews in a truer light, though not unmixed with prejudice. She accuses the Christians of intolerance and a departure from the pure doctrine of their founder. Nor are the Jews less repugnant to her, not so much on account of their pride in their faith as for their avarice and cowardice. It is she who contrives the plan to catch the Jew; it is she who has Recha brought to the palace so that the Jew could not possibly spirit her away from the Templar. She shows the natural curiosity of the human race in trying to pry into the secret conversation between her brother and Nathan, and in wishing to see Recha whom the Templar loves. She takes an important part in the action of the drama, especially in the intrigues. She loves her brother above all things and forms in various ways his complement. He sees things on a grand scale, she in miniature, hence she is often more accurate in her knowledge of men than he. Where one is weak the other is strong, where he is lavish she is economical. Prudence and cunning are her virtues and we miss in her the individual truth of

a real poetic character. Like her brother she is historical, though history barely mentions her.

By birth and name only does the Templar appear as a Christian. The child of Saladin's brother Assad and a Staufen lady who had gone on the Crusades, brought up by his uncle who was a templar, aroused to action by the latter's tales and the information that his father was an Oriental who had returned home with his mother, he enlists in the Crusades in the order of the Templars, though little convinced of the truth of Christianity. The contradictions in his character are so striking that it will require much reflection to bring the special features into harmony. The predominant trait is the vein of deep melancholy which gives a serious earnestness to his every act. The disharmony in his character and his discontent spring partly from his early training and partly from his recent experiences among the Templars, as Christian and as prisoner in the hands of Saladin. He represents the transition state on his passage from a belief in a positive religion through disbelief to Lessing's third stage, to Nathan's standard. He has found that no one belief is infallible, but has not yet discovered that there is always wheat in the chaff, none so bad as to be utterly condemned. At the very end of the drama he still appears distrustful and has to pass through a struggle to renounce his passionate love and accept Recha as sister. Even then the disharmony fermenting in his inner and outer life is but slowly removed. However, as a member of the house of Saladin, when his dreams had become more than dreams, he at last saw life in its true light. His striking physical resemblance to Assad, his father, is deepened by his striking resemblance in all the qualities of his character. Nathan represents wise old age, Saladin matured manhood, Curd (the Templar) immature youth, which, like fresh *must*, must ferment and foam and by long fermentation become purified.

The most fragrant flower of the whole poem is Recha. In her simple, cheerful nature all the virtues of a maiden's pure

heart-blossom. How tenderly she loves her father, what thankful love she bears for Daja! Many features of Recha are taken from Malchen König, Lessing's stepdaughter, who had a deep love for her stepfather and who was educated by him as carefully as Recha by Nathan. The latter is what Nathan made of her a susceptible and pure soul which a wise and just education has taught self-abnegation and love. She lived in her father; he was her world, her faith, her home. She is tender without being weakly, sentimental, intellectual and cultivated without being a bluestocking. Nathan, however, is not her only instructor. Daja, the Christian widow, the nurse, planted many seeds in her receptive mind and they also brought forth fruit of another kind. On the one hand we find philosophy and reason, on the other wild fancy and belief in angels, legends, the fanciful side of life. She belongs to the poetic figures of the German literature, whose presence can be felt rather than described. Like Goethe's Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister* and Schiller's Thekla in *Wallenstein* she is a concrete though idealized form of flesh and blood. But nevertheless she is as it were surrounded by a glamour and seems to us a friendly fairy form which enchants us all the more. Rarely do we catch glimpses of such beings in the world's literature and yet Germany has given us three, Recha, Mignon, Thekla. As sister of the Templar and niece of Saladin, adopted and brought up by Nathan, she forms a convenient center about which all the separate interests of race and religion converge, being of, and yet belonging exclusively to, neither of the three races or religions.

Of our second group, the Patriarch naturally stands at the head and is an excellent pattern of priestly thirst for power; he has also departed farthest from the doctrines which Christ came on earth to preach, not having the least trace of that meekness and gentleness which forms an essential element of a Christian character. He enjoys life in the fullest, but believes in the dogmatic infallibility of the Church. It has been said that Pastor Goeze, Lessing's bitter opponent in his contro-

versy occasioned by the publication of the fragments, is intended to be represented by the Patriarch, but nothing could be farther from the mark. There may be a few thrusts at Goeze, but the character as a whole is far different, too opposite to be modelled after him. It is the portrait of what a true Christian should not be. Instead of self-abnegation we have self-aggrandizement with all its worldly lusts. No feeling of humanity reigns in his breast. While demanding blind submission from others he seeks to draw profit from everything. Faith is for him a subservient means of power, a pliant tool for satisfying his ambition to rule. Though by nature intolerant and fanatical he is himself only a too willing subject, yielding servilely to every dangerous power, even when it is repugnant to him; creeping where he thinks it will advance his interests.

The character is historical. At the time when Saladin captured Jerusalem the reigning Patriarch was Heraclius. Of course he was sent away with the other Christians instead of remaining in the city as represented in our drama, but Lessing ever changed facts to suit his purpose. This Heraclius was a notorious character and very much worse than Lessing has painted him in the drama. He thinks of everything else rather than of the welfare of the souls entrusted to him. He was a politician of the worst stamp. Treason and murder are not only legitimate means with him, but become a duty when the priest says that it is for the honor of God. It was no matter to him how kind the Jew may have been to his adopted daughter Recha; if he had taught her no dogma nor positive religion, then he must burn at the stake. Rather a false belief than no belief. He will show how dangerous it is to the state when anyone may have no belief. So preached Goeze in the controversy. He is a priest, an ecclesiastical prince, but not a Christian. He represents rather the office of High Priest, or Egyptian Hierophant, or the priests of the Middle Ages, who have mostly been opponents of humanity and pure religion. He is "a bigot in whose eyes the interests of humanity are overshadowed, or rather extinguished, by those of his Church and

hierarchy." Without this character Lessing could not have done justice to the fundamental idea of his poem. We understand the power of a moral principle best when we "see not only men whose lives it sways, but men who are controlled by its opposite." He takes but little part in the play, though serving to bring out this fundamental idea. Fr. Theo. Vischer (*Aesth.* III, 1, 430) says: "The Patriarch should have gone to extremes, the Templar should have appeared at the most exciting moment of the danger to rescue Nathan and thus have completed his elevation above the darkness of prejudice; then the drama might have ended well, only not in the discovery that the lovers were brother and sister." But this would have been contrary to the whole tone of the drama which is intended to show true tolerance triumphing over intolerance and arrogance by quiet, peaceful means.

In Daja we have an example of *sancta simplicitas*, that narrow piety which becomes dangerous in cunning hands. Firm in her belief she overlooks the genuine kernel of religion in the form which excites her imagination and produces the frenzy of fanaticism. She is the widow of a noble squire, a Swiss, who was drowned with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa on the 10th of June, 1190. Nathan took her as companion to Recha, probably because the old nurse had sickened. Soon after Daja's arrival the latter died, but not before she had disclosed the secret of Recha's birth, though it is a mystery where the nurse could have found it out. According to this account Daja could not have been more than a year in the house of Nathan when our drama opens; and yet the references to her indicate a longer service in Nathan's family. There is no way of reconciling these discrepancies without assuming that Lessing intended to discard the old nurse and make Daja's service with him extend over the whole eighteen years of Recha's life, or else he forgot to distinguish between the two persons and applied words to Daja which belonged to the nurse.

Anxious for the welfare of her foster-child's soul she is constantly urging Nathan to make good his great sin of keeping his daughter from the true faith. She does not consider what a noble woman Recha has become under the instruction of Nathan; she only sees a Christian child in the hands of a Jew. Nathan had been led to his high standard of faith by the loss of his family, had blessed the chance which had brought him Recha as a charge, and now the intrigues of the well-intentioned Daja were to put to the truest test what reason and long contemplation had ripened in his mind and made a part of his being. One object of the drama is to show us principles in action; and thus Daja in a sense becomes the motive principle in it, as she by intrigue, by confusing the Templar, and arousing his dormant distrust and setting in action his impetuous nature, applies the power that moves the whole action. She plays also the effective part of an exquisitely comical dueña, and "could ill be spared in the economy of the drama."

In the naturalistic group we have two characters which show different phases of that simple, natural worship of God. The cloisterbrother came to the East as squire, but after serving many masters he finally left the tumult of war for the cloister, devoting himself entirely to the worship of God, to which his pious nature inclined him. Robbed and taken prisoner by Arabian marauders, he managed to escape and fled to Jerusalem into the cloister of the Patriarch who promised him the first free hermit's cell on Mt. Tabor. Everything unworthy or wrong was repugnant to his upright soul. Though ever obedient to his oath, he realizes that there are bounds to his obedience, and he keeps back the knowledge that Nathan has a Christian child. What he really lacks is the knowledge of the world which makes one live and work for his own and others' good. Like the Dervish his leaning is to naturalism which drives him out of the world; but the Dervish easily gives himself up to pure contemplation; with the latter it is pure, simple, joyous

renunciation in which the soul feels the full force of its freedom from worldly care while with the former it is chiefly humility and the feeling that he is too weak to cope with the complex difficulties of the world. Instead of self-abnegation we find self-disparagement, though he is by no means stupid and knows how to carry out the dishonest commands so honestly that they never do any harm. He sees a brother in everybody and represents the Publican in Christ's parable while the Patriarch represents the Pharisee; in the parable of the Good Samaritan he represents the Good Samaritan and the Patriarch the priest and levite. He is one of the poor in spirit to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs. By some he is called the true representative of Christianity in the drama and probably comes nearer the standard than any of the other representatives. He certainly has childlike simplicity, and all the qualities which go to make up a true Christian character. It is one of the most lovely personages Lessing has sketched for us; and yet the childlike simplicity, the childlike cunning forms a comical contrast to the priestly, Jesuitical Patriarch.

The Dervish is so little an adherent of the doctrine of Muhammed that he has been a follower of the Parsees. He appears to us as the son of pure, unmixt nature, which, as it is manifested in this character, forms a remarkable contrast to those artificial relations on which the social system actually rests. In the awkward cynic, Al Hafi, Lessing's friends recognize the free copy of a Berlin excentricity, Abram Wulff, the secretary of Aaron Meyer. He was considered the greatest mathematical genius of the day, who, however, had no idea of the world and its relations. He was also an excellent chess-player and this characteristic has been skilfully brought out in the drama. Lessing had great respect for him on account of his piety and natural cynicism. The temptation was too great; he was introduced into the drama in the person of the Dervish as the unfortunate treasurer and chess-critic where he cuts a most wonderful figure. He has free entrance to his

friend Nathan's house, and preaches undisturbed his principles of cynic philosophy in grotesque words. The name is well chosen, Al Hafi, "The Barefooted," which Lessing found in his study of Oriental life and customs. Here, also, he found those proverbial sayings on everyday life, morality and wit, which he puts into Al Hafi's mouth.

In the Dervish we have the view of the elegiast of the eighteenth century, "a true man must be far from men." Our Dervish longs for the Utopian ideal of an unadulterated condition of innocence and primitive nature. The modern Frenchman or the German catches this shadowy something on the Alps or in the still valley; but our light and barefooted Dervish seeks to find salvation among the naturalistic Parsees in the hot sands of the desert where the Ghebres dwell as pure beings of nature and serve God. Hence his cry: "On the Ganges, on the Ganges only do we find men."

SYLVESTER PRIMER.

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VIII.—AN APOCRYPHAL LETTER OF ST. AUGUSTINE TO CYRIL AND A LIFE OF ST. JEROME, TRANSLATED INTO DANISH. CODEX REGIUS 1586, 4to, GL. KONG. SAML., COPENHAGEN. EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AND A GLOSSARY OF THE PROPER NAMES AND THE OBSOLETE WORDS AND FORMS.

The MS. from which the following extracts are taken is a beautiful vellum codex, substantially bound in dark red stamped morocco leather, with plain brass clasps, numbered 1586, 4to, Gl. Kong. Saml. (Old Royal Collection). It was written in 1488, at Mariager Cloister, near Aarhus in Jutland, by a monk residing there named Niels Morgensen, by order of the Prioress, Elizabeth Herman's daughter, as we are informed at the end of each part. It is the only text known. It contains, in addition to the portions now published, which form the second and fourth parts respectively, (I) A letter from St. Eusebius to Domacius, Bishop of Portuci, and Theodosius, a Roman Senator, announcing the death of St. Jerome, (III) Cyril's reply to St. Augustine's letter, and (V) A Life of St. Katharine of Siena, which last comprises almost a third of

the whole. The MS. contains $153\frac{1}{2}$ folios, or 307 pages, distributed as follows :

- I. fol. 1-46 b. 93 chapters.
- II. " 47 a-56 a and 6 lines on fol. 56 b. 20 chapters.
- III. " 56 b-101 a. 58 chapters.
- IV. " 101 b-106 b. 6 chapters.
- V. " 107 a-154 a. 46 chapters. The last page is unnumbered.

The codex was first carefully described by John Erichsen in his *View of the old MS. collection in the great Royal Library*,¹ where it is characterized as "an exceedingly remarkable book for the study of the Danish Language . . . , especially when attention is paid to the Latin originals, from which these translations were made, in order to be the more certain of the real meaning of the Danish words" (p. 23). The next important reference occurs in the preface to Chr. Molbech's edition of the oldest Danish translation of the Bible,² where our translation is given the palm for the purity of its language and the knowledge of Latin displayed by its writer. In the preface to the second edition of his *Danish Dictionary*, Molbech again refers to the language of the MS. and gives a very brief extract from the *Life of Jerome*, as far as I have been able to discover, the earliest printed extract. There is also a reference to the codex in N. M. Petersen's *History of Danish Literature*,³ in which the *Life of Jerome* is not mentioned, and in P. Hansen's⁴ popular work on the same subject, where a short extract from the *Life of St. Katharine* is given, without any attempt at diplomatic accuracy. The best testimony, however, to the value

¹ *Udsigt over den Gamle Manuscript Samling i det store Kongelige Bibliothek.* Af John Erichsen. Kjøbenhavn, 1786.

² *Den ældste danske Bibel Oversættelse.* Udg. af C. Molbech. Kjøbenhavn, 1828.

³ *Dansk Literatur Historie.* Af N. M. Petersen. 2 den Udg. Copenhagen, 1878. Vol. I, p. 78.

⁴ *Illustreret dansk Literatur Historie.* Af P. Hansen. Copenhagen, 1889.

of the MS. to students of the Danish language, is contained in the many references to it occurring in Molbech's *Glossarium*, the glossary to his edition of the Bible, referred to above, *Den Danske Rimekrønike*, and Henrik Harpestreng's *Danske Lægebog*, and in Kalkar's *Dictionary*,¹ now in course of publication. Although Molbech's references often lack the accuracy of transcription so especially important in the case of an unpublished unique MS., as has been pointed out, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IV, 5, they show a laborious study of original sources that reflects credit on the editor's skill and thoroughness as a lexicographer.

In his invaluable *Old Danish Reader*,² the late Rev. Dr. C. J. Brandt devoted twelve and a half pages to extracts from the different parts of our codex, to which is prefixed a very brief account of its contents. In accordance with the general plan of the work, these extracts, dating from a period later than the middle of the fifteenth century, are printed without reference to the abbreviations occurring in the MS. and with a partially normalized spelling, especially in the case of *u*, *v*, *w* and the frequent arbitrary doubling of consonants. The variations given by me do not include these intentional differences of reading, but merely such differences as seem to have arisen from carelessness either of transcription or proof-reading, from which the most careful work is never entirely free. Brandt's selections, which, for no apparent reason, do not follow the order of the original, consist of chap. 1 complete of *Cyriil's Letter*, the first three chapters of *Augustine's Letter*, the third being given incompletely, portions of chaps. 80–87 inclusive of *Eusebius' Letter* and the first three chapters of the *Life of Jerome*; of the *Life of St. Katharine*, the latter half of chap. 10 and the whole of chaps. 17 and 38. These details are given here as the omissions are not indicated in the *Reader*, and no hint of them is afforded by the context.

¹*Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog (1300–1700)*. Af Otto Kalkar. Copenhagen, 1881.

²*Gammeldansk Læsebog. En Håndbog i vor ældre Literatur på Modersmålet*. Af C. J. Brandt. Kjøbenhavn, 1857.

In the preface to his *Danish Cloister Reading*,¹ Brandt refers again to the Mariager MS., expressing the hope that "if time and circumstances permit me to execute the plan, this collection shall include what remains of religious literature from cloister times in Denmark that has not yet been published." In the list of such works given by him our codex was included. Unfortunately Brandt was prevented from carrying out this admirable plan, and now that the final preventer Death has interfered, a small portion of the labor may with perfect propriety be undertaken by a less practised hand. As it is my intention at some future time to publish the whole MS., I shall content myself for the present with a very brief introduction, giving merely such facts as are of special importance. The question of the Latin influence, for example, is left almost entirely untouched. In his review of Molbech's edition of the Bible translation, Rask complains of the insufficiency of the editor's introduction in this very particular. It seems to me best to defer the consideration of this aspect of our MS. until it can be made to include the whole, and then to compare it with the Latin element in the translation of the Bible. The same applies to the glossary, which in the present attempt is limited to such words as no longer occur in modern Danish or have vitally changed their form or meaning.

A word with regard to the Scandinavian cloisters of the fifteenth century may not be out of place before considering the peculiarities of the MS. This is the more desirable as the influence of the monks upon the Danish language was very considerable during this period. The principal order of monks and nuns was that of St. Bridget, or Birgitte, its first cloister being founded in Vadstena, or Wadstena, in Sweden in 1368, and containing a residence for both monks and nuns. From Vadstena missionaries were sent out over Europe, and founded sister convents, the largest ones in Denmark being Maribo, founded in 1417, Mariager, probably between 1400 and 1420,

¹*Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen*. Udg. af C. J. Brandt. Kjøbenhavn, 1865.

and Maristed or Sæby Cloister, concerning the connection of the latter of which with the Swedish order there is some doubt. At about the same time several settlements were made in Norway, the retreat at Bergen being changed from a Benedictine order to one of St. Bridget.

As a consequence of the intimate religious connection existing between these three Northern peoples, a new Scandinavian dialect, the so-called *lingua Brigittina*, or *Birgittinersproget*, arose, the chief element of which was Swedish, with an intermixture of Danish and Norwegian, varying in degree according to the country in which it was used. As to the lasting influence of this bastard Scandinavian tongue upon the Danish language, I am inclined to believe that it was very slight, if its effects can be traced at all in the later stages. Some specimens of the *lingua Brigittina* are given by Brandt in his *Reader*, of which the first, the regulations of the Vadstena Cloister, p. 93, may be taken as a good example. Reference to the cloister itself may be found in N. M. Petersen's *Dansk Literatur Historie*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 83.

Although copied at least, if not actually translated, in the Birgittiner Cloister of Mariager, by one of its brothers, our codex may be regarded as one of the purest specimens of Danish preserved from the fifteenth century. The chief foreign influence to be observed in it is from the Latin original, while the Swedish element is very slight. This latter is undoubtedly due partly to the comparative lateness of its production, partly to the circumstance of its having been written by a Dane, as the name implies, for Danes, and without the influence of a Swedish original.

The handwriting of the Mariager Codex is round and legible. The initial capitals in the headings of chapters are elaborately formed and tastefully decorated in red and blue, and occupy five lines. Red ink is freely used throughout the text, both in the Latin headings and endings, in the crossing of capital letters and for simple purposes of ornament. The frequent red dots sprinkled over the pages seem to serve no practical purpose of

punctuation, but are employed merely for the same ornamental purpose. Corrections and erasures occur very seldom, although there is one long marginal insertion on the first page, written in an inferior hand and with a darker ink, and several others occur in the *Life of St. Katharine*.

The use of capitals is quite arbitrary as regards proper names, the same name often occurring on the same page both with a large and small initial. One exception, however, is *Christus*, which is in every case but one written with a capital, whereas *gudh* (*Gud* = God) is found quite as frequently with the one as with the other. The first word of every sentence begins consistently with a capital, in spite of the absence of punctuation marks, and frequently relative clauses, too. As a rule the capital letters are distinguished by a red line drawn through them, but this does not apply in all cases. It is occasionally difficult to determine whether the *o* be a capital or a small letter, especially when occurring in the conjunction *oc*. In doubtful cases I have been guided by the construction and the general tendency of the orthography. No cases were noticed of a common noun, occurring in the body of a sentence, written with an initial capital, as one would naturally expect from the great confusion in the spelling of proper names.

The abbreviations are for the most part simple and easy to expand, rarely including more than two letters. The only longer abbreviations in the two parts published here are *Christo*, *Jhesus*, *Jherusalem* and *Sanctus*. The commonest abbreviations are those of *er* and *re*, which are formed somewhat like a German *d*, the line being curved down to distinguish *re*; *n* and *m* are both indicated by a curve over the preceding letter, *is* by a sign resembling *j*, *ro* by an *o* above the line, *et* and *eth* by a sign resembling *z*. Final *s* is furthermore distinguished from initial and medial *s*, by a sign resembling a capital *B*, slanted to the left. The occurrence of abbreviations is quite as arbitrary as the use of capitals with proper names; the same word often occurring in the same line both with and without indicated letters. *Hannum*, however, the

dative of the third personal pronoun masculine, occurs almost invariably in an abbreviated form, and *er* and *re* are seldom found written out in full. Some pages of the MS., furthermore, show a freer use of abbreviations than others, without, however, any apparent reason.

With regard to the orthography of the MS., little can be said except that it is no worse than that of other MSS. from the same and from even a still later period. Indeed, the early editions of Holberg's comedies are by no means models of spelling. As Lyngby¹ has pointed out, this orthographical confusion in Danish of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is due to several causes, the most important being undoubtedly the many phonetic changes by which the beginning of the period is distinguished. This is especially true of the letters *t* and *d*. The piling up of consonants, however, numerous instances of which occur in this text, is to be explained solely by the bad taste of the scribes.

Beginning with the vowels, *ee*, *e* and *æ* are often written interchangeably, though it should be noted that *ee* and *æ* seldom represent the open sound. Examples of confusion are *er* and *ær*, *ærce* and *ærce* (the plural of the verb, the noun being generally written *æræ*), *æ* is sometimes doubled, as in *hæær*, the first word of *Augustine's Letter*. *I* and *j* are written interchangeably for the vowel sound; which is also expressed by *y* (*thy* = *thi*), probably through the influence of German, in which the Danish sound of *y* would not be recognized as differing from that of *i*. *V* is generally written for initial *u* and *w* frequently for medial and final, as in *vthi*, *gruwethe*, *nw*.

The chief confusion in the writing of the consonants lies, as has been said before, in the occurrence of *t* and *th*, the latter being written for *t*, as in *enesthe*, *skalth*, *sthæd*, etc. So, too, *dh* for *d*, as in *gudh*. *Och* is perhaps due to Swedish influence. As examples of the piling up of consonants may be noted: *loffwetz*, *offwer*, *førredagss*, *giffwer*.

¹ *Dansk og svensk litteratur og sprog i anden halvdel af det 14de og i det 15de århundred.* Af K. J. Lyngby, Cop., 1863.

The phonetic differences between modern Danish and the language of our MS. as regards the vowel system are very slight indeed and hardly deserve mention. In all Danish writings displaying a strong Swedish influence, and the majority of these are composed in the *lingua Birgittina*, the more primitive Swedish vowel system asserts itself, especially in the use of *a* for the weaker *e*, but of this few traces have been noted in our codex. Notice, however, *anthen* for *enten*.

The principal consonant differences are those that characterize Old Danish, *k, t, p* final, instead of Modern Danish *g, d, b*. In fact, the transition from the one period to the other is most conveniently marked by this phonetic change. As examples we may take *mik, met, løpp*. *Och*, also found in the form *oc*, may be due to Swedish influence, as noted above, although it is more probable that it is merely a careless variation of the copyist. Examples of initial *t < d* may also be found, as *tok < dog, tik < dig*. *Tok*, according to Lyngby, is changed from Old Norse þó, through Low German influence.

The obsolete forms occurring in the MS. will be found in the glossary and their consideration need not detain us here, especially as they present no peculiarities.

As has been said before, the consideration of the Latin element will be postponed until it can be made to include the whole MS. *St. Augustine's Letter* can be found in Vol. 33 of *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*, Latin series, column 1120 of the appendix. The Heading of the letter is slightly changed in the Danish version and the first four lines of the introduction are omitted. Throughout the translation there are minor omissions and some few additions. The division into chapters is not observed in the Latin original of this letter, while it is in Cyril's reply.

Although no statement is made of the fact in any of the references to this MS., the *Life of Jerome* is a fairly close translation of his life contained in Jacob de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea de Vitis Sanctorum*. This collection was probably translated in full somewhat earlier and by a different hand. Only

two fragments of this work, portions of the lives of *St. Cecilia* and *St. Clemens*, are preserved. These are reproduced in Brandt's *Reader*, pp. 202-207. The style is decidedly inferior to that of the translation of 1488, being of about the same quality as that of the Bible translation.

The division into chapters and the short Latin introduction and conclusion of the *Life of Jerome* seem to be original with the Danish translator, while a portion of the beginning of the Latin story is omitted. The majority of the variations are due to the unfamiliarity of Danish readers with the objects described. Under this head fall among others the following: "in arte"="I then boglig konst som kalles," fol. 101 b; "som waræ hedhenske mæstheræ," 101 b, is inserted by the translator after "Cicero oc Tullius;" "summus sacerdotis"="thet helgestæ biskopsdom oc prestedom som ær paffvedommeth," 102 a; "heremus"="øtken eller skoff," 102 b; "scorpiones"="the ormæ som kalles scorpiones," 103 a. As in the Danish translation of Mandeville's *Travels* (1459) and many other Old Danish works, *Ethiopicus* is rendered by *blaman*, *blaa* being employed in Icelandic and Early Swedish in the sense of 'black.' In Henrik Harpestreng the name "Blamannæ land," "Ethiopia" occurs. This use continues in Danish at least as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. "Potus" is rendered by "øll," 102 b, by a method of specializing quite natural doubtless to a Danish monk of the fifteenth century.

A word in conclusion with regard to the rendering of the text. All abbreviations are written out, the omitted letters being indicated by italics. The arbitrary spelling and capitalization of the MS. have in every instance been preserved and the absence of punctuation marks has also been left unchanged. In the glossary, the first occurrence only of each obsolete word or form is given, unless marked variations are noted. In some cases it has been found desirable to give the modern Danish form or equivalent and occasionally the Latin original. In addition to this glossary, there is a list of the names of persons and places, all foreign, occurring in the text,

in all their various forms, grammatical and orthographical. They have in every case the Latin endings and the same is true of some few common nouns such as *discipulas*, *epistolam*, etc.

The brief Latin postscript by the translator to each letter was omitted by accident in the copy of the MS. made in Copenhagen and cannot therefore be given here. It simply states the date of the MS., and the name of its copyist and of the Prioress.

The footnotes to the MS. give the variations occurring in Brandt's transcriptions, contained in his *Old Danish Reader*. In the glossary, the letters K. and M. refer respectively to Kalkar's *Ordbog* and Molbech's *Glossarium*.

Fol. 47 a. Hæær beghynnes sancti Augustini Biskops sændhebreff till
sanctum Cyrillum biskopp i jherusalem aff sancto Jeronimo
 Thet fôrste Capitell Hedherligh fadher Cyrille Thu skalth¹ ey wænthe mik
 at thyæ² Oc ey skalth thu wænthe mik at thale *met* barnethunghæ stham-
 mendhe eller som then man ther smitthet ær i syne³ lippe Jeronimi loff som
 er ærefuldhesthe cristenthroes⁴ kæmpæ oc then helgesthe kirkes war modh-
 ers hørnesteen I hwicken hwn war stadfasth mangelundhe Nw sanneligh
 er then samæ stheen een skinnendhe stiærna i hemelriges æræ Hymblena⁵
 fræmthale gutz ære oc the gærninghe som gudh giorthe i hans helghe mæn
 loffwe hannum Skall skellighe creaturæ thiæ gutz loff mæn vskellighe
 creaturæ thiæ icke Skall iek thiæ eller thalæ Om iek thier tha bywdes
 stenena at ropæ Jek skall thalæ oc ey thiia oc iek skall loffwe then ærlighe
 Jeronimum Oc æn thogh at iek er een owærdugh oc een vfulkommeligh
 loffwerman Oc ey er loffwen fagher i syndughe mantz mwndh Thogh skall
 iek ey allighewæll afflathe hans loff Thy skall war handh stadeligh skriffwe
 oc war thunghe skall ey tilhænghe gwmmen Thy han er heligh alzhelgesth
 man Vndherligh oc fryckthendhe alle them som omkringh oss æræ Han er
 sthœr oc megtugh i thet helgesthe loffwet offwerghængeligsth helighet Han
 er sthœr i vsigeligh wisdoms dywpheth Oc er nw megtugh i

Fol. 47 b. sthorræ ærens sthorheth Han er och || vndherligh i vthørde
 iærteghne Han er rædenthes for then mackth hannum er
 befalet aff hærren Thet andhet Ca Hvræ sthœr then ærefuldh Jeroni-
 mus er i syn offwergengelish helighet Hwræ kan myn thwnghe kungøre
 thet mæn noghet nær alle menneskes thwnghe orke ey thet at the kunne
 vthtrycke⁶ hans wærdughet Hannum sømmes wæll at kalles then andhen
 samuel oc then andhen Johannes baptista i offwergengelish leffnietz helighet
 Helias oc iohannes heremite thwingdhe⁷ theris leghommæ *met* sthœr hwashed

¹ *skalt.*² *thiæ.*³ *sine.*⁴ two separate words.⁵ *Hemblene.*⁶ *uthtrycke.*⁷ *twingdhe.*

j¹ madh oc klædher Then ærefuldh Jeronimus war ey myndræ leffnetz here-
mitæ Thy han sthædh i otken iiij aar Och war enesthe vskellighe dywrs
stalbrodher J XL aar drack han ey wiin eller nogher dryck ther man kan
wordhe drucken aff swa² som then hedherligsthe Eusebii breff som iek fik
föredagss fullleghere oc bethræ vtwisær Oc som thu self wedsth bether thet
samæ Aff all köthmadh oc fisk hiolth han sik swa aff at han willæ næp-
peligh næffnæ them Oc ey aath han noghet sadhet vthen thwænnesyunnæ i
syn ythersthæ sywgdom Han thwingthe sith leghom som blaamantz köth
i een harsæck oc ther offwen offwerskywflthe³ han sik met eth slymmesthe
klædhæ Aldrigh hæfde han noghen andhen sængh æn jordhen Ey aath
han vthen een thiidh om daghen Aff fruckth eller aff yrthebladhe eller
aff röddher Effther affthensangh gaff han sik till bønæ ther effther wag-
het han till then andhen thymæ paa natthen⁴ Ther effther
Fol. 48 a. thræth || oc mödh aff söffwen soff han till mynnath Och i then
thymæ sthædh han vpp oc dwælthes swa alth till hans maal-
thiidhes thymæ j læsningh J⁵ helgesthe lærdhom oc skriffth aff hwicke all
then heligh kirkæ skin swa som aff dyræfuldhe lamper Swa begrææth han
læthesthe syndher thet noghen matthe tænckæ hannum at hæfwe dræpet
nogher man Thet iii Capitell Thryswer om daghen hwdströgh han sith
leghom met grwnme slagh swa at aff hans leghom vtflothe blotzstræmæ
Oc naar han hördhe nogher fæfengh⁶ ordh tha flydthe han them swa
som storsthe sooth⁷ Hannum⁸ war enghen liisæ eller⁹ orckeløshet Allethii-
dhen öffweth han sik anthin i helghe læsninghe eller skreff han eller oc
lærdhe Hwat skall iek meræ sighe Ware thet swa at iek rantsagethe helghe
mæntz oc hwær særdelis leffneth tha pafynner iek enghen sthørrer eller meg-
tugher æn hannum thet iek wænter Thy mædhen jek kallethe hannum till
forn at wære samuelem Tha will iek bewisæ hannum at wære samuelem
Sanneligh han er then samuel som worth kalleth met slagh aff the fæfen-
gelighe bogeligh konsthes öffwelsæ oc studeren oc bleff skicketh till then
heligh skriffthes vnderligh bethægnelsæ i hwes ænlethes lywss aff gudeligh
nahdes jndflydelsæ tha see wii begghy testamentz lywss J hwes armz stærck-
het then storsthe deell aff kættherenæ ær atsparith Thet fiærdhe
Fol. 48 b. capitel Han omwændhe begghy testamenthet aff ebra = || iskæ
thwnghe oc paa greske oc paa latinæ oc skickethe them the
som kommæ effther hannum till ewigthiidh oc forklærethe theris forthæck-
ninghmørcken thwiwell oc kundhagtughet Han skickethe oc alle then heligh
kirkens thienæræ the helghe vii dags thiidhers æmbeth oc skickelsæ Han
moxen vpygdhe all then heligh kirkæ Ther aff er han megtugh i vsigeligh
wiisdoms grwndughet Swa fulkommeligh künne han alle boglighe konsther
at enghen sywffnes hans lighæ æn nw Aff then heligh skriffth wisthe iek
aldrigh oc ey fornæm nogher hans lighæ som iek hæfwer fulkommeligh
befunneth i manghe hans sændebreffwes rövelsæ som han sændhe till mik

¹ i.² swo.³ written in two words.⁴ nætten.⁵ i.⁶ sofænggh.⁷ soeth.⁸ Hanum.⁹ aller, evidently a misprint.

Ebraiskæ oc greskæ Caldeoris psaris Medoris oc arabitoris oc noghet nær alle thwnghe oc bøggher kunne han swa som han haffde wæreth fôdh oc vpfosthreth i them Hwat skall iek mere sighe The thingh som jeronimus wisthe icke i naturen them wisthe ey nogher man i nogher thymæ Hedherligsthe fadher ey skalth thu wænthe mik thet at sighæ Swa at iek thæncker tik at withe aldeles enckthet aff hans leffneth oc dygdher mæn thu wasth hans stalbrodher i langh thiidh Jek kræffwer gudh till witnæ At om iek wilde thiæ swa vsigeligh mantz heligheth tha gither iek ey Hans vnderligæ gærninghe bekændhe hymblenæ i hwicke han bær som megtugh er i

sthørre æres sthorheth framfor manghe helghe mæn Ther skall
Fol. 49 a. enghen thwiffle paa Thet han ey fik eth aff the || sthærræ oc hœffræ sædhe jnnen gutz faders bolighe oc heem Efftherthy at hwær man tagher ther lôn effther synæ gærninghe Oc han war jw fulkomeligh i sith leffnet Tha sywffnes thet klarlighe at han er een aff the sthørre och hœffræ then hemelske iherusalems borgheræ Thy at han thres fulllegh aff oss oc wisseligh at wæræ then megtugher i wærdhen for alle som warth aldher mynnes Han bewises meghet vnderligh i owanelighe vnder oc œndeligh iærtegnæ som then hedherligh Eusebius forklareth mik nogher ther aff i synæ breffwe Aff the andhre vnder som ther wordher daglighe oc som iek jdhelik fangher at freghnæ aff manghe mænneskes saffneth oc thalæ oc iek gireligh atstwnder at horæ bedher iek tik self kæresthe fadher At thu wille sammensætte i een lithen bogh alle sannæ jærthegnæ oc nyttughe ther aff oc sændhe mik them for samæ sancti jeronimi gudelighet thet snaresthe thu kanth thet goræ Thet V Capitell Ath sancti Jeromini wærdskyldhæ ey skulle ey dylies Tha will iek sighe hwat som met mik gutz mildhet giordhe paa hans dõt dagh oc i then samæ thymæ som helgesthe jeronimus fœr vth aff kotsens orænlighez kapæ oc jndfördhe sik ewyndeligh vdødelighetz oc vmæteligh gledis klædher Ther iek war i yponæ i myn cellæ oc hwilthes tha thænckthe iek girlighe Hwredan æres oc gledis sthorhet ær i helghe sieelæ som gledis met Christo oc iek atthradde at gøre ther

Fol. 49 b. aff een || lithell bogh for hedherligh seneri bønæ som fordom war sancti martini discipell som biskop war j thuronia Oc togh iek swa pæn oc papiir oc wille skriffwe een epistolam oc sændebreff till sanctum jeronimum At han skulle lathe mik fanghe at withæ hwat som hannum syntis ther om Thy at iek wisthe thet at iek ey kunne sanneligher læres aff nogher leffwendhe man æn aff hannum j swa wanskelighe spørsmall Thet vi. ca Ther iek skreff helsen i epistolens begynnælæ oc skulle skriffwe jeronimum tha kom snarlighæ jndh i cellen som iek war vthi with nathsangsthy mæ eth vsigeligh lwys som ey syntis fœrræ i war thiidh oc ey kan war thunghe fulllegh thet kwngoræ met vsigeligh oc vhorligh godluth Ther iek saw thet tha worthe iek aldels vnderendhe oc mœsthe myn huffis oc alle mynæ lymmerres dygdhe Jiek wisthe ey tha at gutz vnderligh høgghre handh haffde vphøgghet syn swæn oc kwngiorthe hans dygdhæ blanth falketh Jiek wisthe oc icke at gudh haffde skilth syn throo thiener with kotsens orænlighez oc haffde reth hannum swa hœffth sæthæ j hemelen Jek wisthe ey the oransageliche hærrens weyæ Jek wisthe ey œndelighe gutz

wiisdoms oc wittughetz ligghendefæe Oc ey wisthe iek the lønligæ gutz dommæ Thy at them som han will lather ham kommæ till sins wedherkænnelse aff syn vsigeligh wiisdom Oc forthy at mynæ øghne aldrigh sawe thelikth lyws oc myn næsæ haffde ey kænth theligh luckth thy vndrethe iek aff swa nyth oc vherligh vndher Mynæ thancke toghe

Fol. 50 a. till at buldhræ i mik hwat || thet skulle waræ Thet VII. Capitell

Aen røsth hørðhes tha aff lywseth oc saffðhe Augustine Augustine hwat atspør thu wænther thu tik at kunnæ osæ alth haffwet i eth lidhet kar oc løcke all wærdhens jordh i een lidhen nõsswæ oc spæghe hemelen at han skall ey ganghe syn wanlighe gangh Skall thit øghe see som enghen mænneskens øghe matthe see Skall thit øræ høræ thet som enghen øræ hørðhæ Oc the thingh som mænneskens hiærthe ey forstodh oc ey thænckthe Thu thæncker at thu kanth vndherstandhe hwat ændhæ som ær paa øændeligh thingh Hwre kant thu madhæ the thingh som vmædeligh æræ Snarer lyckes alth haffwith j eth thrængesthkar Snarer kan een lithel næffwe holdhe all wærdhens jordh oc snarer oc heller skall hemelen afflathæ at røres jdelighe æn thu kanth vndherstandhe then myndhræ deell aff the gledhæ oc æræ som helighe sieelæ nythæ oc haffwe forvthen ændhæ vthen thu fangher them at rønæ swa som iek Thu skalth ey arbeydhe at goræ vmøgelighe thingh Mæn thu skalth æn løpæ een lithell thymæ swa længthæ thet thit liifs lopp er fulkommeth Hæær skalt thu icke søghe æffther the thingh som ey kunnæ andherstetz fynnes vthen thær hwarth iek skyndher mik nw salighe till at ganghe Hæær skalt thu atthra at goræ thelighe gerningæ at thu math haffwe aldeles thær the thingh ewyndeligh Hwicke thu astwndher at vnderstandhe hær nogherlwndis Hwo som ther gangher jndh han

Fol. 50 b. skall || engeledis ganghe ther vth Thet VIII. Capit. Alth ther

till war iek swa rædughe och hæmsk oc swa goth som noghet næær aff sindhe aff swa vsigeligh vndher oc moxen møsthe iek all myn størcke Tha togh iek noghen dristughet aff these ordh oc saffde met skælfwendhe røsth Gudh gaffwe at thet war mik lofflikth at withe hwo thu æst som swa saligh oc ærefuldh æst Oc skyndher tik swa hedherlighe till these gledhæ oc swa søthe wæltale thaler till mik Tha swarethe han Thu atspør mith naffn Jek er jeronimi sieell som war præsth ther som thu begynner at skriffwe thet breff till Oc nw i thenne thymæ afflagdhe iek kotzsens byrdhe i bethleem jude Oc christus oc alth hemelrigis herskapp følger mik oc iek er prydh met all fagherhet oc forlywseth aff alth skin Oc iførðh i vdødelighetz forgyllethæ klædher oc er iek omklædh met alle gledhæ oc godhe thingh oc wandh seygher aff alle wærtzighe thingh Oc er iek kroneth met koninglighe kronæ aff guldh oc dyre sthenæ oc er onlagdh met all saligheth oc helighet oc gangher nw swa ærefullegh oc saleligh till hemelrigis gledhæ som ware skulle vthen ændhe Oc skall iek her effther wænthe enghen glædhes wanskels mæn øgels Oc skall iek ighensøghes till legommeth paa then almænnelighe kotzsens vppstandelsæ dagh Hwicketh leghom ther skall tha ærefuldh gøres oc skall ey døø meræ Mæn then ære som iek haffwer

Fol. 51 a. nw enestæ || skall iek tha haffwe till sammen met leghommeth Thet IX ca Tha fik iek meræ størckels till myn sieell oc for

gledhe ey afflodh iek at græthe oc swarethe hannum swa Gudh gaffwe at iek matthe wærdugis at wære thyn thieneræ som swa ærligh er i blanth andhre Mæn iek bether tik at thu stadeligh haffwer mik thyn swæn i thyn amyndels æn togh at iek er alderslymmesthe hwicken thu ælskethe i wærdhen met meghet skærlighet at iek maa rønses aff syndhen met thynæ bonæ oc ganghe i ræth weygh for thyn beskermelsæ oc thet iek maa frælses jdeligh aff mynæ owænnær oc komme till salighetz haffn met thyn heligh ledhelsæ Gudh gaffwe thet thæcketis thyn willæ at swaræ mik till nogher spørsmaall Han swarethe Hwat som thu wilth tha spør iek will swaræ tik met all willæ Augustinus saffde Jek wille withæ Om helghæ sielæ kunne wille nogher thingh som the icke kunnæ fanghe Sancti Jeronimi sieell swarethe Eth skalt thu withe augustine at helghe sielæ ære swa stadfæsthe i gudh i then ewyndeligh ære at i them er enghen andhen willæ æn gutz Thy the kunne enckthet andhet willæ æn thet gudh will thy maa the fanghe hwat the willæ Oc forthy hwat som helsth the wille thet will gudh oc fulkommer Sanneligh enghen aff oss swighes aff synæ begheringhe thy at nogher aff oss ønsker ey noghet vthen gudh Thy haffwe wii gudh alle thidhæ swa som wi willæ Oc Fol. 51 b. ware atthraelsæ alle thidhæ fulkommes Thet x Capitell. ||

Kæresthe fadher Cyrille Thet wære mik forlanghe ordh om alle the stycke skulle scriffwes i thenne epistola som then heligh sieell kungiorthe mik ther iek atspurdhæ Thy at iek hopes thet iek skall komme till bethleem ey effther manghe aar met gutz helpp at søghe swa sthore helghe-dom hware thi skalt klarlighe then thiidh see the thingh iek haffwer hørth oc skreffweth om hannum Oc swa bleff then ærefuldh sieell høess mik j flere thymæ j myn cellæ Oc kungiorthe mik then helgeste threfaldughet eenlighet oc eenliglightzsens threfaldughet Oc sønsens fødhelsæ aff fadheren Oc then helighantz franghangels aff fadheren oc sønnen Oc ænglenæ jerarthias oc skickelsæ oc there thienesthe Oc ther till helghe sieles salighet oc andhre nyttelighe thingh som swaræ ære menneske at vnderstandhæ Hwre subtilighe oc hwæ klarlighe oc hwre vnderligæ han kungiorthe mik them Swa at thalethe iek met alle menneske thwnghe tha kunne iek ey vtthrøcke these thingh Oc ther effther forswandh thet lyws aff myne øghne Mæn ther effther i manghe daghe ighen bleff then godhe luckthes søthet O hwre vnderligh han er Thy at han gør swa manghe iærthegnæ oc swa manghe oc sthoræ nymære vnderligh oc owanelighe for menneske Thy skulle wii alle ropæ till hannum oc gledhe oc frøgdhe oss oc gifwe hans loff hedher oc ære Thy at han er wærdugh all loff oc ey ære wii fulkommelighe

Fol. 52 a. oc fullurthne till at loffwe hannum Thy at || han jndgik j herrens hwss hwiidh skinnendhe och alzfeghersth Hware som han fik ærens sædhe j the øffwermeræ oc klareræ wærdughetæ Hwicket iek fornæm æn ighen aff flere withne æn aff een Paa thet at sandhetz lyws skall klarligheræ oppenbares Tha thedhes oc sywffnthes then fornæffndhe hedherligh man senero som skinnendhes er i lærdhom oc wiisdom met thre andhre mæn i thuronæ stadh pa then dagh oc thymæ som sanctus Jeronimus bleff dødh then samæ sywffn ther iek saw Oc ther om bar han selfwer mik

enesthe withnæ ther han kom till mik *The* XI. Capitell I swa madhe wilde gudh At *sancti* Jeronimi hœffwe æræ skulle ey skywffles for wærdhen At the som løsthes at efftherfœlghe hans helighetz fodspor skulle withnæ at han haffuer offwergængeligh ære Oc at andhre som see swa manghe oc swa storæ løn giffwes hannum skulle tilfæstes hans helighetz oc dygdhærs fodspor Thy at lønens hopp mynsker arbeythetz byrdhæ Then same dagh oc stwndh som then ærefuldh Jeronimus dødhe swa salighe tha thedhes han for senero oc iii andhre met hannum i syn sthoræ ære hwicke iii mæn ware meth senero then thiidh i hans hws Senerus met the cristne mæn ii aff them waræ mwneke fordhom aff *sancti* martini closther Som the stodhe i gudeligh thalæ hœrdhe the snarlighæ i hemblenæ J weddret h oc paa iordhen vthalighe rœsthe Oc swa alsœtethe vsigelighæ oc vœrlighe organæ

Fol. 52 b. oc tympænæ oc alle handhe seydhenspils lywdh || Swa at ther aff lywffntis hemelen oc iordhen oc alle thingh lydhe hwærtstætz Aff hwicken sœthet haffde theris sielæ moxen ganghet aff theris leg-hommæ Tha bleffwe the alle vndrendhe oc lyffthe theris œghne vpp till hemblenæ Ther the sawe hemelen oc alle the thingh som haldes i hemelens omgangh finghe the at see eth lyws lywffsynne klarer æn solens lyws oc ther aff vtginghe alle ærligesthe lucth Ther the sawe thesse vndherlighæ thingh badhæ the till gudh met theris bœnæ at thet matthe thees them hwi thelighe thingh giorthes *The* XII. Ca Tha kom een rœsth aff hemelen oc saffde Enghen vndher shall rœræ ether oc ey shall thet wære ether vndherlichth ath i horæ oc see thelighe thingh Thy at *Christus* herræ som er koningh offuer alle koninghe oc hærre offwer alle them som hærredom haffwe kom i dagh gantzse hœffthideligh emoth ærefullesthe jeronimi sieell som war i bethleem jude oc gik i dagh aff thenne skalkeligh wærdhen At han skall jndledhe henne i sith righæ swa meghet hœffthideligher oc hedherlighere for andhræ som hwn skin i wærdhen i hœffwere och wærdugheræ leffineth I dagh glediæ alle ænglæ ordhenæ oc stath oc meth sœtethe sangh sywngendhes fœlghe the theris herræ J dagh Alle patriarchers oc prophets skaræ J dagh alle gutz apostlenæ oc disciplenæ koor J dagh Alle helghe Martires oc alle confessores J dagh then ærefuldesth gutz modher met alle hennes helghe iomfrweræ J dagh Alle helghe sielæ frœgdelig oc gledelig

Fol. 53 a. mœthe || the theris landhman oc borgher Oc ther thesse ordh waræ hœrdhæ tha thigethe rœsthen Mæn lywseth oc sanghen oc then godhe lucth bleffwe ighen i een thymæ oc swa lothe the aff Kæræ fadher i swa madhæ er thet kwnnugth At han er een aff the hœffræ oc sthœrrer oc megtugher hemelske borgher Oc ther aff er han vndherligh oc megtugh oc omwæll rædendhes moxen offwer alle helge mæn for then mackth som hannum er giffwet aff gudh *The* XIII. Ca Ænghen thwiffwell shall ther wære paa At hwat han will thet maa han swa fulfœlghe for andhræ swa som hans wilæ tilhængdhe gutz wilæ meræ æn andhræ Enghen shall wænthe mik at wære swa dærff eller haffwe swa sthoer dyærffwelsæ At iek sigher thet oc santhycker At Jeronimus standher hœffræ i æren æn johannes baptista Om hwicken *Jhesus* bær selfwer withnæ at enghen soeth

størrær vpp æn han Heller æn petrus oc paulus oc andhræ aff the XII apostlæ som ware vthwaldhe aff Christo och helgegiorthē Oc thogh mæn swa er thet enghen skæll forbywdher thet Tha dærfiwes iek nogherlwndis at sighe at han fik ey myndhræ ære i hemelrighæ æn een aff them Nw mæn iek syndher enghen skæll hwy thet skall wære vlofflighth at sighe Jeronimum at wære them lighæ i æren mæn han war them lighæ i leffnetz helighet Oc mæn gudh er ey personeræ annameræ Mæn beskodher hwærs særdeles wærdskylleligæ gærninghæ oc giffwer hwær som han forskyldher

Fol. 53 b. Ær thet oc swa || at nogher thøcker thet Jeronimus fik myndhre ære æn iohannes baptista eller apostlenæ Oc skødher han hans helighet oc hans skriffthes wærdhskyllelighet oc begghæ testaments omwændelsæs hardhe oc sannesthe thingh Oc ackther klarlighæ hwat fructh i daghs thidhes æmbeth oc orden ær som han læth effther sik ey enesthe nærfwærendhe mæn oc them som tilkommendhæ ære skall iek santh sighe oc withnæ tha wænther iek at then samæ dōmer sanctum jeronimum ey at wære myndhre i æren æn the ære Thet XIII. Capitell Nw at iek skall ey rægnes at kasthe snaræ paa nogher till at göræ leegh oc skuff aff mik i thet at iek witherkænner oc sigher sanctum jeronimum at wære lighæ johanni baptiste oc apostelenæ j hellighet oc æræ Tha will iek eth sighe som iek saw i eth sywffn oc ey er æn III daghe sidhen At sandhethen skall ey skywles oc ey at iek gör thet for noghen leghomligh kærlighet aff hwicken man pleygher meest at faræ wildh aff sandhetz weygs kænnelsæ eller oc aff huffsens vforntwftughet eller aff noghen andhen sagh Mæn skall withe at iek thet ey fik ath vndherstandhe aff nogher mænneskæ Mæn with oppenbarelsæ som gudh giffwer mænneske thy at han er then som vpphoffwer synæ helghe mæn och megtughør them J then fiærdhe nath nw næsth fræmfarendhe tha thænckthe iek gyreligh oc atthralighæ Hwat iek skulle skriffwe¹ ther

Fol. 54 a. sanctus || Jeronimus kunne fanghe loff oc ære aff i eth stacketh sendebreff Thy at iek aktethe tha at skriffwe till tik then same epistolam Oc thænckthæ hwat materiæ iek matthe paafyndhe som hoffweligh kunne wære hans loff Ther midhiæ nath kom fall paa mik søffn Oc een alderstørsthe ængleskaræ war høess mik J blanth them ware II mæn meghet klarerer æn solen Oc waræ swa lighæ oc eensskaphæ at enghen skulle eller kunne sywffnes atskilnels i them met hwicken then enæ kunne skiliæs fran then andhen Vthen at then enæ bar III kroner paa sith hoffweth aff guldh oc dyrræ sthenæ oc then andhen bar II Och the waræ badhæ klæddhe i aldherkyennendhe klare oc hwithe collobiskæ klædher allestætz wæffwethe met guldh oc dyræ sthenæ oc waræ swa meghet faghæ ath enghen kan thet besynnæ Oc swa ginghe the badhæ sammen nær till mik oc stothe een lithen thymæ thysthæ Ther effther then som haffde the III kranze thalethe till mik met thessæ ordh Thet xv. Capitell Avgustine Thu thæncker hwat loff thu skalt sighe aff jeronimo J sandhet thu haffwer længe thet thænckth oc

¹Omitted in copying and inserted by the same hand.

thu wedsth *thet* ey æn *Mæn* wii komme badhe her till tik at wii skulle thee tik hans ære *Thenne* myn stalbrodher som thu seer ær jeronimus Oc swa som han war mik lighæ i leffineth oc hellighet swa er han mik oc lighæ i æren i alle madhæ *Thet* iek maa *thet* formaa han *Thet* iek will *thet* will han oc swa som iek seer gudh swa seer oc han oc kænner oc vndher-

Fol. 54 b. standher Oc *therre* || vthi ær war oc alle helghe mæntz hellighet oc ære Oc ey haffwer een heligh man meræ eller myndher ære

for then andhen *Vthen* swa meghet som han myndhræ eller meræ bespegler oc beskodher eller kænner gutz skapels *Then* thredixæ krantz som iek haffwer meræ æn han *thet* er marthels kronæ som iek ændhe mith liiff *met* Oc thy at han tholdhe i wærdhen nødh - arbeydh - syndhebethingh - vselhet - pynæ - hwgh - forsmælsæ oc andhræ ganske hardhe thingh swa tholleligh oc swa gledeligh for gutz skyldh Oc *gledis* i synæ sywgedomæ Thy er han een sandh martir och møsthe ey marthels løn *Mæn* forthy at han ey ændhet sith liiff *met* swærdh tha haffwer han ey then kronæ som giffwes till thelighe marthels thegn Och the ii andhre krantz wii haffwe the giffwes enesthe jomfrweræ oc kænnefædhre at the skulle atskilies for andhræ *Thet* XVI Capittel Hær till swarrethe iek som mik syntis Hwo æst thu myn herre Han swarethe Jek er Johannes baptista som nedherføer till tik at iek skulle kungøræ tik jeronimi ære At thu skalth framdeles sighe falketh hans ære Thy at thu skalth withe at then hether oc wærdughet som gøres nogher helghene oc hwær særdeles oc besyndherligh the gøres oc alle helghenæ Oc ey skalt thu thæncke at i hemelrighæ er nogher awindh swa som i wærdhen Thy at swa som i wærdhen hwær mæneskæ will heller forwære æn

Fol. 55 a. wære vndergiffwen Swa er icke i hemelrighæ || for then vsigeligh kærlighet i hwicken helghe sielæ ælske them jndbyrdis

Hwær helghen *gledis* swa aff een andhens ære swa som aff syn eghen Oc omwæll will hwær then som sthorre ær och hwær then som myndher ær skulle wære hannum lighæ oc æn moxen sthørre Thy at hans gledhe worthe syn gledhæ Swa *gledis* then myndhræ aff then sthørres ære swa som han haffde then samæ ære Oc wiseligh han gaff æn hannum heller aff syn ære om *thet* waræ loffligh fforthy ær hwærs særdeles ære alle *theris* ære oc alle *theris* ære ær hwærs særdeles ære *Thet* XVII. Capittel *Ther thette* war saffdh tha bortgik all then samlingh oc skare Oc swa worth iek vpwacth aff soffwen oc kænne snarlighe i mik swa sthør kærlighetz brændelsæ som iek haffde nogherthiixæ førre kænth i mik Alth *ther* fraa oc swa alth till *thenne* thymæ war ey i mik nogher awindtz eller hoff¹ færdughetz eller rosels begherels eller thænckels Thy at gudh er withne som alle thingh weth for æn the wordhæ At *ther* aff war swa sthør kærlighetz brænnels vpthændh i mik at iek *gledis* meræ aff een andhens gothe æn aff mith eghet *Meræ* athraer ick at wære vnder alle æn offer alle *Thette* saffde iek forthy jcke at iek skall fanghe loff *ther* foræ *Mæn* for *thet* at nogher skall ey thænckæ *thette* at haffwe wæreth

¹At end of the line, not followed by a hyphen.

fafængelige drømæ aff hwicke waræ huffwe offthe begæckes Offtæ vppladher
 gudh syne lønlighe thingh oc hælsth with søfin Thy skulle
 Fol. 55 b. wii¹ storlighe loffwe then høfthe || gudh i syne helghe mæn
 Oc skulle prissæ hans gærninghe thy ey ær ændhe paa them
 Wii skulle oc ære oc loffwe then helghe herre Jeronimum Thy han giorthe
 megtughe thingh i sith leffneth J dødhen thogh han sthørre thingh Ther
 for ær han megtugh i blanth oc heligh oc høff i høffthe leffnetz hellighet
 Oc megtugh helligh oc høff i vsigeligh wiidsoms grwndughet Oc ær nw
 megtugh oc heligh oc høff i sthørre ærens megtughet Vndherligh oc ærefuldh
 oc lofligh j vndherlighe jærtheegnæ som ey förre sywffntis eller hörthes eller
 ware wænthe at göris Han er fryckthendhe ælskendhe oc hedhrendhe for
 then mackth oc ewyndeligh ære som hannum er giffwen Thet XVIII Jek
 bether forthy at wii skulle hedhre hannum oc ey thyæ Thy han er wærdugher
 all loff Wii skulle kungøre i blanth hans æres loff Man skall ey vndhre
 ther paa at wii loffwe then som gudh haffwer swa megtugiorth Oc skall
 man ey ledhies at hedhre then som gudh will hedhre Ey skall oc nogher
 wænthe thet han gör *sancto iohanni baptiste* eller apostlenæ oræth ther
 vthi at han sigher Jeronimum wære them lighe i ære oc helighet Oc then
 loff oc hedher oc wærdughet som göres jeronimo aff oss göres oc them
 hwær særdelis Oc hedher oc loff som hwær therre særdelis hwn göres
 oc hannum Thet XIX ca Atthraer thu at hedhre *sanctum johannem*
baptistam oc apostlenæ hedhræ oc hannum Thy han er them lighæ with
 alle thingh fforthy maa wii thrøggeligh sighe oc witherkænne
 Fol. 56 a. Jero = || nimum lighæ at wære *sancto iohanni* Oc ey *Johannem*
 sthørre Oc at enghen er sthørrær æn iohannes baptista Thet
 witherkænne wii met all gudeligheth oc hedher Thy at goræ wii oc sighe
johannem myndhræ at wære tha myntske wii johannis ære oc goræ tha
 hannum heller oræth æn wii loffwæ Thill tik hedherligh fadher Cyrille
 sændher iek thenne samæ myn vforwnftughetz thales epistolam æn thog
 hwn er vfulkommeligh oc swa som enckthet rægnendhes Thog sændher iek
 henne till tik aff pwrth hiærthe oc sthoer gudeligh hwffsens atthraelsæ
 Thet XX Capitell Och bether iek tik at thu ey læser these ordh met skuff
 eller spee mæn met skyldugh kærligheth Thy iek sændher till tik then
 ærefuldh Jeronimi loff aff myn vkunnughet Oc hwat som iek haffwer myn-
 dhræ wærdskyllelighe sath æn mik burdhæ thet skall ey regnes till swa
 megtugh een mantz loff mæn till myn wankwndugheth Oc at epistoken er
 swa stacketh oc at hans loff er ey swa sthoer thet er myn forwithels oc for-
 sømmelss oc owittughet Wissoligh om alle dødelighe mænnesketh thwnghe
 enesthe framfördhe hans loff æn ware the myndhræ æn som them burdhæ
 Hedherligh fadher haff mik i thyn amyndels naar thu kommer paa thet
 stædh som *sancti Jeronimi* leghom hwiles vthi oc befalæ mik syndugh man
 hans bønær Thy ther er enghen thwiffwell paa At hwat then samæ ærligh
Jeronimus ønsker thet fangher han snarlighe Thy at han ey swighes nogh-

¹ Inserted above the line.

erledhes aff syn atthraa Nw er Sancti Augustini biscoeps oc kænnefadhers sændhebreff at ændhæ hwicketh han sændhe *sancto* Cyrillo till som ærchebiskopp war i Jherusalem aff *sancto* Jeronimo *annodomini* MCDLXXXVIII
Deo laus et gloria

Hær begynnes Sanctissimi Jeronimi llefneth¹

Jeronimus haffde een edhle oc friiboren man till fadher som heedh Eusebius oc war fødjh eth torpp som hedher Strido hwicketh som liggher hoess dalmaciam och pannoniam Ther han war barn tha foer han till Rom oc nam ther fulkommeligh bogh paa gretzskæ lathinæ oc jødske J then bogligh konsth som kalles Gramatica war Donatus hans mæsther J Rethorica war Victorius hans mæsther Mæn dagh oc nath offwethe han sik i then heligh skriffth oc han begrepp gireligh thet som han sidhen fulleligh kændhe och lærdhe andhre Een thiidh² som han skriffwer till eustochiam i eth sændhebreff swa sikhendis Ther iek om daghen met all jdh oc atwackth studerethe i tullio oc om natthen j platone som waræ hedhenske mæstheræ forthy at prophetenæ skriffth thæckthes icke mik thy hwn ey war prydedh With midhfaste fik iek swa braadh oc heedh koldesywghe at alth mith³ leghom kolnethe oc enesthe war mith liifis wærmæ i mith brosth oc æn meghe lithet Ther the riddhe till at iordhe hannum Tha drogs oc liddhes han for domerens stooll Tha spurdhe domeren hannum at oc saffde till *sanctum* jeronimum Hwes logh eller throo æst thu aff Tha bekændhe

102 a. han sik frillighæ at wære een *cristen* man || Dhomeren swarthe strax oc saffde Thu lywgher Thu æst Cyconianus oc ikke *cristen* man Thy at hwaræ som thit lighhendefæ æ er ther er thit hierthæ Tha thaffde jeronimus Oc strax bodh domeren nogher mæn at the skulle swarlighe hwdstryghe hannum Tha ropthe Jeronimus oc saffde Myskwndhe mik herre Myskundhæ mik Tha badhe the for hannum som omkringstodhe at domeren skulle gøre nadhe met hannum thy at han war æn een vngh man Tha begynthe *sanctus* jeronimus at sweræ om gudh oc saffde Hærræ Haffwer iek nogherthiidh⁴ haffidh wærdzens bogher eller læsth i them till thenne dagh Tha neckther iek oc forswær iek them her effther Ther han these ordh haffde swareth oc sworeth vppa Tha worth han gænsthen løøss oc fik till liifis ighen oc fan sik alsammen wære offwer-gudhen oc belupeth met graadh Oc aff the slaff han fik for domstholen befan han syne axlæ rædelighe blaa oc blodughe Effther then thiidh læsthe *sanctus* jeronimus then heligh skriffth met sthørræ jdh oc atwackth æn som han haffde nogherthiidh⁵ giorth tillfornæ met the hedhenske bogher Ther han war xxx aar gammell tha worth han skicketh till cardinaall oc præsth j romeræ kirkæ Oc som paffwe Liberius war dødjh Tha roopthe alle At

¹ Line omitted by Brandt.

² *tiidh.*

³ *mit.*

⁴ *tiidh.*

⁵ Printed as two separate words by Brandt.

- jeronimus war wærdugh till at haffwe oc annamæ thet helgestæ biskops-
 dom oc præstedom som ær paffwedommeth Mæn forthy at han
 102 b. straffethe somme klærckes || oc mwnces kædbe tha ware the
 hannum meghet vgyntughe oc lawe i holdh eller satthe saath
 for hannum Oc swa met qwynne klædher som Johannes beleth sigher worth
 fuleligh skæmmeth aff them Thy at een dagh ther Jeronimus stodh vpp
 till othesangh som han pleygdhe at gøræ tha fan han with syn sængh een
 quinnes klædher hwicke han thænckthe at wære syne eglne oc fôrdhe sik
 i them som hans owænnære oc affwintz mæn haffde ther lagdhe oc gik swa i
 kirken Thette giordhe hans affwintzmæn forthy at man skulle throo at han
 haffde haffth een qwynne met sik i hærberghet Ther han thet saw Tha foer
 han thædhen oc kom till gregorium nazanenum som tha war biscoopp i
 constantinopoli Och ther han haffde nwmmeth then heligh skriffth aff
 hannum tha foer han borth i øtken Mæn hwre¹ meghet han tholdhe ther
 for Christo skriffwer han till Eustochium² oc sigher O hwre thith ther
 iek war j øtken eller skoff som forbrænth war aff solens brynnæ i hwicken
 mwncle haffwe rædhelighe bolighe Tha meenthe iek at iek war i rom i
 lystelighet oc kræseligheth Mynæ lymnæ som ware swa wanskapthe grw-
 wethe with sæcken ther iek war vthi som war mik hwas som iek haffde
 wæreth een blaman Sthundhom ther søffn fall mik paa tha haffde iek
 the nøghne been som næppeligh kwnne wæll hænghe till
 103 a. hope paa then blothe jordh Om madh oc øll thiger jek || qwar
 Thy at mith drickæ war kalth watn Mæn at thaghe noghet
 thet som saadhet er thet reghnes till vkyskhet Oc ther iek i sælskapp meth
 the ormæ som kalles scorpiones oc meth andhre grymnæ dywr Tha thyckthe
 mik offthe oc iek dantzethe met jomfrwer Oc swa war i thet koldhe leghom
 oc halffiloth enesthe vkysknetz brynnæ Offthe greth iek oc fastethæ hele
 vgher øffwer oc spægthe mith leghom som striddhe emodh mik Thet dagh
 oc nath loeth iek ey aff at slaa mith brysth førre æn gudh gaff mik rolighet
 Oc swa fryctethe iek myn cellæ som hwn haffde wisth mynæ thanckæ Swa
 ælendhe oc fræmmeth gik iek ghenom thet ondhe øtken At herren er mith
 witnæ swa at effther megthen graadh sywffntis mik stundhom thet iek war i
 ængle skarer Ther han swa i iiij aar haffde giorth ther syndhe bethringh
 Tha foer han till iherusalem oc swa till bethleem oc swa offrethe han sigh
 till at bliffwe thær høss herrens krybbe oc haffde met sik syne bøgher sam-
 menbundhnæ hwicke han met størsthe jdh och atwackth haffde sammen-
 sancketh Oc ther effther ther han thit kom tha læsthe han offwer andhre
 bøgher oc fastedhe aldeles till afthenen Manghe kænnæswæne oc discipulos
 sancketh han thær oc arbeythe i syn heligh forackth oc then heligh skriffth
 omsættelsæ oc omwændelsæ aff gretzsk oc aff hebraisk oc till
 103 b. latinæ i lv aar oc vj manethæ oc bleff jndh till hans || dødh
 een³ kysk jomfrw Om sidher bleff han swa thræeth oc mødsom
 at han icke kwnne ræthe sik vpp i syn sængh vden han haffde eth reep⁴

¹ hwæ.² Eustochiam.³ en.⁴ reep.

bundhen with bielken oc swa reesthæ han sik vpp met hændhernæs helppe paa thet at han wildhe gøre klostherns æmbith effther som han formatthe Thet andheth Capitell Een affthen som sanctus jeronimus sadh meth syne brødhre oc hørðhe læsningh j then heligh skriffth Tha kom snarlighe een løffwe lam oc halthendis oc gik jndh i closterth Ther the andhre brødhre sawe henne tha flyddhe the borth Tha gik sanctus jeronimus emoth henne som han skulle haffwe ganghet emoth een gæsth Ther løffwen thedhe hannum syn fœdh som skadh war Tha kallethe sanctus Jeronimus at brødhernæ oc badhe them thwo hennes fœddher oc søghe grangiffweligh hwar hwn saar war Ther the swa giordhe tha befundhe the at jlen vndher fodhen war saar paa henne oc thet war giorth aff thoornæstyngh oc swa rœcktethe the henne grangiffweligh oc hwn worth karsk ighen Oc ther effther offwergaff hwn all grymheeth oc gik i klosterth blanth brødhernæ som eth thampth dywr Ther sanctus jeronimus saw at¹ gudh ey enesthe sændhe henne till clostherth for syn karskheth² oc helbredhe Mæn meræ for there gaffn Tha

104 a. meth syne brødhres raadh fick han løffwen thet æmbeth at hwn || skulle een asen som hænte them weth aff skoffwen sølghe till marcken ther han thog syn fœdhe oc thoghe hannum till waræ Hwickedhan³ oc giorth the Thy ligherwiiss som een klogh hiørðhe fuldhe løffwen aseneth alle thidhe till gresseth oc togh hannum alsomgrangiffweligsth till waræ Oc paa thet at løffwen matthe fanghe syn fœdhe oc at aseneth matthe gøre sith æmbeth Tha kom hwn allethiidhe heem meth hannum i beskedhen thiidh Thet iij capi Een thiidh som aseneth gik oc aath oc løffwen soff hardeligh Tha komme køppmæn farendhes ther fram meth cameler oc sawe enesthe aseneth oc thoghe thet borth Ther løffwen wogneth vpp oc ey fan syn stalbrodher som war aseneth Tha løpp hwn hidh oc thith⁴ oc røthedhe Ther hwn kwæne icke findhe hannum tha gik hwn hiem jghen megghet drøffweth oc thordhe ey ganghe jndh som hwn pleygdhe for blygsell Ther brødherne sawe at løffwen seneræ kom heem æn hwn pleygdhe foræ tha meenthe the at hwn aff hwngher haffde ædeth aseneth vpp oc forthy wildhe the icke giffwe henne syn fœdhe som the pleygdhe at gøre Mæn the saffde till hennæ Gack borth oc ædh then deell som offwerløpp aff aseneth

Fol. 104 b. Æn tok thwifflethe the ther vppa om løffwen haffde giorth thet ondhe emoth aseneth Oc ther foræ ginghe the vth paa marcken hwar som aseneth || pleygdhe at ganghe om the noghet dœtzh theghn kunne findhe Ther the enckthet fundhæ Tha komme the jghen oc saffde thet for sancto jeronimo Tha som sanctus jeronimus bœth finghe the løffwen asens æmbeth oc hiøghe wedh oc lagde paa løffwen oc thet æmbeth giorth the løffwen tholleligh Een dagh gik hwn vth paa marcken oc løpp hiith oc thith oc wille widhe hwat aff hennes stalbrodher war bleffwet Tha saw hwn langtborth hwrelundhe ther komme køppmæn farendhes meth cameler som læsethe ware oc aseneth gik foræ them Thy at thet er theris

¹ ath.² -het.³ Copyist's mistake for *hwn*, corrected by Brandt.⁴ tith.

sidhwanæ at naar the fare langh weygh *met* cameler tha pleygher een asen at ganghæ foræ them at the thes rætheræ skulle findhe weyghen oc kwnne fylghe effther oc aseneth haffwer eth reepp om halsen Ther løffwen fornam aseneth tha fall hwn offwer them rophendes oc rydendis rædhelighe swa at folketh flyddhe borth oc swa dreff løffwen foræ sigh the cameler som waræ læsethe jndh till closterth *Thet* IIII. Ca Ther brødherne sawe *thet* tha kwngiorthe the *tbet* for *sancto* jeronimo oc han swarethe Kære brødhre thwoer ware gæstheres føddher oc redher madh oc bidher swa effther gutz wille Tha begynthe løffwen som hwn war wan gladeligh at løpe i clostereth oc fall paa jordhen for hwær brodheres føddher ligherwiis som

Fol. 105 a. hwn wille bedhes om || nadhe oc weyrethe eller rørdhe stierthen for then brødhe hwn haffde icke giorth Mæn *sanctus jeronimus* som wisthe these thingh till foren saffde till brødherne Brødhre Gangher borth oc redher ware gæsther madh oc theris wedhertørffth Ther han *thette* thalethe *meth* them tha kom eth budh till hannum oc saffde at ther ware gæsther for porthen som wille see abbethen Swa gik han till them oc the fiølle strax nedher paa iordhen for hans føddher oc badhe om nadhe for theris brødhe Tha vpliffthe han them wælwilleligh oc badh them taghe ighen *thet* them tilhordhe oc ey orættheligh taghe nogher andhers Tha badhe the *sanctum* jeronimum at han skulle annamæ for wælsignelsæ halffdelen aff theris oliæ Hwicketh han næppeligh wille gøre eller samthøcke Om sidher war *Sanctus jeronimus* swa goth som nødher till och bødth them som ware hans klostheres brødhre at the skulle anname olien Tha loffwethe køpmænnene at the wille hwærth aar giffwe brødherne then samæ madhe *meth* olyæ oc sameledis there arffwinghe effther them *Thet* V. Capitell Then thiidh sanghen i then heligh kirke war ey andherlwndis skicketh æn hwat som man løsthe at læse oc sywnghe thet tillsteddhes Thy badh *Theodosius* keyser paffwen som hedh *Damasus* At han skulle befalæ noghen wiiss oc klogh man till at skicke

Fol. 105 b. æmbethet i then heligh kirkæ Tha wisthe || paffwen wæll at *Sanctus Jeronimus* war fulkommen i latinæ maall gretske oc jodskæ oc i all wiisdom Thy befaldhe han *Sancto jeronimo* for *dette* æmbeth at skicke Swa skuldhe *Sanctus jeronimus* psalteren at till daghene oc skickethe hwær dagh sith eghet *nocturnæ* Oc ath *Gloria patri* skuldhe sywngis gænsthen effther hwær psalm som sigiwertis sigher Ther effther skickethe han *epistolas* oc *ewangelia* som om alth aareth skulle sywngis Oc alle andhre tingh som høre till same æmbeth forvthen sanghen meghet skelleligh oc qwæmmeligh Oc sændhe thet aff *bethleem* oc till paffwen Hwicketh aff paffwen oc hans cardinaler worth strax stadfæsth fulkommeligh oc till ewighth fulbordh Ther effther bøgde han sik syn graff i then hwkæ i hwicken hærren law i krybben Han wort jordeth ther han war *LXXX* oc *VIII* aar gammell *Thet* VI Ca J hwre sthær hedher oc wærdughet *Sanctus Augustinus* haffde *sanctum jeronimum* skriffwer han om oc sigher *Jeronimus* præsth kunnæ thrennæ maall som war llathinæ Gretskæ oc jodhske oc leffde i eth heligh stædh oc i then heligh skriffth till syn jdhersthe ældherdom

Hwes lampæ skindhe som solens skin fran østher oc till wæsther i hans thales etlehet *Sanctus prosper* Doctor thaler om hannum oc sisher *Jeronimus præsth* bodhe i bethleem oc er forklareth for all wærdhen Fol, 106 a. Hwicken meth sith kosteligh nomæ oc studio eller iidh thienthe || oc vpplywsthe all then heligh kirke Oc sisher *sanctus jeronimus* om sik self till albigensem ffor enghen thingh rædhes iek swa saræ fran myn barndom som for een høfferdugh hwss eller sindh oc een ranck hals som vppwæcker gutz wredhe emodh mennesken Sameledis ræddhes iek the thingh som thrygghe ware Jtem J mith closther acthedhe iek meth mith hærthe paa gæsterii oc alle som komme till mik och mynæ brødhre them annamethe wii meth bliith ænleth vthen kætthere Oc thwodhe theres søddher *Vsodorus* thaler oc om hannum oc sisher *Jeronimus* war wiis i thrænne thunghe maal Hwess vttholkelsæ eller vthsættelsæ framsetthes oc loffwes for andhres Thy at hwn er klarer i sindh oc i sæns oc sandher thy han war een ræth *cristen* man *Senerus sancti martini* discipell skriffwer swa om hannum *Jeronimus* forvthen throens wærdskyldh och dygdhernes gaffwe war swa megtugh oc dyer klærck ey enesthe i latinæ oc gretske mæn oc i jødske maall at enghen kwnne lighnes with hannum i all wiisdom Han haffde allethidhe striidh emoth ondhe mænneske oc ewigtli orloff kætthere hadethe hannum Thy at han icke lødth aff at stridhe emoth them klærckenæ hadethe hannum thy han forfuldhe oc straffethe theris leffneth oc snydher

Mæn alle the som godhe ware vndrethe paa hannum oc ælske- Fol, 106 b. the hannum || The som hannum saffde at wære een Kætther the ware wisth galnæ Thy han allethidhe studerethe Allethiidhe war han i bøghernæ Dagh eller nath hwilthes han icke Mæn ænthen læsthe han eller skreff Thette sisher *senerus* Thet same bewiser han self offthe sighendes Iek haffde manghe forfølgere oc bagthaleræ hwicke forfølgelsæ hwre tholleligh han leedh thet bewises i sændhebreff som han skreff till asellam oc saffde Iek thacker gudh at iek er wærdugh wordhen at wærdhen forhadher mik Oc at iek sighes een vgerings man Thy iek weeth at iek maa komme till righet swa wæll meth wanfredh som met goth ryckthé Gudh gaffwe thet at alle throo mænneskes skare matthe forfylghe mik for myn hærres naffn och ræthwiishet Gudh gaffwe thet thenne wærdhen wildhe fastheræ oc meræ vpstandhe mik till forwydelsæ at iek matthe loffwes aff Christo oc hopes till hans jæthels løen Thy at then frestelsæ er thæckeligh oc atthræligh hwes løen man hopes till at fanghe i hemelrige aff Christo Icke er oc then bandhe eller forbandelse swaar hwicken som omwændhes till gutz loff *Sanctissimus Jeronimus* dødhe anno *domini* cccc aar.

I. PROPER NAMES OCCURRING IN THE MS.

- A.—albigensem, 106 a; asellam, 106 b; Augustinus, 51 a, Augustini, 47 a, Augustine, 50 a, Avgustine, 54 a, augustine, 51 a.
- B.—bethleem, 50 b.
- C.—Christus, 52 b, christus, 50 b, Christo, 49 a; constantinopoli, 102 b; Cyrillo, 56 a, Cyrillum, 47 a, Cyrille, 51 b.
- D.—dalmaciam, 101 b; Damasus, 105 a; Donatus, 101 b.
- E.—Eusebius, 49 a, Eusebii, 47 a; Eusebius (father of Jerome), 101 b; eustochium, 101 b.
- G.—gregorium nazanzenum, 102 b.
- H.—Helias, 47 b.
- J.—Jeronimus, 47 a, jeronimus, 49 a, Jeronimi, 51 a, jeronimi, 49 a, Jeronimum, 47 a, jeronimum, 49 b; Jherusalem, 56 a, jherusalem, 47 a, iherusalem, 103 a, iherusalems, 49 a; Jhesus, 53 a; Johannes baptista, 47 b, johannes baptista, 53 a, iohannes baptista, 53 b, iohannes heremite, 47 b, johanni baptiste, 53 b, iohanni baptiste, 55 b, johannem baptistam, 55 b, Johannem, 56 a, iohannem, 56 a; jude, 50 b.
- L.—Liberius, 102 a.
- M.—martini, 50 a.
- P.—pannoniam, 101 b; paulus, 53 a; petrus, 53 a; platone, 101 b; prosper, 105 b.
- R.—Rom, 101 b, rom, 102 b.
- S.—samuel, 47 b, samuelem, 48 a; Senerus, 52 a, seneri, 50 a, senero, 52 a; sigiwertis, 105 b; Strido, 101 b.
- T.—Theodosius, 105 a; thuronia, 49 b, thuronæ, 52 a; tullio, 101 b.
- U.—Vsodorus, 106 a.
- V.—Victorius, 101 b.

II. OBSOLETE WORDS AND FORMS.

- A.—Aff, 47 a, in sense of *om* 'about, concerning,' a common use until end of 15th cent.
 Allethiidhe, 104 a, *altid*, 'always.' Here, as in several other adverbs, the dative ending *-e* has been dropped in modern Danish.
 Alzomrangiffweligsth, 104 a, 'most carefully.' *Alsom* is frequently used in Old Danish as an intensive prefix.
 Amyndels, 51 a, 'memory.'
 Andherlundis, 105 a, *anderledes*, 'otherwise.' This form is not given by K. and M.
 Astwndher, 50 a, *cupio*, 'desire.'
 Atwackth, 47 a, 'diligence.'
- B.—Beskeden, 104 a, *passende*, 'proper,' cf. German *Bescheid*.
 Not as BRANDT states *bestemt*, 'fixed.'
 Bidher, 104 b, *bier*, 'abides.'
- D.—Dyærfwelsæ, 53 a, *Djervhed*, 'boldness.'
 Dylies, 49 a, *lateant*.
- E.—Etlehet, 105 b, *Edelhed*, 'nobility.'
- F.—Førhade, 106 b, *hade*, 'to hate,' now used only in p. p. *forhadt*.
 Freghnæ, 49 a, *intelligo*.
 Fullurthne, 51 b, 'complete.'
 Førredaggs, 47 b, 'recently.'
- G.—Ganghe, 50 a, *gaa*, 'to go.'
 Gæsterii, 106 a, *Gæstfrihed*, 'hospitality.'
- H.—Hannum, 47 a, *ham*, 'him,' dative used as common objective as late as 17th cent.
 Hwredan, 49 a, *hwordan*, 'how.'
 Hwarth, 50 a, *hvor*, 'where.'
 Hæmsk, 50 b, *pavore stupens*, 'terrified.'
 Høffærdug, 106 a, *hovmodig*, 'proud.'
- I.—Iek, Jek, 47 a, *jeg*, 'I.' Cf. Ice, *Ek*, O. E. *Ik*. Jlen, 103 b, 'sole' (of the foot). In M's reference to this passage there are two slight orthographical errors.

- K.—Konningh, 52 b, *Konge*, 'king.'
 Konninglighe, 50 b, *kongelige*, 'royal.'
 Kræseligheth, 102 b, 'delight,' not in M.
 Kædhe, 102 b, *Kådhed*, 'licentiousness.'
 Kænnswæne, 103 a, 'pupils.'
- L.—Ligherwiis som, 104 a, *ligesom*, 'just as.'
 Loffwerman, 47 a, *laudator*.
- M.—Mangelunde, 47 a, 'manywise.'
 Mynnath, 48 a, *Midnat*, 'midnight.'
 Mynsker, 52 a, *minuit*, 'diminishes.'
 Moxen, 50 b, 'almost.'
 Mædhen, 48 a, *medens*, 'while.'
 Mødth, 48 a, 'tired,' German, *müde*.
- N.—Nyttelighe, 51 b, *nyttige*, 'useful.'
 Næppeligh, 106 a, *næppe*, 'hardly.'
- O.—Omwænde, 48 a, *oversætte*, 'translate.'
 Omwændelsses, 53 b, 'translations.'
 Orckeloshet, 48 a, *otium*.
 Offwergaff, 103 b, *opgav*, 'gave up.'
 Offwergængelith, 47 a, *excellētissimæ*.
 Offwerløpp, 104 a, 'remained over,' German *überbleiben*.
 Offwerskywfflthe, 47 b, *tegebat*, 'covered.'
- R.—Rædenthes for, 47 b, *rådende over*, 'controlling.'
 Rætwiishet, 106 b, *Retfærdighed*, 'justice.'
 Rønæ, 50 a, 'to test.' Now a Norwegianism.
 Røthede, 104 a, *brølede*, 'roared.'
- S.—Saleligh, 50 b, 'in a holy manner.'
 Sameledis, 105 a, *på samme Måde*, 'in the same manner.'
 Saath, 102 b, *Snare*, 'snare.'
 Skalkeligh, 52 b, 'miserable.'
 Skuff, 53 b, 'ridicule.'
 Skællighe, 47 a, *rationalis*.
 Skærlighet, 51 a, 'affection.'
 Skødher, 53 b, 'pay heed to.'
 Stadelig, 47 a, *stadig*, 'continually.'
 Størckels, 51 a, *Styrcke*, 'strength.'
 Swa, 47 b, *saa*, 'as, so.'

- T.—Theligh, theligkth, 47 b, 'such.'
 Thiidh, en, 47 b, *en Gang*, 'once.'
 Tholleligh, 104 b, *tålmodig*, 'patiently.'
 Thoornæstæyngth, 103 b, 'thorn.'
 Thryswer, 48 a, 'thrice.'
 Thwænnesyne, 47 b, *tvendesinde*, 'twice.'
- U.—Vmøgelighe, 50 a, *umulige*, 'impossible.'
 Vndherstandhe, 50 a, *forstaa*, 'understand.'
 Vplifthe, 105 a, separable prefix in modern Danish.
 Vppa, 102 a, *op*, 'up.'
- V, W.—Wanfredh, 106 b, 'ignominy.'
 Wanskels, 50 b, *Vanskelighed*, 'difficulty.'
 Wash, 48 b, *var*, 'wert.'
 Weddreth, 52 a, *Vejret*, 'the weather.'
 Vedhertørffth, 105 a, 'hunger.'
 Weyrethe, 105 a, 'whined.'
 Vittughet, 49 b, *scientia*.
 Worthe, 49 b, wordhen, 106 b, *blev, bleven*, German
wurde, geworden.
 Wælhale, 50 b, *Veltalenhed*, 'eloquence.'
 Wærdskylleghet, 53 b, *Værdskyld* (rare).
- Æ.—Ærefulleligh, 50 b, 'honorably.'
 Æst, 101 b, *er*, 'art.'
- Ö.—Öffwermeræ, 52 a, 'higher,' a double comparative, *meræ* =
 Eng. *more*.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

IX.—NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF J. G. SCHOTTEL.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In his collection of essays *Von Luther bis Lessing*,¹ F. Kluge discusses at some length W. Scherer's proposition, that Luther marks but a transition period in the history of the German language, while the Modern High German period proper does not begin till the middle of the seventeenth century. I cannot find in Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* anything so definite as to warrant Kluge's assertion that for Scherer "Schottel marks the beginning of the Modern High German period."² In the chronological tables, the Modern High German period begins with the Peace of Westphalia, and after various works by Spee, Gryphius, Lauremberg, Logau, Angelus Silesius and Sriver, Schottel's *Ausführliche Arbeit von der deutschen Hauptsprache* is mentioned, but it does not appear from this or from anything in the text of the volume, that Scherer intended to give Schottel anything like as prominent a place in this period as he had given Luther in the one immediately preceding. That the efforts of Schottel and other grammarians and purists of the seventeenth century contributed much to the wealth as well as the purity and regularity of the modern German language, there can be no doubt. It needs to be determined what Schottel's own share in this work was, what contributions he made to the vocabulary, what reforms he suggested, what position he took with reference to the reforms suggested by others, how far he understood the spirit of the language and the tendencies of its development. The present paper is intended as a step in this direction.

¹ Chap. III, pp. 32 ff.

² "Luther ist ihm der Höhepunkt, das Kraftzentrum der *Übergangszeit*—Schottel eröffnet das Neuhochdeutsche."

Justus Georgius Schottelius¹ was born at Eimbeck in Hanover, where his father was a clergyman. After attending the schools at Hildesheim and the gymnasium of Hamburg, he went to Holland and studied from 1634–1636 at Leyden belles-lettres and jurisprudence, chiefly under Daniel Heinsius, the philologist and poet. Leyden was not only a center of classical learning, but much interest was shown in the history of the Dutch language, and the beginnings of a study of the older Germanic dialects had also been made. After remaining two years, Schottel went to Wittenberg, and thence to Leipzig, where he completed his studies in 1638 and became, for a short time, tutor to a young nobleman. Very soon afterwards, Duke August of Brunswick, the founder of the Wolfenbüttel Library, offered him the position of tutor to his eldest son, Anton Ulrich. Schottel accepted this offer, and remained henceforth in the service of the dukes of Brunswick and died as “Hof-, Kanzlei- und Kammerrat,” at Wolfenbüttel, in 1676.

In Schottel's very first publication we recognize his genuine love of everything German and his honest indignation at the growing influence of foreign thought and manners. In the *Lamentatio Germaniae Expirantis*, “der nunmehr hinsterbenden Nymphen Germaniae elendeste Todesklage” (Braunschweig, 1640), he depicts with expressions of genuine sorrow the wretched condition of Germany. His language rises to the tone of a veritable Philippic in inveighing against the “Spansch-Welsch-Fransch-Teutschen Sinn” of his contemporaries, and especially against the corruption of the German language by the use of foreign words:

“Die schönste Reinlichkeit der Sprache wird beflecket
Mit fremdem Bettelwerk, ja schädlich wird zerstrecket
Die eingepflanzte Art; der redet deutsch nicht recht,
Der den Allmodemann nicht in dem Busen trägt.

¹ Jördens, *Lexikon Deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten* (Leipzig, 1809), iv, 614–625. R. v. Raumer, *Geschichte der germanischen Philologie*, pp. 72 ff. Max v. Waldburg in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxii, 407–412.

Die Sprache, die da kann die Kron' Europens nehmen,
 Die will man henkergleich zerstückeln und verlähmen.
 So hat man ihre Zier mit Flickerei durchlappt
 Und euer ekler Mund nach fremden Worten schnappt."¹

His whole life was to be henceforth devoted to the study and improvement of his mother-tongue. By a series of investigations of special topics, the results of which he published in widely read monographs, he gradually prepared himself for his chief work, his *Teutsche Haupt-Sprache*, a work that has earned for him the epithet of the Jacob Grimm of the seventeenth century.

Schottel's first grammatical work was the *Teutsche Sprachkunst*,² which appeared in Brunswick in 1641, and, in a revised and considerably enlarged edition, in 1651.³ The first part of this book contains a series of so-called *Lobreden*, in the first of which the author gives a large collection of "Testimonia der Gelarten von der Trefflichkeit der deutschen Sprache" and maintains the excellence of the German language against the criticisms of certain foreign writers. In the further *Lobreden*, he proceeds to prove that the present German language is, after all, still the ancient German language, "also ist gleichfalls unsere jetzige Teutsche Sprache eben dieselbe uhralte weltweite Teutsche Sprache" (p. 72). He also makes an interesting attempt to divide the history of the German language into periods, the first beginning with the "anfängliche Bildung der deutschen

¹Quoted from *Bibliothek deutscher Dichter des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, herausgegeben von W. Müller, ix, 123 f.

²Justi-Georgii Schottelii Einbeccensis *Teutsche Sprachkunst*, darin die allerwortreichste, prächtigste, reinlichste, vollkommene uhralte Hauptsprache der Teutschen auss ihren Gründen erhoben, dero Eigenschaften und Kunststücke völliglich endeckt, und also in eine richtige Form der Kunst zum ersten mahle gebracht worden. Abgetheilet in drey Bücher. Braunschweig, Gedruckt bey Balthasar Grubern. Im Jahre 1641. (16mo, pp. xvi, 655.)

³Justi-Georgii Schottelii J. V. D. *Teutsche Sprach Kunst*, vielfaltig vermehret und verbessert, darin von allen Eigenschaften der so wortreichen und prächtigen Teutschen Hauptsprache ausführlich und gründlich gehandelt wird. Zum anderen mahle heraus gegeben im Jahre 1651. Braunschweig. In verlegung Christof-Friederich Zilligern. (16mo, pp. xxxviii, 912.)

Wörter," the second with Charlemagne, the third with Rudolph I, "welcher höchstlößlicher Kaiser einen eigenen Reichstag wegen der Teutschen Sprache zu Nürnberg gehalten, darin verabschiedet, dass hinfüro die Teutsche Sprache an stat der Lateinischen überal solte gebraucht werden in Gerichten, und alle Mandata, edicta, privilegia, pacta dotalia, etc.;" the fourth with "Herrn Luthero, der zugleich alle Lieblichkeit, Zier, Ungestüm, und bewegenden Donner in die Teutsche Sprache gepflanzt, alle rauhe Bürde ihr abgenommen, und den Teutschen gezeiget, was ihre Sprache, wenn sie wolten, vermögen könnte; the fifth, at the time when the German language should be purified of its foreign elements, "darin das ausländische verderbende Lapp- und Flikwesen künfte von der Teutschen Sprache abgekehret, und sie in ihrem reinlichen angeborenen Smukke und Keuschheit erhalten werden: auch darin zugleich die rechten durchgehende Grunde und Kunstwege also kunten geleyet und beliebt werden, dass man gemählich die Künste und Wissenschaften in der Muttersprache lesen, verstehen und hören möchte."¹

He comments on the origin of the German letters, and dwells particularly on what appears to him as one of the most characteristic and most valuable features of the German language, viz. its capacity for forming compounds, or, as he strangely calls them, *Verdoppelungen*. He touches upon the qualification of the German language for the expression of poetic sentiment. He tries to prove that almost all the European languages contain German elements, and meets the arguments of those who wish to derive the German from foreign languages. He sketches a plan for a great German dictionary, a plan which Leibniz adopted in the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken*, a work strongly influenced in many other respects by Schottel, if not written by him, as has been maintained.²

¹ Edition of 1651, pp. 91 ff.

² *Leibniz und Schottelius. Die Unvorgreiflichen Gedanken, untersucht und herausgegeben von A. Schmarsow. Quellen und Forschungen, XXIII.*

The second book of the *Sprachkunst* contains a phonology and accidence, the latter recognizing two conjugations, a "gleichfliessende" and an "ungleichfliessende." The third book is devoted to the syntax and for an Appendix we have a list of German grammatical terms used in this work in place of the customary Latin terms.

In the year 1643 he received from the university of Helmstädt the degree of J. V. D., having presented a dissertation *De poenis juxta cujuscunque delicti meritum juste aestimandis*. The year before, he had become a member of the 'Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft,' assuming the appropriate society-name of 'Der Suchende.' In the year 1646 he also joined the 'Blumenorden' or Nuremberg under the name of 'Fontano.' The *Sprachkunst* was well received and was introduced in the schools of Nuremberg, then one of the chief-centres of purism and other endeavors to improve the German language. Encouraged by his success, and in order to reach a larger circle of readers, he soon published a briefer and more popular treatise, *Der Teutschen Sprach Einleitung*.¹ He tries to show in this little treatise the true character of the German language in accordance with its origin and its elements and to show of what it is capable without resorting to the use of foreign words, and mentions the German *Reichsabschiede* as models of pure and correct German, also the works of Aventinus, Goldast and Luther.

His next work was the outcome of studies poetical rather than grammatical, begun in consequence of his association with the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft." In the *Teutsche Versoder Reim-Kunst* (Wolfenbüttel: 1645), a work considerably larger than Opitz' *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* of 1624, Schottel takes account of the wealth of poetic forms that had

¹ *Der Teutschen Sprach Einleitung*, zu richtiger gewisheit und grundmesigem vermügen der Teutschen Hautsprache, samt beygefügtten Erklärungen. Ausgefertigt von Justo Georgio Schottelio, Dicasterii Guelphici Assessore. Lübeck, Gedruckt durch Johan Meyer. In Verlegung Matthæi Düncklers Buchh. in Lüneburg. Anno 1643. (16mo, pp. xxxii, 159.)

come into use since the appearance of Opitz' little treatise. It represents, in the main, the tendencies of the Nuremburg school, a florid and stilted style, an artificial and complicated structure of verse and stanza, and all the peculiar playful and tricky rhyme-combinations invented by the *Pegnitzschäfer*. Schottel himself wrote numerous poems, mostly religious. Some of them show moderation, but others rank among the worst products of this artificial period. Such a conception of poetry strikes us as all the more remarkable if we consider how little Schottel sympathized with some of the other tendencies of the *Sprachgesellschaften*, and how much good sense he manifested in dealing, for instance, with the subject of foreign words in his chief work, the *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubtsprache*.¹

The latter work is a large quarto volume of about 1,500 pages, and is divided into five books, preceded by various dedications, prefaces, table of contents and list of authorities, and followed by an index and appendices. The work presents, in the main, the material published in the various preceding monographs, considerably enlarged and often greatly modified. The first book consists again of ten so-called *Lobreden*, or introductory essays on various topics connected with the character and the practical use of the language; the second contains the

¹ *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubtsprache*, worin enthalten Gemelter dieser Haupt Sprache Urankunft, Uralterthum, Reinlichkeit, Eigenschaft, Vermögen, Unvergleichlichkeit, Grundrichtigkeit, zumahl die Sprach Kunst und Vers Kunst Teutsch und gutentheils Lateinisch völlig mit eingebracht, wie nicht weniger die Verdoppelung, Ableitung, die Einleitung, Nahmwörter, Authores vom Teutschen Wesen und Teutscher Sprache, von der verteutschung, Item die Stammwörter der Teutschen Sprache samt der Erklärung und derogleichen viel merkwürdige Sachen. Abgetheilet in Fünf Bücher. Ausgefertiget von Justo-Georgio Schottelio D. Fürstl. Braunschweig: Lüneburg. Hof- und Consistorial-Rahte und Hofgerichts Assessor. Nicht allein mit Röm: Kayserl. Maj. Privilegio, sondern auch mit sonderbarer Kayserl. Approbation und genehmhaltung, als einer gemeinnutzigen und der Teutschen Nation zum besten angesehenen Arbeit, laut des folgenden Kayserl. Privilegii. Braunschweig, Gedrukt und verlegt durch Christoff Friederich Zilligern, Buchhändlern. Anno MDCLXIII. (4to, pp. xxxvi, 1494.)

etymology, including orthography and accidence; the third, the syntax; the fourth, the prosody or *Teutsche Verskunst oder Reimkunst*; the fifth, seven so-called tracts, the first of which is a reprint of *Der Teutschen Sprach Einleitung* of 1643; the second, a treatise on the origin of German proper names, *de nominibus propriis Veterum Teutonicorum seu Celticorum populorum*; the third, a treatise on German proverbs; the fourth is a brief history of German literature, *Von Deutschlands und Teutschen Scribenten*; the fifth treats *de modo interpretandi in lingua Germanica, wie man recht verteutschen soll*; the sixth contains a list of German roots and primitive words; the seventh, a brief résumé, in Latin, of the contents of the work, *cum monitu ad lectorem*.

Naturally, Schottel's knowledge of the origin and history of the German language and its relations to other languages was very limited, and no one can be amazed if he confounds Celtic with Germanic and looks upon the forms of the language in use in his time as correct and legitimate, to which the language had returned after a period of confusion and corruption, during which endings like *-an* and *-on* were used in place of the correct and better sounding *-en*. But, on the other hand, he shows not only a wide acquaintance with German literature, referring, as he does, to Otfrid, Williram, the Windsbeke and Windsbekin, the Heldenbuch, König Tirol and numerous later authors and works, but he also has some sense of the value of other sources, such as the ancient law-books, the proverbs, etc. He also endeavors, with more or less success, to give some historical explanation for the various rules which he formulates. In the main, of course, his position is that of a grammatical legislator and reformer. By his attempts to fix, for the time being, what he conceived to be the correct language, he at least called the attention of the cultured to the all-important subject of their mother tongue, and pointed out some of the lines along which it might be improved.

II.

SCHOTTEL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GERMAN VOCABULARY.

One of the things on which Schottel insisted as necessary to improve the German language, was the elimination of unnecessary foreign terms by the substitution of equally good native words already in use or of newly coined German compounds. In this matter he shows singularly good sense. He knows very well how intimately patriotism and national feeling are associated with the love of one's mother-tongue. He therefore abhors that species of affectation which prefers a foreign word when a good native word might just as well be used.

“Schaw doch das Wunderweib, sie hat Milchweisse Wangen,
Ihr' Augen bräunlich-schön, ihr Haar gelb-kräuslich hangen
Darbei ein Pferdehals, der Leib ist Federbund,
Die Füße untenwärts sind wie ein Karpenmund.
Lach, lieber Schawer, lach, so bildet mich ein Mahler
Und mengt mich unerhört mein Alamodo-praler
Gar wunderseltzamlich, kein Wort ist fast mehr mein:
Die Sprachverderberei sol dennoch künstlich sein.”

Einleitung, p. 20.

But he is no fanatic; and the absurd attempts of the *Blumenorden* to eliminate from the language every expression that seems to have any connection with a Latin, Greek or other foreign word, are as distasteful to him as the worst corruption that the language had previously suffered. He distinctly declares himself in favor of the retention of really useful foreign words: “Jedoch derjenigen Wörter so der Christlichen Religion halber bey den alten Teutschen haben müssen bekannt werden, sind vermittelst Teutscher termination etzliche geblieben als *Sacrament, Altar, Bischof, Prebende*, gleichfalls, zu halten, dass es besser, und bequemer sey, dieselbe also in Teutscher Sprache zu gebrauchen, als solche mit einem urankünstlich Teutschen Worte, welches sonst nicht unschwer zu thun sein möchte, zu

verwechsen" (*Ausführliche Arbeit, etc.*, p. 455); and, in another place he says: "wie die Lateinische Sprache viele Unlateinische und Griechische Wörter, die Griechische Sprache gleichfalls etzliche *barbara vocabula* (wie sie Plato nennet) ihres Nachruhms ungeschmelert behalten, und auf Lateinisch und Griechisch naturalisiret haben, also können und müssen wir auch sothane in den Teutschen Sprachbaum notwendig (weil ein neu ding benahmet wird) eingepfropfte oder durch zulesigen gebrauch eingimpfte, oder aber durch das herkommen fest eingezweigte wörter Teutschem nachruhm ohn schaden nunmehr fein behalten" (*ib.*, p. 1273). And a little later he speaks of the "ekkelsucht und ausmusterung derjenigen, so kein Teutsch als was ihren Ohren nur Teutsch klinget, zulassen."

Among the numerous new words that Schottel has coined, many have not stood the test of time, and have either never driven out the foreign words which they were intended to replace, or have in their turn been crowded out by others. A sufficient number, however, still remains in use to testify to his skill and good judgment in this matter, while some of those that are not now in use must nevertheless be regarded as very happily coined. Some words coined by Schottel have already been accredited to him, while others, among them some of the most common and most characteristic words of the language, have in the dictionaries heretofore been ascribed to later periods. Some of the words enumerated in the following lists were doubtless used by other writers before Schottel, others may have been, but there is no question that Schottel consciously uses them as new words for the purpose of introducing them. Naturally, as Schottel is a grammarian, the majority of foreign terms that he desires to replace by native words, are the technical terms of grammar, but he does not confine himself to these.

Beginning with grammatical terms, we notice first of all

Sprachkunst for *grammatica*, unfortunately not now in common use.

Wortforschung for *etymologia*, and

Wortfügung for *syntaxis*, both frequently though not exclusively used to-day.

Wörterbuch, a word of which Grimm says in the preface to his *Deutsches Wörterbuch*: "Den ausdrück wörterbuch kannte das siebzehnte jahrhundert noch nicht, Stieler weiss nichts davon [he gives his dictionary of 1691 the title *Sprachschatz*], zuerst meines wissens verwendet ihn *Kramer* (1719) nach dem nnl. *woordenboek*, Steinbach und Frisch behielten und führten in allgemein ein; von uns gelangte er zu Schweden und Dänen. . . ." It seems unfortunate that in the 'Wörterbuch' *par excellence* the coiner of this very word should have been overlooked;¹ for Schottel uses *Wörterbuch* ("Lexicon oder vollständiges Wörterbuch") in his first grammatical publication of 1641, seventy-eight years before Grimm's first authority, and always after that, and I cannot find the Dutch *woordenboek* as the title of any dictionary published in Holland previous to that year.

Mundart has become so popular a word, that even in technical writings it is often employed, and substitutes proposed at various times, e.g. *Sprachart* and *Redart* have been unable to gain any foot-hold.

Lautwort for *onomatopoeicon* would seem to deserve greater popularity than it enjoys.

Vorstellung for *paradigma* has never obtained any standing, and

Doppelung and **Verdoppelung**, for *compositio*, seem strangely inaccurate designations. On the other hand,

Rechtschreibung for *orthographia* is universally used by the side of the older word.

Ableitung and **Herleitung** for *derivatio*, as well as the corresponding verbs *ableiten* and *herleiten* are not represented in Grimm's *Wörterbuch* by any earlier authority than Goethe, but they are both found in Schottel, the first in the *Sprachkunst* of 1641.

Geschlecht for *genus* seems natural enough; but a very happily coined word is

Geschlechtwort for *articulus*, all the more so because it is not a translation; on the other hand **benennend** and **unbenennend** for *definitus* and *indefinitus* seem clumsy compared with the modern **bestimmt** and **unbestimmt**.

Nennwort, for *nomen*, still occasionally used, though *Hauptwort* is more common. Schottel uses

Gemeines Nennwort for *nomen appellativum*; also **beyständiges Nennwort** for *adjectivum*. *Eigenschaftswort* [not given in Grimm, strange to say] occurs, according to Heyne, only since the eighteenth century.

Vornennwort is used for *pronomen*, now replaced by the simpler *Fürwort*. For the subdivisions of the pronouns, personal, demonstrative, etc., Schottel uses the Latin terms.

Zahlwort for *numerals* has since been in common use, likewise the excellent

¹ In view of the fact that for the later volumes of the *Wörterbuch* Schottel's writings have been carefully examined, it is probable that when the article *wörterbuch* is reached, this error in the preface will be corrected.

Zeitwort, for which Campe later on proposed *Zustandswort*, without finding followers.

Vorwort, for *praepositio*, is still occasionally used; not so

Zuwort, a literal translation of *adverbium*.

Fügewort, for *conjunctio*, seems an excellent term, though it has not attained any great popularity.

Abwandelung, for *declinatio*, and the verb **abwandeln**, are well chosen. For the names of the cases, Schottel uses

Nennendung, **Geschlechtendung**, **Gebendung**, **Klagendung**, **Rufendung**, and **Nehmendung**, none of which have become popular, being too literal and spiritless translations.

Einzele Zahl, for *singularis*, and

Mehrere Zahl, for *pluralis*, have given way to the simpler *Einzahl* and *Mehrzahl*.

Ergrösserung, for *comparatio*, with the terms **erste**, **mittlere**, and **höchste** **Staffel**, are not now in use. Schottel employs

Zeitwandelung for *conjugatio*, and he recognizes, as said before, two species, the **gleichfliessende** and the **ungleichfliessende**, failing to observe any regularity in the strong verbs and enumerating them finally in alphabetical order. Other grammatical terms are

Wirkende Deutung for *activum*; **leidende Deutung** for *passivum*; **Weise** for *modus*; **Weise anzuzeigen** for *indicativus*; **Weise zu fügen** for *conjunctivus*; **Weise zu gebieten** for *imperativus*; **Weise zu enden**, a very strange term for *infinitivus*, also **Endungsweise**; **Mittelwort** for *participium*, still used by purists; **Zeit** for *tempus*; **gegenwärtige Zeit** for *praesens*; **fastvergangene Zeit** for *imperfectum*; **vergangene Zeit** for *perfectum*; **gantzvergangene Zeit** for *plusquamperfectum*; and **zukünftige Zeit** for *futurum*. Not to go through the whole list, I will merely mention **Gleichrichtigkeit** for *analogia*, and **Grundrichtigkeit** for *analogia fundamentalis*, both good words, whatever the distinction may have been; **Hinterstrichlein** for *apostrophe*; **Beistrichlein** for *comma*; **Strichpünklein** for *semicolon*; **Doppelpunkt** for *colon*; **Hauchlaut** for *aspiratio* [Grimm: "als technischer Ausdruck den Grammatikern des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts eigen"; Schottel, 1641]; **Verwunderungszeichen** for *exclamationis signum*; **Doppellaut** for *diphthongus*; **Zwischenwort** for *interjectio*; **Fragzeichen** for *interrogationis signum*, already used by Ickelsamer in his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1527).

Among the most successful words are doubtless **Nachdruck** for emphasis, and **zweideutig**, by the side of the less happily chosen **gleichbenahmt** for *homonymus*. In the syntax he distinguishes between **Vorsatz** and **Nachsatz**; *quantity* and *quality* he renders well by **Wortzeit** and **Wortklang**; *radix* by **Stammwort**; *scansio* by **Abmessung**; *terminatio* by **Endung**.

Among the terms not entirely grammatical we notice **Lehrsatz** for *regula*, *thesis*; **Denkzeit** for *Epoche*; **Einleitung** for *introductio*; **Fremdgierigkeit**: "Vetera & aliena extollimus, recentium & nostrum ipsorum incuriosi; die frömdgierigkeit scheint durch ein hartes verhengniss sonderlich den Teut-

schen gar tieff angeboren zu sein" (*Sprachkunst*, III); **Gegenbeweis**, **Handelsgenosse**, both credited by Grimm to Stieler (1691), but found in the *Ausführliche Arbeit*; **Klafferworte** for *sesquipedalia verba*; **kunstgründig**, **kunstrichtig**, **kunstmässig**; **Sinnbild** for *emblema*; **wortarm**, **wortreich**; **Wortgleichung** for *paronomasia*; **Wortzank** for *logomachia*; **Wortzeiger** for *catalogus verborum*; **Anmerkung** for *observatio*; **Bildungskraft**, **Denkraft**, **Urteilkraft**; **Naturlehrer** for *physicus*, according to Grimm used first in the eighteenth century by Kant and Herder, but found in the *Ausführliche Arbeit*, p. 335.

III.

THE STRONG VERBS.

Inasmuch as levelling in the preterit of the strong verbs constitutes one of the chief characteristics of the Modern High German as compared with the late Middle High German and the language of the transition period, it will be interesting to inquire into Schottel's position with reference to this linguistic tendency. It will be observed that while in certain classes of verbs this levelling process is completed, in others it has hardly begun, and very archaic forms are there the rule, in spite of Schottel's general tendency toward uniformity.¹

As regards the personal endings, it appears that Schottel, as a rule, uses the full endings *-est* and *-et*, and rarely employs contracted forms. The exceptions occur almost exclusively among the verbs that have, in the 2. and 3. sing. pres. indicative, a vowel different from that of the infinitive. Those having *-eu-* are nearly always contracted: *beugst*, *beugt*; *beutst*, *beut*; *verdreust*; *fleugst*, *fleugt*; *fleuchst*, *fleucht*, but

¹ In the following discussion, the *Teutsche Sprachkunst* of 1641 is denoted by *A*, the second edition of the same of 1651 by *B*, the *Ausführliche Arbeit* of 1663 by *C*.

Unless otherwise stated, the endings in the second and third pers. sing. pres. ind. are *-est* and *-et*, and the radical vowel is the same as in the infinitive; in the preterit, the first and third persons have no ending, and the second person has the ending *-est*; the radical vowel throughout the preterit is that of the first pers. sing. ind. Furthermore, unless otherwise stated, the forms are the same in *A*, *B*, and *C*, except that, as a rule, *A* does not give the forms for the preterit subjunctive.

fliehest, fliehst; freurst, freurt; kreichst, kreucht; leugst, leugt; reuchst, reucht; scheust; schleust; seuffst, seufft; seudst, seud; treugst, treugt; treuffst, treufft; verleurst, verleurt; zeugst, zeugt, but ziehest, ziehet; exceptions are geussesst, geneussesst, scheubest, entspreussesst. Those with ä (e) and i (ie) are also often contracted, particularly when the vowel is short, but many uncontracted forms occur, more in the second person than in the third, and more in C than in A and B: befihlest by the side of befihlt; birgst, birgt, by the side of verbirgest, verbirget C; brichst, bricht; fichst, ficht in A and B, but fichtest, fechtest, ficht and fechtet in C; hilffst, hilft; ledst, led; ligest, liget and ligt; nimst, nimt; quillest, by the side of quillt; schläffest, but schläfft, etc. All verbs leaving the vowel in the 2. and 3. sing. unmodified, have the full endings, except greiffst and kneiffst, by the side of greiffest and kneiffest. In the 2. sing. pret. the -e- is hardly ever omitted.

The inorganic -e in the 1. and 3. sing. pret. is occasionally found after *h*: *diehe* (by the side of the queer *diehte*) in *B* and *C*; *friehe; liehe, ziehe* for the 1. person, by the side of the irregular *ziehet* for the 3. person, likewise *verziehe; flohe; sahe* for the 1. person, by the side of *sah*; once the -e occurs after another consonant: *fohte*.

I.

beissen—*biss*—*gebissen*.

bleiben—*blieb*—*geblieben*.

[**ver-**]**bleichen**—*verblich*—*verblichen*.

deihen, **gedeihen** (not in *A*)—*dieh*, -*est*, -*ete* and -*e*—*gediehn*.

[**be-**]**fleisen**—*befliss*—*beflissen*.

gleiten (not in *A*)—*glitt*—*geglitten*.

greiffen, *greiffest*, *greiffst*—*A, B: griff, C: grieff*—*gegriffen*.

kneiffen, *kneiffest*, *kneiffst*—*kniff*—*gekniffen*.

leiden—*litt*—*gelitten*.

verleihen (not in *A*)—*liehe, liehest, liehe*—*geliehen*.

meiden, *A* and *B* refer to *scheiden*, q. v. *C: mied, meidete; mietest meidetest;*

mied meidete; miedten meideten; midtel meidet; midten meideten—gemütten gemeidet. "Usitatus est Anomalum gemitten."—**vermeiden**, *A:*

vermitt—*vermitteln*; *B, C: vermitt, vermeidete—vermitteln, vermeidet*.

pfeiffen—*pfiff*—*gepfiffen*.

reiben—*rieb*—*gerieben*.

reissen—*riss*—*gerissen*.

reiten—*ritt*—*geritten*.

scheinen—*schien*—*geschienen*.

scheissen—*schiss*—*geschissen*.

schleichen (*B*: *sleichen*, etc.)—*schlich*—*geschlichen*.

schleiffen (*B*: *sleiffen*) *A*, *B* refer to *greiffen*, q. v.—*C*: *schliff*—*geschliffen*.

schleissen (*B*: *sleissen*, etc.)—*schliss*—*geschlissen*.

schmeissen (*B*: *smeissen*, etc.)—*schmiss*—*geschmissen*.

schneiden (*B*: *sneiden*, etc.)—*schnitt*—*geschnitten*.

schreiben—*schrieb*—*geschrieben*.

schreyen—*schrye*—*geschryen*.

sehen, seigen (only in *C*)—*seihete, seigete*—*gesehen, gesigen*.

schreiten—*schrift* (*C*: *schrift*)—*geschritten*.

schweigen (*B*: *sweigen*, etc.)—*schwieg*—*geschwiegen*.

[**ver-**]siegen (only in *C*)—p. p. *versiegen*, "fons exsiccatus & aridus, ein Brunn so versiegen." Schottel evidently does not know the more regular form *verseigen* for the present, nor the preterit *versog* and p. p. *versogen* used by Stieler and others with the present *versiegen* according to *wiegen*—*wog*—*gewogen*.

speyen—*speyete, spie*—*gespien, gespeyet*.

spleissen (only in *C*)—*spliss*—*gesplissen*.

steigen—*stieg*—*gestiegen*.

streifen—*stritt*—*gestritten*.

[**ver-**]gleichen—*verglich*—*verglichen*.

weichen—*wich*—*gewichen*.

weisen—*wies*—*gewiesen*.

ziehen (*A* and *B* refer to *leihen*, q. v.) *C*: pret. 1. *ziehe*, 2. *ziehest*, 3. *zieheth*,—*gezichen*. The *-t* in the 3. sing. pret. is probably due to a misprint, although *verzeihen* has it also.

Here belong also

scheiden—*schied*—*geschieden*, the transfer of which from the reduplicating verbs to this series seems to be accomplished, as Schottel does not give the older p. p. *gescheiden*, which still occurs in Luther, Gen. 13, 14.

freihen (in *B* and *C*)—*freihete, frieche*—*gefriehen, gefreiet*. It seems strange that Schottel should have given the strong forms without characterizing them as rare; Grimm does not give a single example of their use and the only one cited by Heyne from Philander von der Linde (*Scherzhafte Gedichte*, 1713) "es haben andre sonst als du um mich *gefriehen* (: *ziehen*)" is late and proves little. I can find no other example.

preisen—*preisete, pries*; subj. (not in *A*) *priese*—*gepreiset, gepriesen*; the older weak forms which Luther uses exclusively, are still recognized as correct, except in the preterit subjunctive, where *B* and *C* have only the strong form.

In this class the process of levelling in the preterit is completed, and the original vowel of the singular has in every case given way to that of the plural. Forms like *er reit*, *er schneit* often occurring in the 16. and 17. centuries¹ are no longer recognized by Schottel. The levelling process has extended also to the preterits with *ê* before *-h* and *-w*: *lêch*, *dêch*, *schrê* > *liehe*, *diehe*, *schrye*.

The struggle between long and short *i* has been decided according to the rule that *ï* appears before original surds and aspirates, *î* before sonants; the only exception is *grieff* (*C*) by the side of *griff*, (*A*, *B*).

Differentiation of consonants according to Verner's law is still found in *meiden*—*mied*, *vermitt*—*meidten*, *midten*—*gemitten*, while in *gedeihen*, *leiden* and *ziehen* usage has decided between the consonant of the pret. sing. and that of the pret. plur. The *g* of *gesigen* has crept into the present tense, giving the infinitive *seigen* by the side of the older *seihen*.

A tendency to become weak is seen in *meiden*, *seihen*, and *speyen*; on the other hand, many verbs of which weak forms often occur in the 16th and 17th centuries, are given only as strong. The fact that such an unquestionably strong verb as *treiben* is, doubtless by an oversight, omitted from the list of strong verbs in *A*, *B* and *C*, makes it difficult to say whether the omission of *schneien* implies its classification as a weak verb or not.

II.

biegen; 1. *beuge*, *biege*; 2. *beugst*; 3. *beugt*—*bog*—*gebogen*.

bieten; 2. *beutst*; 3. *beut*—*bot*—*geboten*.

[ver-]driessen; *A* and *B* refer to *giessen*, *C*: 2. *verdreust*; 3. *verdreust*—*verdros*—*verdrossen*.

fliegen; 2. *fleugst*; 3. *A*: *fleuget*; *B*, *C*: *fleugt*—*flog*—*geflogen*.

fliehen (only in *C*); 2. *fleuchst*, *fliehest*; 3. *fleucht*, *fliehet*—*flohe*—*geflohen*.

fließen; 2. *fleust*; 3. *fleust*—*floss*—*geflossen*.

frieren; 2. *freurst*; 3. *freurt*—*fror*—*gefroren*.

giessen; 2. *geusset*; 3. *geust*—*goss*—*gegossen*.

¹ For examples see Kehrein's *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des funfzehnten bis siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I, 247 sqq.

- kiesen**; 2. *kiesest*; 3. *kieset*—*ko*hr—*gekohren*.
kriechen; 2. *kreuchst*; 3. *kreucht*—*kroch*—*gekrochen*.
liegen; 2. *leugst*; 3. *leugt* (*A leugst*; misprint)—*log*—*gelogen*.
[ver-]lieren; 2. *verleurst*; 3. *verleurt*—*verlohr*—*verlohren*.
[ge-]niessen; 2. *geneussst*; 3. *geneust*—*genos*—*genossen*.
riechen; 2. *reuchst*; 3. *reucht*—*roch*—*gerochen*.
schiessen (not in *A*); 2. *scheust*; 3. *scheust*—*schoss*—*geschossen*.
schliessen (*B*: *stliess*); *A* and *B* refer to *giessen*, q. v. *C*: 2. *schleust*; 3. *schleust*—*schloss*—*geschlossen*.
sieden; 2. *seudst*; 3. *seud*—*sott*—*gesotten*.
[ent-]spriessen; *A* and *B* refer to *giessen*, q. v. *C*: 1. *entsprisse*; 2. *entspreussst*; 3. *entspreust*; pl. *entsprissen*—*entspros*—*entsprossen*.
stieben; *A* and *B* refer to *schieben*, q. v. *C*: 2. *stiebest*; 3. *stiebet*.
triegen; 2. *treugst*; 3. *treugt*—*trog*—*getrogen*.
trieffen; 2. *treuffst*; 3. *treufft*—*troff*—*getroffen*.
ziehen; *A*: 2. *zeugst*; 3. *zeugt*; *B, C*: 2. *zeugst*, *ziehest*; 3. *zeugt*, *ziehet*—*zog*—*gezogen*.

The few verbs belonging to this class that have in O.H.G. *û* in the present, are otherwise regular:

- sauffen**; 2. *seuffst*; 3. *seufft* (*B*: *seufst*, *seuft*)—*soff*—*gesoffen*.
saugen; 2. *saugest*—*sog*—*gesogen*. The *-au-* of the 2. pers. is probably due to a desire to avoid confusion with the causative *seugen*; *C*: “*seugen* ‘lectare infantem’ ist regular.”

Here belongs also

- schauben** ‘trudere,’ ‘pellere,’ ‘poulsere’; 2. *scheubest*; 3. *scheubet*—*schob*; subj. *schöbe*, *schübe*—*geschoben*. Given thus in *A, B, C*, except that the pret. subj. is wanting in *A*. *C* alone has, in addition to *schauben*, and as a separate verb,
schieben ‘protrudere,’ ‘bouler’; 2. *schiebest* (“interdum *scheubest*”); 3. *schiebet*, *scheubet*—*schob*; subj. *schöbe*—*geschoben*. It is clear that this is a distinction without a difference, and that *schauben* is due to Low German influence.¹

It will be seen that in this class too the process of levelling in the preterit is completed, no traces of the *ou* of the pret. sing. or of the more persistent *u* of the pret. plur. remaining, with the only exception, as regards the latter, of the subjunc-

¹ Both *A* and *B* say under *stieben* “*sih schieben*,” but only *schauben* appears in the list.

tive *schübe*, by the side of *schöbe*, over against *böge*, *böle*, *flöge*, *flösse*, *fröre*, *gösse*, *köhre*, *kröche*, *löge*, *verlöhre*, *genösse*, *röche*, *söffe*, *söge*, *schösse*, *schlösse*, *sötte*, *sprösse*, *tröge*, *tröffe*, *zöge*.¹

Similarly, analogy has removed all distinctions between preterit singular and preterit plural, as regards final consonants, and forms like *kos* are no longer recognized by Schottel. The decision has in every case been given in favor of the consonant of the pret. plural, probably through the influence of the past participle: *frohr*, *kohr*, *verlohr*, *sott*, *zog*.

On the other hand, there seems to be hardly a beginning made to assimilate the vowel of the 2. and 3. sing. to that of the rest of the present tense, and *eu* is still the rule. The only exceptions are: *fliehest*, *flieheth*, mentioned after *fleuchst*, *fleuchth*; ² *kienst*, *kieseth*; *stiebest*, *stiebeth* in *C*, while *A* and *B* apparently mean to recognize forms with *-eu-*; *ziehest*, *zieheth*, given in *B* and *C* after *zeugst* and *zeugth*, while *A* has only the latter. Of all the verbs in this class, *ziehen* is probably the most common, and the fact that *A* has only the forms with *eu* may be taken to indicate that with Schottel the tendency to substitute *-ie-* for *-eu-* in the 2. and 3. pers. had only just begun. The first person has regularly the vowel of the infinitive; the only exception, *beuge*, is doubtless due to confusion with the causative *beugen*, O. H. G. and M. H. G. *bougen*. In *ziehen*, *h* is changed to *g* in the 2. and 3. pres. indicative in the contracted forms with *-eu-*; but *verziehen*, *verzeuchst*, *verzeuchth* (*C*).

III.

a. VERBS ENDING IN A NASAL FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER CONSONANT.

binden—1. *band*; 2. *bundest*; 3. *band*; pl. *bunden*; subj. *bünde*—*gebunden*.
dringen (*C*: "item *drenge*, *drengest*, etc.)—1. *drang*; 2. *drungest*; 3. *drang*;
 pl. *drungen*; subj. *dränge*—*gedrungen*.

finden—1. *fand*; 2. *fundest*; 3. *fand*; pl. *funden*; subj. *fünde*—*gefunden*.

¹For many archaic forms occurring in the 17th century, see Kehrein, *ib.* I, 255 sqq.

²It is not certain that Schottel always meant the second form to be regarded as the one used less often.

- gelingen**—1. *gelang*; 2. *gelungest*; 3. *gelang*; pl. *gelungen*; subj. *gelünge*—*gelungen*.
- klingen**—1. *klang*; 2. *klungest*; 3. *klang*; pl. *klungen*; subj. *klünge*—*geklungen*.
- ringen**—1. *rang*; 2. *rungest*; 3. *rang*; pl. *rungen*; subj. *rünge*—*gerungen*.
- schwinden** (*B*: *swinden*, etc.)—1. *schwand*; 2. *schwundest*; 3. *schwand*; pl. *schwunden*; subj. *schwünde*—*geschwunden*.
- schwingen** (*B*: *swingen*, etc.)—1. *schwäng*; 2. *schwungest*; 3. *schwäng*; pl. *schwungen*; subj. *schwünge*—*geschwungen*.
- singen**—1. *sang*; 2. *sungest*; 3. *sang*; pl. *sungen*; subj. *sünge*—*gesungen*.
- sinken** (*A*: *sincken*)—1. *sank*; 2. *sunkest*; 3. *sank*; pl. *sunken*; subj. *sünke*—*gesunken*.
- springen**—1. *spräng*; 2. *sprungest*; 3. *spräng*; pl. *sprungen*; subj. *sprünge*—*gesprungen*.
- stinken** (*A*: *stincken*)—1. *stank*; 2. *stunkest*; 3. *stank*; pl. *stunken*; subj. *stünke*—*gestunken*.
- trinken** (*A*: *trincken*)—1. *trank*; 2. *trunkest*; 3. *trank*; pl. *trunken*; subj. *trünke*—*getrunken*.
- winden** 'torquere'—1. *wand*; 2. *wundest*; 3. *wand*; pl. *wunden*; subj. *wünde*—*gewunden*.
- winden** 'vincere' (in *B* and *C*)—1. *wand*; 2. *wannest*; 3. *wand*; pl. *wunnen*; subj. *wünne*—*gewonnen*. Apparently confused with [ge-]winnen.
- zwingen**—1. *zwäng*; 2. *zwungest*; 3. *zwäng*; pl. *zwungen*; subj. *zwünge*—*gezwungen*.

Here may also be mentioned

- beschencken**—*A*: 1. *beschank*; 2. *beschankest*;—*beschuncken*; "aliud est *beschencket*;" *B*, *C*: 1. *beschank*, *beschenkte*; 2. *beschankest*, *beschenkest*;—*beschenket*, "interdum *beschuncken*."

b. VERBS ENDING IN A DOUBLE NASAL.

- beginnen**—1. *began*, *begunte*; 2. *beguntest*; 3. *begun*, *begunte*; plur. not given; subj. *begünste*—*begunnen*, *begonnen*.
- rinnen**—1. *ran*; 2. *runnest*; 3. *ran*; pl. *runnen*; subj. *runne*—*geronnen*.
- schwimmen** (*B*: *swimmen*)—1. *schwamm*; 2. *schwummet*; 3. *schwamm*; pl. *schwommen*; subj. *schwümme*;—*A*: *geschwummen*; *B*, *C*: *geschwummen*, *geschwommen*.
- sinnen**. Not given in *A*; *B* and *C* give only the p. p. *gesonnen*. All three have *besinnen*—1. *besann*; 2. *besannest*; 3. *besann*; pl. not given; subj. *besünne*—*besonnen*.
- spinnen**—1. *spann*; 2. *spunnest*; 3. *spann*; pl. *spunnen*; subj. *spünne*—*gesponnen*.
- [ge-]winnen—1. *gewan*; 2. *gewunnest*; 3. *gewan*; pl. *gewunnen*; subj. *gewünne*—*gewonnen*.

c. VERBS ENDING IN A LIQUID FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER CONSONANT.

- bergen**; 2. *birgst*; 3. *birgt*—1. *barg*; 2. *bargest*; 3. *barg*; pl. not given; subj. *bürge*;—*geborgen*.—*verbergen*; 2. *verbirgest*; 3. *verbirget*;—1. *verbarg*; 2. *verborgest*; 3. *verbarg*; pl. *verborgen*; subj. *verbürge*;—*verborgen*.
- bersten**; 2. *birstest*, *birst*; 3. *birst*;—1. *barst*; 2. *borstest*; 3. *A: barst*; *B, C: borst*; pl. *borsten*; subj. *börste*;—*geborsten*.
- [ver-]derben**; 2. *verdirbest*; 3. *verdirbet*;—1. *verdarb*; 2. *verdurbest*, *verdorb*; 3. *verdarb*; pl. *verdurben*, *verdorben*; subj. *verdürbe*;—*verdorben*.
- [be-]fehlen**; 2. *befihlest*; 3. *befihlt*;—1. *befahl*; 2. *befohlest*; 3. *befohl*; pl. *befohlen*; subj. *beföhle*;—*befohlen*.
- gelten**; 2. *gütest*; 3. *gült*;—1. *galt*; 2. *goltest*; 3. *golt*; pl. *galten*; subj. *gülle*;—*gegolten*.
- helfen** (*A: helfen*, etc.); 2. *hilfst*; 3. *hilft*;—1. *half*; 2. *hulfst*; 3. *half*; pl. not given; subj. *hülfe*;—*geholfen*.
- quellen**; 2. *quillest*; 3. *quillt*;—1. *quall*; 2. *quollest*; 3. *quall*; pl. *quollen*; subj. *quellete*;—*gequollen*.
- schelten**; 2. *schültest*; 3. *schilt*; pl. *scholten*, evidently a misprint, although running through *A, B, C*;—1. *schalt*, 2. *schaltest*, *C* also *schuldest*; 3. *schalt*; pl. not given; subj. *schülte*;—*gescholten*.
- schmelzen** (*A: schmelzen*, etc., *B: smelzen*, etc.); 2. *schmilzest*; 3. *schmilzet*;—1. *schmalz*; 2. *schmolzest*, *B* and *C* also *schmulzest*; 3. *schmalz*; pl. not given; subj. *schmülze*;—*geschmolzen*. "Variatur per omnes vocales, *schmalz schmelzen schmilzest schmolzest schmulzest*."
- schwellen** (*B: swellen*, etc.); 2. *schwillst*, *A: schwilst*; 3. *schwillt*, *A: schwilt*;—1. *schwall*; 2. *schwolltest*; 3. *schwall*; pl. *schwollen*; subj. *schwölle*;—*geschwollen*.
- sterben**; 2. *stirbest*; 3. *stirbet*;—1. *starb*; 2. *sturbest*, *storbest*; 3. *starb*; pl. *sturben*, *storben*; subj. *stürbe*;—*gestorben*.
- werben**; *A* and *B* refer to *sterben*; *C* conjugates like *sterben*, but adds *sturb* for the 3. pers. pret.
- werden**; 2. *wirst*; 3. *wird*;—1. *ward*; 2. *wurdest*, *woðdest*; 3. *ward*; pl. *würden*, *worden*; subj. *würde*;—*geworden*. The form *würden* in the pret. plur. must be a misprint, although it runs through *A, B* and *C*.
- werfen** (*A: werffen*, etc.); 2. *wirfst*; 3. *wirft*;—1. *warf*; 2. *wurfest*, *worfest*; 3. *warf*; pl. *wurfen*; subj. *würfe*;—*geworfen*.
- [ver-]wirren**;—p. *verworren*.

Here belongs also

- [er-]schallen** (simplex not given)—*erscholl*; subj. *erschülle*;—*erschollen*, in which verb the weak present *schallen* has combined with the pret. and p. p. of the strong *schellen*, which was becoming obsolete. In Clajus' *Grammatik* (1578) only the weak forms are given.

It will be seen that in this class levelling in the preterit has made but little progress. As a rule, the singular has *a*, the plural *u* (*o*), the subjunctive *ü* (*ö*). The 2. sing. has the vowel of the plural, with the ending *-est*. This survival of the old distinction between the 1. and 3. pers. on the one hand, and the 2. pers. on the other, is perhaps the most striking archaism in Schottel's conjugation.

There are but slight beginnings of a confusion of the several vowels. The first subdivision has regularly *i—a—u, ü—u*, the only exception being *wannest*. The second subdivision has *i—a—u, ü—o*, but there are a few exceptions: 3. sing. pret. *begun* and p. p. *begunnen* before *begonnen*; *geschwummen* before *geschwommen*; *besannest*; besides, the pret. plurals of *beginnen* and [*be-*]*sinnen* are not given, from which, however, it would not be safe to infer that they had the same vowel as the singulars. The third subdivision is less regular than the two others. The pret. plurals of *bergen*, *helfen*, *schallen*, *schelten*, *schmelzen* are not given; of the remainder, one has *u* viz. *werfen*; four have *o*, viz. *bersten*, *befehlen*, *quellen*, *schwellen*; four may take either *u* or *o*, viz. *sterben*, *verderben*, *werben*, *werden* (?); one has the vowel of the singular, *a*, viz. *gelten*. The 1. sing. pret. has *a*, with the exception of *schellen*, which has *o*. In the 2. sing. pret. one verb has *u*, viz. *helfen*; five have *o*, viz. *bersten*, *befehlen*, *gelten*, *quellen*, *schwellen*; six have *u* and *o*, viz. *verderben*, *schmelzen* (*u* in *B* and *C*), *sterben*, *werben*, *werden*, *werfen*; one has *u* and *a*, viz. *schelten* (*u* in *C*); but only one has the same vowel as in the first and third persons, viz. *bergen*. In the 3. sing. pret. the majority have only *a*; *befehlen* and *gelten* have *o*; *bersten* has *a* in *A*, and *o* in *B* and *C*; *sterben* has *a* in *A* and *B*, while *C* adds *sturb*. The subjunctive has *ü*, except *börste*, *beföhle*, *schwölle*, and the weak *quellete*.

IV.

brechen; 2. *bricht*; 3. *bricht*;—*brach*; subj. *bröche*;—*gebrochen*.
gebehren; 2. *gebehrest*; 3. *gebehrt*; *B* and *C* also: *gebihrest*, *gebihrt*;—*gebahr*; subj. *geböhr*;—*geborren*.

- dreschen**; 2. *drischest*; 3. *drischet*;—1. *drasch*, *drosch*; 2. *draschest*; 3. *drasch*; pl. *droschen*; subj. *drösche*;—*gedroschen*.
- fechten**; *A* and *B* refer to *flechten*, q. v.; *C*: 2. *fichtest*, *fechtest*; 3. *ficht*, *fechtet*;—1. *fochte*; 2. *fochtest*; 3. *fochte*; pl. *fochten*; subj. *föchte*, *füchte*;—*gefochten*.
- flechten**; 2. *flichst*; 3. *flicht*;—*A*: 1. *floch*; 2. *flochtest*; 3. *floch*; pl. *flochten*; *B*, *C*: 1. *flochte*; 2. *flochtest*; 3. *flochte*; pl. *flochten*; subj. *flöchte*;—*geflochten*.
- [**ver-**]heelen (not in *A*); the p. p. *verholen* is the only surviving form of the strong verb.
- kommen**; 2. *kommest*, *komst* (*C*: *mm-*); 3. *kommet*;—*kam*; subj. *käme*;—*gekommen*.
- leschen** (not in *A*); p. p. [**er-**]loschen.
- nehmen**; 2. *nimst*; 3. *nimt*;—*nam*; subj. *nähme*;—*genommen*.
- rechen**; 2. *richest*; 3. *rechet*;—p. p. *gerochen*.
- scheren**; 2. *schere*;—*schor*; subj. *schöre*;—*geschoren*.
- [**er-**]schrecken (not in *A*); 2. *erschreckest*;—*erschrak*; subj. *erschreckte*, *erschrückte*;—*erschrocken*.
- sprechen**=*brechen*; *C*: "Dieses Wort wird durch alle Vocale variirt, als: *sprach*, *sprechen*, *spricht*, *gesprochen*, *Spruch*; item durch die beiden Kleinlaute *ö*, *ü*, als: *spröche*, *Sprüche*."
- stechen**; *A* and *B* refer to *brechen*; *C*: 2. *stichest*; 3. *sticht*;—*stach*; pl. *stachen* (interdum *stochen*); subj. *stöche*;—*gestochen*.
- stehlen**; 2. *stihl*; 3. *stihlt*;—1. *stahl*; 2. *stohlest*; 3. *stahl*; pl. *stohlen*;—subj. *stöhle*;—*gestohlen*.
- treffen**; 2. *triffst*; 3. *trifft*;—*traff*; subj. *tröffe*;—*getroffen*.

In this class, the old distinction of quantity between pret. sing. and pret. plur. has completely disappeared, unless a trace of it is to be sought in the subjunctive *nähme* over against the indicative *nam*. There seems to have been a tendency to maintain the difference in vowel between pret. sing. and pret. plur. by substituting for the originally long *a* of the plural, which was no longer distinguished from the originally short *a* of the singular, an *o*, which in its turn penetrated into the singular. In the plural, *o* is found in *dreschen*, *fechten*, *flechten*,¹ *scheren*, *stechen* ("interdum") and *stehlen*; the *o* has also penetrated into the whole singular of *fechten*, *flechten*, and *scheren*, and is further found in the 1. sing. *drosch*, by the side of *drasch*, and in the 2. sing. *stohlest*. The subjunctive has *ö*,

¹ These two verbs had, as is well known, long had *u* in the plural in M. G.

the only exceptions being *käme* and *nähme*. This tendency to introduce *o* into the pret. sing. and pret. plur. may have been helped by the fact that the verbs of this class agreed in the p. p. with those of class II (*fliegen—flog—geflogen*) which had *o* throughout the preterit.

V.

bitten;—*bat*;—subj. *bete*;—*gebeten*.
essen; 2. *isest*; 3. *isset*;—*ass*; subj. *ässe*;—*gegessen*, *gessen*. Likewise
fressen.
geben; 2. *gibst*; 3. *giebt* (*A: giebet*);—*gab*; subj. *gäbe*;—*gegeben*.
[ver-]gessen; 2. *vergisset*; 3. *vergisset*;—*vergass*; subj. *B: vergässe*, *C: vergesse*;—*vergessen*.
lesen; 2. *list*, *liesest*; 3. *list*, *lieset*;—*las* (3. *A: lass*); subj. *läse*.
ligen; 2. *ligest*; 3. *liget*, *ligt*;—*lag*; subj. *lege*;—*gelegen*.
messen; 2. *misses*; 3. *misset*;—*mass*; subj. *mässe*;—*gemessen*.
[ge-]scheiden; 3. *geschiehet*;—*geschach*; subj. *geschehe*;—*geschehen*.
sehen; 2. *sihst*; 3. *sihet*;—1. *sah*, *sahe*; 2. *sahest*; 3. *sah*; subj. *sähe*;—*gesehen*.
sitzen;—*sass*; subj. *sässe*;—*gessen*.
treten; 2. *trittest*, *trüst* (*B: trist*); 3. *tritt*;—1. *trat*; 2. *A: tratest*, *B and C: trattest*; 3. *trat*; subj. *träte*;—*getreten*.
wegen; 2. *wigst*; 3. *wigt*;—*wog*; subj. *wöge*;—*gewogen*.

No traces of a difference between pret. sing. and pret. plur. remain, nor has *a* been supplanted by *o* as in class IV, except in *wegen*, which may be regarded as having gone over into class II; *pflegen*, which early forms a p. p. *gepflogen*, Schottel evidently means to treat as weak. In the subjunctive, *ä* prevails, but *e* is found in *bete*, *vergesse* (*B: vergässe*), *lege*, *gescheat*.

VI.

bakken; (*A: backen*, etc.); 2. *bakkest*; 3. *bekket*;—1. *buch*; 2. *buchest* (*A: buchst*); 3. *buch*; subj. *büche*; 3. *büchet* (evidently a misprint, although found in *B and C*); *gebakken*.
fahren; 2. *fährest*; 3. *fähret*;—*fuhr*; subj. *führe*;—*gefahren*.
graben; 2. *gräbest*; 3. *gräbet*;—*grub*; subj. *grübe*;—*gegraben*.
heben; *hub*; subj. *hübe*;—*gehoben*, *gehaben*.
jagen (not in *A*); 2. *B: jägest*, *jegst*; *C: jagest*, *jegst*; 3. *jaget*, *jägt*;—*jug*; subj. *jüge*;—*gejaget*.
laden; 2. *ledst*; 3. *led*;—*lud*; subj. *lüde*;—*geladen*.
mahlen, 'pingere'; 2. *mehlest*; 3. *mehlet*;—*muhl*; subj. *mühle*;—*gemahlen*.

- schaffen**; 2. *schaffest*;—*schuff*; subj. *schüfte* (both *B* and *C*);—*geschaffen*.
schlagen (*B*: *slagen*, etc.); 2. *schlägst*, 3. *schlägt*, (*A*: *schlegst*, *schlegt*);—*schlag*; subj. *schlüge*;—*geschlagen*.
schweren (*B*: *sweren*, etc.); 2. *schwerest*;—*schwur*: subj. *schwüre*;—*geschworen*.
tragen; 2. *A*: *tregst*; *B*, *C*: *trägst*; 3. *A*: *tregt*; *B*, *C*: *trägt*;—*trug*; subj. *trüge*;—*getragen*.
wachsen; 2. *wechst*; 3. *wechst*;—*wuchs*; subj. *wüchse*;—*gewachsen*.
waschen; 2. *A*: *weschest*; *B*, *C*: *wäschest*; 3. *A*: *weschet*; *B*, *C*: *wäschet*;—*wusch*; subj. *wüsche*;—*gewaschen*.

This class is very regular. The *o* in *geschworen* is, of course, quite old; the new *gehoben* is placed before the older *gehoben*, but the still more modern *hob* is not yet mentioned. Note-worthy are the irregular *jug*, *jüge*, by the side of *gejaget*, and *muhl*, *mühle*, *gemahlen*. In the 2. and 3. pres. indicative, *e* and *ä* are about equally distributed, both being used in long and short stems, while *A* has *e* more frequently than *B* and *C*.

VII.

a.

- blasen**; 2. *bläsest*; 3. *bläset*;—*blies*;—*geblasen*.
braten; 2. *A*: *brettest*; *B*, *C*: *bretest*; 3. *bret*;—*briet*;—*gebraten*.
fallen; 2. *fällst*; 3. *fälli*;—*fiel*;—*gefallen*.
fangen; 2. *fengest*; 3. *fengt*;—*fieng*;—*gefangen*.
halten; *A*: 2. *hältest*; 3. *hält*; *B*, *C*: *-e*;—*hielt*;—*gehalten*.
hangen ‘suspendere, faire qu’elle pende’; 2. *hengest*; 3. *hengel*;—*A*: *hieng*; *B*: *hieng* “(ohn *e*)”; *C*: *hing* “(ohn *e*)”;—*gehangen*. It will be observed that Schottel seems to know only the strong verb, and that in a causative sense; or else he would have mentioned the weak verb in a note, as he generally does.
lassen; *A*: 2. *lessest*; 3. *lesset*; *B*, *C*: *-ä*;—*lies*;—*gelassen*.
rahten; *A*: 2. *retest*; 3. *rett*; *B*, *C*: 2. *rättest*; 3. *räte* (probably a misprint);—*riet*;—*gerahten*.
schlafen (*B*: *slaffen*, etc.); 2. *schläffest*; 3. *schläfft*;—*schlieff*;—*geschlafen*.

b.

- heissen**;—*hiess*;—*geheissen*. Here belongs, by analogy,
heischen;—*hiesch*;—*geheischen*.

c.

- hauen** (*A*: *hauen*, etc.); 2. *A*: *hawest*, *hewest*; *B*: *hawest*, *heuest*; *C*: *hawest*; 3. *C*: *hawet*;—*hieb*;—*p. p.* *A*: *gehawen*; *B*, *C*: *gehauen*.

laufen; 2. *läuffst*; 3. *läufft*;—*lieff*;—*gelauffen*.

stossen; 2. *stosset*; 3. *stosset*;—*sties*;—*gestossen*.

d.

ruffen; 2. *ruffst*; 3. *rufft*;—*rieff*;—*geruffen*.

This class shows few irregularities. In the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. indicative, *-ä-* prevails over *-e-*, at least in *B* and *C*, *-e-* being apparently used chiefly for the short sound. Noteworthy are the forms *stosset*, *stosset*, without umlaut.

H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN.

X.—A GROUPING OF FIGURES OF SPEECH, BASED
UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF THEIR
EFFECTIVENESS.

Four years ago I read before this Association a paper upon a single figure of speech,—allegory. In order to make a careful study of that figure, it was necessary to give some attention to other figures, especially to these three,—simile, metaphor, and personification. From time to time during the last four years I have followed up trains of thought that were opened by my earlier study, and thus have been led almost unconsciously to note the various relations of the more important figures, until I have come to feel that the best way to arrive at an understanding of any one figure is to study figurative language as a whole as well as in its parts.¹ Each year the subject has been brought anew to my mind by the necessity of presenting it in the class-room.

The college student ordinarily comes to us with very little knowledge of the figures of speech. He can, indeed, recognize in a mechanical way certain figures, and can label them with names; but of their real nature, of the principle of which they are manifestations, he knows very little. In his own writing he either makes a lavish use of them for the sake of ornament, or more commonly through a feeling of timidity tries to avoid them. Avoid them altogether he cannot. As regards the use of figures, we should, in my judgment, attempt little more than to point out illustrations of their use, both appropriate and

¹This paper is intended to supplement and in part to supersede the earlier paper, which appeared in the *Publications* of the Association for 1889. It restates and reinforces the theory of the earlier paper. Certain errors in detail which do not affect the truth of the main thesis, I need not specify; one sentence, however, that beginning "Personification addresses itself" (p. 189; p. 49 of the reprint) I wish to cancel as entirely inadequate, and in part incorrect. At the time of writing the sentence I must have had in mind merely alphabetic personification.

inappropriate; if this can be done in the student's own writing, his gain will be the greater. For acquiring an apt use of figures the best means that I know is vigorous thinking; and this we may secure in the student by leading him to write upon subjects in which he takes a genuine interest. I sometimes counsel my pupils not to say to themselves, "Go to, now, I will use a figure;" but to think hard, and there will come to them such figures as it will be wise for them to use.

Our problem, then, is not primarily to teach the use of figures of speech; rather it is to teach the student to distinguish that which is essential to each figure, to understand, if possible, the principle of their effectiveness, and to recognize in the various figures various manifestations of this one underlying principle. How shall I present this subject to my class in such a manner as will be profitable to them? is the question that I have put to myself from year to year: and my answer to the question is an attempt, first, to discover a principle of which every figure is a manifestation in some form; and, secondly, to devise a grouping which shall be based upon this principle. To my presentation of the subject I give the modest name of grouping, for I do not attempt anything so ambitious or so scientific as a classification of figures; yet I am not without the hope that it may be possible to convert into something scientific enough to merit the name of classification the presentation which I have found to be effective in the class-room. To this end I shall welcome the closest criticism, especially of those who have had brought home to them the problem of presenting the subject in the class-room.

Upon a subject that has been discussed since the days of Aristotle, it is impossible to say much that is new; indeed, the more I read, the more I am inclined to think that very little that is new has been said since the time of Quintilian. I must ask for my reader's patience, as I traverse ground that is familiar; though we come late in the day, and though our strength is feeble, yet there may be for us some scanty gleanings. In *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1886, appeared an

article by Professor Bradley of the University of California, upon "The Classification of Rhetorical Figures;" in the closing sentence of his article the writer says that the object of his paper is to elicit future discussion, and expresses the hope that such discussion "may lead to a lasting reorganization of this central department of Rhetoric." Two years later (December, 1888) appeared in the same periodical an article on "The Evolution of Figures of Speech," by Professor Fruit of Bethel College; but it cannot be said that there has been an active discussion of the subject, or that any definite steps have been taken toward a lasting reorganization. To the above-named writers, and also to Professor Gummere, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for help and stimulus, even where I find it necessary to differ with them.

In a useful series of topics and references upon *The Principles of Style*, compiled by Professor Scott of the University of Michigan, the writer supplements his references upon "Figures" with the following words:—"While much good ink has been spilled in discussing the proper classification of Figures, little light has been thrown upon their origin or the principle of their effectiveness" (p. 25). If it were possible to agree upon the principle of their effectiveness, it might be an easier matter to agree upon a classification,—at least, upon a classification that would answer for practical purposes. Into the origin of figures I shall not attempt to inquire, beyond raising the question whether it may not be found by a study of human nature quite as readily as by an historical study. Undoubtedly, certain nationalities and certain types of character have shown a predilection for certain figures, and these nationalities and types of character have interacted; in the matter of literary form the English literature has, perhaps, borrowed more than it has invented. Readily admitting this, and further admitting that it is in the early stages of a literature that we find especially prominent those traits which are most distinctly national, I would, nevertheless, maintain that any civilization, if it could have an independent growth, would in time develop all, or

nearly all, the literary devices that are in common use. One who has observed attentively the unstudied language of children, can have little doubt upon this point. Is it just to claim that the origin of figures, or of a particular figure, belongs solely to one nation, merely because that nation was among the first to develop a literature? If the calculus could be discovered almost simultaneously by two men, if gunpowder could be invented in two nations many thousand miles apart, what shall hinder us from believing that so distinctive a trait of human nature as the use of figurative language may not have had, may not have, a manifold origin?

In his *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric* (published in 1867), Mr. Cope uses the following words, based upon a passage in the *De Oratore* of Cicero (III, xxxviii, 155):—"The origin of metaphor is the imperfection of language; where there is no term directly expressing a notion, the nearest analogy, the term which expresses that which most nearly resembles it must be employed as a substitute." Poverty of language is, then, the origin of the most important of figures. A different view is taken by Professor Gummere, who says that "a confusion, or if one will, flexibility of terms is the real origin of the metaphor" (*The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*, p. 11). "Poverty of language" and "a confusion of terms." Must we choose between the two? For myself, I feel free to accept both hypotheses. If, however, I must choose, I prefer the former. "Poverty of language" indicates a struggle with an imperfect medium of communication, and a victory over it, at least in part. "A confusion of terms" indicates an imperfect wit, one that has at its disposal adequate means of expression, but does not know how to make proper use of them, and thus blunders into metaphor. It is impossible to make this last view tally with the saying of Aristotle, that "greatest of all is to be apt at metaphor. This alone cannot be got from another, and is a sign of natural ability; ¹ for to use metaphors well is to discern resemblances"

¹ In his life of Milton, Mark Pattison, whose classical scholarship is unquestioned, has the following sentence (p. 192):—"The power of metaphor, *i. e.*,

(*Poetics*, xxii, 9). I suppose our own observation will lead us to agree that the power of discovering likeness where there is apparent unlikeness is a sign of natural ability; that the power of forcing words to do more work than they are in the habit of doing is a sign of natural ability; and that to confuse two terms, when one of them is capable of doing the work satisfactorily, is a sign of a lack of natural ability. If the origin of metaphor lies in the poverty of language, then it is evident that there is no special need of looking to primitive man for its origin. The same need which men feel to-day, probably a greater need, was felt by primitive man; wherever the need arises, quick wits bend language, and make it serve their purpose. In this sense the origin of metaphor, the most important figure, lies about us, as well as with primitive man.

One of the precepts which the teacher of Rhetoric has frequent occasion to inculcate, is that it is usually better to employ specific words, such as, "bricks and mortar," "hammer and saw," than to use general terms, such as "building materials" and "carpenters' tools." This precept is based upon the principle that the specific word is exact, and therefore clear and vigorous, while the general term expresses the meaning vaguely,

of indirect expression, is, according to Aristotle, the characteristic of genius." The reference is undoubtedly to the passage in the *Poetics* quoted above. Whately, in his Rhetoric translates the same passage by the words "a mark of genius." I question whether the foregoing translations do not attribute to Aristotle's words,—*εὐφύτας σημεῖον*,—more meaning than they will bear. On the other hand, Wharton's translation, "a proof of cleverness," seems to understate the force of the original. Several eminent classical scholars have been so kind as to give me more exact translations of the passage. Two suggested independently "natural ability;" this rendering, which I have adopted, is also employed by Cope. Another suggests that "happy natural endowment" succeeds better in preserving the significance of the first part of the compound in *εὐφύτα*. Perhaps, however, the word "ability" preserves the force of *εὖ*; if so, I should prefer not to employ three words in order to translate one. George Eliot (*Mill on the Floss*, Bk. II, ch. 1) translates the phrase by "a sign of high intelligence." The natural temptation is to give to the words all the meaning that they will bear.

because it includes more than we mean. Suppose, now, that we say less than we mean; suppose that we say "bricks and mortar" when we mean, not "bricks and mortar" but "building materials." We have crossed the line that separates literal from figurative discourse. We have chosen to suggest our meaning rather than to state it; and we trust to the imagination of the reader to supply what we have failed to state. Take another illustration. In describing the outbreak of a war and the readiness with which patriots obeyed their country's call to arms, an historian might say, "The carpenter dropped his saw and chisel, and the farmer left his plow in the field." This may be merely a statement of literal truth, or it may suggest much more than it affirms. It may suggest that the carpenter left all his tools, and that the farmer left not only his plow but also everything else that had to do with his daily work; that they, and many other citizens, left their homes, and all that made home dear to them; and that they did so promptly and unhesitatingly. All this is clear to the understanding, if it is stated in full; of that which is merely suggested, the understanding takes no cognizance. But the writer does not choose to state his meaning in full; out of many possible details he chooses this one, "The farmer left his plow in the field," and trusts to the imagination of his readers to supply all that he has left unsaid. So, too, the words, "Consider the lilies" (quoted by Campbell, also by Professor Hill) may be either literal or figurative, according to the meaning which they were intended to convey. I have dwelt thus at length upon this point because I wish to emphasize the fact that the figure which goes by the name of synecdoche stands at only a slight remove from literal language. A touch of imagination in the mind of the writer, if only it be of the kind that compels a response in the mind of the reader, and that which is literal is converted into figure. If this be true, we have here the differentia between the literal and the figurative. Indeed, I would ask whether any other suggestions that may be made are not in reality various names

for this single differentia,—the presence of imagination in the speaker or writer, kindling a response in the hearer or reader.

Synecdoche, as Professor Gummere has said, is based upon a relation of space,—what Professor Fruit has termed *intra-relativity*,—the relation of the whole and its parts; from this figure it is only a short step to *Metonymy*, which is based upon a relation of thought,—what Professor Fruit has termed *extra-relativity*, or the intuitions of necessary relation. *Metonymy* names things at a slight remove; instead of naming the thing itself, it names something associated with it, and trusts to the imagination to supply what is not stated,—both the thing unnamed and the relation which bridges the gulf between the two. If the relations are necessary relations, the gulf is not a very wide one; neither in *synecdoche* nor in *metonymy* is a serious demand made upon the imagination, though more is, perhaps, required in the case of *metonymy*.

From *Metonymy* (a change of name) it is only a step to the descriptive epithet or *Kenning*, as when we call bank notes *green-backs*; *hornets*, *yellow-jackets*; English soldiers, *red-coats*; a thief, a *pickpocket*. The examples that I have given point in the direction of *metonymy*; but literature, poetry especially, abounds in *Kenningar* that point in the direction of *metaphor*.¹ In his short poem, "The Humble-bee," Emerson speaks in the first line of the "burly, dozing humble-bee," but after that names him only by means of *Kenningar*;—"thou animated torrid zone,"—"Zigzag steerer, desert

¹ See the first paragraph of Charles Lamb's essay on "Poor Relations" for an amusing list of descriptive epithets that are not used as *Kenningar*, though many of them are capable of conversion into *Kenningar*.

I should like to plead for the introduction into our text-books of the name *Kenning*. If we can adopt and use with ease Greek words such as *Synecdoche*, *Metonymy*, *Metaphor*, which even to most of those who use them are mere names, surely we can adopt a word which is much more nearly English, and which is already known to students of Old English. *Epithet* (a Greek word) is not so good a name as *Kenning*; and it is possible to give to the latter word a definite meaning. The word, if anglicized, would naturally receive an English plural.

cheerer," — "Hot midsummer's petted crone," — yellow-breeched philosopher;" and in a sudden burst of imagination he has six Kenningar, completely filling as many consecutive lines,—

"Insect lover of the sun,
Joy of thy dominion!
Sailor of the atmosphere;
Swimmer through the waves of air;
Voyager of light and noon;
Epicurean of June."

The figures that we have been considering,—Synecdoche, Metonymy, and the Kenning,—are various forms of specific language, of choosing one part or feature to represent the whole. They stimulate the imagination, but they cannot be said to stimulate it to a high degree. These are figures that might be used by writers who have only a moderate degree of imaginative power, but who have in a high degree clearness of mental vision, which is, indeed, one form of imagination. I pass now to a group of figures which make larger demands upon the imagination. Their essential nature is that they point out a likeness between two things that to the careless observer offer no suggestion of likeness; the imagination is stimulated to penetrate beneath the surface, and where there is apparent dissimilarity to detect a resemblance.

"How far that little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

The simile is a formal, leisurely figure, which sets side by side with equal prominence the two objects compared. A briefer statement in the form of metaphor may not necessarily indicate greater imaginative power in the writer, but it certainly makes greater demands upon the imagination of the reader. When Bassanio speaks of the "blessed candles of the night," when Banquo says on a dark night, "There's husbandry in heaven: their candles are all out," something has been suppressed; accordingly, something must be supplied. Where

there is not actual suppression of a term, but only an omission of the copula which indicates a formal comparison, we have what Professor Gummere terms the implied simile, as distinguished from the stated simile. With his example I quote also his terminology, both for the sake of clearness, and because I wish to offer certain supplementary suggestions. A simile is a formal comparison between two things, x is like y : in proportion as we suppress one of the terms, our statement will assume the form of metaphor. As long as both x and y are expressed, we have simile; when y only is expressed, we have metaphor. For example, "The sun is like the eye of heaven" is a simile formally stated; "The sun, the eye of heaven," or "The sun is the eye of heaven," is an implied simile; both x and y are expressed, and only the copula is omitted. The likeness is implied, though not formally stated. Now omit x , and we have Shakspeare's metaphor, "the eye of heaven." Only y is expressed; x must be supplied by the imagination. We see at once what a step has been taken, and what a large demand is made upon the imagination.

The metaphor makes the imagination do more work, and gives it more pleasure than any other figure that I have named thus far. In all the other figures there is some literal truth, but the very essence of metaphor is that to the literal understanding it is false, while to the imagination it is true.

"Methought I heard a voice cry 'Sleep no more!
Macbeth has does murder sleep,' the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labor's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast,—"

Murder sleep? labor's bath? balm of hurt minds? death of each day's life? Impossible, says the understanding. True, every word, says the imagination.

The superior effectiveness of metaphor is due in part to its brevity, to the condensed form in which it comes before the

imagination, and compels it to do its work in a trice. A heightened form of metaphor is that which is so instinct with life and vigor that it has been set apart, and named Personification. That which is lifeless is represented as having life. Such personifications indicate a vivid imagination in the writer, and call for a correspondingly vivid imagination in the reader. I quote the passage in which Hamlet rebukes his queen-mother :—¹

“Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of majesty,
Calls virtue hypocrite, takes off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent love
And sets a blister there, makes marriage-vows
As false a dicers’ oaths: O, such a deed
As from the body of contraction plucks
The very soul, and sweet religion makes
A rhapsody of words: heaven’s face doth glow;
Yea, this solidity and compound mass,
With tristful visage, as against the doom,
Is thought-sick at the act.”

How every word quivers with life! Very different is this from those frigid conceits which Coleridge calls “printers’ devils’ personifications,” and which Lowell had in mind when he wrote of “that alphabetic personification which enlivens all such words as Hunger, Solitude, Freedom, by the easy magic of an initial capital.”

“Contented Toil and hospitable Care,
And kind connubial Tenderness, are there;
And Piety with wishes plac’d above,
And steady Loyalty, and faithful Love.”

Such personifications have about as much of life as has a stuffed suit of armor. A personification should be able to stand alone, without the prop of a capital letter; it should conduct itself like a person, and should show by its actions that it has life.

¹Quoted also by McElroy, *The Structure of English Prose*, p. 240.

One step more, and we reach in the figure known as Allegory the farthest bound; in the domain of figure the force of imagination can no farther go. Step by step that which is figurative has been displacing that which is literal; but even in metaphor there is some hint of the literal. When we say "the eye of heaven," the word "heaven" makes it apparent that we are not to take the word "eye" in a literal sense. In genuine allegory all is figure; there is not a trace of the literal. "The wheel is come full circle," and again, as in the case of synecdoche, we have language that may be either literal or figurative. Every word *may* be taken in a literal sense; every word is *intended* to be taken in a figurative sense. Under the apparent meaning, as under a veil, is hidden the true meaning; and only an active imagination can interpret by the folds of drapery the form that is hidden beneath. Metaphor gives us *y* with a hint of *x*; pure allegory gives us *y* without the barest hint of *x*. It is nothing more or less than a riddle. Of course pure allegory is a tremendous tax upon the imagination, which is obliged at once to solve the riddle, that is, mentally to supply the missing *x*, and to keep up a running series of equations between the expressed *y* and the unexpressed *x*.

The relation between simile, metaphor, and allegory, and the demand that each makes upon the imagination, may be illustrated by means of symbols in another way. Aristotle was, I believe, the first to point out the fact that the metaphor and the simile may be set forth in the terms of a proportion:—"As old age is to life, so is evening to day" (*Poetics*, xxi, 6). This relation we may indicate by the symbols, $A : B :: a : b$. In the formal simile "Old age is like the evening of life," and in the implied simile, "Old age, the evening of life," only the first three terms in the proportion are expressed, and we have $A : B :: a : x$; but it is a simple matter to supply the fourth term of a proportion when the other three are given. The missing term "day" is not needed, for it is as readily supplied as is the omitted member of an enthymeme. Indeed,

the act is one of logical inference rather than of imagination. In the metaphor, "the evening of life," another term of the proportion has been omitted; given the two means, we are to find the extremes. This is a problem which can be answered,—answered in a variety of ways, indeed: perhaps the true answer will reveal itself more readily to the imagination than to the reason. In pure allegory we have only a mention of "evening"; no mention whatever is made of "old age" or of "life" or of "day." One term of the proportion is given, and the imagination must supply the other three; probably it will content itself with supplying two.

As examples of pure allegory I might cite the riddles of Cynewulf, perhaps more interesting as puzzles, both as to meaning and as to authorship, than as literature. As a type of such allegory the mask is better than the veil. If, indeed, pure allegory is merely a riddle,—and much of it is nothing more,—it is certain to fail of being widely interesting. The most successful allegories are those which are the embodiments, not of a conceit, but of a symbolism that is based upon the great truths of human nature and of human experience. They aim, not at mystification, but at setting forth truth in an impressive manner. The form of words in which the truth is clothed bears to the real meaning a relation not unlike that of the body to the soul; and where there is an informing soul within, it will succeed in casting "a beam on the outward shape." For the allegory in its nobler form is of imagination all compact, and will meet with a ready response in the imaginative mind. Examples of such allegory are Clough's "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?"—Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar" and "The Deserted House." Examples of this nobler sort of pure allegory are not numerous, and they are all brief. A long allegory is almost as impossible as a long lyric poem, and for the same reason; in both instances the tax upon the imaginative power of writer and of reader is too great.

Most allegories are examples of what may be called imperfect allegory; some clue to the meaning is given, at the outset, if nowhere else. A good example of such allegory is Mr. Gilder's fine sonnet beginning, "My love for thee doth march like armed men." Nearly all long allegories are imperfect allegories, and this is a mark of wisdom on the part of the writers, for nothing can be more exasperatingly tedious than a long allegory which is continually baffling the reader's attempts to fathom the meaning; such allegories Lowell must have intended, when he spoke of "the mirage of allegory." A long allegory commonly begins with a simile or a metaphor, thus drawing aside a corner of the veil long enough for the reader to gain some clue to what is beneath. So Bunyan gives a clue at the beginning of his great allegory:—"As I walked through the wilderness of this *world*."

The use of allegory in its various forms is a feature of moral and religious teaching that is intended to arrest the attention. The Great Teacher made frequent use of this figure in his parables: usually of imperfect allegory, as in the parable of the ten virgins, beginning with a simile, "Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom"; or, as in the parable of the vine and the branches, beginning with a metaphor, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman"; rarely he used pure allegory, giving no clue, as in the parable of the sower, "Behold, a sower went forth to sow." It is of this parable, the reader will remember, that "his disciples asked him, saying, What might this parable be?" (Luke viii, 9.) Apparently their imaginations were not equal to the demands of pure allegory.

Because so much of allegory is imperfect, the common understanding of the figure is imperfect. We judge by what we see; for practical purposes our judgment may suffice, but theoretically it is inaccurate. Pure allegory is rarely noticed in text-books on Rhetoric. Some books purposely

make no mention of allegory ; since the figure has very little practical importance, such omission is certainly to be preferred to the catholicity of books which counsel the learner to practise the writing of allegories. Commonly, however, text-books teach without any qualification that allegory is continued metaphor. Professor Bradley draws up an elaborate and interesting classification of about twenty figures ; from their company he calmly excludes allegory, with the remark that it is no more a figure of speech "than is a Novel or an Epic." Such language must certainly be called hasty ; evidently he is thinking of the narrative element and has forgotten that it is not length, but absolute suppression of the literal meaning that constitutes allegory. Theoretically, allegory is *the* figure of speech, for it is *all* figure. I quote Professor Bradley's words:—"Rhetorical Figures—Figures *par excellence*—are forms of speech artfully and significantly varied from what is recognized as the norm of plain speech" (*Modern Language Notes*, December, 1886, col. 281). Could there be a better definition of allegory? According to this definition, is not allegory the figure *par excellence*? Surely of all variations from the norm of plain speech it is the most artful and significant ; so artful, it appears, as to deceive the very elect. So long as allegory can be deliberately excluded from a classification of figures, so long as text-books continue to give definitions that are either incorrect or inadequate, so long it will be necessary to reiterate the statement that allegory is not only a figure of speech, but is more completely a figure, more free from the alloy of the literal, than any other.¹

One word more. Time-honored examples and time-honored consent have allowed the name of allegory to a group of

¹ In order to assure myself that the foregoing paragraph was not superfluous or overstated, before sending it to press I examined with reference to the point under discussion twelve modern rhetorics, from Blair's (1783) to a book published in 1892. Ten of these twelve books give definitions of allegory that are inaccurate ; one (intentionally) gives no definition ; the definition in the twelfth book is correct.

alphabetic personifications, abstract qualities masquerading in the garments of real persons. So long as this can be done with only an occasional protest here and there, it needs to be repeated that a group of statuesque personifications,—or even a group of walking personifications,—placed in a narrative, does not make allegory. The personages of an allegory should reveal themselves, not by their names, but by their actions; and the action should have a twofold meaning, a literal and a figurative. A character named Sansfoy, who acts in a faithless manner, is not an example of allegory in any true sense of the term; for both the name and the actions are to be understood literally.

My aim in this paper must be apparent to every reader. I examined first Synecdoche, the simplest form of figure, that which is at the smallest remove from literal language. By comparing the same form of words, first as literal statement, then as figurative language, I tried to ascertain the differentia between literal and figurative speech; and I found that it is the presence of imagination in the writer calling for imagination in the reader. I then treated the more important figures as forms of imaginative utterance, and found in them a blending in various proportions of literal and of imaginative language. Finally, I have tried to range these figures,—these manifestations of the imagination in varying proportions,—in a series which shall exhibit a constantly decreasing proportion of the literal, and a constantly increasing proportion of the imaginative. I begin my series with synecdoche, the figure which stands nearest to literal speech; and I close it with allegory, which is at the farthest possible remove from the norm of plain speech. And this is my order:—Synecdoche, Metonymy, Stated Simile, Implied Simile, Metaphor, Personification, Imperfect Allegory, Pure Allegory. The Kenning, which points sometimes toward Metonymy, some-

times towards Metaphor, I place between Metonymy and Metaphor.¹

Such a series as I have described will explain the fact that pure allegories are not numerous, that many attempts at pure allegory are failures, and that the successes in pure allegory are almost without exception brief. In fact, allegory is a figure which ought seldom to be used. The other figures from personification down are more serviceable; some admixture of the alloy of literal speech renders them better fitted for circulation. Unless he has something of unusual importance to communicate, unless his own feeling is strong, a writer cannot with propriety expect his readers to place a tension upon the imagination. The accumulation of personifications in a passage already quoted,—Hamlet's speech to his mother,—may be justified by the fact that his mind is wrought up to a high pitch of excitement. He has come for the purpose of rebuking his mother; he has just killed old Polonius, and for a moment thought that he had killed his uncle, the murderer of his father; and with his own mind, as well as that of his mother, keyed up to a high pitch of emotion, he begins his reproof. What wonder that his language reflects the state of his mind? In the same way the exuberance of metaphor in Macbeth's speech uttered immediately after he has mur-

IMAGINATION

Pure Allegory
Imperfect Allegory
Personification
Metaphor
Implied Simile
Stated Simile
Metonymy
Synecdoche

LITERAL STATEMENT

¹ If the teacher of psychology is ready to avail himself of the help afforded by a graphic presentation of his abstract teaching, surely the teacher of rhetoric, which is in part a branch of aesthetics, need not disdain the use of similar illustrations. For indicating the steadily decreasing proportion of the literal, and the steadily increasing proportion of the imaginative I have found well suited for my purpose the accompanying device, which is sometimes employed by teachers of psychology and of logic.

dered the sleeping Duncan, is justified by the intensity of his feeling.

One objection that may be made to my grouping,—and it is a vital one, if true,—is that the grouping is theoretical, and does not conform to fact; that it is not true that the metaphor as such makes a greater demand upon the imagination than does metonymy; that some instances of metonymy manifest more imagination than do some instances of metaphor. This objection I should answer first by readily admitting its force in single instances, but also reiterating my belief that the concept which we name metaphor connotes a greater degree of imaginative power, a smaller proportion of the alloy of literalism, than does that which we call metonymy. Secondly, I should bring forward the distinction made by Wordsworth and by Coleridge between Imagination and Fancy, and I should assign to the domain of Imagination the figures based upon real relations and resemblances, and to the domain of Fancy the figures, based upon intellectual conceits; in the latter division would belong, also, frigid personifications and artificial allegories. Thus, within their proper domain, the relative positions of the figures would be unaltered.

As this point I must plead guilty to offering my paper under a misnomer. I have not, as my reader knows, been discussing figures, but I have dealt only with tropes. The distinction, which has never been set forth with more clearness than by Quintilian, is an important one.¹ A trope is the turning of a word or phrase from its literal signification to another; while “a figure, as is indicated by its very name,—*figura*,—is a *form* of speech differing from the common and ordinary mode of

¹ Blair (Lecture XIV) says,—“This distinction . . . is of no great use; as nothing can be built upon it in practice; neither is it always very clear.”

President D. J. Hill, in his *Science of Rhetoric* (p. 203), says,—“Quintilian’s distinction between tropes and figures is of no practical value.”

Professor Bain, in his *English Composition and Rhetoric* (Vol. I, p. 135), says,—“The distinction is artificial, and turns on a point that has little relevance to the leading uses of the Figures in Style.”

expression.”¹ A trope gives to a word new meaning ; while a figure is simply a matter of the order of words. Thus, antithesis and inversion are merely arrangements of words within the sentence. Shaping sentences, and giving to words a new significance, are entirely different things, and ought to receive different names. I ought to have had the courage to use in my title the word “tropes,” for it is wholly with tropes that I am dealing. I might have been courageous enough to use the word trope ; but my courage failed me, when I thought of the necessity of making frequent use of the words “tropical” and “tropically.” I should like to plead for a wider use of these words also, so that when we may wish to use them for the sake of precision, it will not be necessary to avoid them because of their oddity.

The study of rhetoric, which, when properly pursued, is nothing less than a study of the means by which great writers have produced their effects, is sometimes spoken of in a depreciatory manner ; those who speak thus must have in mind what is understood by the term mere rhetoric,—fanciful conceits and a juggling with the order of words. The distinction between tropes and figures is the distinction between two orders of writers, between a higher and a lower imagination. This is the distinction between Macaulay and Carlyle. Macaulay is very particular about the order of words ; he is admirably concrete in his choice of words, continually hovering upon the borders of synecdoche ; into the domain of the imagination he seldom advances farther than the simile. Carlyle appears to be careless about the order of words ; but he understands the art of turning them aside from their ordinary meaning, and making them do a vast amount of unaccustomed work. He is at home in the lofty air of metaphor and of vivid personification ; at times he even penetrates and lights up the cloudy regions of allegory.

¹ Quintilian, *Inst. Orator.* ix, 1, 4 :—*Figura, sicut nomine ipso patet, conformatio quedam a communi et primum se offerente ratione.*

Since the publication nearly forty years ago of *The Philosophy of Style* by Herbert Spencer, there has been a gradual consensus of opinion in favor of the view which he advanced,—that the aim of all rhetorical devices is economy of the attention of the reader or hearer. In his *Principles of Success in Literature*, George Henry Lewis shows that there are other laws whose working sometimes tends to counteract this law of economy. Without entering upon a discussion of the question whether economy of attention is the only aim of the devices of style, I wish to note the fact that while Herbert Spencer treats of the result, I am considering the means by which that result is attained. If we grant that the result of an apt use of figures is economy of attention, my aim has been to point out the means by which such economy is gained, namely, by calling in the imagination to lighten the burdens of the intellect. We know that

“It is the heart, and not the brain,
That to the highest doth attain,”

and when the imagination and the understanding are yoke-fellows, increased work is done, and done with increased ease. When by the help of “thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,” plain facts are made to glow with the heat of the imagination, they become not, indeed, any truer, but far more effective; and in the presence of the imagination we find the differentia, the principle of the effectiveness of figurative speech.

HERBERT EVELETH GREENE.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA, HELD AT WASHINGTON,
D. C., DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1892.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Wednesday, December 28, 1892.

The tenth annual meeting of the Association was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by the President, Professor Francis A. March.

The President introduced Professor James C. Welling, President of the Columbian University, who welcomed the Association in the following words :

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Modern Language Association, I am not here to deliver an address. I am here in the name of my colleagues, some of whom have the honor to be members of your Association, and in behalf of the Board of Trustees of this University, to extend to you the right hand of fellowship as we welcome you most cordially to all the hospitalities which our University can offer. In this world of ours there are two great communions which are world wide and which have their visible and their invisible fellowships—the communion of saints, and the communion of scholars. I am glad to welcome you to-day to this meeting and to this fellowship. If you wish to attend the meeting of the communion of saints, who are also scholars, you may go into the adjoining room ; and if they wish to attend the communion of scholars, who are (more or less) saints, let them come here, for I think in this interchange of good fellowship, of scholarly fellowship with Christian fellowship, we shall all do each other good. I count it among the felicities of this University that has honored me as its President that it has been honored from year to year by the meetings of these associations. I assure you that in this touch of the hand, in these tokens of fellowship, we are strengthened, and year by year we are glad to have the links of this chain of fellowship more and more closely drawn. Again, I bid you welcome.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, reviewed briefly the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting, and presented the following account of the copies of the *Publications* on hand :

1884-1885. Vol. I.	100	1887. Vol. III.,	88
1886. Vol. II.	17		
1888-1889. Vol. IV. (Complete Volumes, 27):			
No. 1,	27	No. 3-4 (in one)	102
No. 2,	81		
1890. Vol. V. (Complete Volumes, 91):			
No. 1,	513	No. 3,	64
No. 2,	91	No. 4,	110
No. 2 (Supplement),	107		
1891. Vol. VI. (Complete Volumes, 69):			
No. 1,	69	No. 3-4 (in one),	92
No. 2,	80		
1892. Vol. VII:			
No. 1,	48	No. 3,	37
No. 2,	45		

Proceedings (Separate).

1884,	144	1890,	81
1885,	30	1891,	69
1889,	45		

Lack of funds has delayed the publication of Volume VII, No. 4.

The Treasurer of the Association, Dr. James W. Bright, then presented the following report for the year 1892:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 31, 1891,		\$20 32
Annual Dues from Members—		
Arrears for the year 1890,	\$ 6 00	
“ “ “ 1891,	87 00	
Dues for the year 1892,	687 00	
Dues in advance for 1893,	30 00	
From Dr. M. D. Learned, for partial cost of <i>Publications</i> , VII, 1,	125 00	
From Dr. H. A. Rennert, for partial cost of <i>Publications</i> , VII, 3,	50 00	
From Dr. T. Logie, for partial cost of <i>Publications</i> , VII, 4,	50 00	
Total receipts for the year,		\$1,035 00
		<u>\$1,055 32</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Account Books,	\$ 3 85	
Stenographer,	55 40	
Job Printing,	10 95	
Postage and Stationery (for the Treasurer),	14 45	
Dues returned to C. W. Benton, resigned, .	3 00	
Paid to Secretary for publication purposes,	920 32	
		<hr/>
Total expenditures for the year,	\$1,007 97	
Balance on hand December 24, 1892,	47 35	
		<hr/>
		\$1,055 32
		<hr/> <hr/>

December 24, 1892. Balance on hand—\$47 35.

The following Committees were then appointed by the Chair :

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report : Professor J. H. Gore and Mr. A. N. Brown.
- (2) To nominate officers : Professors J. M. Garnett, J. W. Pearce, George Hempl, H. E. Green, T. Logie, H. C. G. von Jagemann, S. Primer, J. T. Hatfield, A. Gerber.
- (3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting : Professors F. M. Warren, J. P. Fruit, G. M. Harper, J. Henneman, H. Schmidt-Wartenburg, T. P. Harrison, J. W. Bright.

Dr. J. W. Bright: It has been customary to relieve the Secretary by the services of an assistant during these sessions. I move that Dr. J. E. Matzke be appointed the Secretary's assistant for the present session.

The motion was adopted.

Professor H. E. Green : In accordance with our usual custom, I move that the time for opening the discussion of a paper be limited to ten minutes, and that following speakers be limited to five minutes each.

The motion was adopted.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. Did King Alfred translate the *Historia Ecclesiastica*?
By Dr. J. W. Pearce, of Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

(1). Alfred could hardly have found time to translate anything into English.

(2). Alfred acknowledges the aid of Plegmund, Asser, Grimbold and John.—Pref. to *Cura*.

Asser aids more materially in translating *Boethius*.—Kennedy's transl. of Ten Brink, *E. E. Lit.*, p. 78.

Did Asser, Plegmund, Grimbold and John, the teachers, leave no translations, while Alfred, the pupil, left at least four?

(3). Do not these four translations, *Boethius*, *Orosius*, *Cura*, *Beda*, differ *inter se* sufficiently to warrant the surmise that they are the work of different men?

(4). Dr. Thos. Miller's study of the various MSS. of the O. E. *Beda* leads him to the conclusion that the translation was originally in the Mercian dialect.

Comparison of the Latin Text with the Old English.

(1). Some parts are very freely and idiomatically translated—*e. g.*, *inter alia*, Bk. I, 12, 13; II, 3, 6, 13; III, 5, 13, 14; IV, 19, 24, 25; V, 22, 23. Other parts are very literal, for example, most of Bk. I. Could I, 4, 5, 6, have been translated by the same person that rendered II, 13; III, 13; or V, 23?

(2). The *Præfatio* is far more freely translated than any other part—so freely that Wheelock, for the convenience of the reader, renders it literally back into Latin.

(3). The *Capitula*, or chapter-headings, are extremely literal. This is evidenced by the translation of the *acc. and inf.*, the *abl. abs.*, and participial constructions generally.

Moreover, the *Capitula* are grouped in a body at the beginning of the MS., as if they had been translated by one man supervising the undertaking.

Special Features of the Translation.

(1). *Dignus* is sometimes represented by *wyrðe* with *gen.*, sometimes by *wyrðe* with *dat.* or *inst.*, sometimes by a different locution entirely. The references are as follows, figures indicating page and line of Miller's text: 38-28, 40-16, 40-26, 78-21, 80-31, 130-3, 164-12, 166-16, 166-21, 170-29, 172-11, 190-31, 192-11, 198-10, 204-9, 206-6, 206-12, 218-30, 220-22, 254-7, 260-5, 260-8, 282-17, 294-27, 328-25, 344-17, 358-29, 364-2, 374-23, 384-9, 398-19, 404-15, 418-13, 422-22, 434-25, 476-19.

(2). *Præesse*, in such sentences as *Edwinus Britonum populis præfuit*, is translated (1) literally by, *fore beon (wesan)*, (2) more freely, by *fore beon (wesan)* with adv. phrase like *in aldordome*, (3) by a more idiomatic phrase—

ology. References: 32-4, 92-3, 100-19, 108-32, 116-10, 126-5, 142-29, 146-27, 148-3, 158-4, 164-20, 168-34, 194-7, 208-6, 220-27, 236-30, 238-29, 240-14, 250-1, 252-18, 254-30, 260-22, 272-13, 280-30, 292-3, 294-3, 300-6, 310-5, 316-5, 334-4, 336-5, 338-9, 340-16, 344-18, 358-30, 382-1, 384-15, 386-26, 390-29, 398-16, 404-18, 418-25, 434-23, 446-20, 448-15, 448-22, 468-16, 478-12, 478-17, 478-24.

(3). *Octo* usually appears, of course, as *eahta*, but three times as *nigon*; and at least once, perhaps twice, it was misunderstood to mean *seofon*. References: 26-1, 26-18, 32-11, 32-21, 46-6, 46-29, 54-22, 108-13, 118-23, 148-5, 176-30, 192-22, 256-1, 262-15, 274-28, 278-27, 298-28, 304-21, 310-16, 312-11, 324-17, 330-26, 356-17, 360-5, 406-20, 446-4, 470-21, 472-28, 474-3, 480-15.

(4). Beda's present tense (used of events of his own time) appears sometimes as present, sometimes as past. A few references: 4-3, 4-12, 4-25, 28-29, 92-25, 120-4, 142-11, 144-20, 146-21, 188-30, 206-6, 216-22, 258-16, 282-3, 282-7, 282-9, 300-13, 308-31, 318-25, 320-18, 334-23, 378-12, 382-19, 398-15, 398-16, 408-23, 408-24, 410-23, 422-16, 446-19, 448-9, 448-19, 478-12, 478-17, *et seqq.*

In this connection there are some instructive omissions from the O. E. References approximate: 142-7, 144-22, 156-16, 184-9, 300-13, 358-16, 434-10, 466-9; and some noticeable insertions: 144-9, 186-33, 216-22, 378-12, 448-9.

(5). Dates are generally translated in full. However, in some instances, the number of the year is omitted, but other matter translated (as the year of a king's reign) that would serve to fix the date; in some instances the number of the year is omitted, but the month and day translated; and in a few passages no indication of the date appears. References to Book and Chapter: I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11 (2), 13, 15, 23, 34; II, 1, 3, 5, 7 (2), 9, 14, 20; III, 8, 14, 20, 27 (2); IV, 1, 5 (2), 12 (2), 23, 26 (2); V, 6, 7, 8 (2), 11, 18, 22 (2), 23 (4).

After weighing the evidence presented by this study, it is not difficult to form the conclusion that the O. E. *Beda* is the joint work of several translators. There are other indications. Thus *septem* appears once (III, 20) as *feower*; *undecim* once (IV, 5) as *breottyne*; *novem* once (IV, 26) as *ehita*; and *tredecim* once (V, 22) as *twelf*, though these words are elsewhere invariably translated correctly. The poetical word *dogor* is found once in IV, 3, twice in IV, 8, but nowhere else. Likewise *rodor*, not found elsewhere, occurs twice in V, 12, and no other word for *heaven* is used in this chapter except in the phrase *heofona rice*.

Perhaps the *Hist. Eccl.* was translated by the monks in a monastery [Dr. Miller suggests Lichfield] where some were better scholars than others; perhaps by the pupils in some school, with the occasional aid of their teachers. To point out definitely what parts were translated by one, and what by another, is exceedingly difficult, and, up to this time, I have been

able to identify, to my own satisfaction, at least, only a few portions as the work of separate persons.

The *Præfatio* seems to have been turned into O. E. by one who translated no other part of the work. My reasons for this conclusion are: (1) the translation is here more liberal than anywhere else; (2) Beda's present tense is here invariably reproduced; (3) *discipulus* occurs twice in the *Præfatio*, where it is each time rendered by *leornung-eniht*, elsewhere invariably by *discipul*.

The *Capitula* may be the production of a different translator. I have already mentioned the literalness with which they are translated, and the fact that they are grouped together at the beginning of the work. Let us note now the error in the following headings:

I, 2.

Ut Britanniam primus Romanorum Caius Julius adierit.
 Ðæt se æferra Romwara casere Gagius Julius Breotene gesohte.

I, 3.

Ut eandam [scil. insulam] secundus Romanorum Claudius adiens . . .
 Ðæt se æftera Romwara casere, Claudius haten, þæt ylce ealond gesohte . . .

This genitive construction occurs several times elsewhere, but is nowhere else misunderstood.

Note also these:

I, 9.

Maximus in Britannia imperator creatus . . .
 Maximus se casere wæs on Breotene acenned.

I, 11.

Gratianus et Constantinus in Britannia tyranni creati . . .
 Gratianus 7 Constantius wæron on Breotene acende.

This last is the error of a beginner, a blunderer. It occurs twice also in the body of I, 8. Unfortunately for comparison, I have been unable to find another instance of the use of *creor* in a precisely similar sense.

In the body of chapters 2, 3, 4, 23, of Book I, the phrase *incarnatio Domini* (or *Dominica*) is translated *Cristes cyme* or *Cristes hidercyme*; elsewhere invariably *Drihtnes menniscenes* or *seo Drihtenlice menniscenes*. This may serve to stamp these chapters as the production of one man; and such conjecture is strengthened by the mis-translation in ch. 23 of the date 582 as 592.

Finally, the last chapter (23) of Book V seems to be distinguished from those that immediately precede it (1) by a general excellence and liberality of translation, (2) by an excellent rendering of *præesse*, which occurs three times, and (3) by the reproduction (except in two instances) of Beda's present tense, which occurs in almost every line of the chapter.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Dr. J. W. Bright and continued by Professors H. E. Greene and J. M. Garnett. Professor Pearce, in reply to questions, added :

My belief is that this work was translated in a monastery or a school, and not by any one man isolated from others. I believe that the *Capitula* and several chapters of Book I were translated by King Alfred himself. I can give you no incontestable reason for this, but I am satisfied that they are the work of some one man—if not of Alfred, then of some other. The error pointed out in the use of the past participle *creatus* occurs several times in the *Capitula*, and it occurs, if I remember rightly, in chapter 8 of Book I. That, I think, fixes those parts pretty surely as the work of one man. Then there is an extreme literalness extending through chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. Chapter 7 (on the sufferings and martyrdom of Saint Alban) I take to be by some one else. I believe that all of the *Capitula* and the chapters that I have mentioned in the first book were translated probably by King Alfred, but at all events by some one man, and that then the work was passed over to some collection of men to be finished; that while translator A, for instance, was at work, translators B, C and D were at hand, occasionally helping with a word or a phrase.

Professor Francis A. March :

Perhaps I might say a word about the matter in a general way.

It seems to me the investigations have an air of going further from the opinion that has been commonly held about these books than the facts warrant. It has been known, stated, and understood that King Alfred, who had all kinds of business on hand, was helped by his Bishops and scholars to make his translations, and the process by which it was done implies that he did not create the translation word by word, so to speak, but that he listened to, looked over, corrected, approved, or recomposed at his pleasure the work of his co-laborers. We know that the King James version and our later revised version of the Bible were made by bodies of men translating separately, and that in each one of these bodies there were eminent scholars who would be sure to do pretty much the whole of the real work in them, and it might be interesting, and perhaps profitable, to attempt to point out the work of each different translator and editor. Or take Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*, which we know was mainly the work of others, while Pope did this, that, and the other part, and was responsible for the style. We also know that Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, had the assistance of secretaries to bring him his materials. This working through secretaries is becoming more and more familiar. There are continual illustrations of it in our active workers in public life to-day. A statesman is said to be preparing a great speech. That means that his secretaries are at work for him gathering materials. He makes

the speech off-hand. It might be interesting to analyze the speeches and detect, from the mistakes or peculiarities of style here and there, which one of his secretaries prepared this and that part. Alfred's work has always been thought of as open to a similar analysis. It does not seem to me that the investigations now making give a new view of his authorship; but they are none the less interesting on that account.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott :

I have been working for a year or two on the fables of Marie de France. In the epilogue she claims that she translated these fables—rhymed them, as she calls it—from English into French. The acceptance of this statement has found favor with certain French scholars, but upon investigation of the subject, at the British Museum a year ago, I was totally unable to find any hint of the fact, in editions of Alfred by English scholars, that he ever did any such work either directly or through a secretary. This is an interesting point in connection with the idea of the division of labor in producing the work discussed by Professor Pearce. Marie distinctly states :

Li reis Alvrez qui mult l'ama
 Le translata puis en engleis
 E jo l'ai rime en françois.

The question then arises, if that was the tradition in her time, and it was not true that King Alfred wrote or had these fables translated, who did? Mr. Jacobs, in a recent work, *The Fables of Aesop*, discusses this point. It is a little aside from the subject before us, but it shows that matters similar to those emphasized in the paper come up in a more general field.

2. The Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English.
 By Professor C. H. Ross, of the Agricultural and Mechanical
 College of Alabama.

The discussion was opened by Professor J. M. Garnett :

I consider this a valuable investigation. Some years ago, in a paper read at a meeting of the Association in Baltimore, I had occasion to quote a line from *Hamlet* :

“Which done, she took the fruits of my advice.”

I remarked at the time how seldom a pupil could be found who could satisfactorily explain that construction. It is clear to my mind that the view which Professor Ross takes, and which had been previously taken by Dr. Bright, is the correct one in regard to this matter. Every year I have to correct the statement in Genung's *Rhetoric*, as to this construction being rare and not idiomatic English.

There is one point on which I am glad to have been enlightened. While we are all familiar with the frequency of this construction, doubtless imitated from the Latin, because that exerted a great influence upon the syntax of Anglo-Saxon prose, I am glad to be informed that the cases in Middle English are so rare. That would look as if the people (who were really the makers of our Middle English, and not the writers), were not under the influence of this Latinized style of the Anglo-Saxon prose writers, and it was only after a more ornate style began to be used in English that the construction was revived and has become so common in modern times. Certainly it is only since the beginning of the Early Modern English period, as Professor Ross has well shown, that the construction has become so exceedingly common.

I hope, if this paper is published, that Professor Ross will illustrate the periods of English and the occurrence of this idiom in examples from the writers he has quoted, so that we may see for ourselves just how far such a construction was common in the Early Middle English period, and how it increased from Chaucer on through the Late Middle English period and afterwards in the sixteenth century, in the Early Modern English period, where we have it certainly very common in Shakespeare at the close of that century, and so on through the after-centuries. It is a very natural idiom, and that the view taken as to the so-called nominative absolute, namely, that it is derived from the Anglo-Saxon dative absolute, is the correct one, seems to me to follow naturally of itself from the relation in which that phrase stands to the rest of the sentence. It takes the place of an adverbial element, occupying the position of some conditional, or causal, or temporal phrase. It is such a relation as would be expressed by the ablative absolute in Latin, or the genitive absolute in Greek, an oblique case used absolutely.

The discussion was continued by Professors J. W. Bright, H. E. Green, J. T. Hatfield, J. W. Pearce and J. E. Matzke.

Professor Francis A. March :

As to this matter of the participle absolute, it strikes me, as it did Professor Green, that the common statements in regard to the rhetorical force and use of the ablative absolute are correct, and that it requires very judicious and careful handling to make good English sentences that abound with ablatives absolute. This construction of a noun and participle standing for a clause, without any finite verb for affirmation, seems to me to belong to two stages of language—one a very early stage, prior perhaps to what our scientific men call thought proper. They say there is no thought unless there is an affirmation or proposition. But there are sensations and feelings, there is a jotting down, we will say, of sensations or feelings, uttering a noun, the name of some object, and adding to it descriptives without making affirmations.

The use of such clauses of utterancy is growing with some of our modern writers. Browning, for example, often runs together numbers of such loose clauses or memoranda. There will be a verb somewhere in the distance before and somewhere in the distance behind in these collocations of jottings, but which one of those verbs they are really related to is a puzzle; they will go with either or neither—to my mind, and in all probability in his mind, with neither. He has reverted to the prior judgment state of mind. Walt Whitman has pages of such clauses. It seems as though he composed, as is said, sitting on top of an omnibus, riding down Broadway, thinking rhythmical collocations of objects and descriptives, not meaning to make judgments, but merely to utter his sensations.

In such primeval clauses the absolute noun would naturally be in the nominative case. There are, perhaps, relics of that early stage recognized in grammars—captions, for example, and the like.

Then there is the developed absolute clause which has been talked about this morning, where a sentence expressing the time or cause or concomitant of the main thought, and connected to the principal verb by a conjunction or relative pronoun, is compacted as a sort of adverb into the main sentence. When a subordinate clause expressing time, for example, has a noun in it which may represent the time, that noun is put in the oblique case which indicates time, letting the verb, turned participle, follow and agree with it. There is nothing mysterious then about a noun and the participle which is absolute with it, which throws it into the dative, the ablative, or the locative case. The subject of a participle would naturally be in the nominative case; but because the clause as a clause is to denote time, the time terminations spring up in the mind naturally and attach themselves, not quite logically always, to the first noun that presents itself to take them. That makes it possible to incorporate subordinate clauses of time and manner into the principal clause, saving words neatly and making the whole seem more compact.

It has come to pass, as has been described by Prof. Bright and Prof. Ross, that there is no longer power in the English language to express this relation of time, or concomitant, by endings of nouns, and we substitute a preposition for the ending. The modern representative of the old dative absolute would be a preposition with an oblique case. But that we do not use. The preposition exposes the illogical phrase. We use the nominative case in place of the dative. It is suggested that we still recognize this nominative as a disguised dative in case of nouns, and regard the nominative of pronouns as illogically used. According to the line of thought which I have presented, it seems to be proper to call the absolute clause in English a development, to say that the form of the absolute clause in which the nominative case is used with the participle has simply and naturally taken the place of the one in which the noun was put in an oblique case by a certain attraction and confusion of thought.

I should prefer, according to the line of thought here presented, to speak of the subjects or quasi-subjects of these absolute clauses not as being disguised datives, but as being developed nominatives by which the relation of the substantive to the participle is expressed instead of the relation of a time clause to the main clause.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 3 o'clock by the President.

3. The Sources of Udall's *Roister Doister*. By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

The paper was discussed by Professors J. W. Bright and A. Gudeman.

4. *The Gardener's Daughter ; or, the Pictures*. By Professor John Phelps Fruit, of Bethel College, Ky.

A work of art is an organic whole. As such it means interdependence of parts, functional relation of parts. As such *unity* and *harmony* of parts are essential and fundamental. It is "a full circle of dependences," wherefore *completeness* is also essential.

Completeness means just enough: a little lack or a little superfluity is not completeness. Overfulness is not completeness. Redundancy in a work of art produces a feeling akin to that of one who has eaten to satiety of some good thing, and yet has something left over which he cannot get rid of, but must hold in his hand. The care of the superfluity mars the pleasure of what has been appropriated. The too much of a good thing destroys the pleasure of the "just enough."

Rightly has a work of art been called a creation, for what but creative insight and energy is adequate to the making of a whole out of parts inter-dependently related?

As the anatomist finds the human organism fearfully and wonderfully made, so the student of literature finds in his domain literary organisms, works of fine art, just as instructive and interesting.

That combination of parts which makes an organic whole is constructed for a purpose outside of itself. It is a purpose in the mind of the artist, his pleasure, for without doubt superlative pleasure does come with the exercise of creative power. While the prime object of the artist is the gratification of the imagination, he yet works at any given piece of art with a specific purpose, controlled somewhat by the material in which he works.

The pleasure to the student is in *re-creating*. He finds the specific purpose for which a work of art exists, and then notes how workmanship makes significant insignificant materials to express the purpose. It is the workmanship shown in adapting materials to express a purpose that pleases.

In order for a student to find the aesthetic essentials in a work of art, it is necessary for him to get, first, a simple apprehension of the work as a whole, then proceed to a knowledge of the parts, and further to a knowledge of the parts of the parts, thus coming to an adequate knowledge of the work. Beginning with the simple apprehension, he ends with the comprehension of what he has undertaken to study.

In a piece of literary art the first thing for the student to do is to take a concise but complete outline view of it, like, in all respects, for example, to the 'argument' that prefaces a book of *Paradise Lost*. Taking this first short outline as a unit of measure, he should write out the argument to twice the length, then to three times, and four times, and so on, till all the parts and items have fallen into their proper places. It is easy to understand that the student thus gets first an idea of the work as a whole, and goes step by step to a knowledge of the parts, finding as he proceeds the fitness and harmony of the parts, coming at last to a knowledge and enjoyment of the completeness of the whole.

Let us exemplify the method in a study of *The Gardener's Daughter*; or, *The Pictures*. A brief answer to the question, What is the *Gardener's Daughter* about? will give us the apprehension of the work as a whole. *The Gardener's Daughter* is about two brothers in art, one of whom, Eustace, loved Juliet, and painted her. A masterpiece it was. He challenged his friend to paint like that. At Juliet's suggestion this brother in art goes to see Rose, the Gardener's daughter. He loves, and paints a picture that

"May not be dwelt on by the common day."

So short a sketch reveals the purpose of the poem, namely, that Love must dominate the artist. It is better expressed in the reply that the friend made to Eustace's challenge:

"'Tis not your work, but Love's. Love unperceived,
A more ideal Artist he than all."

Take this longer draft and observe how the skeleton begins to take on the flesh and form that will make it a thing of beauty. The poem tells of two brothers in art whose friendship was the fable of the city where they dwelt. Eustace was muscular and broad of breast, and by some law that holds in love was drawn to a miniature of loveliness, Juliet. Eustace painted her. Then he said to his fellow:

"When will *you* paint like this?"

The brother artist replied that it was not his work but Love's. Juliet, sitting by, suggested:

"Go and see
The Gardener's daughter: trust me, after that,
You scarce can fail to match his masterpiece."

Professor H. E. Greene :

After listening to a paper like this, one is more inclined to reflection than to expression. Prof. Fruit's method and his presentation of it are so clear there is little need, perhaps, of discussion. The best way in which we can discuss the paper, it seems to me, is to state in what way his plan is available for us in our own teaching.

There is within this Association a pedagogical section, and to that section this paper distinctly belongs. At one time there was a feeling, I remember, that too much attention was given to discussion of methods. Certainly, there can be no fear at the present time that too much attention is given to discussions of that kind. Every teacher must work out for himself his method of teaching. The only method that is of practical use to him is that which he has thought out, and whatever method he has thought out he must be ready to adapt to the conditions he meets with in his teaching.

Premising this, I would add that the method which Prof. Fruit has given us, is one that may be of use to nearly all teachers of literature. In the first place I shall point out that it is pedagogically sound. There are certain principles which all of us, I suppose, employ, sometimes consciously, sometimes, it is to be hoped, unconsciously, and therefore instinctively. We know that the true order of learning is from the particular to the general, and then from the general to the particular. This order is followed out by Prof. Fruit in his plan; first synthesis, then analysis based upon that synthesis. We read a poem, for example; the title may give us some slight clue as to what is to follow, but of what is to follow we are entirely ignorant. As we read it, bit by bit there comes before us one particular after another, and we have a mass of particulars. Experienced readers may be able to see at once the general principle that pervades them all, and to see in them an exemplification of that principle. Certainly, the inexperienced reader is not altogether able to do this. By means, however, of the first reading, we are able to form this synthesis and to build up a general notion of what the poem is about; and that, I take it, is the plan, the argument, which Prof. Fruit suggests should be made. Then, having a knowledge of what the poem is, on the second reading we can make our analysis, or application of this general principle in a series of details constantly widening, and can use each detail for the purpose which the author intended it to serve.

There is one more step which should be taken, and although Prof. Fruit has not mentioned it distinctly in his paper, I doubt not that he uses it in his teaching. First the particulars, then the grouping of the particulars under the general; then from the general to the particular; and once more

from the particular to the general. That is, first the imperfect synthesis, then the analysis, and then the more perfect synthesis. We know that the true knowledge is intuitive. I take it that Prof. Fruit means as much by his term "simple apprehension," and not until we have reduced our knowledge to "simple apprehension,"—in other words have made our knowledge immediate,—have we the fullest knowledge.

In our teaching, I suppose, we are inclined to place greater emphasis upon one or another of these steps—perhaps to omit one of them. In teaching older pupils we often omit the first step; unskillful teachers omit it in teaching younger pupils. It should not be forgotten, however, that the second step cannot be taken until the first step has been taken either by the pupil or by the teacher. If the first step has been taken incorrectly, how shall we be able to take the second step with any success? We see in the details which come, one after another, an application of a general thought. It is to express the thought that the poem is written. We enjoy the workmanship; but the workmanship is for the sake of the thought, not the thought for the sake of the workmanship. For this reason we get first at the thought; in the workmanship we see the thought embodied.

I have sometimes asked a pupil to take a narrative and give its substance in two pages, in one page, in half a page, in six lines; what is newest to me is the plan of adopting a unit and then modifying that, multiplying by one, by two, etc. The question occurs, When does the right moment arrive for stopping the process?

English literature is a subject which almost every one thinks he can teach, until he comes to teach it; then he finds that it is one of the most difficult subjects. We ask a pupil to study a poem. It is a grave matter to him, for he does not just know what to do. If we give him the same thing in Latin or French, he can translate it, for there is something definite to do.

Some of you may have seen an article published within the year by Professor Hart on the scientific method of teaching English literature. The teaching of English literature is a different thing from applying, with more or less discrimination, laudatory epithets to this or that poem. The plan suggested by Professor Hart is admirably direct. The pupil is asked these questions:—What was the author's aim in this work? What are the means that he has used to accomplish this end? With what success has he accomplished that end? Such a definite study as is induced by these questions throws a flood of light upon the work. The pupil in doubt as to how to work, loses his feeling of vagueness, and knows what to undertake and in what manner to undertake it.

One objection that might be raised to this plan of Professor Fruit's is that of time; it certainly would consume a great deal of time. Objection can be made to any plan suggested. I think Professor Fruit's answer to this objection,—I think it would be mine,—would be that it will take a great deal of time, especially at first; but that the result will justify such a use of time and that if the plan is pursued, it will in the end result in a saving of time.

5. The Legend of the Holy Grail. By Professor George M. Harper, of Princeton College, N. J.

Professor F. M. Warren :

The discussion of a paper like this is practically impossible, for the reason that so much ground is covered and the writer has limited himself to summing up the theories in regard to the legend. In order to discuss it with any degree of seriousness, we are obliged to attack some one of the theories, which would throw the field open to general discussion.

When we consider the difficulties that surround the subject we will see how impossible it will be to gain much in a short discussion. We know that especially those who are interested on the German side of the subject—such men as Foerster and Zimmer, deny in toto the conclusions Professor Harper has given us to-day, seeing nothing Celtic whatever in the story of the Grail.

I therefore call attention to one or two points. I think we are obliged to rely on the first man who wrote on the subject, and what we do not get from him, we simply surmise. In my opinion, he wrote the story of the Grail not far from the time when he wrote his other stories. They were written between 1160 and 1180. In regard to Robert de Boron, the general theory in regard to his version of the Christian Legend of the Grail has been discussed at length by Gaston Paris in a Preface to his *Merlin* in the Early French Text Society series.

In regard to the poet himself, if we read his poems he is found to be a man of no invention whatever; he versified; a court versifier of stories which came to his eye and ear,—I should judge they came merely to his ear. There is a story known to all of us—the story of Iwain, in which he made serious gaps, showing that he does not understand the matter and that you cannot rely on him.

What Prof. Harper says relates to Chrestien's poem. The Knight of the Grail, or the Knight as we may call him, arrives at a castle hidden from sight; enters and is entertained by the knight of the castle; he sees carried through the halls the lance with a drop of blood, but refrains from asking questions; soon after comes through the dish which gives out the light; next morning he cannot find any one of whom he can ask a question—he has been warned not to ask any questions; the castle disappears and he sets out on a pilgrimage.

In my mind there is no doubt, judging from other poems of Chrestien de Troies, that he got the story of the talismans and the other story at the same time, and that he did not put these two stories together, and that the whole thing came from one source; what it was we do not know. I wish to emphasize the fact that we have got to come back to Chrestien.

The indefiniteness of the story would show that the legend had not been developed.

Another point is in regard to Walter Map. There is no proof that he had anything to do with the story of the Grail; there is no proof that he wrote any such style of literature. The sooner we get rid of such names as Walter Map, who have definite dates and did definite things, I think we simplify the problem. I would criticise the paper in that Prof. Harper has brought in a man who is proved not to have had anything to do with the story of the Grail. I think in such a paper it is well to lay aside such points.

Professor J. E. Matzke :

I wish to make a remark on the conclusions which Professor Harper draws from the mention of Kiot of Provins by Wolfram von Eschenbach. When endeavoring to burden Provencal literature with the name of a writer of whom not even a trace has been found, it will be necessary to base his existence upon more convincing evidence than the statement that Wolfram is a serious writer and would not mention sources which he had not seen. As a matter of fact, Wolfram merely follows the custom of the time in giving an authority for his story; and I would rather take it for granted that Kiot did not exist, just because Wolfram cites him.

Professor G. M. Harper :

I think it quite likely that the statement can be proved that Kiot never existed, but some one did exist whom he chose to call Kiot and who gave him material not found in any other of his authorities—material which he did not understand himself; hence he did not merely invent; he used material which he did not comprehend and which we do not find in any of his predecessors; he says he got it from a man named Kiot. He got it from some one; whether this person was properly called Kiot, or not, is a matter of much less importance.

From a careful reading of Wolfram von Eschenbach, I have come to the conclusion that his statements, when not intentionally funny, are, as a general thing, trustworthy; except, of course, where they flagrantly fly in the face of historical truth, as they generally do in the first two books. But when he gets down to his subject, it has been my experience that where he does not indulge his peculiar kind of humor, and where he speaks of himself and relates his history of the poem, he is as trustworthy as an author of that age and writing that kind of work can be.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association reassembled at 8 o'clock. Professor H. C. G. Brandt occupied the chair and introduced the speaker of the evening, Professor Francis A. March, President of the Association, who delivered an address on

6. Recollections of Language Teaching.

He described the teaching of reading, pronunciation and spelling in the Infant Schools of Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1830. He called attention to the fact that the spelling and pronunciation of Walker have since been simplified and drawn nearer together. He argued that the language was not moving according to any blind law of growth; that the law of least effort becomes a subordinate force when the schoolmaster is abroad, and that the views of linguistic scholars exert an immense influence in favor of reasonable changes.

He described the teaching of English Grammar in the secondary schools, and the teaching of Latin and Greek in the High School—rapid, accurate and copious reading and parsing being the main work; then the language teaching in college at Amherst, 1841–45, thorough study of small portions of text, dwelling in class on minutæ of pronunciation, etymology, moods and tenses, and points of classical philology. It is a pity that what was then a college method has since been pushed back into the High School, and the whole study of Greek and Latin made more archæological and professorial and elective.

The main purpose then was culture for appreciating and speaking classic English. Latin and Greek were both pronounced by the English method. This method was defended as being the best possible instruction in the pronunciation of English. Attention was drawn to etymologies illustrative of English, and to forms of syntax characteristic of scholarly English: quotable expressions were committed to memory. A sermon or a lawyer's plea then lacked professional style if it had no happy quotations of that sort. Since the study of Latin and Greek is pursued as archæology, phonology, classical philology, bibliography, it is seen to be intended to educate professors of languages, and is naturally made elective.

The modern languages, French in the High School, one term of French and of German in college, were taught like the Latin and Greek in the High School. Nothing more was attempted than rapid and accurate translation; and yet, with that special attention to particular needs which characterized the High School, one of our boys was taught to read French aloud intelligibly to an invalid kinswoman, and another was fitted for a clerkship with an importer in Boston by reading and copying manuscript volumes of mercantile correspondence in French, and writing the like himself. In college teaching now some comparative study may well be used. French with classical Sophomores may be begun by putting French selections into a sort of Latin, giving for each French word the Latin word of the same root. The professor at starting can meet the class at an earlier hour and give them the Latin words, with explanations of the letter changes, and an occasional needed German or Celtic word. They will soon be able to read readily in that way, and to understand many things.

Noah Webster was one of the founders of Amherst College, and the Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in my day, W. C. Fowler, LL. D., was

his son-in-law. The professor lectured on Anglo-Saxon among other things. He had imported Anglo-Saxon books, then curiosities. He held them up and exhibited them to us, as he lectured, exactly as the natural history men did precious shells, or minerals. He said there were only two or three men living who knew anything about the language. He was working on one of the Webster dictionaries, and I became interested in the philological side of English.

In 1845, as a teacher in Leicester Academy, Massachusetts, I made my experiment of teaching English like Latin or Greek—hearing a short Grammar lesson, the rest of the hour reading Milton as if it were Homer, calling for the meaning of words, their etymology when interesting, the relations of words, parsing when it would help, the connection of clauses, the mythology, the biography and other illustrative matter, suited to the class.

In 1855 similar studies were begun at Lafayette College, but on a higher plane. Students who had nearly finished their Latin, Greek, French and German took two terms of Anglo-Saxon and Modern English. A professorship was established for this study. It was thought that it was the first of the kind. The most important peculiarity of the teaching in the mind of the professor was, that it was work upon Anglo-Saxon and English texts to read and understand them; not lectures about the languages, not lessons in descriptive or critical discourse about them, not a rhetorical but a linguistic study. There were no good text-books in 1855. Anglo-Saxon was studied for some years in Barnes's *Delectus*. In 1861 the difficulty of importing text-books led to the making of American books. Love of the work led to the making of a *Comparative Grammar of Anglo-Saxon*, beyond the ken of publishers of that day. The Modern Language Association of America will welcome a word of commemoration of the Trustees of Lafayette College, who had before set apart time for these studies and funds for procuring the apparatus of research, and who now personally paid the principal cost of publication. The *Grammar and Reader* came out in 1869-70.

In 1875 the United States Commissioner of Education sent out a circular to our colleges inquiring about their study of Anglo-Saxon. Twenty-three colleges then claimed to be reading some of it; the University of Virginia (1825), Harvard (1851), Lafayette (1856), Haverford (1867), St. John's College (1868), Cornell University (1871), Columbia College, the University of Wisconsin, Yale, in the Sheffield School and post-graduate course. Most of the others were just beginning. The University of Michigan was "sorry to say that the study is not pursued at all;" so was Dartmouth. Princeton said it might be introduced hereafter; so did the Central University at Richmond, Kentucky, and Vanderbilt University. Eight claimed to study it incidentally. Only sixteen were content with simply stating that they did not study Anglo-Saxon. Slight as this showing seems now, there was at that time, probably, nowhere else so much of this study as in

America. Professor Child says, in his answer to the circular of the bureau, that "Anglo-Saxon is *utterly* neglected in England—at present there is but one man in England that is known to know anything of it—and not *extensively* pursued anywhere in America." The Germans, he adds, "cannot do their best for want of properly edited texts. Two or three American scholars, devoted to Anglo-Saxon, would have a great field to distinguish themselves in, undisputed by Englishmen."

The eighteen years since 1875 have seen great advances; Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* appeared in 1876, The Early English Text Society began to furnish materials for the Germans, and the press has teemed with critical studies, as well as text-books. This Anglo-Saxon study, delightful and important in itself to specialists, seems also to be necessary for a solid and learned support to the study of Modern English in college. The early professors had no recondite learning applicable to English, and did not know what to do with classes in it. They can now make English as hard as Greek.

The introduction of studies of research in which looking up and reporting the contents of books is prescribed, and evidence of having examined books is taken instead of original thinking or mastery of thought, has greatly affected the study of English. Programs of researches of various kinds abound, so that a college class can be put through English literature very happily. The old teachers make light of this substitute for original thinking; but it is good, for all that, and is leading forward. We are having an outcry just now against stopping to study particular passages in literature, urging rapid emotional reading, the seeking to produce love of reading rather than knowledge of books,—love of reading all the new magazines, I suppose, and newspapers, and novels, and facts that are stranger than fiction, instead of spending days and nights with the great authors.

But professors who aim at the highest usefulness and the most honored position must labor to give profound knowledge, and excite lasting love of great books and devotion to great thoughts. Their linguistic studies must be scientific as well as historical, deep and not vulgar. Their literary studies must be mainly upon great authors.

What books, what works shall we choose for study in schools and colleges? Those which contain weighty truths, important facts, close packed, expressed in musical simplicity, or with rhythmic distinction. Bacon is such an author, whether he comes home to men's business and bosoms in his *Essays*, or, as they said of Plato, speaks the language of the Gods in the rhythms of *The Advancement of Learning*. Benjamin Franklin is such an author, not attaining, to be sure, the rhythmic distinction which seems to be caught from the Greeks, for Franklin never heard Homer sing his *apameibomenos*; but surpassing Bacon in knowledge of that style which characterises the workings of God in nature, in the knowledge of which Sir Isaac Newton suggests that genius mainly consists, and surpassing Bacon also in cultured and cosmopolitan simplicity of style.

Important documents of American history afford good examples. The *Declaration of Independence*, which has every trait of distinction, weight of thought and rhythmic movement; Bills of Rights; great passages in the luminous decisions of Chief Justice Marshall which shaped the law for America; and in the speeches of Webster, of like weight and greater eloquence.

We do well also to study American authors of lyric poetry. Bryant will bear study. The *Thanatopsis* is a noble poem. The imagination that takes the whole globe and all its ages into one view, as naturally and simply as a country church-yard, and speaks the gentle words of Nature to the race, stealing away the sharpness of death,—this is a higher power than that which sings the elegy of any swain in a country church-yard; though Gray's elegy is a joy forever.

In somewhat the same vein of thought, it may be said that Lowell's *Agassiz* is far better worth prolonged study than Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Lowell was a supreme man, by natural endowment, by culture of the schools, by profound study and masterly criticism of the great literatures, by acting a great man's part in affairs, by experience of life; a king of men. Agassiz was another king of men. The poem has every distinction of thought and style, every varied music of rhythm with which such a poet should celebrate the memory of such a friend. It is a far higher strain than the doubts and broodings of young Tennyson over his college friend, the "*laborious orient ivory sphere in sphere*" of his sonnet meters, beautiful as many of them are.

Longfellow, too, and Emerson have a lift away from the constraints of English thought; liberty, purity, hope, love, speak in their pages. They seem provincial to the English; so, we know, did the Athenians to the court of the great king, and to the hierophants of the immemorial lore of hundred-gated Thebes.

MORNING SESSION (Thursday, December 29).

The President called the Association to order at 10 o'clock.

7. A Grouping of Figures of Speech, based upon the Principle of their Effectiveness. By Professor Herbert E. Greene, of Wells College, N. Y.

Professor John Phelps Fruit:

In a certain sense figures originate in the poverty of language; but I am inclined to think that that is an unfortunate expression. The natural facts of the universe come into the human mind and are idealized. These ideated forms are preserved in the memory, and it is in terms of these ideated forms that we communicate our thoughts. Our mind, our thoughts belong to the

invisible universe, and through means of the natural facts, or the visible facts, we make plain the unseen; so that it depends upon the natural facts, rather than the poverty of language. If we are poor in natural facts, in ideated forms, then are we poor in figures of speech, because a natural fact represents a mental or spiritual fact, and it is this natural fact, used to represent a spiritual fact, that makes the figure of speech. If we have one natural fact, or two natural facts, as our stock, we can have two metaphors, or in combination, three metaphors. It is a poverty, not of language so much, as a poverty of thought; it is a poverty of the mental ability to see that a natural fact represents a spiritual fact. A grouping of figures for effectiveness seems to me to be a little difficult, for we must say figures are to be used for a certain purpose—effective for a certain purpose. Suppose we are to use figures for instruction; simile will come first. Suppose we use figures for the purpose of addressing the feelings; metaphor will come first. When we define the purpose, we have a principle of logical division that controls the grouping.

Dr. Greene's grouping, according to the amount of imagination exercised in interpreting, is very interesting, but it is not clear how it is a grouping "for effectiveness." In what way, general or particular, is the grouping effective? For what purpose is the grouping effective?

Professor Greene:

Professor Fruit made a series of figures, placing simile at one pole and antithesis at the other. It seems to me that this is confusion. He apparently agreed with me as to the distinction between trope and figure. Antithesis is not a figure at all in the sense that I mean. Antithesis is not a trope. It is a contrasting of two things that may be perfectly literal in intention, at least. Antithesis does not necessarily have anything of imagination in it. If it had, Macaulay would be one of the most imaginative of writers. Simile has imagination in the sense that it compares something literal with something else, and makes the imagination do a part of the work. It is possible, by the use of simile or of other figures, to express thoughts which cannot be expressed in literal language because of the poverty of language. To express all our thoughts, we have to make some words do more work than they will bear literally. Take, for example, the figure familiar to us all used by Longfellow in *Evangeline*:

"Homeward serenely she walked with God's benediction upon her.
When she had passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music."

He described *Evangeline* in that way; he could not have done it by the use of literal terms. The poverty of language made him use this means.

Professor Fruit says that language represents spiritual facts. Perhaps he will allow me to say it can be made to represent spiritual facts. It is by the use of figures that we make it do what it does not ordinarily do.

As regards simile being addressed to the understanding. It is addressed to the understanding and also to the imagination. It is addressed more to the understanding than some other figures,—more than metaphor. Metaphor requires more imagination than simile; but in all these figures, except allegory, there is required a blending of the understanding and the imagination. Allegory, he says, is readily understood. It is, rather, felt or perceived. Children, he says, understand allegories. Don't they perceive them? Don't they feel them? A child has an active imagination. Its understanding is not very great. It feels, realizes, gets the force of the allegory; by its help the child understands what it might not understand simply in the form of a literal statement.

Once more I call attention to the fact that I spoke of in regard to the use of the parable. It was imperfect allegory that was best understood. When pure allegory was used, the disciples said, "What might this parable be?" (Luke, viii, 9.) Take the parable of the tares. The disciples said to the Master, "Declare unto us the parable of the tares." (Matt., xiii, 36.) That was something their imagination was not equal to,—something they were not certain that they understood.

The discussion was continued by Professors J. W. Bright, J. Pollard and J. T. Hatfield.

8. Guernsey: its People and Dialect. By Professor E. S. Lewis, of Princeton College, N. J.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott:

I wish only to make one or two remarks in connection with this paper. Dr. Lewis undertook the work at my suggestion. Some years ago I was on the island of Guernsey, and I was impressed then with the great importance of having a scientific work published on the subject of the Guernsey Dialect. Dr. Lewis was kind enough three years ago to collect the material, a suggestion of which he has presented to you here this morning. This material is entirely too technical to be read before a general audience, and is of particular interest only to specialists and one engaged in phonetic work. The writer has simply given you a sketch outside entirely of his scientific work, with only a suggestion of the possibilities of the development of the work. The importance of such a treatise is suggested immediately to any one who considers the position of the Channel Islands, and has a knowledge of the language used in England during the Norman Conquest.

The Channel Islands to-day preserve many of the older forms of the language that belonged to the English—in other words, the natural transition from the Continental French to the old Anglo-Norman French as used in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is an important

fact. It is hoped that such a study will show the importance of the connection between the speech of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, etc., and the old language. The application of it is shown by a single example which Dr. Lewis presented to you—the development of a Latin *o* giving you eight different forms. So the writer might present a number of other cases as strong as this one.

The importance of the study, then, is one that has a bearing on the English language on the one hand, and on the French language on the other—from a dialectal point of view a very great importance to-day, as we are working at the dialects of north, north-east, and north-west France. This study should show a mingling of the currents of English and French that meet here and settle into definite form of language.

There are three distinct drifts of speech: the old language which belonged to England (the Anglo-Norman), which was transferred and mixed with the old language of the Continent, which, in its turn, was carried to the island; then the modern English current, and beside that the modern French current. These distinct currents of speech Dr. Lewis has attempted to trace in the scientific part of his work.

9. The Literary Burlesque Ballad of Germany in the Eighteenth Century. By Dr. C. von Klenze, of Cornell University, N. Y.

The ballad literature which flourished in Germany from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the beginning of our own was the best expression of the great revulsion which took place at that time from artificiality to nature, from French models to English models. For just as the work of Bodmer and Breitinger, of Lessing, Herder and others was one powerful protest against the overwhelming French influence and the rule of literary ideals the effect of which was ruinous to Germany, because they were the product of a national character differing in many essentials from the German character, so Bürger's ballad *Lenore* and a large number of ballads of a similar nature, modeled on the poetry of the people, were a protest against the burlesque ballad. This burlesque ballad had flourished for some time before the appearance of Bürger's *Lenore*. It was imported from France by "Father" Gleim about the middle of the eighteenth century, immediately found favor, was taken up by many poets and did not disappear from German literature before the end of the century. It was avowedly a parody on the poetry of the people, and consequently the protest against it and the return to popular poetry for models on the part of Bürger and his followers was a sign of great latent health in an apparently exhausted nation.

Popular poetry had played a most important part in the intellectual life of Germany in former centuries, and might have continued to do so had not

political convulsions and had not humanism, with its anti-popular ideals, turned the attention of the cultured from the people and crushed much of the vigor of the lower classes. A glance at the history of popular poetry in Germany will better enable us to understand the position of the burlesque ballad in German literature and the nature of the protest implied in Bürger's *Lenore*.

In the earliest times all poetry was "Volks-Dichtung,"¹ using the word "Volk" in its widest sense. That is, all classes were on a level, there was no distinction between the cultured and the uncultured. This condition of things lasted in Germany down to a comparatively recent period. The *Heliand* bears in every line the characteristics of popular poetry. In contrast with this Otfrid's poem is the work rather of a learned pedant than of a man of the people, and here and there in the religious poetry which follows, we find forces foreign to the people. But it is not until the middle of the twelfth century that we can speak of sets of works as the products of a distinct class. From, roughly speaking, 1150 on we find a brilliant literature produced by and addressed to one part of the nation rather than the whole nation. The Minnesänger and the court poets presuppose an atmosphere which the people never breathed.

The culture of mediæval court life based on scholastic ideals and the social and moral code of knighthood was destined, however, soon to decay in Germany, and court poetry went down. Once more the gap was closed, once more there was a literature of the people in the widest sense. Scholasticism lost its hold on Germany long before humanism became popular, and so it happened that from about 1450 to about 1550 the atmosphere was favorable to the poetry of the people. Furthermore, the religious discussions and the political convulsions stimulated the whole intellectual activity of the nation. Consequently we find high and low, rich and poor, clergy and laity taking part in a wonderful upheaval of popular poetry. The Volkslieder which have come down to us, and which may be studied in the collections mentioned above, are the exponents not only of the age which produced them, but in them we find incased, like insects in amber, many reminiscences of the old Germanic life (cp. the *Kranzlieder*, Uhland's *Volksl.* No. 3) or younger spurs of time honored forms of literature (like e. g. the

¹ See Uhland's invaluable essays on the "Volkslied" in the third volume of his works, *Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung u. Sage*, Stuttgart, 1866; furthermore Uhland's collection of *Volkslieder* (2 Vols.) Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1844 and 1845; R. von Liliencron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530* (the thirteenth volume of Kürschner's *National-Litteratur*). Important literature on the subject will be found in Uhland's notes to his essays and in Liliencron, p. iv, seq. See, too, Koberstein, *Grundriss der deutschen Nationallitteratur*, 5th ed., Vol. I, p. 324, seq.; Wackernagel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, Vol. II, Basel, 1885, § 95; Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, p. 253, seq.

Thierfabel, cp. Uhland's *Volksl.* No. 205), or remnants of the old "Weltanschauung" (cp. Uhland's *Volksl.* No. 8, in which we have a reflex of the old personification of the seasons).

Many Volkslieder, among them some of the most powerful, owe their existence to the political and religious events and sentiments of the times (e. g., Uhland, No. 349, Liliencron, Nos. 1, 6, 9, 22, 25, and others).

All the songs of the people are characterized by great simplicity and directness, and through most of them runs, like a golden thread, a wonderful love of nature. The element of the supernatural is strong in these poems; animals and flowers are made to understand the troubles of man (cp. Uhland, Nos. 16, 20, 94, and others).

The Volkslied reached its culmination about the middle of the sixteenth century. After that, the ascendancy of humanism with its classical ideals separated for good the cultured from the uncultured. The political disasters, too, which supervened, sapped the people, and the Volkslied languished. During nearly two centuries the poetry of the people was neglected, the influence of French literature, with its ideals of refinement and court-life, doing its share in keeping the cultured away from the people, until in 1756 Gleim introduced the burlesque ballad as an attempt at reviving interest for popular poetry.

The Volkslied, we saw, was the true exponent of the national spirit; the burlesque ballad was in all essentials a parody on popular poetry.

Gleim published in 1756 three burlesque poems of an epic character, which he called "Romanzen."¹ His biographer, Koerte, tells us (Gleim's *Leben*, Halberstadt, 1811, p. 45) "Gleim's Absicht bei den Romanzen war besonders den Volkston zu treffen," but adds, "und jenen Sängern an den Strassenecken, die mit den Stecken die gemalte Leinwand erläutern, bessere Verse unterzulegen." In other words, the singers at fairs were to his mind the true exponents of the popular genius. Consequently his ballads and those of his followers are as contemptible rubbish as ever passed for valuable literature, and remarkable only as the expression of a strong undercurrent of low literary taste contemporary with the appearance of the greatest works in German literature.

¹The following remarks on the burlesque ballad are based on my dissertation "Die komischen Romanzen der Deutschen im 18ten Jahrhundert," Marburg, 1891 (to which I refer for all details), written under Professor Schroeder. The literature on the subject is not large. I give only the most important references: Holzhausen, "Die Ballade und Romanze von ihrem ersten Auftreten in der deutschen Kunstdichtung bis zu ihrer Ausbildung durch Bürger," *Zacher's Zeitschrift*, XV, pages 129, seq., and 297, seq. See, furthermore, Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1862, Vol. II, pages 637, seq.; furthermore, Koberstein, *Grundriss der deutschen Nationallitteratur*, fifth edition, Vol. V, § 347; Sauer's edition of Bürger's poems (in *Kuerschner's Nationallitteratur*), p. I, seq.

This view of the burlesque ballad as a "Bänkelsängerlied" determined the character of the ballads of Gleim and of his followers in many details, as we shall see.

Gleim's Romanzen are characterized by shallow wit, obscenity, and the introduction of many anachronisms. It would lead too far to quote any of them here; they may easily be found in his complete works, Halberstadt, 1811, Vol. III., pages 95, seq.

Gleim's burlesque ballads were received with delight, and soon found imitators.¹ It is almost incredible what a flood of similar poems was to come down on Germany before the end of the century.

A few years after the appearance of Gleim's first Romanzen, J. F. Loewen (the same who is known in Lessing's biography) published five Romanzen with melodies (reprinted in his Works, Hamburg, 1765), which out-did Gleim for silliness and which added an element of coarseness from which the gentle Gleim would have shrunk. In 1769 the same Loewen published a new collection, and in 1771 a new edition of that with a few additions. In 1773 an edition of selected poems by Schiebeler came out which contained thirty-two Romanzen, which he had published at intervals from 1767 on. In 1774 a volume by Geissler appeared in Mitau; in the same year Hirschfeld published a selection of Romanzen by well-known Romanzen poets (containing forty-six). In 1775 Grahl published Romanzen; in 1778 the second part of Hirschfeld's selection of Romanzen appeared, and in 1780 there came a collection of poems, many of them Romanzen, entitled *Leyerlieder*, the like of which for low wit might not be found in the history of eighteenth century literature. Besides these, hosts of burlesque ballads appeared in the anthologies and Musenalmanache (of which the age was so fond), and in the collected works of poets who wrote Romanzen only occasionally. A few names will show how many circles were interested in this kind of literature. Bürger (who was to make the most powerful protest against the Romanzen by writing the *Lenore*) published some of the most objectionable of all; so notably the Romanze entitled *Europa* (see Sauer's edition of his poems). Among his friends, Boie, Hoelty and Miller tried their luck in burlesque ballads. Even Goethe's circle was affected. H. L. Wagner, Goethe's friend, wrote several Romanzen. Besides these, well-known men like Gotter, Claudius, Pfelle wrote burlesque ballads in larger or smaller numbers. All their Romanzen have silliness and low wit in common.

After the burlesque ballads had had their sway, there began a new species of burlesque poems, the travesties of ancient classical works. The first poem of this kind is *Leben und Thaten des theuren Helden Aeneas*, Halberstadt, 1771 (see Joerden's *Lexicon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten*, Vol. III, p. 571). Then came the famous travesty by Alois Blumauer, *Abenteuer des*

¹It may be remarked here that the burlesque ballads are sometimes called "Romanzen," and sometimes "Balladen."

frommen Helden Aeneas, 1784-8, followed in 1790 by Huebner's *Verwandte Ovidische Verwandlungen*, and many others of the same kind.

No anthology or Musenalmanach was complete without some Romanzen. The *Göttinger* and the *Voss'sche Musenalmanache* were perhaps as popular media for the publication of burlesque ballads as any of the periodicals of the day. We find Romanzen in the former as early as 1770 and as late as 1791. Besides these, the *Almanach der deutschen Musen* contains a large number of Romanzen. Even the *Merkur* did not deem it below its dignity to publish several of them, as did also the *Wandsbecker Bote* and the *Leipziger Musenalmanach*. By and by, new periodicals published Romanzen. From 1780 on we find them in the *Preussische Blumenlese* published in Königsberg, in 1781 in the *Frankfurter Musenalmanach*, in 1782 in the *Nuernberger Blumenlese*, in 1784 and later in the *Schwäbische Blumenlese* published in Tübingen, in the same year and later in the *Wiener Musenalmanach*. Between 1793 and 1797 the *Berliner Musenalmanach* published Romanzen in several of its issues. This list of periodicals is by no means exhaustive; many others like the *Anthologie der Deutschen*, etc., contain burlesque ballads.

After the publication of Gleim's Romanzen in 1756, no poems of the kind appeared until Loewen published his five Romanzen in 1765; in 1767, 1769, 1771, Schiebeler published collections of Romanzen. From 1770 to 1780 they came in large numbers every year from almost every part of Germany. After the end of the ninth decade they began to grow rarer.

It is almost unintelligible to us how any one could have considered these Romanzen valuable. Yet some of the leading critics of the day could hardly praise them enough. Men like Moses Mendelssohn and the critics of the Klotz'sche *Bibliothek*, of the *Neue Bibliothek der schoenen Wissenschaften*, even of the *Merkur*, speak of many Romanzen, among them Loewen's and Hoelty's, with high praise.

The burlesque ballad as it presents itself to us in the literature of Germany in the eighteenth century was patterned in large part on foreign models. Spain, Italy and France had developed a civilization in which the popular element played a poor part, and it is from France and Spain that Gleim got much of his inspiration. He tells us himself, "Der Verfasser fand in einem uralten französischen Lehrbuch den Namen und bald nachher in einem französischen Dichter, in Moncrif, die Sache." This Moncrif (1687 to 1770) wrote three lyrico-epical poems of the burlesque order after one of which (*Les constantes amours d'Alix et d'Alexis*) he fashioned his first Romanze, *Marianne*. But Moncrif himself was influenced by the Spanish poet Gongora (1561 to 1627, see Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, London, 1863, Vol. III., pp. 18-23), who also wrote burlesque ballads.

Other works were used by Gleim's followers in writing burlesque ballads, notably the *Recueil de Romances Historiques Tendres et Burlesques*, etc., 1767, 2 vols., which was a great source of inspiration, especially to Loewen; furthermore, Livy, Ariosto, Don Quixote, Fénelon's *Télémaque*, even Field-

ing's *Tom Jones*, and others. It should be noticed, too, that we find ballads dealing with Doctor Faust.

One kind of burlesque ballads should be mentioned especially; those which take their subjects from Ovid. Ovid was very popular in the eighteenth century (see Lindner, *Lehrreicher Zeitvertreib in Ovidianischen Verwandlungen*, Leipzig, 1764), but the German Ovid-ballad was imported, like the other styles of burlesque ballads, from abroad.

Quevedo (1580 to 1645, see Ticknor, Vol. II, pp. 274; seq.; Vol. III, pp. 74, 77, 412) seems to have been the first to write burlesque ballads based on Ovidian stories (see *Parnaso Español*, edition Madrid 1729, Thalia VI., Romance XC.). The Frenchman Sénecé (1643 to 1737) imitated Quevedo in this. Others followed; so Scarron, Marmontel, and especially Grécourt in a poem called *Pigmalion* (*Oeuvres*, Paris, 1763, Vol. IV, p. 73, seq.) which though differing in some respects from the ordinary ballad-style, resembles it in all essentials. The Germans got the suggestion for the Ovid-ballad from the French. Schiebeler shows his indebtedness to Grécourt in his ballad *Pigmalion*. He wrote a large number of Ovid-ballads and was followed by many others, among them Hoelty and Bürger. The travesties of classical epics were also modeled on French works. Scarron wrote his famous *Virgile travesty en vers burlesques* (1648-51) and others travestied other classical works. Scarron himself seems to have gotten his suggestion from the Italian Lalli (1572-1637, see Morillot, *Scarron et le genre burlesque*, Paris, 1888, p. 142).

A comparison between the German burlesque ballads and the works of Rabener, Liscow, and Gellert shows a close connection between the former and the contemporaneous literature.

Sensuality and adultery are favorite subjects of the burlesque ballads. There is an explanation for this in the low ideal of marriage in the eighteenth century (see Biedermann, *Deutschland im 18ten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1867, Vol. III, p. 38). Other burlesque ballads are aimed at the aristocracy, at the clergy, at poets, critics, actors, etc. The range of subjects is very large. Even the appearance of *Werther* called out burlesque ballads.

The knowledge on the part of the German ballad poets of the burlesque literature of Spain and France introduced many elements which are parodies on popular poetry. So, for instance, in the German burlesque ballad, apparitions of all sorts, the ghosts of the dead, the devil and the infernal regions, are introduced to furnish an element of burlesque terror. Furthermore, to many burlesque ballads a moral, generally of a burlesque nature, is attached, or the whole poem is made to teach a burlesque lesson.

Gleim regarded, as we saw, the ballad singers at fairs as true representatives of the popular genius, and hoped by his Romanzen to furnish them with better texts. His first Romanzen show traces of this view in every verse, and as his followers adopted many of his methods, a large number of burlesque ballads imitate the technique of singers at fairs. So we find many ballads with enormously long titles (see Gleim's three Romanzen in

the third volume of his works, p. 95 seq., or Bürger's *Europa* in Sauer's edition, p. 157). This trick is supposed to imitate the harangue of the ballad singer who tries to attract the attention of the populace. In the same way we find frequent exclamations; sometimes they are addressed to the whole public, and sometimes only to certain classes.

The meters of the burlesque ballads are all variations on a very few themes. The iamb prevails to the almost complete exclusion of every other metrical unit. The stanzas generally consist of four lines, although many of six and eight lines are also found. The shallow polish of these ballads contrasts curiously with the fascinating ruggedness of the Volkslied. . . .

The burlesque ballad, we saw, kept a place in the literature of Germany down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. But long before its entire disappearance the best minds began violently to protest against it. In the *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* (1773), Herder expressed in powerful language his contempt for the burlesque ballad. The key note was struck, and Germany found in G. A. Bürger the poet, who, thoroughly appreciating the beauties of popular verse, introduced into Germany a new form of poetry based on the songs of the people, to which belong gems like Goethe's *Erlikönig*. The first poem of this nature was his *Lenore* (see E. Schmidt's exhaustive essay, "Bürger's *Lenore*," in his *Charakteristiken*, Berlin, 1886).

In the *Lenore* we see the old poetical spirit which had produced the Volkslied bursting all bonds of artificiality and, interwoven with the spirit of artistic training and culture, producing a healthy and beautiful form of poetry, the serious literary ballad.

Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann :

I think one would understand from the paper read by Dr. von Klenze that the "burlesque ballad" went out of use and disappeared with the publication, or at least soon after the publication, of Bürger's *Lenore*. Such ballads, however, as those of which the author of the paper has given specimens, may be heard to this day in Germany at all the fairs in the villages and small towns; I have myself often heard them and, it seems to me, they have all the characteristics of the "burlesque" ballads of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, I am inclined to think that the "burlesque" ballad existed previous to the eighteenth century. If an event occurs that takes hold of the popular imagination, it would, most naturally, be treated in a way that appeals to the taste of the masses of the people. Now, if the event is one of great importance and is remembered long afterwards, it is treated in a variety of ways, and it is natural that some one of these forms should be more meritorious than others and acquire a greater and wider popularity, and then we have a historical Volkslied. So the origin and nature of the historical Volkslied is the same as that of the "burlesque" ballad, except that the latter treats of less important and more easily for-

gotten events, such as the murder of a woman by her husband. Thus the "burlesque" ballad is a species of Volkslied, unless the word "burlesque" implies artificial and intended satire, and the ballad owes its origin to a particular writer that deals in this species of poetry.

Professor H. C. G. Brandt :

I got the same impression from the reading of the paper that Dr. von Jageman did, that the burlesque ballad has stopped now. I see now that the real title of Dr. von Klenze's paper should have been, The Burlesque Ballad in Classical Literature; and of course that would throw it into the eighteenth century. There is a burlesque ballad now, or a parody of the Volkslied, as Dr. von Klenze and Dr. von Jagemann have stated. I remember as a boy, at the fairs of my native town, hearing the 'Bänkelsänger' sing. They had a sort of chart, or war map, strung up on a pole, which presented a series of six or twelve pictures. Most of these horrible 'murder-stories' would begin—

"Höret diese Mordgeschichte,
Die sich zugetragen hat."

I wish to ask Dr. von Klenze if he knows the ballad of the terrible robber Rinaldo Rinaldini, and whether that goes back to the eighteenth century?

Dr. von Klenze :

I do not know it.

Professor Brandt :

That was very commonly sung, and set to very good music. It begins—

In des Waldes tiefsten Gründen,
Und in Höhlen tief versteckt,
Wohnt der Räuber aller kühnste.

That sounds very much like a survival of the eighteenth century burlesque ballad.

Professor J. E. Matzke :

I should like to add a word or two with regard to the origin that is attributed to the burlesque part of the Volkslied, namely, its indebtedness to Spanish literature. In connection with that one thinks, at once, of that other department of literature which for its success is dependent upon the crowd, namely, the drama. It is very curious to notice that the Spanish idea of what is comical, from the earliest times, is that of a travesty. The 'bobo' or 'simple,' or by whatever name it may be called, in the early drama, is always a travesty either of the common man or of his master.

This tendency is still more characterized in the later comedies, where the servants always imitate the loves and intrigues of their masters. These comedies usually contain a second plot, and this is always a travesty of the general plot.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the year 1893 then reported as follows :

For President, Professor Francis A. March.

For Secretary, Professor James W. Bright.

For Treasurer, Professor John E. Matzke.

For the Executive Council : Professors Albert S. Cook, H. C. G. Brandt, H. C. G. von Jagemann, Walter D. Toy, J. B. Henneman, Morgan Callaway, Jr., H. A. Todd, G. A. Hench, F. M. Warren.

For President of the Phonetic Section, Professor A. Melville Bell. For Secretary of the Phonetic Section, Professor C. H. Grandgent.

For President of the Pedagogical Section, Professor Charles Harris. For Secretary of the Pedagogical Section, Professor A. N. Van Daell.

For the Editorial Committee: Professors A. Marshall Elliott and T. W. Hunt.

The report was accepted, and on motion the Secretary cast the ballot electing the above candidates to the offices named.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 4 o'clock.

10. MS. 24310 and other MSS. in the Paris National Library which contain French Metrical Versions of the Fables of Walter of England. By Professor T. Logie, of Williams College, Mass.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott :

Prof. Logie has touched upon a subject that is fascinating, and one certainly in which no two individuals have yet agreed throughout Fable literature. When you come back to the manuscripts, you get still further

off. Each investigator finds difficulty in being consistent with himself as his investigation proceeds.

There are two or three questions suggested by the paper that I should like to ask. One of the MSS. he has examined and presented the results of that examination to you here, 24310, is a MS. that I have had occasion to use in connection with Marie de France. Speaking of it in particular with reference to the 19123 MS., and the omissions in it as compared to the latter, I should like to ask whether these omissions have been traced in other places. Could these be traced elsewhere it might give us an idea of where the MS. was taken from, or, probably, where the scribe lived who worked on it. Do these omissions exist in other MSS. from which this one derives? Did the scribe simply follow his copy? If they do exist in other MSS., do they, or do they not, correspond exactly to these noted here? The answer to these questions might give us some clue to the scribe.

Another point is with reference to the originals of these copies, whether they have been traced. The prologue and epilogue vary here. The prologue of MS. 24310 differs considerably in the number of verses from that of others. In one you have an epilogue of eighteen verses and a prologue of eight verses. In the prologue of the work presented there are twenty-six verses, and only eight verses in another one belonging to the same general set. The question arises, What has become of the other verses? Have they been added or drawn from some other work? If they were not drawn from some other work, that would give a clue to finding out something of the origin of the manuscript.

Another point. Do these MSS. come apparently from the same source? Is there sufficient evidence in the agreement of the manuscripts to show that they came from one source, or were they drawn from various sources? In other words, were the scribes that copied the four manuscripts, from different parts of the country, and did they work in different circumstances on the same original, or did they copy from various originals? It seems to me that this is a question which ought to be very thoroughly investigated, and the differences in the prologue would certainly help in the determination of that point.

Now, the general question arises, Was there a Walter of England? When Prof. Logie began, I was surprised that he spoke of Walter of England as if there were no question of his existence. To my mind, it is doubtful whether there ever was such a person as Walter of England. Jacobs assumes his existence as confidently as though there were no doubt about it, and accepts the Hervieux colophon, but I don't think that that proves anything. I think the statement is simply made, as so often happens, by a later scribe, from his imagination, or from some idea he had gotten; his statement has no weight whatever, so far as proving the existence of such a person. Foerster in his edition, has certainly wisely concluded to keep the old name Anonymus Neveletus. This was the name by which the set of fables were known and which Joseph Jacobs would place to the credit

of a Walter of England. I do not consider the point at all established that we have a Walter of England, in spite of the *Gualterus Anglicus fecit hunc librum sub nomine Esopi*. The mere fact that the MS. went under so many names, would, it seems to me, prove, considering the age, that it is very doubtful whether such a man as Walter ever existed.

Remarks upon this paper were also made by Professors A. Gerber and J. E. Matzke.

11. Erasmus' Works, especially the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Colloquia*, as Sources of Rabelais' political, religious and literary Satire. By Dr. Hermann Schönfeld, of Johns Hopkins University.

Professor J. A. Fontaine :

The expression "Erasmian spirit" seems to me slightly inadequate. Erasmus was the most brilliant representative of that satirical spirit that took an especial development towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was directed against the Roman church, the monks, theologians, kings, judges, or, in general, against the institutions then existing; but at the same time we should bear in mind that Erasmus was not the originator of that spirit of satire and opposition. It had already permeated to a greater or lesser degree the Provençal and French literature of the Middle Ages.

Concerning the influence of Rabelais on French literature, I do not think that too much emphasis can be laid on it. Rabelais has influenced French satire in its twofold tendencies: the philosophical or Pantagruelist tendency and the comical or panurgist tendency. There are two modern French authors that might have been mentioned on account of their direct imitation of Rabelais: Nodier imitating his style in *Histoire du roi de Bohême* and Balzac imitating both style and thought in *Contes drolatiques . . . pour l'esbattement des Pantagruélistes*.

Now as to whether Rabelais studied Erasmus' works. We have, I think, positive evidence that Rabelais was acquainted with Erasmus' *Querela pacis* and we may presume also that he read his other works. However, I do not think it has been satisfactorily proved that the *Epistola ad Bernardum Salignacum* was directed to Erasmus, and the controversy raised over Rabelais' famous letter is not, to my mind, yet settled. Of course it is important that it should be, because on that letter is based to a great extent the evidence of Erasmus' influence on Rabelais. I hope Dr. Schönfeld will throw more light on that question.

Now as to the *à priori* arguments. The thought and form are said to be analogous in the writings of both. That may be granted, and we may find

in Erasmus almost every thing we find in Rabelais; for instance we may argue that the "Thelemite" maxim *Fais ce que voultas* was borrowed from one of Erasmus' colloquies, in which the same idea of unlimited freedom is expressed. There is however some danger in exaggerating the thought indebtedness of Rabelais to Erasmus. The life experiences of Rabelais bear so striking a resemblance to that of Erasmus that they must have given rise in both to thoughts very much alike. Is there not also some difference in the form of the *Encomium moriæ* and that of Rabelais' works? We have in Erasmus a well conceived and executed plan. Erasmus is witty, sarcastic and at times cynical; his phrase is remarkable for its conciseness and elegance. Rabelais on the contrary seems to have been indifferent to the general plan and economy of his work and has taken special delight in a style, the richness, flexibility and descriptive adaptability of which have seldom been equaled. A closer resemblance will be found, I think, between the form in Rabelais' writings and that in the colloquies of Erasmus.

As to the publication of Rabelais' works with forged interpolations, we have no strong evidence. In the privileges granted by Kings Francis I and Henry II, Rabelais is represented as having complained that some publishers had tampered with his writings; he did so most likely in order to lessen his own responsibility and ward off the dangers of persecution. In the case of Erasmus, on the contrary, we have sufficient evidence that some of his works were published with forged interpolations.

Professor Schönfeld :

In consideration of Erasmus' immense influence upon the whole civilized world of his time, and owing to his unique and original mode of writing and thought which revolutionized a world, we may well-nigh speak of 'Erasmian spirit,' as we speak of Aristopbanian spirit. The satire and opposition of the Provençal and French literature of the Middle Ages, which was directed against real or alleged abuses of the Popes and the clergy, does by no means cover the scope of this Erasmian spirit.

It was not my aim to exhaust Rabelais' influence upon subsequent French literature, as it was not my intention to treat fully of that influence upon German, English, and Spanish literature. Books may, and I hope will, be written on that subject. "Wer vieles bringt, wird jedem etwas bringen," says Goethe, and Rabelais brought so much that I could merely hint in general at the broad rays emanating from his work. (See *Publications*, Vol. VIII, pp. 4-8.)

That Rabelais knew Erasmus' works entirely and completely, so far as they had been published, is a matter of course. This fact presses itself upon every careful reader and has been recognized as early as Rabelais' work became known. To doubt this would be to doubt whether Lessing, for instance, ever knew and read Voltaire. It could therefore only be my purpose to show *to what extent* the correlation took place. As to the famous

Rabelais letter, it is proved by Birch-Hirschfeld (I, 216, Anm. 8), and generally accepted as final, that it was not addressed to a petty noble, but to Erasmus. I may with safety refer the reader to this source and to Th. Ziesing: *Erasmus ou Salignac?* Paris, 1887.

I acknowledge the truth of Professor Fontaine's statement, that there is some danger of exaggerating the thought-indebtedness of one author to another. In the published form of my paper this point will be found duly regarded. Such striking similarities, not only in content but even in form, as are noticed at pp. 43-44, 60, 64, 65, 66, 68, etc., of *Publications*, Vol. VIII, cannot be accidental, nor can they be explained by the resemblance of the life of the two men, but I have employed this view (cf. pp. 13-15) as a strong argument for their common *Weltanschauung*. As to the form of their works as a whole, I hold, even more strongly than does Professor Fontaine, that they cannot be compared in any way, nor have I attempted to do so.

The President of the Phonetic Section, Professor A. Melville Bell, gave a reception to the members of the Association, at his residence, 1525 Thirty-fifth Street, at 8 o'clock p. m.

MORNING SESSION (Friday, December 30).

The President called the Association to order at 10 o'clock.

Professor F. M. Warren, Chairman of the Committee on Place of Meeting, submitted the following report :

The Committee recommends that this Association hold an Extra Session next July, at Chicago, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition, in accordance with the special invitation extended by the World's Congress Auxiliary ; and that the next regular meeting of this Association be held at Washington, D. C., during the Christmas holidays of 1893, the exact date to be determined by the Executive Council.

This report was adopted.

The Secretary, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, as Chairman of the Committee for the revision of the "List of Colleges and of their Modern Language Teachers" (see *Proceedings* for

1891, p. xlv), reported progress, and offered the motion that the Committee be continued, with the newly elected Secretary as its Chairman.

The motion was adopted.

Professor A. Gudeman :

This meeting should not pass into history without an expression of our appreciation of the services of our retiring Secretary, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, who has during the entire existence of this Association devoted his energy and editorial skill to its organization and growth. I therefore beg to offer the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, in convention assembled, sincerely regretting the retirement of its Secretary, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, hereby expresses its deep appreciation of his devoted and invaluable services in behalf of this Association.

Professor James W. Bright :

I wish to second this resolution and to re-echo heartily the sentiment with which it has been presented. Professor Elliott has been a zealous and indefatigable Secretary to this Association, but he has also been more than that ; he is its founder, and has done most in promoting it. With prophetic outlook, he knew how to lay the foundation of this structure, and his self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of scholarship and his enthusiastic work and guidance have made possible the building upon that foundation.

Professor A. Gerber :

As an amendment to the resolution offered by Professor Gudeman, I would add that the next volume of the *Publications* of this Association be dedicated to Professor Elliott.

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution unani-
mously and enthusiastically adopted.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott :

I cannot tell you how I am touched by the remarks that have been made and by the action just taken. My withdrawal from the office of Secretary is attended with sore regret, but it has become imperative with me. This Association came into existence through difficulties, but its success is, I hope, now assured. All that I have done would have been impossible without the strong support, the hopeful sentiment and the good will of the members of this Association. For all this I owe the warmest thanks.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

12. The Tales of Uncle Remus traced to the Old World.
By Professor A. Gerber, of Earlham College, Indiana.

Professor F. M. Warren :

The question as to the foreign sources of *Uncle Remus* came incidentally to my attention some years ago after reading the *Roman de Renard* and comparing it with the present tales of *Uncle Remus*. The similarity between *Uncle Remus* and the *Roman de Renard* seemed to me to be such as would indicate a very close connection—almost indicating a translation, the *Roman de Renard* being written 700 years ago and *Uncle Remus* some fifteen years ago. Of course, in the process of time, these stories must have been altered before reaching this country. Those that came from France were altered at a very recent date, and were translated from the French. At the end of my article on "Uncle Remus and the Roman de Renard" I made an appendix which seemed to throw light on the way those stories got into this country.

I found in a book published by Colonel Jones of Georgia, which many of you probably have read, given among the stories told by the Coast negroes, the story of the pail of butter which Dr. Gerber has referred to. The version in the story published by Colonel Jones differed somewhat from that in *Uncle Remus*, but it was an exact translation—I will not say word for word, but very often the sentences were an exact translation of the French story published by Cosquin in the *Contes populaires de Lorraine*. The negro story is in the dialect of the Coast negro, and my unfamiliarity with the negro dialect made it hard for me to read it, but I got the gist of it.

In *Uncle Remus* the story simply refers to the rabbit and the fox being at work, and the rabbit stealing off to eat up the butter in the well. In Cosquin's collection the story begins in this way: They are at work and the

fox hears the Angelus (it is the fox here instead of the rabbit) and pretends he is called away to be a God-father. He goes away and comes back in a little while, and the wolf asks him the name of the child. The fox replies, Commencement. Then in a little while after, he hears another stroke, and he says he is called again to be a God-father. He goes off and returns, and the wolf asks him the name of the child and he replies, Mid-way. He goes away a third time at the ringing of the bell and comes back again and the wolf asks him the name of the child and he says, Ending. This is rendered in the negro dialect of Georgia, and it struck me as so singular that they should retain almost the very stage setting—not only the plot, but absolutely the surroundings. Of course, there being no Angelus rung in Georgia, it was necessary to invent another means for calling him away. The rabbit is a preacher, he heard a sound and had to go away to baptise a child. When the rabbit comes back and the wolf asks him where he has been, he says he has been to the baptism of a child; and when the wolf asks him its name, he says it is, First Beginning. When he goes away again and returns and the wolf asks him the name of the child, he says, Half-way; when he goes a third time and returns and the wolf asks him the same question, the rabbit says the name of the child is, Scraping-the-bottom.

There is almost the identical setting in the two stories. Of course, in the Roman Catholic country the fox hears the Angelus and that is changed in Georgia where the rabbit pretends to hear a sound and has to go to a baptism. That struck me as being singular. It would seem as if some one had taken a French story and had translated it and that it had come into Colonel Jones' book through only one handling—and that the translator's. I do not see how the story could have gone through a man who had any faculty for adaptation and not have been altered more than it is. The two stories almost exactly correspond, except in the matter of the Angelus. It strikes me that this similarity might throw a great deal of light on the subject of the immediate derivation of a great many of *Uncle Remus* tales from the French.

The theory I would form would be this: Those stories came from Hayti or Louisiana; in Hayti and Louisiana they came from the French. They had been preserved in Hayti and Louisiana until it was necessary to translate into the English, and they had been translated there by one person and kept there practically intact. That will show a very recent translation, if that is a fact. This translation does not go back over two generations; otherwise the story would be much more altered.

Professor S. Garner :

I think it would have been well if Professor Gerber, while engaged in getting his material together, had written to Mr. Harris and asked him how many of the stories he did collect from Uncle Remus, what he got from his imagination, how many he got from his mother, and how many

he got possession of in other ways. If Professor Gerber will remember, in the preface to the first edition of *Uncle Remus*, Mr. Harris refers, in a slight way without going into the discussion of the question, to a similarity existing between some of his stories and those of Europe. It may be possible, since he found the success of his first volume so great, that in order to make up other volumes, he studied up this subject somewhat and put into the mouth of the old man stories which he did not collect from Uncle Remus.

I think it is more than probable that a good many of these stories have come to the southern negro from his master and mistress. Those of us who live in the South, and know the extreme familiarity which existed between the old domestic house-servant and the children—in fact all members of the household—will know, of course, that there was hardly any thing in the family kept back from them—the old mammy, especially, as she was called. Of course, being in the nursery, while not reading herself, she became acquainted with a great many of the stories read by the children, and then might take these stories out to the field negroes, or to the quarters. They would take hold of them and work them over in their own way.

I wish to call attention to the version of this butter story, as I remember it from my childhood. I think I learned the story from my mother. It was told in this way: The rabbit and the fox had been on a foraging expedition and stole a pot of butter. Brer Fox and Brer Rabbit had agreed to make a tobacco bed in common, and this pot of butter was to be their dinner. In order to keep it from spoiling, they put it into the spring. Brer Rabbit, after he had been working a little while, got tired and said he wanted to go to get a drink of water. He told the fox to work on and ran down to the branch to get a drink of water. He went down and came back. I have forgotten now how he brought in the replies to the fox, but the first time it was, just begun; the second time his reply was, midway; and the third time, scraping the bottom.

Now this is a feature of the story that Professor Gerber seems not to have taken hold of. When they came to dinner, the butter was all gone and the fox accused the rabbit of eating it and the rabbit accused the fox. To find out who had eaten it, they agreed to get two boards and lie down on them in the sun and sleep, and then the one who had eaten the butter would show the evidence of it by its coming out of his body or out of his mouth. They get two boards and lie down. The rabbit does not fall asleep but after lying there a while and the board becoming greasy, he gets up off his board and rolls brother fox, who is asleep, over on his board, and in this way convicts him of having eaten the butter.

Professor O. B. Super :

I do not wish to take up time, but I wish to ask one or two questions for my own enlightenment. Does not the fact that the wolf is so prominent in Uncle Remus' stories show importation? I suppose we cannot assume that the negroes of the Georgia coast, or of Louisiana, knew anything about

wolves by actual experience. That the wolf should be prominent in the European tales is quite easily understood; but why is it that he is so prominent in the stories of Uncle Remus? For the same reason, why is the lion so prominent in European stories, when we are doubtless obliged to assume that those people, as we know them at present, knew nothing about lions, except what was heard from some other source?

Professor J. B. Henneman :

I was interested in hearing that this butter story is in Maryland, as well as in southern Georgia. I think that will conflict with Professor Warren's theory, however ingenious. I remember distinctly hearing it in upper South Carolina, where there is an entirely different set of negroes from those on the coast of Georgia. Some other theory will have to be formed to convince one of southern education, who has heard these stories from the darkies, as to exactly how they have been imported. It has been suggested that they came from the whites. It is a little singular that we who were brought up in the South never heard them from white persons—at least I never did. It was only from our colored nurses—our old mammies—that we ever heard them. As to Mr. Harris inventing anything in his first stories, I can testify to hearing from the colored people in upper South Carolina every story he told there. What he drew from his imagination, was practically *nil*. I can testify only as to that particular part of the country, but I am perfectly sure that they are not limited to any one section. Importation from Hayti and Louisiana would, I think, be impossible to prove.

We can notice coincidences; but that is about all we can do. How these stories ever reached these various sections of the country from Maryland to Texas, we cannot tell. Any one acquainted with the southern negro, knows the differences between them. There is a difference between the negroes of upper South Carolina and those of the Charleston district; between those of the middle section of Georgia—from which Mr. Harris comes—and the negro of the southern coast, about Savannah. Yet these stories are among them all. They were told us by our negro nurses. We never received an intimation of them (I speak again simply from my own experience) from a white person; and when Mr. Harris brought them out, every one of us was delighted—for we had forgotten these stories in the meanwhile—at hearing them once more and at actually seeing them reduced to print before our eyes.

I do not wish to oppose these theories as to emigration. I believe, in some instances at least, that must necessarily have been the case; but exactly how—through what media—is the difficult matter to prove. So far as I can see, no theory that has been suggested is at all adequate. Of course, I have not seen all the data of Professor Gerber's article, and I wish to thank him for his investigation of the matter and to assure him of the interest with which we in the South will peruse it.

Professor S. Garner :

I would like to say just another word. I had no idea of accusing Mr. Harris of drawing on his imagination, or of dishonesty. We, in the South, are not in the habit of accusing gentlemen of being dishonest. Gentlemen in the South are not dishonest. When this volume of Mr. Harris' came out, we all hailed it with delight; we had heard many of these stories; I had heard a great many from my mother; I suppose she heard them from her servants; I don't remember hearing many from the negroes. Books were not so plentiful then as they are now. These stories had to serve their purpose in entertaining the children.

What I meant to say was, that after Mr. Harris had published his first book, which contained the most prominent of these stories, which every one recognized as having heard, he kept continually working the mine; and the question that occurred to me was, whether he had not, in order to get enough material to make up his books, put into the mouth of the old man stories which he had not heard—stories which, no doubt, did exist in other parts of the South? He would not have had time to investigate personally for himself all these stories by going through the South, and, having found many stories in the story books, did he not perhaps take them and work them over into the negro dialect, as he could have done without laying himself open to the charge of dishonesty?

Professor Gerber :

I wrote to Mr. Harris for information, but received no reply. I have been informed that there are wolves in Georgia even at the present time. Of course, the lion points to Africa. I could only give a small part of the evidence I have collected.

So far as Professor Warren's remarks are concerned, I should like to say that it is not quite true that these stories came necessarily from the French. The butter story is told exactly in the same way in Russia, showing a tendency of people to cling to a story even when it comes from another country and from one language into another.

13. Two Pioneers in the Historical Study of English,—Thomas Jefferson and Louis F. Klipstein: A Contribution to the History of the Study of English in America. By Professor J. B. Henneman, of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia.

The historical study of English—as nearly every point in the educational history of Virginia—is closely associated with the name of Thomas

Jefferson.¹ As early as 1779 there is found an expression of Jefferson's interest in connection with the College of William and Mary, of which he was then a Visitor, when he proposed the addition of two new Professorships, one of which should undertake the study of the ancient languages, including both the Oriental and the Northern tongues (Mæso-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Icelandic), and the other be devoted to that of the Modern Languages. But while the bill with these features could not pass and only the latter chair was established, Jefferson by no means abandoned his ideas but soon afterwards gave expression to the following opinion: "To the Professorships usually established in the universities of Europe it would seem proper to add one for the ancient languages and literature of the North, on account of their connection with our own language, laws, customs, and history" (*Notes on Virginia*, 3d ed., 1801, p. 224)—this being the earliest advocacy in America of the idea of Germanic institutional and linguistic studies.

Jefferson expresses himself with even greater freedom in the letter to Herbert Croft, LL. B., of London, dated from Monticello, October 30th, 1798. It forms the introductory part of the work, *An Essay towards facilitating instruction in the Anglo-Saxon and modern dialects of the English Language*, printed in 1851 by order of the Board for the University of Virginia, and mentioned on page 75 of Wülker's *Grundriss* under an imperfect title and with a misleading remark. This letter to Croft was written in acknowledgement of the receipt of the latter's *Letter from Germany to the Princess Royal of England: on the English and German Languages* (Hamburg, 1797), the dedication of which evidences the influence of the English residence of the House of Hanover upon the closer relationship of the English and German peoples and the beginnings of a movement of intellectual intercourse which has so deeply affected modern English and American scholarship and thought.

Croft, as he himself informs us, had republished Dr. Johnson's Dictionary with many corrections and additions, and after editing King Alfred's Will, made a pilgrimage to Germany, following up his philological investigations, with a view to publishing an "English and American Dictionary." To us—and probably to Jefferson—the most interesting part of the letter are the remarks on the English language as influenced by America. "The future history of the other three quarters of the world will, probably, be much affected by America's speaking the language of England. Its natives write the language particularly well, considering they have no dictionary yet, and how insufficient Johnson's is! Washington's speeches seldom

¹ Jefferson's interest in the Historical Study of English has been commented on by H. E. Shepherd, *American Journal of Philology*, III, 211 f.; Edward A. Allen: "Thomas Jefferson and the Study of English," *The Academy* (Syracuse, N. Y.) for February, 1888; H. B. Adams: *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia*. U. S. Bureau of Education, 1888.

exhibited more than a word or two, liable to the least objection; and, from the style of his publications, as much or more accuracy may be expected from his successor, Adams. [A note at the end of the pamphlet adds, 'Mr. Jefferson should have been mentioned.'] Perhaps we are, just now, not very far distant from the precise moment, for making some grand attempt with regard to fixing the *standard* of our language (no *language* can be fixed) in America. Such an attempt would, I think, succeed in America, for the same reasons that would make it fail in England, whither, however, it would communicate its good effects. D deservedly immortal would be that patriot, on either side of the Atlantick, who should succeed in such an attempt" (p. 2, note 1).

It is in acknowledgement of this publication of Croft's that Jefferson is led to disclose how he came to turn his attention to Anglo-Saxon and to give his own views on the methods of its study. As a student of the law, he was obliged to recur to that source for explanation of a multitude of law terms, and, he tells us, he was especially influenced by a Preface to Fortescue on Monarchies, written by Fortescue-Aland, and afterwards premised to the latter's volume of Reports. In this Preface to Fortescue, which was published in 1714, the editor devotes fully half his space (pp. xli-lxxxii) to a discussion of the nature of Anglo-Saxon, gives a number of glosses, evidences individual words illustrating its compounds and forcible terms and expressions in place of Latin and Greek ones, and argues that an acquaintance therewith is of especial value to lawyers. Finally, he coats the pill with these sugared words: "The Difficulty of attaining the Language is nothing. It is in Practice so useful, and in Theory so delightful, that I am persuaded no Young Gentleman, who has Time and Leisure, will ever repent the Labour in attaining to some Degree of Knowledge in it" (p. lxxxi). Jefferson's citation of "the names of Lambard, Parker, Spelman, Wheeloc, Wilkins, Gibson, Hickee, Thwaites, Somner, Benson, Marechal, Elstob," on page 8 of his *Essay*, where all save Parker and Wilkins are taken from the "Catalogue of the most considerable Authors," appended to Fortescue-Aland's Preface and giving upwards of thirty standard works of the time, shows that this incitation had its due effect on at least *one* Young Gentleman. That Jefferson made also other than a mere academic use of his knowledge is gathered from a judgment expressed by R. G. H. Kean, Esq. in the *Virginia Law Journal* for December, 1877: The "portion of Jefferson's work as a legislator is remarkable for his citations from the original Anglo-Saxon laws."

Jefferson mentions, besides, in his letter to Croft, his use of Elstob's Grammar—a work written by a woman and based upon Hickee, and the first Anglo-Saxon Grammar written in English, and intended for others of her sex who knew not Latin—and he adds that the ideas which he noted at the time on its blank leaves, he sends as a sequel to his letter for examination. Now, there seems every probability that Jefferson's *Essay* is nothing but these notes later expanded. The contents of the *Essay* are:

first, the Letter to Croft, written in 1797 (pp. 3-5); then, the formal *Essay*, written in 1818 (pp. 7-20); the Postscript to this letter, written in 1825 (pp. 20-24); Observations on Anglo-Saxon Grammar (pp. 25-33); and a Specimen (pp. 35-43)—the last two having no date assigned. Indeed, as there is much repetition to be observed, probably enough the "Observations" were taken more directly from these notes in Elstob's Grammar, left comparatively unchanged, while the formal *Essay* (pp. 7-20), though preceding in the printed form, was clearly written later and was based upon these "Observations," or upon like material. For instance, in the "Observations," there are only two headings—Pronunciation and Declension of Nouns—instead of the later and better developed division into four; again, the number of Hickes' declensions has been reduced in the "Observations" from six to four, but in the formal essay three simple canons suffice to embrace all forms.

This last illustration indicates sufficiently well the character of Jefferson's *Essay* and the nature of his argument. His chief error lies in too great simplification for the sake of unity. Of course, he was mistaken in many of his views according to latter-day standards; but he is to be judged rather from the spirit of his utterance than from its details. He speaks, himself, in all modesty of his slight opportunity for the pursuits in a life busied with varied cares. But he sees clearly and insists upon the great truth underlying modern scientific study, that Old English is nothing but the English current at that time; and this unity and the consequent development he refuses to let be obscured. True, this very persistency led him again into error, as when, because Modern English was but slightly inflected, he was inclined to treat every period of English in the same spirit and to consider the minute divisions into declensions and in accordance with all inflections, useless lumber. Yet how temperate he was, even in this discussion between the methods of the ancients and the moderns—the new phase in the Battle of the Books—may be easily discerned from a comparison of his views with the utter pretentiousness of Henshall's *English and Saxon Languages*, issued in the same year with Jefferson's letter to Croft. Also, Jefferson did not clearly enough distinguish the early periods of the language, and was prone to bundle Old and Middle English forms indiscriminately together. All these are serious errors in details; but Jefferson's practical vision, common sense, and historic instinct, comprehended thoroughly the Teutonic origin and the essential unity of all periods of the English tongue, and so far insisted on the necessity of a knowledge of the earlier forms—language, literature, laws, customs—in order rightly to interpret and to appreciate those of to-day, that in fathering his State University he introduced into its curriculum the first course of Anglo-Saxon found in an American institution of learning.

The University of Virginia, chartered in 1819, was thrown open to students in 1825; the chair of Modern Languages included French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Anglo-Saxon; and from that day to this Jefferson's

wish has been carried out continuously, and a course in Anglo-Saxon has been constantly given, however meagre and inadequate at times, through the exigency of circumstances, it may have become. Of this chair there have been thus far but three occupants. The first (imported, as most of Jefferson's original faculty were, from Europe) was George Blaetterman, LL. D., a German by birth, resident in London, who held the position from 1825 to 1840. One who was both his pupil and his colleague has left this tribute: "He gave proof of extensive acquirements and of a mind of uncommon natural vigor and penetration. In connection more especially with the lessons in German and Anglo-Saxon he gave his students much that was interesting and valuable in comparative philology also, a subject in which he found peculiar pleasure" (Duyckinck's *Cycl.*, II, p. 730, ed. of 1856). Together with his colleague in the chair of ancient languages, Professor George Long, he furnished contributions to a "Comparative Grammar." His successor was Charles Kraitsir, M. D., who published, among other works, a *Glossology: being a treatise on the nature of language and on the language of nature* (N. Y., 1852). In 1844 was chosen M. Schele De Vere, Ph. D., J. U. D., the present honored incumbent and senior member of the Faculty, well-known as the author of *Outlines of Comparative Philology* (1853); *Grammar of the Spanish Language* (1857); *Grammar of the French Language* (1867); *Studies in English* (1867); *Americanisms* (1872), etc. Although a course of English Literature had been instituted in 1857, in connection with the chair of History, it was not until 1882 that a separate chair for English Language and Literature was established; and in the present session (1892-3) an additional chair has been added, separating this study permanently into its two component parts, philology and literature, thus carrying out logically, to its full development, the principles advocated so early by the illustrious founder.

Indeed, the whole subject of the study of English in Virginia, bringing in the perfectly independent work done at other institutions (Randolph-Macon, Richmond, Washington and Lee, etc.), and all at a time when little or no attention was given to this study in more accredited institutions of other States, is so marked in its individuality in the history of education in our country, that its consideration constitutes an important chapter in the history of American intellectual development.

Entirely independent of Jefferson's efforts were the labors of Louis F. Klipstein. He is mentioned in Wülker's *Grundriss*, but with even greater inaccuracy than in Jefferson's case. Wülker asserts with seeming satisfaction that the first efforts in the study of Anglo-Saxon in America were on the part of a German ("und zwar war es ein Deutscher, welcher zuerst für Angelsächsisch wirkte"); but Klipstein was a Virginian by birth, from Winchester, became a student at Hampden-Sidney College, received the degree of A. B. in 1832, and immediately after took the prescribed three years' course in the neighboring Union Theological Seminary. He entered upon the duties of a Presbyterian minister of the gospel in 1835, being licensed by the Win-

chester Presbytery, but seceded shortly to the New School division in the Presbyterian Church, and must soon have given up preaching altogether, as his license was revoked in 1840. About this time he went to Germany in order to prosecute his studies, and on the title-page of his published works he always signs himself "AA. LL. M., and Ph. D., of the University of Giessen." Besides, his most ambitious work, the *Analecta*, is dedicated to "Augustus Von Klipstein, Ph. D., Professor of Mineralogy and the Art of Mining in the University of Giessen," and it was probably these circumstances, together with his German name, that misled Wülker. Upon his return to America, he went southwards to Charleston, S. C., for the sake of his health, and engaged as tutor in a family in the neighboring country, at St. James, Santee. From a notice in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for April, 1844, he began editing about this time a monthly periodical of 24 pages, devoted to the French, German, Spanish, and Italian languages, published in Charleston, and called *The Polyglott*, which was contemporary with another equally as short-lived Charleston journal, a semi-monthly rival, *The Interpreter*, directed to the same ends. It was the material thus collected that formed the basis of his *Study of Modern Languages*. Two years later (1846) he announced through the Putnam publishing house in New York a series of books on Anglo-Saxon, choosing, in two instances at least, April 1st, as an anniversary upon which to write a Preface. Within the next two or three years four of these works appeared: *Tha Halgan Godspel on Englisce*; *A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*; *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica—Selections in Prose and Verse, from the Anglo-Saxon Literature, in two volumes*; and *Natale Sancti Gregorii Papae,—Ælfric's Homily on the Birthday of Saint Gregory*, with miscellaneous extracts. All these books, even though one or two passed beyond the first edition, proved heavy financial losses, and, it seems, much of the property of his wife—for he had meanwhile married a daughter of the house where he had been installed as tutor—was lost in payment.¹ This was probably the chief reason why other works which he announced never saw the light of day; as, *A Glossary to the Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*; *The Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms*; *Anglo-Saxon Metrical Legends*; *The Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf*; *The Rites, Ceremonies, and Polity of the Anglican Church*; *A Philosophical Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, etc.

His *Grammar*, which appeared in 1848, was dedicated to Orville Horwitz, Esq., of Baltimore, in appreciation of "a friendship which a close intimacy of years has tended only to strengthen"; and the latter reciprocated this interest by writing an Introduction on the Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language—filling 22 pages. In criticising Klipstein's labors, a noteworthy circumstance is that despite his German degree, he fashions himself on the English models of the day. It is the reproduction of the work of English scholars in a special form for American students that characterizes his work.

¹ A fact gathered from material kindly furnished by Dr. T. P. Harrison.

It is Thorpe's *Gospels* without change, a *Grammar* akin to Thorpe's translation of Rask, two books of "Selections" suggested by Thorpe's similar volume, that he gives to American readers. But with all their sad defects and errors and uncritical editing, his interest in the subject, and the spirit and purpose of his work, demand a certain recognition; and the actual performance ranks fairly well in point of originality, if one considers the advance in the scholarship of to-day, with similar performances by American students, reproducing in special American editions work already performed by European scholars, with more or less changes both for better and for worse.

Klipstein is said to have been very unfortunate in his later life, which he ended under a cloud. He died in 1879.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professors J. M. Garnett, J. W. Bright, and E. H. Magill.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's statement, then presented the following report :

We have examined the itemized statement of receipts and compared the dues received from members and find that the list of members who have paid, together with those stated to be in arrears, agrees in the aggregate with the membership list furnished by the Secretary.

We have examined the itemized expenditures and found each covered by a receipt or cashed check made payable to the Secretary for publication purposes.

We have found in the bank book of James W. Bright, Treasurer, a credit on December 24, 1892, for the amount indicated in the Treasurer's report as the balance on hand.

In conclusion we beg to congratulate the Association on the business methods practised by its Treasurer.

J. H. GORE,
A. N. BROWN.

The Secretary of the Phonetic Section reported as follows :

PHONETIC SECTION.

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1892.

Received.

Membership fees from J. L. ARMSTRONG, J. W. BRIGHT, A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, M. J. DRENNAN, A. M. ELLIOTT, E. A. FAY, J. GEDDES Jr., C. H. GRANDGENT, J. M. HART, G. HEMPL, J. E. MATZKE, S. PORTER, E. S. SHELDON, E. SPANHOOFD, R. L. WEEKS.....\$15.00

Expended.

Printing fourth circular.....	\$ 7.50
Stamps.....	6.00
Envelopes.....	1.50
	<hr/>
	\$15.00

Some of the results of our first circular, issued in August, 1890, have appeared, under the titles "Uncle Remus in Phonetic Spelling" and "English Sentences in American Mouths," in *Dialect Notes*, Part IV. The measurements of German vowels and consonants, suggested in the same circular, have been completed, and the drawings, with explanatory text, have been published by Ginn & Co. in a little book entitled *German and English Sounds*. For French sounds the measurements are as yet unfinished.

The information obtained through our second and third circulars has been presented as fully as possible in *Modern Language Notes* for January and December, 1891.

A fourth set of questions was issued in November, 1892. Over 800 copies were distributed; great care was taken to have the sheets reach all parts of the country. Up to date only about 170 replies have come in; but new ones are arriving nearly every day, and it is to be hoped that the number will soon reach 200 or 250. So far as I have been able to examine them, the answers have proved to be very interesting. The results will probably be published next spring.

I have in readiness materials for a fifth circular, which I should like to send out as soon as the fourth is out of the way. The questions are intended mainly to determine the extent to which certain artificial influences have affected our pronunciation.

C. H. GRANDGENT,
Secretary.

14. Lessing's Religious Development with Special Reference to his *Nathan the Wise*. By Professor Sylvester Primer, of the University of Texas.

This paper was discussed by Professors H. C. G. Brandt, S. Garner and H. E. Greene.

The President then appointed the following committee to arrange for the Extra Session of the Association to be held at Chicago: Professors J. W. Bright, J. M. Garnett, H. C. G. von Jagemann.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 3 o'clock.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott :

I am pleased to announce the presence of ex-President Magill, now Professor of French in Swarthmore College, who has consented to offer a few remarks directed to the work of the Pedagogical Section of this Association.

Professor E. H. Magill :

I have listened with deep interest to the exercises of this Association, feeling that a great work is going on here—a work of which I was apprised, somewhat, before, but of which I had no adequate conception until these last two days. I see that a new education—a new learning, as it is sometimes called—has come in to stay.

I am not one to regret any forward movements of this kind; and am glad to see that the younger members of this Association—younger as compared with myself—are coming forward and pursuing these lines of independent thought and investigation in this work of language teaching. If scientific men get very enthusiastic over the tracks of birds in sandstone, I cannot see why the tracks of the human mind are not equally interesting; and I can readily pardon these young men for overlooking, to a certain extent, some things which I consider important, in their zeal and enthusiasm in this comparatively new work. I can readily see how they prefer to ride on their bicycles of modern investigation around the world rather than follow in the old stage coach, or even, perhaps, railroad lines of the regular courses. I can understand their zeal and enthusiasm and pardon them for crowding out anything which I consider important.

But I was to say a word on the subject of pedagogics. There is a prejudice in the minds of many against the word itself—and a natural one—one which I share with you. There is a prejudice against the word and against the whole business of pedagogics. Why? Because there is too much of a tendency to make teachers imitators, and train for teaching by so-called normal methods. But I think that your pedagogic section has a valuable labor to perform, and that it can perform it by making a slight modification in your program.

I suppose if five per cent—one teacher has said to me that it would be but one per cent, possibly two per cent, but I will be liberal—I suppose if five per cent of the students under the professors who are here assembled in this Association during these three days are likely to pursue courses of study which would make the investigations which you are pursuing with

great interest and value to science valuable to them directly, it is as much as you can hope for. Now what are you going to do with the other 95 per cent? that is the point.

I came here for the purpose of learning from you, how you do your work; how it is done in the most expeditious way. In these times, when our courses are crowded and taken up with various studies, we must do our work in the shortest possible space of time. How are we going to bring a knowledge, say of French and German—take those two principal members of the family of modern languages, outside of our own—how shall we bring, I say, to English speaking students of America, a fluent, easy reading knowledge of French and German in the shortest space of time? If there is a method by which young men who began the study of French in September of this year, can have already read two, three or four volumes of 100 pages each and understood it—and there is—if there is a method by which that can be done, then I would like, at a proper time, to hear such method explained. How shall we do it? Let me suggest to the executive committee that something be put into the program for another year—something like what we call the Round Table—a general exchange of experience, &c., that would be of great value to all the teachers here assembled. I should be very glad to know how other men do this work. I do not believe in any stereotyped way of teaching. I believe that the teacher must be enthusiastic and teach from his heart—not from the methods of any other man or woman—but it helps us all to know what others' methods are; and if we can have some comparison of views, I think it will be a great gain.

I was glad to see the announcement to-day that there is a prospect, another year, of the adoption of a proposed uniform course of study of the modern languages in the colleges and in preparatory schools. That is a step in the right direction. I hope that in the future something will be done towards making this Association valuable to us all as a means of communicating to each other our experience, without any intention to impose our views upon others, but simply to state what we do, and what results we produce, and when we get home and think it over, if we learn anything valuable we can put it in practice in our own way.

15. The Preparation of Modern Language Teachers for American Institutions.¹ By Professor E. H. Babbitt, of Columbia College, N. Y.

The best teacher of modern languages for some purposes requires no conscious preparation at all. For all children below the age at which they enter our secondary schools, the objective point is the ability to speak the

¹This paper was read at the last annual meeting of the Association (see *Proceedings* for 1891, p. xliv).

language—an art merely, which has nothing to do with any scientific knowledge, and which is best acquired from a French or German nurse-maid, or some such person, to whom the language is an inheritance, and its fluent use a necessity of nature.

The lowest grade in our educational system where we find work in modern languages for which professional teachers need professional preparation, is in the secondary schools. Here we meet at once the commonest problem of all which we have to consider in our work. Given a class of boys or young men, who have perhaps two years on an average to study a modern language, how shall we shape our instruction so that they may get the best returns from the work they can do in that limited time? It seems to be generally agreed that a practical reading knowledge of the language is the main end for such students, both because it is the most valuable acquisition that can be made in the time to spare, and because, in ordinary circumstances, this line of work forms the only feasible basis for uniform and successful class-room instruction. At the same time this plan allows those students who wish to pursue the study of the language further, in other lines, to use all the work they have already done, and also allows full scope for the really very valuable mental discipline to which I called attention in my paper last year.¹

In many cases this practical elementary work is not begun till after the students are in college. Here we meet students who have already had a good deal of linguistic training in their study of the classics, and thus differ from the boys in the secondary and scientific schools, to whom a foreign language is a new thing. For instance, with a class of college students who have done the usual amount of thinking over their conditional sentences in Latin and Greek, the subject of conditional sentences in German can be disposed of in a lesson or two; but a class of boys who meet for the first time this matter of general grammar must spend weeks in getting it cleared up, whatever the language may be that furnishes the material for study. Much more can therefore be expected in the way of quantity and quality of work from college students than from the others referred to; it is quite possible to give a class of them a sufficient knowledge of French in one year, or of German in two years, to enable them to use text-books in those languages.

The majority of our college students never go beyond this point in the subject. Those who do pursue it either as a college or a university study—as a factor in a general liberal education, or with the intention of teaching the subject. For the larger class who pursue it as a culture-study, several lines of work are possible. Practice in expression in a foreign language, especially French, gives excellent discipline for the linguistic sense. Philology proper belongs rather to the university side of the subject, but an enthusiastic teacher oftens draws college students into it with

¹*Publications*, Vol. VI, No. 1.

good results. But the greatest part by far of the instruction for this class of students comes under the head of that much-abused word, literature.

There is no line of study that will make a college sophomore into a competent literary critic. Nothing will do that but a certain number of years spent in contact with the life and thought of the world, and a proper use and development of a sound judgment which must be present to begin with. And yet there is no more responsive soil on which to sow the seeds of culture than the mind of a student at this age, and few better opportunities for doing so than come from just such courses as are given in the third and fourth year work in modern languages at our colleges—courses based on the study of the best works written in those languages, with all the sidelights from philology, literary criticism, philosophy and history, which the teacher can bring to bear from all the resources of his own study and his own intellectual life.

As to university instruction, it is only necessary to say that it must be of the most thorough and special kind. The future teacher must have the discipline of feeling bottom somewhere in the sea of learning. Now as the bottom comes nearer the surface in the region of philology than elsewhere in our department, students naturally turn their attention largely in that direction. This is legitimate, if only one is sure of a sufficient intellectual stature to be able to stand on that bottom and have a respectable mental horizon.

Viewed from the teacher's standpoint, university work in the modern languages in this country forms but an almost infinitesimal part of the whole body of work in the field. In very many of our colleges the instruction does not go beyond elementary work. And even in those few institutions where real university work is done, the amount of work in this particular field is less than in others, on account of the special reasons for studying in this line abroad. The records of the work done in modern languages at our universities will show that very little of it is beyond the grade of college work, and that there is seldom a genuine demand for any advanced course which cannot perfectly well be given by any teacher who is properly prepared for this college work.

A proper preparation for college teaching means, however, much more than is generally demanded by those who employ teachers. I wish to call your attention to an apparently trivial matter which has unexpectedly deep significance on this point.

It is a commonplace to all members of this Association, that knowing how to speak a language and knowing how to read it are two very different things. It sounds like a sweeping statement to say that no one who has not taught the subject knows how great this difference really is, but I will even venture to say that many who are teachers of modern languages fail to see the importance of the distinction. Speaking a language is as purely an art as is playing a musical instrument. The art of speaking a language not one's own is useful to many people who wish to communicate with

those who speak it; it is further regarded as a pretty accomplishment for young ladies and others who may possibly make little or no practical use of it. This art has been taught for centuries by a large and more or less respectable body of persons, and their instruction has its traditions and methods, which are embodied in text-books of the Ollendorf kind.

Now when some years ago there arose a general demand for instruction in modern languages in our colleges, the college authorities went to the young ladies' boarding-schools, or wherever these foreign language teachers were to be found, and set the best they could get of them to doing the work in the colleges. They brought their traditions with them, and continued to emphasize the education of the ear, and to quarrel, with the intolerance of all empiricists, over minor matters of accent and pronunciation. Their methods were accepted generally without question, and held the field for a long time, as they do still among the laity.

Occasionally, however, for lack of a Frenchman or German to teach his language, an American teacher who had perhaps been abroad, or had more than the usual amount of instruction in a modern language, was set to teaching it. Such teachers, being less sure of their knowledge of the foreign language than of English, did their work on a translation basis and taught their pupils to read, rather than speak, the language; and the reading knowledge of students taught in this way was often better than that of those who had spent much more time under the old plan. Whatever readiness in speaking the latter might have acquired did not appear under any examination test, nor as meeting any need in the way of foundation for further studies. Now, the fact that the pupils of any fair teacher who had a smattering of a foreign language could meet the tests prepared by those who held the position of the only authorities on the subject, and the fact that these latter treated their work from the same point of view that musicians and writing-masters treat theirs, tended to throw the whole line of work into disrepute, and to establish the impression, which, as I said above, is still in full force among the laity (to which we may safely reckon most college trustees and many college presidents), that any kind of a "Dutchman" or "dago," or broken-down minister, is competent to give what has seemed to be the recognized quality of instruction in the subject. This impression still prevails to a lamentable extent in many quarters, but the day of better things is coming, and the next generation of modern language teachers will do better work than the present one.

The only effective teacher in any field is the one who has thoroughly taken his professional bearings—who has adopted the work from the honest conviction that he is fitted by nature to do it, and intends to make it his life-work. A teacher who is an enthusiast in his subject is better than one who is not, but no amount of enthusiasm for a subject can blind a true teacher to the fundamental fact of his calling—that the subject is taught for its effect on the minds of his pupils, not that their minds exist as a medium for propagating knowledge of the subject. The field of modern languages

belongs emphatically to the pedagogue rather than to the scientific enthusiast. Nine-tenths of the work done must always be of an elementary nature. Such work involves a great deal of drudgery, from which in itself there is no legitimate escape. The standard of perfection in the practical knowledge of a modern language is so evident and so near at hand, that any man of scholarly tendencies is sure to be so far in advance of his pupils that he is liable to chafe under the unavoidable repetitions and task-work, unless his pedagogical is greater than his scientific interest—unless his subject-matter is merely a means to an end, and his greatest professional satisfaction comes from turning out each year's class a little better trained than the last.

But a language teacher has some relief from drudgery which a teacher of mathematics, for instance, has not. The most elementary language-study has a connection with human thought and interest, which no study of mere things can have; and thus even here, though of course in a much greater degree as we approach literature rather than mere language-drill, the personality of the teacher comes into play as a culturing factor. A teacher is capable of inspiring and uplifting a class just about in proportion to the size of his personality as a man of culture. There is no field in the profession where a man of thoroughly catholic mind and a sure sense of the meaning of the world's thought can do more to bring a class up from their intellectual level towards his own; and none where a mere pedant, who has grammatical or philological hobbies to ride, can waste more golden opportunities. And yet few subjects make so great demands upon the teacher in the way of wide and definite knowledge. The standard of correct use for a language is of course an empirical matter, but just for that reason those who uphold the standard are the more intolerant of variations from it. The amount of practical ability in handling a language required from a teacher is much greater in the case of living than of dead languages. No teacher of a modern language can be thoroughly efficient unless his command of it as a practical medium of thought is sufficient to enable him to think in it and feel its idiom pretty thoroughly his own.

And on the other hand—aside from the fact that no person can manage a class of American boys unless he can think in English as readily as they can—no one can make translation work of any value to his pupils on its most valuable side, unless his English is really good English—better than theirs is likely to be, as boys on the average come to us now.

And last but not least, no teacher can be thoroughly inspiring and useful to his pupils whose knowledge of his subject is not so thorough and extensive as to give them a genuine respect for his attainments as a scholar. It is not so very important whether his special work has been done in the exact lines of his teaching, provided his knowledge in those lines is sufficient to meet completely all questions that may arise. He ought, however, to know the language he is teaching, not only practically, but also historically, to be familiar with the nearest related languages, and, on the literary side, to have a good notion of the chapter in human life and thought which pro-

duced the works he is to study. It is hardly necessary to say that no live teacher will let a year pass without making some additions to this fund of exact knowledge which he possesses and can use in his work.

I do not believe that a teacher can be notably deficient in any of the five directions that I have indicated, without impairing seriously his professional usefulness—so seriously as to shut him out from the very foremost rank in the profession. The discussion of the first of these five heads belongs, however, rather to a paper on the preparation of teachers in general than here. This is also true of the second, except that breadth of culture in the personality of the teacher counts for more here than in fields which have to do more with things, and less with human relations, and that a special topic arises out of the question of foreign-born teachers.

To the unprofessional mind, it seems to be almost a matter of course that the person who knows a language best is one to whom it is the mother-tongue, and therefore that such persons should naturally teach it. If, however, we look to those countries where the science of education has been longest and most carefully studied, we find the settled policy of employing natives who have been abroad to study modern foreign languages, to teach those languages in the schools. And in spite of the stubborn resistance of the lay mind, which I have referred to already, this policy is rapidly gaining ground in the higher institutions in this country. I cannot go exhaustively into the reasons for this course, but some of the considerations are as follows: A person who comes to a country at an adult age is a foreigner, and generally remains a foreigner in his ways of thinking and feeling and living. I said before that the personality of the teacher is the most important factor in his professional activity; if his personality is such that it fails to find the best points of touch with the personalities of his students, then he fails to get that sympathetic community of thought on which so much depends. And if, as is so often the case with foreign-born teachers, he never acquires that command of English which makes him superior to them in their own medium of thought, he remains to that extent under a handicap which impairs his usefulness. These considerations do not apply, be it observed, to men who come to this country young enough to become thoroughly Americanized in character and language, before they enter upon their work. Some of our very best teachers belong to this class of men.

Another point, perhaps less well understood, but of more general application, may be illustrated by a case which came under my own observation. A careful and conscientious teacher, a German by birth and education, who had learned French at school as a foreign language, taught it, as was admitted by all, much better than German, his mother-tongue, which he undoubtedly spoke, and used in every way, much better than French. It is self-evident that a man who has been driven in a close carriage through the streets of a city, cannot direct another regarding them, so well as one who has made his way on foot, with map in hand. The fact that a person who has acquired any knowledge without being obliged to give any thought

to the process, cannot impart that knowledge so well as one who has followed the steps, is always a great drawback to the effective teaching of a language by those to whom it is the mother-tongue. This drawback can be overcome only by long practice in actual teaching; and during the process the pupils must inevitably suffer. It is these difficulties of adjustment which have brought about, through the extensive employment of foreigners to teach their languages in our schools, the unsatisfactory conditions as to the pace of work to which I referred last year, and it is largely the increase in the employment of those who are Americans by education at least, which is leading to an improvement in this respect. The matter is after all a question of individuals, and a good deal might be said on the text that a man who is good for anything is likely to find employment at home, and so the men we are likely to get to teach in our schools are of a better grade if they are of home production.

It seems on the whole then to be a reasonable demand that our modern language teachers shall have received their general education in our country, or at least enough of it to be thoroughly in touch with our institutions and with the spirit of our students, and to have an unhampered use of the English language.

For an American to acquire a thorough practical knowledge of a foreign language, only one course is adequate. He must live a considerable time in the country where it is spoken. There is no possible substitute which will accomplish his object. Any attempt to create a French or German atmosphere in this country is pretty sure to be a failure. Take into consideration only the relatively unimportant matter of pronunciation; however perfect a pronunciation a foreigner may bring to this country, a very few years' residence here will almost invariably give it an English shading, which becomes stronger the more he speaks English, and the more he uses his own language among those who speak it with an English accent.¹ In a circle made up of these two classes of people, it is perfectly possible for an American to acquire a startling fluency in a sort of French "after the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe," which no Frenchman can understand unless (like most Paris shopkeepers) he knows English pretty well, and which years of residence in Paris will never correct. The phonetic facts of the pronunciation of a foreign language are never thoroughly understood until one has lived among those who speak that language and no other. The same relation of things holds in regard to the use of words and idioms; differences in social life, differences in the material conditions of things, which

¹A case in point is that of two ladies, both college graduates, who "spoke French very well." They went to hear a lecture by M. Coquelin, when he was in this country. As they came out, one was heard to say "How much of it could you understand?" "Isn't it funny," said the other, "I can understand Professor ——'s lectures on French Literature *perfectly*, but I didn't understand a *single thing* to-day."

cause words to connote different ideas from the words used to render them, cannot be thoroughly felt, and a teacher cannot be sure of his ground in dealing with them, till he has lived among both sets of the conditions which determine these differences. No man is master of a language until he can think in it, and no one really thinks in a language unless he has lived a fair length of time where it is the recognized medium of thought.

On higher ground, too, this matter is important. The modern language teacher is just now in this country, almost above all other members of his profession, the apostle of tolerance and the foe of narrowness in all its shapes, religious, political, and social. I need only to touch this point to remind any one who has lived abroad of the inevitable logic of circumstances which brings this about. Take the most proper boarding-school mistress, and the most argument-proof teacher from a sectarian Western college, who have acquired their French and German from the most carefully expurgated editions, and taught accordingly—let them go abroad and have every means to follow out the nearest desire of their hearts; let her spend her whole time in Paris and divide it between her American friends and the shops, seeing as little of those horrid Frenchmen as possible, and come home with twelve trunks full of gowns, and let him spend his in a carefully selected German-American *pension* in a university town, divide it between his landlady's daughters and the lecture-rooms, and come home with a long beard and a Ph. D.—and yet both of them, in spite of themselves, even if they still uphold their early principles that the theatre is on the straight road to perdition, and that beer is a deadly poison, will have acquired a new and a broader view of human life, and their pupils will get good from the change. And if you send over a young man of good parts, with an honest purpose to see all the sides of life he can, and sufficient culture already in stock to interpret what he sees, he will come home with convictions which make him, for the rest of his life, at least a silent force opposed to sectarian intolerance, "spread-eagle" politics, and Philistinism in every form.

It seems to me that this matter of residence abroad is as important for us as is laboratory work for a chemist, or dissection for a physician. There is no valid reason why it should not be considered a part of the preparation in the teacher's case as essential as the practical work in the other cases, and insisted on as such by those who employ teachers.

I have already hinted at the fact that living in a country and studying practically the language and life of the people is by no means the same thing as living there and devoting one's self to scientific study. In fact the two things are more or less antagonistic. The more a person sees of the various sides of life in a foreign country, the less time he has in which to shut himself up with his books, and *vice versa*. The conscientious American student is rather prone to make the mistake of giving relatively too much time to his books, and thereby missing the stimulus of intellectual fellowship, which is so great an element in European universities, but which our students cannot avail themselves of unless they reduce the book study

for the first semester to a minimum, and devote themselves to getting *en rapport* with the social side of life and the language as a practical matter. After a student has done this, and not till then, he is ready to say whether it is better for him to make his special studies abroad or at home. In most cases it will be found that it makes surprisingly little difference. There are on both sides of the water competent professors and ample libraries;¹ the work to be done by the student is largely the same wherever he is, and it is generally a question chiefly of individual instruction and the accessibility of material. In general, the Germans excel in thoroughness, and the Americans in economy of work. The student learns in Germany to shrink from no amount of work that is necessary to get to the bottom of a matter, and learns in America to eliminate intelligently that which is unnecessary. Both habits are valuable, and study in both countries is valuable for the purpose of forming both habits. An American, however, who goes to Germany without sufficient maturity and individuality to steer his own course, is very liable to fall under the influence of German methods of work to such an extent as to put him under a disadvantage when he comes back to work under American conditions.

A thorough and safe course would be somewhat as follows: Let a student, having given due attention to the modern languages as an undergraduate, go to Berlin or Paris and spend a year as much as possible among the people and away from other Americans, reading newspapers more than text-books, but hearing lectures and cultivating the society of the native students, and learning how things are done at the university. Then let him come home and take a thorough course in his subject at a good American university for a year or two, and finally go back and prepare his thesis under a German professor, or do some original work of a scholarly kind, and at the same time put the final touches on his practical knowledge of the language he is to teach.

Such a course would cover the essential points which I have emphasized, as far as any course of study can do it. Of course after all, teachers are born and not made, and the talent for imparting knowledge must be assumed at the outset. There is no way to prove its possession except a record of successful teaching. A bachelor's degree from a reputable American institution is some guarantee of a proper amount of general culture, and of an adequate knowledge of English, while such a course of foreign study as I have indicated answers for a scientific and practical knowledge of the language to be taught.

It seems to me that the time has now come when those who employ modern-language teachers may insist upon the thoroughness of preparation

¹ As things are now organized in Europe, there are better opportunities there for students of the Germanic than of the Romance languages, and it is therefore entirely natural that more graduate students are found at American universities in the latter subject than in the former.

which I have outlined, and on the other hand that teachers may insist upon such compensation as makes it worth while to attain such preparation.

Professor H. C. G. Brandt offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America unite with the Philological Society of England and with the American Philological Association in recommending the joint rules for amended spelling and the alphabetical list of amended words published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* and in the *Century Dictionary*.

The resolution was discussed by Professors J. W. Bright, F. A. March, A. N. Brown, J. E. Matzke, H. E. Greene, H. C. G. von Jagemann, E. H. Magill and J. W. Pearce.

It being understood that the resolution meant no more than an approval of the efforts being made towards an ultimate revision of present English spelling, the resolution was adopted.

16. A Study of the Middle English Poem, *The Pystal of Susan*; its MSS., Dialect, Authorship and Style: Introductory to a collated Text and Glossary. By Dr. T. P. Harrison, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The work on this poem is preparatory to editing a critical text of it, which as yet has never been published. The three MSS. in which the poem is found were first discussed, from which, supported by other conditions, the date of composition of the poem was placed in the latter half of the fourteenth century. The subject of the poem is the apocryphal story of Susanna and the Elders, based not upon the Septuagint, but, as was shown, upon the version of Theodotion, with certain original additions by the author.

In discussing the question of authorship, the article by Trautmann in *Anglia*, I, was considered. The result reached in that article that Huchown, mentioned by Andrew of Wynton, was the author of the *Pystal of Susan* was adopted, as was also that ascribing to the same author the *Morte Arthure*. All other poems that have been ascribed to Huchown were excluded. Arguments showing remarkable coincidences between Huchown and Sir Hugh Eglinton, tending to establish the identity of the two persons, were given.

The dialect in which the poem was originally written, although much obscured by copying, was considered to be that of the far north. This is shown in words and forms preserved by the rime and occasionally in

other parts of the poem. The form of the poem was found to be a combination of old English traditions with certain French elements, especially in the structure of the stanza. The entire poem is an interesting example of a transition period in the literature. Though not able to break away altogether from the fetters of medieval tradition, the new beauties of the later literature—the dawn of the renaissance, as it were—are beginning to shine forth in the work of this author.

This paper was discussed by Professor J. B. Henneman.

17. Irregular Forms of the Possessive Pronouns in Italian.
By Mr. L. Emil Menger, of the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor J. E. Matzke :

The whole problem which, perhaps, was not stated as clearly as it might have been, is simply this. Any one who opens the life of the celebrated sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, and reads along on any page, soon becomes impressed with the many curious nominative plurals of the possessive pronouns *mia, tua*, etc., which are used with a great degree of frequency. The problem is, How are these to be explained? Benvenuto Cellini represents, as far as his language is concerned, the Florentine dialect of the beginning of the 16th century. The explanation, of course, can be attempted in several ways,—phonetically, analogically, morphologically. The only good phonetic explanation is the one referred to by Mr. Menger, which has been given by Meyer-Lübke in his Italian grammar. According to this scholar *mia* derives from Latin *mei* in a similar way as popular Tuscan *lia* goes back to the regular *lei*; and he distinctly affirms the process to have been phonetic.

I can conceive of no phonetic development by which this change could have taken place. Mr. Menger justly asks the question, If *ei* becomes *ia* according to phonetic law, why did not every other *ei* become *ia* in Tuscan speech? The suggestion which Mr. Menger makes that possibly the first sound of the word, which is *l* in this case, may have had something to do with the raising of the vowel *e* to *i*, I think is well taken. The fact remains that there is only this one word where *ei* actually becomes *ia*. In one place where he has found it, it is spelled *glia* and actually shows a palatal *l*. Whether that explains the whole development of *lei* to *lia*, or not, I would not affirm. If true, the final vowel *a* might be explained as due to that tendency of Tuscan speech, mentioned by D'Ovidio in *Arch. Glott.*, Vol. IX, which favors an *a* at the end of the word.

A phonetic explanation not being probable, we next look for an analogical explanation, and there we find only one—that of the feminine singular. Mr. Menger shows that this also is not probable. This feminine singular is by no means the form most frequently used. The discussion of Mr.

Menger is most interesting. It leads the question back to the most simple explanation of the whole problem, namely: that it is a simple continuation, in that under current of popular speech, of the Latin neuter plurals. These have lived on in the Italian language to the present day, and have cropped out in literature at various times.

They have evidently lived on rightfully with nouns that are also preserved in their neuter plural forms, as *braccia*, *dita*, *ginocchia*, *labbra*. One of the oldest examples of *mia* happens to be in connection with *braccia* (*le mia braccia*, in Dante), an occurrence which goes far to prove the truth of Mr. Menger's position. Thus established, the use of the neuter plural forms grows to be a mannerism with certain writers, until we come to the 16th century. Then the literary language becomes fixed, the laws of grammar become established, and *mia* disappears from the literary speech, but lives on in the popular speech.

I think the paper of Mr. Menger is valuable in giving a reasonable solution of a problem which had been complicated by supposing it to be phonetic, when it was really nothing but a mere growth of existing Latin forms.

18. J. G. Schottel's Influence on the Development of the Modern German *Schriftsprache*. By Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, of Harvard University.

This paper was discussed by Professors J. E. Matzke, A. Gudeman, A. M. Elliott, and H. Schönfeld.

Dr. J. W. Pearce then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Association be extended to the President and the Board of Trustees of the Columbian University for the generous entertainment of this convention, and

Resolved, That this Association return its thanks to Professor A. Melville Bell, President of the Phonetic Section, for the pleasant Reception given to the members of this Association, at his residence, on Thursday evening.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Association then adjourned.

EXTRA SESSION.

THE ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Thursday, July 13, 1893.

In accordance with the decision adopted December 30, 1893 (*supra*, p. xxxvii), the Association convened in Extra Session under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.

MORNING SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 9.30 o'clock by President Francis A. March.

The Secretary, James W. Bright, made a brief statement of the purpose of the meeting, and then the reading of papers was begun.

Fifty-six members were present.

1. The Language of the Sciences, and a Universal Language. By President Francis A. March.

During the reading of this paper Dr. C. P. G. Scott presided.

The paper was discussed by Professors J. M. Garnett, C. P. G. Scott, Gustaf E. Karsten, George Hempl, H. C. G. Brandt and A. Gudeman.

2. The Psychological Basis of Phonetic Law and Analogy. By Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, of the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

The discussion was opened by Professor H. C. G. Brandt, and continued by Professors George Hempl, Stephan Waetzoldt, A. H. Tolman and J. W. Bright.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President called the Association to order at 3 o'clock.

3. On the Source of the Italian and English Idioms Meaning "To Take Time by the Forelock," with Special Reference to Bojardo's "Orlando Innamorato," Bk. ii. Cantos 7-9. By Professor John E. Matzke, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.

In the absence of its author, this paper was read by Professor A. Gudeman.

Dr. Karl Pietsch, of the Newberry Library :

The verse

"Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva"

is taken from the collection of the so-called *Catonis disticha*. From the popularity, during the middle ages, of this collection I should conclude that the allegory of Lysippus was never forgotten after Ausonius.

Professor James W. Bright :

It is interesting to notice the free handling of the expression 'to take time by the forelock' in Shakespeare :

Let's take the instant by the forward top.—*All's Well*, V, 3.

To take the safest occasion by the front.—*Othello*, III, 1.

The novel, *Giletta of Narbonne* (= *Giorn*, iii, 9), on which *All's Well* is based was obtained from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. The English version furnishes no instance of the expression in question. No less characteristic is the touch of Tennyson in the lines :

And statesmen at her council met

Who knew the seasons when to take

Occasion by the hand, and make

The bounds of freedom wider yet.—*To the Queen*.

Dr. Stephan Waetzoldt, Professor at the University of Berlin, and *General-Kommissar der Deutschen Unterrichtsausstellung*, then addressed the Association on the scope and significance of the German Educational Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition.

The following additional papers announced on the programme were not read, the attendance of the authors having been unexpectedly prevented :

4. German Philology in America. By Professor M. D. Learned, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

5. Pedagogical Questions in Germany. By Professor Emil Hausknecht, of the Victoria Lyceum, Berlin, Germany.

6. A Survey of the Teaching of English Literature in America. By Professor Charles W. Kent, of the University of Virginia.

7. On the Training of College and University Professors. By Professor A. Rambeau, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The Secretary reported that the Executive Council had elected the following eminent Modern Language scholars of Europe to Honorary Membership in this Association.

K. von Bader, University of Leipsic.

Alois L. Brandl, University of Strassburg.

Henry Bradley, London.

W. Braune, University of Heidelberg.

Wendelin Förster, University of Bonn.

Gustav Gröber, University of Strassburg.

R. Hildebrand, University of Leipsic.

Fr. Kluge, University of Freiburg.

Eugen Kölbing, University of Breslau.

Paul Meyer, Collège de France.

James A. H. Murray, Oxford.

Arthur Napier, University of Oxford.

Fritz Neumann, University of Heidelberg.

Adolf Noreen, University of Upsala.

Gaston Paris, Collège de France.

H. Paul, University of Munich.

F. York Powell, University of Oxford.

Pio Rajna, Florence.

J. Schipper, University of Vienna.

H. Schuchart, University of Graz.
Eduard Sievers, University of Leipsic.
W. W. Skeat, University of Cambridge.
Johann Storm, University of Christiania.
H. Suchier, University of Halle.
Henry Sweet, Reigate, England.
Adolf Tobler, University of Berlin.
Rich. Paul Wülker, University of Leipsic.
Julius Zupitza, University of Berlin.

On motion of Professor H. C. G. Brandt this election was confirmed by a unanimous vote of the convention.

The Association then adjourned to meet in Regular Session at Washington, D. C., in the month of December.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

*Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention,
December 30, 1886:*

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.
 2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.
 3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.
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