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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Modern Language Association

OF

AMERICA

EDITED BY

JAMES W. BRIGHT

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XII

NEW SERIES, VOL. V

324099
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BALTIMORE

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION

PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & COMPANY

1897

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PUBLICATIONS
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MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1897.

VOL. XII, 1.

NEW SERIES, VOL. V, 1.

I.—KING PONTIUS AND THE FAIR SIDONE.

PREFACE.

Apology will scarcely be necessary for printing an inedited English version of the story of King Horn, and, while the present chivalresque dilution of *Horn et Rimel* adds practically nothing to the general history of the legend, *Ponthus* has claims of its own to the attention of students of fifteenth century English. It was impossible for me to edit the French original; the reasonable limitations of publication in this Society's annual volume, forbade the reprinting of my transcript of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1511; my edition then assumes logically the modest proportions of an accurate reprint of the earliest and most interesting version of the English *Ponthus*, that of the Oxford ms. Digby 185. Where emendation appeared absolutely necessary, I have used my transcripts of the French original, ms. Royal 15, e. vi of the British Museum, and Wynkyn de Worde's print. I must crave indulgence for the inadequate study of this popular

romance in its manifold versions offered in the introduction. Only the spare time of a summer in England, chiefly devoted to the mechanical work of transcription, was available for this purpose. The actual writing was of necessity done with only the scanty resources of my own books and those of a small library. Where practically nothing has been done, my notes may at least be of service to some more favored investigator. I could easily have trebled the amount of annotation by treating the portions of *Ponthus* which are derived directly from *Horn et Rimel*, but this is, I believe, properly the work of the future editor of the Old French poem. I have gathered the important or difficult proper names into an alphabetical index. The few words that the professional student of English might wish to have explained, or the lexicographer, recorded, I have thrown into a glossary at the end of the introduction.

The pleasant duty remains of thanking those who have helped me in the preparation of this edition. The officers and attendants of the British Museum MS. room, of the Cambridge University Library, and of the Bodleian Library, extended to me all possible courteous assistance. Mr. George Parker, of the last-named library, did me a peculiar favor in early bringing to my attention the Digby MS., unrecorded in the scanty bibliography of *Ponthus*. Dr. J. W. Bright of Johns Hopkins University has helped me materially in seeing the text through the press; Dr. W. H. Schofield contributed the entire section on the Scandinavian rímur; and Dr. J. D. Bruce of Bryn Mawr sent me many suggestions, utilized in the introduction and notes, from the proof sheets. To all these, my most cordial thanks. May it some time fall my chance to show them, in Ponthus' words, that "thēr be noo curtesie doon to a good hert bot that it is yolden agane."

F. J. M., JR.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE FRENCH PONTIUS.

ORIGIN, DATE, RELATION TO HORN ET RIMEL.

Just as the story of Melusine was written to glorify the family of Lusignan so the romance of Ponthus was written in honor of a member of the famous Tour Landry family of Anjou. Montaiglon, in the introduction to his edition of *Le Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry*¹ (Paris, 1854), has collected the little that is known of the Ponthus de La Tour, for whom our romance was named. The famous knight Geoffroy de La Tour Landry left a son, Geoffroy, who died, leaving his widow in possession of the family estates. Her second husband, Charles, assumed the name of La Tour and thus became head of the family. Their second son was our Ponthus.

In 1424, this Ponthus gave tithes of his estates at Cornouaille, to the convent of St. John the Evangelist at Angers. The 21 Mar., 1431, he was a sponsor (*ôtage*) at the wedding of the Count of Montfort and Yolande, daughter of the queen of Sicily. He appears to have been present at the battle of Formigrey in 1450. It concerns us immediately only to know that his activity covered the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and that in this quarter-century, in any case, some years before 1445, the probable date of the Royal MS., the French *Ponthus* was written.

Montaiglon (Intr., p. xxij f.) continues:—Il est aussi bien a croire que c'est lui qui a fait écrire par quelque clerc le roman

¹ Wright, in his ed. of *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* (E. E. T. S., No. 33, Intr., pp. viii ff.), summarizes Montaiglon's study, but fails to make the genealogy of Ponthus of Tour-Landry sufficiently clear.

de chevalerie de Ponthus, fils du roi de Galice, et de la belle Sidoine, fille du roi de Bretagne, souvent réimprimé; c'était un moyen de populariser l'illustration de la famille et d'en faire reculer très loin l'ancienneté,—Bourdigné, comme on l'a vu, s'y est laissé prendre,—que de la mettre au milieu d'une action à la fois romanesque et à demi historique. Les La Tour Landry, ont voulu avoir leur roman, comme les Lusignan avoient Mélusine. Nous n'avoir pas à entrer dans le détail de ce très pauvre roman, qui se passe en Galice, en Bretagne et Angleterre, ni à suivre les péripéties des amours de Ponthus et de Sidoine, traversées par les fourberies du traître Guennelet et enfin couronnées par une mariage. Ce qu'il nous importe de signaler c'est la certitude de l'origine de ce roman. Le héros de l'histoire porte le nom fort particulier¹ d'un des membres de la famille, et, parmi ses compagnons, se voit toujours au premier rang Landry de La Tour. Tous les noms propres sont de ce côté de la France; ce sont: Geoffroy de Lusignan, le sire de Laval, d'Oucelles et de Sillié, Guillaume et Bernard de la Roche, le sire de Doé, Girard de Chasteau Gaultier, Jean de Malevrier. Les quelques noms de localités françaises concourent aussi à la même preuve: c'est à Vannes que se fait le grand tournoi, et, quand l'armée se réunit, c'est à la tour d'Orbondelles, près de Tallemont; or Talmont est un bourg de Vendée (Poitou) situé à 13 kil. des Sables. Un passage donneroit peut-être la date exacte de la composition du Roman, c'est lorsque pour réunir une armée contre les Sarrasins, on écrit à la comtesse d'Anjou: car, dit le romancier, le comte étoit mort, et son fils n'avoit que dix ans.² Mais c'est trop long-temps m'arrêter à ce dire, qu'il étoit pourtant nécessaire de signaler.

Strangely enough, as M. Paul Meyer remarks (*Romania*, xv, p. 275), those who have treated the King Horn story

¹The name was I fancy not excessively rare, though I recall at present only Pontus de Thiard, a somewhat obscure luminary of the Pleiade.

²Probably a mere pseudo-realistic touch of the romancer. The only Duke of Anjou who at all fits the case, Louis I, claimant of the throne of Naples, died 1384. His eldest son Louis II was ten years old in 1387. But our romance could hardly have been written so early. Unfortunately we are ignorant of the date of the historic Ponthus' birth. A theory that the romance might have been written in 1387, when Ponthus was a child, for his training,—within a few years too of the writing of the prose *Mélusine* and perhaps in rivalry with it,—would be alluring rather than plausible.

have failed to note Montaiglon's very satisfactory theory of the origin of the romance of Ponthus. M. Montaiglon in his turn was apparently ignorant of the fact, known since the third ed. of Warton's *Hist.* that *Ponthus* is merely a *rifacimento* of the story of King Horn, more definitely of the Anglo-Norman *Horn et Rimel*.¹ That is, the romancer spared himself the responsibility and labor of invention by accepting as a whole the plot of the forgotten *roman d'aventure*, reshaping it on the lines of a book of courtesy, amplifying and adding details from his own invention and knowledge of the early prose romances, localizing most of the scenes in the provinces most familiar to his patron, Ponthus of La Tour Landry, and introducing incidentally many names of the local nobility.

I have endeavored to show concisely in the following pages the measure in which *Ponthus* (P) departs from its original *Horn et Rimel* (HR) by omission and by amplification. For practical reasons the references to P are made to this edition of the English *Ponthus*, which represents faithfully the story of the French version, rather than to my transcript of the French MS. of the British Museum (Royal 15, E. vi).

THE DEATH OF KING TIBER (THIBOR) AND THE ESCAPE OF PONTIUS (P, pp. 1-9, HR, ll. 1-114).

HR starts *in medias res* with the finding of Horn and his fifteen (13 in P) fellows in a garden by the African Malbroin. Master Thomas has already told

Cum li bers Aaluf est uenuz a sa fin.

It is possible that the early pages of P, the sultan of Babylon² and his three sons, the taking of Corunna³ (Colloigne)

¹ Edited by Fr. Michel for the Bannantyne Club, Paris, 1845. I cite the convenient reprint of the MSS. by Brede and Stengel, Marburg, 1885 (Aus. u. Abhand, No. VIII).

² A prominent figure in the prose romances, as in the later Charlemagne romances, *Paris and Vienne* Roxb Libr., p. 72, etc. There is a M. E. romance with this title (E. E. T. S., No. 38).

³ For variant spellings see index of proper names. Wynkyn de Worde's print shows in the first chapter-heading and in the first chapter *Croyne* the usual English equivalent of Corunna.

by a strategem, etc., may preserve the outlines of this last poem of Thomas.¹ This could hardly be proved in any case, while it appears more likely that the romancer merely wished to give the three Saracen brothers a motive for their invasions, which in HR the five African brothers of the sultan of Persia, have nowhere expressed for them. The character of Sir Denis (p. 3, l. 25, Dampdenis), the priest, who hides the children and of Sir Patrick, the pretended Saracen, who saves them, are not in HR. In HR an *alchaie sur mer* advises the king Rodmund (the Brodas of P) to set the children adrift in a cranky ship, without sail or rudder: this is done in fact,—in P merely in appearance. The agreement of Sir Patrick and the Earl of Asturias (Destrué, pp. 6–8) to save the country by feigning the Saracen religion, thereby becoming Brodas' lieutenants, is not in HR.

Minor differences are that in P Pontius conceals his identity from the king, in HR Horn reveals it boldly, while the premonitory dream of the king that Pontius in a lion's form² slew him (p. 6) is peculiar to P.

PONTIUS IN BRITANNY.—HIS MEETING WITH SIDONE (P, pp. 9–18; HR, ll. 115–1301).

The two versions show only insignificant differences. Herlant, the seneschal of king Hunlaf of Brittany (P. Huguell, R. Haguell?), is the single name common to the two. P mentions and describes briefly the princess Sidone when her father is first mentioned (p. 9), HR reserves the princess Rigmel till the love plot begins to open (l. 405 ff.). The insistence upon Pontius' piety (p. 11) is as usual only in P. Horn chooses to have his fellow Haderof educated with him under Herlant

¹ Horn's statement, l. 278 f.:

*Mis peres ifud pris par sa ruiste fierte
Ki atendre ne uout ke uenist sa barne,*

points to a beginning like that of the English *King Horn*.

² See Mentz, E, *Die Träume in den Altfr., Karls- und Artus-epen*, Marburg, 1888; Ausg. u. Abhand, LXXIII, p. 53 ff., for a collection of similar lion dreams.

(l. 361 ff.). Pollides is educated separately by the Lord of Laval. In HR (ll. 588 ff.) Rigmel gives gift upon gift to Herlant, Sidone is content to give him a palfrey, reserving her gift of a cup (p. 17) till he has actually brought Ponthus; furthermore Rigmel (ll. 758 ff.) follows up the tardy Herlant with reminders from Herselote, her maid, that he is to bring Horn at once. The incident is absent from P. The action of Herland in substituting Pollides for Ponthus (p. 13) is left without expressed motive in P, in HR he explains (l. 693 f.).

Qui merrai Haderof, par laparceiument
 Quel semblant el li fra a cest asseblement.

Godswip, Rigmel's nurse, first recognizes Haderof in HR (l. 852 f.). Pollides in P declares himself promptly. Herselote, who has seen Horn at the feast, describes his beauty elaborately to Rigmel (ll. 950 ff.), Eloix (Ellious), Sidone's maid, uses a similar description as she sees from the window Ponthus coming. Sidone gives Ponthus a diamond ring at their first meeting (p. 17), Rigmel shows Horn this mark of favor only after his notable service in battle (l. 1790 ff.). These slight differences are only worth recording to show the freedom of the romancer's handling of his original. In a general way the descriptions of Ponthus' beauty, accomplishments and virtues are expanded in the manner of books of courtesy, while our author protests unnecessarily (p. 17) the innocence of the love of Ponthus and Sidone.

THE FIGHT WITH THE SARACEN MESSENGER AND THE DEFEAT OF THE INVADING SARACENS (P, pp. 18-32; HR, ll. 1302-1722).

Carodas, brother of the slayer of Ponthus father (in RH two kings, Eglolf and Gudolf, brothers of Rodmund), sends a messenger¹ (in HR Marmorin) to defy king Huguell. Horn, having slain the challenger (l. 1541 ff.), presents the Saracen's head to Hunlaf as a trophy, Ponthus (p. 21) sends it back to

¹ The insolent Saracen messenger is a typical figure in the Charlemagne romances. Examples are hardly necessary.

Carodas by the two Saracen squires with a message of defiance. Immediately after the single combat Horn is appointed constable of Brittany (l. 1547 f.), Pontius only after the general engagement (p. 37). Rigmel only hears of the duel after it is finished, then she gives Horn a pennon to bear in the battle (l. 1579 f.), Sidone gives Pontius "a kerchef to beſ on his spere" (p. 20) before the duel. Pontius rescues the king of Brittany, who is unhorsed (p. 27 f.), but Horn, only Herland the seneschal (l. 1691 ff.).

The considerable elaboration of the course of the battle in P, as compared with HR where Horn and Haderof are the only prominent figures, was due to the romancer's desire to use prominently as many names of his French nobles as possible (see especially p. 24 and pp. 28-30).

PONTIUS CONSTABLE (pp. 32-34). THE FIRST TREASON OF GUENELETE (pp. 34-39). THE YEARS JOUSTING IN THE FOREST OF BROCELIANDE (pp. 40-59). THE GREAT TOURNAMENT AT VANNES (pp. 59-61).

Except the election as constable, which HR uses earlier, this entire chapter rests upon the romancer's invention and borrowings, in part easily identified, from other romances.

In HR Horn chastises the rebellious count of Anjou for king Hunlaf and makes all the king's subjects and neighbors fear him (ll. 1737-1749). Rigmel praises him and gives him a ring (l. 1790 ff.). None of this in P. Only Guenelete's motive for slandering Pontius is borrowed from HR—that Pontius refuses him the horse, Liard,¹ Sidone's present. In HR Wikel asks for Horn's *blanc cheval*, the gift of Herland, which Horn had already given to Haderof (l. 1850 f.). This scene in HR occurs just before Wikel slanders Horn to the king. The writer of P uses it to introduce this first treason of Guenelete, his own invention.

¹ The common name of a grey horse. Used of Herlant's horse (HR, l. 1696), in *Richard Coer de Lion* (Webber), 2320, in *Ipomedon A* (Kölbing), 3892, 3911.

There are certain obvious borrowings in P. The *Fontaine des Merveilles* in the forest of Broceliande (Breşelyn, p. 44) is the *Fontaine Perilleuse* of *Yvain* (Foerster, l. 380 ff.), but our author is more likely to have taken it from the prose *Tristan* (Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891; 82^e fasc. de la bilb. de l'École de Hautes Études, p. 248). It is there Tristan, who, by pouring water of the well on the stone, arouses the knight of the tour. In P the incident is mere stage-setting.

The not uninteresting mummery for choosing the contestants by shooting at their shields (pp. 41-43) is probably borrowed, but I have been unable to trace the source. In the prose *Tristan* (Löseth, p. 321) the knight of the *Tour du pin rond* hangs his shield on a pine and jousts with all who will strike it, but this is scarcely parallel.

Again these detailed single combats and elaborate tournaments give the romancer the opportunity of bringing into prominence his chief minor characters, Landry de La Tour, Bernard de La Roche, Geoffrey de Lusignan,¹ etc.

GUENELETE'S SECOND TREASON. PONTIUS ACCUSED TO THE KING (P, pp. 63-69; HR, ll. 1818-2135).

Wikel's pretence of quarreling with Horn about the *blanc cheval* has been already used by P as the motive of Guenelete's first treason (p. 34). Envy is this time the motive.

Wikel in addition to charging Horn with Rigmel's dishonor,—the sole accusation in P,—makes him plot with her against the king (l. 1893 ff.).

The versions correspond very closely in Horn's words with the king and his refusal to swear (l. 1940 ff.), as in the entire section, but Horn sees the king once more after leaving Rigmel and reaffirms his innocence (l. 2071 ff.), and Rigmel exchanges rings with Horn (l. 2051 ff.), giving him a sapphire ring that will protect him from fire, water and

¹ This is the name of the famous hero of the Great Tooth, the sixth son of Mélusine. See the index of *Mélusine*, E. E. T. S., Ext. S. 68.

battle. In P Pontus receives a ring, which has no talismanic properties, only at his first meeting with Sidone (P, 17).

PONTIUS IN ENGLAND (P, pp. 70-96; HR, ll. 2136-3681).

Horn assumes the name of Gudmod (l. 2160) on arriving in Ireland (Westir), Pontus in England that of Le Surdit de Droite Voie,¹—that is, *the accused one* who sought in vain the *straight path* of vindication by combat.²

The incident of the boar (P, p. 70) is not in HR. There Guffer and Egfer, sons of king Gudreche of Ireland have an agreement that the first two foreign knights arriving shall enter the service of Guffer, the elder, the third, that of Egfer (l. 2206 ff.). Riding together they meet Gudmod (Horn), who represents himself as the son of a vavasour; both desire his service, but it is Egfer's turn.

Gudreche, the king of Ireland, knew Allof, Horn's father, and Horn, when a child; he immediately marks Gudmod's likeness to Horn. Lenburc and Sudburc, daughters of the king, are immediately attracted to Gudmod. Lenburc, the elder, sends him a golden cup from which she has drunk, bidding him drink the rest and keep the cup (l. 2399 ff.). Horn reproves her and refuses the gift. Lenburc, still insistent, receives no encouragement. P omits all this except the general statement that the king's daughters loved Surdit (Pontus) and goes on to the stone-casting (p. 72; HR, l. 2567 ff.).

Eglof, a vassal, outdid both the king's sons—in P, only Henry—in casting the stone. Implored by his master Egfer,

¹ Prince Philip of France, having relinquished his heirship to fight against the Great Turk, calls himself *Le Desperveu* (*Three Kings' Sons*, E. E. T. Soc., Extra S., No. 67, p. 9). Iolanthe, feeling the name to be inappropriate, calls him *Le Surnome* (p. 36). Later the king of Sicily rechristens him *Le Nounpareil* (p. 55). *Noms de guerre* are common enough in all romances, but they seldom have any especial signification.

²As explained in the Royal ms. *Quant le roy ouyst quil [Pontus] se nommoit ainsi. Si pensa que cestoit pour ce quil lui auoit mis sur quil amoit sa fille [Sidone]. Le seurnom, pour ce quil lui auoit refuse droicte voye, pour ce qui se vouloit combatre contre deux ou trois* (cf. p. 104, l. 18 of this text).

Gudmod without exertion equalled Eglof's boasted cast. Eglof casts a foot better. Again Gudmod equals his cast. Eglof, with a supreme effort, casts half a foot farther. Gudmod, conjured by his love,—the allusion is turned to his mother only in P,—outcasts him by seven feet (l. 2659 ff.). In all this P follows HR with the slightest changes.

The two brothers go with Gudmod to disport themselves (l. 2698 ff.) in Lenburc's chamber. A game of chess in which Gudmod beats Lenburc—omitted in P—is elaborately described in HR (ll. 2726–2772).

Lenburc takes her harp and sings half the lay—all she knows—which Baderof made to his sister Rigmel in Brittany. Gudmod finishes the lay with marvellous sweetness, so that Lenburc cries out :

Coe est Horn, cum ioe crei

(l. 2852),

and is with difficulty dissuaded. Wissman (*Anglia* iv, p. 394) has already pointed out that this incident is probably imitated from *Tristan*. In P, Surdit sings to Genever the lay which he himself made to Sidone—the princess recognizes it immediately. They all make Surdit repeat it to the king.

The whole episode of the war with the king of Iceland,—so in the Royal ms., in both English versions Ireland,—his capture by Ponthus, his marriage to the king's younger daughter by Ponthus' advice, is apparently original with the writer of P (pp. 76–82). P, on the other hand, entirely omits the single combat with Rollac, slayer of Horn's father,—though the long description in HR (ll. 3108–3210) may have yielded certain details for the fight with Carodas' messenger earlier (p. 20 f.),—and goes directly to the battle with Corbatan (Corboran) the sultan of Babylon's third son. In HR Hildebrant and Herebrant, brothers of the African invaders of England and Brittany, and of the *soudein de Perse, dan Gudbrant*, l. 3000, are the invading kings.

The battle in P (pp. 82–86) is little dependent upon HR. Hildebrant kills Guffer and is himself killed by Gudmod

(l. 3298 ff.); Herebrant (by mistake Hildebrant in both mss. Harleian corrects to Herebrant on the margin) wounds mortally Egfer, Gudmod's master, but falls himself at Gudmod's hand (ll. 3359-3405). HR (l. 3497 ff.) dwells effectively upon the scene between Gudmod and his dying master.

In HR it is the king of Orkney (l. 3574 ff.) who tries to arrange the marriage between Gudmod and Lenbure, in P the king of Scots (p. 87). In HR Gudmond feigns to be betrothed to the daughter of a vavasour in Brittany (l. 3663 ff.), in P he offers only the general excuse of his low birth.

GUENELETE AND THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.¹ OLIVER SEEKS PONTIUS IN ENGLAND (P, pp. 88-93; HR, ll. 3682-3917).

There is no change of scene to Brittany in HR. Only the barest details of Wikel's plot are told to Horn by Joceran, Herland's son, who appears as a palmer in the court and calls him by name. Modin (Modun), king of Fenie, represents the Duke of Burgundy of P.

All the details of Guenelete's treachery, except the deposition of Herlant, such as Sidone's gaining time by pleading sickness² (p. 90), and Oliver's falling among thieves (p. 91), are original with P. HR offers only the slight differences that Joceran has wandered three years in search of Horn (l. 3702), and that Lenbure, hearing of Horn's betrothal, will become a nun and leave him heir to the kingdom of Westir (ll. 3875 ff.).

PONTIUS' RETURN TO BRITANNY. DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. WEDDING OF SIDONE AND PONTIUS (P, pp. 93-106; HR, ll. 3918-4594).

¹The son of the Duc of Bourgoigne is Paris' chief rival with Vienne (*Paris and Vienne*, Roxb. Libr., p. 57, 62, etc.); Vienne's father imprisons her because she will not marry the Duke (p. 62); is a character of *Three Kings' Sons* (see index); his brother Guy (mentioned P, p. 105, l. 33) bears the name of the hero of a *chanson de geste* (*Gui de Bourgoigne*, ed. par Guesard et Michelant, Paris).

²Vienne, imprisoned, when her father attempts to force her into a marriage,—with her own lover disguised,—simulates a loathesome disease, by the unpleasant means specified on p. 85 of *Paris and Vienne*.

The chapter follows HR with few changes. In HR Horn first learns of the day and place of the wedding of king Modin from the palmer with whom he changes clothes (l. 3954 ff.). Horn's parable of the fisher to Modin and Wikel (l. 4046 ff.) is of course absent from P. The description of the custom of having thirteen poor men entertained at great feasts (p. 98) is not in HR. Horn merely pushes into the hall, having thrown the opposing porter under the bridge, with the press. He demands a drink of Rigmel (l. 4164 ff.) instead of waiting his turn. The pun on Horn (l. 4206 ff.) is necessarily absent from P. Rigmel knows Horn on the instant. Explanations then are made in the hall at the feast, not in the princess's chamber as in P (p. 99). She immediately offers to follow him in poverty, so the test questions of P (p. 99) are absent from the earlier version.

Horn tells Rigmel to persuade Modin to hold a tournament (l. 4323), in P it follows a wedding feast as a matter of course. Horn unhorses Modin in the tournament (l. 4479 ff.), then as Modin's people come to the rescue, blows his horn, summoning his concealed troops to capture Modin and take the town of Lions. In P the Duke of Burgundy, worsted by Ponthus, is precipitated into a pit by his unruly horse and killed (p. 102 f.). In HR Horn and Modin are reconciled (l. 4545 ff.), and Wikel pardoned for this treachery (l. 4565 ff.).

PONTHUS RECONQUERS GALICIA (P, pp. 106-119; HR, ll. 4595-4881).

There is a large loss of text in HR after l. 4594, so that the portion corresponding to the vow at the wedding feast (P, p. 108) and the invasion of Galicia, the finding of Sir Patrick and the Earl of Asturias at prayer in a chapel (p. 111), is missing. But at l. 4595, Hardre, formerly seneschal for king Allof, appears in the character of the Sir Patrick of P, deceiving the heathen king as to Horn's strength, and planning an ambush for the battle. Rodmund has dreamed that a wild boar gored his horse and wounded him mortally (HR, l. 4656 ff.), Brodas has dreamed that he became a wolf, and that a

greyhound, accompanied by a "brachet,"¹ pulled him down (P, p. 113).

The strategem by which the town is taken (P, 115) is not in HR. Horn delivers his friend Haderof from desperate straits, in killing Rodmund (l. 4782 f.) otherwise the battle in P follows HR in a general way, with greater elaboration as usual and provision for a larger number of characters.

PONTIUS RECOGNIZES HIS MOTHER (P, pp. 119-122; HR, ll. 4882-4967).

The scene of recognition so sympathetically described in HR as to lead Michel to the rash appreciation, *Si j'étois forcé de choisir entre cet épisode et celui de la reconnaissance d'Ulysse par Pénélope, je ne sais auquel je donnerois la préférence* (Intr., LXII), is somewhat amplified in P, but presented with equal delicacy of feeling. Slight changes in P are, first, the queen enters the banquet hall as one of the thirteen poor people to be fed in honor of God and his apostles (p. 119, cf. p. 98); second, the Earl of Asturias, her brother, recognizes the queen,— a character missing in HR, where Hardre first recognizes her. The scene (l. 4928 ff.) where Horn returning from the chase meets his mother disguised at the door, is only in HR.

GUENELETE'S FINAL TREASON² AND DEATH (P, pp. 122-140; HR, ll. 4968-5215).

Horn dreams that Wikel attempts to drown Rigmel (l. 4968 ff.). Pontius dreams that a bear devours Sidone³ (p. 122). All the details of Guenelete's treason differ from the simple account in HR (ll. 5040-5146). The king and his daughter, warned by Wothere, Wikel's brother, that Wikel intends to imprison them in his new castle and marry Rigmel,

¹ See Mentz, *Die Träume*, u. s. w., p. 61, but there are no close parallels.

² In Caxton's *Bianchardyn and Eglantyne* (E. E. T. S., Ext. S., No. 68, p. 172 ff.; p. 197 ff.) Subyon plays a part very similar to Guenelete's. Left in charge of Eglantyne, he corrupts the commons, tries to force her to marry him, and besieges her.

³ For bear dreams see Mentz, *Die Träume*, u. s. w., p. 56. Most like the present instance are those cited from *Berte aus grans piés*, l. 1678, and *Aye d'Avignon*, l. 2514.

defend the town, suffer hunger, and are forced to agree to a truce for fifteen days, and then to surrender, if Horn does not in the meantime return.

The elaborate description of Guenelete's forged letters, his corruption of the commons, Sidone's retreat to a tower, etc., is borrowed from Mordred's treachery in the *Morte d'Arthure*, usually appended to the prose *Lancelot*. The parallel is striking with the version represented by Füeterer's German *Lancelot* (Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins, No. 175, Tübingen, 1885, p. 348 f.). In this version Mordred, left in charge of the kingdom and the queen, wins over the people by great gifts, has a messenger bring a letter from Arthur, with word that he, lying at the point of death and all his people destroyed, makes Mordred king, and as a last request bids "Ginofer" marry Mordred. The queen doubts the letter, obtains four days' respite, in which time she shuts herself up in a tower, provisioned and garrisoned, to await rescue from Arthur and Lancelot. She upbraids Mordred for his ingratitude from a window as Sidone does Guenelete (p. 130 f.). Malory (Somner, p. 839) gives the same account with less detail.

Only in P (p. 133) Sidone dreams of her husband's coming.

The Earl of Richmond's journey to arrange the marriage of Genever and Pollides (P, p. 136 f.), and the details of the tournament (p. 138 ff.) are original with P.

PONTHUS' VISITS TO ENGLAND AND GALICIA (P, pp. 140-150; HR, ll. 5226-5250).

In the main P only amplifies tediously the score of lines in HR. Ponthus marries Genever to Pollides and reads him a homily (p. 145 ff.) on the duties of a prince, especially of one who has married above his station. Horn in Ireland has to provide for both princesses, Lenburc he marries to his former rival, Modin, Sudburc to Haderof, his companion, who, like Pollides, becomes heir to the kingdom. HR adds, Horn and Rigmel had a son Hadermod, who conquered Africa; Thomas could tell his story, but leaves it to his son Gilemot.

SUMMARY.

This tedious comparison shows :

(1) That P has used every essential element of the plot of HR, but has filled in the skeleton freely by invention, amplification, and occasional borrowings. I cannot find any clear instance where the French *Ponthus* has borrowed verbally from HR, but its general freedom of treatment makes a supposition that another version of the French *Horn* than HR was used gratuitous.

(2) P has definitely localized the story in Galicia,—instead of the Suddene (England) of HR, in Brittany,—in this agreeing with HR,—and in England, instead of Westir (Ireland). The Charlemagne romances may have caused the shifting of the early scenes of the romance to Spain, geographical proximity may have drawn the Irish episode of HR to England. All the geography of P is quite accurate, no more recondite reference than the index of Bædeker's *Northern France* is necessary to identify nine-tenths of the localities represented by the minor characters of the poem. All important proper names, those difficult of identification, or unidentified are collected in an alphabetical list at the end of the introduction. At times the scribe of the Digby MS. has bungled these proper names sadly ; the necessary corrections have been made usually in the alphabetical list rather than in the notes.

(3) The only really important additions of the romancer to the plot of HR are : (1) Guenelete's first treason and the resulting year's jousting in the forest of Broceliande with its sequel, the great tournament at Vannes (pp. 40-61); and (2) the episode of the king of Iceland (Ireland) (pp. 76-82).

(4) The amplifications of the motives of HR, are either in the way of bringing out more definitely and elaborately the courtesy of the hero, or, in battles, etc., those imposed upon the romancer by the necessity of providing parts for a great number of minor characters.

(5) There are demonstrable borrowings from the prose *Tristan*, and *Lancelot*. The names show that the romancer knew in a general way the legends of Arthur and of Charlemagne. Guenelete is clearly only a double diminutive of Guenes, the arch-traitor, Geneñ (Genever) is as clearly the name of Arthur's queen, king Hoël of Brittany may have suggested, not given, Huguell (a mere diminutive of the familiar Hugues). These parallels Mr. Ward (*Cat. of Romances*, vol. 1, p. 470) has already drawn. Beside these Carodas, son of the sultan of Babylon, gets his name from Carados of the Arthur legend (e. g. *The Prose Merlin*, E. E. T. S., vol. 36, p. 442, p. 594), while Fireague (Ferragu), a Saracen, who slays prince John of England, is apparently Ferragus, an insolent Saracen messenger familiar to the Charlemagne romances from the chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin to the English *Roland and Vernagu* (E. E. T. S., No. 39). It is probable that one more familiar than myself with the great mediaeval romances could supply many additional parallels, both in name and incident.

MSS. OF THE FRENCH PONTIUS.

I have examined only the three English MSS., of these the Cambridge MSS. only cursorily.

(1) Ms. Royal 15, E. VI, of the British Museum, which I cite constantly, from my transcript, as R, is a large folio in double columns, with many handsome miniatures. It was given to Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, presumably on the occasion of her marriage (1445), by the 1st Earl of Shrewsbury (died 1452). The description of this interesting volume of Romances in Ward's *Catalogue*, 1, p. 130, is so accessible that I pass it here. The romance of *Pontius* occupies ff. 207-226^b. Mr. Ward (p. 470) counts 47 chapters with rubrics, but no numbers—I count 48. There is, as usual, no title.

The first rubric begins :

Cy commence ung noble liure du Roy Pontus filz du Roy thibor de galice le quel Pontus fut sauue des mains des Sarrazins. Et de puis fist de beaulx faiz darmes comme vous pourres oyr cy a pres.

The romance begins :

Compter vous vueil vue noble hystoire Douz len pourroit assez de bien et dexemplaire aprendre, etc.

Ends :

Le roy Pontus et la royne vesquirent asses longuement et regnerent au plaisir de leur pays. Et puis trespasèrent Et moult furent moult [*sic*] regretes de tout le peuple Mais ainsi est de la vie mondaine. Car si beau sy bon sy riche, ne sy fort, nest que en la fin Ne conuienge laissier ce siecle
Explicit le liure du Roy Pontus.

The Royal ms. represents an earlier stage of the romance than either of the Cambridge MSS., with its absolute monotony of sentence structure,—endless *si's* and *et's* at the beginning of sentences, etc., but it shows also a version slightly condensed. All the long lists of names of knights are promptly cut off with an *et moult dautres*. In the closing chapters, corresponding to pp. 118–150 of the present text, R frequently condenses details more fully treated in all other versions, but never in a way to alter essentially the course of the story. This would render it inadvisable to make R the basis of an edition of the French *Ponthus*, in spite of its assured early date (between 1445 and 1452).

(2) ms. Hh, 3, 16 of the Cambridge University Library,—cited as H, fol. vellum, 82 leaves (originally 84),¹ written probably about the middle of the 15th cent. The ms. contained originally 88 leaves as follows, a single fol. (2 leaves) containing the rubrics of the chapters, ten gathers of four folios (8 leaves) each, a final gather of six leaves. Two leaves have been cut out, probably for miniatures they contained,—the second leaf of the third gather of eights, and the fifth leaf of

¹At the end in an old hand (17th cent. ?),
Sum Jacobi Morranti & amicorum.

the sixth gather of eights. The leaves are not numbered. The ms. in its present condition has 45 chapters with rubrics; it probably had at least two more. The chapter divisions are in the main those of R, but the chapter headings are quite different in form, occasional differences from the text of R appear to be revisions in the interest of varying the monotonous style of the original. H has always the full reading where R. condenses. It would undoubtedly, its two *lacunae* filled from R, be the best of the English MSS. to print.

3) ms. Ff., 3, 31 of the Cambridge University Library,—cited as F. Fol. paper, 15th cent. (probably late), ff. 33. This ms. is only remarkable for its geometrical capitals, and for a very dull prologue in octosyllabic couplets which M. Paul Meyer has printed with a brief description of the volume in *Romania*, xv, p. 275 ff. It is more minutely divided into chapters than the other MSS.,¹ in place of the usual chapter headings each capital at the head of the chapter contains a motto or verse bearing upon the subject of the chapter (Meyer, p. 276). The language is considerably revised and modernized.²

I find two MSS. registered for the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (see *Bibl. Imper. Man. Fran. Ancien Fonds*, Paris, 1868, Tom. I).

No. 1486, vellum, 14th Cent. (The date is, of course, impossible, but it should, at least, be an early ms. to get such a rating.) No. 1487, paper, dated 1462. I have no description of these MSS.

A romance so popular as the French *Ponthus* was must exist in many MS. copies. I have lacked the opportunity of searching further the catalogues of the great libraries.

¹ E. g. there are 47 divisions in the portion of text corresponding to the first 17 chapters of R.

²At the end of the MSS. are the following signatures of former owners,
John Dalton /1619/
William Townley of the parish of S.
Giles's in the Fields.

EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS.

Seven editions of the French romance within as many decades indicate the popularity of the book. Of these I have seen only the third, the others I cite summarily from Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1863), to which I refer the reader for exact bibliographical indications.

(1) Fol. 69 ff. without name, place or date, but published at Geneva, *circa* 1478.

(2) Fol. Lyon Guillaume Le Roy, *circa* 1480.

(3) Fol. Lyon Caspar Ortuin, *circa* 1500.

This is No. 177 of the Douce Coll. in the Bodleian Library.

The first (a), fifth (e), and tenth (i) gathers are fours (8 leaves), all the others, including the eleventh and last (l), are threes. There are then 72 leaves in all (Brunet reports 71 because the final leaf is blank). Ai (front) contains only the brief title, PONTIUS ET LA BELLE SIDOYNE. Ai (back) contains the first text,

¶ Cy commence une excellent histoire le quelle fait moult a noter/du tres-uaillant roy pontus filz du roy de galice et de la belle sidoyne/fille du roy de bretagne.

A large woodcut of a mounted knight with a hawk, and a maiden offering a carnation fills the rest of the page, and the romance proper begins on Aii (front),

Conter vous vueil, etc.

There are in the text thirty-six rude but occasionally spirited woodcuts. The text ends on the back of the unlettered leaf of fol. l. ii (leaf 71, back),

Puis finerent leur vie a grant regret de leurs pais.
Mais ainsi et [*sic*] il de la vie mondaine qui
nest si beau ne si riche ne si bon a qui au fort
ne conuienne laisser cest siecle et auoir fin.

Cy finist le tresexcellent romant du noble et
cheualeureux roy Pontus et de la tresbelle Si-
doyne fille du roy de bretagne imprime par
maistre caspar ortuin a lyon :

The final leaf is blank.

This version agrees very exactly in all H's grosser variants from R. In its chapter divisions, and in the form of the chapter headings it represents closely the original of Wynkyn de Worde's edition. We shall return to this point in the discussion of that version.

4) Quarto, double cols. Paris, Jean Trepperel, after 1500.
 5) Quarto, 58 ff. Paris, Michel Le Noir, *circa* 1520.
 5^a) " " " Alain Lotrian, without date,
 reported from the Royal Library at Stuttgart. Possibly the
 same impression as 5.

6) Quarto. Paris, Nic. Crestien, *circa* 1550.

7) Quarto. Paris, Jean Bonfons.

These are all printed in the so-called Gothic character.

The remaining history of Ponthus in France may be told in a word. It is amusing, at least, to find that Jehan de Bourdigné, the Chronicler of Anjou and of Maine, accepted our romance as good history. In his *Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine*, first printed in 1529,—I cite the edition printed at Angers, 1842,—Bourdigné gravely describes the descent of Karados upon the coast of Brittany (Cap. XVI, p. 74 ff.) and all the course of the battle precisely, in outline, as it is described in chapters IX to XI of our text. The names of the participants, even the list of slain, are the same. After the battle (p. 80) Ponthus jousting in the forest of "Brecilian" is rather mentioned than described. After the jousts Ponthus' expedition to reconquer Galicia is mentioned, with lists of the French champions and of the slain in the final battle quite as in the romance. Finally the chronicler states that these annals are, *extraictes de plusieurs cronicques, hystoires et livres anciens*. Pity that no bearer of the then extinct name of Tour Landry could see his family romance accepted as good history.

The condition of public taste in France in the 17th century did not, as in Germany, tolerate the survival of *Ponthus* as a *Volks-buch*, and the French history of "Ponthus" closes,¹ or

¹I should confess that a reference in Büsching and Von der Hagen's *Buch der Liebe*, S., XLV, states that the French Ponthus is treated in T. II, p. 180.

possibly reopens, with the careful abstract presented in *Mélanges Tirées d'une grande Bibliothèque*, Tom. x, pp. 1-62. This abstract is based upon one of the editions in 4to, probably that of Jean Trepperel, about 1500. On p. 61 the author writes that Pontius and Sidoine

eurent deux filz, don't l'aîné porta avec gloire la premiere de ces deux couronnes [Galice] & le second, nommé Conan Meriadec, est la tige des Rois & Ducs de Bretagne.

I did not happen upon this bit of imaginary genealogy in "Bourdigné," and there is nothing of the sort in any version of *Pontius* that I have examined.

THE ENGLISH PONTIUS.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DIGBY MS. AND DOUCE FRAGMENT.

The earliest form of the English *Pontius* is that of MS. Digby 185 of the Bodleian Library. The volume is a folio of 203 leaves handsomely written on thin vellum. The contents of the MS. are:—

1) Fol. 1-79. The prose chronicle usually called *The Brute of England*, with the prologue, ending with the capture of Rouen in the year 1418.

2) Fol. 80-144^b. Thomas Hoccleve's poem, *De Regimine Principum*. At the place where the miniature portrait of Chaucer should stand there is an elaborate s-shaped flourish in the margin with the side note *Chaucer's Ymago* (I neglected to note the exact form of the second word). This shows that the poem was copied from a MS. that contained the miniature.

and 250, of the *Biblioth. des Romans*. Having searched everything that could possibly be cited as a T. II in that distracting collection, I came forth from its mazes empty handed. Some one who knows the way may yet find it. It probably signifies nothing that the index vol. does not contain the name of Pontius.

3) Fol. 145–156. Hoccleve's story of the emperor Geraulus and his wife (published, E. E. T. S., Ext. S. 61, p. 140 ff.). The prose exposition or moralization of the story follows on fol. 156–157.

4) Fol. 157^b–164. Hoccleve's story of Jonathas and his paramour (E. E. T. S., Ext. S. 61, p. 215 ff.). The prologue is lacking. The tale proper begins,

Sum tyme an Emperour' prudent and wise
Reigned in Rome.

The prose exposition follows on 164^b and 165.

5) Fol. 166–203. *Ponthus*.

The facsimile (exact size) of Fol. 166^{ro} will give a sufficient specimen of the fine and legible handwriting of the scribe, while affording an excellent example of the heraldic illumination of initial capitals.

These heraldic illuminations make it possible to locate the ms. and approximately to date it.

On page 1 of the ms. at the head of the *Brute* is this coat of arms: Quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent, a chevron azure, with a label of three points ermine;¹ 2 and 3, gules, a griffin segreant or;² crest, a friar's head, proper, hooded argent.³ The crest and arms quartered 1 and 4, indicating the family descent, were borne by a Sir George Hopton of Swillington, who was knighted by Henry VII at the battle of Stoke beside Newark, June 9, 1487 (W. C. Metcalf, *A Book of Knights*, 1885, p. 14). The Hoptons were descended from an illegitimate son of Robert de Swillington, one Thomas Hopton who died in 1430 (Joseph Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, Vol. II), and they inherited the manor of Swillington near Leeds, Yorkshire (*Loidis and Elmete*, p. 232. T. D. Whitaker, Leeds, 1816). The

¹ These arms are attributed to the Swillington family in the Catalogue of Digby MSS. erroneously,—Swillington arms in Burke's *General Armoury* are, arg. a chevron az, and gules, a griffin segreant or (the Leicestershire family).

² Catalogue, ["Rivers or Swinlington?"]

³ Catalogue, "The head of a savage."

arms (gules, a griffin segreant or) quartered with the Hopton arms are given by Burke as those of the Swillingtons of Leicestershire, presumably related to the Yorkshire Swillingtons. The Digby MS. was then written for a head of the Hopton family of Swillington, not improbably for Sir William Hopton,¹ Treasurer for Edward IV (*circa* 1465).

The initial capital of Hoccleve's *De Regimine*, Fol. 80, contains the arms of Hopton described above, impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent a bendlet sable, thereon three mullets argent; 2 and 3, gules fretty argent² (Beauchamp, *Cat. of Digby MSS.*). They are the arms of a daughter of the Hopton family impaled with those of her husband, probably a Beauchamp.

In an initial, Fol. 157^b, ten small coats of arms are introduced. The curious will find them described in the *Catalogue of Digby MSS.*

The initial letter of *Pontius*, Fol. 166, see facsimile, contains the quartered arms of Hopton and Swillington, impaling those already described under Fol. 80. This indicates that the husband had assumed the arms of his wife, probably as heir to the titles of Hopton and Swillington. Thus the facsimile shows all the arms here described.

I have gone into this tedious matter of the arms, on the chance that some enthusiast in genealogy may be able to determine the marriage indicated by the second and third shields, and thus date the MS. My own cursory study of the matter was quite fruitless. It is of chief importance only for us to know that the MS. was written for a Yorkshire family residing near Leeds. This will prepare us for the language

¹ He would have been in his prime about the middle of the century, the probable time of writing of the MS., and of an age to have the married daughter whose arms are contained in the MS.

But this whole matter of the Hopton genealogy appears to be vague and is certainly incomplete.

² I could not identify these impaled arms. I fancy that Beauchamp is merely offered as a suggestion in the catalogue. Foster's *Pedigrees* and the county histories show no marriage in the Hopton family corresponding to this impalement. But all the genealogies are sadly incomplete.

of the text. It is also an admissible theory, and a pleasant, to feel that the book is a sort of a family book. A father, who must have played some small part in the history of his day, chose the prose chronicle of England; his daughter chose, perhaps for the education of her children, Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*; her husband, with a feeling for something less ponderous than Hoccleve, and yet sufficiently edifying, chose the new and fashionable romance of *Ponthus*. It wasn't a bad sort of book to have about a house.

DATE OF THE DIGBY MS.

On palaeographical grounds we are safe in dating the Digby MS. after the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It falls then within a period when palaeographical data are peculiarly uncertain. The Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, who kindly gave me his opinion in the matter, regarded a date about the middle of the century as the latest possible for the writing of the MS. The difficulty of determining narrowly by the language the date of a text partly changed from its original dialect is considerable, but there is I think nothing in the language of *Ponthus* that is incompatible with a date of about 1450. A date much earlier I think improbable.

The MS. is written solidly, without paragraph divisions; chapter divisions are marked only by illuminated capitals; even punctuation, except for an occasional ¶ or || is lacking. The short, downright stroke of the rubricator—see the facsimile—is used somewhat capriciously, usually in giving prominence to capitals, or initials, but often enough within the word (e. g., l. 18 of the facsimile *tHe cristen*; l. 19, *Doos anD moste*—the capitals represent small letters rubricated).

Catchwords occur at the end of every gather of 8 leaves, enclosed in rough pen-drawings.

Fol. 173^b, lower margin. On an oakleaf folded back the catchwords, *have a bettre*.

Fol. 181^b, lower margin. On the lower part of a knight's head and shoulders in armor, the catchword *Ponthus*.

Fol. 189^b, lower margin. Across the side of a large fish, the catchwords, *And Pollides*.

Fol. 197^b, lower margin. In a scroll the catchwords, *you in this case*.

The matter of contractions and terminal flourishes is treated in the section on the plan of my edition of the Digby MS. Finally the Digby MS., though itself perfect, appears to have been copied from a MS. of *Ponthus* that lacked a leaf (p. 57, note).

THE DOUCE FRAGMENT.

MS. Douce 384, of the Bodleian Library, is a miscellaneous collection. Its first two leaves are a folio (the leaves non-consecutive) from a Fol. paper MS. of *Ponthus*. The text of these two leaves is printed in full at the foot of the corresponding pages of text in this edition, pp. 33-35 and 42-45. The gap between the two leaves corresponds in bulk to four leaves of the same content. The Douce fragment was probably then the second Fol. of a gather of four, possibly the first of a gather of three.

The text is that of the Digby MS. with the usual unimportant variants.¹ A chapter division (p. 34), corresponding to Cap. XIII of D, shows that, like D, it lacked chapter headings. The catalogue dates it merely 15th cent. It must I think be set towards the last quarter.

¹The fly-leaf of the MS. contains the following note in Douce's handwriting: "This is a fragment of the Romance of "Ponthus of Galyce," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1511, 4^{vo}. The language of this fragment differs materially from that in the printed copy. No perfect MS. of this romance in English seems to be known." Douce also entered on the margin of the fragment references to the corresponding signatures of W, and occasionally variants from that text.

LANGUAGE OF THE DIGBY MS.

Though written at a period rather late for marked dialect in Yorkshire, the Digby MS. shows every where the traces of its Northern scribe.

If we apply the time honored test of the inflection of the Pres. Indic. of the verb we shall find that beside the regular first persons singular, and plurals with no ending or only a final e, surely unpronounced, we have a fair number of specifically Northern forms.

First persons singular in -s only occur in verbs separated from a pronominal subject by another verb.

I loue and trustes, 68, 14. *I swer' . . . and has sworne*, 99, 28.

I haue commaunded and commaundes, 123, 23. *And here I leve of the kyng of Bretan and retournes*, etc., 124, 3.

Second person singular in -s: *havis*, 20, 30; *has*, 130, 32; 134, 28; *makes*, 130, 32; *says*, 97, 27; *thinkes*, 22, 18; *yeldes*, 130, 35.

Plurals in -s: *drives*, 68, 22; (people) *dwellys*, 26, 30; *has*, 87, 26; 94, 23; 95, 12; 117, 9; 134, 16; *laboures*, 26, 31; *losys*, 97, 15; *travells*, 26, 31; *was*, 129, 31; *ye loue God and dredys hym*, 62, 31.

Imperatives in -es: *calles*, 38, 13; *comes*, 25, 22; *meruelles*, 83, 16; *sendes*, 23, 22; 113, 2.

Participles in -nd: *dredand*, 5, 32.

The verbal noun *tythandes*, 63, 5.

Beside these northern forms are the midland plurals: *semen*, 4, 17; *ben*, 5, 14; 23, 19; *sayn*, 6, 31; *sayne*, 13, 18 and 21; *drawen*, 76, 15.

Singulars in -st and -th: 2nd person, *feylest*, 4, 21; 3rd person, *baketh*, *gryndyth*, 6, 32; *lieth*, 5, 15; 25, 22; *longeth*, 23, 4; *semeth*, 23, 9; 119, 12; and the imperative in -th: *goth*, 21, 32.

It is perilous to commit oneself to any statement of dialectal usage in the fifteenth century, while Prof. Wright's great dictionary is actually publishing. Certain words, how-

ever, in our text are clearly Northern: *As, bustus*, 73, 10; *boustously*, 49, 3; *gude*, 63, 26; *vngudely*, 128, 16; *gudelenes*, 143, 19; *gar'* (cause), 77, 33; *luke*, etc., 119, 13, 29, 31; *reiosed*, 98, 32; *reiose*, 132, 7; *trast*, 107, 18; *traysted*, 89, 9; *sall*, 87, 15; 134, 29; *suld*, 66, 29.

The use of *to* in the sense of till, 43, 19; 118, 33; 124, 2, and of *unto*, 38, 10; 39, 16, is Northern; likewise the great preponderance of *and* over *if* as the conditional conjunction. The invariable *awn* for the intensive pronoun must be regarded as a Northernism in a text of this date.

Stuffe in the sense of *provision*, frequent in this text, I believe to be a Northernism, though it occurs in W, and I have noted it in Malory (Somner, 839, 19). *Lugge*, 2, 24; *luges*, 27, 9, for *lodge*, is probably dialectal. It is barely possible that *there*, 15, 35 (note), is an isolated instance of the Northern demonstrative.

It may be well to note one or two phonetic matters, possibly dialectal.

An intervocalic *s*, but pretty certainly final in pronunciation, is frequently doubled, indicating the voiceless pronunciation, *please*, 16, 27; 31, 33; 35, 5; 56, 5, etc. The single *s* is usual when the word is dissyllabic; e. g., *itt please me, if it please my fadre*, 79, 32. Similarly, *rysse*, 139, 23, and *rosse*, 39, 19; 45, 25; 117, 22; 139, 21, etc.

Similar is the representation of *ā v* sound by *f* in *gyf*, 2, 1; 11, 29; 103, 20; *gyfes*, 63, 1; *gafe*, 8, 8; these besides forms like *yevys* and *yeave*; so *relese*, vb., 8, 20. The change of *b* to *p* in *warderop*, 14, 1; 67, 23, etc., was possibly more general. Precisely the reverse of this is the constant representation of life by *live*, *lyue*, etc.

Certain spellings appear to indicate that the *a* vowel was beginning to approximate its present front pronunciation: e. g., *sale*, 5, 26; *saled*, 5, 27 for *sail*; *prase*, 94, 7 and *prased*, 18, 2, beside *praysed*, 18, 5. *Wate*, 21, 15, and the verb, 65, 6. *Wale* (wail), 37, 15. *Captanes*, 111, 1. *Ordaned*, 111, 4; 112, 21; 123, 17, etc. *Agane*, 111, 7; 123, 16, etc., very

frequent. This fronting of the *a* is usually set much later. There is evidence in the present text for such a pronunciation which should at least be considered.

The dentals differ somewhat from standard English usage. *Hunderyth* regularly used for *hundred* is probably Northern. *Smoth*, 21, 11 for *smote* occurs but once. *Garthyn*, 3, 23 and *bothome*, 5, 26, 33 perhaps hardly call for mention.

In general apart from the singular of the verb the whole text has the look of London English of its time. The Douce fragment shows no Northern peculiarities. It would be difficult to disprove the thesis that the text might have been composed by a Northerner who knew standard English well and only occasionally lapsed into dialect, but it is far simpler to suppose that the translation was made in standard English of the time and slightly Northernized by the scribe, who prepared the present copy for the Hopton family of Yorkshire.

WYNKYN DE WORDE'S EDITION OF 1511.

The only known copy of this quarto is in the Bodleian Library.¹ Since the signatures misrepresent the make up of the book it may be well to give the matter a moment's attention. The book originally contained 100 leaves of which the

¹ In the Douce Coll. I transcribe one or two of Douce's notes from the fly leaf. Douce notes first, his ms. fragment and French edition (Ortuin's). Then continues,

"This romance is placed among the anonymous writers in Du Verdier's *Bibliothèque Française*."

"See it in *Bibl. Reg.* 15 E., vi, 6."

An instance of Douce's wide reading in obscure fields is the following:

"From Pontus came Sidon, who by the exceeding sweetness of her voice first found out the hymns of odes, & praises and Posidon or Neptune.' See Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, p. 33. It is a whimsical coincidence of names at least."

"This romance is an enlarged version of *King Horn*, see Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, I, 46, new edition."

"Concerning *King Ponthus* see Bourdigné, *Chronique d'Anjou*, xxxv, &c."

first two are missing. It is made up of alternate 8s and 4s (leaves) with the single exception that the last two signatures P and Q are both eights.

8s regularly numbered i-iiij + 4 unnumbered leaves, are;

a (i and ij lacking), c, e, g, j, l, n, p, q.

4s numbered i-ij + a single unnumbered leaf, are,

b, h, k, o.

4s numbered i-iiij, with no unnumbered leaf, are,

d, f, m.

Although a, i and ii are missing, the actual loss of text is but a single page,—exactly Cap. I of the present edition. We may safely assume then that the front of a, i contained only a brief title, that the back was blank, a large woodcut must have filled the front of b, i, leaving space, probably, only for the first rather long chapter heading (see the first rubric of R). The romance proper must have begun low on a, ij (front) or at the top of a, ij (back). Since a large portion of W is used to fill a gap in D (pp. 57-60), there printed line for line and letter for letter,¹ it will not be necessary to give specimens of the text here, beyond the beginning and ending. On a, iij (front) the text begins :

¶ **How Broadas sone to the Soudan toke
Croyne and slewe the kynge Tyber.**

SO befell it as fortune it wolde one of the thre
sones came as ȝ wynde brought his navy by
grete tourment that he passed besyde Croyne in galy
ce and there he came up.

The romance ends q [iiij] front.

¹Through my failure to give the printer sufficiently explicit directions the right hand margins are ragged and unsightly. Of course the "justification" was accurate in the original print. Otherwise the reprint represents as well as anything short of *facsimile* can, the typographical form of W.

But

thus it is of the worldly lyfe for there is none
so fayre nor so ryche so stronge nor soo goodly but at the laste
he must nedes leue this worlde.

Deo gratias.

q [iiiij] back,

¶ Here endeth the noble hystory of the moost excellent
and myghty prynce & hygh renowmed knyght kynge
Ponthus of Galyce & of lytell Brytayne. Enprynted
at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by
Wynkyn de Worde. In the yere of our lorde god.
M.CCCC.XI.

Below this is the printer's mark,—a slight variation of No. 5 in E. Gordon Duff's *Handlist*, and a scroll bearing the name of Wynkyn de Worde.

The book is divided (counting the missing leaves as the first chapter) into sixty unnumbered chapters with headings. There are fifty-four woodcuts of very crude and feeble execution.

Mr. Nicholson of the Bodleian Library kindly wrote to me of a signature of four leaves (d, i and ij) of an unknown edition by Wynkyn de Worde, in his custody, and had the fragment copied for me. The transcript corresponds page for page with signature d of the edition of 1511. Slight differences in the justification of the lines, a variant spelling or two, the difference in designating the signatures (the fragment, d, i and ij + 2, unsigned; 1511, d, i-iiiij, none unsigned), prove resetting.

In Lowndes' *Manual*, an edition of 1548 is noted. Repeated inquiries at the English libraries and at the great London booksellers have brought me no information of this volume or of its whereabouts. W. C. Hazlitt, *Notes and Collections*, says characteristically, "I have not seen the book, but is likely that for 1548 we should read 1648."

The printed edition shows nothing of unusual interest linguistically. A few rare words are cited in my notes. The discussion of the relation of W to its French source and to R, falls to the next section.

THE RELATIONS OF THE TWO ENGLISH VERSIONS.

The problem of the relations of D and R offers unusual difficulties, which a statement of the general results of the comparison of the two texts will set before the reader. W is throughout a close and even slavish translation of its French original. Pp. 1-61 of D follow W so loosely that they might almost be regarded as an independent translation. D is in general shorter, condensing the narrative by cutting out superfluous descriptive details. Verbal correspondences of any length are rare in this portion. D, pp. 62-113, l. 6, agrees more closely with W. The versions are still fairly distinct, but frequent verbal agreement of long sentences makes it clear that one version is in some fashion a revision of the other. D, pp. 113, l. 7-150, is to all intents identical with the corresponding portion of W. The verbal agreement is unusually close for two prose documents of this period. Roughly speaking, then, the first two-fifths of D is a loose paraphrase of its French original, and only remotely connected with W; the second two-fifths is a close paraphrase, and closely connected with W; the final fifth is a close translation and virtually identical with W.

Before attempting an explanation of these phenomena it may be well to show by a representative example from the first part the relations of the two English versions to each other, and to the French text R. I have chosen Pontius' fight with the Saracen messenger.

D (p. 21).

And Pontius withdrew hym a
litle, and putt his sper' in the reste;
and come with a goode will & smote
hym between his sheld and his hel-

W (C. iij^{vo}. ff.).

& he a frayd hym a lytell & toke
his spere & came to hym a grete pace
and smote hym bytwene y^e shelde
and the helme that he perced the

R (Fol. 210, Col. 1).

Il se eslogne ung pou et coucha sa lance et vient grant aleure contre lui
et le fiert entre lescu et le heaulme tant qui lui perca sa manche et ses

mett, that he brake his shuldre. And the

Saresyn smote Ponthus so myghtely that he brake his sper'. And when the kyng and the people sawe the iustying, thei thonked Gode and said that Ponthus had wele iusted. Then Ponthus went forthre and drewe oute his swerd, and come to the Saresyn and gave hym suche a stroke aboute the vyser' of his helme that men myght se his vysage all open. Then hade the

Cristen ioye, and hope in Gode. The Saresyn drewe oute his swerd, whiche was a full grete blade of stele, and smoth Ponthus therwith so grete a stroke that he made his hede to shake and fire to smyte out of his eeyn: so he was sore astoned of that stroke, and sore was the feight between theym. Bot at all tymes Ponthus hade the better and lay in wate to smyte hym in the visage that

mayle and the doublet/& put the Iren & the tree bytwene y^e necke & the shoulders/& the tree brake well a two fote from the heed whiche greued hym moche/& the paynym smote Ponthus in the shelde & brake his spere in his breste. And whan the kyng & other sawe these Iustes/ they thanked god & sayd that Ponthus had lusted ryght fayre & prayed that god sholde helpe hym. Ponthus passed forth & made his cours & sette his hande on his swerde/& came towarde the paynym & gaue hym soo grete a stroke that he kytte a two halfe his ventayle & vnmaylled it so that y^e vyser bename hym the syght & the paynym rent it of so boys-tously y^t his vysage was all dys-couered/& than had the crysten men grete Ioy & grete hope/& the paynym drewe his swerde of stele & smote Ponthus so that he made all his heed to shake & his eye to sparkle in his heed/so he felte hym astonyed of the grete stroke/& smote the hors w^t his spores & came agayne & smote him a grete stroke. So was y^e batayle bytwene them stronge & longe enduryng/& all wayes Ponthus wayted to smyte the paynym in

estoffes et lui mist le fer et le fust entre le col et les espauls, et fu rompue sa lance a deux piedz du fust, qui moult greua le payen. A pres le payen ferist pontus en lescu et brisa sa lance en pieces. Quant le roy et les autres virent ceste iouste, si mercierent dieu et disoient que bel auoit iouste pontus et que dieu lui aideroit. pontus passa oultre et parfait son poindre et met sa main a lespee et vient vers le payen et lui donne si grant coup qui lui abat et trenche la moitie de la bauaille tellement que sa visaigiere lui tollu la veue, tant que le payen la print et erracha tant quil eust tout la (?) visaige a descouert, dont eurent grant Ioye le *Cristiens* et grant esperance en pontus quil gageroit. A dont le payen trait le branc dacier et ferist pontus si grant coup qui lui fist la teste toute fremir tant que les yeulx lui estinceserent en la teste. Si se senti estourdy du grant coup quil eust. Si feri oultre et reuint et reffiert le payen si grant coup que merueille fu. Si fu forte la bataille dentre eulx et moult dure. Et touteffois estoit *pontus* tou-

was open; and so he mett with hym at a trauers, that he smote of his nose and his chynne, so that it helde bot by the skynne: so he blede in suche wyse that his shelde and his nek wer' full of bloode, that vnneth he myght sitt on hors bake. Then Ponthus toke

hym by the helme and pulled itt fro the hede, and aftre gave hym suche a stroke that he fell doune to the grounde. And when he had doon so, he smote of his hede and putt itt on his swerde poynte and broght itt to the squyers Saresyns and said to theym, "Fair Saresyns, I present you with the hede of *your* maistre."

the vysage/whiche was dyscouered /& soo moche that he wente to caste suche a trauers/that he smote the nose the mouth & the chyn/so y^t all helde not bot the skyn so bledde he strongely/& soo moche he bledde y^t all his shelde before was blody. The kynge & the people whiche sawe that stroke made ryght grete Ioye & thanked god. The paynym lost the blode & febled fast & so moche that unnethes he myght holde hym on his hors/& Ponthus ranne vpon hym sharpely tyll he caste hym doune as he that hadde loste his blode & myght holde hymselfe no more. Than Ponthus toke and rente of his helme from his heed/and afterwards smote hym suche a stroke that he made his heed for to flee too grounde. And he bowed downe and nyghed it with his swerde/and lyfte it vp and bare it vnto the two squyers sarysynes/and sayd vnto them in this wyse. Fayre lordes I present you with your maysters heed.

siours en a guet de le ferir par le visaige qui estoit descouuert. Et tant qui va getter trauerse tellement qui lui couppa le nez la bouche et le menton tant que tout ne tenoit que a la peau. Si seigna si fort que tout son escu estoit senglant. Le roy et la peuple qui virent ce coup firent grant ioye et mercierent dieu. Le payen perdi le sang et affoybli tant que a paine se pouait tenir sur son cheual. Et pontus lui couroit sur asprement et tant quil reuersa comme cellui qui auoit perdu le sang et lui erracha le heulme de la teste. Et puis le ferit tel coup qui lui fist la teste voler a terre. Et puis senclina et la picqua & leua sus et la porta aux deux escuiers payens. Et leur dist. Beaulx seigneurs ie vous presente la teste de vostre maistre.

Since in this specimen, as always, W is nearer the French original than D, it is clear that it cannot be derived directly from D. The obvious working hypothesis would then be the converse, that D is essentially a revision of W's original, a close translation of the French. The reviser setting out with

the intention of rewriting and condensing W would then have carried out his plan for two-fifths of the way, flagged in the undertaking for the next two-fifths, from there out, sunk to the position of mere transcriber. But this theory that W represents a complete translation of which D is an early and partial revision is far too simple to account for the facts with which we have to deal, for there is a third term to be considered, namely, that in the revision of one version by the other there was reference to a copy of the French *Ponthus*. This is proved by the existence of variants which, while they could have come about by no process of scribal corruption in the English tradition, are readily accounted for as direct mistranslations from the French. Recognizing the possibilities of capricious revision in prose of this time I have limited myself to clear instances of independent use of a French text in D and W.

When Ponthus appoints the weekly jousting for a year in the Forest of Broceliande, being in disfavor with his lady, he appropriately calls himself *le chevalier noir aux larmes blanches*, to indicate his sorrow. W translates this properly "the black knight with the white tears" (see p. 58, l. 2 f.), but D always translates "white arms."¹ Now it will be perfectly clear that no miscopying of *teres* would result in *armes*, and that conversely *armes* could never suggest *teres* to the stupidest of scribes. Reference to the French sets the matter straight in a moment; the translator of D simply read in his original for the correct *aux larmes blanches*, *aux armes blanches*, this mistake, actually found in Ortuin's French print of about 1500, is one that any careless copyist of the French text would naturally make.

Another instance. Ponthus forced to leave Brittany and Sidone by Guenelete's slander naturally calls himself in W the "moost vnhappyest (R *le plus maleureux*) knyght that lyued;" in D (p. 67, l. 14) he holds himself "the mervellest knyght livyng" quite unaccountably, till we see that the writer

¹*Armes whyte* 40, 10, 13, 28, 34; 42, 3; 43, 10, 13; 47, 17; 50, 32; 56, 4.

of D read *merveilleux* for *malheureux*. So (D, p. 49, l. 19), Geoffroy strikes a stone with his "goode swerde" so that he falls. W more naturally makes him strike it "w^t his fote," R "de son pie," out of the latter reading D, or a careless scribe, managed to make *bon espee*.

Again in W the barons advise king Huguell to make haste to offer his daughter to Pontus because Pontus is so rich that he "setteth bot lytel by any daunger," that is, will bear little haggling in the matter, and the king begins his speech of consent "Fair lordes—;" we have here a reading that a copyist is little likely to have changed into, "he settes not by noo daungerous lordes," while a careless translator might well have so rendered the original R, [il] *en pris mains denger Seigneurs dist le roy*—, construing *denger* with *Seigneurs* and supposing the king's speech to begin only after *dist le roy*.¹ I would not insist too much upon this, though it is the most probable explanation.

Certain unimportant variant readings, which would appear at first sight merely the work of a scribe's caprice, have MS. authority. Thus in D (p. 2, l. 13) Brodas lands "he and xxi men with hym," the detail supported, if not mathematically, by F's *lui trente vngyesme* and H's *lui vintiesme*, is lacking in W and equally absent from R. So D (p. 3, l. 3) sets the number of Saracens disguised as merchants at forty, two French MSS. at least give the decimal, F, *xliiij*; H, *Quarante deux*, R gives no number; so W. Again D (p. 18, l. 13) makes the Saracen host "twenty" thousand in number following R's *xx*, W reads "thyrti" following O's *xxx*.

A final clear case of independent mistranslation by D is:—

D, p. 14, l. 25, "ye shuld vndirstonde wele not to bryng me another in stede of hym."

R, "Auoy," *dist elle*, "si eussez encor attendu, non pas [mene] ung autre pour lui."

¹ The full passages, parallel, will make the point clear.

R, "*il a tres grant tresor quil en pris mains nul denger.*" "*Seigneurs*" *dist le roy*,
 D, —that he settes not by no daungerous lordes." *Sayd the king*—
 W, —he setteth not by ony daunger." "*Fair lordes*" *said ye kynig*—

W, "Do way," said she, "than shuld ye haue abyde as yet & not haue brougte a nother for hym."

That is, "you ought to have waited till you could get Ponthus." The mistranslation of D, especially the *vndirstonde*, is I think most easily explained on the supposition that the translator mis-read *entendu* for *attendu*, though it may be sheer mistranslation.

We come back then to the old problem with one term added. W and R cannot be independent translations, one must be a revision of the other with the use of a French text. The question then is, which is the antecedent translation?—which the revision? A general characterization of the two versions may throw some light on the question.

A glance at the notes on the lists of proper names in D (pp. 29, 30, 55) will show that the translator probably misunderstood these obscure French names and that successive scribes must have added to the confusion. W is singularly correct in this respect, so accurate that it is difficult to believe that it had ever been copied by one ignorant of the French original. In its chapter divisions¹ W practically agrees with Ortuin's print of about 1500, and the chapter headings are with rare exceptions exact translations of those of O. This may of course only mean that Ortuin's MS. was of the same class as the original of W. The coincidence is at least striking, when the three French MSS. in England differ so essentially in chapter divisions and headings. It is probably not fortuitous that D lacks chapter headings. The fact that it, the earliest German edition (1483) and the French MS. F, differing to be sure in chapter divisions, all appear without chapter headings, is at least an indication that the French *Ponthus* was originally composed without them, and that the

¹The chapter division of W corresponding to xxv, p. 88 of D, is represented in O only by a break and a large capital, but W has apparently used what was originally a mere transition—"Now here I leue of Suryte, etc.," as a chapter heading. Otherwise the chapter divisions are coincident.

varying rubrics are, as would be expected, the work of the scribes.

We are now in a position to test the theory that D is a revision of the version represented by W. First we must suppose that a scribe setting out before 1450 to condense, unsystematically, an English romance took the pains to use the French original in this revision, we must suppose further that a plan begun thus elaborately was gradually relinquished till the reviser became mere copyist, finally we must suppose that a scribe careful enough to use a French ms. in revision, in at least two instances changed the obviously correct translation before him in favor of an error in his French original, which the correct translation would have made perfectly apparent. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the improbability of any or all of these suppositions.

Forced then to the theory that W is in some fashion a revision of D made with a French original, we shall find the motives for such a revision in the probable method of preparing W for de Worde's press. Suppose that Wynkyn de Worde planned to print the famous romance of *Ponthus* in English. He would pretty certainly have turned over one of the early printed editions of the French *Ponthus* to some hack with directions to translate it. This translator would naturally avail himself of the earlier English version, which Wynkyn de Worde, most conscientious of early printers, may have rejected as inaccurate,—keeping it open before him as he translated from the French. The early portion of D, being loose paraphrase, would have supplied him only with occasional phrases and sentences, the second portion, free translation, would have furnished him much material, the third portion, close translation, could have been transcribed for press with slight changes. The resulting version would then be W's rather slavish translation, which contains a large portion of the earlier D. The theory has more than *prima facie* probability to commend it. If W represents a translation made especially for Wynkyn de Worde's press, the unusual correctness of its

proper names is immediately accounted for, and the coincidence of its chapter divisions and headings with those of Ortuin's edition ceases to be surprising.

There are only a few instances in which errors in W are more likely to be misunderstandings of D than of a French text. For instance, where Ponthus sings his song in the forest,—

D, p. 39, l. 28, "he made ther' a song of the whiche the refrete was this melodie:—"Of byrdes and of wordly ioy is to me no disporte," etc., following.

R. "Si fist une chancon et auoit ou reffrain, "Chant des oiseaulx, etc.

W reads, "[Ponthus] made a song where he was at the refraynyng of y^e byrdes, "No Joye shuld me reconforte." (Cf. note p. 39, l. 28.)

That is, W was misled by the form of D's translation into throwing most of the first line of the song into the preceding description. D had already carried over the first word of the song (*chant* = *melodie*). W simply carried the process a point further. The mistake is not likely to have arisen directly from the French. Again W has just once the mistake "whyte armes" for "whyte teres" (the first occurrence of the phrase, D, p. 40, l. 10). This cannot be a genuine mistranslation, for the phrase is correctly translated three lines below. Only in the mechanical copying of D's reading when the attention had wandered a moment from the French text could the mistake have arisen. Only such a mistake of the eye would have escaped immediate correction.

Though the satisfactory demonstration of this solution of the problem would require the identification of the printed book from which W was translated,—a study which I have lacked opportunity to make,—I believe that the evidence is sufficient to establish, at least provisionally, this theory of the relation of the two English texts.

To recapitulate: D is a rough translation in its earlier parts, a fairly close translation in its central portion as the translator gained knowledge of French or warmed up to the work, finally, a literal translation. The only extant copy was made probably about 1450 by a Yorkshire scribe, from

a standard English original. A copy of this early version, somewhat better than the Digby ms.,¹ lay before the man who prepared the version of W for the press in 1511. This reviser followed a French text, probably printed, closely. So he was obliged virtually to retranslate all the first two-fifths with only occasional assistance from the older translation, in the second two-fifths he revised the older work carefully from the French. The final fifth was so accurate that he merely transcribed it with minor corrections.

THE GERMAN PONTIUS.

Pontius was early translated into German by no less a personage than the princess Eleanor, daughter of James I., of Scotland. Her motive is set forth in the first edition of 1483, where it is stated that the Archduchess of Austria [dise histori], *lößlich von frantzosischer zungen in teutch getransferiert vn gemacht hat dem durchleüchtigen hochgeporenem fürsten vnd herren Sigmunden ertzherzog zû österreich, &c. jrem eelichen gemahel tzû lieb und zû geuallen.* Eleanor married Sigismund of Austria in the year 1448. The earliest German ms. is dated 1465.² Between these dates then the translation was made, and from the middle of the fifteenth century to the present time the romance of Pontius has been readily accessible in Germany. Only in Germany the romance passed the sixteenth century, there even in the eighteenth century it was published for popular reading. Probably the earliest allusion to *Pontius* (the Fr. version?) in German, is in the colophon of the first German edition of *Mélusine*, printed 1484, but written in 1456. There the translator, Thüring von Rüggeilingen, mentions it in an interesting list: *Und ich hab*

¹ For W furnishes not a few emendations to D in the last part, pp. 113-150, where the versions are virtually identical. See the footnotes *passim*.

² So in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, I, p. 356. Büsching and Von der Hagen, *Buch der Liebe*, XLVI, give 1464 in their reprint of the exact form of the colophon of the Gotha ms.

auch gesehen vnd gelesen vil schöner hystori vn bücher Es sey von künig artus hof vn von vil seiner Ritter von der Tafelram Es sey von her Ywan vn her Gawan/her Lantzelot/her Tristan/her Parcefal/der iegliches sein besunder hystori vnd lesen hat Dar zû von sant Wilhelm von Pontus von hertzog wilhelm von Orliens vn von Malin [? Merlin]. Büsching and von der Hagen, *Buch der Liebe*, XL and XLV, cite passages from the *Adelspiegel* of Spangenberg and the *Ehrenbrief* of Püterich von Reicherzhausen which mention *Ponthus*. But the best proof of the popularity of the story is the many editions of Eleanor's rather dull version. The translation which I have read in part in the edition of 1483 is a faithful rendering of a very early form of the French text, showing all the monotony of the French ms. R of the British Museum. The second edition (1498) already shows revision and successive printers worked it into the quite readable form of the 16th cent. *Buch der Liebe*.

It could serve no useful purpose to repeat the matter in Goedeke's *Grundriss*, Bd. I, b. 355 f., where all mss. and printed versions are described. I will simply enumerate the editions with brief comment, marking with an asterisk those which I have not seen.

(1) Fol. Hans Schönsberger, Augsburg, 1483. (2) the same, 1498. These like the early ms. described in Büsching and von der Hagen, XLVI f., have no chapter numbers or headings. * (3) Fol. Martinus Flach, Strassburg, 1509. (4) Fol. Sigmund Bun, Strassburg, 1539. This was the edition modernized by Büsching and von der Hagen in their "*Buch der Liebe*," Berlin, 1809. It contains a long homiletic introduction which tells "*wie und warumb si [dise histori] zulesen sei*," which the interested will find at the end of Büsching and von der Hagen's reprint. It is presumably only a publisher's flourish to tell the reader that "*dise [histori] ausz Frantzösicher zungen in das Latein und nachmals in unser Teütch sprach / bracht worden sei*." The translation is still Eleanor's, but considerably revised and provided with chapter numbers and headings.

It enlarges the final paragraph exhorting the reader to recognize the shortness of life and follow the example of Pontus. No other version has this modified ending. (5) Fol. 62 numbered leaves, no place or printer, 1548. Aside from its fine woodcuts¹ this edition has a certain interest as the source of the modified version of *Pontus* found in the famous 16th cent. *Buch der Liebe*. The introduction of (4) is again used also the chapter divisions and headings of the immediately preceding edition, but there is one interesting change. Where all the earlier German versions following the French make Pontus prepare for the tournament with a dwarf, this edition makes him consult with an "edelmänn," and instead of the mummery of Pontus disguised as a hermit, the masked old lady, shooting the shields, etc. (cf. p. 40 ff.), substitutes, in due form, a herald to direct the jousting. The change is evidently to make Pontus' conduct conform more nearly to the actual code of the time.² * 6) 8°. Wygand Han, Frankfurt a. M., 1557. * (7) 8°. No date or printer. Frankfurt. * (8) 8°. Frankfurt, 1568. (9) *Buch der Liebe*. Fol. Feyerabend, Frankfurt, 1578 and 1587. Printed from a version showing the changes made in 5. (10³) "*Ritter Pontus*." 16°. Frankfurt [circa 1600], follows the *Buch der Liebe*. * (11) 8°. Nürnberg, 1656. * (12) 8°. Nürnberg, 1657. * (13) 8°. Nürnberg, 1670. (14) 8°. Frankfurt, 1769. To these should be added *Ridder Pontus*, a Low German version, "Hamborch," 1601, the reprint in Büsching and von der Hagen's *Buch der Liebe*, 1809, and in Simrock's *Die Deutschen Volks-*

¹ Several of them bear the mark of Hans Schüpfelin the younger, a monogram HS. and a small spade.

² Büsching and von der Hagen, p. L, had already noticed this difference between the version they printed (4), and that of the 16th. cent. *Buch der Liebe*, but they were ignorant of this ed. of 1548, in which the change first occurs.

³ The edition is not cited in Goedeke, unless it is No. 7. It is not probable that he should have assigned so early a date to the book. I have seen 10 in the British Museum, it is if anything, later than the date assigned. My numbers 11-14 are Goedeke's 10-13.

bücher, vol. XI, Frankfurt, 1865, as usual without indication of source. Since it has the additional didactic paragraph found only in the ed. of 1539 and von der Hagen's reprint it is pretty certain that Simrock merely reprinted von der Hagen's edition. Since Simrock's series was popular rather than antiquarian in intention, it closes a tradition of nearly four hundred years of the popular survival of the romance of Ponthus in Germany.

THE PONTUS-RÍMUR.

It was a curious fate that the chivalresque *Ponthus*, which had come through the stages of the heroic *Geste of King Horn* and the French roman d'Aventure, should return towards its origins by being done into a Northern rímur. I learned first of the existence of this version through examining a small paper ms., Bor. 106¹ of the Bodleian Library,—the first page told me that it was the second part of a Pontus-rímur and by Petür Einarsson. This is all I should have known about it, if my friend, Dr. W. H. Schofield, had not come to my aid. I print entire the notes he has kindly sent me from Christiania.

"The Icelandic work usually called *Pontus-rímur* has not, so far as I know, been published. It is, however, preserved more or less complete in at least 10 MSS. (outside of that one in the Bodleian to which you refer). Seven of them are in the Arnamagnæan collection in Copenhagen, and may be found described in the *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, Copen., 1892-94, Vol. II, Parts 1-2, under the following numbers:

- No. 1562 (AM. 611 g, 4^{to}—paper of 17th century).
- " 1575 (AM. 613 e, 4^{to}— " " ").
- " 1576 (AM. 613 f, 4^{to}— " " ").
- " 1578 (AM. 613 h, 4^{to}— " " ").
- " 1579 (AM. 613 i, 4^{to}—paper, ca. 1700).
- " 1583 (AM. 614 d, 4^{to}— " " 1656).
- " 2611, 2, (Rask, 40—18th century).

¹Ff. 163. The heading is, *Añar Partur Pontus Rímna Orrturg: Petre Einarssyne*. It is divided into 17 "fits." In Dr. Schofield's notes Einarsson is said to be the author of the last 16 songs of the rímur. The difference may indicate only a scribe's subdivision of one of the original songs.

"Jón Þorkelsson in his Doctor's thesis entitled *Om Digtingen paa Island i det 15 og 16. Aarhundredede*, Copen., 1888, p. 377, mentions three others: two fragmentary paper MSS. in Stockholm, and another fragment, I Bfél. Nr. 238, 8^{vo}.

"From the last-named book, I extract the following information as to the *Pontus-rímur*, and its author:

"The work was begun by MAGNÚS JÓNSSON surnamed PRÚÐI, or GAMLI, who was born between 1520-25 and died in 1591. It seems to have been written in his 33rd year, for he speaks of his first wife as then dead. He, however, finished only the first 13 songs. His heirs decided that the poem should be continued by the priest ÓLAFUR HALDÓRSSON (who died before 1639); but he got no farther than the 14th and 15th songs. Later in the 17th century, it was continued by Pétur Einarsson of Ballará (still alive in 1665), who began where Magnús left off, and brought the work to a conclusion, writing songs XIV to XXIX. Thus we have two versions of songs XIV and XV.

"The corresponding saga is to be found in Thott's MS., No. 513, 8^{vo}; but this seems to have been made up after the *rímur* by Magnús Jónsson digri (great-grandson of Magnús Jónsson prúði), died 1702. In (*Uno von Troil*), *Bref Rörande en Resa til Island*, 1772, Upsala, 1777, p. 164, we have a *Pontúsar saga* mentioned.

"Magnús was given the complimentary surname (*hinn*) *prúði*, *i. e.*, 'the elegant,' because of the distinction of his bearing, and the general esteem in which he was held. His other surname (*hinn*) *gamli*, *i. e.*, 'the old,' was doubtless not added until the last part of the 17th century, when his great-grandson was a grown man. His descendants raised a very costly monument to his memory, provided with a long Latin inscription.

"In *Historia Literaria Islandiæ*, auctore Halldano Einari, Ed. nova, 1786, p. 85, we have the following insertion:

"*Magnus Johannis*, regionis Torskafiordensis Chronomus, illustri genere natus, fatis cessit 1596, Historiam Ponti, pulchro verborum delectu, carmineque numero gratiorum fecit. Tribuntur porro illi in quibusdam exemplaribus XII carmina, quæ historiam Ingrari, VIII, quæ Conradi Richardi Imperatoris filii, & nonnulla, quæ Amici & Æmilii complectuntur historias.

"Magnús Jónsson prúði was one of the most enlightened and cultivated men of his time. He was considered the best speaker then living, and one of the most learned of jurists. He was also an historian, and is said to have composed annals and other similar works. As a poet he was held in unusually high esteem by his contemporaries.

"Most of his shorter poems are lost, only separate verses being found here and there in chronicles and histories. Among other things of his, which are preserved, we have a *Amtkus-rímur* og *Amiltus* (*i. e.*, *rímur* on Amis and Amiloun), on which see Kølbing in *Beit. zur Gesch. der deut. Sprache*, iv, 1877, pp. 271-314; also *Germania*, XIX, 184-189. This was

edited by Kölbing in his *Alteng. Bibliothek*, II, Heilbronn, 1884, pp. 189-229. He, however, did not know the name of the author, and was wrong in dating it at ca. 1500, for it really should be dated ca. 1560-70, or about the same time as the *Pontus-rímur* (see porkelsson, pp. 377-8).

"Magnús was very familiar with German. In his youth he spent several years in Germany, where he doubtless laid the foundation of his unusual and all-round culture. It looks as if it was, therefore, a German version of the Pontus story on which he based his *rímur*. Yet porkelsson notes (p. 118) that there are certain verses on Pontus (preserved in other Icel. documents) which are not in Magnús's poem, and seem to point to an older poem on the subject. Séra Þorsteinn Pétursson puts the *Pontus-rímur* in the 15th century. This is probably a blunder; but he may have known other older versions of the story than those preserved (p. 176).

"porkelsson notes further (p. 117) that certain verses of the *Pontus-rímur* are still living in popular tradition in Iceland."

I need only add that the form of the proper names in the Bodleian ms. made it clear that Einarsson worked from a German, not a French version; in this it is probable that he only followed Magnus Jonsson. *Gendil*, f. 24^b, 26, comes from the *Gendelot* of the German versions. *Geneve*, 40^b, *Genefe*, 41^b, is the German form of Guenever. Even more striking is *Proodus*, 51^b, for the French *Brodas*. *Tiburt*, 89^b, is also the German, not the French form of the name of Ponthus' father. So *Henrich*, 39^b, 59^b.

LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The late prose romances have found little favor with the critics, and with a certain justice, for most of them are clearly debasements, vulgarizations in the bad sense, of stories that had been better told. MM. Montaignon and Mayer in their passing characterization of *Ponthus* as *pauvre livre* and *faible ouvrage*, evidently regard the book as at best an average example of its dull class. The indulgence of an editor for the foster-child of his fancy, if no more serious consideration, would make me bespeak for the book at least the mitigated condemnation of faint praise.

In its programme of "mervelles," jousts, battles and adventures, the book, it seems to me, calls neither for praise nor blame. Such descriptions have the inevitable monotony of the *genre*, yet I believe the reader will find Pontius' first battle with the Saracen messenger convincingly sanguinary, and Guenelete, at the last, a formidable villain of a melodramatic sort. The long lists of names, a sheer hindrance to the enjoyment of the English version, constituted a very real and legitimate attraction to the first readers of the romance. The Angevin family of Tour Landry and their neighbors certainly felt no less a thrill at recognizing their ancestors fighting for the faith than did the high-born Athenian in reading familiar names among the captains that sailed for Troy to avenge Helen's rape. But as sheer romance, *Pontius* is certainly far inferior to Malory and in no way notable among stories of adventure.

As a serious and consistent attempt to draw the portrait of an ideal knight of the 15th century, in character as well as in achievement, *Pontius* has, I believe, a unique interest. No great literary skill in the execution of this task was to be expected; and yet it must be said to the unknown author's credit that he thoroughly believed in his own hero, and that his ideal of the knightly character was high and manly. So that in *Pontius* we have a hero who has no vices and all the virtues, and yet is distinctly not a prig,—no Grandison out of due time. Besides the older duties of valor and generosity, the author proposes for his hero above all things a certain cleanness of life and a tactful kindness that includes all relations of life. In the attempt to express in incident some of the finer emotions, I believe the romance rises well above its class. Recognizing fully the incompleteness of performance in every case, it was no perfunctory hand that described Sidone's sorrow at her lover's departure, Pontius' farewell to Brittany, his recognition of his mother, and many another less notable scene of the book. The romancer then offers as the chief virtues of his hero a certain sweetness and gaiety of

mind, purity and justness of life. Only in the instructions to Pollides in the presence of his wife does Ponthus appear to strike a jarring note. A modern reader would hope that Genever's assurance, "Ser, he shall doo as a goode man owe to doo," was spoken with a certain resentment. But we must remember that the 15th century took its instruction, as well as its transgression, sturdily. The whole scene and the long homily that Ponthus reads his cousin must have been sufficiently in character when the book was written. Ponthus as definitely represents the later ideal of knighthood,—the tone of the book is often singularly like the life of the Chevalier Bayard,—as Gawain represented the earlier ideal of knightly courtesy. The later hero, obscurely represented in a single romance, can never in any way rival the knight of Arthur's court, celebrated by the great mediæval romancers, but I believe that the character of Ponthus will hold a certain representative value, permanent, if humble. It was no wholly frivolous or contemptible motive that gave the book its contemporary popularity. It was the portrait of a knight that men recognized and that men approved.

From the point of view of style, *faible ouvrage* the French *Ponthus* certainly is. Better things may be said of the English translation. It will I believe be difficult to find any English prose of the first half of the 15th century on the whole so fluent and readable. Briskly and easily the story chatters along, when most of the prose of the time lumbers in hopeless monotony. Style, in the sense in which Malory, Pecoek, or a modern has style, the story has not. It is more like good unaffected talk than anything else,—no slight merit at the time, and a merit almost wholly the translator's. Just as the homespun virtues and equally clear-cut vices of the book cannot compete in interest with the subtle union of sensuality and religious mysticism that in Malory exercises a somewhat morbid fascination, so the clearness and brightness of its English, excellent for its subject, may appear

insignificant, almost inaudible, when Malory resounds in full volume; yet there is room for both, and none of the early English prose romances is likely to suffer less by the contrast. With all its defects of proportion, and they are many, it remains a pleasantly told story "wherof a man may lerne many goode ensamples" of an ideal of character by no means valueless to-day. In the prose of the 15th century it should gain and hold a modest place.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT EDITION.

The text printed is that of the Digby MS. with only the following changes,—the representation of contractions by the full form in *Italic*, the normalization of the use of capitals, the introduction of paragraphing and punctuation. The first change is now universal, the publishing of a fac-simile page makes it unnecessary to follow the fashion of the MS.—unsightly on the printed page,—in capitalization, the absence of punctuation in the MS. except a rare ¶ and ||,—always reproduced in the text,—makes the introduction of punctuation indispensable to the comfortable use of the text, finally when it is once understood that the MS. is written solidly with no breaks in the chapters, except the few marked by ¶¶, the division into paragraphs in the text, an obvious convenience, is in no way misleading. Rare editorial changes are clearly explained in the footnotes or, in the case of insertions inclosed in brackets or parentheses, the former [] indicate matter supplied by the editor, the latter () emendations from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1511. To supply the lack of any running analysis in the original I have written the chapter headings inclosed in brackets. That they should be congruous with the text, I have followed the orthography, and attempted to imitate the style of the Digby MS. The perils of this sort of composition have, I hope, been avoided

by the use whenever practicable of material supplied in the text itself, of the chapter headings of W, or the translation and imitation of the chapter headings of the French MS. The difficulty confronting every editor of texts of this period, the treatment of terminal tags and flourishes, has been the less in this case: first, because the fac-simile page gives all needful information upon this point; second, because the Yorkshire scribe of the MS. could have pronounced no final e's; third, because most of these tags are clearly only flourishes. It seemed advisable then to disregard all except the tailed r. This is so much more clearly written than other tags and so consistently used that it seemed desirable to represent it in the text. An \bar{r} was then cut to represent the tailed character of the MS. Occasionally, usually after $-r\bar{r}$, I have printed $-rre$, and $-re$, as more sightly.

It was at first my intention to insert all textual notes at the foot of the page. All the readings of the MS., when changed in the text, are so recorded. The impracticability of holding the proof-sheets long, made it necessary to place the longer textual notes, and a few that escaped my attention among the general notes. The proper names are frequently so thoroughly corrupted in the MS. that it seemed best in the text to abide by the strictly palaeographical reading, and to make the necessary corrections in the case of important names in the alphabetical list of proper names, in the case of minor names in the longer lists, in the general notes. Any formal inconsistency in this matter will I trust be the more readily pardoned, that the whole material is readily accessible. Finally the reasonable certainty that W is a revision of D made it superfluous to swell this already bulky volume with its innumerable variant readings. I have registered at the foot of the page or among the general notes all readings of W which have any intrinsic interest, besides the few that appear to represent readings of the old translation better than those transmitted in D.

NOTES.

CONTRACTIONS.

D. MS. Digby 185 of the Bodleian Library.

W. Wynkyn de Worde's Ed. of 1511.

R. MS. Royal 15, E. VI, Brit. Mus., of the French Text.

H. MS. Hh. 3, 16, Cambr., of the French Text.

F. MS. Ff. 3, 31, Cambr., of the French Text.

O. Ortuin's Ed., Lyon, circa 1500, of the French Text.

P. 2, l. 11, passed Spayne in Galice. The reading is justified by H, [il] *passa par en coste espaigne et en galice*, and F, *le vent le amena . . . passer toute espaigne en galice*, but W's reading *besyde Croyne* is the better. It follows R, [il] *passa par joust Couloine en Galice*.

P. 9, l. 17, Armoric. W's reading *Morygne* appears to be a corruption of R's *Montgrant*.

P. 9, l. 20, Mast. W, *sayle yerde*; R, *tref*.

P. 10, l. 5, Susteny. R, *susinio*; W, *suffone* (sic). *Sucinio* is the name of a château, once the summer residence of the Dukes of Brittany near Sarzeau.

P. 10, l. 17, Viceat. W, *verrac*.

P. 10, l. 30. W has only, *So made he theym to lepe upon theyr horses & led theym to Vennes*, following R literally.

The easiest way out of the contradictory reading in D is to read with W, *theym* for *hym* in both instances in l. 30 f., and to suppose that the detail *behinde hym*, not in the French, was copied in by mistake from the passage in l. 13. A later scribe, wishing to emphasize Pontus' dignity as a prince, would have added the clause *and he . . . aloone*.

P. 11, l. 9, whete. W, *marchaundyse*; R, *fourmens*.

P. 11, l. 31. W names the game, *yf he played at the playe of the tenys*, etc.; R, *a la pelotte*; O, *paume*.

P. 12, l. 5, breke his tayle. The expression is in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 6221 :

Right thus whyl Fals-Semblaunt sermoneth
Eftsones Love him aresoneth,
And brak his tale in the speking.

P. 12, l. 8, live dayes. W interpolates with R, the following conventional description: *for he was grete and large in y^e brest & small in the waste/& y^e shuldres y^e armes y^e thyghes and y^e fete were made of ryght deuysed/y^e vysage was clere browne/the eyen so meke/the mouth rede/& the nose streyte/he semed lyke an aungell, etc.* In other respects also the versions differ slightly at this point.

P. 13, l. 11, palfrey. W adds with R, *and a meruayllous gentyll faucon.*

P. 13, l. 16, Norye. R, *nourriture*; W, *chylde.*

P. 14, l. 25, for . . . copp, which translates R, is not in W.

P. 15, l. 21 f. A mistranslation or arbitrary change. In W Sidone replies, "*I byleue the,*" also as she whiche was caught w^t y^e loue of hym; R, *comme celle qui ia estoit toute esprise de lamour de lui.*

P. 18, l. 29, fi^r-hows. W also uses the technical word *fyre hous*; R, *chascun feu.*

P. 19, l. 27, Susanne. Allusions to the apocryphal chapters of Daniel are, I believe, relatively rare, at least in English literature. In *Horn et Rimel*, l. 2082 ff., Horn tells the king that he will maintain his innocence by combat against five or six:

Taunt me fi en cel deu. ki salua israel.
Susanne deliuerad. par lenfant daniel.
E lui meimes pus. des lions el putel.

In Shylock's taunting of Portia, "A Daniel come to judgment! yea, a Daniel," *Merch. of Venice*, IV, 1, 223, is the same allusion.

P. 19, *passim*, *the* and *thou*. As in all texts of this time *ye* is used in polite address, *thou* apparently only contemptuously. In the present instance Ponthus defies the Saracen with *the*, and the Saracen returns the contemptuous pronoun.

Similarly p. 20, l. 27, the Saracen in pitying scorn of Ponthus calls him *thou*, which Ponthus returns.

P. 22, l. 18, it is on the contrary used in prayer to Christ. W uses *ye* and *your* in this instance.

Ponthus, in giving the Saracen king, Corbatan, his death-blow, p. 85, l. 2, calls him at once *false Saresyn and thou*.

Ponthus chides his yeoman, p. 97, l. 15, *Hold thy peace*.

Guenelete, p. 97, l. 27, calls Ponthus, disguised as a beggar, *thou*, in anger.

The porter of the hall, rudely brushed aside, curses Ponthus with *thou*.

Sidone always calls Guenelete *thou* as she upbraids him for his treachery, p. 130, l. 30 ff. Ponthus similarly when on the point of killing Guenelete in the hall, p. 134, l. 28 f. With the single exception of the instance in prayer, it is always used in anger or in scorn in this text, never in intimacy.

P. 20, l. 2, kerchef. W, *pensell*.

P. 24, l. 4, Morteyne. W adds *paynel*.

P. 24, l. 5, Duches. W, *Countesse*.

P. 24, l. 6, deid. W adds with R, *and her sone was but a yere olde*.

P. 24, l. 6, Gouter. W, *payne de chateau Goutyer*; R, *payen*; O, *paon*.

P. 24, l. 29, Vale. W adds with R, *the lorde of dynaux of ye brytons, brytonauntes. And of Galos, etc.* The *Galyce* of D is then a corruption of *Galos*.

P. 24, l. 30, Edmund. W and R, *Guy*.—Dole. W, the later form *dueil*.—La Roche. W and R, *ronge*.

P. 24, l. 34, Mayne. W, *mans*.

P. 25, l. 14, Robt. de Sanguyn, Ranald de Sylle. The first name is hard to identify, probably a mere corruption. W, *Regnault de sully/and Aygret de pouully*; R, *Robert de chenegue, regnault de sulli & aigret de prully*.

P. 28, l. 13, ryght. R, *senestre*; W renders *best*, apparently a printer's error for *left*.

P. 28, l. 14, Vicecounte Daniou. W, *Erle of Dongres* apparently the correct reading, but R has *le viconte de rohan* agreeing in the title with D.

P. 28, l. 15, Valoynes. W and R, *la Roche*.

P. 28, l. 28, Creton. W and R, *Craon*.

P. 28, l. 27-30. I give a characteristic variant of W, which agrees with R, *Kynge Karados helde with grete dystres the erle of Mans/and the lord of Craon/and had ouerthrowen them and many of the manceaus and herupoys/as Hamelyn de sylle, Geruays de la porte, Thybault de matheselon, Peter de doncelles, Sauary de la hay, Gerarde de chateau goutyer, Guyllam de roches, Geoffrey de lesygnen/and Leoncel. But they defended them on fote/& were assembled whiche auayled them moche. Androwe de la toure/and Bertram de donne sette grete payne for to recouer theym/but there was too grete prees of saresynes/ and soo grete a folke that vnnethes myght they come to them/tyll that Guyllam de roches sawe Ponthus whiche that made the renges to shake with the helpe that sewed hym. "Syr it is nede se yonder a grete partye of our barons the whiche ben on fote."*

D certainly gains by dropping the list of names, but compresses so much that the incident is hardly clear.

P. 29, l. 6, Ralond de Avyon. Probably a corruption of R's *rol. de dynain*; W, *Guyllam de dygnan*.

P. 29, l. 24, Vaucay. W, *Bausaye mayle*.—Daniou. W, *daner*.

P. 30, l. 20, Peonny. W, *paynell*.—Wylron. W, *Villyers*.

P. 30, l. 21, Roger. W and O, *Hongres*.

P. 30, l. 22, Gaciane de Mounte Vyel. W, *Gassos de Moutreuil*; probably for *Montreuil-Bellay*.—Tenull. W and O, *chenulle*; possibly an error for Chemillé in Maine.

P. 30, l. 23, Hundes de Prouere. W, *Endes de penaunces*.

P. 30, l. 24, Chastameny. W, *Gautyer de chateau neuf*.—Monte Agnant. W, *Androwe de Montagu*.

P. 30, l. 26, Mangon. W, *dauauger*; O, *dauaucheus*.

P. 30, l. 27, Deyneñ. W, *dygnan*; O, *dinant*.

P. 32, l. 10, lyve. W, *woman*; R, *femme*. We should probably emend by reading *love*.

P. 33, l. 3, for they had hym in theyr conceyte, *had* is subjunctive for *should have*. Cf. W, *to the ende that they sholdè haue hym in the more fauour*. A semi-colon or period should follow *grace*.

P. 33, l. 8, that . . . taken, follows R, *Et puis leur dist apres quilz auvient petitement aduise*; W mistranslates, *after that he had auysed hym a little*.

P. 33, l. 22, thre. W, *two*; R, *deux*.

Douce Fr., p. 34, l. 4, *dyuers gyftis*, *dyuers* is evidently a corruption of *dyners*. W and R concur in D's reading.

P. 34, l. 5, *draghtes*. W, *signes*; R, *signe*.

P. 36, l. 7. W, *y' is foly to sette her herre* [sic *herte*] *so on fledde folke*, an interesting translation of R's *gens de vollaiges*.

P. 36, l. 26, x. W, *a two*; R, *xv*.

P. 37, l. 13, *putt fro*. W, *benymme*.

P. 39, l. 29 ff. I give the text of the quatrain from R:

Chant des oyseaulx ne nulle ioye.

Ne me¹ puet² reconforter,

Quant celle que³ tant amoye⁴

⁵Me veult delle⁶ estranger.

P. 40, l. 9, *wretyn* in this wyse. R, *unes lettres escrites en lettre de fourme*; W, *wryten in foure*, an absurd mistranslation.

P. 40, l. 33, *swerd*. W, *swerde with the gyrdell of golde & the crowne of golde*.

P. 41, l. 23, *rede tonne*. W, *vyle ronge* by error for R's *ville rouge*.

P. 41, l. 34, *Bellacion*. W, *brylaunson*; R, *bellencon*.

P. 54, l. 1, *Boloys*. W, *bloys*.

P. 54, l. 2, *Guyllem de Roches*. W and R, *damp Martyne*.

P. 54, l. 4, *Rosylyon*. W, *Robert de resyllyon*; R, *tybault de roussilon*.

P. 55, l. 22, *Averenses*. W and R, *Osteryche*.

P. 55, l. 23, *Barry*. W and R, *bar*.

P. 55, l. 24, *Mount Bernard*. W, *Mountbelyart*.

P. 55, l. 26, *Savye*. W and R, *savoie*.

P. 56, l. 1, *Bellacon*. W, *Belenson*; R, *bellencon*.

¹H, F, O; R omits.

²O, *puët*.

³H, *que ie*.

⁴O, *iamoie*.

⁵H, *Si me*.

⁶O, *du tout*.

P. 59, l. 18 ff. R, *Si commencerent menestrelz a sonner de toute manieres et heraulx a crier que len eust pas ouy dieu tonner, que tout le bois retentissoit.*

I have not happened upon this conceit outside of Chrétien. Cf. Yvain (Foerster, l. 2348 ff.):

Li sain, li cor et les buisines
Font le chastel si resoner
Qu' an n'i oïst Deu toner.

P. 60, l. 14, Ponthus. W adds with R, & *his hors al whyte with a grete rede rose that betokened his lady.*

P. 61, l. 11 f. As W explains, because Ponthus thought that Bernard should have had the prize Monday.

P. 65, l. 14, messe-booke. W, *holy gospels*; R, *saincte euangiles.*

P. 65, l. 27, thre or four. W and R, *two or thre*; so p. 66, l. 13.

P. 70, l. 26, Henry. W, always *Harry.*

P. 72, l. 4, Droyte Voy. W reads always, perhaps, by a printer's error, *driot voyce*; so p. 91, l. 20 and 104, l. 17.

P. 74, l. 27, demaunded hym. W, *resoned hym*; R, *la* (sic) *raisonna*, read *l'araisonna.*

P. 76, l. 1, grete rumour. W, *rygour*, omits *grete*; R, *grant guerre.*

P. 80, l. 20, is not myche worthe—misses the point. W, *is onely but selfewyllfulnes of hertes of grete lordes*; R, *le debat nest pas chose fors de grans seigneurs.* This is the necessary introduction to Ponthus' words on the duty of princes.

P. 81, l. 31, stedes. W adds with R, & *syxe coursers.*

P. 82, l. 11, Corbatan. W and R, always *Corboran.*

P. 84, l. 8, Fireague. So O, *Feragu*; but W, *Feragne*, and R, *Ferragny.*

P. 84, l. 22, voyde place. W, *grete way.*

P. 86, l. 1. R, *La nef fu a merueilles grande et painte et ystoriee*; W, *y^e shyppe was passynge grete and wele poynted.* Both English versions appear to have misunderstood the

description of the decorated ship, unless *poynsted* is an error for *paynted*.

P. 86, l. 9, Coffyrs and trunkes. W, *hutches and these grete cofers*; R, *huches*.

P. 89, l. 5, Mounte Belyard. R, *Montbliart*.

P. 90, l. 21, fonde of Guenelete. W, *affonned on G*. I do not know the word, are the *n*'s misprints for *u*'s? R, *affole*.

P. 90, l. 30. It is perhaps worth while to have this certainly comprehensive description in all the versions. W, *for men saye y^t he hath many euyll condycyons/& also he is aged and corsyous and lame and dronklew*; R, [il] *est si gras si viel des monnyacle et yurongue*.

P. 97, l. 30, make his berd. I do not know this expression in the sense of give one a beating. It usually means to outwit, as in the *Reves Tale*, l. 176,

Yet can a miller make a clerkes berd,

also, *Wife of Bath's Prol.*, l. 361,

Yet could I make his berd, so mote I thee.

P. 98, l. 22, gallerye. So R; W, *tresauunce*. Bradley-Stratmann has only one instance of the word, *Pr.*, P. 502.

P. 100, l. 31, by x and x. W with R, *by .xx. by .xxx.*

P. 102, l. 12, Doule. W, *Dueyl*; R, *dueil*.

P. 103, l. 26, As Gode live, etc. I should have emended *Gode* to *goode*, cf. W, *Ponthus sayd y^t good lyfe gyue hym god as to his lorde*, following R.

[P], *lui dist que bonne vie lui donnast dieu comment a son souuerain sires*.

P. 106, l. 28, conne you thonke. W continues, *for that ye haue done so well for his soule/for all his frendes shall thanke you & gyue you grete pryce. Ponthus sayd thynges that ought to be shall fall/ye ought not for to be full gladde ye shall haue none dower by cause ye set neuer fote in his bed with him/& thus he bourded with her & talked of many dyuers thynges. And than he wente to the kynge, etc.* All this in R.

P. 108, l. 2. W adds that they should assemble *at the toure of derbendell fast by the thalamount*; R, *talemont*, and further expands the passage, following R.

P. 110, l. 23, *gyftes*. W substitutes for the following sentence, *And then came Guyllam de roches a good knyghte Paraunt de rochefort/the lorde de douay, Pyers de donne, Gerarde de chateau goutyer, Johñ melcurier with the herupoys. Of the manceaus/beaunmount la vale, Sygles de doncelles and other of the countre of mayne. Of Tourayne baussay mayle hay and of other tourangeaus. Of poytw/the vycount of toures/the erles brother of marche/maulyon Chastemur/la garnache & dyuers other.* The list is not in R.

P. 111, l. 12, any *pouere* man. W omits *pouere*; R, *Sil trouast aucuns pour scauoir lestre du pays*. D has apparently doubly translated *pour*, or it may have been repeated in D's original, once as *pouere*, "poor," and again as the preposition.

P. 112, l. 5, and *caste*—othre. W, *wepte bothe two*; R, *pleurent tous deux lun sur lautre*.

P. 112, l. 28–30. This speech is Sir Patrick's in W. The Earl first sees Pollides and gives the command with l. 31 ff.

P. 115, l. 14, *to-stowpe*?

P. 115, l. 17, *ay to*. W, *a two*, probably the original reading.

P. 116, l. 13, *Herupoys*. W, *Herupoys, Hubert de craon, Pyers de chenulle/& of knyghtes Thybault de bryse, (H. de M. as in D), Eustace de la poyssonier*.

P. 116, l. 18, *Hardenyr*. W and O, *Ardenne*.

P. 116, l. 20, *William*. W and O, *Rycharde*.—Pamell. W, *Paynell*; O, *panel*.

P. 119, l. 16, *vowes to the pope*. The detail is neither in W nor R. I do not know of any other instance of vowing to the pope at a feast. It appears that we should read *po* and regard the ceremony as a peacock vow.

P. 135, l. 8, our author need not have known Chrétien's

P. 136, l. 20, a twenty. W and R, *a twelve*.

P. 140, l. 7, Chateawbreounce. W, *chateau bryaunt*.

P. 146, l. 6, so shuld ye wors reioys. W, *wherof ye sholde reioyse*; R, *Et lamour done vous deueries iouyr*. D mistranslates the clause.

P. 146, l. 9, withdrawe it. I. e., you would not be able to recall her fancy (*plesaunce*) from her lover, when you would do so.

P. 149, l. 17, Malle. W, *Mailles*.

NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

The names of minor characters in the story are omitted; also such common names as *Spayne, Fraunce, Englund*, when the modern, geographical equivalent is obvious. An interrogation point indicates that I have not been able to identify the name. The variants from W, given in the notes, should always be consulted for the longer lists of names in the text.

Amroy, *error for Auray near Vannes*, 96, 30.

Andrewe, *see Landry*.

Aniou, Duches of, 24, 5.

Aragon, 1, 6; *Arragonne, Kyng of*, 121, 32.

Armoric, *for Armorica, Brittany*, 9, 17.

Auncenys, Geffray d', Ancenis, 116, 12.

Aurences, Vicecounte d', Avranches *in Normandy*, 24, 3; *error for Fr. Auteriche*, 55, 22 (*see note*).

Avyon, Ralond de, *error for Dinan*, ? 29, 6 (*see note*).

Babilon, Sultan of, 1, 10; *Babilone*, 117, 31.

Baniers, Ser William de, ? 55, 25.

Bausy, Hondes de, ? 149, 17; *Vaucay, Lorde*, 29, 24.

Bellacion, *another name for the "Welle of Mervells"*, 41, 34; *Bellacon*, 56, 1.

Boloys, Tybould de, Blois, 54, 1.

Breales, a Saracen, 29, 3; *Fr. Broalis*.

Breselyn, *forest of, Broceliande*, 39, 16; *Breselyne*, 40, 12.

Breste, 24, 21.

- Bretayn, Brittany, 10, 5; *Little Bretayn*, 9, 17; *L. Bretayne*, 9, 25; *Bretane*, 41, 19; *Bretan*, 70, 15; *Pety Bretan*, 82, 14.
- Brice, Huberd de, *perhaps Brézé, Anjou*, 116, 14.
- Brodas, *son of the Sultan of Babylon, conquerer of Galicia*, 3, 10; 4, 12; 112, 32. W, *Broadas*.
- Burgon, king of, 89, 7; *Burgone*, 89, 4; *Duke of B.*, 103, 6 (*footnote*); *Burgonne*, 101, 31. *His brother Guy B.*, 105, 33.
- Canterbury, Archbishop of, 81, 28; *Bishop of*, 83, 14.
- Castellyon, Châteaugiron, *Brittany*, 61, 19 (*note*).
- Chastameny, Gauter de, ? 30, 24 (*note*).
- Chateawbreauce, *Geffray de*, Châteaubriant, *Anjou*, 140, 7.
- Chasteau Gouteŕ, Chateau-Gontier, ? 24, 6 (*see note*).
- Corbadan, *a Saracen*, 29, 3.
- Corbatan, *son of the Sultan, invader of England*, 82, 11; 84, 11. W and R, *Corboran*.
- Cornewale, King of, Cornwall, 77, 6; 87, 11.
- Couleigne, *Corunna in Galicia*, 2, 12; *Couleign*, 2, 21; *Colleyn*, 110, 32; *Coleigne*, 10, 23; *Colloigne*, 94, 27; 111, 2; *by false etymology, Columpne*, 116, 26; 117, 19.
- Creton, Craon, *Normandy*, 28, 28 (*note*).
- Crusses, Graue de, ? 116, 19.
- Dace, Earl of, *error for Douglas*, ? 96, 3 (*footnote*).
- Dancen, *Geffray*, ? 28, 15.
- Dampdenis, *Englished in W as Syr Denys*; O, *dādenis*, 3, 25.
- Danion, Vicounte, *error for Donges*, ? 28, 14 (*note*); *Geruast D. error*, 29, 24 (*note*).
- Darcy, Earle of, *error*, ? 96, 2 (*footnote*).
- Daunges, Vicount of, Donges, *Brittany*, 60, 16; 139, 3.
- Destrue, Erle of, Asturias, *Ponthus' uncle*, 7, 14; 111, 15; *Desture (as in W and R)*, 137, 7.
- Deyneŕ, Hubberd de, Dinard, 30, 27.
- Dole, Rauland de, Dol, 24, 30; *Lady of Doule*, 102, 12; *Pier' de*, 30, 25.

- Dorbendelle, *tour* of, *Derbendelle near Talmont (Vendée)*, 110, 19 (*see p. 5*).
- Doune, *Piers de*, ? 149, 14.
- Douncelles, *Lorde*, 30, 21; *Oliver' de*, 116, 18.
- Ellious, *Sidone's maid*, 14, 2; 68, 9; *Elious*, 14, 7; *Ellyous*, 15, 7; 127, 23. *Fr. Eloix*.
- Fireague, *a Saracen*, 84, 8 (*see note and p. 18*).
- Galice, *Galicia*, 2, 11.
- Galyce, *error for Galos (Gaulish Britons)*, 24, 29 (*note*).
- Gener, *elder of the English king*, 73, 8; *Gener'*, 74, 11; 136, 22; *Geneuer'*, 137, 18; *Geneuer*, 143, 16; 144, 8.
- Gloucestre, *Earl of*, 95, 36; 140, 15; *Duke of*, 138, 16; 139, 1.
- Gloucestre, *Rolande*, 72, 30.
- Guenelete, *Treacherous companion of Pontius*, 34, 19; 63, 11; 88, 31; 97, 21; 124, 11 (*see p. 18*).
- Hampton, *English port*, 70, 22.
- Henry, *younger son of the king of England*, 70, 26; 84, 12.
- Herland, *seneschal of Brittany, Pontius' guardian*, 10, 19; 38, 29; 90, 19; *Herlande*, 10, 3; 13, 10.
- Hungary, 57, 8.
- Huguell, *king of Brittany, Sidone's father*, 9, 25.
- Irland, *king of*, 76, 22; 77, 21; *Irelond*, 76, 4, 21; *Irlond*, 76, 2.
- John, *elder son of the king of England*, 83, 2; 84, 9.
- Karodas, *son of the sultan of Babylon, invader of England*, 27, 16, 25; 28, 27; *Carodas*, 18, 22; *Karados*, 27, 10. W and R always *Karados*.
- Lay Forest, *Amaury de*, ? 116, 17; *Hulland de La Foryste*, 30, 25.
- Lay Garnache, *John de*, ? 116, 16.
- La Hay, *Fresell de*, ? 30, 23.
- Lay Poys, *Eustace de, for La Possonnière Maine*, 116, 15 (*note*).
- La Roche, *Bernard de, Brittany*, 29, 32; 43, 4, 19; *Barnard*, 31, 17; *Guyllyam de*, 28, 29; *G. de Roches*, 24, 7; 29, 5; 110, 23; *Roger' de*, 24, 30.

- Lazynyen, Geoffrey de, Lusignan *in Poitou*, 25, 1; 31, 16; 43, 5; 50, 8; 107, 27; *Lazenyen*, 24, 9; *Lazygne*, 139, 17; 140, 8; *Lasigne*, 143, 33; 148, 7.
- Leon, Vicounte de, Lion-sur-Mer, 24, 28; 105, 10; *Herdy de Lyon*, 30, 26.
- Lyon, Ile of, I. d'Oleron, *off La Rochelle*, 110, 31 (*footnote*).
- Mahounde, 5, 6; *Mahown*, 1, 21.
- Malle, Hubberd de, ? *Touraine*, 149, 17.
- Mangon, John de, ? 30, 26 (*note*).
- Mauleon, Leonell de la, ? 139, 18; *Malleon*, 149, 16; *Maleon*, 25, 2; *Lernell* (?) *d. l. Mauelyon*, 24, 10. *Mauléon in the Basses Pyrenées can hardly be the place.*
- Mayne, Earl of, Le Mans, 24, 4 (*note*); Mayns, 28, 28.
- Morteyne, Erle of, Mortain, *Normandy*, 24, 4; 43, 8; 54, 11.
- Mounte Agnant, Andres de, Montaigu, ? *La Vendée*, 30, 24.
- Mounte Belliard, *Erle of*, Montbéliard, *Burgundy*, 60, 31; *Belliard*, 105, 34.
- Mountford, Monfort-sur-Meu *near Rennes*, 50, 20; *Lorde Maunford*, 143, 33; *Erle of Mountford*, 55, 24.
- Mounte Vyel, Gaciane of, Montreuil, 30, 22 (*note*).
- Namptes, Nantes, 110, 18.
- Northampton, Erle of, 77, 2.
- Oliveŕ, *Herland's son*, 91, 7.
- Panell, La Haye-Pesnel, ? *Normandy*, 149, 12; *Guy Pamell*, 116, 20.
- Patrices, 6, 14; 8, 27; 111, 15; *Ser' Patryke*, 115, 24; 117, 8; *Patryk*, 117, 7.
- Peonny, John, *error for Panell*, 30, 20 (*note*).
- Peyters, Poitiers, 24, 8; *Petevynnes*, Poitevins, 25, 4.
- Poleyne, Poland, 57, 8.
- Pollides, *Ponthus' intimate and cousin*, 4, 4; 12, 31; 142, 11.
- Ponthus, *in Fr. usually, in Ger. always*, Pontus.
- Quyntyn, Monford, Breut de, ? 28, 16.
- Quynpartorentyn, *for Quimpercorentin, modern Quimper. St. Corentin is its patron*, 31, 1.

- Rays, Gautier de, *perhaps* Rai-Aube, *Normandy*, 28, 15 ;
Aubry de, 30, 27.
- Ree, Ile of, *off La Rochelle*, 133, 12.
- Rey, Ryoud de, 30, 26 (*see Rays*),
- Reyns, Rennes, 41, 22.
- Richemound, Earl of, 95, 36 ; 136, 22 ; 141, 33.
- Rochell, La Rochelle, 133, 13.
- Roches, *see La Roche*.
- Sages, William du, ? 116, 19.
- Sainte Iames in Galice, 149, 6.
- Sainte Malo de l'Ysle, 70, 1. *Seyncte Malewe*, 24, 21, *possibly an error for the Point de S. Mathieu near Brest*.
- Seynt Gyles, Barnaby de, *S. Gilles-sur-Vie, Vendée*, ? or *S. Gildas*, ? *Brittany*, 116, 13.
- Sidone, 15, 14 ; 16, 10 ; *Sidon*, 14, 1 ; *Sydon*, 12, 12 ; 15, 5 ;
Sydone, 56, 23 ; 57, 12. *In W, Sydoyne, Fr. Sidoine*.
- Le Surdite de Droyte Voy, *Ponthus' nom de guerre in England*,
 72, 3 ; 104, 17 ; *Surdyte*, 73, 17 ; 78, 8. *Surdite*, 79, 28.
- Susteny, *forest of, probably an error for Sucinio on the Morbihan*, 10, 5 (*see note*).
- Syen, Henry de, 116, 13.
- Sylle, *probably modern Sillé-le-Guillaume*, 24, 5 ; *Ranald de*,
 25, 14 (*see note*) ; 30, 22.
- Tenull, Roland de, *error for Chemillé*, ? 30, 23 (*see note*).
- Tesson, ? 116, 20 ; 149, 11, *possibly not a geographical name*.
- Tibeñ, *king of Galicia*, 1, 4 ; Tyber, 3, 17. *Fr. Thibor ; Ger. Tiburt*.
- Towards, Guy de, Thouars, 149, 16.
- Turnebeufe, *probably not a geographical name*, 30, 20.
- Valoynes, Bernard de, *perhaps Valognes in Normandy*, 28, 15
 (*but see note*).
- Vennys, Vannes in *Brittany*, 10, 32, etc.
- Vettrey, Gerrard de, 139, 2 ; *Pers de Vettry*, 139, 2.
- Vitry, Edmund de, Vitré in *Maine*, ? 24, 30.
- Wales, *Earl of*, 83, 1.
- Welle of *Aventures*, 40, 12 ; *of Mervells*, 41, 33 ; 55, 32.
- Wylron, Lorde, *error for Villiers*, 30, 20.

GLOSSARY.

- Abowed, p. ptc. *bent*, *bowed*, 45, 9.
 Alblasters, *Arbalasters*, 83, 6.
 Ale, *ail*, p. ptc. *alyd*, 36, 25.
 Aloigne, Fr. *aloigner*, 63, 16.
 Alowed, p. ptc. *praised*, 30, 33. W, *praysed*; R, *eust grant loz*.
 Arased, p. ptc. *sprinkled*, 68, 10.
 Attempe, *tempt*, 64, 19.
 Aailed, *lowered* p. ptc., 10, 12.
 Avenaunt, *suitable*, 53, 21.
 Balengere, *a large row boat, etymologically, a whale-boat*, 2, 13 ;
 ballengers, 133, 23, etc.
 Batell, *a battalion*, 24, 28, etc., in b., in battle array, 27, 13.
 Bente, p. ptc. of *bend*, *bent*, *pitched* (of a tent), 41, 34.
 Beñ, *a bier, or litter*; *hors-beñ*, 50, 21.
 Boude, probably an error, *bow*, 42, 29.
 Celed, p. ptc. *hidden*, *concealed*, 93, 34.
 Chalanged, p. ptc. *opposed*, *refused*, 89, 29.
 Chaces, *coursing hounds*, ? Fr. *chasses*, 4, 13.
 Cherty, *affection*, 136, 30.
 Comon, vb. *associate*, 147, 11.
 Comoners, probably *participants* in a tournament from the vb.
 comon, but the notes suggest deliberate coinage from the
 vb. *come on*, 139, 4, 33.
 Cosen, *for chosen* p. ptc., 53, 24.
 Cowardyue, *cowardly*, 27, 20.
 Cronocles, *coronets*, 108, 10.
 Dawyng, n. *Dawn*, 3, 7.
 Demaundes, *questions*, 10, 21 ; 16, 11 ; 16, 22.
 Devise, *spy out*, 24, 25. R, *espier*.
 Discesed, *died*, 150, 9.
 Discolored, *blanched*, 67, 6.
 Dismated, *dismayed* p. ptc., 29, 17.

- Draght, *allurement, encouragement*, 75, 15; draghtes of loue, 34, 5.
 Drogman, *dragoman, interpreter*, 18, 24.
 Dunyon, *citadel, donjon* (fig. *protection*), 25, 21.
 Dystrakked, *distracted*, 129, 16.
 Enhautes, *exercises, follows*, 1, 20.
 Erst, *before*, W, 135, 16 (note), miswritten *herfte*, 67, 2.
 Farrome, a, *at a distance*, the weak dat. plu. of the adj. *feor*, 48, 31; farrom; 141, 15.
 Fiṛ-hows, *building where there is a fire, dwelling house*, 18, 29; also in W.
 Forfeted, p. ptc. *done amiss*, 65, 4.
 Fouuysch, *foolish*, 64, 1.
 Fylloy, *follow*, 39, 13.
 Gaṛ, *make*, 77, 33.
 Garnysche, *provide, garrison*, 23, 23.
 Gaynstandyng, n. *opposition*, 3, 15.
 Gogle, *joggle, stagger*, 51, 11; gogylyng, 52, 18.
 Goweṛ, *a brooch*, ? 61, 12 (note).
 Grifyns, *falcons*, 4, 14.
 Gyrtelles, *for Kyrtelles*, 121, 27.
 H, initial, inorganic: *harme*, 28, 8; 29, 16; 68, 9; vn-h, 46, 16; *helboys*, 6, 5; *herely*, 5, 23; *holde*, 24, 27.
 Haviṛ, *Fr. avoir, possessions*, 144, 34.
 Labre, v. *labor*, 7, 1, etc.
 Langoure, *languish*, 68, 6.
 Laseṛ, *leisure*, 127, 34. Frequent in Barbour with this spelling.
 Lay, for Fr. *la* in proper names, 46, 8; 116, 15, 16 and 17.
 Lesse, *shorter*, 137, 22.
 Livelode, *patrimony*, 108, 30.
 Lovyng, *laudation*, 50, 7.
 Luges, *huts or tents*, 27, 9.
 Luge, v. *lodge* Inf., 2, 24; p. ptc. *lugged*, 3, 2.
 Manhened, pret. *maimed*, 114, 29.
 May, for Fr. *ma*, *May dame*, 36, 32.

- Mokkyng, *mocking*, 12, 3.
 More, in the sense of *taller*, 48, 1.
 Neightboures, *neighbors*, 23, 19; 81, 14.
 Nobylley, *nobility, splendor*, 53, 13.
 Norye, *foster-child or ward*, 13, 16.
 Pensy, *pensive*, 39, 27, etc.
 Pensynes, *pensiveness*, 37, 4.
 Perchen, *to pierce*, p. ptc. *perched*, 44, 13; 84, 15, etc.
 Peyns, *garments? or plumes, tufts,?* 82, 1 (note).
 Pris, n. *praise*, 31, 16.
 Proloyne, *absent itself*, 66, 30.
 Protestacion, *protestation, solemn assurance*, 63, 23.
 Refrete, *refrain*, 39, 29.
 Refuse, *avoid*, R, *refuser*, 7, 33; cf. Barbour (glossary).
 Reiose, in the sense of *enjoy*, 132, 7.
 Repenyd, p. ptc. *repined*, 46, 28.
 Rokkette, *a small crag*, 95, 4; W and R, *roche*.
 Serve, *deserve*, 17, 3.
 Skale, *to scale* (a wall, etc.), inf., 2, 27; *scaled*, p. ptc., 10, 23;
 94, 26.
 Somers, *sumpter beasts*, 97, 19.
 Strenghtes, *strong places*, 26, 30.
 Stuffe, v. *provision*; pt. *stuffyd*, 5, 23; 124, 24; 128, 8, etc.;
 frequent in Barbour.
 Subarbes, *suburbs*, 134, 10.
 Suyd, p. ptc. *issued*, 43, 11.
 Symphonys, *musical instrument*, 44, 1.
 Tempe, *tempt, try*, 35, 2; *pret.*, 124, 19.
 The, *for they*, 2, 26; 69, 14; 86, 23; 100, 17; 119, 11; 129,
 9; 130, 15; 135, 5.
 Titter, *sooner*, 130, 12.
 Topp, *top* (*nautical term*), 6, 19.
 Trast, *trust*, 107, 18; *pret.* *traysted*, 89, 9.
 Vndretaken, p. ptc. *surprised*; R, *seurpris*, 27, 14.
 Unnes, *with difficulty*, 67, 8; 103, 3.

Ure, *probably fortune, lot*, as frequently in Barbour, 131, 26 (note). The meaning *man*, A.S. *wer* suggested by the note is hardly possible.

Voward, *van-guard*, 25, 9.

Vyseř, *visour*, 21, 8, etc.; vyssouř, 41, 29, etc., *a mask*.

Ware, for *vair, fur*, 141, 8.

Wate, lay in, 21, 15, *lay in wait*.

Warne, *direct, govern*, 96, 4.

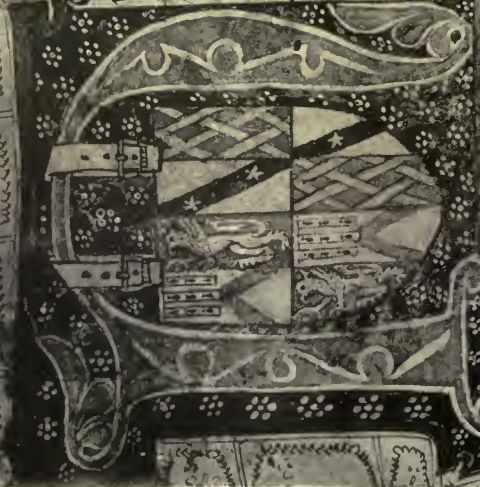
Wordle, for *world*, 38, 31.

Wordly, 9, 30; 39, 30; 46, 29; 67, 16.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.



Now I wolle you tell a noble storye of a man
 newe herte many goodes & triumphes and venge men may
 here the goodes & venge of amercite people that did
 muche goodes and worshipps in their dayes how it
 happened to the King Charles of Swaine that King
 had to his wyf the Kinges wyf of dragon. A
 full holy woman. So this had betwixt them a some
 that was called prouching the moste famous childe
 the moste famous that was born in that tyme of the
 King his wyf was a full worthy man and belovyd
 in that tyme it happened in the yere that the baron
 of Babilon was of great power of having men of
 the empire and said to the wyf that the childe should have
 any of myn heritage for I wolle ordain that childe of you that thirty
 men of lynes for the wyf that shall paye for the wyf and shall
 wede you shipping and all that you neede to have and childe of you that shall
 goe in his argenty to conquer contee and certaynes upon the custom and childe
 of you that be best good and moste conquer and moste enricht the lare of
 mercant shall be the best childe with me and I shall gyf to hym the moste



Now I wolle you tell a noble storye of a man
 newe herte many goodes & triumphes and venge men may
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 of you that be best good and moste conquer and moste enricht the lare of
 mercant shall be the best childe with me and I shall gyf to hym the moste

and toke of the people they adonte the londing and when he afferd who was
lose of that lorde the answere and sayd that it was the freyne of Exeter
and that king Juby was king of that lorde then afferd the sovereyn some
what lare he heid and then answered and sayd the lare of the crite then
make he to withspace his as though he wold withspace him fro the contree
and take two and twenty shilling and sent them to the porte of Conleyn
and charged them to make thyme as much of doth of gold of silke
of spices and that the skink in the spanning go into the toorn and bygge
thyme with forty men of Armes with habydous knyghtes then goones and in
the moose whi that the skink come upon the walle at the watter gate
that the skink yete the gate and then skink assey to stale the watter and
to come up into the toorne and as the skink it was so soon So come
the knyghtes and make thyme much of spices and sold the watter
gode theye and affe that the forty men that they bygged in the toorne as
they went to the watter gate they made they lorde to see and they wold
that noon knyght shuld be thight and when they had disposed thyme
they went and had take they assise to be up on the gate on the day
to go adonte and devise they doing and when it come to the home they
went upon the watter and at the same home the some of the skink
that was called by that name come to the foote of the watter with a grete



[KING PONTIUS AND THE FAIR SIDONE,

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE UNIQUE MS. DIGBY 185 IN
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.]

[**Cap. I.** Of kyng Tiber of Spayne and his sonne Pontus;
and how the Sawdeyn of Babilon sent his thre sonnes to
werre vpon the Cristen.]

[Fol. 166.] **N**¹OW I wolle you tell a noble storye, wherof a man may
lerne many goode ensamples, and yonge men may here
the goode dedes of aunciente people that dide muche goode and
worschip in their days—how itt happenyd to the kyng Tibeŕ
5 of Spayne. That kyng had to his wyf the kynges doghtre of
Aragon, a full holy womman. So thei had betwen theym a
sonne that was called Pontus, the moste famos childe & the
moste gracious that euer was seyn in that tyme. The kyng
his fadre was a full worthy man and debonere.

10 In that tyme itt happened in the Est that the sawdeyn of
Babilon was of gret power of havyng men of armes. So
he had foveŕ sonnes; wherthugh he ordayned that the eldest
schuld haue his empire, and sayd to the othre thre, "Fair
sonnes, take ye noon hede to haue any of myn heritage, for I
15 wolle ordeyn that eueryche of you shall haue thirty M¹ men
of armes, for the whiche I schal paye theiŕ sawde for thre yeŕ,
and schall yeve you schippyng and all that you nedes to haue.
And eueryche of you thre schall goo in his aventure to con-
quer contrees and realmes vpon the Cristen; and which of you
20 thre that best doos and moste conquerys and moste enhauntes²
the lawe of Mahown schal be the best cheresyd with me, and

¹A handsome illuminated initial N, extending through twelve lines of text. See the description of the ms. and the facsimile page.

²*Enhauntes*, to exercise or follow, corresponds closely in meaning to *exaucera* of the French original. See Bradley-Stratmann for instances of this rare word.

I schal gyf to hym the moste of my goodes." So the sowdeyn ordayned his thre sonnes and yeave theym that thei nedyd for to weŕ vpon the Cristen. And thei went to the see all thre to gedre.

- 5 [Cap. II. How Brodas sonne to the Sawdeyn toke Couleigne and slewe the kyng Tiber; and how a Cristen knyght named Patrices saved Ponthus and the xiiij children in a schip.]

10 **S**¹O it happenyd as fortune wold, that oon of the childe of the sowdeyn come, as the wynde drove hym and his navye by gret tourment, that he passed Spayne in Galice, and toke londe nygh to a gret citee that was called Couleigne, and went to londe in a balangere, he and xxi men with hym, and toke of the people theŕ aboute the londyng. And when he
15 asked who was lorde of that londe, the[i] answeyrd and seyde that itt was the realme of Spayne and that kyng Tiber was kyng of that londe. Then asked the sowdeyn's sonne what lawe he held, and thei answeyrd and seyde, the lawe of Ihesu Criste.

Then made he to withdrawe his (navy),² as thogh he wold
20 withdrawe hym fro the contree, and toke two and twenty schippys and sent theym to the porte of Couleign and charged theyme to make theyme as marchaundes of cloth of gold, of silke, & of spices; and that thei schuld in the evynnyng goo into the town and lugge theyme with fovrty men of armes,
25 with habyrdions undre theiŕ govnes; and in the morow erly that the[i] schuld come vpon the walles at the wateŕ gate, & that thei schuld gete the gate, and thei schuld assey to skale the wall and to come vp into the tovne. And as they deuydid,³ itt was so doon.

¹This capital S extends through three lines of text; so, unless there is a note to the contrary, all initials marking chapter divisions.

²The scribe has apparently omitted *navy*, here added from W. The French has *Lors fist retraire son navire*.

³MS. *deuydid*, a sheer blunder due to the ambiguous French verb. R, *Et ainsi comme il deuisea il fu fait*. W, and so as he had deuyded it, etc.

So come the xxij vesells and made theym marchaundes of Ciprice and sold theiŕ marchaundys goode chepe. And afre that, the fourty men that weŕ lugged in the toune as marchaundes, nygh to the water gate—thei made theiŕ hostys to ete and drynk with theym, that noon ingyne schuld be thoght. And when thei had disported theym, thei went and had take theiŕ avice to be vp on the gate on the dawyng, to goo aboute and deuce theiŕ dooyng. And when itt come to the houre, thei went vpon the wall; and att the same houre, the sonne of the sawdeyn, that was called Brodas, come to the foote of the wall with a grete * navye¹ of ladders. And sume went on them on hygh & thei that wer above pullyd up them that weŕ benethe, so that within a while ther was a thosand or moo vpon the walles, and wanne the water gate, and so enteryd into the toune withouten ony gaynstandyng. And thei made gret martirdome of the people, and forwith thei assailed the castell in the which the kyng Tyber was, and thei toke hym by strenght, not withstandyng the kyng defendid hym and wold not be taken, and so he was slayn.

And the quene went oute prively into the wodes. And the kynges sonne Pontus, and xiiij childe whiche was lordes sonnes, and a goode preste that toke theym,² went out prively and hidde them in a roche in a garthyn; and thei weŕ twoo days withoute mete or drynke. And the goode preste which was called Dampdenis had so grete drede, when the childeryn wold goon oute of the cave, he wenyd to haue died for them; and seyde, “Goo ye not oute bot if ye wolle dye.” So he kepte them twoo days therin. Bot on the third day Pontus sayd to his maistre, “Itt is bettre to dye on the swerd then forto dye with hungre, for then we schal be cause of ouŕ own dethe; and if we goo oute, we may by the grace of

¹ Some word representing the *nombre* of W and R, or the *foueson* of H & F would be more natural. I have let *navye* stand in the text in the sense of a ship, because I have no emendation probable on palaeographical grounds.

² *ms. theym and.* See note.

Gode happely fynde sume remedye." And the goode preste sayd he hade leue^r dye for hungre then goo into thei^r handes, and tremelyd grettly for fere.

Bot fers¹ Ponthus and his cosyn german Pollides and all the
 5 othre lepe oute of the roche, and anon thei we^r aspyed and all taken, and ledde to the toune to the kyng Brodas, that made hym selve kyng of the londe. And when the kyng sawe the thirten childe, thei semed to hym ryght fai^r. So he asked whoes childe thei we^r. And Ponthus answerd and seyde thei
 10 we^r childe whiche the kyng norisched for the loue of Gode and for theyr service when thei schuld be men. "And of what service?" said the kyng Brodas. "Ser," said the childe, "some to kepe his grehoundes and his chaces, and sume to kepe havkes of the toure, and sume to kepe grifyns, and othre to
 15 doo service in hall and in chaumbre." "What!" seyde the kyng Brodas, "Clothed he his *seruauntes* so worthely as ye bee?—for by you^r clothes that ye were, ye semen to be grete lordes sonnes." "Ser," seid Ponthus, "we be the childe bot of small gentylnen." "By hym that I *serue*," said the kyng,
 20 "I can not see what ye be, bot of beaute and of fai^r speche thou feylest non; bot ye muste lef *your* lawe that is noght worth and take the lawe that we leve on, and I schal doo you muche goode; and if ye wolle not, I schal make you for to dye: and so chese you whethre that ye wolle." "Truly," said
 25 Ponthus, "of the dethe ye may wele ordayn to you^r plesir, bot for to leve oure lawe and to take youres—we wolle not for to dye therfore." "No!" seid the kyng, "Then shall ye dye an evyll dethe."

And then come a knyght Cristen, that had taken thei^r lawe
 30 for drede of dethe, the whiche all way had his hertt and thoght vnto Ihesu Criste, the whiche the kyng loved myche, and sayd vnto the kyng, "Delieu^r theym to me, for if they wolle not beleue vpon ou^r lawe, I schal ordayn in suche wyse that thei

¹Adverbial for *fersly*. R, *Et au fort Pontus scalli. . . H, Mais en la fin.* W, shows a similar mistranslation: *and by strengthe Ponthus sterte out of the caue.*

schal neuer doo harme vnto your lawe." "I pray you," sayd the kyng, "and I yeve them vnto your gouernaunce." Then trowed Pontus and his fellows to be deid. The knyght led them to his hous and manasshed them sore before the Sarasyns; and when the Sarasyns weŕ withdrawn, he said to assey
 5 them, "Ye muste beleve on Mahounde, * or elles ye muste dye." And thei answeyrd thei wold not, bot rather to dye. And when he sawe them so stedfaste, he had gret ioy in his hert and he asked them if thei had oght etyn of late tyme.
 10 And thei sayd, "Not thes thre days haue we nawtheŕ ete ne dronke." Then he made them to ete and drynke. And as thei ete oon of them sayd to his fellows, "Wherfor ete we, when we schal dye anoon?" "Say ye not so," q[uo]d Pontus, "in the grace of our Lorde ben mony remedies. If itt like
 15 hym, we schal leve; if it like hym, we schal dye; for all lieth in hym. So lete vs have good hope in hym, and he wolle save vs." And so thei ete and prayd to Gode to have mercy on them.

The knyght herd what Pontus sayd and prased hym muche
 20 in his hertt, and seyde, "Itt weŕ to gret pitee to lete so fayŕ childre dye." And so he went fro them and soght a schipp, and by nyght stuffyd itt with vitell for a monethe, and herely in the morowe he ledd the childre to schipp, and putt therein a schipman with them that was a *Cristin* man, and putt them
 25 in the bothome of the schipp; and when the childre weŕ in the bothome of the schipp, thei pulled vp the sale, and the schipp saled into the hygh see. Then the schippman come vp fro benethe and toke the gouernaill of the schipp and asked them whedir thei wold goo. Then Pontus said, "Syth Gode
 30 has sent you vnto vs, faiŕ frende, lede vs to the coste of Fraunce." And he said he wold, and bad them not be ferd ne dredand, for thei had vitell enogh for a monethe; and told them how the knyght had putt them¹ in the bothome

¹ W and R have *hym* and *lui*, a far better reading. But the repeated, therefore consistent, blunder may be the translator's. See l. 24 f. and p. 6, l. 1.

of the schipp and the vitell with them by nyght. Then sayd Ponthus, "Faīr *Seris*, knele we all down and thanke we Gode of the grete goodnes that he hath sent to vs, and pray we all to be to his plesaunce." So did the children nyght
 5 and day vpon theīr knees and helboys, praying to Gode full devoutly, and (had) alonely theīr truste and stedfaste beleve in almyghty Gode.

[**Cap. III.** How the kyng Brodas dremed that Ponthus become a lion and devouryd hym; how Patrices councelled
 10 hym to lete the Cristen people yeld tribute; and how Patrices delyuered from prison the Erle of Destruē.]

SO lete we lese of the fovyrtē childe and retourne to the knyght that putt them into the schipp. The knyght was called Patrices, and he went and told the kyng how he
 15 had venged hym vpon the xiiij childe that wold not beleve on Mahounde. "How have ye doon?" sayd the kyng. "*Ser*," sayd the knyght, "ye schal neuer see them, for I haue putt them in a faīr schipp full of holles, withouten vitell, and lete drawe vp the sale to the topp, that broght them into the hygh
 20 see. Have no drede, for ye schal neuer see them."

"I wolle wele," said the kyng, "for I haue dremed this nyght that I sawe the xiiij children in a wodde, and that the faīr childe that speke to me become a lion and devouryd me and hurte me in suche wyse that I dyed. So I haue be sore affrayd
 25 in my slepe." "*Ser*," sayd the knyght, "itt is bot a dreme and malyncoly. Of them ye be quytt." "I wolle wele," said the kyng.

Then said the knyght, "By Mahounde *Ser*, me aght to coun- cell you truly to my power, if itt like you, that no man be
 30 putt to dethe, bot if he stonde at defence; for ye have a faīr conquest. For men sayn in scorn, that as mytch is a mylne worthe that gryndyth not as an oven that baketh not. Now lete euery man beleve on that lawe that he wolle; and that all the strenghtes & contres come to yoūr obesaunce and to

*Fol. 167^b.] yeld you tribute; * and lette theym leve and labre, and ye schal be as ryche as ye wold be." Then said the kyng, "By Mahounde ye counsell vs truly. Goo ye and so serche prisoners; and thei that wolle beleve vpon ou^r lawe—thei shall
 5 be worschipped with vs, and we schall yeve them of oures; and thei that wolle not, shal be^r tribute to vs aftre thei^r power; and we putt all the gouernaunce of ou^r law in you." So was the knyght charged with the gouernaunce of the prisoners and of the contre.

10 And the knyght, whiche was a worthy man and that took noon hede bot forto save the Cristen people at his power, went aboute to take oute prisoners and to putt them to a lyght ravnsion. Among all othre prisoners he founde the kynges brothre of Spayne, that was Erle of Destrue, that was sore
 15 wounded with two woundes; and when that the knyght knew that he was the kynges brothre of Spayne, he toke hym by the honde and led hym aloone into a chaumbre and said to hym, "Ser, I wote ye be the kynges brothre. Ye haue gret desi^r to save the countree and the people that ben fallen to
 20 gret myschief into the tyme that Ihesu Criste putt remedye therin. I sey to you in goode feith secretly that I schal putt the best remedye thurgh you^r goode counsell that I can putt therin." Then the Erle had gret ioye to he^r hym speke of Ihesu Criste, and said that he knew wele that he wold the
 25 welfai^r of the Cristen people and said full sore syghyng,

[Cap. IIII. How by the counsell of the knyght Patrices the Erle of Destrue feynyd hym a Saresyn vnto the tyme that Pontius schuld relefe the contree; and how thei made all the contree tributorie to the kyng Brodas.]

30 "Ryght swete Ser, I wote not whethi^r ye say thus to assey me, bot wold Gode that you^r hertt we^r as you^r movthe says." Then said Patrices and told how he was take in the batell, and forto refuse the dethe and for the welefaⁱ of the prisoners of the batell and of all Cristen, he become

Saresyn, bot his hertt was all wey to Gode. And told hym how he savyd the xiiij children, and how he made that the kyng putt noon of theym to dethe, and that euery man schuld hold his own lawe and bē to hym tribute and *seruage*,
 5 and how he hade doon this vnto the tyme that Gode wolde putt sume remedye therin, and how he was charged to raunson the *prisoners*. And then the Erle fell down vpon his kneys and gafe thonkyng vnto Gode, wepyng. Then the knyght toke hym vp and thei kyssed to gedre and thonked
 10 Gode.

And when thei had wepyd enygh for pite, thei said that Gode had semelyd theym to doo sume goode to the people that wē in poynte to be distroed. Then said Patrices, "*Faīr Ser*, yitt I hope to Gode that he wole haue mercy vpon the
 15 contree and his people, & I pray you to feyne you a Saresyn as I doo, and the kyng wolle haue of you gret ioye, and so by the grace of Gode we schall putt suche ordinaunce that schal be *profittable* for to abyde the grace of Gode. And I say to you as myn hertt says to me, that the childe that I haue
 20 savyd schal relefe the contree—and in *maner* the kyng hath tolde me in a dreme, how that he dremed of the xiiij children, and how that the grettest become a lion and devoured the kyng." Then said the Erle, "I reioyse in myn hertt, for he is my newew and my Gode son—Gode gyde hym." Then thei
 25 swē to hold companye to gedre—in goode and in evyll to endū. And so thei toke theīr avice to gedre.

Then Patrices went to the kyng and said, "*Ser*, ye ought to thonke Mahounde, for I haue *conuerted* the kynges brothīr of this contree, that is the Erle of Destrue; and so by litle
 30 and litle he schal helpe to encrease the lawe of Mahounde and he schal make you to haue grete tributes and grete wynnynng of the contree; and he and I schal ride into the contree to
 [*Fol. 168.] cites and townes; and thei that wolle * obey schal be cheresed, and thei that wolle not sall be punyshed."

35 The kyng hade gret ioye and made the kynges brothre to come before hym; and so thei accorded that thei schuld ride

with the kyng into the contree. And so the kyng roode from toune to toune with thirtee thovsant men of armys; and so thei made all the contree tributorie to the kyng.

So itt happened aftre mony *mervelles* and pestilence[s] in
 5 the contree. So forto passe ouer the matieꝛ, the kyng reigned xv¹ yeꝛ as by a vengeance of Gode, and aftre the londe was relevyd agan.

Now lete we retorne to the children that weꝛ in the see full sorye and full dredfull of theiꝛ live.

10 [Cap. V. How Pontus and the xiiij children arived in Litle Bretayn and Herland the senyschall broght them to the kyng Huguell that lete norysh and teche them. How Herland governed Pontus. Of the grete speche of the goodlyhede of Pontus. And how Sydon the kynges
 15 doghtre desired in hir hert to se hym.]

BOt fortune that was *mervellous* led them to the contree of Armoric, which be called now Litle Bretayn. So was the wynde strong and the tourment of the see that made them to arive vpon a roche ayeinst a forest. And as Gode
 20 wold, the mast fell betwen twoo roches; and so thei lepe vp and savyd them selve vpon the roches eueryche of them. And when thei weꝛ vpon the roche, thei held vp theiꝛ hondes and thonked Gode of his grace and said that Gode forgetteth not his *seruauntz*, bot he sendes them socouꝛ.

25 N²[ow] that tyme reigned in Litle Bretayne kyng Huguell, a worthie man and a true, bot he was olde and he had bot oon doghtre a live of all the children that he hade by hys wyfe, the whiche was sustre to the kyng of Normandie. This doghtre was the fairest, most curtes, and devoute that myght be founde
 30 in anye contree. Sche was the most wordly³ ioye that hiꝛ fadre

¹ MS. xv as. As cancelled by the rubricator.

² The N in this text is very like a large & in form, but neither W nor R has an &, while such a reading would be awkward.

³ A characteristic spelling for *worldly* which I have retained here and elsewhere, see glossary.

hade, and comforth and chere. Was no feste bot hiȝ beautie and hiȝ wommanhode was spoken of.

So it happed that Herlande that was senyschall of Bretayn, a full goode knyght and a trew,¹ was gouernouȝ of
 5 Bretayn, and he hunted that day in the forest of Susteny. And, as (of) aventuȝ, an hertt went to the water nygh to the roche theȝ the children weȝ. So Herlande loked vp and beheld the children vpon the roche. Then he come toward theym and asked theym what thei weȝ. Thei answerd and
 10 said thei weȝ aventured in the see. Then the seneschall smot his hors with his spurris and comē to theym, for the see was availed and withdrawn—then the hors went vp to the belly in the see—and made theym to lepe vp be hynd hym and his knyghtes and his esquiers, and broght theym to the londe.
 15 Then he asked theym of what lande thei weȝ. And thei said thei weȝ of the kyngdome of Spayne. Then said oon called Viceat, “*Ser*, Loo her Ponthus! that is the kynges son, and theȝ Pollides his cosyn german, and thes othre ben barouns sonnes of Spayne.” And when that Herland herd that Pon-
 20 thus was the kynges son, he made hym goode cheȝ and did hym grete honour, and asked of hym demaundes. And the childe that was full wyse answeyȝd hym full wysely and told hym how that Brodas the Sowdeyn son hade scaled Coleigne and sloy his fadre and toke the contre; and how thei weȝ taken
 25 and putt into a schipp, and all the maneȝ as ye haue herd afore. And when the Senyschall herde the sorow of the roalme of Spayne, he hade grete pitee of the kyng and of the realme of Spayne that any suche (folke) schuld haue dominacion of the Cristen.

30 So then he made hym lepe vp behinde hym—and he toke Ponthus and his cosyn horsse to ride aloone²—and led hym to
 [*Fol. 168^b.] Vennys theȝ as the kyng was. * And when the kyng sawe and hade herd of the kynges dethe of Spayne, he was full sory

¹ MS. *trew that was*, etc. I amend by omitting *that*, following R. *Si aduint que herlant . . . estoit tout gouverneur de bretagne et chassoit celle iournee*, etc.

² See the note on this apparently contradictory passage.

and hade grete pitee on the contree and wepyd, for he loved myche the kyng of Spayne, and said that he had doon myche goode and gotten grete worschip vpon the partes of Spayne whēr as he had ben in werre ayenst the Saresyns, in the company of the kyng of Fraunce. “And I say,” q[uo]d the kyng, “itt is grete hyrt to all Cristendome of the dethe of the kyng, for he was a full goode knyght and a worthie; and as to vs Bretaynes, we haue more harme than any othīr nacion, for we sent thedīr to chaunge oūr whete with theīr goode wynes, and so we haue lost mytch more than othīr men. Bot Gode of his grace deliuēr the contre of that fals lawe, and I thonke Godde that he has sent me the kynges sone and the children of the barounes, for I schal lete norysh theym and teche theym as I wold myn awn. Then he called to hym the senyschall and betoke Pontius to hym, and to diuerse of his contre he betoke the remeynaunt. And so he departed theyme¹ into the ende of iij yers and charged theyme to teche theyme wele in havkyng and huntyng—in all manēr of disportes.

So were the xiiij children departed, as ye haue herd, to the barounes of the contre. And Herland gouerned Pontius and he lered hym all manēr of disportes—hawkyng, huntyng, playng at the chesse, daunsyng, and synghyng. Myche was the worschip thurgh oute all Bretayn that sprong of the grete beautie, governaunce, and curtesie of Pontius; and thei spake of hym both farre and nēr. And aboue all thing he loued God and the chirche, and his first ocupacion in the morowe was to wesch his hondes, to say his prayers, and to hēr his messe full devoutely, and wold neuer ete ne drynke vnto the tyme that he had his prayers all said. And of suche as he hade, he wold gyf to the poēr men prively parte. And he wold neuer swēr grete othe bot “Truly” and “As God me helpe.” And he wold be as glade when he loste and when he wan; if any man dide hym wrong, he wold sey att few wordes in faire manēr that he had

¹ MS. *thenne*. Clearly a scribal blunder for *theym*. A form *theime*, on the analogy of *thei*, would be better palaeographically, but is found nowhere in the MS. N, *And so departed he theym*. R, *Et ainsi les departi*.

- wrong, and he wold yeve upp his gamme in faire maneꝛ rather or he wold strive; and no man couth make hym wroth in his playng. And he lovyd neuer mokkyng ne scornynge. And if any man speke of any vices or harme by man or womman, he
 5 wold breke his taylor. And he wold neuer play at gamme that was hurt or angre to any man, for he was the best taght that any man sen in any place, and the best and the fairest schapen in his live dayes. He semed like an aungell. The more that a man beheld hym the better hym schuld like hym.
- 10 Theꝛ was no speche bot of hym, in so myche that the reporte of his goodelyhede and of his semelnes was myche spoken of in the kynges courte. Sydon the kynges doghtre herd so myche worschip spoken by Ponthus that she had grete desiꝛ in hiꝛ hertt to se hym; and sche was hold the fairest, the comeliest,
 15 the most womanly in all Fraunce or Bretayn, and best couthe behaue hiꝛ in presence of all maneꝛ of people, both of high degre and of lowe degre.

- [**Cap. VI.** Of the grete feste at Vennys; and how Sydon bad Herland bryng hir Ponthus, that was his norye, and he
 20 broght hir first Pollides for drede of evyll speche; and when Ponthus was broght, Sydon began for to loue hym, withouten any poynt of velanye, and chose hym as for hir knyght. How tithynges come that the Saesyngs wer landed in the Ile of Breste.]

- 25 **A**ftre itt happed that the terme of iij yeres was comen vp, and that the kyng helde a grete feste in the Whisson tyde at Vennys; and he sent govnes of oon suyte to the xiiij children; and sent to theym that thei schuld come to the feste; and eueryche baron schuld bryng his childe. And
 30 Herland broght Ponthus, and the Lorde de La Vale broght his cosyn german Pollides that was most faiꝛ, most goodely,
 [*Fol. 169.] and best in behavyng* of theym all except Ponthus.

When Ponthus was comen euery man beheld hym. And when the kyng sawe hym, he had gret ioye and praid to Gode

to save hym and to send hym myche worschipp, and said that he schuld serve hym of his copp at the feste.

The kyng made his fest with his barones and his knyghtes in oon *parte*¹ and his doghtre in an othi^r *parte*. Grete was
 5 the feste and the ioye and the grete sportes. Sydon, that herd the grete speche of the beautie that was in Pontus and of his demeynyng, sche was day and nyght in grete thoght how sche myght fynd an way, with hi^r worschipp, to speke with hym— for drede myche of speche of menn. And when sche had
 10 thoght envgh, sche sent for Herlande the senyschall; and when he was comen, sche gave hym a right fai^r palfrey, and sche made hym ryght grete che^r. Herland *mervellyd* of the grete che^r, bethynkyng hym what sche mente, and doubted; and aftre werd sche said all, “Ay, fair Senysshall,
 15 fai^r and swete frende, we *pray* you that we myght see *your* norye Pontus, that is wele taght and right wyse, as men sayne; I *pray* you bryng vs hym this nyght that we may see hym, for men sayne that he can daunce and syng.” “Ma dame,” said the senysshall, “I schal bryng hym to you, sith
 20 that itt like you that I doo soo.” “Then goo,” seid sche, “and I schall see if he [be] suche oon as men sayne, or not.”

The senysshall toke his leve and wente on his wey. He was a full goode knyght, wyse and redie, and wente thynkyng that the goode che^r that he hade was for the love of Pontus.
 25 And so he was troubeled in his thoght and said to hym selfe, “Ay Sainte Marie, if I schuld bryng Pontus, he is so fai^r, if this woman sawe hym, sche myght be so take with love that sche wold haue noon othe^r bot hym; and sche myght schew to hym suche love as sche myght (be) *perceyved*; wherthurgh
 30 she myght haue blame, and the child loste, by envy. I wot not what to doo.” So he then thoght that he wold bryng his cosyn german in stede of hym, for mony causes, and for he doubted myche the kyng, and for drede that any harme schuld fall therby. He come agayne and broght Pollides with hym.

¹The word is entered over the line.

Sidon went into hiȝ warderop and sche made [come] a
 damesell named Ellious, the whiche sche loved myche and
 trusted vnto more than to any othiȝ, and she said to hiȝ that
 she hade grete desiȝ to se the faiȝ childe Ponthus, of whome
 5 all men spake. So sche had a litle wyndowe wheratt sche
 loked oute ofte tymes, if any thyng come that wey; and so
 she called Elious to se that all hiȝ aray weȝ wele dressed
 vpon. So att the laste, as thei loked, thei sawe comyng the
 senysshall and Pollides that was ryght faiȝ and goodely. And
 10 so she come down into the chaumbre and made grete cheȝ and
 ioy, and toke Pollides by the honde and wold haue made hym
 to sytt doune by hiȝ. And Pollides said, "Ma dame, I wolle
 not sitt doune by you, for itt is no reason." "Truly," she
 said, "itt is reason. Ye be a kynges son." "Ma dame," said
 15 he, "that be I not, bot I am his cosyn german." "Ay," said
 she, "I went that ye hade ben he." So she made hym as
 faiȝ cheȝ as she myght. Not withstandyng, she was wrothe
 and said to the senysshall, "Iape ye with me?" "How
 Madame?" said he. "Ye schuld haue broght the kynges
 20 sone of Spayne," said she, "and ye haue broght his cosyn
 german. Wherefore dide ye so? Hold ye me such a foell."

Then the knyght kneled doune and said, "Ma dame, I crie
 [*Fol. 169^b.] you mercy, and be * ye not displeased, for in goode faithe I
 thoght bot wele; for I myght not at that tyme bryng hym,
 25 for he served the kyng of his copp." "Yitt," said she, "ye
 schuld vndirstonde wele not to bryng me oon othre in stede
 of hym. Ye doute of me. I am not now so yong bot that I
 wold kepe my worshipp." "Itt is no doute Ma dame," said
 the senysshall. "I thynk bot wele; bot I doute my lorde youȝ
 30 fadre that loves you so myche—for if ye make hym a litle
 more chere than any othre, men wold haue envy of hym—
 and leste any evyll myght come therof, for the worlde is full
 evyll; for where that ye thinke bot goode and worshipp, yitt
 thei thynke othre wyse." "Ay," said she, "Ser, thinke ye no
 35 doute, for I hade leverȝ be deid than any myght reproche me
 or my worshipp for any thyng—be right sure." "Ma dame,

Gode wold that euery man wold as wele as I, for I wold youŕ worshipp and welefaîr as wele as any man on live; and sith ye wolle, I schall bring hym." "I pray you," said sche, "and tary not long."

5 The senysshall went his way to fetche hym. Sydon went into hiŕ warderopp to loke att the wyndowe, if she myght se hym come. So she said to Ellyous here best beloved damesell, "Yeve me my myrrour and se that I be wele." "Sothely Ma dame," she said, "ye be ryght wele." Then said she, "Loke
10 ye if that he come." And so thei looked ofte, if thei myght se hym comyng. So att the laste Ellyous went rynnnyng to hiŕ ladie and said, "Ma dame, se ye wheŕ he cometh, the fairest of the worlde."

And Sidone lepe vpp and come rynnnyng, and sawe hym
15 come, and the senysshall with hym. So she sawe hym faiŕ, sanguyn, broune, and high—of faiŕ stature, so that she hade of hym grete mervell. Then she said to Ellyous, "Damesell, me semys he is mervellous faiŕ." "Ma dame," said Ellious, "he is no man—he is an aungell. I sawe neuer so faiŕ an
20 erthely creatuŕ. Gode made hym with his aun hondes." "By my faith," said Sidon, "ye say verray trauth. I trowe she that be take with his love be fortunate." And so she went doune into hiŕ chaumbre to hiŕ ladies and gentylwomen. And anoon aftre, Pontus and the senysshall come vpp into the
25 chaumbre; and so Pontus went forth toward Sidon with full lowe curtesie, saluyng hiŕ and hiŕ ladies. So Sidone toke hym by the honde and welcomed hym goodely and praid hym to sytt doune by hiŕ. And he said, "Ma dame itt is not for me to doo so." So thei made grete curtesye. Then said she,
30 "Wherfore make ye all this curtesie? Be not ye the kynges son of Spayne?" "Yis, Ma dame," said Pontus, "bot yitt I be not like you, for ye be doghtre to a grete kyng and a myghty, and I be a kynges son disheret; and so I haue nought bot by the goodness of my lorde your fadre, that so myche
35 goode has doon to me." "Ay, Pontus," said she, "leve these¹

¹ MS. *there*.

wordes, for Gode has not made you suche as nature schewys you, bot forto doo for you ;¹ for ye be made and fouremed to haue as myche worschipp and goode, and more, then euer you^r fadre had—the which Gode sende you.” “Ma dame, I am
5 not in that way, bot in the mercy of Gode is all.”

“Now sytt ye,” said she, “I you pray and commaunde.” So he satt a litle benethe hi^r. Then said she to the ladys, “I pray you of sume disportes to the senysshall and to the knyght, and that we may he^r Ponthus syng and se hym
10 daunce.” And Sidone, that myche desired to talke with Ponthus, putt hym in demaundes of mony thinges. So she thocht hym passyng wyse of his age. Among all othre thinges she said, “Ponthus ye haue bene long tyme in Bretayn withoute seying of vs.” “Ma dame, I be in gouernaunce and so me
15 oght to obey.” “Itt is reason,” said she, “bot I demaunde
[*Fol. 170.] you, haue ye envy to see vs and ou^r ladies * that be here?”

“Ma dame, nay for sothe, for here is a full fei^r company to see.” “I you demaunde,” said she, “haue ye any wyll to any ladie or gentywoman, to be hi^r knyght?” “For sothe Ma dame, nay; for the seruice of me is bot litle worthe.” “Pon-
20 thus,” said she, “save your grace, ye be of the place to be of worschipp to serve the grettest ladye and the fairest of all Bretayne.” So thei hade enough of diuers demaundes betwen theym, in so myche that she said, “I wolle that ye take the state of knyghthod, and that ye be hold as for my knyght.
25 And when I here that ye doo you^r selve worshipp, I wolle haue ioy of you.” “Ma dame,” said he, “Gode thonke you and Gode send me grace to doo that may please you and all your ladys, for the dedes of a poue^r man be litle worthe.” “Yitt,” said sche, “I wolle wele that ye wytt how that I
30 holde you as for my knyght, and when that ye doo bettre then any of my knyghtes, I shall loue you for the beste, and ye schal wante no thing that I haue; and I wolde that ye made surement to serue me aboue all othre, in worschipp;

¹ “To aid you”—R, *Dieu ne vous a pas fait . . . pour vous deffaire*. W, *for to vnmake you*.

and thinke ye not bot that I thinke worschip." "Ay, Ma dame, I thonke you of the grete worshipp that ye offre to me as myche as I may. Gode yeve me grace to serve itt vnto you^r worthynes." "I shall say you," said she, "that I wolle
 5 loue you as my knyght, and that ye be of suche mane^r that I may perceyve that ye thinke noon othre wyse bot forto kepe the state and the worshipp of me; and if ye thinke any velanye, I shall neuer loue you." "Ma dame, I hade leue^r be dede than to thinke any thyng that shuld turne to you^r diswor-
 10 shipp or to my lorde your fadi^r¹ dishonu^r." "Then wolle ye promys me, so as ye be a kynges son?" "Yea Ma² dame, by my feyth," seid he. Then she yeave hym a ryng with a diamounde and she said that he schuld bere that for the loue of hi^r. "Ma dame," said he, "Gode thonke you." So he toke
 15 itt and putt itt vpon his fingre.

And aftre that, she lede hym to daunce, and aftre sche praid hym to syng. And so he dide hi^r commaundement, as he that felyd hym self take with loue. So he song so goode and so swete a song that it was *mervellous* to he^r. Then he was loked
 20 vpon with ladies and gentywomen and gretely praysed. And then eueryche of theym disired in thei^r hert the felischipp of hym and said omong theym, she was full happy that hym list forto loue and cherys. And aftre that thei hade daunsed, thei come furth spices and wyn; and so Sidon yeave to the senys-
 25 shall a copp of golde full of wyn, and the senysshall thonked hi^r myche. And when thei hade wele disported theym, the senysshall said, "Ma dame, we beseche you of leve, for itt is tyme that we goo to the kyng." So she yeave theym leve, and she prayd the senysshall that he shuld come ofte and se hi^r,
 30 and he said that he schuld. So she and Pontus loked full amerously at thei^r departyng, bot she keped hi^r as coverte as she myght.

¹ The flourish of the *r* is bolder than usual. It possibly represents an *es*. I have preferred to regard *fadir* as the old Gen.

² MS. *my dame*.

And when thei weŕ goon, she asked of the ladies, "How say ye of Ponthus?" Theŕ was noon bot thei prased hym gretly; and theŕ was sume said that she was right happy that myght haue suche oon to hiŕ loue. She myght wele say she had the
5 fairest and the flouŕ of the worlde. So the ladys praysed gretly Ponthus and that was grete ioy and comforth vnto Sidone to here, if she durste say bot litle, bot that sche said he was faiŕ enough, and prayd to Gode to kepe hym from all evyll tunges.

10 The feste dured thre days with grete ioy and welfaiŕ and all maner of dissportes. So itt hâppened theŕ come marvelous tithynges, that said that the Saresyns weŕ londed in the Ile of Breste and were mo then twenty thovsand. So the courte was gretly trovbelyd, so that thei couth make noo cheŕ.

15 [Cap. VII. How tithynges come to the kyng of Bretayn that the Saresyns were come in to his lond; how Ponthus answered the Saresyn that said that his lawe was better then the Cristen; and how the kyng made Ponthus knyght.]

20 [Fol. 170^b.] **A**boute the myddes of the day theŕ come furth a knyght and twoo * squyers Saresyns in message fro the kyng Carodas that was sonne to the sawdeyn, oon of the iij sonnes that ye herde of before. The knyght was huge and grete, stronge and horrible to se. A drogman he made to say, and
25 said on highe, that the son of the sawdeyn was comen into the contree to do a wey the Cristen lawe and to puplish the lawe of Mahounde; and badd the kyng of Bretayn to forsake the Cristen lawe and take hym vnto the lawe of Mahounde; and to haue tribute of hym and of euery fiŕ-hows in his realme;
30 and if he wold not, he wold distroy all Bretayn and putt all to the swerde.

The kyng herde the manashyng and grete pride of theym. He wyste not what to šayn and said no worde.

Then loked vpp Ponthus and saw that noo man spake noo worde. He lepe furth and said, "I am a simple child, I wolle not soffre hym to dispyse oūr holy lawe afore me." And so he knelyd doune before the kyng and asked leve to answer̄ the
 5 Saresyn. The kyng *graunted* hym, when he sawe noon othēr wold speke. Then said he to the knyght Saresyn, "I shall answer̄ the, and say, that yoūr lawe is bot temptacion and dampnacion, and live of the fire euer lastyng, and oūr lawe is helthe and saluacion and ioy that shal endure; and as to yeld tribute
 10 to you, we be free, and suche *seruege* shall we neuer doo to you, by the grace of Almyghty Gode."

Then said the Saresyn knyght, "Be thēr any too men that wolle fyght ayeinst me, that Mahounde is not grettre then yoūr lorde Ihesu Criste?" Then answeryd Ponthus, "If it please
 15 Gode, we wolle not putt too ayeinst the. I am yonge and feble, I caste myn hodde to a wedde for to defende thes wordes befor the kyng." And the Saresyn stode vpp and said, "Undirstonde that I wolle fyght with the and oon othēr." "I aske bot my self," said Ponthus. The kyng and the Barounes wēr
 20 wrothe that Ponthus had waged batell with the Saresyn and that he had caste doune his wedde; bot it wolde not be amended.

Then said the kyng, "Ay Ponthus, ye haue putt vs in grete disease of hert, that ye haue ben so hasty to cast doune yoūr wedde—ye that be so yong—ayeinst yonde knyght, that be so
 25 stronge and myghty." "*Ser*," said Ponthus, "knowe not ye that at the request of Daniel, that was bot a child, thurgh whome¹ Gode savyd Susanne? Mervell ye not of the *mervelles* of Gode. Whome Gode wolle haue keped, shal be keped. I hold me sure and hardy ayeinst hym. Doute ye not of me."
 30 When the kyng herd hym thus speke, he weped, when he consideryd the goodnes and the hardenes of hym; and for the

¹The omission of *thurgh whome* would set the sentence straight, but there is no reason to suspect scribal corruption in this case. Inconsequent constructions are so common in this text that I shall never indicate them, except where a probability of scribal error justifies emendation.

pitee that he hade of the childe, he besoght Gode full humbly
with all his herte to helpe hym att the iorney.

“Ser,” said Ponthus, “make ye me knyght and yeve me
armore, and I shal goo and doo my devir.” The kyng maked
5 hym knyght, and girde hym with a sworde, and kyssed hym &
he weped sore, that he myght not speke oon worde; and then
he lete arme hym with the beste armour that he hade, and
yeave hym the best stede that he hade; and when he was
armed and on hors bakk, he was so faīr to se, and satt so
10 streght and so wele vpon his hors, that it was grete ioy to see
hym. And his xiiij fellowes weped for pite and for fere of
hym; and Herland the senysshall was full sory; and so was
all maner of people sory and wrothe, that he that was so
yonge shuld fyght with oon that was so strong; for men
15 said that he was the myghtehyst and the hardeyst among
all the Saresyns.

Grete was the speche of Ponthus that he wolde fyght: in so
myche that worde come to Sidone. It is not to be demaunded
*Fol. 171.] whethre that she made any sorow or hevynes for * hīr knyght.
20 She sent hym a kerchef to bē on his spēr; and when he sawe
itt, he reiounsed hym in his hertt and thonked hīr; and she
went prively into hīr warderopp and said hīr prayers for him
devoutley.

[Cap. VIII. How Ponthus slewe the Saresyn and sent his
25 hed to the Sawdeyn.]

And when he was on hors bak, the Saresyn said to hym:
“Goo fetche an othre to helpe the, for thou be to yonge;
and I haue grete pitee of the, for thou be so faīr a child. Itt
wēr grete harme that I schuld sloo the, by Mahounde. Ther-
30 fore it is goode that thou gaynsay all that thou havis said and
pray Mahounde to foryeve the thy evell wordes that thou hast
said of hym.” “Knyght,” said Ponthus, “leve thes wordes.
Thov shall see anoon the vertue of Ihesu Criste. Defende the,
if thou wolle.”

And Pontus withdrewe hym a litle and putt his spēr in the reste; and come with a goode will & smote hym betweyn his sheld and his helmet, that he brake his shuldre. And the Saresyn smote Pontus so myghtely that he brake his spēr.

5 And when the kyng and the people sawe the iustyng, thei thonked Gode and said that Pontus had wele iusted. Then Pontus went forthre and drewe oute his swerd, and come to the Saresyn and gave hym suche a stroke aboute the vysēr of his helme that men myght se his vysage all open. Then had

10 the Cristen ioye, and hope in Gode. The Saresyn drewe oute his swerd, whiche was a full grete blade of stele, and smoth Pontus therwith so grete a stroke that he made his hede to shake and fire to smyte out of his eeyn: so he was sore astoned of that stroke, and sore was the feght betweyn theym. Bot at

15 all tymes Pontus had the *bettre* and lay in wate to smyte hym in the visage that was open; and so he mett with hym at a travers, that he smote of his nose and his chynne, so that it helde bot by the skynne: so he blede in suche wyse that his sheld and his nek wēr full of bloode, that vnneth he myght

20 sitt on hors bake. Then Pontus toke hym by the helme and pulled itt fro the hede, and aftre gave hym suche a stroke that he fell doune to the grounde. And when he had doon so, he smote of his hede and putt itt on his swerde poynte and broght itt to the squyers Saresyns and said to theym, "Faīr Saresyns,

25 I present you with the hede of *your* maistre. Goo and bē it to the sawdeyn sonne yoūr kyng. And (tell hym)¹ it was at his requeste—this batell for the prevyng of oūr feyth and his, and that God shewed by a childe that he is verray Gode, and thus by hys poēr² he schall shewe that ye hold on a fals lawe;

30 and say to hym in shorte wordes that itt shall be hastely knowen and shewed, whethīr that my God or his be more myghty. So goth oon *your* wey, for ye shall goo save and sure—for a messynḡer shall haue noon harme, bot if he require dedes of armes."

¹ R, *Et lui dictes que. . .*² R, *puissance.*

The squiers toke the hede and the body and broght¹ itt to theiꝝ kyng and all his lordes Saesyngs, and told hym and theym all the maneꝝ of the request of the batell, and how the Cristen was of the age bot of xvij yeres at the moste. So
 5 the kyng and all his lordes Saesyngs was full wroth and sorowfull of theiꝝ knyght, and thei had *mervell* of that aventuꝝ, for he was holde (the best knyght) and the strongest on theiꝝ party. So thei buried hym afte theiꝝ maneꝝ. So lefe we of hym and retourne we vnto Ponthus.

10 [Cap. IX. How Ponthus gave thonkynges to Gode for the victorie, and how he auised the kyng to assemble the princes and barounes ayeinst the Saesyngs. How the Cristen ordeyned their batells.]

15 Ponthus smote his hors with the spores and rode streght to the hygh chirche, yeldyng thonkynges vnto Gode full devoutly, and said, "Ay, swete Ihesu Criste, thi dedes be *mervellous*, for by thy grace I haue the victorie of myn enemys, and I knowe that thou thinkes * on thi poveꝝ *seruauntz*; and goode Lorde haue *mercy* of me that am thy *povere seruaunt*,
 20 and on this contree that is in thyn honde." Then he made his offeryng and lepe vnto his hors and so went vnto the kyng.

It is no demaunde whethiꝝ the kyng & his barounes weꝝ glade and made of hym grete ioy and grete chere. The kyng toke hym aboute the neke and kyssed hym, sayng thes wordes,
 25 "My faiꝝ swete frende, we truste in you that ye schall delyuer vs and ouꝝ countre frome ouꝝ *aduersaries* that wold ouergoo vs."

Afte this itt is no question if Sidon and hiꝝ ladies made ioy; and thei said, that beautie, bounte, and manhode weꝝ assemelyd in his person—"this was *mervellously* doon of hym."
 30 We pray to Gode to save hym from all evyll."

Afte this the (kyng) sent for all his barounes and knyghtes to here howe the Saesyngs weꝝ comen to his countre, and the

¹ ms. *broght a*. The *a* is cancelled by the rubricator.

kyng asked of eueryche of theym his avice. So thei weŕ all abashed and astoned for the grete multitude that thei weŕ, that thei couth gyve noon answeŕ. So the kyng asked of Pontus his avice. “Ser,” said Pontus, “to me itt longeth
 5 not to speke, that ben so young,—of litle reson, befor so many knyghtes.” The kyng commaunded hym to say his opinion. “Ser,” said he, “for youŕ worschipp and to fulfyll *your* commaundement I shal speke as a clerke of armes and as a childe among wysmen, bot all wey foryeve my folye. Ser, it semeth
 10 me that this people, how many so euer that thei be, [be]¹ not gretely to be dovbted, for we be, and shall be,² (in Gode Almyghty) that may save or distroy with fewe people mony of theym; for in this case sett oon agayn oon hunderyth in keypyng of his feith, for this tovcheth all Cristentie, that be
 15 *seruauntz* of Gode,³ and all Cristen people wolle come to helpe you at that tyme; for if thei wynn ouŕ contree, all othre contres wolle not be sure ne sikeŕ. Wherefore I wolle counsell you, by the goode avice of *your* knyghtes that be here present, to send to princes and barounes that ben *your* neghtboures,
 20 that thei be here within xv days; and by the help of Gode and of ouŕ goode diligence men schal doo theym suche harme and angres that theiŕ gode schal neuer amende itt. Also sendes to garnysche *your* fortresses of men and vitell, & make strong youŕ tovnes and castells—and in especiall; theym that be next
 25 the countree that thei be in—and withdrawe and distroy vitell frome theym.”

¹ The obvious emendation of the passage is the insertion of a second *be* following the French. *Il me semble, combien que ceste gent soient grant nombre, ne douient pas estre tant doublez, car nous seruons et sommes a dieu tout puissant, qui puet sauuer*, etc. The passage might stand without emendation if *how many so euer* might be regarded as a clause in opposition to *people*. This seems to me incongruous with the style of the text.

² MS. *be of goode myght enoghe*. The context shows clearly that *goode*, as in the case a few lines beyond, must be a corrupt reading for *Gode* and necessitates the emendation of the clause. I have adopted the reading of *W* for *we shall be and ben in gode almyghty*; which follows the French, *vid. supra*. Both English versions appear to have had an original reading *serons* instead of the *seruons* of *R*.

³ MS. *goode*.

This counsell was holden goode aboute all othīr and was fulfilled. And messyngers was sent throughe oute the contre that was next: as in Normandie to the Vicecounte d'Aurences, to the Erle of Morteyne, to the Erle of Mayne, to the Lorde
 5 de La Vale, and of Sylle; and to the Duches of Aniou, for the Duke was deid; also he sent to the Lorde of Chasteau Goutēr, and to Guyllen de Roches, to Bortane de Doune, and to Landry de La Toure; into Petewe thei sent to the Erle of Peyters, bot he was goon to Rome, and thei sent vnto Geffrey de Lazenyen,
 10 to Lernell de La Maelyon, and to Henri de La Marche: so thes knyghtes wēr chosen for the best that was in thos dayes in thoos contrees aboute theym. And all thos that wēr sent vnto, they sent to the contre aboute theym, that thei schuld in all the haste come in theīr best aray, that thei myght come
 15 to gedre to helpe the kyng of Bretane ayeinst the Saresyns that wold distroye the Cristen people.

It is noo question bot all maner of people wēr comyng toward the iourney in theīr beste aray; and so by the xv days' ende thei wēr comen to gedre—a grete mayne of all
 20 maner of people, of the which the kyng made grete ioy. And so they toke theīr wey togedre toward Breste and to Seynct Malewe, whēr was the oste of the Saresyns, that pylled and distroyed the Cristen aboute theym.

[*Fol. 172.] Bot the Cristen ordeynyd foūr thosand * horsemen to ride
 25 aboute theym and to devise the oste. So the Saresyns doubted of batell, thei wēr so nēr aproched. Then the kyng and Ponthus ordenyd theīr batells; and by cause the kyng was holde, he hade to helpe to governe his batell the Vicounte de Leon and the Lorde de La Vale and othīr barounes; and of Galyce,
 30 Edmund de Vitry and Rauland de Dole, Rogēr de La Roche. In the secund batell was Ponthus and Herland the senysshall. With hym wēr Normandes, the Erle of Morteyn, the Vicounte of Averences. The third batell was taken to gouerne to the Erle of Mayne and barounes and knyghtes of Aniou,¹ Guyllen
 35 de Roches, Andrewe² de La Toure. And of the fourte batell

¹ MS. *Ayven* read with R and W *Aniou*.

² MS. *landrewe*.

hade the gouernaunce Geffray de Lazynyen¹ and Leonell de la Maleon, in the which weſ Normannes, Manseons, and Petievynnes.² The Normannes weſ by estimacion ix^c men of armes; Angevynnes and Petevynnys weſ fouſ thowsand wele
5 fyghtyng men, as by estimacion.

[Cap. X. How the four batells of the Cristen rode toward the pauellons of the Saresyns aboute the poynt of day.]

And so theſ weſ fouſ grete batells, in the whiche Ponthus and Herland had the voward; so thei rode toward
10 theiſ enemys, and the kyng and othre that weſ with hym in the rereuarde, and lused them vpon the felde; and thei ordayned the halfe to wake, whiche watched, whils the othiſ halfe dide slepe. So theſ happed a grete affray aboute mydnyght; for Robt. de Sauguyn, Ranald de Sylle and a grete
15 company de la Breste³ come rydyng with iij^{ml} men of armes toward the batell and thei weſ aspyed and knowne; and thei made grete ioye of theiſ commyng; and of theiſ desiſ thei putt them in among the Angevynnes.

Then said the kyng to Bertam de Doke⁴ and to Landry de
20 La Touſ, "Fair Seris, thonke we Gode ye be worthie men and of grete worship; ye be ouſ strenght and oure dunyon; in youre hondes lieth myche of oure besynes. Comes not to the besynes vnto the tyme that it be nede."

Ponthus and Herland ordaned the Bretaynes in array.
25 Then said Ponthus to the kyng and to the lordes, "Seris I counsell that we sett vpon them before day, or aboute the poynte of day, before that thei be armed or theiſ horses sadyllled and or thei be putt in ordinaunce. Thus thei schal

¹ MS. *De la Zynyen.*

² MS. *petie vynnes.*

³ I do not understand this *de la Breste*. R reads: . . . *venoient a la besogne a bien trois cens escus*, which W translates literally. Our translator's original may have made the reinforcements come from Brest.

⁴ Apparently a mistake for Bertam de *Doune* mentioned above. So in W and R.

be more easly discomfytt." "Truly," said the kyng and the lordes, "this counsell is goode. Let vs goo to hors, for itt is tyme." Then euery man armed theym and lepe to hors.

The wediŕ was faiŕ and bryght and the mone shone full
 5 bryght. So thei rode toward the Saresyns, that was ayeinst
 Breste in theiŕ pavellouns, and toke theiŕ counsell thus: bot
 if thei shuld be foghten with, thei wold ouerride all Bretan.
 And thei broght with theym engynes and laddirs forto con-
 queŕ the contre and thei dovbted not, for thei trowed to haue
 10 no batell, and thei made bot litle dowtes by cause of the grete
 multitude that thei weŕ of.

[**Cap. XI.** How the Cristen and the Saresyns ordaned their
 batells. How Ponthus rescoued the kyng of Bretayne
 and slewe the kyng Karodas, and afre that the Saresyns
 15 were putt to flyght, wanne the grete tresour. And how
 Sydon made grete ioy of the worschip, that he receyved
 in this batell.]

A¹ftre itt happed that the batells approched so nygh that
 20 thei sawe the Saresyns, the whiche had mony pavyl-
 louns of dyuers colours. Then said Ponthus, that gyded
 them that weŕ in the firste batell, to his people, "Se here the
 Saresyns that wold disheryte vs of oure faithe. We ben in
 the seruice of Almyghty Gode, wherfore noman haue noo
 doute bot that oon of vs is worth mony of them; and I pray
 25 you of too thynges: oon is, aboue all thyng to truste in Gode,
 for by hys power we shal come aboue oure enemys; the secunde
 is, that ye take no thyng to pyllage ne to noo covetyse, bot
 onoly to discomfytt oure enemys and to putt them oute of
 oure contrey, in the worshipp of oure faithe and for pitee of the
 30 pouere people that dwellys oute of strenghtes in the feldys—
 that laboures and travells, in whome we lyve. Therefore be
 [*Fol. 172^b.] we strong and stable to * defende the chirche and them."

¹A extends through two ll. in the ms.; so also the initial A of Chapter VII.

And when he had said to theym thus, he said, "Nowe goo we forth my frendes, and euery man thinke to doo wele."

Then euery man toke hert to theym, and smote theiŕ horses toward the tentys and began to bete doune tentys
 5 and payyllouns, and to sley sume as thei weŕ armyng theym
 and sume naked; and so thei made in that syde mony to
 dye. Grete was the noyse and the crye among theym. So
 cleryd the day. Then thei began to loke vpp, and the Bre-
 tayns laid on and putt fire in theyŕ luges—and in so myche
 10 that the kyng Karados was on hors bak in a playne with a
 grete batell, and said to his people on hyghe, "Euery man
 drawe to his captayne and putt theym in ordinaunce, for itt is
 nede." Then ye myght see the Saresyns putt theym in batell,
 notwithstandyng thei weŕ vndertaken, for there were sleyne
 15 of theyme vij^m. and that was the fourte¹ parte of theiŕ people;
 bot the kyng Karodas was a mervellous goode knyght and of
 grete corage, and when he was on his hors, he toke his baneŕ
 in his honde to releve his people. And when thei herde his
 voice and his horne, itt confortd theiŕ hertes and recoueryd
 20 the hertes of the cowardyue.

And aboute the sonne rysyng was grete crie and grete noyse,
 for aboute that tyme thre batells of oure people were comyn
 to gedre in the syde of the Saresyns, theŕ myche was to doo,
 to feght—and ouŕ people to putt fyre in theiŕ luyng. Then
 25 the Saresyns drewe theym to gedre aboute the kyng Karodas.
 Grete were theiŕ strokes on both sydes and grete was the crye
 of theym that weŕ slayn and hurtt.

In that othre side faght the kyng of Bretayn, the whiche
 was fallen of his hors in the grete prese. And Pontus by
 30 aventure loked vp and saw that the kyng was fallen doune to
 the grounde. He was full sory and wrothe, for he was like
 to haue be deid, ne had Pontus and the Lorde de La Vale
 ben besyd hym to helpe hym. And Pontus, that toke litle
 hede of hym selfe, that sawe his lorde in distresse, he laid

¹ The *e* of *fourte* is written over an unfinished *h*.

aboute hym with his sworde on euery syde, so that he slowe both hors and man; so that euery man mervelled of his myght and thei fled fro hym for ferde of his strokes: so that by the helpe of Herland the senysshall and his cosyn *germayn*
 5 Pollides—for thes thre keped theym euer to gediŕ, and they¹ dide so mony grete dedys of armys that they rescoued the kyng and lyght adoune forto helpe hym vp, for he had his harme broken, the whiche grevyd hym sore, for he was nyghe
 10 grete corage. So he was on his hors bak in disspite of his enemys, and he was ledd oute of the batell.

Grete was the batell egrove² on that oon parte and on that othre. So Ponthus behelde the batell on his ryght honde, that hade myche to doo, and therin was the Vicounte Daniou,
 15 Gautier de Rays, Bernard de Valoynes, Geffrey Dancen, Breut de Quyntyn-Monford, and mony othre barounes of Breytayn that weŕ bett doune and in grete aventure of theyŕ lives, for theŕ weŕ x Saresyns ayeinst oon Bretayn. Then said Ponthus to his fellowes, “Loo heŕ oure people that has myche to doo,
 20 and nede of helpe! Goo we to socouŕ them.” Then they smote theiŕ horses with theiŕ spurrys so fersly that thei threw doune theym that was before theym. And Ponthus went all afore and dide sloo the hardiest that wold abide. Thei dide so myche, within a whyle they rescoued theyr men and putt
 25 the Saresyns to flyght and made theym to resorte into the grete batell the which was grete and hyddous.

[*Fol. 173.] Bot the kyng Karodas helde full shorte³ the Erle of * Mayns and the Lorde Creton and the othre Maunceouns. Guyllyam de La Roche sawe Ponthus and cried to hym and
 30 said, “Loo here of youre people on fote!” Then come Pon-

¹ The French and the context suggest the reading *he* (Ponthus) here and below, but the departure from the construction is characteristic.

² *egrove* can only be the p. ptc. of *growe*, the *e* representing the original *ge* prefix. *v* with the value of *u* or *w* is not infrequent in this text, but I have no other instance of its intervocalic use. R, *Moult fu la bataille cruelle dune part et dautre*, which W translates literally.

³ R. . . . *tenoit moult a destroit*.

thus and brake the presse and rescoued the Erle and othre that hade nede. And when thei were remo[n]ted,¹ the batell was full cruell. The kyng Karodas and Breales and Corbadan, his vnclē, dide mervellously dedys of armes and most harme
 5 to the Cristen. They had bett doune Guyllyam de Roches and hade slayn Ralond de Avyon and mony othre. Then said Pontus to Herland and to Landry de La Toure, "Take hede of the kyng and of too knyghtes. If they endure any while, they wolle doo myche harme; and if we myght putt
 10 theym to dethe, we shuld haue the victorye of all othir." "Ser," said Landry de La Toure, "goo we to theym." Then said Pontus, "I wolle goo vnto the kyng." And so he went to hym and smote hym so grete a stroke that he fellyd hym to the grounde—that he brake his nek; and Landry de La Toure
 15 bett doune Corbadan; and Herland smote doune Breales and kytt of hys harme. And when thes thre wer bett doune, the Saresyns weř gretly dismated and gretly dyscomforted, and stode as shepe withoute an herdman. Then thei begayn to flee, and oure men ran aftre with grete crye and toke of
 20 theym; and they wyst not wethiř to flēe bot toward theyr shyppes. And the Saresyns turned agayn and faght strongly, for mony faghte for the kynges dethe, and mony of theym knewe not of his dethe. And they hade bett doune the Lorde Vaucay, Geruast Daniou, the Lorde de Mounte John, and
 25 Lewpeyne² de Rocheford, and distroyed and slew mony of oure men.

So at the last oure men toke herte, with comferte of Pontus, so that thei bett theym doune. Pontus dide mervellously, for he stroke doune hors and men and all that wold abide
 30 hym. So they bere hym companye—Geffray de Lazynyen, Landry de La Toure, Leonell, Guyllen de Roches, and Bernard de La Roche, and Herland; and as they went they made way—and so that noon durst abyde theym. Ther Pontus cried and said, "On theym! On theym! They flee as shepe."

¹ R. *remontez*. The scribe has omitted the nasal mark.

² Probably *Le Payne*. W, *payne de R*.

And theȝ they slewe so many of theym within a whyle that all the felde ran of bloode and lay full of deyd bodyes, that it was mervell to see.

And they that myght ascape fledd to their shippes, and
 5 Ponthus aftre and toke a bote and slew xxx^v and toke foure
 scoore and asked them wheȝ the ship was that the kynges
 tresour was in. And they schewed itt to hym, whiche was a
 fairȝ, grete shipp. So they led hym and Pollides into itt. And
 they caste ouer the borde all the men that they fonde in itt.
 10 And so they saw an otheȝ fayȝ shipp that his golde and syluer
 was in. Then said Ponthus to six of hys men, "Kepe ye
 thys, and I wolle goo see if there be any that wolle lyfte upp
 his hede ayeinst vs in that vessell." So he went into itt and
 toke itt.

15 Theȝ ye myght see Bretanes, Maunceouns, Petevynes, and
 Normanes—sume goo to shippes and sume to tentes, and so
 theȝ was not the powrest, bot that he wanne grete riches. Then
 aftre they serched the felde for the Cristen men, euery man for
 his frende. So theȝ was fonde deid on the felde the Vicounte
 20 d'Auerenses, John Peonny, Turnebeufe, the Lorde Wylron;
 and of Maunceouns, Roger de Biamount, the Lorde Douncelles,
 and the Lorde Sylle; of the Hyrpos, Gaciane de Mounte Vyel,
 Roland de Tenull, Hundres de Prouere, and Fresell de La
 Hay; off Petoy, Gauter de Chastameny, Andres de Mounte
 25 Agnant, Hulland de La Fo[r]yste;¹ and of Bretanes, Pieȝ de
 [*Fol. 173^b.] Doule, Ryoud de Rey,* Iohn de Mangon, Herdy de Lyon,
 Hubberd de Deyneȝ, Gaudyffry de Rouen, Aubry d[e] Rays,²
 and mony goode knyghtes. Eueryche caryed home his frende
 and buryed them that weȝ deid and healed them that weȝ
 30 hurte.

Ponthus made the grete tresour come to Vennys to hys hous
 and departed therof full largely and yeave to hys knyghtes
 and to his men, so that he was gretly alowed of all men.

¹ R abridges the list of slain earlier. W, *Hubault de la forest*. O, *Urbain de la forest*.

² MS. *aubryd Rays*. O, *Aubri de Rais*.

The kyng drew hym to Quynpartorentyn and theȝ he dide assemble all the grete lordes, and made to theym all a grete feste and yeave to theym grete gyftes to eueryche aftre his estate, and said to theym, "Faiȝ Lordes, ye be comen, Gode
 5 thonke you, to the seruice of Gode and of the chirche and of the pouere people, and by the helpe of the Grete Lorde and of youȝ grete worthynes and hardynes, ye haue delyueryd this contree of Saresyns that wold haue destroyed ouȝ lawe and ouȝ landes. Thonke we God of his grace, that has
 10 yeaven vs suche victorye, for agayns oon of vs theȝ was six of theym."

So itt was gretly spoken of theym that faght the beste and gave the grettest strokes and did the moste dedes of armes. Bot withoute comparacion Pontus hade the name and the
 15 laude afor theym all, and they said that he had all wonne and gete. Also they gave grete pris to Geffray de Lazynyen, to Landry de La Toure and to Barnard de La Roche, for they weȝ thre of the best aftre Pontus. The kyng held his feste thre days; and aftre they toke theyȝ leve of the kyng;
 20 and Pontus convehed theym furthe; So euery man went home into his awn contree; and the kyng repared to Vennys.

It is not to aske if Sydon made grete ioy; and she said to Pontus, "My swete frende, blessed be Gode of the grete worschipp that ye haue receyved in this batell; for as Gode me
 25 helpe, I haue so grete ioy of the worschipp that I heȝ spoken of you that it puttes myn herte in full grete gladnes, and there [is] no thyng that dos me so myche goode, as the goode name that euery man yevys to you." "Ma dame," said Pontus, "it is not as euery man reportes, bot I thonke you
 30 of the worschipp that ye wold doo me; and Ma dame wytt ye wele, that if God sende me grace to doo any goode, itt comys of you; and I wold fayne doo so, that I myght fall in his goode grace, and to doo to you suche seruice that myght please you." "Pontus, your seruicé I take wele a worthe,¹ whyls

¹ Paraphrasing R, *vostre seruice prens ie bien en gre de tout mon*. ♡. *Tant comme ie vous trouuery loyay* (sic) etc., which W translates literally.

that ye be trewe and withoute thinkyng of vylanye to me, for I wold that your love be clene and sure; and wytt ye wele, that if I perceyve any othre wyse that ye thynke, then to youre worschipp and myn and to my frendes, as myche as I
 5 love you, I wolle hate you." "Ma dame," said Ponthus, "ne trowe ye not ne thynke ye not that I wolle ymagyn ne thynke bot to your worschipp, for I haue fonde you so goode, clene, and trew, that I loue and prayse you a thowsand tymes the more—fore ther is no fayrer thyng in thys wordle then is
 10 a goode, clene lyve."

So they loued mytch to gedre and of trewe, clene love. Bot envye that may not dye comes afre vpon theym, as ye shal here more playnly her afre. So lete vs leve to speke of theym, and turne to the kyng.

15 [Cap. XII. How by the voice of all the barounes Ponthus was chosen constable for the kyng. How he keyyd the ryght of Bretayn, and how he was loued of all men, and in especiall of fair ladies and gentylwomen.]

The kyng come afore all his barounes and said to theym,
 20 "Faiŕ Seris, I shal say you that I am full olde and I may not travell as I was wont to doo; and fro now forward me must take myn ease. Wherfor by your councell I wolle chese a constable that shal haue the besynes of the londe of Bretayn, and suche oon as the barounes and the comons of the londe wolle beste obey vnto. So like ye, who be the moste
 25 profitable?—for I wold fayne that he wer chosen by youre avice."

"Ser," said the barounes all with oon voice, "we wot not
 [*Fol. 174.] wher to * haue a bettre, if itt lyke hym, then Ponthus, for he is moste worthie to gouerne ane empyre, as for bountie, beautie,
 30 of wytt & gouernaunce and gentylnes—as a kynges sone, and with the beste begynnyng of his knyghthode that thys day is lyvyng."

When the kyng herd this, he hade grete ioy, for itt was all that he soght and desired, bot he wold not withoute theiꝝ desire and speche, for they had hym in theyr conceyte and grace, and so theꝝ was noo gaynsayng.

5 So was Pontius called furth and theꝝ itt was said to hym before all, that the kyng and the barounes hade chosen hym constable of Bretayne,¹ as for the moste sufficient. So he thonked the kyng and all his barounes and said to theym that they had a small avice taken, and that he had nawtheꝝ wytt ne valure to gouerne itt, and that he was to yonge. Bot
10 to blame hym selfe it aualed not, for he was charged therewith, all excusacions laid aparte.

So he was in office welbeloued and dred; for if theꝝ weꝝ any dyscension betwen the barounes and the knyghtes, he wold sett theym in peace, and acorde theym. He kepyd the
15 ryght of Bretayn withoute dooyng wrong to any man. He was loued of all men. He iustyd and made festes and reuellys. He was ryght plesaunt to grete and small, and in especial among ladies and gentilwommen. He was curtes: if any did of his hooide to hym, he wold doo of his as sone to hym. He
20 wold here the pouere and doo theym ryght. He wold not that the pouere weꝝ grevyd. And he loued Gode and the chirche. He herd euery day thre messes at the leste. He loued woddes and ryvers and all honest dissportes.

[Fol. 1.] ¹ Douce Fragment A begins here: I normalize partially the capitalization but retain the punctuation of the ms.

Bretayn. as the most sufficient. So he thankyd y^e kyng and the barouns and sayd to theym that they had take a small [avice] and that he had not
5 wytt ne gouernaunce ne valour to gouerne it and that he was to yong But to blame hym self yt awayleth not for he was then chargyd wold he nold he. So he was in his office well belouyd and dred for yf there were eny dissen-
10 sion by twene the barons and the knyghtis he wold set theym in peas and concord. He kepte the right of Bretayn without dooyng wrong of eny man he was louyd of all men he iustyd and made festys and reuelles. He was
plesaunte with gret and small and in esspecial amonge ladyes and ientil-
women he was so curtes yf eny man dyd of his hode to hym he wolde do of
his as sone. He herd the pore and he dyd theym ryght. He wold not that
pore people were grevyd. And he lovyd God and holy chirche he hard

If he come into a toune, he wolde send for ladyes and gentyll-women and make theym to daunce and syng. All disportes and ioy come ther̄ as he was; for he wold make to theym dynnars and sopers. He was beloued of mony fair̄ ladies and
 5 gentyllwomen, that shewed to hym mony fair̄ draghtes of loue, bot he neuer disired loue of ladies ne of gentyllwomen othre wys then to their̄ worschip, for any cher̄ that they made hym. So they wold say among theym oon to oon othir, "She was full happy that was belouyd of Ponthus;" and dyuers said
 10 to theym self, "Wold Gode, he wold loue me as myche as I wold loue hym." //

Myche he was beloued of grete and of small. Bot envy that neuer lakked was putt in oon of his xiiij fellowes of his contrey, that was a grete speker̄ and a flaterer̄¹ and couth
 15 mony fals engynes.

[Cap. XIII. How Guenelete had envye of his maistre Ponthus; and how by his evyll spekyng he put dyscencyon betwen Ponthus and Sydone.]

SO he hade to his name Guenelete, that sawe of Sidon the
 20 loue, and of his maister̄ Ponthus. He had therat envye, and forto assey hym, he asked of Ponthus oon hors that Sydon

euer two masses and after he louyd to go to the woodys and to the revers and to all disportis Yf he come to a town he wold sent (sic) for ladyes and ientyll women and made theym to daunce and syng and all dyssporte come there he was and ioie also for he wold geue them dyuers gyftis He was
 5 louyd of many a feyre lady and gentyll woman. that shewed to hym meny a feyr draught of loue but he never desired loue of lady no ientyllwomen. none other wyse than to theyr worshippe. for eny chere that they made to hym. So they wold sey one to another. She was full happy that was belouyd of Ponthus. Another said wold God that he * louyd me as moche
 10 as I wold do hym Moche he was belouyd of gret and small but envy that lackyd not [was] put in one of his xiiij felowes that was a gret speker and a flaterer and couth meny fals wrenchis. * * * *

[*Fol. 1^b.]

He was namyd Evenylet (sic) that saw the loue of Sydony and his mayster Ponthus He had gret envye and for to asay [hym] he askyd
 15 Ponthus an hors that Sydonye gaue hym. So he thought well that he myst

¹ ms. flaterer.

hade yeven hym. So he wyst wele that he myght not haue hym, bot for to assey hym and forto tempe hym || he said, "Maistre, yeue me Liard that Sydon yeave to you." "Truly," said Ponthus, "that wolle I not yeave you, bot goo to my stable
 5 and (take) oon othre—suche oon as wolle please you, for thei be more faire than he." "For sothe," said Guenlete, "I wolle noon hors haue, bot if I may haue Liard." "Ye may not haue hym," said Ponthus. "How so?" said Guenelete, "Thinke ye myche of oon hors to me? I owe to truste full litle in you."
 10 "How so?" said Ponthus, "Is it not sufficiaunt to you to chese of all myn horses oon of the best? And if ye be not pleased with oon, take you twoo of the beste."

Guenlete passed ouer and made hym ryght wrothe and said in his hert, "I wote wele I shal fayle of hym, bot he shal be
 15 dere boght, if I live long." He thought full evyll, as he that was full of envye and of flaterye, and thought to goo and hyndre him first vnto Sidone.

So he spake with a damesell that was the privityest with
 Fol. 174^b.] Sydone and * glossed hi with wordes and said that he loued
 20 hi myche and that he muste tell hi a grete counsell; and made hi to swe by Gode and by all his saintes, that she schuld not discure hym. Then said he, "I loue so myche the kyng and my lady his doghtre, as theym that norysched me,

not haue hym and to tempte hym. Mayster. he sayd geue me Lyard that Sydony gaue you. Trewly said Ponthus that wyll I not geue you. But go to my stable & take such another as wyll please you for there be more feyrer. For soth sayd Guynelot I wyll none hors haue but Lyard Ye may
 5 not haue hym sayd Ponthus What sayd Guynelet let ye to geue an hors to me I aught full litull to tryste to you. How so seyde Ponthus suffichith not to you to chewse of all my hors. And yf ye be not pleasyd with one takyth two of þe beste Guynelot passyd ouer and made him right wrothe and seyde in his hert I wot I shall fayll of hym & he shall be dere bought
 10 yf that I lyve longe. He thought full evyll as he that was full of envye and of flatery. And thought to hyndre hym to Sydonye. And that in haste. So he spake to a damysell that was pryve of counsell with Sydonye. And glosyd her with wordis and said that he louyd her moche and that he muste tell her a gret counsell where fore she swerith by God and by all seyntis
 15 that she wold not discoure hym. I loue so moche—

therefore I wolle hide no thyng that schuld be agayne theym. Know ye¹ not," he said, "that Ponthus my maistre makes my lady and youres to beleve that he loves hi^r more than any othre in the worlde? Wytt ye wele, he bot iapes with [hi^r],
 5 for I haue perceyved that he loves an othre bettre by the halfe: so it is folie for hi^r to sett hi^r hert on any man that be so changeable, for suche wold stond in grace of mony, and they be full disceyveable. Therefore it is goode that my ladye take goode hede to hi^r self."

10 Then said the damesell, "In good faithe, I trowed that he had ben more trewe then he is, bot at all tymes I wote wele for certayn that he desired neuer thyng of my lady bot goode; bot nowe I se wele he is not suche on as hym semyd."

Then the damesell trowed that he said trewe and come vnto
 15 hi^r lady and said to hi^r, "Ma dame, ye must promys me that ye wolle not discure me of that thyng that I wolle tell vnto you." And afre that, she told hi^r of all that she had herd—howe that Ponthus loued an othe^r bettre then hi^r.

When Sydon herd that, she was full sory and full heuy in
 20 hi^r hert, what che^r so euer she made. So at the laste Ponthus come to se hi^r as he we^r wonte to doo, makyng glade che^r. And Sidon made mornyng che^r and was thoughtfull and she mad[e] to hym bot sadd che^r. And Ponthus was abashed and come to hi^r damesell Ellyous and asked hi^r what
 25 Sydon alyd. "Truly," said Ellyous, "I wote not, bot it is nowe x dayes and more sithe she made goode chere² as she was wonte."

Then Ponthus went vnto hi^r and said, "Ma dame, what che^r is with you? Haue ye any greuaunce? Is the^r any
 30 thyng that I may doo for you? Commaunde me as you^r awn." And she said, "Noon may wytt to whome to trust; this worlde is so mervellous to know." "Ay, May³ dame, mercy," said he, "say ye me wherfore ye say thes wordes. Is

¹ *ye* entered above the line.

² *chere* entered above the line.

³ *may* for *ma* and *lay* for *la* are not infrequent. See glossary.

theſe any thyng that I haue doon, or any othere, that has displeasid you?" "Nay," ſaid ſhe, "bot ſo myche I ſay to you." So he departed and went into his chaumbre, full of ſorowe and of pensynes. Pontius myght no more come
 5 forto haue goode cheſe as he was wonte, ſo he perceyved wele that he was hyndered to hiſe by ſume fals flatereſe. And ſo he went agayn, trowyng to wytt the cauſe, bot it was for nocht, for he couth wytt nomore at that tyme.

That nyght he was full ſorrowful and lay thinkyng with-
 10 oute ſlepe, ſayng, "Allas, ſorrowfull catyve! What haue I doo? Who has hindred me to my lady? Alas! What is he or ſhe that wolle ſlo me, diſtroye me, murthre me ſo vntruly with oute any deſeruyng? Who be they that wolle putt fro me my moſt ioy worldly and make me nyght and day languſe
 15 and wale?"

So hertly and petuoſly compleynd Pontius; and if he had hevynes, Sydone hade myche more. She ſaid, "Allas! Who ſhall haue truſte in any man? I am deceyved, for I trowed that he hade bene true aboue all othere knyghtes. Howe has
 20 natuſe thus fayled to make oon the moſt faire, the moſt graciouſ, the moſt beſt hold of worſhip, moſt curteſ, moſt large, of all goode maners, withoute any thyng wantyng—howe has thou forgete to putt in hym truthe and ſtable-nes? Allas! it is grete pitee and reuthe." Thus ſorowed
 25 ſhe, the fair Sydone.

[Cap. XIV. How Pontius, that got no chere of Sydone, departed from the courte ſecretly.]

Fol. 175.] *A and by this meane theſe was myche trowble betwen theym,
 30 ſo vntruly was theſe too treue louers put in to greuance and ſorow by this flatereſe.

Pontius, that had litle reſte and ſlepe, roſe vp in the mornyng and went to here meſſe; and afre he ſent for Ellyous to ſpeke with hiſe, the whiche he loued wele, by cauſe that Sydon loued

hiŕ the best and was the most secrete aboute hiŕ ; and he said to Ellyous, "My swete frende, I mervell mych of that that my lady says to me, in so myche that I trowe that I moue neuer haue ioy in myn hert." "Ay," said she, "ye may not
 5 doo so, for I supposse my lady doos itt bot to assey you, or ellys it is by sume reporte that shal be founde a lesyng, and therfor I wote not wherfor ye shuld be so discomforted." "Ay," said he, "my loue, I wot not what ye thinke, bot I wole a while oute of the contree and I wolle not come agane
 10 vnto my comyng a gane may please hiŕ."

He said no mor at that tyme, bot withdrewe hym into his chaumbre and called to hym oon auncient squyeŕ, his name was Gyrard, and said to hym, "calles iiij yomen and lete trusse myn harnes prively, for I wolle goo awhile hens, bot
 15 not full farre, nygh to the ende of oon yeŕ ; and I wolle Herland be for me leutenant, for he is a goode knyght and a worthie."

Then he went to the kyng and said that he wold goo a whyle from thens. The kyng said to hym, "My dere frende,
 20 goo ye not farre bot that I may se you ofte tymes, for in you is all my ioy and the sustenance of my life and the gouernance of my reaume." "My Lorde," said he, "I thynke not to goo into noo place, bot and I here that ye haue any thyng to doo that touches your worshipp, bot that I wolle come to
 25 you in shorte tyme." Nevyŕ the les he had myche to doo or he gate leve to goo.

So he toke leve of the kyng late in the evynnyng full prively, that noo man perceyved hym ; and so he wente into his chaumbre and sent for Herland the senysshall and said to
 30 hym lyggyng on his bedde, "Herland my swete frende, I wolle goo a while forto se more of the wordle, and to aquante me with goode knyghtes ; so I haue spoken to the kyng that I wolle leve you as for lyeutenant. Also I pray you as ye loue me to be goode frende to my cosyn german Pollides and
 35 to myn othre felowes." "Ay," said Herland, "whethre woll[e]

ye goo my fair frende?" Said he, "I goo bot a litle way hens. I wolle not tarry long. I wolle also that nooman knowe therof, for a cause." Then Herland wold nomore enqueer hym and dovbted not that he wold tarry long.

5 And when Herland was departed from hym, he then sent for¹ his clerke and made hym to make twoo *lettres*. Oon was to yeve his power to Herland the sensshall and that othre was to recommaunde hym to his fellowes, *prayng* theym to doo goode *seruice* to the kyng and to obey Herland, and that
10 he son wold come agane. And so he sealed theym and betoke theym to his clerke and bad that he shuld not delyuere theym vnto that othre morowe at nyght. He dide so for doute that his fellowes wold fylloy hym.

When it come to the houre of myd nyght, he rosse and
15 arrayed hym and went furth as *prively* as he myght and rode all that tyme vnto he come to the forest of Breselyn.² And then he wente into the pryore that was nyghe besyd—and nyghe to itt theer was an hermytage that stode all solitarye in the depenes of the foreste. Theer he was vj days. And *euery* day he rosse
20 erly vpp to goo to the hermytage to heer messe, and did myche
[Fol. 175^b.] abstinence, for he fasted thre days in the woke and * *euery* friday he wered the hare.

So he thocht myche vpon the kyng, that he was olde, and that the reaume was intendaunt to hym. So he thocht that
25 he myght not goo farre, lest any disease or trouble wer in the contree; and so he was all pensy and heuy in his thoghtes.

He herd the byrdes syng swetly and merrely—and [it] was in the myrre moneth of Apryle—and so he made theer a song of the whiche the refrete was this melodie:—"Of byrdes and
30 wordly ioy is to me noo disporte, sythe that she that I loue the beste has me enstraunged and of hir loue dyscomforthed."³ And he made therof a wele goode note.

¹ MS. *fro*.

² MS. *Bres yn lyn, yn* cancelled by the rubricator and *e* inserted above it.

³ A quatrain in the French original. See note.

[**Cap. XV.** How Ponthus sent a dwarfe thurgh all the cuntry of Fraunce to anounce and shewe of dedes of armes that shuld be made in the forest of Breselyn euery tuysday of the yere.]

5 **A**nd aftre, he thoght to make entirpryse, wheṛ as he wold doo fetys of armys. And so he made his ordenaunce, and made to fetche a dwarfe and arrayd hym wele in a goone of sylke and betoke hym a yoman and a hors and a *lettre wretyn* in this wyse:—

- 10 “The blake knyght wyth armes whyte gyves knoleche to the best knyghtes of euery contre, that they shall fynde by the Welle of Aventures in the forest of Breselyne a paveloune blake with armes whyte all the tuysdays of the yeṛ, and at the houre of prime; and theṛ they shall fynde
15 (a tree) wherupon his shelde shal be honge; and theṛ shal be an horne that a dwarfe schall bloo; and when the horne blooys, theṛ shall come oute ane old damesell and bryng a cercele of golde; and an hermyte *with* hiṛ, the which shall say to them what they shall doo and shall bryng theym into a
20 medow, wheṛ they shall fynde the blak knyght armyd at all pecys, the whiche wolle iuste a course with a speṛ and aftre that smyte with a swerd trenchand *without*e any poynte¹ to the vtterance. And he that he conquerys shall aske of all the knyghtys in verray *certayne*, who be the most faiṛ beholde in
25 the roialme of Litle Bretayn among all the ladies and gentywomen, and to hiṛ he shal yelde hym *prisoner*; and she to doo hiṛ wyll with hym, in the name of the blake knyght soroyng beryng armes white. And it is to wytt that all thos that has iusted with [hym]² shall *graunte* to come the Whys-
30 sonyde nexte aftre into the forest to a fest that shall be holden theṛ. And he that has the best iustyd, shall haue the speṛ and gofanoun and a cercele of golde full of margarites; and he that has³ smyten the moste hardy *with* a swerd, shall haue a swerd harnyshed, *with* gold frenged. And if it happen that any
35 conquer the blak knyght, he may send hym to *prison* to what lady or gentywoman that hym lykes.”

¹ MS. *poynte wantyng*. R, *le quel [cheualier] . . . se combatra de lespee trenchant sans pointe iusques a oultrance.*

² R, *qui auront iouste a lui.*

³ MS. *has the.*

When Ponthus had taken thes *lettres* to the dwarfe, he commanded hym to goo thorowe all the contres of Fraunce wher as festes and iustys wer holden and to yeve theym knolege of the dooyng.

5 [Cap. XVI. How there come of euery londe knyghtes to dedes of armes with the Blak Knyght; and how they were chosen by the smytyng of theyr sheldes. How Ponthus iustyd with Barnard de La Roche the first tuesday of the yere, and sent him prisonner to the faire
10 Sydone.]

The dwarfe, that was wele spoken, wente thorow oute all the contre and gave to all men knolege of the assembly. So they *mervelled* myche of what contre the knyght was that wold doo thes entrepryses, and that he did chese the
15 beste knyghtes of euery contrey. Mony arrayd them to goo thedre and said that grete worship shuld be vnto hym that myght haue the swerd and the speer, and myche more vnto hym that myght conquer the knyght. It was not long bot of Bretane and of othre contres ther come en[o]we.

20 Ponthus had his menne sworne to hym, both the prioure and the covent and the hermyte, that they shuld not dyscouer hym to noo body. And so he did sende to Reyns, that befor
*Fol. 176.] was called the rede toune, to feche * that hym neded. He sent to seke an olde damesell that shuld be his secrete,
25 and she suld haue hir (cote) and mantyll of sylke and a circle of golde vpon hire gray hede and a kerchyf befor hir vysage, be cause that noman suld know hir. And Ponthus was in the array of an hermyte with hede and berde white *with* a vyssour befor his face, and held in his honde
30 the ordinaunce.

It happenyd that the same thuysday in the morow ther come mony knyghtes for to doo fetys of armys with the blak knyght. So they wer at the Well of *Mervells*—sum called it the welle of Bellacion. So they sawe a fair tente bent and a

grete pavellon. It tarryed not long bot a dwarfe come oute of the pavellon, a full lothly on to se, and come to a grete tree, wher̄ as hynged an horne and the blak sheld with whyte armys; and the dwarf toke the horne and blew it on hight; 5 and when he had doon so, then come the damesell oute of the payylloune and the hermyte, that held hiṛ by the gylten reyne, and they come streght to the sheld & made the dwarfe to crye that euery knyght that wold doo fetys of armes with the blake knyght shuld hyng his sheld vpon the grete tre, the whiche 10 was sett a boutte with sperys and smetyn full of crochetys, that euery man myght hyng his sheld vppon; and so euery man that was ther̄ did hyng vpp ther̄ sheld. And when the sheldes wer̄ hynged vpp, the dwarfe said to the damesell, "I muste say to you that the ordenaunce is, that ye shall doo 15 chese among all the sheldes iiij sheldys by the advice of the hermyte, to the whiche ye shall shote, to eueryche ane arowe fethered with golde; and hym that ye smyte the furste shal goo arme hym for the furst tuysday; and that sheld that she smytes with the secunde arowe shall be redy ayenyst the 20 secunde tuysday; and that she smytes with the thirde arowe shall be redy the thyrd tuysday; and that she smytys with the fovrt arowe shall be redy the fovrt tuysday." And so was it doon euery moneth of the yeṛ, so ther̄ shuld be ·lij· knyghtes delyuered in the yeṛ, of the best and of the worthiest 25 that she couth chese by his advyce; and this dured all the yeṛ vnto¹ the tyme that he myght fynde oon that by fetys of armys myght ouercome hym.

And when the dwarfe had thus said, he entred into the pavellon on hors bak and broght a feiṛ Turquys boude² and 30 fouṛ arowes fethered with gold; and the damesell and the

[Fol. 2.] ¹ Douce Fragment B.—the tyme that he couth fynde hym that by fete of armes ouer come hym. And whan the dwarfie had þus sayd he enteryd in to the pavelyon on hors bak and he broght forth a feyr Turkes bowe. And four aroos feddaryd with gold. And the damysell and þ^o hermyte

² *Bowe* is the obvious emendation following R & W, but the spelling is likely enough to be the scribe's.

hermyte went aboute the tree to se the sheldys ; and the hermyte councelled the damesell and tolde hiȝ the whiche that she shuld smyte. So sche schote the fouȝ arowes and smote fouȝ sheldes : the furst was Bernardes de La Roche, that was
 5 holde the best knyght in Bretane ; the secunde was Geffray de Lazynen, for the beste of Peytou ; the thyrd was Landry de La Toure, for the best of Angevynnes ; the fourte was the Erle of Morteyn, for the best of Normannes.

And when she hade shote, the hermyte led hiȝ into the gret
 10 tente that was blake with armys white ; and anon he lyght doune and armyd him at all peys and suyd oute of the tente, the shelde on his nek,¹ the speȝ in his honde, vpon a gret blak hors trapped in blake with armes white, and richely arrayed. The knyght was grete and large, and was sore drede and
 15 myche loked on—mervellyng myche what he schuld be—for the comon voice was that Pontus was goon to the roialme of Poleyne and of Hungarye, forto enqueȝ what was to doo theȝ beyonde ; wherfor noman thoght that it was he.

It was not long to Bernard de La Roche, the whiche hade
 20 the furst arowe in his shelde, come ryght noblely arrayd with

went about the tre to se the shyldes. And than the hermyte councellyd the damysell and told her which sheldys that she shuld smyte. And so she shot the four aroos and smote the iiij sheldys. þe first was Bernard de La Roche. that was holdyn the beste knyght of Bretayn The second was þan
 5 Geffrey de Lazynne for the best of Paytaye. The thirde was Landry de La Tour. for the best of Angeowns The iiijth was the Erle of Mortayn for the beste of Normandye And whan she had shott the hermyte led her in to the gret tent that was blak with white armes. And he alightyd down and armed hym at all peys And anon he com forth of þe tent with a sheld on his bak
 10 and a spere in his hond with a gret blak hors trappyd with blak and white armes and richely arayed. The knygt was gret and large and was sore drad and gretly lokyd on. And the people mervelyng moche what that he shuld [be], for the comon voyse was that Pontus was gone into the realme of Polayn and of Hongrye for to enquere what was to do there by yond. where
 15 fore that no man thought that it was he. Hyt was not long that Barnard de La Roche which had the first aroo in his sheld come right nobely armed

[*Fol. 2^b.] with gret foyson of* harnesse and with trumpetts. symphonies and ober
¹ R, *Lescu au col*. The reading of the Douce Fragment, *bak*, is clearly wrong.

grete foysen of hornys,¹ trumpypys, symphonys, and othre myn-
 [*Fol. 176^b.] strelces,² whiche made grete noys.*

The blak knyght toke a copp of gold and putt itt into the
 well and wett the ston that stode beside the well; and the water
 5 spred aboute vpon the ston; and then it began to thonner and
 hale³ and made strong wedre⁴—savyng itt lasted bot awhyle.
 So the straungers mervelled myche of the mervells of the well;
 and euery day the ston was wett befor that they faght.

Aftre that, he lepe vpon hors, with his helmete, and toke his
 10 spe^r in honde and smot his hors with his spurrys and come
 toward Barnard, and Barnard toward hym agayne ward. And
 so they gave grete strokes with thei^r sperys in suche wyse that
 they perched⁵ both theyr scheldes, and come agane and smote
 to gedre in suche wyse that Barnard and his hors fell. Bot
 15 Barnard keped⁶ hym vpon his foote and lyghtly lepe oute of
 the sadle. And when the blak knyght sawe him vpon his fote,
 he lyght doune and come rynnynge vpon hym with his bryght
 swerd and gave hym grete strokes whe^r as he myght areche

instrumentys which made gret noyse The blak knyght toke a copp of gold and
 put yt in the well and wet the stone and the watre spred aboute. And than
 yt be gan to thundre and to hayre (sic) and made straunge weder save yt
 lastyd but awhyle. So the straungers mervelyd of the mervelles of the well.
 5 And euery day the stone was wet be fore they faught. After he lepe vpon
 his hors with his helmet and his spere. And stroke his hors with his
 spurres toward Bernard [and Bernard] to hym. So they gave gret strokys
 with her sperys vnder suche a wyse that they partyd theyr sheldys in sondre
 that Barnard and hys hors fell down. But Bernard lepyd vpon his fete. And
 10 when that Ponthus saw hym on fote he alight on fote. and come rennyng
 vpon hym with his sword and gaue hym gret strokys afore that they brake

¹ R, *a grant foison de cors*. *Harnesse* in the Douce Fragment is obviously
 a corruption.

² Not in R. or W.

³ R, *gresler*. I do not understand the *hayre* of the Douce Fragment.

⁴ R, *fort temps*.

⁵ R, *percerent les escus*. The *partyd . . . in sondre* of Douce is apparently
 due to mistaking a *c* for a *t*. The word in the scribe's original was probably
 contracted as in our text.

⁶ R, *sailli sur piez* would make the *lepyd* of the Douce Fragment appear
 the original reading. The clause *and lyghtly lepe oute of the sadle* is neither
 in W, R, nor Douce; therefore a scribal amplification.

hym. And Barnard defended hym with all his myght; and Ponthus smote so grete strokes and sore that he brake all that he raght, and gave hym suche a stroke that he smote doune the vyssoure of his helmete and all the cyrcle, and hurtt hym
 5 a litle in the vysage. And Barnard left vp his swerd and smote Ponthus, bot Ponthus putt itt sumwhat by, and the stroke lyght vpon the sheld so sore that he hade gret payne to pluk itt oute. And Ponthus drew to hym his swerd with so grete myght that the swerd abowed in sundre;¹ and as son as Barnard sawe
 10 that he was with oute swerd, he made grete sorowe. And then Ponthus said to hym, "Knyght itt is tyme that ye be goo to oon of the fayrest of this roialme—damecell and madyn." And Barnard spake noo worde to hym, as he that was angre and wrothe. And Ponthus said to hym, "Gode defende that
 15 I shuld stryke you when ye² haue not wherwith to defende you." Then Barnard come and wenyd to haue taken hym with his hondes. And Ponthus that was grete and strong avaunced hym and smote hym on the helme and drewe hym to hym so myghtely that he made hym fall to the grounde,
 20 whethi^r he wold or not; and putt hym vndre hym and said, "Knyght I wolle lete you goo to hi^r prison, that be ryght fay^r; and grete hi^r wele in the blak knyght name." And so he withdrewe hym.

And Barnard sawe the benygnyte of the knyght, and prased
 25 hym myche, and rosse vp and come to the knyghtes that beheld

all that they raught and gaue hym suche a stroke that he brake down his visare of his helmet and the sercle and hurt hym a litull in the vesage. And Bernard lyfte vp his sword and smote Ponthus and Ponthus put up his sheld afore hym that the sword stake in the sheld with so gret myght that
 5 the sword abode. And whan Bernard saw that he was with out a sword he made gret sorow And than Ponthus sayd to hym Knyght yt is tyme that ye go to the mercy of þ^e feyrest damysell and mayden of the realme and Barnard spake no word to hym ageyne as . . .

¹ R, *Pontus . . . tire a soy lescu de grant force. tant que le branc sen vint avec lescu.* Douce has apparently omitted *and Ponthus drewe to hym his swerd after sheld.* But the reading *abowed in sundre*, "broke," is a corruption of the *abode* of Douce.

² y written over an h.

the batell and said, "Fayr Lordes, I haue fonde my maystre. Sith I was borne, fonde I neuer so myghty knyght ne so curtesse. Now theſe is no more bot I wold witt of you, in goode feith, whiche be called the fayrest madyn of this reaume."

5 So they sayd itt was the kynges doghtre Sydone, and she had the voce of theym all. So he departed and went vnto Vennys.

So leue we a litle of Barnard de Lay Roche and retourne to Ponthus.

[Cap. XVII. How afre the batell Ponthus rode his way
10 prively into the forest.]

Ponthus lepe on hors bak and entred into the forest, ryd-
yng by ways certan that he knewe wele, in suche wyse
that noo man wyst wheſe he become. And so he come at
resonable houre to the same place wheſe he was before and
15 entred in and shytted the doer vpon hym and lyght doune and
did vnharmed hym; and the damesell, the dwarfe, and othere
[*Fol. 177.] with vyssers abode in the tentys * vnto the nyght; and then
went theyſe way, when all men was withdrawn.

So leue we to speke of theym and retourne to Bernard de
20 La Roche and to Sydone &c.

[Cap. XVIII. How Barnard de La Roche yelded hym
prisonner to the fair Sydone, and of the grete chere that
she made hym.]

Sydon was day and nyght in sorowe and mysease, when
25 that Ellyous hiſe damesell had told hiſe that Ponthus
wold goo awchyle oute of (that) contre. She thought that it was
for the evyll chere that she made hym; so she mervellously
repenyd hiſe and cryed oftyn tymes, "Allas wreche! Now
haue I lost by my gret folye all my wordly ioy. Blame haue
30 they that first broght me that worde, for I knowe wele and
se wele, that and it weſe not for the grete fere that he has by
cause I was wrothe with hym, he had not lefte the contre;

and sothely that was grete foly of me, for I doute not bot that he is of a¹ trewe hertt as any lyvyng. "Then she wept and sorowed in he^r hertt, for she dred to haue loste hym. And so she sorowed day and nyght.

5 Grete language was the^r of Pontus in the contrey. The kyng myght not be in peace in no wyse, which gretly weymented; and so did his cosyn *german* and his fellows; and all *maner* of people, grete and small, of the courte we^r sory.

10 And son Barnard come to the courte and asked aftre fay^r Sydon and said that he was hi^r prisonne^r. The kyng sent for hi^r; and she come with a grete felysshipp of ladyes and gentylwommen; and the^r assemelyd all *maner* of people to here Barnard de La Roche. And when he was comyn into
15 the hall, he kneled doune and said vnto Sydon on hyghe, that *euery persone* myght here, "Ma dame," said he, "vnto you sendes me the blak knyght with armes white, whiche has me conqueryd by his worthenes in dedys of armes, and said to me that I shuld yelde me prisonne^r to the fairest madyn of this
20 reume so I haue enquered of all knyghtes and squyers that the^r we^r, whiche was the fairest madyn; and they said all with oon voice that it was ye; and thus I yelde me vnto your prisoune as *your* knyght, and doo with me as ye wolle. And yitt he badde me that I shuld recommaund hym vnto you in
25 hys name."

Sydon waxed rede and was sumwhat asshamed by cause that they helde hi^r for the fairest. "For sothe," said she, "God thonke theym, for they bot simply avysed theym to chese me; bot I thonke the knyght that sent you hidre, and
30 I beseche you to tell me what he is." "For soth," said he, "I knowe hym not." "How so?" said Sydon. "Ma dame," said he, "he wolle not be knowen—what he is, bot sothely he is the fairest knyght that euer I se and the best cann stryke with a spe^r and with a sworde, and me semys he is a little

¹The emendation *a[s]* is tempting, but *as any lyvyng* probably means "as much as, etc."

more¹ than Ponthus, and myche lyke hym; bot it is not he, for it is a comon sawe that he is goone into the reame of Polleyne and of Hungary to a werre that ther is."

Enughe was itt spoken of the blak knyght, and how that
5 the next tuysday he shuld feght with Geffray de Lazynyen, and the next aftre folloying with Landry de La Toure, and the next tuysday aftre with (the) Erle of Morteyne.

The kyng and the ladys made grete cheer to Barnard, and they ete all with the kyng in the hall. Sydone iapyd with
10 Barnard de La Roche and said, "Ser, I haue grete ioy to haue suche a prisonner, and so ye shuld haue grete drede what
[*Fol. 177^b.] prisoun ye shall endure." And Barnard began to laghe * and said, "Ma dame, and ye doo me noo soreer prisonment than this, I shall endure itt more easly; and knowe ye wele that
15 or the yeer be passed, ye shall haue more largely of prisonners, for I shall not be alloone."

Aftre dynner begane the dauncers² and the carralles. Bot Sydone daunsed bot a litle, and yitt she³ wold haue daunsed lesse bot for drede that any shuld perceyve hir sorowe.

20 So leve we of theym and of the courte and retourne agayne to the secund tuysday.

[Cap. XIX. How on the secund tuysday Ponthus conquered Geffray de Lazynyen.]

25 **T**he day was fair and clere, and the knyght de Lazynyen, the which was a mervellous goode knyght, was armed at all peces and come before the well. And the blak knyght come oute of the pavyllone, the shelde on the nek and the speer in the honde. And sone they lete theyr horses renne, and smote to gedre, and gave grete strokes, so that theyr
30 horses fell vpon theym, and in so myche that almuste they ouerthrewe theym self. Ther they withdrewe theym a farrome and toke awthre of theym a grete, sharpe speer and come to

¹R, *ung pou plus grant*. W, *he is somewhat more than was Ponthus*.

²R, *dauncers*, though strange, is apparently right. *Commencerent le dames a dancier mais Sidoine ne danca gueres*. W, *began the daunces and the karolles/ bot, etc.*

³MS. *ye*.

gedre as hastely as they myght, hors and man, and gave so mony grete strokes vpon theiſ sheldes, that both the knyghtes fell and theyſ horses—so boustously that Geffray hors fell vpon his body, the hors hede vndre, so that the hors ne the
 5 man myght remeve; for he hade his thye and his legge vndre the hors and was gretly bressed. Bot Pontus helped vp the hors and the knyght both, and hade had grete shame to haue ben so drawn doune; and so he beheld the knyght, that myght not drawe hym oute frome vndre his hors, for his foote was
 10 oute of ioynte, that he myght not stonde bot on oon foote—bot allway he putt his honde toward his sword, as he that was of grete corage and hardenes. Bot when that he sawe that he myght not stonde bot on oon foet, so Pontus thocht then that he wold not smyte hym; and said to hym, “Knyght, I
 15 see you in the febleaſ partie, wherfore it weſ shame to assayle you.” And Geffray said vnto hym, “I holde me not yit discomefeted, in so myche that I may holde my sworde.” And so he payned hym to smyte Pontus, and Pontus leped by, and so he smote a stone with his goode swerd so fersly that he
 20 fell doune to the grounde.

Bot Pontus helped to releve hym and said to hym, “Ser, and ye weſ hole, I wold rynne vpon you, for I se wele by youſ worthenes ye wold not yelde you to me; bot ye shall yelde you to the fairest lady of Bretan, that wolle take you to
 25 hiſ mercy, and shall grete hiſ wele for the blak knyght. So, I pray yow, lete vs doo noo more, for we haue donne enughe; for I wote wele, and ye weſ hole, ye wold not soffre me to be so hole as I am; for I knowe youſ worthynes long agoo.” And when Geffray knewe the goodnes of hym, he prayed
 30 hym in his hertt, and said to hym, “Ser, I wolle go thedre as ye commaunde me, and if I wyst that I shuld not dysplease you, I wold wytt youſ name.” And Pontus answeyrd, “Ye ne noon othre shall knowe itt yitt.”

Then Geffray wold aske ne enqueſ noo more of hym, and so
 35 toke leve of hym. Then the blak knyght went into the forest by his pathe ways, as he was wonte to doo.

And so the knyghtes and the people *mervelled* myche vpon the knyght when they sawe the batell, and said, ryght curtese was the blak knyght and gentle; and said iche of them to othre, "Sawe ye not the grete benignite—howe that he wold
 5 not tovche the knyght, by cause he sawe hym hurte, and how he had two tymes releved hym?" Wherfore they made grete
 [*Fol. 178.] talkyng therof and * gave hym a grete lovyng.¹

And Geffray de Lazynyen, that myght not wele meve hym ne styrre hym, said to Landry de La Touër, "Fair frende, I
 10 wolle abyde vnto the nexte tuysday, for to bere you companye to se the fair Sydon, bot if ye putt better remedy than I haue doon." Said Landry de La Touër, "Of aventure of armys thei may nooman iuge, they be so *mervellous*; and ye be noo thyng wars for this aventure, for this was by the fall of *your*
 15 hors, for the whiche may nooman kepe hym; and (I) thinke to haue noo shame, if I be suche a knyght as ye be founde in dedes of armys." And also they spake of Barnard de La Roche and of mony things.

And then they toke Geffray de Lazynyen in the softest wyse
 20 that they myght and led hym to Mountford; and thei he was arrayd in suche wyse that he myght ryde vpon an hors-bei the tuysday next followyng, whiche was a fair day and a clere.

[Cap. XX. How the third Tuysday Ponthus conquered Landry de La Toure and sent hym prisonner to the
 25 faire Sydone, and aftre, the Erle of Morteyn; and so euery Tuysday of the yere he sent a knyght of the best that was in the reaume. And of the grete feste that he made the Whissontyde at the yeres ende at the Welle of Mervelles.

30 **A**nd itt happed the same tuysday thei come of all contrees to se the batell. Then the blak knyght with armes white yssued oute of the pavyllone—he and his olde damesell

¹R, *grant compte et grant loz*. W, *greete loos*. See Bradley-Stratmann for lovyng, "laudation."

and his dwarfe, and on that otheṛ side come Landry de La Touṛ. So they laid theyṛ sperys vndre theiṛ sides, with theyṛ gonfaunons hyngyng, and with grete myght they stroke to gedre, withoute any faile; and passed ouer, and come agayne
 5 so myght[e]ly that they perched¹ theiṛ sheldes, and brake theiṛ speres, and ranne to gedre with theiṛ swerdes, and gave grete strokes, wheṛ they myght, ofte and thyke. So they weṛ long tyme on hors bak. And then Ponthus dressed hym wele in his styropes and smote Landry de La Toure with all his
 10 strenght, that he was astoned; and when Ponthus hade yeven hym that stroke, then he sawe hym gogle, and toke hym by the helmete and drewe with all his myght, and all astounded drewe hym doune to the grounde. Not withstondyng, he rosse vp as sone as he myght.

15 And when Ponthus sawe hym at the grounde, then said he to hym selfe that he wold not assayle hym on hors bak, lesse it myght turne hym to shame and reṛue; bot then he lyght doune on foote and putt his shelde afore hym and toke his swerd in his honde and assayled hym. And Landry made
 20 hym redy to defende hym in the best wyse that he myght, for he knewe wele that he hade not to doo with noo childe. Then Ponthus come and smote hym a grete stroke so that the stroke fell upon the scheld and stroke doune and quarteṛ;² and Landry smote hym with grete strokes, wheṛ he myght areche
 25 hym, and mervelled myche howe Ponthus myght endure agane hym so longe, for he was a mervellous goode knyght. Bot Ponthus gave hym ofte so grete strokes that *with* grete payne he myght vnneth drawe his brethe, ne Ponthus navtheṛ. And they rested theym a litle while on theyṛ swerdes.

30 Then spake Landry and said, "Gentle Knyght, I wote not what ye be, bot so myche may I say, that I wenyd not in the

¹ R, *percerent*.

² R, *Pontus fieri moult grant coup et le branc descend en lescu si que il en abat ung quartier*. W translates literally. Our translator appears to understand a quartering blow, possibly from another reading, or perhaps we should read *a for and*.

mornynge to haue founde so myche strenght and valu^r in you as I haue prevyd ; bot or ye ouercome me, ye muste doo moode des of armes then ye haue doon." "Yea," said Ponthus, "avther^r shal ye yelde you to the fairest made of Bretane, or
 5 elles ye must ouercome me with dedes of armys."

And then he lyfte vp his sworde and smote Landry, as he that had grete shame that he endured hym so longe, and he stroke hym in suche wyse that the bloode ranne doune to his fete. And when Landry felyd that he was so smyten, he
 10 gave Ponthus so grete a stroke vpon the temple of the hede
 [*FoL 178^b.] that the helmete * was gretly enpared. Then turned Ponthus the sheld and toke the swerd in bothe his hondes and smote so grete a stroke that Landry was all astoned. Bot that was no mervell, for to long hade that batell endured between theym.
 15 And so he smote sore, stroke vpon stroke, that he was almost dysmated with the grete plente of strokes that he hade taken and gyven ; and he hasted more and more when he sawe a litle gogylyng,¹ and then he come and smote hym with all his myght in suche wyse that he bett hym to the grounde—
 20 and fell bothe two. Bot Ponthus fell aboue, and Landry myght not ryse ne helpe hym selfe.

And Ponthus said to hym, "Knyght, yelde you." And Landry spake noo worde and endured *with* grete payne, and as he that was lothe forto yelde hym. And he that was full
 25 of curtesey said, "Knyght, yelde you to the fai^r damesell, I pray you,—and that ther^r be no more debate between vs, for we haue assayd authre othre enughe." Then knewe Landry the curtesy of the knyght that he faght with and said to hym, "To hi^r wolle I yelde me, sithe itt lykys you." "Itt is suffi-
 30 ciaunt to me," said Ponthus.

Then he rose full sore and full wery of the strokes and travell that he hade gyven and taken of the grete batell that so long hade endured. So come Ponthus to his hors with grete payne, and lepe vp, and rode faste into the forest, so that he
 35 was fro the syght of them all anoon.

¹ R, *et quant il vit ung pou chanceler si le boue. W, sawe hym staker.*

And Geffray de Lazynyen and mony othre knyghtes come to Landry de Lay Touf and asked hym howe he dyde; and he said, well—afre the evyll that he hade founden his maistre. Then said Geffray to Landry, “I shall bere you companye, 5 for ye and (I),¹ we wolle goo to gedre to the fair Sydone.” “I wolle wele,” said Landry, “for itt is no reason that ye goo thedre withoute me.” Thus they bourded oon to an othei. And then he was vnarmed and had mony woundes, bot he had noon bot that he myght ryde.

10 And so they went and yelded theym to Sydon. And the kyng made theym gret chei and did theym grete worschipp, as for the best knyghtes that myght be founde in any contrey, of nobylley of knyghthode. And sone afre they went to Sydone and putt theym in hi mercy. And she, that was full 15 of curtesey and of wysdome, receyved theym with grete ioy and fested theym and worschipped theym and gave theym grete gyftes. So they thonked hi, and said that they were wele prisoned, for itt was noo grete payne for to endure itt. “Serys,” said she, “I wot not what the knyght is that has 20 sent you hidre—for ye and he doos me grete honour withoute cause; for ther be more fayrer and more avenaunt in this reauume than I be, who so wolle seke theyme.” “Wele Ma dame,” said they, “we owe to beleve the comon voice, for all has cosen you for the fayrest.” And thus they bourded of 25 mony thynges. Thei they wei twoo days with the kyng, and all the othre days wyth Sydon.

And afre she gave theym leve to goo, and then they went furth to se the batell of the Erle Morteyn, that was a full goode knyght.

30 Son afre issued oute the damesell and the dwarfe, and had his Turquis bowe in his honde and the arowes. And the heremyte with the vysou, that lede the damesell aboute by the gylten reyne, made signe whiche schelde sche schuld smyte, *Pol. 179.] as * for the next moneth folowyng. The damesell shote fyrste

¹ R, *nous yrons vous et moy ensemble*. W, *we shall go you & I togyder*.

the sheld of *Ser Tybould de Boloys* that was named a wele goode knyght; and that othre was the shelde of *Guyllen de Roches*; the third was the shelde of *Henry de Mounte Morency*; and the fourthe shelde was the sheld of *Rosylyon*.¹

5 Thes was iiij knyghtes of grete name of knyghthod, whoes scheldes weī hongen vp for the next iourney. And when she hade shote hiī fouī arowes, she withdrewe hiī into the pavyllon.

And son aftre the blak knyght issued oute of the pavyllone
10 armed att all peces, the shelde in the nek, the speī in his honde. In that othiī side come the Erle of *Morteyne* full rychely arrayd, with a grete multitude of mynstrells. And as son as they sawe aythre othre, they ranne to gedre with theyī sperys, and gave authre othre grete strokes. Bot Pon-
15 thus reuersed the Erle, that he lakked bot a litle that he was doune. Then they putt theiī hondes to theyī swerdes and ranne to gedre full fersly. Bot *Ponthus* smote so grete a stroke that his sworde cutted that he smote; and the Erle defended hym at his power. So the batell dured long. Bot
20 *Ponthus* that was *mervellous*² toke hym by the helme, and drewe to hym so myghtely that he pulled hym doune to the grounde, and yeave hym a grete stroke with his sworde, and said to hym that he suld yelde hym—for he smote hym bot with the flatt of the sworde. And the Erle endured myche,
25 bot at the last he must nedes yeld hym, whedre he wold or noo.

And thus he commaunded hym to yelde hym vnto the fairest ladye and madyn in *Bretan*; and so he departed and went into the forest as he was accostomed to doo.

30 And the Erle went and yelded hym vnto *Sydone* as the othre knyghtes had doone. And thei she dide hym grete worschip; and so did the kyng hiī fadre.

¹ MS. *Rosy lyon*.

² R, *qui grant et fort estoit a merueilles*. W, *which was grete and strong toke*. It is a temptation to throw in the *grete and strong* of W, after *mervellous*, but *mervellous* is often used independently in our text.

The nexte tuysday they faght agane ; and so they did the next folowyng, to the monethe come to an ende. Bot itt wē to long to tell the batells and the iourneys that he dide—and that othē parties also ; for thē were many grete batells
 5 and many sharpe stowres of armes whiche wē to longe to tell, who wold all devyse. Bot all wē ouercomen by his dedes of armes and wē sent to prisoune to the faī lady Sydone.

So was thē founde in thē yeē .lij. knyghtes prisonners, of
 10 the best that they knewe or myght fynde in any londe, to wynn or conquerē worschipp ; for euery of the beste knyghtes that herd therof went to assay hym ; and then he chase of the beste knyghtes to doo dedys of armes with hym, and eueryche hade desīr to be of the nombre to assay theym with
 15 hym, in so myche that the high renowne ranne thorowe oute Fraunce and by many othre reaumes and contreys. And Pontus chase euer by reportyng the best, and faght neuer bot with oon of a contrey, whiche was holden for the beste ;—forto make hym to be known, that if thē wē any man that
 20 wold requir̄ hym to doo any thyng for his lady sake, that he wold be redy alwey to delyuer hym. And thē was of the .lij. knyghtes propre names—that is to say : the Duke of Auerenses, the Duke of Loreyne ; the Duke of Barry ; the Erle of Mount Bernard,¹ the Erle of Mountford ; and many othre
 25 erles and dukes ; and Ser William de Baniers, Ser Arnold de Henholte, the Erle of Savye, and many othre knyghtes ; and of theȳ names I passe ouer at this tyme and goo to my matēr agayne.

*Fol. 179^b.] When * itt befell that Wyttsunday was comen at the yeres
 30 ende—that² all prisonners come to yelde theym, thē as itt was ordayned, Pontus lete make a grete hall couered with grene boghes, by the Welle of Mervelles, othē wyse called

¹ MS. *Mountbernard*.

² The same ellipsis is in W and R. R, *tant quil aduint que la penthecoste vint . . . que tous les prisonniers vindrent.*

Bellacon, and sent for all maner of vitelles and dyuers wynes, and wrote to the kyng a *lettre*, sayng thus:—

“To the goode kyng of Bretane the Blak Knyght *with* armys white recommaundes hym *with* all his *seruice* and 5 *honour*. And *prays* hym mekely, that itt may please hym to be at this feste of Wytsonyde in the forest of Breselyne at the Welle of Mervelles, *with* the companye of the fairest ladys and dameselles of Bretane, to knowe to whome the pris shall be yeven and to enquiꝛ who has best iusted and who that has 10 the beste and the myghtest foghten of thes .liij. knyghtes of euery tuysday in the yeꝛ.”

And when the kyng had red the *lettre*, he had grete ioy therat; and said that grete worshipp did hym the blak knyght and that he wold be theꝛ.

15 And then he sent for his doghtre and tolde hiꝛ thes tyth-ynges and charged hiꝛ to enquiꝛ of the fairest ladies and gentylwommen of his reaume to come with hiꝛ at the feste of Wytsonyde;—“and faiꝛ doghtre,” said the kyng, “ye aghte 20 forto doo itt, for he has doon you myche worship; for by his swerd he has sent to youꝛ prisoune so mony goode knyghtes and lordes, wherof grete worschip is comen to you and to youres and to all ouꝛ reaume; wherfore I am myche beholden to the blak knyght.” Faiꝛ Sydone kneled doune and said, sith it liked hym, so sche wold doo his *commaundement*.

25 And then she lete write to the grete ladyes of Bretayne, that they schuld be redy on the Wytsonyde even, and that they shuld bryng with theym the fayrest ladys and gentylwomen that they myght fynde in theyꝛ contrey. The ladys at hiꝛ *commaundement* hade grete ioy and arrayd theym and 30 come at the day. Theꝛ was ryght grete assembly that come at the Wytsonyde to the Welle of Mervelles. So they broght with theym tentes and pavyllones, and dide hyng theym and pyght theym aboute, in suche wyse that it semed a grete oste.

Ponthus furth before the kyng come ryght sone—and had 35 sent xiiij govnes of a suyte to his xiiij fellawes, and oon to Herland the senysshall, and had sent to fetch the them the day before. It is noo demaunde to aske if that his cosyn

germane and his fellows had grete ioy of the worschipp that God had yeven to hym. They went aganes the kyng. And when the kyng sawe and knewe that it was Pontus that so many fetys of armes hade done, it is noo questyon bot he made
 5 grete ioy. And at the feste and worschipp that he dyde hym, he myght not forber̄ bot that he called hym, & kyssed hym, and said, “Wheṛ haue ye ben so longe hyd frome vs. It was said that ye weṛ in Poleyne and Hungary in the werre; bot in travthe myn hertt said euer that itt was ye that so many
 10 mervelles did.” Pontus waxed rede and said noo worde, for he was sory that the kyng prased hym so myche.

Therefore he went his way aganes Sydone—grete was the company *with* hiṛ of ladys and of gentyllwommen¹—

And

15 salewed her mekely | & she yelded him agayne his salu tacyon | as she that had all Ioye ȳ herte myght thynke | & than she sayd vnto h̄y smylunge O Pontus ye haue hyd you lōge tyme frō vs in this forest I doute me ȳ ye be become an ermyte & wylde. A madame
 20 Pon. G. iiij.

[*] sayd he saue your grace I am easy to tame. And than he departed frome her as he that was all taken in the loue of his lady that of lōge tyme he had not sene her
 And than he wente too se the ladyes the whiche were
 25 all dysguysed with grene bowes & garlondes | and he sayd vnto them. My ladyes I praye god that eche of you haue that ȳ your hertes desyre | for in good fayth it is a good syght to se soo fayre a company. The lady

¹The Digby ms. has an omission corresponding to about a page and a third (ms.) of text at this point, though the ms. shows no break of any sort between *gentyllwommen* and *And furth* (p. 60, l. 14). It is highly improbable that we have to do with deliberate condensation—far more likely that the scribe copied from a smaller ms. that had lost a leaf. F has two chapter divisions in this space which might have been marked by miniatures in a ms. of its class, thus suggesting a motive for the mutilation of the ms. before the scribe of Digby. I have filled the gap with the corresponding portion of W, printed diplomatically. The French mss. R, H, and F contain all this matter.

es yelded hym his salutacyon | the whiche were full of
 Ioye for to se hym for they loued hym meruayllously
 well aboue all knyghtes. And the one sayd to another
 It is Ponthus the good and fayre knyghte thanked
 5 be god of the grete worshyp that he hathe sente hym
 and I praye god that he wyll kepe hym vs as the best
 knight of the worlde | and this was there speche ferre
 and nere. So they arryued at the fountayne bothe y
 kynge and the ladyes | with grete Ioye. And on that
 10 other syde came the knyghtes straungers. The kyn-
 ge and the ladyes made them grete Ioye. And there
 was grete sowne and noyse of dyuers maners of m̄-
 stralsy so that all the wode ronge of it. And the kynge
 and ponthus dyd grete worshyp to the dukes and lor-
 15 des | as to the duke of Ostrytche of Lorayne & of bar-
 ar | & to the erle of dampmartyn of Sauoye of moūt-
 belyart & to other dyuers grete lordes. So they wente
 and herde masse that the bysshop of Rennz sange | af-
 20 kes and Sydoyne were sette at the hygh dese | and af-
 ter euery man after as he was. Greate was the feest
 and grete was the hall | and on the syde were hanged
 the .lii. sheldes of the knyghtes conquered. Ryght stra-
 unge and fayre thynges were made bytwene the cour-
 25 [*] ses as armed chyl dren that fought togyder | & dyuers
 other thynges | and syxe olde knyghtes | and syxe olde
 squyers | some bare the spere & the gouffanon blacke
 with the whyte teeres of grete margaretes & oryente
 perles | & a ryche cercle of golde meruayllously wrou-
 30 ght of ryche perles and of good stones. The other bare
 the ryche swerde with the pomel of golde | And the
 gyrdell of sylke wrought with golde & grete margare-
 tes and perles | & with precyous stones that it was a
 fayre syght to se. And this rychesse had ponthus won
 35 in the shyp of the Soudans sone. So he sayd hymself
 that he myght no better beset them than afore so ma-

ny notable prynces and grete lordes | for he shewed all his dedes ryght honourably. The knyghtes and y^e ladyes wente aboute the halle syngynge as though they wyste not to whome they sholde presente them. And
5 than they came before the lorde de Lesygnen and presented hym the spere and the ffouffanon (sic) and the ryche cercele of golde y^e whiche they set vpon his hede | for y^e beste Iuster. And after they came to Androwe de la toure and presented hym the ryche swerde and the ry-
10 che crowne set vpon his heed | whyther he wolde or no for he excused hymselfe moche & wende to haue refused it saynge that they dyde hym worshyp that he had not deserued and that there were dyuerse other that had better wonne it than he had and he wexed rede &
15 was ashamed | but Pontius hadde so ordeyned it for he sayd in good fayth that he had yeuen hym moost a do as fore one daye. Also Geffrey hadde ryght wel Iusted. Than beganne mynstrelles for to playe of all maner of mynstrelsy and also the herauldes began to cry
20 that men sholde not haue herde thondrynge | for al rō- [*] ge bothe wood and forest of the noyse. There was gyuen many dyuerse meases and good wynes and also grete yeftes vnto heraudes and mynstrelles. Pontius came behynde the kynge and sayd to hym in his ere.
25 Syr & it please you we shall do crye the Iustes ayenst to morowe | and on tewesdaye at Vennes bycause y^e ye sholde knowe these prynces | and these dukes | for it shall be your worshyppe. A sayd y^e kyng in good fayth it is a good and a trewe counseyll and I praye you
30 that it be done. Than Pontius called an heraude and made hym to crye that the whyte knyght with the rede rode (sic, rose) shall be this mondaye and tewesdaye in y^e cyte of Vennes with fyue felowes and hymselfe shall make the syxte for to withstande all maner of knygh-
35 tes with speres. And he that shall haue the pryce on y^e mondaye without forth (sic) shall haue the gyrdell and the

gypser of y^e fayrest of the feest. And he that dooth best
 on the tewesdaye shall haue the sparohawke mewed
 with the loynes of perles and margarytes | and a cha
 pelet that the fayrest of the feest shall gyve hym. And
 5 he of the ynner partye that shall Iuste best shall haue
 a rynge of the fayrest.

¶ How Ponthus made a Iustes to be cryed in the cy-
 te of Vennes and how he smote downe the strongest
 that he recountred.

10 O N y morowe after they departed by tymes | &
 wente and herde masse at saynt peters of Ven-
 nes | and than they wente and dyned | and after dyned
 the kyng & the ladyes wente to the schalfoldes.

¹And furth with come Ponthus and his v fellowes whiche was
 15 named, Barnard de La Roche, the Vicount of Lyon, the
 Vicount of Daunges, Pollides,² and Herland. And Ponthus
 was all in whyte bothe [he] and his hors, with a grete rede
 rose whiche signified his lady. The iustys we^r grete and the
 dedes of armes, bot aboue all othre Ponthus iusted beste, for
 20 he threwe doune hors and man and did so mervellously that
 euery man doubted to countre hym. Also he putt his hertt
 and his wyll to gedre for his lady sake that was before hym.

[*Fol. 180.] * Grete and litle prased hym myche. And then spake the
 ladys and said, "See ye hym the^r that berys all doune before
 25 hym? He is not wyse that comes aganes hym. His spe^r
 spares noon, bot itt hurtes and makes theym to fall." Sydone,
 that herde the ladys prays hym, said noo worde, and she loked
 that noo man perceved the gladnes of hi^r ne the ioy that she
 hade in hi^r hertt.

30 Right wele iusted the Duke of Averences, and the Duke of
 Loreyne, and the Erle of Savye, the Erle of Mount Belliart,
 and mony othre. It we^r to long to tell of the goode iusters

¹ MS. Digby resumes.

² MS. Polleyne. R, *polides*. W, *Polydes*.

that iusted the moneday and the tuysday. And they weŕ wele fested the tuysday at mete and at sopeŕ. The pris of monday was yeven to the Erle of Mounte Belliart. He hade the gyrdle and the gypseŕ of Sydone—for she was chosen for the fairest.

5 The price of the tuysday was yeven to the Duke of Averences. And he hade the sparhawke *with* the ryche loynes and the chaplete, of Sydone. Bot not withstondyng, Pontus iusted the best; and wold take noon of the prices, in so myche that he ordaned theym. Bot the ladys sent to hym a
10 ryng *with* a rubye, for the most worschippfull knyght that was of theym all; also they sent to Barnard de La Roche a riche goweŕ.¹

Then heroudes and mynstrelles made grete ioy and grete noyse. And afre sopeŕ they hade carralles, daunces, and
15 songys to mydnyght. And afre they dranke and ete spyces. And afre the straungers toke theyŕ leve of the kyng and of Sydone and of [the] othre ladys, and departed.

The wedynsday erely afre messe Pontus convehed theym² to Castellyon,³ wheŕ he hade lete ordayne theyŕ dynneŕ; and
20 afre dynneŕ wold haue convehed theym—bot the lordes wold not soffre hym. So he offred hym myche to theym, and toke leve eueriche of othre. Gretely prased bothe the grete and the small the goode cheŕ and fellyschipp of Pontus—and that⁴ they trowed that he was the beste, the fairest, the most
25 curtes, and the most *gracius* knyght of the worlde, to theyŕ intente, and that he hade noo fellawe. And also they prased gretly Sydone of hiŕ beautie and of hiŕ curtesy—and that⁵ he were ryght fortunate that myght haue hiŕ.

¹ The word is doubtful, but has clearly something to do with M. E. *gorgere*. O. F. *gorgiere*. R, *fermail*. W, *ouche*.

² MS. *hym*. W, *them*.

³ R, *a chasteau guyon*. W, *to y^e castell of gyron*.

⁴ An elliptical construction like that in W, *prasyed . . . Pontus . . . and that trewly he was*—but cf. R, *Et disoient vrayement cest le meilleur . . . chevalier*.

⁵ Both W & R show the ellipsis: *prasyed . . . Sydone . . . and that he that sholde haue her sholde be well eurous, louaient S. . . et que bien seroit eureux qui*.

[**Cap. XXI.** How Sydone made grete ioy that she sawe agane Ponthus. And how Guenelete, that had grete envy at his maistre, accused Ponthus to the kyng, that he loved Sydone to hiŕ dishonur.]

5 **P**onthus turned agane to the kyng and to the ladys. And the knyghtes of Bretane toke leve of the kyng and of his doghtre. So the kyng and his doghtre come huntyng¹ and playng by the way. So on a tyme spake Sydon and Ponthus to gedre. Then said Sydon, "Long tyme haue ye
10 keped you frome vs full secrete, and we gretly marvelled that we herde no thyng frome you." "Ma dame," said he, "I sent you euery woke a knyght in stede of a messynger." "Ye say sothe, my swete loue. Ye sent the moste noble messyn-
15 gers that myght be founden. Notwithstandyng, it wold haue doone me more goode to haue knowen who hade sent theym to me, for euery body said that ye weŕ goon into Hungarye; so I was gretly amervelled that ye gave noon othre knowleche of youŕ gooyng. Wherefore myn hertt was full hevvy." "Ay, Madame," said he, "I was full nyghe you and so was myn
20 hertt and thoght. And all that I did, I thoght to doo itt for youŕ honouŕ and to encesse youŕ goode renoune, for I wyst wele that ye shuld be chosen for the fairest in Bretane. So I haue doone so myche, that the best knyghtes that myght be founden or knawen come forto see you and to putt theym in
25 youŕ mercy. Bot in goode faithe Madame, it was not I, that dide the adventures of armes, bot it was ye; wherof I thonke youŕ goode ladyshipp—for the myght and the hardenes that I haue, I haue itt of you, for of my selfe I couthe not vndre-
take itt." "Ponthus," said she, "I knowe wele that this
30 goodnes and worshipp comes to you * frome Gode and frome noon otheŕ. The cause is that ye loue God and dredys hym,

[*Fol. 180^b.]

¹ *Huntyng* is strange, but I have no reasonable emendation. R, *Et le roy sen vint esbatant, lui et sa fille vers susinio*. W, *came syngyng & sportyng theym towarde sychynere*. Digby omits the name of their place of destination.

and therfor he gyfes you that grace and hardenes; and so¹ ye shuld [thynke] how¹ to thonke Gode." "Ma dame," said he, "so I doo; bot I trowe that the *entrepris* comes of you." "Now Ponthus," said she, "leve we thes wordes, for in goode
5 faithe the gladdest tythandes that myn hert myght haue, was to he^r goode tydynges of you—as longe as I fynde you trewe to kepe my worshipp and my lordes my faders." "Ma dame," said he, "therof truste ye verrelly; for I hade levyr be deid then to have thoght othre wyse, by my faithe."

10 And vpon thes wordes come oon of his xiiij fellowes, called Guenelete, whiche was named full envious and a fai^r speke^r and a grete flate^re^r, and hade grete envye at his maistre Ponthus. And at that tyme the^r was noo grette maistre in the contre then he. So he see the kyng olde, and thought by fai^r
15 speche and flattery that he wold be maistre: and so he thought to aloigne his maystre Ponthus, whiche was full secrete with the kyng; and he thought, if that he myght a litle enstraunge hym fro that courte, that he shuld then be maistre and most privey with the kyng.

20 Thus he couthe not refreyne hym selfe fro dooyng of treson. And so he sawe the kyng allone in a wode, wher as hunted he;² and so he said vnto hym, "Ser, I wolle telle you a grete counsell, so that ye wold ensure me and make *protestacon* trewly, by a kynges worde, that ye shall not dyscouere me." Said the
25 kyng, "I swe^r and *promys* you faithfully that I shall not dyscouere you." Then Guenelete said, "My ryght gude Lorde, ye haue noryshed me, and all the goode that I haue, comes of youre goode grace; so I haue cause to loue you more then my fadre, or modre, or all the worlde. Wherefore myn hert may
30 not soffre you^r harme ne dyshonour; and not withstondyng I loue Ponthus more than any thyng bot you, for sothe itt is this,—that Ponthus loues my lady you^r doghtre. Whereof I make you wyse, for he is a full fai^r knyght; so I doute lest

¹ MS. so she shuld and how. I emend by changing she to ye, inserting thynke to complete shuld, and dropping and. W, so ye ought for to thanke hym hyghly. R, si len devez moult mercier.

² MS. he was. Om. was.

any fouuysch love be betwen theym, wherof ye myght haue shame or dyshonour." "Ay," said the kyng, whiche thoght noo thyng bot goode, "Guenelete I see wele that ye loue me and that ye wold not my dyshonour. I am beholden to you
 5 at all tymes and thonkes you gretly herof." And thus the kyng thonked hym, as he that wenyd that he had said him traute. And Guenelete said, "My Lorde, ye shuld not thonke me, for I be so myche beholden vnto you that thē is noo thyng that a mortall man (myght do) for yoū Lordeship bot that I
 10 wold doo itt, if I shuld dye therfore, forto lenght yoū live, if nede wē; and Ser, I wold tell you howe ye myght best preve hym, and he say that he loues hī not,—bid hym make an othe thervpon, and peraventure ye shall see that he wolle not swē."

And so Guenelete herde Ponthus say that in the parties of
 15 Spayne noo kynges sone shuld make noon othe to credaunce, whylst that he myght fyght—and if he dide, he wē dishonored; and therefore he said the same to the kyng, for he wyst wele that he wold not swē; and therefore by that maner he wold attempe hym, and by thoos meanes to enstraunge hym.¹

20 [Cap. XXII. How the kyng required an othe of Ponthus; and he, that myght not swere, offred hym to fyght with thre or with four. And how Ponthus wold not abyde in the courte in mystruste and in susspeccion, bot toke leve of Sydone for vij yeres.]

25 The kyng was thoghtfull of the tythyng, as he that mer-
 vellously lovyd his doghtre and he that had grete drede of his dyshonour; and when he was comen fro the wodd and lyghted doune fro his palfrey, so furth with come Ponthus,
 [*Fol. 181.] wenyng to haue taken his swerd and his gloves as he was
 30 accustomed. Then the kyng turned hym an othre * way and

¹ R and W have an additional sentence. *Et par ce il . . . lestrangeroit de la court, car nul enuieulz ne peut riens souffrir. for to estraunge hym from the countree for to haue the more rule gadered in to his owne hande | for an envyous man may no thyng suffre.*

nawthre made to hym countenaunce ne spake. And when Pontus perceyved that he was wrothe to hym, he said, "Ser, be ye wrothe with me? Say to me, if it like you, for Goddes loue, what I haue forfeled." And the kyng, which was right
 5 wrothe of suche fals informacion, said, "Pontus I haue made a simple nurture in you, when ye wate to dyshonour me." "Howe Ser?" said Pontus, "By what way?" Then said the kyng, "For ye loue my doghtre to dyshonour me. And I haue noomoo children bot hiȓ, whiche is all my ioy
 10 and the lenththyng of my life." "Ser," said he, "Who said you this? And theȓ be any man that dare say itt, or mayntene itt, I am redy to shew my body that he lyes falsly—save youȓ worshipp." "Nay," said the kyng, "bot and ye wolle sweȓ vpon a messe-booke that ye loue hiȓ not as I haue said,
 15 peraventure I wolle leve you." "Ser, for to say that I loue hiȓ not as the doghtre of my ryght goode lorde—afre my dutye, I owe not to say; bot if theȓ be any man that wolle say that I loue hiȓ to dyshonour you or hiȓ, in wylle, dede, or in thoght, I shall answeȓ as a true knyght shuld doo. And
 20 Ser ye knowe wele, othre thing ye shuld not disiȓ of me, youȓ worshipp saved, for ye wote wele that noo kynges sonne shuld make noon othe of fals vndirstondyng, whils that he may defende hym *with* his hondes. And suche is the custome of the contre whiche I am of." "I wote not howe itt is,"
 25 said the kyng, that was ryght wrothe of the wordes that he held.¹ "Ser," said Pontus, which was right sory, "I offre me to feght *with* thre or fouȓ; for I fele myn hert so sure and so true that I am certan that God wolle helpe, as he is true Iuge of this dede and of all othre." "Ay," said the
 30 kyng, "ye hold you so strong and so knyghtly, that ye wote wele that theȓ (dare)² no man feght with you." "Ay Ser," said Pontus, "offre me to doo that thyng that I may doo to

¹The emendation *herd* is probable, but *held* makes good sense, regarding *Pontus* as the subject of the clause—*le roy, qui moult fel estoit des paroles, quil auoit ouyes*. *W*, had *herde* keeping the construction of *R*.

²*R*, nul n'oseroit combatre.

sauē my worschipp." The kyng passed ouer and said theſe
shuld no batell be doon for that dede.

And when Ponthus herd this, he was ryght sory and wrothe.
By cause that he was a kynges sonne, he had shame to make
5 the othe that turnyd hym to shame; and that othiſe side, he
was sory be cause that the kyng wold doo hym noo ryght.
And then he come to the kyng and toke his leue and said
that he wold byde no lenger in his courte in mystruste ne in
susspeccion.

10 So he departed and come to Sydone and told hiſe how the
kyng had said to¹ hym, and howe the kyng wold not doo
hym ryght, and howe that he had offred hym to fecht with
thre or fouſe, and how that he wold putt hym to his othe, to
his grete shame and dishonuſe. And when Sydone herd this
15 and vndirstode itt, it nedes not to aske if that she had any
sorowe in hiſe hertt; for she was so sorofull that she was
almuste loste. And when she myght speke, she said, "Ay
Lorde Godde, who be [thes]² traitours and flatterers that so
myche fals lyhyng has founde?—for in goode faithe, I wolle
20 swere on the sacrament, that theſe is noo vyllanye thoght in
ouſe loue. Bot sothely it is,³ that envy may not dye."

"Ma dame," said Ponthus, "ye say sothe. Bot I wolle take
leue of you with suche regrete and sorowe as euer knyght did,
and toke, of his lady." "Ay," sayd she, "my swete loue, me
25 semes it weſe bettere for to sweſe, for ye may doo itt surely, and
excuse vs." "Ay Ma dame," sayd he, "I dare not be seen in
my contrey, if I dide soo; and God graunte I be not the first
kynges sonne that makes the furste othe, for at all tymes itt
suld be reproche to me and to myn heyers. Bot Ma dame, not
30 withstondyng thoghe the body proloyne for a while, the hertt⁴
[*Fol. 181^b.] shall day and nyght * dwell with you. And if it please God,

¹ MS. after *to*, *hiſe* cancelled by the rubricator.

² W, *these*. R, *ces*.

³ R, *Mais ainsi est*. W, *But thus it is*.

⁴ The scribe has run down a flourish from this word into the lower margin of the Fol. inclosing in it a heart.

at the ende of vij yer I shall see you agane, and I live, bot if I come herfte;¹ and if itt like you to kepe you vnmarried vnto that tyme—if ye may—I wold pray you.” “Ay,” said she, “the *terme* is long and farre. And how many sorofull days
 5 and nyghtes shall be betwen you and me in the meane tyme!” And with thes wordes she fell in swone and was all discolored. Thus was the hertes of theym bothe so sore knytt² to gedre that *with* grete payne they myght vnnes any thyng say, bot [th]at³ they cleped aythre othre and the terys fell doune from
 10 theiŕ eeyn.

Then Pontus putt his hoode afore his eyne, and departed and went frome hiŕ vnto his chaumbre, and shitte the doore vpon hym. And then his hertt beganne to swell and said to hym selfe that he was the *mervellest* knyght livyng; that for
 15 hym that lady myght receyve blame or shame *with* oute cause; and on that side,⁴ he losys all wordly ioy, when he losys the contrey and the syght of hiŕ, of the whiche he has bot litle recoueryng. And thus he complenys hym and wementys hym ryght sorofully. And when he hade ben a while in that
 20 sorowe, then he comforted hym selfe to make goode cheŕ and refrenyd hym selfe ryght myche.

And if he hade sorowe in his hertt, Sidone had as myche; for she entred into hiŕ warderop and called Ellious vnto hiŕ, and when she sawe that theŕ was noon bot they twoo and that
 25 they weŕ alloone, then beganne hiŕ sorowe, so grete and so *mervellous*, that it was pitee to see. “Ay,” said she, “my swete love goos a way—the faiŕ, the goode, the floure of knyghthode and of curtesy, and the beste that levys and the best manerd and enteched aboute⁵ all *maner* of estates and

¹ I read clearly *herfte*, which I fail to understand, in the ms. Some word meaning earlier is required. R, *se plus tost ne reuient*. W, *yf soner I come not*. | Is it possibly *herste* (illogical *h* and long *s*) for *erste*.

² ms. after *knytt*, W, cancelled by the rubricator.

³ The conj. *at* may be a genuine colloquial form, that has slipped into the text. W, *sauve onely that*.

⁴ R, *Et dautre part*. W, *And also he leseth*. ⁵ R, *En tous estas*. W, *among*.

among all maner of people—and that is goode reson that he be so, for he loues God, dredes hym, and worshippes hym; and has the olde and the wyse in reuerence. He is humble to the moste and to the leste; he is myrroure of all noblenes and
 5 largenes; his swete hertt is gentle, humble, and debonere. What shall myn hertt doo aftre his departyng, bot langoure, and weymente day and nyght, withoute any ioy or reste?— for I knowe wele his swete hertt wolle haue no lesse.”

Then she toke Ellious by the harme hastely and furth with
 10 fell to the grounde in swone. And Ellious weped, and arased¹ hiṛ lady with a litle water, and confortd hiṛ in the best wyse that she myght; bot it avayled hiṛ not, she was so sory. And then she said to Ellious, “I may not in noo wyse kepe my hertt ne counsell close frome you, so myche I loue and trustes
 15 you. Bot love, this sorowe comys on me when I thinke² the grete vntrauthe that has ben putt vpon vs, and that we neuer thoght vyllany, for mor trueṛ loue was neuer betwen two per-
 sounes; and aftre, I thinke the wordes³ that be said of grete wrong, and that for me he loses the contrey wheṛ he was so
 20 wele beloued of grete and small, and all the evyll that he shal soffre and haue shall be for my sake; and thus I shall be cause of his myschief. All thes thinges drives sorowe to myn hertt.” Gretly she wemented and aftre dryed hiṛ eyn. And itt was long or she come to the chaumbre of astate among hiṛ
 25 ladys and gentylwommen; and made no semelance, bot as itt greved hiṛ bot a litle. She was right wyse and wele couthe kepe hiṛ contenance. The ladys and the gentylwommen weped and wemented of the departyng of Ponthus and said that cursed was he that suche falsed fonde and contreved.
 30 Bot Sydon reconforted theym full gentyly and womanly.

And thus I turne agane to Ponthus.

¹R, *et Eloix pleure et arouse sa dame*. Arased then means “sprinkled,” Fr. *arroser*. W shows a combination of a curious blunder and a correct translation: *toke rose water and bespryncled her lady*.

²R, *ie pense la grant desloyaulte* translated slavishly. W, *thynke on*.

³R, *ie pense les paroles*. W, *thynke on*.

[**Cap. XXIII.** How Pontius departed from the courte and saled to England; and how the kynges sonne of England, that was called Henry, welcomed hym and toke hym to the courte wher as he was ryght wele cherysed.
 5 And how the kyng of Irlond made werre vpon theym, and Pontius toke hym prisonner; and aftre councelled theym to make peace betwen the reaumes, and the kyng of Irlond to wed the kynges doghtre of England.]

10 **P**ontius called his chaumberlayne, a squye^r, and commaunded hym to trusse and to putt in males all that was nede, and toke leve of euery persone of the courte. So was the^r noon bot they made sorowe for his departyng and weped; and euery man and womman had as myche sorowe and doyll in thei^r hertt as the[i] wold haue hade, iff all they^r
 15 frendes had ben deid—so myche they loued hym.

Then he departed from the courte; and the barounes, the knyghtes, and who so euer myght lepe on hors bak conveyd hym wepyng, and wenyd varely to have withholden hym *with faïr* language, sayng, that the kyng was olde and not wyse,
 20 and that he shuld not take to hert that that he said. Bot he wold not abyde for all they^r langage.

And when they had conveyd hym twoo myles, he aboode and *prayd* theym to turne agane; and so he made theym to turne a gane, whedre they wold or not. In takyng leve was
 25 wepyng enughe.

So they returned and made grete sorowe for his departyng, sayng, “Ay Bretan, thou oughte to be dysmated and wepyd:¹ when the faïr, the goode, the most worshipfull knyght takes his leve, the whiche kepted theym in peace and ioy; for he
 30 kepted theym, as the hen did hi^r byrdes vndre hi^r weng, from all evyll neghbours and aduersaries. The barounes and the people also wepyd and regreted, in cursyng theym that the fals wordes had founde and contreyd.

¹Adj. in the sense of sorrowful, for *biwepyd*. R, *bretaigne tu dois bien plourer*. W, *thou oughtest wele to wepe*.

Ponthus rode to Sainte Malo de l'Ysele,¹ and thedre made come a shipp, and on the morowe herd messe, and afre went to take the see. And so Herland the senysshall and his fel-
 lawes wenyd to haue goone *with* hym; bot he wold not soffre
 5 theym, and said, that the kyng had norysshed theym and made
 theym,² and that he myght doo theym, myche goode; and ther-
 fore he counselled theym for to abyde styll with the kyng.
 And thus with grete payne they departed frome hym full
 sorowfully and toke leve of hym wepyng. And when the shipp
 10 was oute of theyr sight, then began theyr doyll and their grete
 sorow—bot if itt wer Guenelete, which made semelante as he
 had wepyd, and was no dele sory, bot hade grete ioy in his
 hert inwarde, what cheer so euer that he shewyd outwarde.

And Ponthus went his way, and thus he losys the syght of
 15 Bretan. Then the teres fell doune frome his eyne, and softely
 said, "Blessed be Bretane and the fair, the goode, the [most]
 trusty, that lyues³—Sydone, and all othre ladys and gentyl-
 wommen for loue of hir and goode knyghthode, for I neuer
 sawe ne hard of noon⁴ bettre."⁴ Grete sorowe then his hertt
 20 had for Sydone. Not withstandyng, he keped his sorowe in
 the most covert wyse that he couthe or myght.

And within a whyle he arryved at Hampton and come
 rydyng toward London. And ther passed by the way a grete
 bore; and a grehounde toke the bore; and then Ponthus with
 25 his sworde clove hym in the myddys in twoo peces. And Ser
 Henry the kynges sonne sawe the stroke and had grete mervell
 therof; and prayd hym to dwell with hym. And Ponthus
 graunted hym.

¹ MS. *lysele*. R, *saint malo*. W, *saynt Solo (sic)*.

² W, *And y^e he was of power to make them & doo them good*. R, *le roy les avoit nourris et fais et leur feroit des biens assez*.

³ MS. *loues*. I emend the passage following R, *benoist soit bretagne. Et la belle et la plus loyale qui viue et la meilleur*.

⁴ MS. *more bittre*. Cf. W, *for better nor sweter was there neuer*. Both English versions depart from R's, *Car onques plus doulz pays [Bretaigne] ne feust*. The emendation may appear somewhat heroic, but clearly there is confusion in the passage as it stands.

And the kynges sonne enquired of his estate. And he told hym not as yete, bot tolde hym that he was comen to the courte of Englonde to see itt, by cause of the grete renoune that he herd of the kyng, and of his twoo sonnes; and that
 5 he come also to see the estate and noblenes of the same contre and reaume. "Ser," said Henry, "ye be ryght welcome. And I be oon of the kynges sonnes, and I pray you to be with me."
 "Ser, in Godes name, savyng that it please yow."

* Fol. 182.] Thus they wente to gedre toward the courte, spekyng of
 10 mony thynges.¹ * And when they come to the courte, the kyng was even² sett to mete. Henry *commaunded* his men that they shuld delyuere chaumbre and stable to his newe knyght. And itt was so doon. The kynges sone entred into the hall and his knyghtes *with* hym. The kyng asked hym
 15 howe he had hunted and the quene bothe. And he tolde theym. Then the kyng asked hym *prively* what was the fair knyght. And he tolde hym howe he had hym founde, and of the grete stroke that he gave the bore. And Pontus was gretly loked vpon, for on euery syde they come to beholde
 20 hym, and hade grete *meruell* of hym.

The courte was anoon full of the tithynges that ther̄ was comen with the kynges sonne the fairest knyght that *euere* any man loked vpon. The ladys and gentywomen beheld hym, and in especiall the kynges twoo doghters. *Eueryche* of them
 25 said, "Se hēr, a *mervellous* fair knyght!" "Yea," said sume, "if he be feȳr, he is more amyable and plesaunt." They made hym sitt among the ladis, and afre dynnē they went furth of the hall; and then was broght furth the bore, whiche was the bore that they had sen before, whiche was cutt in twoo peces.
 30 "Loo!" said Henry to the kyng and to the quene, "what my newe knyght has doone *with* oon stroke of a swerde." And Pontus turned hym an othre way and shamed that they prased hym so myche.

¹The *-es* is nearly erased.

²R, *le roy estoit ia assis a disner*. W, *y^e kyng was set at dyner*.

The kyng and the quene asked hym of whens that he was. And he said, of the reume of Fraunce. "And what call they you?" said the kyng. "Ser, they call me Le Surdite de Droyte Voy." And so they asked hym of the tydynges of Fraunce, 5 and of mony thynges. And the kyng herde hym so wysely spoken and answeyng, that he gretly mervelled. Then he said to the quene, that he had not herd a *bettre* avysed ne *bettre* attempted in language then he was—"and for sothe myn hertt yeves me that he is grettre of byrthe, and more 10 noble, then he makes hym." And thus they tarryed a grete whyle; and the more that they sawe hym, the more they loued hym and prased hym.

Grete doylle made the kynges eldest sonne that he had not the furst mett with hym, before his brodre Henry; for Pon- 15 thus knewe notably of all maner games—of huntyng, of hawkyng, and othre disportes; and euer he made as thoghe he knewe no thyng, ne he prased neuer hym self in nothyng that he dide. Gretly was prased his connyng and his maners among all the people. He loued God and the chirche, and 20 euery day he herd messe; and gave his almus secretly to the pouere people. And he wold neuer sweŕ by God ne by noon of his saintes.

Uppon a day itt befell that the Erle of Gloucestre sonne, which was a ryght faiŕ knyght and a strong, and was right 25 presumptuous, cast the stohne *with* the kynges sonne Henry, and mony othre noble knyghtes that was theŕ. And he hade passed Ser Henry nygh fouŕ fyngers, and he *avaunted* hym selfe therof before the ladys. And of his boste Ser Henry was evyll plesyd, and called Ponthus to hym and said, "Surdyte 30 my frende, I pray you to revenge me, for Rolande Gloucestre makes his boste afore the ladys that he has passed me to myche."¹ "Ser," said Surdyte, "sith it please you, I wolle, bot I am vnykly." Then he toke the stone of his *maistre* and caste itt easly frome hym, and passed hym negh by twoo

¹R, *se vente quil ma passe de trop.* .

fynghers. Then the thothre² toke the stone and reforced hym and did so myche that he caste as farre. "Ay," said Ser Henry, "by the faithe that ye owe to the lady that ye beste loue in the worlde, caste itt as farre as ye may."

*Fol. 183.]
5 And when he herd hym thus require * hym, he remembred hym of his lady, and toke the stone, and said, "Ser, ye haue sore required me, for I owe grete feithe to my lady, my modre." "Ay," said Gener the kynges eldist doghtre, "be ye so myche waxen, and be to seche with ladys vnto nowe?"¹ "Ma dame,"
10 said he, "I am so fonde and bustus that noon deynes to loue me." "God knowes that itt is trewe," said Gener. And then she said in hiȝ herth, "Now wolde Gode that he wold loue me as wele as I loue hym."

And then Surdyte toke the stonne and cast it vij fote ferthre.
15 And when the kyng and the ladys sawe the cast, they mervelled therof gretly. The Erle sonne of Gloucestre was abasshed and said that he was ouercomen. Then said Henry to Surdyte, "Why haue ye so longe abyden to cast that grete caste?" "Ser," said he, "and ye hade not so sore desired me, I wold
20 not haue melled therwith, for I haue doone the Erle sonne of Gloucestre dyspleseȝ—and that dysplese me, if it weȝ not to fullfyll youȝ commaundment; for it longes not to me to dysplese any man." So his maistre sawe wele the curtesy of the knyght.

25 So come Gener to hiȝ brothre Henry, and said, "Faiȝ brothre come and sporte you in my chaumbre, ye and youȝ knyght, I pray you." "Sustre," said he, "I wolle." And so they went to dysporte theym in hiȝ chaumbre. There they had wyne and spices and aftre they begane to daunce and
30 syng. Bot with grete payne they myght vnnethe make Sur-

¹Apparently a case of "tother," dentals are irregular in this ms., so I have let it stand.

²W, *Surdyt Surdyt | it may not be that ye be now | vnpurchased and be so moche & so goodly.* R, *Sourdit, Sourdit a peine estes si grant creu que vous en soies a pourchaser dun autre.* Our translator apparently had an original differing from R.

dyte de Droyte Voy to daunce, for he said he couthe noo thyng doo; bot when he was in daunce,¹ he daunced so that noo man daunced like hym. And also vnneth they couthe make hym to syng. Bot at the kynges doghtre prayeṛ, he
5 song a songe whiche was passyng swete.

And aftre when they had songen, the kynges sonne and his sustre beganne to harpe. And when they had harped a whyle, they prayd Surdyte to harpe. Bot they had grete payne to make hym to doo any thyng as towchyng to harpyng, syng-
10 yng, or daunsyng; bot at the last he harped a newe lay that was mervellous. "Goode faithe!" said Geneṛ, "I haue grete ioy that ye can this, for we haue had grete desiṛ to knowe itt—for it is the lay that the goode knyght Ponthus made for his love, as it is told vs." "Madame, I wote not who made itt,"
15 said he. Bot yitt he was a litle aschamed, and waxed rede, when he thoght on hiṛ that he made itt for. Then Gener and hiṛ sustre lerned itt, and had itt wretyn.

And anon went the kynges sonne and his twoo susters to the kyng theyṛ fadre and to the quene, and told theym that
20 Surdyte couth the lay that Ponthus made in Litle Bretan. And the² kyng commaunded hym to harpe itt be-for hym and the quene; and they thoght itt mervellously goode, and said to theiṛ twoo doghters, "Truly, faiṛ doghters, we wold that ye lernyd itt, for itt is ryght goode, and the knyght doos
25 itt wondrely wele—and of all dysportes and plays he canne enowe."

And on a tyme Gener demaunded hym and sayd, "Surdyte se ye any lady in this londe, wheṛ ye lyst putt youṛ hertt and plesaunce vnto? I pray you, tell ye me; and in goode faithe,
30 I am she that wolle youṛ worshipp." "Ma dame," said he, "God thonke you at all tymes, for I haue grete nede of youṛ goode helpe; bot in this case, I loue all as goode ladys." "Ay," said she, "Be they all comon to you, or be theṛ any that has avauntege before any othre?" "Ma dame," said he,

¹ R, *fu a la dance.*

² MS. *ther*'.

“all be so good that noon may honour and worshipp them so myche as they be worthie; and as tovyng me, the honu^r1 of so pouere a knyght is litle worthe.” “Ay,” said she, “he
 Fol. 183^b] is not pouere that has the beautie, the bountie, the * goode
 5 maneres, and the fey^r countenaunce, that ye haue; for in goode feith, I knowe not so grete a lady in this lande bot that she myght hold hi^r worshipp, if that she were love vnto suche a knyght as I trowe that ye be.” “Ma dame,” said he, “I be farre frome suche worthynes as ye say that I be of.” “Ay,”
 10 said she, “I say noo thyng bot that me thynkis² sothe.” “Yea Ma dame,” said he, “Itt likes you forto dysporte with me, that be so pouere a knyght.” And thus he held hym all vpon iapes, and made noo semeland to be in any throwes of love³—wherof itt dyspleased hi^r gretly; for and she had founde any cause or
 15 draught of love in hym, she wold haue dyscouered her more largely. And that perceyved Surdyte ryght wele ofte tymes, by hi^r and by mony othre ladys and gentylwommen, which cast to hym mony coverte wordes and contaunce—whiche with goode wyll wold haue loued hym, and he hade wold.
 20 Bot he shewed to eueryche elyke goode chere withoute any contaunce of love; wherfor the[re]⁴ were many sorofull, and in especiall the kynges twoo doghters.

Ryght wysely he aquanted hym with, and did plesaunce to, euery body. Mony nyghtes he thought on his lady and made
 25 dyuers lays, wherof the wordes of oon lay ended in contenyng of sorowe⁵—that he wold loue hi^r withoute any eschaunge;⁶ and in thes thinges at sume tyme he toke myche of his comforthe, and lyghtnes of his straunge thoghtes.⁷

¹ R, *lamour*. W, *loue*. The translator probably read *lamour* as *lonour* in his French original.

² MS. *thynk is*.

³ R, *effray damer*. W, *wyll for to loue*.

⁴ R, *dont il y en eust*.

⁵ R, *Et faisoit lays et vi-relays et tous les noms cheoient en regart de douleur* (sic). W, *the whiche fell in complaynyng of sorowe*.

⁶ R, *sans changer*.

⁷ R, *prenoit moult de confort a la guet de ses estroites pensees*. W, blunders in this passage: & in these thoughtes he toke ofte tymes grete dyscomforte (sic) & sometyme allegyaunce of his heuy thoghtes.

Then itt befell that there was grete rumour of werre between the kyng of Englund and the kyng of Irlond; for there was taken truse, which was broken vpon a Myghelmes, the¹ [whiche] was twoo days passed. And the kyng of Irelond
 5 had at that tyme ryden with a grete armye. And anon theſe come tydynges to the courte therof. And the kyng sent oute pryvey seales, and lettres of commaundement, thorow oute his reaueme; and ordaned to send furth his twoo sonnes.

Surdyte asked his maistre, "Ser, what title has the kyng
 10 to werre?" And Ser Henry toke hym that he had goode title, and toke itt vpon perell of his saule. Then said Surdyte, "Ser, I wolle goo with you; for in no evyll title of Cristen werres I wold not goo, for noo thyng. For we oughte mo² to loue ouſe saules then ouſe bodyes that be mortall, and
 15 from day to day drawen to an ende—and the saule may not dye, and it behoves to haue it³ rewarde of Almyghty Gode, authiſe goode or evyll." His maistre herkened hym wele, and prased hym myche in his hertt, notwithstanding he wenyd that his fadre hade goode ryght.

20 The armye made,⁴ they beganne to goo aganes the kyng of Irelond, which had taken a castell and held itt—the which he had wonne with a sawte. And when the kyng of Irland herd by his spyes that the kynes twoo sonnes come to the batell, anon he come against theym; for he was an hardy
 25 man and a worthie. And he had six batells and had mony comons with hym.

¹ R, *La quelle estoit passee de trois iours.* W, and was passed a thre days.

² MS. me. R, *mieuux.* W, better.

³ Reading *his* for *it*, or dropping *it* from the text would amend the passage. *It*, in any form, as a genitive is of course impossible at this date. R, *son guerredon.* W, *her rewarde.*

⁴ R, *Mais touteffois cuidoit il que son pere eust droit en larmee. Ce fait ils partirent et allerent contre le roy dislande.* Apparently the translator has rendered *ce fait*, the armye made (*i. e.*, put in order) deceived by the proximity of *larmee* in his original. The blunder is a surprising one, but it appears better to tally with the texts than the obvious but unsatisfactory emendation *beginne* for *beganne*. W, *The armes were assembled & wente.*

And the kyng of Englonde twoo sonnes had bot foū batells with them: wherof the Erle of Northampton, that was marshall, hade the furste batell; the secund batell had the Lorde Henry; and the third had the kyng¹ eldyst sonne, 5 in the which wēr mony Barounes; the fourte batell had the kyng of Cornewale, which was a full good knyght and newewe vnto the kyng, and with hym wēr the Walshmen.

The kyng of Irland had the moste parte of his men on fote. Bot the Englyschmen wēr the most parte on hors bak. At 10 the ssembly wēr grete showtes and cries, and mony knyghtes beten doune so that they had no power̄ to relief them self. So had the Erle soffred twoo batelles to come vpon hym. And Fol. 184.] when Surdyte, that was in the * secunde batell, sawe theīr men withdrawe them, he said to his maistre, "Ser, itt is 15 tyme that we meve vs. Youre men losys grounde." "Ye say sothe," said the Lorde Henry.

Then they went furthe and entred into the batell and felled doune mony knyghtes in theyr entryng. And afre they toke them to theȳr swordes; and then began the feghtyng strong 20 and fersly. And anoon the Ireschmen drewe bak, so that the othīr batell come in, in the whiche was the kyng of Irland and the best knyghtes that he had. Thēr was grete noys of trumpys. Itt was not long aftēr bot all the batells assemelyd with mony grete iustys, bot itt wēr to long to tell all, how 25 they wēr doon.

Surdyte, that had grete desīr to doo fetes of armes, bett doune mony *with* the tronchon of his spēr; and afre toke hym vnto his sworde and began fersly, and smote on aythre syde hym//and made rowme before hym, so that he was knawn 30 of them that neuer saw hym befor. He did so manfully that mony left theīr feghtyng to behold hym.

Then said the kyng of Irlond, that if yonde knyght shuld live long, he wold gār his men lose grounde. And so he smote the hors *with* his spurrys; and *with* a gret short spēr

¹The *g* has a large tag much like the usual flourish, unlike the *-es* contraction.

he smote Surdyte at a travers, that he had nyghe ouerthrawn hym. Notwithstandyng, he fell not. And when he was redressed vp agayn, he said in his hertt that he was bot litle worthe, bot if he weŕ revenged. He knewe wele that it was
 5 the kyng of Irland for othre *mervelles* of armes that he sawe hym doo, and he sawe (hym) rychely arrayd in pereles and precious stones.

Then Surdyte avaunced hym and smote hym vpon his helme so grete a stroke that he was astoned and bowed bak
 10 vpon the arson of his saddle; and then he wold smyte hym noo more, for fere lesse he shuld sleȳ hym; and thoght in his hertt that itt was not Godes wyll, that he shuld sley so goode a knyght. Then he toke hym by the shulders and drewe hym to hym, furth of his saddle, and cast hym before hym
 15 and bare hym as the wolfe beres his pray. The Iresche men trowed to have rescoued hym; but Surdyte smote so sore aboute hym that they durst not tovche hym and he bare oute of the batell, and putt, hym in save garde.

When the Ireschmen sawe that theyŕ kyng was taken, they
 20 loste theyŕ corage and hardenes; and toke theym to flyght, thos that myght—sume to the woddes and sume to the hylles. And mony weŕ beten doune deid. And at nyght euery man toke that they myght, and drewe theym to theyŕ banner and to theyŕ stondard, and lused theym in the felde in signe of
 25 victorie. Bot the Lorde Henry had gret ioy of his knyght, that had taken the kyng. Myche was the speche of Surdyte, that all the felde was wonne by hym. And on the morowe they went before the castell that the kyng of Irelond had taken; and within a whyle it was yelden vp, and mony othre
 30 townes and castells that they had taken.

Grete was the ioy (of the tydynges) that come to the courte¹—howe by Surdyte the kyng of Irlond was taken and all his men dyscomfetyd; and at their comyng home the kyng and the quene went aganes hym with grete ioy, and said, "This

¹ MS. *courte and. R, Moult fu grant la Ioye et la feste des nouvelles . . . , comme le Sourdit auoit este vainquer.*

knyght is welcome, whiche is the floure of knyghthod." Surdyte was ashamed of the grete worshipp that they did hym; and said to the kyng and to the quene, that they did hym shame to putt hym to so grete worshipp, that had not deserued
 5 itt. "Ay," said the kyng, "I trowed that I had doon wele, bot syth it displeasses you, I wolle doo noo more so."

Menne asked the kyng what he wold doo with the kyng of Irlonde, and he answeyd and said, "Like as Surdyte wolle; Fol. 184^b.] and that he * be not sett in prisoune, bot if he commaunde
 10 itt." And Surdyte answerd therto and said, "As the kyng wolle, so be itt doon; and if itt like hym, by myn advice, it were wele doon to doo hym worshipp, and that he myght ete and drynk in the hall." And the kyng said the counsell was goode, and commaunded his yonger sonne to bryng hym into the hall.

15 And the kyng of Irland was full semely and a full fair knyght, of thirtee yeres of age, and was richely arrayd in a coote of purple and a mantyll of sabyllyn doune to the foote. He was gretely beheld of all the people. The kyng and the quene made hym cheŕ for the loue of Surdyte; and he was
 20 sett betwen the kynges twoo doghters. Bot he made bot symple chere. And Surdyte come to hym, and said, "Ser, be ye of goode cheŕ, for ye haue goode and easy prisoune betwen twoo fair ladyes." "Truly," said the kyng, "sithe Gode hath sent me suche prison, me oght not gretly to be dysmated."

25 Aftre dynner Surdite made hym to talke with the kynges yonger doghtre, and said to hiŕ, "Madame, howe likes you the kyng of Irlond? If I knewe that it liked you, I wold speke of a mariage betwen you and hym, although it long¹ not to me—for pouere men has bot litle voice among grete men
 30 and lordes." "Ay," seid she, "Surdite haue ye said as ye thought?" "Yea Madame," said he, "if I wyst that it weŕ to your pleasure." "For sothe," said she, "itt pleases me, if it please my fadre and my brethre,² sith that I may not haue

¹A large *g* tag may represent an *-es*, but is probably merely a flourish.

²The first *e* looks like an *o*, in which the pen has slipped downward in making the left stroke, but there is no doubt that the reading is *brethre*, not *brothre*.

an othre, that be navthre kyng ne duke—bot he is the fairest knyght of the world, and the best.” “Madame,” said he, “it is a straunge thyng to knowe the beste, for thē be mony goode.” And he thoght that she said it by hym. And so
 5 she did. Bot he wold not comforth hī therin. And afre they went furth for to dysporte theym in the gardyns, and playd att the chesse and att the tables, and at mony othre dysportes.

On the morowe the kyng of Englund held a grete fest
 10 and a counsell,—and thē was the kyng of Scottes, that had weddyd his sustre, and the kyng of Cornewale, and princes, dukes and barounes,—to wytt what shuld be doon with the kyng of Irlonde. And thus they spake of dyuers ways. And at the last the kyng asked Surdyte and badd hym say
 15 his advyce,—“for itt is reason that we take oūr advice att you that has hym vndre subieccon.” He excused hym to sey, bot the kyng commaunded hym to sey, “Ser, sith me must nedes speke, foryeve me my rude and my simple speche. It semes me that the quarell and the debate that I haue herde
 20 is not myche worthe, for itt is not the lawe ne the commaundement of Gode to be all wey in aduersite—for he sais, ‘Loue thy neighboūr as thy selfe;’ and also, when Gode was borne, the aungell come to the shepherdes, and shewed to theym the message of Gode, and afre went vp into hevyn synghyng,
 25 Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus, &c., that is to say, ‘Glorye and worshipp be vnto Gode in high places, and in erthe, peace to all people.’¹ Also God said to his apostylls dyvers tymes, ‘Peace be among you.’ So if God haue sent you grete realmes, kyngdomes, and lordeshipp, itt
 30 is not for to werre, the strongg ayeinst the feble; for ye werre also ayeinst the pouere people, whiche ye oughte to kepe in reste and peace, and they ben sleyn and destroyed. That is

¹ W and R have nothing corresponding to *in high places*; they substitute for *all people*. W, *men of good wyll*. R, *hommes de bonne volente*. The verse from the Vulgate is completed in W by the addition of *bone voluntatis*; in R it stops at *Deo*.

grete pitee for the Cristen to here of. And I shall say you what wolle make goode peace betwen you, by myn advice,—ye shall yeve to hym your doghtre in mariage, and all this
 * Fol. 185.] debate to be cessed.” All lordes said, “Blessyd be * he for
 5 his counsell.” Soo itt was hold and keped.

Then seid the kyng of Scottes, “Fair frende, sith that your fair speche be so plesaunt to all people, goo ye now to the kyng your prisonner and bryng to vs the reporte of his wyll; for we charge you with that occupacion.” And Surdyte said
 10 he wold with a goode wyll, sith that itt liked theym. And anoon he went and spake with the kyng of Irlond, and told hym the subieccion that he was in, and the perell that myght fall to his reame; and afre told hym howe that God loues hym that loues his neghtboures, and how mony has ben lost
 15 by theyr corage and excesse of covetyse. “Nowe what say ye, and I laboure so that ye may haue¹ the kynges yongre doghtre and that your raunson and debate be foryeven in the mariage; and so euer afre to be frendes.” “Ser,” said the kyng, “and ye may bryng itt aboute, I am myche beholden
 20 to you, afre God, most of any man.” “Wolle ye,”² said Surdyte, “that I doo itt and bryng itt to a conclusion?” “Yea,” said the kyng, “with all myn hertt, for I desire it most of any thyng.”

Then departed Surdyte from hym, and come to the counsell, and reported to theym that the kyng was ryght glad of the aliaunce, and forto haue peace.

Thus was itt concluded and fulfilled. And the kyng and she ensured³ befor the Archebysschop of Canterbury; and within a moneth afre they wer wedded with grete fest and
 30 ioy, for the kyng of Irlond had ther a hundreth knyghtes of a suyte, and gave to Surdite iiij stedes couresoures, and x thowsand besantes of gold, and grete plente of clothes of golde,

¹The MS. repeats *may haue*.

²MS. *yeu*.

³W, *The kyng . . . made y^e archebysshop . . . for to handfest theym. R, fist . . . fiancer.*

of purpyll, and of sylke, and also grete peyns¹ of armyn and of sables. And within a while the kyng sent [the] quene into Irlonde, wheŕ as she was coroned, loued and worshipped.

[**Cap. XXIV.** How Corbatan the third sonne of the Sawdeyn loded in Englonde, and how Ponthus slewe hym and toke his tresour̄. And the kynges two sonnes were sleyn in the batell. How the kyng offered to Ponthus to wed Genere his doghtre and to be kyng aftre hym.]

10 **S**O itt happened in the vijth yer aftre that Surdyte come into Englonde, that the thirde son of the sawdeyn, which was called Corbatan, had pyllled mony iles and reaumes, and doon grete harme vnto the Cristen people, and made mony londes tributary to hym, and loded in Englonde as his two brethre had—that oon in Spayne, and that othre in Pety
15 Bretan. Anon theŕ was a grete noys that he was loded with ix C vesselles, grete [and small],² and defyed the kyng and bad hym voyde the londe, or to forsake theyŕ beleve and pay tribute.

All the contre for grete fere tremelyd,³ when they harde of
20 the grete noumbre that the hethyn weŕ of. The kyng had counsell forto send hastely aboute, and so he sent hastely for the kyng of Scottes his brothre, and for the kyng of Irlond his son, and for the kyng of Cornewale his newew, and for the Erle of Wales, and for all othre erles and barounes of his
25 reaume. And when they weŕ assemyld, theŕ was a grete armye. Also he sent his two sonnes and Surdyte; and they come in ordynaunce bot iiijth⁴ Englysch myles fro the Saresyns, and ordaned theyŕ batelles: wherof the kyng of Scottes and the kyng of Irlonde hade the furst; the secunde hade the

¹ R, *de bonnes penes* (on an erasure) *de gris dermines et de sebelines*. W, *goode furrres of veer and of sables*. See *pane*, a garment, in Stratmann-Bradley.

² R, *que grans que petis*. W, *what grete what small*.

³ MS. *tremelyd mony*.

⁴ R, *a trois lieues*. O adds *anglesses*. W, *well a foure myle*.

kyng of Cornewale; the thirde, the Erle of Wales; the iiii^{te}
 the Lorde Iohn, the kyng eldyst son; the v^{te} the Lorde Ser
 Henry, the kynges yongre son; and Surdyte had the vj^{te}.
 Ther¹ vj batelles wer, grete, and noumbred to moo than xxx^{te}
 5 thowsand horsmen, beside theym that wer on fote, as archers
 and ablasters.² And Corbatan the kyng, which knewe of
 they^r commyng made xij batelles and had moo then fourtee³
 * Fol. 185^b.]thowsand, besyde theym * on fote, and they were ryght fers,
 as they that had not ben dyscomfeted in xii yere, sith they
 10 departed from the sawdeyn of Babilone.

And ou^r people rode wele enbatelled and on a rowe; and
 when they sawe the Saresyns oste,⁴ that held so grete a coun-
 tre,⁴ they gretly amervelled. They had all herde messe,⁵ that
 the Bishop of Canterbury had songen,⁵ and we^r shreven and
 15 howselyd, and then they held theym myche more sure. Sur-
 dyte come by the batelles, and said, "Fei^r Lordes, meruelles
 not of the grete noumbre, for we be vndreneth the banner of
 ou^r Lorde Ihesu Criste, which fulfilled v^M people with v
 barley lovys and twoo fysches; for so he may (gyue) victorye
 20 to oon aganes C. Therof haue we goode hertt, and smyte
 we sharply aganes theym; for he that wolle,⁶—nedes the
 defendaunt comonly voydes and makes way. So goo we in
 Goddes name vpon them withoute any delay, for they haue
 no Gode to defende theym, ne helpe them; and lete vs be
 25 hardy withouten any fere, and they shall be anon dyscom-
 feted, with the grace of God."

¹A tempting emendation is *thes* for *ther'*, but *ther'* . . . *wer* translates R, *si furent*.

²W, *arbalasties*. R, *arbalastriers*.

³R, *quinze*. O, *l. mille*. W, *xl*.

⁴W, the same, translating R, *qui tint si grant pais*. "Who occupied so much space?"

⁵The clause is neither in W or R.

⁶I. e., *smyte sharply*. I render, "Who sharply attacks—of necessity the defensive party yields," following R, *Car qui bien assault et se deffent len lui uide lentree et se fait ou voye*. W, condenses, *for he that well assaylth or defendeth vpon theym that haue no fayth God helpeth hym*.

Then they smote theiꝛ horses *with* theiꝛ spurrys and come to gedre oon aganes an othre. There was grete cry and noys of trumpes, and anon weꝛ ryght mony ouerthrawn and dede. And the batell endured iiij houres¹ and more. Theꝛ myght
5 men here and see swordes breke and elatre on the helmetes of stele.

Surdyte made way wheꝛ so euer he went, for as mony as he oueraghte weꝛ deid or distroyd. Fireague, oon of the Saresyns, had slayne *Ser* John, the kynges eldest son, of
10 whiche was grete harme. The batell was ryght cruell.

Corbatan the kyng did ryght *mervellously* dedes of armes and sawe *Ser* Henry rychely arrayd, and how that he did mony faiꝛ dedes of armes. He toke in his honde a grete shorte sworde² and stroke hym at a travers, in suche wyse
15 that he perched his goode harnes, and stroke hym into the body alfe a fote. Surdyte then dressed hym and made the Saresyns to flee befor hym with the grete strokes that he gave theym, and beheld his maistre fall to the grounde, and hurte in the body. It nedes not to aske whethre that he was ryght
20 sory or not. And then he stroke on the ryght hond and on the lefte honde, so far furth that he, *with* the helpe of the kyng of Irlond, made a grete voyde place; and anon he lyght doune and helped his maystre vpp, and asked hym howe he dyd. And he said, "Wele"—so that he weꝛ revenged
25 vppon hym that had gyven hym that. "And what is he?" said Surdyte. "It was Corbatan the kyng of the oste." "Ser, doute ye not," said Surdyte. "I wolle dye, bot if I son revenge you." Then was the kynges son sett vpon hors bak and putt furth of (the) prese.

30 And then Surdyte associate hym with C men or moo, and behelde the gonfanoune of the kyng Corbatan and went that way, and stroke on euery side thwarton and endway, and brake the prese and sawe the kyng, which did *mervellously* with his hondes and was rychely armyd and had a ryche

¹ R, *dura la b. tant qui heure de tierce.* W omits.

² W, *a spere grete & sparte (?)*. R, *une espee grosse et court.*

crowne of golde vpon his hede. Surdyte said vnto hym, "Ay, false Saresyn, thou shall goo no fertheŕ, which has hurtt my maistre." Then he come vnto hym and smote hym with all his myght, that he astounded hym and made hym to fall vpon
 5 the arson of his saddle; and then Surdyte smote hym agane vndre the lasys of his helmete so strongly that he smote of his helmete and his hede with all.

And then he toke the hede and baŕ itt to his maistre oute of the prese. And as sone as he sawe itt, he said, "Blessed
 10 be God, and I dye, I shal dye more ioyfully; and graunte marcy,"¹ said he, "to Surdyte." "Ser," * sayd he, "thinke not to dye, for ye shall see within a while thes Saresyns dyscomfeted, seyng that theyŕ kyng is deid."

*Fol. 186.]

And he said sothe; for as sone as they wyst that theyŕ
 15 kyng was deyd noon of theym stode at defence, bot were sory and abasched, and began to dyscomforth theym self. And Surdyte entred into the presse and began to doo fayŕ fetes of armes, and to reioyse his felleschipp, and to thrawe doune Saresyns; and faght so mervellously that all men knewe hym
 20 by the grete strokes that he gave. So they fled all afor hym, as doos the hayres afor the grehoundes,² and toke theym all to gedre as they that were oute of array, and fled by the contre as bestes.

And then ye myght see English, Scottysch, and Iresch, men
 25 showte and crye strongly vpon theym, and sloo theym vpon euery side, so that the feld lay full of deyd bodys. The Saresyns wyst not whethiŕ to flee, ne wheŕ to hyde theym. Ther weŕ mony that fled to theyŕ shippes; bot Surdyte and the English pursued theym son, that they myght flee noo
 30 farther; and then they wer cast into the see. There was grete slaghtr.

And Surdyte come to a shipp and entred into itt, and spake Latyn, and asked where the shipp was that the kyng was in and his tresour. Then a Saresyn shewed hym the shipp and

¹ R, *grant merci*. W, *grammercy*.

² R, *comme le lieure fait deuant les chiens*. W, *as shepe before the wolfe*.

went oute with hym into itt, which was grete, fair, and large, and wele stuffed, that it was *mervell* to see. And theſe weſe ſume in the ſhipp that wold a¹ defended theym; and Surdyte leid hond on his ſworde and ſloo all theym that was therin, 5 ſave thre Saſesyns that come in with hym—the whiche ſaid they wold be criſtened, by cauſe that Mahounde ſoffred ſo mony to dye. And they wer criſtened; and Surdyte yeave theym myche goode. Then ſaid oon of the Saſesyns, “Ser, ſee ye on of yonde coffyrs and trunkes, that be full of gold 10 and ſyluer—the which the kyng Corbatan had wonne of mony of the Criſten people in mony realmes, iles, and con-trees—ſo myche that itt is *mervell* to ſee?” And the Criſten lordes toke veſſelles and ſhippes, for theſe weſe the noumbre of ix C ſales. They had mony grete wyngges, wherof they 15 weſe all ryche.

And Surdyte delyuerd his ſhipp to ſuche as he truſted beſt, and badd theym bryng itt to London; for he thocht theſe to yeve to ſawdeoures, to men of armes, and archers, for to goo into his contrey of Spayne, that the Saſesyns keped in *ſeruage*. 20 Notwithſtondyng, he gave ſo grete gyftes that euery man *mer-velled* for the grete largenes.

The nyght paſſed—it was on a tuysday—and on the wedyns-day the[i] ſerched the feld to fynde the Cryſten that were ſlaln. And theſe they fonde the kynges twoo ſonnes, the Erle 25 of Wales,² the Erle of Glouceſtre, twoo barounes,³ and aboute xl⁴ knyghtes, and ij^M comons. Sum weſe led into theyſe con-trey and the remenaunt weſe buryed in a white⁵ abbey.

The kyng, the quene, and all the contrey had grete ioy of the victorye that they had. And they ſaid all that the good 30 knyght Surdyte was the chief cauſe of all; for had not God and he ben, they had loſte the feld. So he had the lavde and the priſe.

¹ Undoubtedly a colloquialism for *wold haue*.

² W adds, *the baron of ſtaunford*. R, *ſtaffort*.

³ R, *trois autres barons*. R, *three other barons*.

⁴ R, *bien cinquante*. W, .xii.

⁵ W omits. R, *en une abbaye blanche*.

Bot sorowe and wepyng was theȝ myche for the kynges
two sonnes that weȝ deyde. The kyng, the quene, the ladies
and lordes made grete chere and thonkyng to Surdyte, and
seyde, by hym they had ouercomen theȝ enemes. Surdyte
5 weped when he sawe the kyng wepe for his maistre; bot the
kyng toke hym to comforth and said, that in more mery ne
in bettre seruice myght he not dye, then in the seruice of God
and in defendyng of his contrey aganes the Saresyns.

Itt taryed not long bot that he assemelyde his counsell.
10 And theȝ was the kyng of Scottes, his brothre, the kyng of
Cornewale, his newewe, and all his lordes. And the kyng
*Fol. 186^b.] said, "Fair * Seris, ye see the meruelles that be comen to this
londe, and howe I haue lost my two sonnes. I be olde, and
the quene is not yonge; so we must devyse who may haue
15 this roialme aftre, and who sall gouerne itt in myn age."
The kyng of Scottes stode vp, and said, "I haue wedded youȝ
sustre and ye haue wedded myn; so ye owe to holde me as
youȝ brothre. I wold counsell you to yeve youȝ dignite to
Surdyte; for then ye shall be dovbted and dred, and youȝ
20 roialme worshipped and wele gouernyd." And then they
answerd all with oon voice, that the consell was goode; and
the kyng accorded therunto.

And the kyng of Scottes, desyryng to wytt the wyll of
Surdyte, said vnto hym, "Surdyte, ye ought to thonke God,
25 for ye be fair and welebeloued of all people; for the kyng
and his lordes has chosen you to haue his doghtre, and to be
kyng aftre hym—and in his live to gouerne his roialme."
"Ser," said Surdyte, "God thonke the kyng and all theym
that wolle me goode and suche worshipp. It is bot febly
30 counselled, for it longes not to a kynges doghtre, and suche
an heiryture, to haue suche oon as I am, and of so lowe lyn-
nage; and Gode forbede, that as by me shuld be lowed the
bloode riall." "What is itt that ye say?" said the kyng.
"We be all comen of oon fadre and modre. And mor ouer,
35 theȝ be so myche goode and worshipp in you that ye be
worthie to haue a grettre." So they spake myche to gedre of

this mateŕ. Bot the kyng of Scottes myght neuer fynde in hym any wyll that he wold assent, for he made so faiŕ excusacions that it was meruell to heŕ.

And when he sawe that he myght not bryng itt aboute,
 5 he retourned to the kyng and to the counsell, and said to theym the answeŕ that he had, and how that he thonked the kyng and his counsell, and wysely and worshipfully excused hym. "Truly," said the kyng, "he is maried, or has be-
 travthed sume lady, for ye may heŕ that is hertt is sett on
 10 sume womman." "Truly," said they all, "we trowe he be maryed or travthe-plyght."

The kynges doghtre was ryght sory that she myght not haue [hym]. "Truly," said she, "I see wele that his hertt is sett in sume othre place, or elles he is wedded." She com-
 15 plenyd myche in hiŕ hertt and sorowed, for aboue all men lyvyng she loued hym the best.

Nowe leve we of Surdyte and of the courte, and retourne we to Sydone and to the kyng of Bretan.

[**Cap. XXV.** How Guenelete, that made hym maistre aboute
 20 the kyng of Bretayn, wold lete marye Sydone vnto the kyng of Burgone. And how Sydone toke terme vnto the Whissontyde at the seuen yeres ende. How Herland sent his sonne Oliver to serche all contrees for Ponthus, and he found hym in the courte of England.

25 **W**hen Ponthus had taken his leve of Sydone and taken his shipp to passe ouer the see, itt is noo question bot Sydone had grete sorowe day and nyght; bot she keped itt so secrete that noo man wyst therof bot Ellyous, the whiche com-
 forthed hiŕ gretly. Sydone said in hiŕ lamentacion: "Allas!
 30 for my sake is goon the best and the fayrest of the world."

So itt happened that Guenelete had all his desire and was all maistre aboute the kyng. He was so flaterying and so faiŕ spoken that he putt Herland oute of his office, and made (the)

kyng his heuy lorde;¹ and he laboured so that he had the kyng and all the courte in gouernaunce.

Sydon was desyred of mony kynges and dukes. And among all othre, the kyng of Burgone hard say, and was reported to
 5 hym by the Erle of Mounte Belyard his cosyn, that Sydon was the fairest and the wysest that any man knewe. Then was the kyng of Burgon so amerous that he myght not endure, bot if he myght haue hi^r loue. He desyred to knowe by whome the kyng was gouernyd and in whome he trausted moste; and
 10 men told hym it was a knyght called Guenelete. And anoon he sent to hym grete gyftes, that he shuld labre to the kyng
 *Fol. 187.] of Bretane for hym. And Guenelete was * covetous and spake to the kyng and said, "Ser, lete marye you^r doghtre, while ye be in hele—and ye shall alie you with sume goode
 15 kyng, and then doo ye wysley. Loo he^r the kyng of Burgone desires to haue hi^r! He is a worthie, and a ryche, kyng. Itt we^r folye to refuse hym."

Guenelete said and did so myche, that the kyng spake to his doghtre, and sayd, "Fai^r doghtre, I be olde and feble and
 20 I haue noo child bot you, and ye be desyred of mony kynges and grete lordes. And I haue herd say 'He that reson refuses, reson wolle goo fro hym; and so he myschevys wyllfully;'— wherof God defende that in this case itt be so doon. Fai^r doghtre, the kyng of Burgone desires you, whiche is nevyewe
 25 to the kyng of Fraunce, and he is a myghtey, ryche kyng. Me semes he oghte not to be refused; and as for me, if it please you, I accorde therto." "My Lorde," said she, "as yitt is noo nede forto be maried." "Truly," said the kyng, "ye haue so ofte tymes chalanged,² and I wot not wherfor; bot I
 30 shall (neuer) love³ you, bot if ye agree you to hym."

¹ R, *le* [Herlant] *fist mal du roy*. W, *heuylorde*. What is a *heuylorde*? Perhaps "a displeased, unresponsive, master." This would tally roughly with R.

² R, *vous mauez tant calenge*. W, *ye haue so longe forborne*.

³ MS. *leve*. R, *ameray*. W, *I shall neuer loue you*. The context shows clearly that the reading of W is the original.

She was gretly abasshed of hiȝ fadre wordes, that weȝ so harde to here. Then said she, "My Lorde, ye wot wele that theȝ is noo thyng that ye *commaunde* me bot that I wolle doo itt. My swete Lorde, I wolle say to you in counsell that
 5 I haue a grevaunce and a dysease in me that I dare not tell you, bot itt wolle be Whyssunday or I be hole, and then I shall fullfyll *your commaundement*." "Wele," said the kyng, "itt suffices me and that *terme* I wolle yeve you."

And the same Wytson tyd was the ende of the vij yeres
 10 comen oute, that was *promysed* betwen Sydone and Ponthus.

The kyng held hym pleased, and told Guenelete the *terme* that she had taken. Guenelete said that itt was wele, and sent to the kyng of Burgone, and did so myche, that the day of the mariage was sett the tuysday aftre Whyssontyde.

15 Sydone was passyng sory and sent mony tymes to herkyn of Ponthus and myght here noo glad tithynges of hym, by cause that he had chaunged his name. She was in grete sorow day and nyght. And when the tyme approchied, she was gretly abasshed, and sent for Herland, and sayd, "My
 20 true frende, I *mervell* mych of my lorde my fadre, that he is so fonde of Guenelete—and in suche wyse that he has made hym doo *mervellous* dedes, as to putt you oute of youȝ office; and also by his fals wyles he caused the best and the manliest knyght of Cristeantie to *departe* oute of the contrey,—that is
 25 Ponthus, whiche ye noryshed and taghte thre yeres, whiche ye loue so wele;—and mony *vyolente*¹ dedes he has caused my fadre to doo, as he that is so grete a flaterer, and as deceyveable as euer was man; and in like wyse he caused me to be gyven to the kyng of Burgone; agane my wyll—for itt
 30 is tolde me that he is evyll *condiciouned*, fatt, olde, scabbyd, and frentyke. Bot I may not refuse the *commaundement* of my fadre; and so I haue taken *terme* vnto the tuysday aftre

¹ MS. *vyolence*. R, *villains fais*. W, *shamefull thynges*. *Vyolence* myght be a corruption of R's reading, but probably the original was that of O, *vaiillans fais*, which myght well have confused the translator, and have led to the rendering in our text.

Whissontyde. And I wote wele, and Pontus knewe itt, he wold putt a remedy therin; and in trouthe thēr be noo man in this worlde that I wolde haue dysclosed my counsell to bot to you."

5 "Ma dame," said Herland, "God defend that he cause you to haue any husbond ayeinst your wolle, or any that has so evyll taches and maners. I shall tell you Ma dame,—Oliver, my sonne, be oon of the kynghes that Pontus most louys; and he shall goo into Englonde, Scottlonde, and Irlonde, and
10 all aboute, and if he live, he shall make hym to come to you." "Ay," said she, "In goode faithe, ye say wele." And anon Herland spake to his son of this mater, whiche went with full goode wyll.

[Fol. 187^b.] And Sydone and Herland charged Oliver with the message
15 and gave hym money enughe for his dyspenses. And * he passed the see and come to Hampton. And he enquired and fonde wele, that vij yere afor that tyme thēr come a knyght into Englonde—the fairest and the best named in worshipp, and he chaunged¹ his name and called hym Surdyte de Droyte
20 Voye. Then *Ser* Oliver thought that itt was Pontus by the signes that he harde, and said to hym self that he chaunged his name for sume cause.

And he and his yomen went furthe, and as they come by a wodde, they mett with thevys; and by cause they knewe not
25 his language and sawe hym rychely arrayd, they ran vpon hym and toke frome hym all that he hade and hurted hym; and he escaped and went fro theym into the wodde to save his live. And thēr he soffred hungre and pouertie, dysease—
and almost naked. So he wayled and sorowed, for he founde
30 noo comforth of his dysease; bot his tarryng and lettyng greved hym more then dide all his losse and disease. Bot as sone as he myght, he passed the forest and went sekyng his bred for the loue of Gode fro dore to dore, vnto the tyme

¹ This lapse into the writer's point of view is only in D. R, *Et se nommoit*. W, but he named hym. But probably the scribe's eye caught *chaunged* from the passage below.

that he come vnto the kynges courte, that same [day], at the aftre noon, that the kyng of Scottes spake vnto Surdyte for the mariage of Genēr.

And then Surdyte was at the courte whēr as he beheld the
 5 dysportes of yong gentylnen that dyssported them in dyuers
 maners. Ser Olivēr, the son of Herland, come into the courte
 almost naked and dysspoled, and as he loked aboute, he sawe
 Ponthus and knewe hym. Anoon then he come befor hym,
 knelyng doune, and said, "My Lord Ponthus, God yeve you
 10 good grace and long live and encrease you in the worshipp
 that ye be in." Ponthus, a litle abashed and alf asshamed,
 said to hym; "My frende to whome speke ye?" "Ser, said
 he, "I speke vnto you, for I knowe wele ye be the kynges
 son of Spayne, that has forgetyn the contree of Bretane. And
 15 if I be pouere and naked, I be the son of Herland—Olivēr,
 which ye sum tyme loved wele; and I be comen to seke you."

And when Ponthus hard that he knewe hym wele, he did
 from hym his mantell and cast itt vpon hym and toke hym
 in his armes and kyssed hym, wepyng, and myght speke no
 20 worde to hym. And then he led hym into the chaumbre and
 lenyd bothe vpon a beddes syde. And when he myght speke,
 he said, "Ay, swete trusty frende and brothre, how doo they
 in that contrey, and who dysspoyled you thus?" And he
 said that he had mett with thevys. Grete wepyng was betwen
 25 theym twoo. And Ponthus did array hym newe with the
 beste arayment that he had; and when he was fully arrayd,
 he semed a full faīr knyght to see. And then he told hym
 what p[er]jelle he was in, among thevys, and howe he escaped
 and begged his brede fro dore to dore; and told also that
 30 Guenelete had all the covrte in revoll, and that þe¹ kyng
 loued hym most of any man, and howe he had putt oute his
 fadre fro his office; and aftre told hym howe Sydone wold
 not assent to noo mariage, and of the grete dysease that she
 had soffred,—and att the farthrest, she myght not lenger̄
 35 abide vnmarried, bot to the tuysday aftre Whitsontyd, and

¹ Entered in a different hand above the line.

that then she shuld be maryed to the kyng of Burgon, the which be full evyll condiciouned,—“bot Guenelete causes itt, for he has taken myche gold of hym. Sydone sendes to you prayng you to sett a remedye therin, for all the loue that
 5 be betweyn you twoo.” And when Pontus herd the grete loue and travthe of his lady, the teres fell doune from his eyne; and said, and God wold vouchesaue, that he wold
 Fol. 188.] (sett) a remedy therin. So they spake enughe * to gedre of mony thynges.

10 [Cap. XXVI. How Pontus returned to Litle Bretayn; and there he chaunged gounes with a pouere pylgreme, and went to the feste of the kyng of Burgone and of Sydone. How Sydone gaue drynk to hym, as to a pouere man, and she knewe hym by the ryng that he lete fall into
 15 the cupp. How Pontus come dysgyssed to the iustying wheṛ as of aventure he slewe the kyng of Burgone.]

The tithynges come thorow oute the courte that theṛ was comen a man fro Litle Bretan that knewe Pontus, which named hym self Surdyte. When the kyng and the
 20 courte herd this, they had mych mervell, and the kyng said to the quene and to the kyng of Scottes, “Me thocht euer that he was of hygheṛ degre then he said he was, for the noble dedes that he dyd and for the goodnes of hym.” “Ay,” said the quene, “I mervell not thogh he wolle not take ouṛ
 25 doghtre in maryege, for I haue herd say that he loues ouṛ cosyne Sydon of Bretan withouten any vyllanye.” “Truly,” said the kyng, “it may wele be, when he wolle not marye hym self in this contrey.”

When they went to soppere, Pontus come into the hall
 30 and his knyght with hym, which was ryght wele arrayd with riche clothes of sylk furryd with sables, and he was ryght faire to see. The kyng of Englonde and the kyng of Scottes went ayeinst hym. And then he said to Pontus, “Wherfor haue ye so long celed you frome vs, and said that ye weṛ a

- pouere knyght sonne, and ye be a kynges son? Thus we be dysceyved and has not doon to you the worshipp that we ought to doo to you; bot ye be worthie to haue the blame, for in good faith, we haue not doon itt bot of ignorance.”
- 5 And when Ponthus sawe the gentyllnes of the kyng, he said, “All thogh it be so, that I be a kynges son, it is bot litle worth; for a man dyssheryte ought full litle to *prase*¹ hym selfe.” “Ay,” said the kyng, “save you^r bettre advice, (he) that has the noblenes, wytt, beautie, and bountie—with the
- 10 goode maners and the worthenes that is in you, is more worth than a reame; for ye be aquanted with goode frendes, that, by the grace of Godde, ye may conquer you^r awn agane, and mony othre.” Ponthus was asshamed therwith and turned the taylor into an othre matie^r.
- 15 The kyng made hym to sytt betwen the quene and his doghtre, whethre he wold or not. Afte sopper they went to dyssporte theym in a garthyn. Ponthus come to the kyng and sent for the kyng of Scottes, for the kyng of Irlond, for the kyng of Cornewale, and for mony othre lordes and
- 20 barounes; and they sett theym in an herbe^r. And then Ponthus sayd, “My Lorde, and all my lordes, and frendes, I wold make a request of a thyng that I haue doon.”² And said, howe the sowdeyn sonnes has wered vpon the Cristen, and by the *grace* of God two of theym we^r distroyed; and
- 25 howe the thirde revoled hym in his contrey of Spayne—and by engyne entred into the londe and scaled the citee of Colloigne; and tolde theym the myschief that the londe stode in;—and howe his fadre was slayne; and howe that a goode prest that taghte hym and xiiij childre, and³ hyd
- 30 them in a cave moo then³ two days withouten mete or

¹ R, *se doit pou priser.*

² R, *une requeste de mon fait*, is mistranslated by D, correctly rendered by W,—of a nedefull mater of myne.

³ MS. *And moo had then in a cave theym.* R, *Et les cela deux iours.* W, *hydde.* The emendation will appear violent, but it all follows from the substitution of *hyd* for *had*. I interchange *theym* and *moo then*, the illogical *and* at the head of the clause is allowed to stand, for such constructions are not uncommon in the text.

drynke; and as the wolfe goos oute of the wodd for hungre, so the xij went oute of the cave and weŕ taken as son as they went oute; and howe the knyght sauē theym. And also he told howe the shipp brake ayeinst a rokkete of the see; and how they arrived in Litle Bretan; and all the maner 5 howe they weŕ saved. And as he told his tale, the teres ran doune frome mony of the lordes eyen, to heŕ the perell and the sorowe that they had escaped.

And when that he had tolde theym all the matieŕ, he said 10 that he wold goo into the contrey of Spayne to conquer his awn ryght, by the grace of God,—“for I thonke hym I haue ben in the fellyschipp of theym that has dystroyed twoo of the sowdeyn sonnes; so theŕ be noon of lyve bot the thirde, 15 whiche holdes the roialme that shuld be myn. And I vndre- stond that the roialme is wele and wysly gouerned,* and that they haue slayne bot fewe people; for they be made tribu- torye and euery hede pays a besaunt of gold, and for the grete goode that they pay, they soffre euerych of theym to holde and to kepe the lawe that theym best likes.” “Ser,” 20 said the kyng, “I offre me with all myn hertt to goo with you, although I be olde, with my people and my goode.” “Ser,” said Pontius, “God yeld it you.”

The kyng of Scottes and the othre kynges, erles, and barounes, offred theym to goo with hym. And Pontius 25 thonked the kynges and the lordes of theiŕ goode and grete worshipp that they offred hym, and said that he wold haue noon bot men of armes and souldiours, aboute the noubre of xij^{mi},—“the whiche I wolle wage, for I thonke God I haue god enughe.” And he said sothe, for at the last batell 30 he founde enughe in Corbatan shippes—so myche that itt was grete mervell to see, for he had grete payne to noubre itt. And wold noo thyng take bot the best knyghtes and men of armes, aboute the noubre aboue said. And ordaned ship- pyng and sowded theym, so that they held theym plesyd and 35 they had ioye to goo with hym. Also he desired to haue the Erle of Gloucestre, the Erle of Richemound, the Erle

of Darby, to be captaynes of the Englyschmen—and they graunted with goode wyll—the Erle of Darsy,¹ the Erle of Dace,¹ for the Scottes, and he had an erle of euery contrey forto warne² the people of the contrey.

- 5 And then they toke leve of the kynges and of the lordes and went to shipp and pulled vp their sales and departed with grete ioy fro the porte of Hampton. And the kyng desired that he shuld come agane as sone as he myght. And he thonked hym of the grete worschip that he had doon hym.
- 10 The kyng of Scottes, the kyng of Irlond, and the kyng of Cornewale convehed them to shipp and toke theyr leue, full sore wepyng. And the kyng of Irlond said vnto Ponthus, “Ay fair frende, now see I wele that ye loue me not, sith that
- 15 may not deserve itt, and now wolle not let me goo with you to helpe you.” “Ser,” said Ponthus, “God thonke you. I refuse not your helpe, afre that I haue nede in my iourney, bot I wolle not haue you with me as nowe, ne noon of myn othre lordes, vnto the tyme that I knowe the maner of the
- 20 contrey—and for othre certan causes. Then they kyssed to gedre and toke leve aythre at othre.

Thus departed Ponthus and his armye fro the costes of Englund and saled day and nyght vnto the tyme that they come neghe to Vennys. And then he ordaned his grete navie

25 to abide in the highe see, and said that he wold that their were asspyed no moo bot xv³ shippes, and that they shuld make them like marchaundes of salt, to come into the towne. So he ordaned full wele his dooyng, and toke certayn vesselles with hym, in the which wer iij C wele fightyng men; and made

30 them to londe be nyght in a grete wodd betwyn Amroy⁴ and Vennys; and charged them that they shuld not be farre of, vnto the tyme that they had tithynges fro hym, and that

¹ R, *Le conte dars et le sire de Duglas*, nothing is said about the Scots. W mentions only—*Of the scottes the Erle of Douglas*.

² R, *gouverner*. W, *gouverne*.

³ R, *xl*. W, *a forty*.

⁴ R, *roye*. W, *Auroy*.

they shuld come when they weŕ sent for. This was the mone-day in Whitsontyde, and the tuysday shuld be the wedding of Sydone and of the kyng of Burgone.

Ponthus leped to hors and toke bot a yoman with hym.

5 The tuysday erly, as he rode, he founde a pylgreme that had his govne sved full of patches and a cappe full of broches. And noon he lyght doune and said to the pylgreme, "Frende we wolle chaunge ouŕ govnes and I wolle haue your cappe and ye shall haue myn." "Ay Ser," said the pylgreme, "ye

10 scorne me." "In goode faith, that doo I not," said Ponthus.

Fol. 189.] And * so they chaunged. And Ponthus did vpon hym the pylgreme govne, his hatt, and his hosen; and toke the Burdone that he baŕ in his honde. And his yoman said vnto hym, "Ser, ye be oute of youŕ wytt. Why chaunge ye youŕ

15 riche array with this pouere clothyng?" "Hold thy peace," said Ponthus, "and holde thes twoo horses att the tounes ende, and remeve not vnto the tyme that I come to the."

And then he went furth his way wheŕ as the kyng of Burgone was; and noon aftre he sawe his somers and his horses

20 come with his officers; and aftre he sawe the kyng rydyng on a palfrey all blak. And the kyng and Guenelete rode talking to gedre. As they rode furth, Ponthus said to them, "Loo heŕ be twoo wele noryshed!—for bothe twoo has goode fatt belles, and wele fed. Ay Sainte Mary!" said he to Guenelete, "youŕ bellye has gotten mony fatt soppys of courte."¹

25 Guenelete waxed rede for shame and was full wroth and turnyd his hors and said, "Beggaf, what says thou?" and was aboutward to smyte hym with a tronchon that he baŕ in his honde. And Ponthus turned his burdone and said that

30 he shuld make his berd,² and he toched hym. Then the kyng of Burgone said to Guenelete, "Leve ye this trowane, for ye can haue no worshipp of hym." And so they passed furth toward the courte. And Ponthus, that louyd them not, playd the foell befor them and mokked them as they rode.

¹ W adds with R, *ye are full well shapen to be a veray grete flaterer of the courte.*

² R, *dist qui lui fera sa barbe.*

And euer Ponthus foloed theym to they come to the courte. And when he sawe men entre in at the gate, he foloed in afre theym. And the porteṛ wold haue putt hym oute, bot Ponthus shote hym so fro hym that he made hym fall; and
 5 said to hym that he was oon of the xiiij pouere men that was chosen. "Goo! A myschaunce come to the!" said he, "Thou be a strong beggeṛ."

At that tyme itt was the custome at the weddyng of grete astates, theṛ shuld be xiiij pouere men ordanyd, the which
 10 shuld sitt at mett befor the bride at a table by theym selfe—in the worshipp of God and of his xij apostelles.¹ And afre the dynneṛ, she that was maryed shuld yeve drynke to eueryche of the pouere men, in a copp of golde. And thus went Ponthus and satt doune for oon of the xiiij.

15 The fest was grete and of mony dyuers seruices, Ponthus ete bot litle and beheld ofte tymes his lady Sydone, which was bot of simple chere, and all be-wepte; for Guenelete told hiṛ that Ponthus was deyd in Irlonde—and she trowed itt bot a litle. When the tables was taken vp, they led Sydone
 20 to hiṛ chaumbre to chaunge hiṛ arayment and hiṛ attyre, forto goo to the scaffolde to see the iustes and the dyssportes. And in the comyng to hiṛ chaumbre theṛ was a gallerye, in the which weṛ the xiiij pouere men. And ther was ordaned twoo gentyllwomen—that oon had a potte of syluer full of wyne,
 25 that othre hade a copp of golde—and wated vpon Sydone. And when she come, she gave drynke to euery pouere man—and Ponthus was the last. And as he dranke he lete fall the ryng with the diamauante, that Sydone yeave hym at theiṛ
 30 he sayd softly to Sydone, "Madame, I pray you to drynke this litle for the loue of Ponthus." And when she harde the name of Ponthus, itt reiosed hiṛ gretly and she toke the copp and dranke; and in hiṛ drynkyng she sawe the ryng a[nd]

¹ This custom of having poor men at the feast is dismissed with a word in W, nor is the reason for the custom given. The description in the text follows R literally.

knewe itt wele anoon and was ravysshed for ioye, so that she wüst not wele what she dyd. And then she called hiȝr damesell Ellious and said to hiȝr in counsell, that she shuld lede the grete pouere man aftre hiȝr into hiȝr warderopp; and so she
 5 led hym with hiȝr. And thos othre pouere men demyd that she wold yeve hym sum maner of gyftes for the loue of God.

And when she was in hiȝr warderopp, and noo moo with
 Fol. 189^b.] hiȝr bot he and Ellyous—and he * was dysgyssed, that noo man myght knaw hym—with grete payne Sydone spake furst
 10 and said, “Swete frende, who betoke you thys ryng that I fonde in the copp?” “Wote ye not,” said he, “to whome ye gave itt?” “Yis,” said she, “ryght wele. Bot is he deid or on live?—I pray you tell me truly.” Said he, “He is on live, Madame, trowed ye that he was deid?” “Yea, sothely,”
 15 said she, “for Guenelete and mony otheȝ told me so.” “And if ye see hym, what wold ye say?” said he. “I may say,” said she, “that I had neuer so mych ioy in my hertt, as I shuld haue then.” When he hard that, he said no more, bot rubbed a litle his vyssage that he had peynted; and anoon
 20 she knewe hym, and said, “Ay, ye be Pontius! and ther is noo thyng in this world that I loue more, aftre God and my fadre.” Then they had gret ioy and cleped and kyssed to gedre.

And then he said to assey hir pacience, “Ma dame I be
 25 ryght wele pleased that ye be so wele and rychely maryed.” “Ay,” said she, “my swete frende, I pray you nomor therof, for he lives not that I wolle haue, bot you, if itt please you to haue me,—the whiche I sweȝ to you and has sworne ofte tymes, with mouthe and hertt,—for the laste promys avayles
 30 not, bot oonly the furste.” “Ay Madame,” said he, “thinke ye neuer to take so pouere man, beggyng his bred, and for to leve a ryche kyng. I shall neuer counsell you, to acqyute my trouthe, to leve hym.” Then said she, “Truly my swete frende, I wolle neuer haue othre bot you, for I shall neuer be
 35 wele att ease,—bot a thowsant tymes mor at ease to soffre in your companye the mysease and the povertie that ye soffre,

then to haue all the ryches of the world *with* the myghteyst kyng that is; for that pouertie that God has sent you is bot to assay you,—that may afre yelde you ryches¹ and worshipp double folde if ye putt holle youŕ trust to hym.

5 When Ponthus hard the grete trouthe and stedfastnes of hiŕ, the teres fell doune from his eeyn, and afre he smyled a litle, and said, “Madame, by my trouthe theŕ was neuer fonde a bettere, a faireŕ, ne a more stedfaste lady then ye be; and sith I see youŕ grete traathe, I wolle hyde no thing
10 frome you no lengeŕ. For I tell you for trouthe, that I haue more gold and syluer and precious stones viij² tymes told, than euer had my fadre; and also I haue xij^m men of armes, sowded and payd for alf a yeŕ, forto goo and conquer my contrey that was my fadres. And dysmay you not for I shall
15 tell you what ye shall doo; ye schall goo to the scafoldes to see the iustes and ye shall take with you Pollides my cosyn, and my fellowes, so that the[i] be aboute you; and itt shall not be long bot I shall see you. I may no lengre tarrye with you.” Then they kyssed³ and departed.

20 And he went furth haltyng and come to his yoman, that abode hym, and toke his hors and rode to the wodd wheŕ he had lefte his people. And when they sawe hym, they knewe hym not; and they went to haue taken hym for a spye. Bot he began to laghe and said, “I am Ponthus;” and then they
25 knewe hym. And the Erle of Gloucestre said, “Ser, ye had almost doon you a vylleny. How be ye thus dysgised?” “Ser,” said he, “I haue doon itt for a cause that I wold not be knawne.” And then he sett them in ordenaunce, afre the noumbre of xl knyghtes, all of oon suyte,—of the worthiest
30 of his companye. And he told them his entent. ⁴And then they come rydyng by x and by x thorow the stretes, so that it was grete ioy to see.⁴ And then the Bretanes had grete

¹An unfinished *h* is changed to *c*.

²W, *seuen*. R, *sept*.

³R, *Si lacole et encore ne losa baisier ne Requerre*. W, *And toke his leue and folde her in his armes & halsed her / and yet durste not kysse no desyre for to kysse her*.

⁴This sentence is found neither in W nor in R.

mervell, and the Burgones bothe, what men they weſ, that weſ so wele armed and so wele besene.

And by that tyme Sydone was comen to the scaffold with
 Pol. 190.] mony fair ladys and gentyllwommen. * And Pollides toke
 5 the reyne of hiſ bridle and convehed hiſ to the scaffoldes,¹—
 for the whiche Guenelete was inwardly wroth, that Sydon
 had commaunded hym to doo so. And Sydone told Pollides
 that he shuld se his cosyn Pontus. Then Pollides had full
 grete ioy in his hertt and told all his fellawes, and they had
 10 full grete ioy in theyſ hertes of the tithynges.

Also it nedes not to aske whethre that Sydone was ryght
 ioyfull in hiſ hert or not. And when sche saw Pontus so
 large, so wele armed, and so wele syttyng vpon his hors,—
 and iusted rowe by rowe, and threwe doune knyghtes and
 15 horses, and brake mony sperys, and did mervellously,—
 Sydone waxed rede a litle for ioye and said, “Se ye hym that
 is armyd in purpyll and asure, and has a white ladye in his
 creste holdyng² a lyon enchyned—and the lyon has lettres of
 golde, whiche says ‘God helpe’³—and has aboute xl fellawes
 20 of his suyte, sayng they haue no lettres of gold;—for he
 with the lettres of gold is Pontus, and the othre be his
 fellawes.” “Ay Ma dame,” said Pollides, “I knowe it wele
 by his rydyng and by his dedes of armes.” Then Pollides
 schewed hym to his fellawes, the which held theym nyght⁴
 25 Sydone, like as she had commaunded theym.

The kyng of Burgone come into the feld vpon a grete
 stede of Spayne, and he was wysly arrayd and wele armed,
 and he had aboute xxx⁵ knyghtes of his suyte. Euerych
 theyſ speres raysed redye, and began to spuſ and to iuste by
 30 rowe with the Bretanes that held the fest.

Then Pontus sawe the kyng of Burgonne and dressed
 hym toward hym and his fellyschipp. And then they ouer-

¹An erasure, some six letters long, follows *scaffoldes* in the MS.

²MS. *holdyng*.

³W misrenders,—*God helpe the forty felawes*. R, *dieu aide*.

⁴See the glossary for the similar forms *neighboures* and *hight*.

⁵W, *forty*. R, *xx*. O, *xxx*.

threw knyghtes and horses, so that euerych of theym were abasshed. The kyng of Bretan, which was on the scalfold with the ladyes and olde knyghtes, asked whoo that thoos grete knyghtes wē, and what he was that had his lady in his
 5 sheld, which holdes a lyon enchynd with *lettres* of gold,—and has so mony fellowes of oon suyte. And eueryche said, they knew hym not,—“bot he doos *mervelles*, for he ouer-
 reches noon bot that he throwes theym doune.” “See ye not,” sayd oon, “how he ouerthrowes knyghtes and horses,
 10 and what *mervelles* he doos?” “He is an *aduersarye*,” said the grete ladyes. “Sothely he is a goode knyght,” said the Lady of Doule, the which was both fair̄ and wyse. “I sawe neuer knyght,” said she, “doo so wele on hors bak, ne mor like to Ponthus,—of whoes savle God haue *mercy*. Amen.”
 15 Then said the kyng to Sydone, “Fair̄ doghtre, I wold not the knyght met with yoū housbond, lest he threwe hym doune, or distroyd hym; for his strokes be *mervellous* sore and grete.” “*Ser*,” said she, “and he be wyse, he wolle kepe hym from hym, for he be a full hardy knyght, and ryght
 20 manly.” They made grete language of Ponthus and of his knyghthod, bot all wē abasshed of hym, what he myght be.

He tarryed not long; bot of aventure he encountered the kyng of Burgon and smote his hors with the spurrys and smote the kyng myghtely in the sheld,—and the spere was
 25 grete and strong, and he handeled itt as he had strenght and hardenes enughe, and in esspeciall forto doo dedes of armes befor his lady, which of long tyme had not seen hī;—so this stroke was so grete that he felled hym doune vpon the crowpē of his¹ stede and made hym to lose the reynes of his
 30 brydle.² And the horse was yong and strong and bā hym

¹ After *his*, *saddle* stands in the MS. cancelled by the rubricator.

² From here to the end of the paragraph D follows R literally. W shows a curious confusion, which makes both Ponthus and the kyng attempt to leap the pit and, apparently, both fall in,—and that other was yong and strong and bare hym backwarde & fell into a grete pytt full of stones and Ponthus wende for to haue lepte over/but they fell in so sore the kyng vnderne the all that he was deed and his hors deed. W omits also the final clause of the paragraph.

furth and with grete myght leped into a pytt full of stones, wenyng¹ to haue leped ouer, and fell in so mervellously, and the kyng vndre hym, that the hors was deid, and vnes the kyng myght haue confession.

5 Burgonnes weŕ wrothe and sorofull for theyŕ lorde, for euery body cryed—"The Duke² of Burgone is deid." Pon-
 Fol. 190^b.] thus hard itt, which roght bot * litle. And nomore dide Sydone. Pontus and his fellowes light doune of theyŕ horses, and went vp vnto the scaffold and did vp his helme,
 10 so that euery man knewe hym. And then he come to Sydon and toke hiŕ by the honde and said, "Ma dame, ye must be my prisonner, bot ye schall haue goode prisonement." She waxed rede for shame and had more ioye then any man couthe thinke, and said, "If I shuld be prisonneŕ, itt behoves
 15 me to enduŕ."

The kyng was comen doune of the scaffold, full sory for the kynges dethe, bot when he yst that itt was Pontus that dide all the mervelles and that he had taken his doghtre, he had grete ioy, and said, "God has ordaned that he shall haue
 20 my doghtre, and we may not gyf hiŕ to a bettre knyght. Truly in hym be so mych worschipp that he is able to haue the kynges doghtre of Fraunce. Bot truly I wenyd that he had ben deid, as sume men made me to vndrestond." Then he came toward Pontus, his armys spredying, and said that he
 25 was right welcome. And Pontus bowed doune to hym and said, "As Gode live, God yeve to you my souerene lorde, as ye haue of me, grete ioye." Then the barounes and the ladyes both made myche of hym. And his cosyn Pollides and his othre fellowes welcomed hym with grete ioye. And Guene-
 30 lete made grete ioye in his countenance, bot not in his hertt. The people of the contrey thonked God and said, "God has

¹After *wenyng* a superfluous *to haue* is cancelled by the rubricator.

²Elsewhere always *Kyng*, but R and H have consistently *le Duc*. W, *ye newe wedded kyng* is *deed*. R, *le bruit fu que le marie estoit mort*. The lapse shows pretty clearly that the original of D used *Duke* throughout, and that the change to *Kyng* in D and W is arbitrary.

sent vs a goode knyght that wolke kepe vs frome ou^r enemes." Grete was the ioye of that aventure.

Ponthus keped with hym all the lordes of Englund, and so did Sydone, and made theym grete chere—and specially the
 5 Erle of Gloucestre, that was a full goode knyght. And asked hym how his cosyn the kyng fared. The Erle said, " Ryght wele, blessed be God ;" and told the kyng of the meruelles and of the adventures of the kyng of Englund ;—and how by Ponthus he toke and ouercome the kyng of Irlond ;—and
 10 how he toke hym among his men and ba^r hym away, whethre he wold or noo ;—and how he raunsoned hym not bot made peace betwen theym ;—and howe that by Ponthus was sleyn the son of the sawdeyn, called Corbatan, and the^r was so myche tresour with hym that itt was mervell to here tell therof, for
 15 he had not cessed xij ye^r afore to pyll the iles of Cristendome that he myght ouercome. Also he told hym howe Ponthus named hym Surdyte de Droyte Voy, and said he was bot a pouere knyght son. When the kyng herd that he named hym soo, [he thoght it was]¹ by cause itt was putt vpon hym, that
 20 he lovyd in vylanye, and the surenome that he toke was by cause that he offred hym to fyght *with ij* or *with iij* in the quarell, and myght not be soffred. Also the Erle told hym howe the kyng of Englund offred to hym Gene^r his eldest doghtre, and to be kyng (of) Englund aftre his discesse, and
 25 duryng his live to be honored of all the reaume ;—and how he disprased hym selfe and wold not thereof ;—and howe by a knyght that was evyll clethed he² was known—and that was Olive^r the son of Herland ;—and howe the kyng and all the courte was asshamed that they had doon hym no mor wor-
 30 shipp, sith that he was a kynges son.

Itt did the kyng of Bretan myche goode to here hym, and yitt more goode to his doghtre, and to the barounes that there were ; for it was a noble thyng to here of. And aftre the Erle had said, the barounes come to the kyng, and said, " Se^r,

¹ R, *Si pensa que cestoit pour ce quil, etc.*

² R, *qui estoit tout nu.* W, *a naked knyght.*

what thinke ye to doo? Lete hastely speke to Pontius to take your doghtre, and so shall ye and your contrey be keped in peace; for we doute vs gretly that he wolle not take hir, because of the kynges doghter of Englonde, for itt is myche
 *Fol. 191.]
 5 better mariege then this is; also he has so grete tresour that he settes not by noo daungerous lordes." Sayd the kyng, "I pray you all to thinke thereon for ther be noo thyng that I desire so myche—for ther fell neuer grettre goode to me, ne worshipp." Then the barounes spake to gedre; and the
 10 Vicounte of Leon was charged with the matier; and he went to Pontius and said full wysely, howe he had furst ben sayyd in Bretan, and howe the kyng loued hym wele, and howe by lies and envye the kyng had ben wroth with hym, and howe that the kyng is olde and beleved a tale lyghtly—and that
 15 ther is noo body bot that he has sune tache,—and that the kyng with all the wyll of his londe offred hym his doghtre, and to be kyng aftre hym. Pontius, the which desyred noon othre thyng, said, God yelde itt the kyng and all his londe; and that he is the furst lorde that so myche goode and wor-
 20 shipp did hym; and that he myght neuer deserve itt vnto hym; thogh he wer of havyng and of pusaunce to haue the myghtiest lady of the worlde, he wold (not) take hir—to refuse Sydone; and that he is beholden to the kyng, to the barounes, and to the contrey, aboue all othre people. The
 25 barounes had grete ioye of the answer and told the kyng therof, and he was ryght glad.

Then he sent for the byschop and lete hondfest theym. And the monday aftre was the weddyng. And it nedes not to aske if Pontius and Sydone wer glad, and an hundreth
 30 tymes more then they made semblaunce. Grete ioye ther was thorowe oute all Bretane of this assemble.

Pontius, which was wyse, keped not to be blamed of noo man. He excused hym to Guy Burgonne, the kynges brothre of Burgonne, and to the Erle of Mounte Belliard, the which
 35 wer comen thedre, and said to theym that he was full sory of that aventure that befell, of the kynges dethe;—"for sothly

when I iusted with hym I knewe not what he was." And they beleved hym wele, and that itt was bot aventure of armes, and that he myght¹ not doo thertoo.¹ And he offred hym gretly to them; and on the morowe he lete ordeyn for
 5 hym a full fair^r seruiuce and gave iiij² penes sterlinges to euery pouere man that come thedre, and they had neuer afore seen so fair^r an almus. So he was gretly prased; and the kynges frendes thonked hym myche, and said that they wer myche be-holden to hym. The bodye was embawmed and³ chisted;
 10 and the^r was ordaned fair^r horses to carye hym to his con-tree; and Ponthus convehed the corps iiij⁴ myles with grete torches and did hym as myche worshipp as he couthe, notwithstanding he was bot litle displeased with his deth. So with grete payne the lordes of Burgonne made hym to
 15 retourne, and toke leve eueryche of othre, and they prased gretly Ponthus and said, that was a verray knyght aboue all othre; of worthenes, larges, curtesie, and louyng God and the chirch, noo man myght passe hym as they[m] semed varrely; and said that God loved hym, when he ordaned hym, so wele
 20 manered,⁵ so wele gouerned, and vertuously disposed.

[**Cap. XXVII.** How Ponthus made a maundement of the barounes and knyghtes for to goo into Galice to conquer his contrey, that the Saresyns helde.]

25 P^Onthus returned to Vennys and come to Sydone and iaped with hi^r and asked hi^r if she we^r oght displeased with hym, because that he had deliueyd hi^r of hir housbond. And she waxed rede and said, "Ser, itt is perilous to doo dedes of armes with you, but yitt I conne you thonke for that ye

¹This idiom is also in W. It appears to mean "He couldn't have helped it." The rendering departs from R's, *et que nul ne sen deuoit en riens merueiller.*

²W, *iii. d.* R, *trois esterlins.*

³W, *and layde in a chayre.* R, *et porte en ung chariot.*

⁴R, *bien trois lieues.* W, *well a .vi. myle.*

⁵ms. manered hym. Om. hym.

haue doone." "Ma dame," said Ponthus, "the thynges that be doone may not be vndoone."

Then he went to the kyng and to the barounes, and said, [*Fol. 191^b.] "Seris, ye haue herd say that I haue an * armye to conquere, 5 with helpe of God, my roialme, whiche the Saresyns holdes fro me. So I wolle haue, if itt please you, sume people of your contrey that wolle take wages, and I wolle pay theym with full goode wyll to All Halowe¹ day, before the honde." "Ay, swete, fair son, ye shall not aske, bot take my people," said 10 the kyng, "at your own wyll to conquere your contrey, and take my tresoure with you, all that I haue; and if itt please you, I wolle conne you myche thonke to lete me goo in your compaigne, for I be olde and itt shall be noo grete losse of me —ne in bettre seruice myght I not dye, for my saule is then 15 in Godes seruice." Ponthus thonked hym then//and said, "Att this tyme ye shall not goo, bot kepe ye this contrey; and I wolle noon of your goodes, for God has sent me enough for this iourney; bot I wolle haue of your people, for I trast most to theym afor all othre." The barounes and the knyghtes 20 had grete ioye of that iourney, and euery man desired to goo with hym.

And he bad that euery man shuld be redy within xx² days at Vennys; and he ordaned by all contres for shippes and vitell. And that day euery man arrayd hym wele and gar- 25 nysshed theym of men in the best wise they couthe. Ponthus said to the Barounes of Aniou and to othre neightboures, as to Geffray de Lazynyen and Andrewe de La Tour aboute all othre, for itt was told hym that they wer comen late oute of of the contrey wher they had bene twoo yere in were vpon the 30 Saresyns,— "Ay," said Ponthus, "they be ryght goode knyghtes and noble men of armes, and he is wele at ease that has theym in his compaigne."

Then the lettres come to theym and to mony othre of dyuers contrees aboute. The messyngers departed. And when they herd thes tithynges and the cause to goo vpon the Saresyns,

¹ R, *a la tous sains*. W, *for halfe a yere*.

² R, *xv iours*. W, *.xv*.

that held his roialme, they had grete ioy to goo and euery man ordaned hym to goo to that iourney.

[**Cap. XXVIII.** Of the grete presente that Ponthus madè to Sydone on the day before the weddyng; and of his vowe
5 that he wold not marye hir vnto he had conquered agane his reaueme of Galice.]

And aftre, Ponthus sent for his grete shipp and lete bring
furth therof parte of the riches the day before his
weddyng. And then he sent a presente to Sydone of crounes,
10 cronocles,¹ chappeletes, gyrdles of perles and precius stones,
gybsers of purpyll with perle, fures of sables, armyns, and of
gray, and of othre i[e]welles that itt was mervell to see the
riches that thēr wēr, for they wēr prased to more value then
x² thousand besantes of golde. The kyng said to his doghtre,
15 "Ye be not marièd to a prince disherite; bot God has sent
you a goode, a faīr, and a ryght noble lorde. So ye ought
gretly to thonke hym of his grace."// And aftre, he gave to
the kyng mony faīr iewelles, precius stones, cuppys of gold;
and to eueryche of them that wēr barounes and lordes of
20 Bretan, a gyfte of golde, aftre theȳr astate. And he was
gretly prased for his grete larges.

The day of his weddyng the lordes of Englund, Scotlond,
and of Irlond wēr noblely arrayd, and of Bretan also, which
did hym worshipp. The feste was grete, and there was grete
25 ioye of herodes and of mynstrelles withoute noubre, and
Ponthus gave them grete gyftes. Ther was mony straunge
metes and drynkes. Ponthus made a vowe which was mych
spoken of, for he said thus, "Bycause the people of the courte
shuld not say that the kyng had gyven his doghtre to a man
30 withouten livelode,³ I make myn avowe to God, that I neuer

¹ Coronets. See the Oxford Dict. for *cronicle* and *coronacle*. W, *sercles*.

² R, *xz*. W, *thyrty*.

³ R, *terre*. W, *londe*. R adds,—*Je voue que iamais ne coucheray en son lit Iusques a ce que ie soye sires du royaume qui fu mon pere*. W translates literally adding, & crowned or elles I shall dye therfore. To this omission, D sacrifices the significance of the vow.

kyssed hiȝ requiryng vylleny, when I went oute of this contreye, ne I thocht neuer to doo othre wyse to hiȝ, then I myght to myn awn modre." And he said that, because of the wordes that the kyng said to hym when he departed oute of Bretayne.

[*Fol. 192.]
 5 When Sydone herd thes// * wordes, she had grete ioye in hiȝ hertt and loued hym myche better. So that was myche spoken of, for sume sayd that he was a trewe knyght, and sume said that he wold not abyde so long vnmaryed, bot that he hoped to haue sume solace of hiȝ and she in like wyse of hym. Then
 10 said the kyng, "In goode faith, I be a verray coward to beleve so lyghtely a lesyng that I haue herd.

[Cap. XXIX. How Pontius departed from Bretayn to go conquer his contrey; and howe he found in a chappell the Erle of Destruie, that was his vncler, and Ser Patryk that afore tyme saved hym; and how by their counsell he wanne the grete batell and slewe the kyng Brodas and took the toune of Colloigne; and how the land of Galice was censed of the Saresyns.]
 15

The feste was grete and the kyng wold not that they had
 20 noo iustys, for the aventure that the kyng of Burgonne was deid, lest any myschief myght happen, bot he made theym to daunce and to syng and mad mony newe disportes// Att nyght Pontius come into the chaumbre of Sydone and said to hiȝ// "Ay my swete frende, my loue and my ioye, my
 25 hertt and all the sustenaunce of my live, I haue ben hasty to the vowe that I haue made, bot in goode (faihte),¹ I did itt for ouȝ worshipp, for the wordes that has ben said afor this tyme.
 ¶ "Bot in trouthe I soffre more disease then any man on live doos in like case, for the grete desire that I haue to be betwen
 30 youȝ armes. Bot by the grace of God I shall be in shorte tyme, for itt be oon of the grettest desires that myn hertt (has)."²
 ¶ "My swete lorde and loue, wytt ye wele that all youȝ desiȝ be myn, ne we ought to desiȝ noo thyng bot that

¹ W, *fayth*. R, *en bonne foy*.

² W, *hath*. R, *ait*.

shuld turne to goode fame; so ye haue doone ryght wele—for evyll sayers.” Thus spake they enughe to gedre and aftre they clipped and kyssed to gedre and confortd aythre othre. And thus the fest lasted xv days.

5 ¶ And when all was doon, he mustred his people. And the Bretanes weṛ by estimacion iiij^m and v C men of armes; and of the Normanes xij C all redy—and weṛ payd for vj monethes. Itt was a faiṛ sight to see theym all to gedre, with the men of Englonde.

10 Ponthus toke leve of the kyng and of Sydon. And by grete flaterye Guenelete laboured so that he abode with the kyng and with Sydone as gouernouṛ of theym; and Ponthus betoke hym a grete part of his tresouṛ to kepe. So ther was wepyng enughe at the departyng of Ponthus and of Sydone
15 and of hiṛ gentyllwomen. Ponthus kyssed hiṛ and betoke hiṛ the moste parte of his tresoure to kepe.

And then he departed and went by londe and passed by Namptes and¹ yelde hym to the havyn of the toure of Dorbendelle,¹ wher as was a grete navye; for ther arrived Geffray
20 de Lazynyen and Andrewe de La Toure, whiche had a grete fellishipp. And Ponthus receyved theym with grete ioye as for twoo of the best knyghtes, that he loued, and gave theym grete gyftes. And aftre arrived Guyllem de Roches and othre moo of dyuers contrees. Ponthus gave theym mony
25 grete gyftes, so that they mervelled of his grete larges and said, “He is worthie to gouerne and to conquer all the worlde by his curtesie and faiṛ gouernaunce.” And of his largenes he made to deliuer shippes to the capteyns, aftre theyṛ people //and itt was not long to all weṛ shipped. And itt was a faiṛ
30 syght to see the sales to gedre, for itt semed a forest.

They had wynd att wyll and passed the Ile of Lyon.² When they weṛ iiij³ myles fro Colley, then Ponthus lete

¹ W, & came to sable danton & to derbendelles. R, Et se rendit es salles de la tour dorbendelle.

² W, yle of doloron. Not in R. O, lisle dauleon.

³ W, a. vi. R, trois lieues.

caste ancō and sayd to the captanes// “Itt behoues vs to
 entre into the contrey toward Colloigne I myle or twoo thens
 and lete withdrawe the navye, for I wold not they knewe
 oūr powār—for mony causes.” So they ordaned that in the
 5 begynnyng of the day they departed. And so itt was doon.
 And they arrived aganes the farthre side of the tounne and
 *Fol. 192^b.] loded * all by nyght and then withdrewe the vesselles agane
 fār into the see, that they wēr not perceyved. And they that
 wēr loded putt theym in a valley beside a wode and hid
 10 them in the most prevey wise that they couthe.

And then Pontus leped on hors bak and come to the wod
 side to se whēr he couthe fynde any pouere man to enquēr of
 the gouernaunce of the contrey. And att the last he come to
 a chapell ryght devoute. And a litle befor day the Erle
 15 of Destrue, which was vnclē to Pontus, and Patrices the
 knyght, whiche had saved Pontus and the xiiij children and
 had ben fauorable to the Cristen people and abode after the
 grace of God, when he wolde delyuer the contrey,—went on
 pylgremege to this chappell, by cause they wold not be aspyed
 20 of the Saresyns. Whils they wēr ther̄ in theȳr prayers, so
 come Pontus rydyng by the chappell, and lyght doune of
 his hors and entred into the chappell. And when he saw
 twoo men knelyng on theȳr knees, he had grete ioy therof
 and trowed that they wēr cristened. And when they had
 25 asspyed Pontus, they wēr a ferde and rose vp sodanly. And
 Pontus asked, “Who be ye? Name yoūr selfe hardely and
 tell me what lawe ye hold.” Then they answerd and said,
 “With Godes mercy, we wolle not forsake oūr Creator, for
 we be cristened.” Said his vnclē, “And we pray you tell vs
 30 your name, for we like yoūr fellishipp passyngly wele in oūr
 hertes.” “In feith,” said he, “my name be Pontus, sonne
 vnto the kyng of Spayne, on whoes saule God haue mercy.”
 And when his vnclē herd that, he ranne and toke hym in his
 armys and said, “Ay Lorde God, I haue nowe my desire.
 35 Blessed be oūr Lorde Ihesu Crist, that I thurgh his grete
 grace may see you.” And when Pontus knewe that he was

his vnclē and sawe the goode chere that he made hym, then he had grete pitee and said, "By God *Ser*, ye reioyse me gretly in myn hert, and ye say me trouthe." And anoon it waxed lyght day, that he knewe hym wele; and then they
5 caste wepyng eyen echon on othre.

The Erle said, "Ay swete frende, howe durste ye come thus, for if ye weŕ asspyed, ye be bot deid." "Fair unclē," said Ponthus, "I am not allone, bot I haue ryght neghe me xvij¹ thovsant armed men, as all the floure of Englonde, of Scotland,
10 of Irlond, and of Bretan, and of the contree aboute." And when he herd that, he kneled dounē and thonked God, and said that the (countre) is all holle as itt was wonte to be before, bot that they be tributories to the kyng Brodas. And then he shewed hym the knyght Patrices, that had saued hym
15 and his felowes in the shipp, and told hym that he had saued the contrey. Then Ponthus thonked hym hertely and led hym furth to see his people. And when he sawe theym, he had grete ioye.

"Theŕ be nomore to doo," said the knyght, "bot lete
20 ordayne youŕ battelles and putt theym theŕ as I shall tell you in oon partie." So they ordaned the batelles and putt thre² thovsant men aside in a valey; and the remenaunt abode styll, excepte v hunderith which went with Patrices into a secrete place, into the tyme that the Saresyns weŕ issued oute
25 of the toune;—and shuld Patrices and his people come to the toune as thogh they weŕ sent fro the kyng to kepe the toune.

And when the Erle of Destruē sawe his sonne Pollides, which was a faiŕ knyght, he blessed hym and said, "This assemblye be made by ouŕ Lorde Ihesu Criste, which has
30 gyven vs grace to fynde the ryght lorde of this contrey." [*Fol. 193.] And then he said, "Lordes, ordayne you in array, * for I wolle goo to the kyng Brodas and tell hym that Cristen people be entred into the londe to pyll the contre. And then he wolle haste hym as faste as he canne, with fewe people and withouten

¹R, the same. W, *xxviii*.

²R, *iiij^m*. W, *fourē th*.

ordenaunce, wherby he shall be more easly conquered. Ther for sendes a litle balanger to feche and make redy all the othre shippes, and when they be comen, putt fire in sume olde hous; and then he wolle trowe that your power be not so grete as it
5 is, wherfor he wolle dysordeyn hym, withouten any ordenaunce makyng."

Then the Erle toke his leve and departed and come to the toune ryght erly. He come to the kyng as man affrayd; the kyng rose vp, and he saluyd hym by Mahounde; and then he
10 said vnto the kyng, "Ser, the Cristen be comen to robbe and to pyll the contrey, and they be bot a leke frome the toune." "Be they mony?" said the kyng. "Ser, I wote neuer," said he, "bot as far as I canne vndrestond, they be into a m^{xx} ¹ shippes." "Fye!" said he. "Be they noo moo? By Ma-
15 hounde, in evyll tyme be they comen, so I shall tell you; for I dremed this nyght that I become a grete, blak wolfe, and that sett vpon me a grete, whyte grehounde and a brachete, and the grehounde slewe me." "Ay Ser," said the Erle, "ye shuld not beleve in dremes." "Ye say sothe," said the kyng.
20 "Goo and make to bloo trumpettes and doo crye that euery man arme hym. So we (shall) take the fals rebawdes and robbers on the see, whiche I shall make all to be slayne and to be drawn at² hors tales." "Ye say wele," said the Erle, whiche thoght that itt shuld not be so.

25 The Erle went furth and armed hym and made to crye that euery man shuld arme hym. So euery man armed hym and leped on hors bak. The kyng went oute armed ryght rycheley and went oute of the toune withouten makeng of any ordenaunce,—bot who so myght goo, went. So there went furth
30 moo then xij thovsant on hors bak beside fotemen, as archers and alblasterers.

Ponthus had ordaned his batelles and had sett in a valey iij thovsant men of armes for to fall betwene theym and the toune. And Ser Patryke come with v hunderyth men into a

¹ Exactly the *thre score* of W.

² MS. *and*.

secrete place to wynne the toune, and he abode tyll he sawe his tyme to departe.

The kyng smote his hors with the spurres on that partie whe^r as he sawe the smoke and loked to the see and sawe not
 5 past lx schippes, and said, "Nowe on theym! They be all shent. They^r Ihesu Criste shall neuer helpe theym, bot they shall dye ane¹ evyll dethe." He abode not, to he was past the place where as the iiij thovsant we^r. Then he beheld befor hym and sawe the grete batelles in ordenaunce. So he
 10 was amervelled of this dede and went to haue withdrawn hym and to haue sett his men in ordenaunce. And yitt he ordaned so that a grete partie was in ordenaunce, for he was a wyse knyght and a hardye in armes; and as he made an ordenaunce, he herd a grete crye betwen hym and the toune
 15 and sawe his men flee toward hym. Then he said, "There is noo fle yng. Rynne we vpon [theym] sharpely." So he smote his hors with the spurrys and assemelyd with the batelles. So he iusted with Geffray de Lazynyen, the whiche was not all redye, and they gave grete strokes. Bot the kyng toke
 20 Geffray at a trave[r]s and ouerthrewe hym. The kyng lad hond vppon his sworde and said, "Mahounde helpe!" And the furst that he smote he ouerthrewe hym, and did marvelous dedes of armes.

The batell begane ryght hard and sharpe. Ponthus, that
 25 hade grete desire forto doo dedes of armes—in esspeciall on them that held his roialme, he smote on the ryght syde and
 [*Fol. 193^b.] * on the lefte syde and bett doune Saresyns and slewe all that euer he smote. The Saresyns held them aboute thei^r kyng, the which slewe and manhened mony of ou^r men. Andrewe
 30 de La Tou^r sawe Geffray de Lazynyen on fote, that myght not lepe vp agane and was sore bressed and in grete perell; so he smote a Turke and ouerthrewe hym and toke his hors and, in despite of them all, led hym to Geffray and said vnto hym, "Fai^r fellowe, lepe vp, for he^r be perillous abydyng on
 35 fote." Geffray lepe vp and thonked hym; and when they

¹An imperfect *d* is changed to an *e*.

twoo were to gedre, they made grete slagh^{tre} of Saresyns. And wele bestirred theym the Bretanes and the Herupoyse. The^r was grete cry.

The kyng did bloo a trumpett and gederyd his menye and
 5 gave stronge batell to ou^r men. Ponthus loked vp and per-
 ceived the kyng, that had slayne his fadre, and howe that by
 hym mony men we^r slayne, for he did grete dedes of armes
 with his bodye, and was ryght richely arrayd and ba^r a croune
 vpon his helme. Ponthus had ryght grete ioye that he had
 10 founde hym and went toward hym and gave hym a grete
 stroke, and the kyng smote hym agayne. So the^r was stronge
 batell betwen theym, for the kyng was ryght strong and of
 grete hertt; bot Ponthus gave hym so mony strokes that he
 mad hym all astoned and to stowpe; and then he cutted the
 15 lases of his helmete, and then the kyng had bot litle strenght
 to endure. And Ponthus smote hym wele with all his strenght
 and smote ay to his neke vndre the helme, so that he fell doune
 deid. And when his men sawe itt, they wrong they^r hondes
 and we^r all dyscomfeted.

20 And on that othre side the iiij thousand men come behynd
 theym and keped theym in, soo that the^r escaped noone, bot
 all went to the sworde. They we^r all putt to dethe withouten
 any *mercy*.

Se^r Patryke went oute of his enbushement and come furst
 25 with .l. armed men to gete the gate of the toune, and com-
 maunded that the remenaunt shuld folowe aftre. So he come
 to the gate, and they knewe hym wele and asked hym, howe
 itt went with the kyng and his people. And he said, "Ryght
 evyll."¹ Then he entered and wanne the gate and keped itt
 30 to the remenaunt come to hym. Then he sett goode kepe at
 the gate and bad that noo man shuld entre, vnto Ponthus
 come. Then he went into the toune, sekynge houses² for
 Saresyns, & thoo that he founde he putt theym to dethe. So
 Ser Patryke went crying into the toune, "A morte Saresyns!"

¹ *evyl* is written upon an erasure.

² MS. *horses*. R, *hostelz*. W, *houses*.

and, "Live¹ cristened!" The Cristen men that weŕ in the toune, which weŕ in *seruage* and yelded truage, they made a crosse with theyŕ armes, and so they founde noo body that dide theym harme—no of noo thyng that longed to theym,
 5 for *Ser Patryke* had so ordaned. The toune was wonne, for all men of defence were goon to the batell² wheŕ as they weŕ slayne, moo then xxvij³ thovsand.

When this discomfatur was doon, the Cristen people soghte the felde, *euery* man to fynde his frende, his cosyn, and his
 10 *maistre*. So there were not mony sleyn of grete men of name. Of Bretane, theŕ was found deid of *barounes* and of *knyghtes*; —*Geffray d'Auncenys* and *Bryan de Pounte*, *Roland de Corquyan*, *Henry de Syen*, *Barnaby de Seynt*⁴ *Gyles*; *Herupoys*, —*Huberd de Brice*, *Hamelyn de Mountelyes*, and *Eustace de*
 15 *Lay Poys*; of *Petons*,—*Andrewe de Lay Marche*, *John de Lay Garnache*, and *Huberd d'Argenten*, and of *knyghtes*,—*Amaulry de Lay Forest* and *Henry de Basoches*; and of *Mayn*,—*Hardenyr de Sylle* and *Oliver de Douncelles*, and
 [*Fol. 194.] of *knyghtes*,—*Graue de Crusses*, *William du Sages*; of *Nor-*
 20 *mandes*,—* *William Tesson*, *Guy Pamell* and *Piers de Villers* and othre v *knyghtes* moo. And of *Englond* and *Scotelond* ther were fewe slayne, for they weŕ in the rere ward; and they of the base marches bare the bronte, for they weŕ in the voward. *Ponthus* *commaunded* to take all the deid bodies of
 25 the Cristen and maked theym to be buryed in the *chirche* of *Columpne* and did ordeyn for theym all the *seruice* and worshipp that myght be doon, in so myche that *euery* man prased hym for his goode dedes. The Cristen people were serched and layd to gedre, the deid on that oon syde, the hurtt
 30 on that othre side.

When this was doon, *Ponthus* and his *batelles* did ryde vnto the toune. Theŕ was *delyuered* to *euery* lorde, afre that he had of men, *stretes* and *houses*, and did fynde so myche

¹ MS. *love*. R, *viuent*. W, *lyue*.

² b written over a p.

³ R, *par extimacion xxviii*. W, *xxv*.

⁴ MS. *Syen*. W, *Bernarbe de saynt Gyle*. R, *bernard de saint gille*.

riches and vytell that the pouerest had enughe. It was cryed that noo man shuld take noght fro the Cristen people of the toune, ne doo theym noo wrong—and noo more they dide.

Ponthus rode streght to the grete chirche and offred vpp
 5 his hors and his harnes and did (do) syng thre messes and
 thonked Gode, weppynge, of his grace that he had sent hym.
 Afre that, the Erle his vncler and Ser Patryk come to hym and
 asked counsell what they shuld doo. And Ser Patryke said,
 “I counsell you befor all thynges, that vnto theym that has
 10 any castelles or tounes in kepyng, or fortresses, be *lettres* wreten
 and sent to theym, as it weŕ frome theyre kyng, that afre the
 syght of the *lettres*, they come to this toune, bothe day and
 nyght, in all the haste that they myght. And sume shall be
 taken here and sume we take by enbushementes that we shall
 15 lay in *certayn* places. And so we shall haue the moste parte
 of theym, and so shall we euer haue the lesse to doo.” This
 goode counsell was holden in suche maner that frome the
 tounes and castells all they come forward toward the toune
 of Columpne; and sume weŕ take in the toune and putt to
 20 dethe and the remenaunt distressed by enbushements, for they
 weŕ ouerthrowen in *dyuers* places. When the Cristen people
 herd of the dyscomfatuŕ of the Saresyns, they rosse by tounes
 and by castelles and slewe of theym as mony as they couth
 fynde, and so long was the were led that all the londe was
 25 clensed of theym and deliueryd; for sume of theym dide yeld
 theym and were conuerted, and Ponthus gave theym goode
 enughe to lyve vpon; and the remenaunte that myght flee,
 fled, wherof sume were slayne by the Spaneyardes and by the
 reaume of Castell, and othre were *perysshed* in *dyuers* places
 30 myscheuously.

¶ Wherfor the Sawdeyn of Babilone was ryght sorofull thus
 to haue loste his thre sonnes and his men. He was ryght
 angre with Mahounde and said before all men, as a man oute
 of his wytt, that the God Crucifyed had ouercomen hym and
 35 that he was of more vertue than Mahound, when he had not

saved his sonnes and his men. And so there was grete complaynte for theym in Babilone and in Damasse.

So I turne agane to Ponthus and so here folowes aftre the polytyke rewle and demeane of Ponthus and of his gouernance.

[**Cap. XXX.** How Ponthus was crowned kyng; and how at the feste he knewe his modre among the xij pouere people; and how he made the Erle of Destruie and Ser Patryk to be keepers of his reame and to obey vnto the quene, his modre.]

Ponthus made leches to be sought for to heall the people that was wonded and hurte in the batell, and hym self did visete theym ofte tymes and made to be brought to theym all thynges that theym (neded). He fested the lordes and all his fellisshipp and gave theym gyftes. And also he founde in a toure the grete tresoure of the kyng Brodas, the which [**Fol. 194^b.*] was * a grete thyng to tell. And when he had ouerryden the contrey and clensted itt of the mysbelevers, he founde myche people and the londe wele belabored, both of vynes and of corne.

From all the contrees the people come rynnynge to see theyr ryghtwyse lorde, and as it had been to myracles. And they loued hym wele for his grete renoune and worthenes, his bountee and curtesie; for theſ was noon so simple ne so pouere bot that he wold speke to theym and here theym mekely. He was right petuouse of the pouere people—he loued God and holy chirche.

And when he had doon this dede, he come to Columpne and made there a grete feste and was crowned by the hondes of oon holy bischop. And thedre come to hym the kyng of Aragone, his vncler, that was brothre to his modre, the which had grete ioye to see hym and of his victorye. And he tolde hym howe the kyng Brodas had wered vpon hym and howe theſ was taken a trefy betwen theym to a certan day—vnto the tyme that God wold sett a remedye,—“and thurgh his

grace he has ryght wele purveyd of his pitee by you." Thus
 complened the kyng to his neviewe and yitt he told hym howe
 that he abode the comyng of the kyng of Fraunce and the
 kyng of Spayne, that shuld haue comen this someȝ,—“bot itt
 5 is no nede.”

The feste was grete of the kynges coronacion and theȝ weȝ
 made mony straunge thynges. The grete lordes of the contre
 come and did theyȝ homage. And also the faiȝ ladyes had
 grete ioye that they were comen oute of hell, and of *seruage*
 10 wheȝ as they had levyd in sorowe and in hevynes; and nowe
 the[i] be broghte into ioye and into myrth and into Paradise,
 as theym semeth. They liked wele theyȝ kyng, in so myche
 that they hade grete ioye to luke vpon hym. And all maner
 of people thonkhed God deuoutely of theyȝ delyueraunce.
 15 Betwen the courses the ladyes did syng,¹ and theȝ were mony
 vowes to the pope,¹ the which were longe to tell. And the
 kyng did bryng and presente by xij faiȝ ladies and xij olde
 knyghtes grete gyftes and iewelles—sume of faiȝ coursyrz and
 sume of faiȝ cuppys of gold and of sylveȝ, of faiȝ clothes of
 20 gold and of sylke, and of mony othre grete iewelles,—to the
 knyghtes and to the cheftanes, so that all men weȝ amervelled
 of his grete larges. He was a man ryght plesaunt and of
 grete curtesie and of goode condicions.

So ther fell a grete *mervell* of the custome that was that
 25 tyme vsed; for itt was so, that befor the kyng, shuld be
serued xiiij pouere men for the loue of God and his apostelles.
 So it befell that the Erle of Destrue, the kynges vncler, went
 visyttyng the tables, and as God wold he beheld the table of
 the pouere people and sawe a womman lukyng vpon the kyng.
 30 And as she beheld hym, the teres fell doune from hiȝ eyn.
 The Erle loked wisely vpon hiȝ and avised hiȝ so wele, that
 by a token that she had in hiȝ chyn he knewe wele that it was
 the quene, modre vnto Pontius. And when he see hiȝ in so
 pouere astate that hiȝ gooune was all clovted and to-rent, he

¹ Not in R. In W only,—*There was songes and many mynstrelsyes.*

myght not kepe hym fro wepyng. So his hert swemyd¹ for pitee to see hiṛ in so pouere degree, and when he myght speke, he thonked God and went behynde the kyng his newiewe and said vnto him, “Ser, heṛ be a grete mervell.” “Wherof?”
 5 said the kyng. “The best and the holyest ladye that I knowe, my ladie the quene, youṛ modre, is her-in.” “Wher be she?”
 [*Fol. 195.] said he. And he for grete payne myght not * tell hym, for pitee; and when he myght speke, he told hym in counsell and said, “Ser, see ye hiṛ sitt yondre with the xiiij pouereṛ at the
 10 furst ende of the table.” And Ponthus beheld hiṛ and he perceyved hiṛ chere; and anoon she putt hiṛ hooode before hiṛ eyen and weped; and the kyng had grete pitee in his hertt. Then said he vnto his vnclē, “Make noo semeland, that noon espie itt; bot when we be vp fro the table, I shall into my warderopp,
 15 and bryng ye hyr priuely to me.” And so itt was doone.

When the tables weṛ taken vp and grace yolden to God, the kyng departed priuely and went into his warderopp, and the Erle his vnclē broght thedre his modre priuely. And when Ponthus sawe hiṛ, he kneled doune befor hiṛ and toke
 20 of his croune and sett itt on hiṛ hede, and sche toke hym vp all wepyng and kyssed hym and halsed hym, and sore they weped, she and hiṛ sonne and the Erle. And when they myght speke, Ponthus said vnto hiṛ, “Ay Madame, so myche pouertee and dysease as ye haue soffred and endured!” “Ay my swete
 25 knyght and sonne,” said she, “I am comen oute of the paynes of hell, and God has given me grete Paradyse, when itt has plessyd hym to yeve me so long live that I may see you with myn eyn² and that I see vengeance for the dethe of my lorde youṛ fadre, which the tyranes putt to dethe, and also that I
 30 see the contree voyded oute of the mysbeleve and the holy lawe of Ihesu Christe to be serued. And I wote wele that this sorowe and trouble has endured this xiiij³ yeres, as by a

¹ W, *symmed*. R, *Le cuer lui enfla de pitie*.

² R omits everything from here to the end of the paragraph except the single sentence,—*Car les aduersitez qui sont venues en ce royaume est une vengeance de dieu*. H and O agree with D and W.

³ H, *xiiij*.

chastesyng of God (for) the grete delites and lustes that were vused in this reame. So me semes nowe that God has mercy of his people, that he has keped you and sent you to deliueere the contrey of the mysbeleve." Ryght wele spake the quene
5 and wisely, as an olde¹ lady as she was.

"Nowe I pray you," said the kyng, "tell me howe ye escaped and howe ye were saved." "My fair sonne, I shall tell you. When the crye was in the mornyng in the toune, and you^r fadre slayne, I was in my bed; and he armed hym
10 with nomore then with an hawberke and his helme and ran furth withoute any more abydyng, as the hardest knyght that was, as men said. When he was departed and when I herde the crye, I was sore aferd and toke oon of my wommens gounes and went my way with my lavender; and I fonde of
15 aventure the posterne gate open, that sume people had opened, and so I went oute and went into the wod fast by the laundes, whe^r as dwelled an holy hermyte, the (whiche)² had a chappell and a well and a lugge at the wod syde; so I abode ther. And my chaumberlane,³ which was wele aged, come euery
20 day to feche almus att the kynges hous, and therby we lived, the hermyte, she, and I. And so ye may see that God has saved me." "In goode faith," said the kyng hi^r son, "ye led an holye live." And so sche did for she wered the hayre and went gyrd with a corde, and fasted myche, and was a full
25 holy lady.

The kyng had grete ioy and grete pitee of his modre. Then he sent for hys tailyou^r and did shape for hi^r gyrtelles, gounes, and mantelles—bot⁴ blewe and purpyll—and made theym to be furred with armyn and sables.⁵ And when she
30 was so arrayd, hi^r semed a full fair lady.⁵ And when they come to sope^r, they broght in the quene rychely arrayd. And when the kyng of Arragonne, hi^r brother, sawe hi^r, he toke hi^r in his armes and kyssed hi^r, for he wened she had

¹ W, *holy*. H, *saincte*.

² MS. *roche*. R, *qui*.

³ W, *chamberer*. R, *chamberie*.

⁴ W, *bothe*.

⁵ Not in W and R.

[*Fol.195^b.] ben deid. The lordes and the ladys of Galice had grete *
 ioye of the quene and did hiȝr myche worshipp, for they held
 hiȝr for a goode and an olde¹ ladye and were all amervelled
 fro whens she come, for they went all that she had been dede.
 5 Hir brothre the kyng of Aragon was sett at soper at the table
 ende, and afre the quene, and then hiȝr sonne Ponthus, for
 the day of his coronacion he must kepe his astate. The quene
 was of goodly porte and semed wele to be a grete ladye. She
 was ryght humble and had ryght grete ioye of the worshipp
 10 and goodnes that she sawe in hiȝr son. Then she said to hiȝr
 son, "Fair son, I haue grete desire to see ouȝr doghtre your
 wyf, for the grete goodenes that I haue herd of hir." "Ma
 dame," said he, "ye shall see hiȝr hastely, if it be pleasyng to
 God." That day passed with grete ioye and disportes of
 15 ladis and daunsyng and synghyng, and of othre maner
 of plays.

That nyght Ponthus dremed that a bere had dovoured his
 lady Sydone, and that she cryed and said, "Ay Ponthus my
 swete lorde, for the loue of God, soffre me not thus to dye."
 20 Thus a vision² fell to hym twys or thryse; and so he was
 sore affrayd therwith and had grete mervell in his hertt what
 itt betokened. Att morowe in the sprynhyng of the day he
 called vp his men and sent for his vncle and for Ser Patryk.
 So they come to hym and he told theym his avysions and
 25 said, "Myn hert telles me that my wyfe has sume sekene, or
 is in grete trowble. She be so, that I wolle no lengre abyde
 here; bot I wolle go to see as faste as I canne for to see hiȝr."
 When they sawe his wyll, they ne durst ganesay hym.

Then said the kyng, "Faiȝr Lordes, I thonke God and you,
 30 this contrey be clensted of the mysbelevers and I thynke that
 by you twoo the contrey has ben saved and the people keped
 fro the dethe,—by your goode revoles. It was Godes wyll.
 So I bethinke me of Moyses and Aaron that God sett to save
 the people of Israel. So ye shall haue grete merite and the

¹ W, *holy*. And did . . . ladye is lacking in R.

² W, *This avysyon*. R, *ceste aduision*, is probably the original reading.

guerdone of God ; and as for me, I be ryght myche beholden to you. Wherfor, fair vncle, I make you my lyeu-tenaunt, and Ser Patryk shall be senysshall and constable of this reame ; for it be goode reason that ye, that has doone so
 5 myche goode and saved the contre, haue the revoll and the gouernaunce therof. And ye, Ser Patryke my dere frend, ye saued me ; so I shall yeve you londe and goode, so largely that ye shall not lese your true seruice." Ser Patryk kneled doune and thonked hym.¹ Then he comaunded theym that
 10 the state of his modre wer keped, and that she shuld haue hir awn commandement, as it wer to his awn propre persone ; and also that they shuld sustene as wele the pouere as the ryche and that the ryche shuld not ouerlede² the pouere. And then he comaunded theym to repara the chirches of
 15 glasen wyndowes and of all othre thynges,—wher as they were broken, to make them vp agane,—“and I shall take you x³ thowsand besauntes of golde therto. He ordaned ryght wele for his reame all that neded.

And then he went and herd thre messes and sent his dynner
 20 to shipp, and toke his leue of his modre the quene and said vnto hir, heryng all men, “Madame I leve you the reame and the tresour that I haue, all in your demeyn and gouernaunce. I haue commaunded and commaundes all men to obeye you as they wold doo to myn awn persone ; and, for
 25 the better, I leve you myn vncle and Ser Patryk my goode knyght, the which I haue made constable and senysshall of my reame, and myn vncle my lyeu-tenaunt.” So he toke leue wepyng. And she prayd hym to come agane in shorte tyme, for she wold fayne se his wyfe. And he toke
 Fol. 196.]
 30 his leue of the lordes and * ladyes of the contrey and went to the schippes.

Euery man arrayd hym and dressed hym to the see. The kyng Pontus come to the barounes and told what avision⁴ was there befallen to hym ; wherfor he myght neuer be at

¹ *thonked hym* is repeated in the ms.

² W, *ouerlay*.

³ R, *xx*.

⁴ MS. *a vision*.

hertes ease, to he had sen the quene his wyfe. So he toke the see and saled so long to he see the costes of Bretan.

And here I leve of the kyng Ponthus and retournes agane to the kyng of Bretan and to his doghtre Sydone—howe itt
5 befell theym of the tresone that Guenelete wroght when Ponthus was in Galyce.

[**Cap. XXXI.** How Guenelete by fals lettres, that hir lorde was deid, wold make Sydone to marye hym, and she fled to a toure for to defende hir; how Guenelete famysshed
10 hir and the kyng of Bretayn in the toure vnto she must nedes yeld hir.]

Guenelete was made kepe^r of the kyng of Bretane and of his doghtre Sydone, for Ponthus had yeven hym all the gouernaunce as ye haue herd before, wherfor he had grete
15 ioye. Neuerthe les he myght not kepe ne chastie hym selfe from tresone. So he bethoghte hym that he wold haue Sydone to his wyfe by sume maner of way, and that he wold be lorde and kyng of that contrey avthre by fai^r maner or by fowle, and that he wold put hym in aventure. So the devyll temped
20 hym so myche that he did stuff the citees and the castelles, and sent for souldours and yeve them syluer in honde forto haue the loue of men of armys. ¹So thurgh his syluer of evyll vertue ¹the goode men putt them self in perell of dethe. And when he had stuffed all the fortresses (he) ²did make a fals
25 seale of Ponthus armys and made twoo fals lettres, oon to the kyng and an othre to his doghtre Sydone, the which specified that Ponthus recomaunded hym to the kyng, and that all his men we^r dyscomfeted and sleyn and hym selfe hurt to the
30 welfare and for the welfare of his, that he wold yeve his doghtre to Guenelete, and that bettre he myght not besett hi^r. And

¹ W, *So is syluer of an evyll vertue for.* R makes it still more general:—*Si est largent de male vertue. Car pour lauoir len si met a laventure de mort.*

² MS. *and.*

forto make the mariege he yeave hym all his tresoure that he broght oute of England. Thes *lettres* weŕ ryght wele devysed. And in the *lettre* of Sydone was, how he prayd hiŕ and required hiŕ, for all the loue that euer was between theym, to take his

5 cosyn Guenelete.

And when the kyng and his doghtre sawe thes *lettres*, it is not to aske of the grete sorowe and hevynes that they made. Sydone swoned often tymes and weped and whissed aftre hym, the whiche myght not be oute of hiŕ mynde. She drewe
10 and rent hiŕ¹ fare² here and made so grete sorowe that itt was grete petee to see. So the ladys and the courte weŕ in grete hevynes for hym and said, "Allas! What damage! What pitee! The flouŕ of knyghthode, the flouŕ of all gentyllnes, the myrrour of all goode maners be dystroyd." The tounne,
15 the burgeses, and all the comon people weped and soroed for theyŕ frendes and theyŕ kynesmen, for they trowed that they had ben all deyd.

Theŕ myght noo man comforth Sydone. "Allas!" sayd she. "He was that man in whome all bountee and trewth
20 dwelled, and by (whome) I³ thocht to haue had all my ioye, and the which was so free and so trewe and loued me so wele and was so likly to haue holden the people in reste and peace. How has God soffred suche aventure agane hym and agane me? Allas sorofull wreche! What shall I doo?" So theŕ
25 was noon so hard a hert bot that it wold haue had pitee of hiŕ; and this sorowe endured more then viij days withoute cessyng.

And Guenelete come and said to the kyng, howe Pontus required hym to gyve hym his doghtre. So he flatered hym
30 full fair and said that he shuld *serue* hym and hiŕ and worshipp theym and kepe the reaume, and that Pontus had gyven hym golde and syluer more then the reaume was worth.
[fol. 196^b.] So he offred⁴ to hym and * said, "Ser, I pray you goo and

¹ MS. *his*.

² *r* apparently altered from a *c*.

³ After *I*, *trowed* cancelled by the rubricator. W, *thought*.

⁴ *Si lui offre et dil*, the exact original of D's reading. W, *offred it*.

speke with your doghtre, that she wold consente therto." The kyng was aged, so he wyst not what to say. And Guenelete did so myche by his subtile wytt that he made the kyng to consente. The kyng was aged and come to his doghtre and
 5 comforthed [hiȓ] the fairest wyse that he myght, and said to hiȓ that dyscomforthe did bot greve to hiȓ withoute any helpe to hym, or to his reame, and sith that Ponthus required it, that she shuld haue Guenelete, for the loue of hym and for the grete tresour that he had gyven hym; and also that he
 10 shuld obey vnto hym and kepe his reame for to revle it,— "for if (I) gyve you to any kyng, he wolle lede you in-to his awn contrey, and so shall we then abyde withouten gouernance or gouernouȓ." When Sydone herd hiȓ fadre thus speke, she had grete mervell and said, that, God be pleased,
 15 he shal not be hiȓ husbonde and that (she) shuld rathre be barren.¹ And the kyng, that loued hiȓ so myche (sayd), sith it liked hiȓ not, she shuld not haue hym; bot bad hiȓ be of goode comforth.

So he come to Guenelete and said vnto hym, that his
 20 doghtre wold haue noo husbond at this tyme. "Howe!" said Guenelete, "Refuses she me? It shall not be all at hiȓ wyll." So he come to hiȓ and made myche of hiȓ and gave hiȓ faiȓ language,—howe t[hat]² he² thynkes to *serve* hiȓ and to obey hiȓ, and she to be lady of all, and that noght shuld be
 25 doon in the reame bot by hiȓ commaundement; and howe he has the grete tresoure of hir said lorde, that was wonne vpon the Saresyns, the whiche was yeven hym by hys *lettres*. Myche he made of hiȓ and flatered hiȓ, bot all avayled hym not; for she sware to hym that she shuld not be wedded of
 30 all that yere, for noon that spake with tunge. "Howe!" said he, "If youȓ fadre commaunde you, wolle ye disobey hym?" "My lorde my fadre may commaunde me, what so euer that it please hym," said she, "bot forto dye, I shall abyde all

¹ W, *rather dye*. R, *dist . . . quelle seroit auant beguynne*. D appears to have mis-read, *baraigne*.

² MS. *the*. W, *that he*.

this yer. Aftre, say I not bot I wolle obey hym." "Yea?" sayd Guenelete, "Make ye refuse of me? And ye wolle not obey to the *lettres* of your forsaid lorde—the whiche ye desired and loued so myche, and that thē was no thyng bot that ye
 5 wold doo itt for hym—and sith ye lyst not (to) obey to his prayer and his *lettre*, and also ye list not to obey to the *commandement* of your fader, —by the faythe that I owe vnto hym, bot if ye take othre counsell, I doute ye wolle be angreed." So he threte hī, when by fairnes he se that
 10 he myght not haue hī. And then he says, sith that he has the *lettre* of hī forsaid lorde and the concentyng of hī fadre, that he wold haue hī, whethre she wold or noo. "Yea," said she, "be I in that *partie*?" "Yea," said he, "by my faithe, ye shall see what may befall." "Rathre," said she, "I shall
 15 haue eury lyme of me hewen frome othre." "Yea," said he, "it shall be seen all in tyme." So he departed as a wodeman, for he wened not to fale of hī.

Sydone was all abasshed, and thought in hī hert that it was not the furst treson and falsnes that he had doone. So she
 20 thought wele that the *lettres* were fals, for othre tymes had he doon¹ to vndrestond that Pontius was deid. So she called thre² squyers and twoo³ yomen into hī chaumbre, that she had, and called Ellyous and othre twoo gentylwomen, and said vnto theym, that she doved hī of Guenelete and shewed
 25 theym how he was hote of loue, wenyng to haue hī by fair
 Fol. 197.] *maner* * or by fowle *maner*,—"for he be malicius and *per-*
aventure wold wyrke by strenght. So I haue purposed that we shall goo into yonde toure, and doo bē thedre vitell, and thē shall we abyde, vnto the tyme that we haue sume rescouse
 30 of our frendes, or of sume of the barounes, or elles haue herd the trouthe of my lorde Pontius." They said that she had wele said. And so it was doon. They dide bere brede and wyne in botelles, in banelles, and in pottes, flesche and cheses, and all thyng that theym neded, as long as they had lasē;

¹After *doon*, that cancelled by the rubricator.

²W, *two*. R, *deux*.

³W, *.iii*. R, *deux chamberlans*.

and then they schitt the dore, and with barres of yrne, and bare vp rokkes and stones for to defende it, for Guenelete had thocht to haue taken hīr agane hīr wyll and to haue doon hīr outrage, if she wold not haue concented.

- 5 So he come into hīr chaumbre and when he fonde hīr not, he serched the warderoppes, whēr as he did fynd a gentyll-woman, the whiche tolde hym that she was withdrawn into the toure, and how she had vittelled it and stuffed it; and when he herd that, he loked as a wodeman and come before
10 the toure and prayd hīr full fayre to open hym the dore, and swore by his feith that he wold not mysdoo hīr. But Sydone, whiche knewe wele his vntrouthe, said he shuld not come in by that meane. He thret hīr sore and swore that he shuld take hīr by force & make hīr his wench, if she wold not take
15 with to be his wyfe, and bad hīr chese whethre she wold doo. "Ay," said she, whiche was ryght angre to here the vngudely wordes, "Traitoūr thou shal not come therto, and God wolle, for thowe shall dye an evyll dethe for this fals *entreprise*." Then he waxed angree and sayd, sith that he had doone so
20 myche, he wold fenyshe itt, what so euer befell.

- So he toke the kyng and put hym in *prisone*, for fere that he shuld gedre men of armes aganes hym; and then he come to the burges and said vnto theym, howe Sydone was yeven hym of hīr husbonde by goode *lettres*, and also the
25 kyng hīr fadre was accorded therto by cause that she wold haue ben weddyd to a man of noght, which wolde haue hated and dystroyed the contree; "bot," said he, "if that I haue hīr, I shal kepe yoūr fraunches and yoūr libertees and I shall kepe you as the gold doos the stone. So I haue sett the kyng
30 in a chaumbre, for he be all doyted and has noo wytt, and he wold lyghtly concente to the lewde counsell¹ of his doghtre; wherby the contree myght be loste, if it befall as they thynke. Bot I shall (kepe) theym wele therfro, with Goddes helpe and youres, and to saue the wele-faīr of Bretane." So he gave

¹ W, *courage*. R, *fol couraige*.

largely to theym, and putted to theym mony doutes, that myght noye hym,¹ and he did itt in suche wyse, wenyng to theym that he had sayd trouthe, wherfore they durst not ryse ne meve. And also he had mony straunge souldoures.

5 When he had spoken to the burges and to the people, he come to the toure and assailed itt. So ther̄ was within bot v men a[nd] foūr wommen, that threwe doune grete stones and defended wele the toure. And also there was the most partie of theym that did bot feyne, for the[i] wold not that she were
10 taken. The sawte lasted a grete while and Guenelete had fayled of his entente; so he was ryght sorofull and angree and thought at the lest he wold famyshe theym. "In goode faith," said Sydone, "we haue vytell enughe for a monethe day, and in the meane tyme God may helpe vs and sende vs
15 rescouse." When Guenelete vndrestode hīr, he went to haue
Fol. 197^b.] ronne wode for angre; for he was half dystrakked * by cause he had fayled of his purpose, and wold and wysshed that he had not begonne; bot sith he had vndretaken itt, he thought that he wold fynysse it, or elles dye therfore. So he sett
20 goode warde and watche aboute the toure, that ther̄ shuld come no vytell to theym.

And then he bethoght hym of a grete malice, for he come to the kyng and prayd hym to goo to his doghtre, for he knewe wele that he myght turne hīr of hīr folye that she has
25 taken on honde; and tolde hym that he wold not famyshe hīr, bot fall into a trettee. The kyng, that was goode and true and thought noon harme, went vp to his doghtre and told hīr howe she was in a way to be deid and shewed hīr mony ensaumples.
30 And she answeyrd hym to the contrarye, and howe she thought wele the lettres was (false);—"and ye wote wele," said she, "that othre tymes he has sayd that he was deid. So I shal rathre dye, bot if I knowe the verray treuthe." "In goode faith," said the kyng, "it may wele be as ye say; for I knowe

¹ MS. *theym*. W, *that he supposed myght noye hym*/translating R, *qui lui pouuaient nuire*. I. e., "might hinder him" (Guen.).

noo man of knowlege that has ben thēr, and harde is the werre, wher̄ as noon escapes." So they be sumwhat comforthed, for the grete vntreuthe that they knewe on hym.

Guenelete asked the kyng, that he sawe aboue at the wyn-
 5 dowe, "Ser, what wolle she doo?" "So helpe me God," said
 the kyng, "I may not spede, for she be yitt all sorowfull and
 angree for hīr lorde, wherfor I may haue no goode answer̄."
 "No!" said Guenelete, "by the faith that I owe to God, ye
 shall abyde with hīr and bēr hēr fellshipp, forto ete pesen
 10 and ploumes; for ye shall bot¹ twoo dye for hungre, bot
 if I may haue hīr fellyshipp." So the kyng abode with his
 doghtre, wherfor she had the titter̄ pitee for the hungre and
 the dysease of hīr fadre. They had mete enughe iiij days or v.
 bot the vj^t day theȳr vitelles fayled so that they had navthre
 15 bred nor flesch. So the[i] wer twoo days that they navthre ete
 ne dranke save a litle chese, and iche of theym a draghte of
 wyn. The kyng began forto feble, for Sydone had noo more
 mete bot vj apyls, of the whiche she gawe euery day twoo to
 hīr fadre. She weped and sorowed for the grete disease that
 20 hīr fadre was in, and that did hīr more sorowe than hīr awn
 peyn did. She loked often tymes oute at a wyndowe toward
 the citee and the see, if she myght se any thyng. So she
 wysshed ofte tymes aftre Ponthus and then she weped and
 made myche sorowe, desyryng hīr awn dethe, and said to the
 25 kyng, "Ay my lorde, it had ben bettere for you that I had ben
 deid long agoo, then ye to soffre suche payne and so myche
 hungre for me." The kyng weped and sayd, "I had leuer
 dye for hungre then to se yonde traitoūr gete you by this
 meane." Sydone called hym,— "Fals traitoūr and vntrewe,
 30 howe may thou soffre the kyng to dye, that is so trewe² a
 man? Allas!" said she, "Be thys the nurture that he has
 made of the, when thou has beseged hym and makes hym to
 dye for hungre and thurst, that oftentimes has gyven the
 goode mete and drynke? Be this the guerdon that thou
 35 yeldes hym?" She said hym myche shame, bot all aualed

¹ W, *bothe*. R, *tous deux*.

² W, *good*. R, *bon*.

not; for he made his othe that he shuld make hym to dye for verray hungre, if she wold not concent to be his wyfe.

The kyng was almost deid for hungre and lay in his bed and myght not styrre. And when Sydon behelde hym she
 5 said that she weī leuer to dye, or to sorowe all hiī live then to see hiī fadre dye for hiī. Then she said to hym wepyng, “My ryght swete lorde and fadre, I may noo lengre soffre youī sorowe ne the hungre that ye abyde. Me is leuer to
 *Fol. 198.] dye, or to be in sorowe all my live days, then to se * you in
 10 this case.” The kyng weped and wyst not what to say; for to see that he shuld haue hys doghtre by this way, it greved hym sore, and on that othre side, to see hym selfe and hiī to dye to gedre, itt did hym grete harme, for she shuld be cause of hiī awn dethe. So he sorowed sore and said that he had
 15 to long lived. So he couthe not counsell hym self and said vnto hiī, “Faiī doghtre, I wote not how we may doo. I ne wote what counsell I may yeve you—so myche sorowe I haue, bot to see you dye, I may not see it; and I wold that the dethe toke me, so that Pontus weī in this tounne on live
 20 on the strong parte, for he wold venge hym wele on the traitour that wold have you agane youī wyll.” And the squyers and the gentyllwomen, the whiche were at the dethe and wode for hungre,—it was noo mervell, for it was iiij days past or more sith they ete any maner of mete, and they said, “Ma
 25 dame, ye shal be cause of youī awn dethe and of the kynges youī fadre and of vs. It wer bettre to take the vnhappy ure¹ then to doo worse.”

When she sawe that she must nedes doo it, for to save hiī fadre more then for hiī awn deth, which she sett bot easy by,
 30 then she rose vp and went to the wyndowe and did call Guenelete; and then she come agane and sent hiī fadre and badd hym speke to Guenelete, and if he myght fynde noo tretee that he shuld accorde with hym, so that he myght haue viij days or more respite to recouer vs of the hungre that (he)
 35 has sett vs in. The kyng rose vpp and said to Guenelete that

¹ MS. *Vrethen*. W, *vnhappy man*. R, *celui homme*.

by strenght he shuld neuer haue the loue of hiȝ; and if he wold leve his entreprise, he shuld yeve hym tounes, or castelles, or what thyng he wold haue. And he answerd agane and said, that he wold not take all the reame, bot that
 5 he wold haue hiȝ, sith that hiȝ (lorde) had yeven hiȝ to hym. Then said the kyng, "Heȝ be bot litle reason. I dovte that ye shall not reiose hiȝ long." All avaled not that the kyng said, for he was more in his cursydnnes then he was afore, and said, (not) for to dye, he wold leve his entreprise, what so
 10 euer befell. The kyng asked hym a monethe respete, and at the monethe ende he shuld yeve hym an answeȝ. And Guenelete wold ryght not doo; bot the kyng did so myche that he had iiij days resspete, and aftre the iiij days he shuld wedde hiȝ; and that (she) concented therto.

15 This¹ was the matieȝ sworne and agreed. And yit said Guenelete, that she shuld not departe oute of the touȝ vnto the day come of hys weddyng. He had grete ioie and did bere hiȝ euery day of the best metes that he couth fynd. And then he helde the kyng wele avysed.² Aftre the iiij^{te}
 20 day the feste and the array was grete, and Guenelete floo for ioie to haue so faiȝ a ladye, that he loued so wele. The kyng went and broght hiȝ doune, and she come all for-weped³ and was so heuy that she had leveȝ haue died then lived, and wyssed in hiȝ hert aftre Ponthus and said, allas in evyll tyme
 25 was she borne,—“for a simple chaunge nowe haue I made.” So she was led to the chirche, and the byschop did wed theym. The teres fell often tymes and thyk frome hiȝ eyn.

The mete was ordaned and theȝ was dyuers mynstrelleses, of trumpes, taborettes, and fydelles. Ryght mery was Guenelete, bot I dovhte it was aganes his mysaventure, as it pleased God,—for euery man shal be rewarded aftre his seruice. That day was the fest ryght grete.

¹ W, *And thus.*

² W, *avysed.* The reading appears to be a misunderstanding of R's *bien aise.*

³ W, *bewepte.*

So leve we here of theym and turne agane to Pontus, howe he come on fro Galice to the mariege of Guenelete and of Sydone.

[**Cap. XXXII.** How Pontus arrived in Bretan the same day that Guenelete and Sydone was married; and how he and his fellows went to the feste as dauncers, and he slewe Guenelete in playne soppē.]

*Fol. 198^b.] ***P**ontus was in the shipp and had taken the see and had taken his leve at his modre and at his vnclē and of all the barounes of his contrey, and had all ordaned as ye haue herd afore. He did drawe vp the sales and had wynd at wyll and sailed so long that they arrived in the Ile of Ree fast by the Rochell. Ther they toke leve of hym, the Petyvynes, the Aungevynes, the Manseoues, the Toryngeaus. So Pontus toke his leve of theym and thonked theym myche and gave them grete gyftes; and then he toke the see agane, he and the othre navye of Englund and of Bretan; and the wynde fell all calme and Pontus toke twoo litle ballengers and thre scoore fellows with hym, and began to rowe.

Sydone had dremed that hiṛ lorde come; wherfore she had sent oute oon of hiṛ squyers to the see syde, to see if any thyng come,—which lepe vpon a coursoure. So he beheld twoo ballengers and sawe in theym a standard. So he supposed that it was of the armys of Galice; wherfor he toke his hoode and made a signe of callyng. Pontus beheld and said, “See yondre a rydaṛ, that makes vs a signe of callyng. Itt semes vs that he has grete haste, or elles he mokkes vs. Haste you that we weṛ with hym.” And when the squyeṛ knewe Pontus, he cryed to hym and said, “Ser, haste you, for Godes loue.” “What?” said Pontus, “Be ther any thyng amys?” Then the squyeṛ told hym howe Guenelete had serued hym fro poynte to poynte. And then Pontus blissed hym and was all amervelled, that euer he thoght to doo suche treasone.

“Nowe,” said the squyer, “they wolle anon be at the soppē, so it shal be harde to come in.” “I shall telle you,” sayd Ponthus, “howe we shall doo: we shall dysgyse vs at yonde vyllege and we shall goo in daunsyng with tyboures
 5 and with pypers,¹ and we shall beṛ presentes, sayng that we be fellows that has grete ioye of the mariage; and by that meane we shall come in with the dauneses.” “In goode faith,” said the squyer, “it be wele sayd.” And so itt was doon.

And Ponthus dysgyssed hym² in the gounes of the goode
 10 men of the subarbes; and then they went daunsyng to the courte. So it was neghe the sonne gooyng doune, and men lete theym entre into the hall, wele dysgyssed. Sume had stree hattes and sume of grene bowes and sume had hoodes stuffed with hay, sume were haltyng and sume were croke bakked,—
 15 euery man made aftre his awne gyse. Guenelete made ioye and sayd, “Ye may wele see howe the comon people has grete ioye of our weddyng; theṛ be faiṛ dysportes that they make vs.” Bot he knewe not of the bushement, wherby he was sone angred.

20 When Ponthus and his felleshipp had daused twys or thrys aboute the hall and had beholden the hyghe dese, and sawe Guenelete that made grete ioye and grete feste of the dauneses and getted³ at the table, Ponthus come thedreward and kast away his disgysyng, so that euery man knewe hym; and then
 25 he said to Guenelete, “Ay thou fals tratouṛ and vntrewe, howe durst thou thynke so grete a treson aganes me and the kyng and his doghtre, the whiche has norysshed the and doone the so myche goode? A simple guerdone has thou yelded theym agane therefore. Bot nowe thou sall haue thy payment.”

30 Guenelete behelde hym, the whiche was full ferd and wyst neuer what to answeṛ, for he knewe wele that he was bot a deid man. And then Ponthus drewe a litle swerd, ryght
 [*Fol. 199.] scharpe, and smote hym, so that he clave the hede * and

¹ W, *with pypes and tabours.*

² W, *Kynge Ponthus and his felowes dysgyssed theym.*

³ W, *wayted.* R, *deuisoit.*

the body to the navyll, and aftr he cutted of his hede, the which was in peces in signe of a tratoure, and made hym to be draun oute and commaunded that he shuld be borne to the gallowes.

- 5 When the kyng and his doghtre sawe Pontus, the[i] lepte from the table and come rynnyng, theȳ armys open, and halsed hym and kyssed hym. Sydone weped for ioye and kyssed his mouthe and his eyn and she myght not dysseuer from hym. Bot Pontus had so grete pitee for the dysease
 10 that they had soffred, that the teres fell frome his eyn, so sore his hert was. And when theȳ herttes wē sumwhat lyghtened, the kyng said, "Fair son, it has bot litle failed that ye shuld haue lost the syght of yoū wyfe and of me." Then he told hym of the grete treson, of the fals *lettres*, and of the
 15 hungre he made them to soffre. Pontus blessed hym and was all abasshed and sayd¹ that neuer sith Crist [was] borne,¹ was suche a *tratour* livyng, that thoght so fals a tresoune. "I bethynke me," said he, "of Ihesu Crist that had xij apostelles, of the which oon sold hym. And so we come hidre xiiij²
 20 fellowes, as it plessyd to God, wherof oon was wors then Iudas; bot thonked be God, he be wele payd for his reward." "Ay," said the kyng, "and ye had bene lengre absente, ye had bene more mokked." "God wold it not," said Pontus.
 "Nowe leve we this talkyng," said the kyng, "for the
 25 matiē be wele fynysshed to my plesur; so lete vs leve of our disporte³ and tell ye vs of yoū dedes,—howe ye haue sped." "Ryght wele, I thonke God," said Pontus. Then he told them of the batell and of the dyscomfetoure of the Saresyns, and howe the contrey was clensed and wele laboured. And
 30 then thē wē sum that told all the manere and the revle, howe he was coroned. They had all grete ioye to hē of the fair aventures that God sent hym. Then they did bryng hym

¹ W, sayd that neuer erst was borne suche. R, car oncques mais ne nasqui si faulx homme.

² R, xiiij. W, .xiii.

³ After *disporte*, a superfluous *and tell vs* is cancelled by the rubricator.

doune to sope^r and afre songen and daunced and had ioye in they^r herte. Sydone was merye and glade, and it nedes not to aske, howe that she in hi^r herte thonked God mekely to be escaped frome so grete a perell. That nyght they we^r wele
 5 eased, for both thei^r hertes we^r¹ in dystresse. They talked of mony thynges and they had enughe of ioy and of dissportes to gedre, for they loved wele to gedre. They loved God and holy chirche and they we^r ryght charitable and piteous of the pouere people.

10 That nyght the sowdeoures of Guenelete fled a way,—whoso myght goo, went. All othre^e people thonked God of the commyng of Ponthus, and they went (on) pylgremege and with processyon, yeldyng graces to God, for euery man wenyd that he had ben deid. On the morowe afre arryved the
 15 navye of Englund, of Bretan, and of Normandye. And when they herd the tresoune of Guenelete, they had grete mer^vell, howe that euer he durste thynke suche falshode.

The kyng of Bretan receyved them with grete ioye; and the kyng Ponthus withheld with hym the Erle of Gloucestre,
 20 and wele a twenty knyghtes, and said that within xv days he wold goo into Englund to see the kyng and the quene and they^r² doghtre Gene^r; and said to the Erle of Richemound, “Recommunde³ me to theym, I pray you; and if my lady Gene^r be not wedded, I shall bryng hi^r an husband, if it
 25 please the kyng and hi^r.” So he tolde hym in his ere that it was his cosyn german Pollides, the which be right a goodely knyght and of goode condicions and likly to come to⁴ grete worshipp. “In goode faithe,” said the Erle, “ye say trouthe; and the kyng wolle be full glade of hym, as I suppose, and
 30 haue hym in * grete chertey, for the love that (he) has to you. So he convehed hym as fa^r as he myght and afre toke his leve of theym. And so they departed and come into they^r awn contrey with grete ioye.

[*Fol. 199^b.]

¹ W, *had ben*.

² MS. *ther'*. W, *her*. R, *leur*.

³ MS. *recommunde*.

⁴ In the MS. *to follows worshipp*. I follow the order of W.

The Erle of Richemound come into the courte and founde the quene and the kyng of Scotis, that was comen to see theyme. The kyng asked hym of the tithynges. And he told hym, fro the begynnyng to the endyng, of all the aventures: and howe the contrey was deliuered of the Saresyns, and howe the contree and the people had ben saved by the Erle of Desture and *Ser* Patryk, in suche wyse that it was wele laboured and peopled of men by the truage that they yelded, wherby they lived in peace. And then he told hym of the treson of Guenelete, and afre he told theym of the grete yeftes, of the grete gentylnes, and the goode chere that kyng Pontus made theym, and howe gretly he was beloued of all men. And when he hade all tolde, he toke in counsell the kyng, the quene, and theyr doghtre Geneer, and the kyng of Scotis, and tolde theym howe Pontus wold come thedre within xv days, and withheld with hym the Erle of Gloucestre, and howe he had spoken to hym of a mariege of his cosyn german and of Geneuer. The kyng asked what maner knyght he was; and he answerd that he was the goodliest knyght that he knewe, save Pontus,—“and I tell you,” said he, “that he resembled¹ myche to Pontus, of persone and of condiciouns, save he be sumwhat lesse.” “Be my feith,” said the kyng, “I accorde me therto, so that it please my doghtre.” And she kneled doune and said, what it pleased hym to *commaunde* hir, she shuld doo it. The quene and the kyng of Scottes agreed theym to the mariege, and the kyng of Scottes said, “*Ser*, it nedes not to marye your doghtre to a kyng, or to a lorde, that wold not dwell in the reame; for a kyng, or a grete lorde, *peraventure*, wold not dwell in this contree, and that weir not goode for the people ne for the contrey; and witt ye wele, that als longe as the kyng Pontus levys ther shall noo man be so hardy, to assayl, or to greve, this lond.” Then said the kyng that he said sothe. Geneuer, that so myche loved Pontus, said in hir hert, that the knyght pleased hir more then any othre, and she

¹ W, *resembleth*. R, *ressemble*.

enquered of hym full farre¹ of the Erle and of the knyghtes, that had ben at the werre and had seen hym; and the more that she enquires, the bettre she fyndes and the more she loves hym. Now has she noo desire so grete as to see hym
 5 and she prayd to God that he myght come soon. So leve we to speke of theym and turne agane to the kyng Ponthus.

[Cap. XXXIII. How kyng Ponthus made a grete feste at Vennys for to feste the straungers, wher as he wonne the prys aboue all othre.]

10 Ponthus turned agane to Vennys,² when he had convehed the lordes of Englonde and of the contrees beyonde. So they went to here messe and aftre went to theyr mete; and then said kyng Ponthus to the barounes of Bretan, "Fair Lordes, if it please you, me must see the ladies of this con-
 15 trey, for I wolle feste theym for the love of the Duke of Gloucestre and thes knyghtes of Englonde, the whiche muste be fested, and to dyssporte theym with sume dedes of armes; for within xv days we must goo into Englonde to see the kyng, for certan matiers that I have to speke with hym."
 20 They answerd that it shuld be doon. "Nowe," said he, "I charge ichon of you, that ye bryng the fairest ladyes and gentyllwommen of your contrees, and iche of you shall bryng his wyfe, and ye shall be here all by this day sevennyght."

So this was graunted, and euery man went home to his wif
 25 and to theyr frendes and eueryche of theym soghte for the
 [*Fol. 200.] fairest ladyes and * gentyllwommen, and the beste synghyng and daunsyng, that they couthe fynde, and come to Vennys. And the kyng Ponthus went aganes theym and resceyved theym with grete ioye of mynstrellie and of othre disportes.
 30 On the morowe aftre wer the iustes grete. Sydone was in a scaffold, and the kyng hiir fadre, and the grete ladies of Bretan and the aged knyghtes. Ponthus was of the inner

¹ W, *frome ferre.*

² MS. *Vennys and.*

partie, and the Duke of Gloucestre, Barnard de La Roche, Gerrard de Vettrey, Pers de Vetry, Rogeñ de Loges, the Vicounte de Dounges, and Endrus de Doule,—for to iuste aganes all comoners.¹ So the iustes began grete and harde.

- 5 Ponthus bett doune knyghtes and horsse, so that euery man dovbted to mete with hym. The ladies prased hym myche and so did all othre men. Grete was the feste, the iustes, and the disportes, and lasted to the sonne goyng doune. Theñ weñ mony faiñ iustes and harde strokes, that longe weñ to tell.
- 10 At evyn they went to theyñ souper and weñ *serued* with mony dyuers *seruices*; and mynstrelles and herowdes made grete myrth and grete noyse. The prys of the uttre syde was yeven to the Lorde Mounteford, for ryght wele and sore he had iusted. So he had the cupp of gold. And Ponthus had
- 15 the prys within and he had a chapelete, that the ladys sent hym.

And then with (that) come Geffray de Lazygne, Andrewe de La Toure, Guyllyam de Roches, and Leonell de Mauleon, the which Ponthus had sent for, to goo with hym into Eng-

20 lond, for ouer all knyghtes he loued theym beste for theiñ grete worthenes. And the kyng Ponthus rosse a gane theym and toke theym in his armes and made theym grete chere. And they said vnto hym that he dide wrong to rysse aganes theym and that he was to curtese and to gentyll. Aftre souper the

25 Lorde de Lazigne said, “Ye have this day iusted withoute vs, and if it please you,” said he to Ponthus, “we iiij that be last comen shall iuste to morowe.” Then said Ponthus, “Ye shall haue with you my cosyn Pollides and the Vicounte de Lyon, for to be vj; for I vndrestond this day by the Vicounte

30 wordes, that he was wrothe by cause that he was not of the inner partie,—for we shall nowe at this tyme ease his hert.” Then he was called, and Pollides told theym that to morowe they vj shuld iust aganes all comoners.

So the cry was made that the white fellowes shuld delyuer

35 all maner of knyghtes; and he that withoute shuld haue the

¹ W, comers. R, venans.

pris, he shall haue a gyrdle and a gybser of the fairest lady of the feste; and he that within shuld haue the prys, shuld kysse the fairest ladye and of hiȝ shuld haue a rynge of gold. So theȝ weȝ grete iustes and mony grete strokes gyven; bot
 5 who so euer iusted wele, or noo, I lete it passe forto abyge thys storye. And neuer the lesse, the pris withoute was yeven to Geffray de Chateawbreauce, and the price within, to Pol-
 lides; bot sum said that Geffray de Lazygne had wonne it, so theȝ was therefore a grete debate.

10 [Cap. XXXIV.]¹ Her followes of the mariege of Pollides and of [the] kynges doghtre of Englund.¹

On the morowe afre Ponthus toke his leve of the kyng and of Sydone and of the ladys of Bretan, and toke the see and led with hym xij of the barounes of Bretan and the
 15 iiij knyghtes before said. So they passed ouer; for the Erle of Gloucestre parted before them a day iourney, for to tell the kyng of Englund that the kyng Ponthus come for to see hym.

The kyng vndrestode wele by the Erle of Rychemond that
 20 he come; so he was garnysshed and stuffed of all thynges [*Fol. 200^b.] that hym neded forto receyve hym * worshipfully. With hym was the kyng of Scottes, his brothre, and the kyng of Ire-
 londe and the kyng of Cornewayle, his neviewe, and the erles and the barounes of his reaume. So they had grete ioye of
 25 his comyng. The kyng prayd them all to doo hym all the worschyp and chere that myght be doon,—“for,” said he, “ye wote wele howe by hym this reaume was releved both of
 negheboures and Saresyns.” They said all that they shuld doo theyȝ power. The kynge lepte on hors bak and thos
 30 othre knyghtes and rode agane kyng Ponthus wele a myle, with all maner of mynstrelley. They receyved hym with

¹ Since this sentence of the text is quite in the form of a chapter heading, I have used it as such.

grete ioye and worshipp. The cheŕ that they made hym be not to tell of, for itt was ryght grete.

The kyng Pontus was right rychely arrayd *with* perles and *precious* stones, and he had vpon his hede a cercle of
 5 stones and of perles. They weŕ twenty knyghtes with Pollides, and the vj¹ that I spake of afore and iiij hundredth of Galyce. Thes twenty knyghte[s] weŕ cled in singulatones furred with² wyld ware all in oon suyte. They weŕ wele and
 10 richely arrayd of gyrdells of gold and of gyspers, faiŕ and ryche, the which apered vndre theiŕ ryche mantylls. They weŕ myche loked vpon, and theiŕ ordenaunce was holden riche, both faiŕ and goode. With grete ioye intred the kyng Pontus into London and theŕ he founde the quene and hiŕ doghtre and hiŕ ladyes in the courte abydyng hym.

15 So when he sawe the quene, he lyght a farrom and went rynnnyng toward hiŕ, and she kyssed hym and halsed hym, and he was receyved with grete ioye and worship. The quene asked hym howe he had doon sith he departed from thens; and he said, "Ryght wele." Geneuer the kynges doghtre had
 20 alwey hiŕ eye to see Pollides, the which she had grete desire for to see. So she knewe hym by the tokens and the liknes of his cosyng Pontus, and she se hym so gracios and so plesaunt that she liked hym aboue all othre. And yit, to be in more *certan*, she asked the Erle of Gloucestre of hym; and
 25 he shewed by a signe whiche was he. Then she said in hiŕ hert, that she had not faled to chese hym and that hiŕ hertt told hiŕ wele that it was he. They went to mete, and theŕ weŕ mony straunge *seruices* and notably *serued*; for the barounes *serued* by the kynges *commaundement*. Aftre mete
 30 they ete and dranke and toke spices. And Geneuer had grete desire that they shuld speke of hiŕ matieŕ; so she said to hiŕ vncler the kyng of Scottes, laghyng, "I wote not what shall be of the speche that the Erle of Richemound broght." And the kyng smyled and said, "Ye haue seen hym. What say

¹ W and R have the correct reading, .xvi.

² W, *with veer*, following R.

ye by hym? Plesys itt you of hym?" She waxe rede. "I shall doo as my Lorde my fadre and ye wolle." So he sawe wele that she liked hym and come to the kyng and said vnto hym, it was goode to wytt of the matieꝛ of his nece.

5 Then said the kyng of Englonde, "Ye say trouthe. Withdrawe you into yonde chaumbre." And the kyng withdrewe hym, and sent for the kyng of Irlond and for the kyng of Cornewale and for the lordes and barounes of his reame. And when they weꝛ comen, he tolde theym howe the Erle of
 10 Rychmond had spoken vnto hym fro the kyng Ponthus of the mariege of his doghtre and of Pollides; and he said vnto theym, "Faiꝛ Lordes, ye knowe wele that I be aged, so it behoues that ouꝛ doghtre be maried to a man that weꝛ likly to kepe you in reste and in peace. If ye take a grete lorde, a
 15 kyng, or a prince, *peraventuꝛ* he wolle make his dwellyng in
 [*Fol. 201.] his awn contrey, and so * shuld ye be withouten *gouernouꝛ*; and if any wrong be doon to any of you, or to this reame, or to any of ouꝛ *pouere*¹ comones, they shuld be fane to goo oute of the contrey to seke ryght of his request. Therefore,
 20 as me semes, it weꝛ bettre to haue a yonge knyght of high kynrede, that wolle abide and dwell with you, and that wold thynk hymself to (be) beholden to haue worshipp by hys wyfe; and in so myche he shuld be the more enclined to obey you and the reame. So I wolle tell you all the matieꝛ that
 25 has ben spoken vnto me." Then he declared theym howe the kyng Ponthus had spoken to the Erle of Richemound of his doghtre and of Pollides, the whiche men holden for a goode knyght and wele condicioned. So theꝛ was myche talkyng both of oon and of othre, that longe were to tell; bot the ende
 30 was that all was accorded, and said, that they myght noo bettre doo for the welfare of the reame and forto be obeyd and oute of trouble, and that as long as his cosyn Ponthus levys, theꝛ shuld noo man be soo hardy to meve any werre aganes theym.

¹After *pouere*, *me* cancelled.

And when the kyng sawe that they concented, he said to the kyng of Scottes and to the Erle of Richmound, the which were worshipfull knyghtes, "Goo ye," said he, "to the kyng Pontus and doo hym to wytt of all thes maters and say
 5 hym that for his love we wolle haue his cosyn." Thes two departed and called the kyng Pontus aside and tolde hym ryght graciously howe the kyng and his lordes wer concented for the love¹ and worshipp of hym vnto the mariege that he had spoken of to the Erle of Richemound. Pontus thonked
 10 the kyng and the barounes full mekely and said that they did hym myche worship, for the which God graunte hym grace forto deserve it. And so long went and come the kyng of Scottes to he assembled theym in the kynges² chaumbre and ther come the Archbysshop of Caunterbury, the whych fyanced
 15 theym.

It be not to aske if Geneuer had ryght grete ioye in hir hert, all thoghe she made ther bot simple chere outward. Sche loued hym and praysed hym myche the more for his gudelenes and the gude name that men gave hym and also
 20 for the love of his cosyn Pontus, the which she loued myche afor tyme. And also Pollides thonked God devoutly in his hert for the grete worship that he had sent hym in this world, and to haue so fair a lady and of so goodely behavyng. So the day of the weddyng was sett the viij^t day aftre. Grete
 25 was the feste and grete wer the iustes, the which begane the morowe aftre the day of the mariege; for the kyng Pontus said that he wold not accorde that ther shuld be any dedes of armes doon the day of the mariege, and that he said was by cause the kyng of Burgon deid the day of his mariege. Forto
 30 say of all the goode iustes³ it wer to long to tell, bot ouer all Pontus iusted wele, for he was withoute⁴ any pitee or⁴ pere. Right wele iusted Pollides and the kyng of Irlond, the Lorde de Lasigne, the Lorde de La Toure, the Lorde Maunford of

¹After *love*, a superfluous *and worship* stands cancelled.

²R, *c. du roy*. W, *quenes*.

³W, *well lusters*.

⁴W omits.

Bretan—thes had all the voice of the wele iusters. It were long to tell all, so I lete it passe lyghtly; for it were a grete thyng to tell of the grete feste, of the ordenaunce, and of the seruices, and of the price that was yeven, and of all the dysportes. The feste endured fro the monday vnto the fryday.

Aftre mete the kyng Ponthus toke his leve of the kyng and of the quene, bot with grete payne they gave hym leve. Geneuer convehed hym wele two myle, and they had myche
 [*Fol. 201^b.] goode talkyng to gedre, and she said vnto hym howe * she
 10 loved hiȝ lorde Pollides myche the more, by cause that she had loved hym covertly before, and that she prased hym the more, by cause that he had keped truly his furst love. Ponthus smyled and said that theȝ was noo wyle bot that wommen knewe and thoght. So they spake enughe of dyuers thynges;
 15 and then he made hiȝ to turne agane, with grete payne, and said vnto hiȝ, "My lady and my love, I be youȝ knyght and shall be as long as I live; so ye commaunde me what it please you, and I shall fulfill it at my power." And then he said befor Pollides, "My faiȝ lady and my love, I wolle
 20 that my cosyn here love you and obey you, and that he haue noo plesaunce¹ to noon so myche as to you. And if theȝ be any favte, doo me to wytt and I shall correcte hym." "Ser" said she, "he shall doo as a goode man owe to doo." "God graunt it," said he. So he toke his leve and departed.
 25 Then the kyng of Scottes, the kyng of Irlond, and the kyng of Cornewale wold haue convehed theym,—that is to say, Ponthus and his felisship, vnto the porte, bot Ponthus wold not soffre theym. Bot theȝ was hevynes and curtesie at theyȝ departyng. And aftre they toke theyȝ leve at hym and turned
 30 agane to the kynges hovs. And the kyng Ponthus come to the porte and called to hym his cosyn Pollydes aside and said vnto hym, "Thonked be God, ye owe grete guerdon vnto God, for ye be in the way to by ryght a grete kyng and myghty of armys and of haviȝ and of notablenes, and grete
 35 lordes youȝ subiectes; so ye owe to thonke God highly, and

¹ MS. plesaunt. W, *pleasaunce*.

therfor it behoves you to have foure¹ thynges, if ye wolle reiose all in peace and to live peacyble :—

“The furst, it behoves that ye be a verray true man,—that is to wyte, love God ouer all thyng, with all youŕ hert, and
5 drede to disobey hym ; if ye love hym, ye shall faire the bettre and he shall helpe you and sustene you in all youŕ nedes. Love and worship holy chirche and all the *commmandementes* therof truly kepe. This be the furst *seruice* that men shuld yeld to Allmyghty God.

10 “The secunde be, that ye shuld bere worshipp and *seruice* to theym that ye be comen of, and to theym of whome ye haue and may haue worship and riches,—that is to say, love to *serue* youŕ fadre and youŕ wyfe, wherof myche worship shall befall you. Be to hym a verray ryght sonne ; kepe you that
15 ye angre theym not ; soffre and endure what language and wordes that shal be said vnto you, or of whate tales shall be reported vnto you,—sum to please you and some to flater you, or elles for malice coverte of suche men as wold not the peace betwen you and theym ; for faiŕ cosyn, he that wolle soffre
20 of his bettre and of his grette, he ouercomes hym. It is a grete grace of God and of the worlde, a man² toward hym self² to haue sofferance, for dyuers resones, the which shuld be long to tell.

“The third resone is forto be meke and amyable, large
25 and free, afre youŕ power, to youre³ barounes and to youŕ knyghtes and squyers, of whome ye shall haue nede ; and if ye may not shewe theym largesse and fredome of youŕ goodes, at the lest, be to theym curtes and debonere, both to the grete and to the litle. The grete shall love, the litle shall prase
30 you ouer all of youŕ goode cheŕ ; and so⁴ it shal gretly auale

¹ W's reading. MS. *thre*. Pontius' homily is actually divided under four heads.

² W omits *a man* and has *towarde hymselfe* immediately following *worlde* and modifying *grace*—probably the true reading.

³ The *e* of *youre* shows a tag apparently for a second, unfinished *e*.

⁴ W, *so he shall awayll you a ryght heralde*. R, *Et vous vaudra ung droit herault*.

you,—so myche ye shall be prased ouer all. And also it is to vndrestonde that ye shuld be curtes and gentle vnto your wyf afor any othre, for dyuers resons; for by worshipp and by curtesie¹ beryng vnto hir, ye shall hold the love of hir

5 bonde vnto you; and forto be dyuers and roode vnto hir, she
 [*Fol. 202.] myght happenly chaunge, and the love * of hir, so shuld ye wors reioys; and peraventure she then myght gyve it to an othre, wher as she myght take suche plesaunce,² wherof ye myght be right sorye,—and that ye shuld not withdrawe it

10 when ye wold. And so ther be grete perell and grete maistre³ to kepe the love of mariege. And also be war that ye kepe selvyn true vnto hir, for it be said in Gospell that ye shuld chaunge hir for noon othre. And if ye doo thus as I say, God shall encrease you in all goode welthe and worship. If ye see

15 hir angree, apese hir by fairnes, and when she comes agane to hir selfe, she shall loue you myche the more; for ther be noo curtesie doon to a good hert bot that it is yolden agane; and when an hert be fell and angre and men wrath it more, it imagyns thynges wherof mony harmes may fall.

20 “The fourte reson be, that ye shuld be petuous of the pouere, the which that shall require right of the ryche, or of the myghty, that wold greve theym; for therto be ye sett and ordaned—and all othre that has grete lordshipes,—for ye come into the worlde as pouere as they dide, and as pouere

25 shall ye be at the day of your dethe; and ye shall haue noo more of the erthe, save oonly your lenghte, as the pouere shall have, and ye shall be lefte in the erthe allone, as the pouere shall be. And ther (fore) shall ye haue noo lordship, bot forto holde ryghtwysnes, withoute blemysyng, or doute of any grete

30 maistre,⁴ or repreve, nethir letyng for the love ne for the hate, for thus commaundes God. Euery friday in esspeciall her the clamour of the pouer people, of wommen and of wydoys. Putt not ther right in resspete ne in dilacion, ne beleve not allway

¹ W, *courteys*.² MS. *pleasunt*.³ W, *maystry*.⁴ MS. *maistrie*. W, *mayster*.

your officers of euery thyng that they shall tell you ; enquer befor the truthe, for sum of theym wolle doo it to purchase damage to the pouere, for hate, and sume for covetyse, to haue theiꝛ goodes, when they see that they may not doo so
5 with theym as they wold. So, if they come with fals reporte, it is a perilous thyng for a grete lorde to be lyght of beleve."

He taght and¹ shewed mony goode ensamples. And Pollides thonked hym and said vnto hym, "Ser, I knowe wele ye loue, and of your goodnes ye haue purchased, me the wor-
10 ship and the welfare that I haue ; therfor I pray you, by the way of charitee, that we may euery yere mete and comon² to gedre ; for that shall be my comforth, all my sustenaunce and ioye." "I graunte therto," said Pontus. And aftre, when they had spoken and talked of mony thynges, they toke theyꝛ
15 leue echon of othre and halsed and kyssed to gedre ; and navthre of theym had powaꝛ to speke oon worde, for mervelously they loved to gedre.

When the kyng Pontus had his hert sumwhat clered,³ that he myght speke, he toke his leue of the lordes of Eng-
20 lond and offred hym self myche vnto theym. And Pollides turned agane vnto the kynges hous, wheꝛ as men made hym right grete ioye.

Pollides helde wele the goode doctrine of his cosyn Pontus, for he serued and obeyd the kyng and the quene, and made
25 hym selfe to be loved both of the ryche and of the pouere by his larges and curtesie. Ryght wele he loued God and holy chirche and was pituous and charitable vnto the pouere people. The kyng and the quene loued hym as theiꝛ awn childe, and aboute vij yeres aftre, the kyng died ; and then was Pollides
30 crowned kyng peaseably, and ryght goode (loue) was betwen hym and his wyf and the olde quene, and so he reigned in peace and in goode ryste.

So leue we heꝛ of hym and turne agane to Pontus.

¹After *and*, *sve* cancelled.

³R, *le cuer luy esclaireist*.

²W, *se vs*.

[Cap. XXXV. How kyng Ponthus returned to Bretan and gouerned the realme wysely vnto his dethe.]

[*Fol. 202^b.] ***K**lyng Ponthus saled so long on the see, he and his barounes, that they come and loded in Bretan and
 5 then they went to the kynges hous, wher as they wer receyved with grete ioye of all maner of people. And when they had sodiourned wele vij days, Geffray de Lasigne and Andrewe de La Toure and the straungers toke their leve and departed. Ponthus gave theym mony grete gyftes and riche presentes
 10 and thonked theym and witheld theym as his fellowes and his frendes, and then he convehed theym a liege,² whethre they wold or not: Then they toke leve echon of othre.

The kyng of Bretan lived aboute space of thre yeres aftre, for he was ryght wele aged; and so was Ponthus kyng and
 15 was ryght wele beloued of the astates and of all maner of people. He was right goode and rightwys of iustice, charitable and petuouse of the pouere. Ryght wele they loued to gedre, he and the quene his wyfe, and led a ryght goode, holy live and did mony almus dedys. And when the houshold
 20 shuld remeve from oon place to an othre he did crye that all they that he owed any goode vnto, wer itt for his houshold, or for any othre thyng that wer taken for hym, that they shuld come to hym or to his officers, and all he did pay for, that was taken of any man;³ for he said that all that witheld
 25 any goodes or det frome the pouere shuld haue litle merite therof. He vsed and led right a goode, holy live.

And so then the[i] went and wonned a yer in Galice, wher as they wer right wele beloued, dred, dovbted, and worshipped. The Erle of Destruie thonked myche the kyng his reviewe of
 30 the worshipp that he had doon his sonne. The kyng Ponthus gave grete heritage and londes to Ser Patryke, which had saved hym in the shipp and had doon so myche goode to the

¹ This K extends through four ll. of the ms.

² a two myle.

³ W inserts, for he sayd that they were foles that obyd to theyr heyres or to theyr executors/for fewe were contented—following R literally.

contrey. Right grete reuerence bare the quene Sydone vnto the olde quene hiȝ lordes modre. The kyng sent for his vnclē the kyng of Aragon and for the lordes and barounes of the contrey aboute, and made grete iustes that dured wele x days.

5 And aftre the quene and the houshold went on pilgremege to Sainte Iames in Galice.

And aftre his turnyng agane, he dwelled not long bot that he went to the weres in Spayne aganes the Saresyns. And he led with hym the barounes of Bretan, of Anyoye, of Mayne, 10 of Petowe, of Turreyn, of Normandie. Of the Normandes, he led the Erle of Morteyn, the Vicounte of Avreces, Tesson, Panell, and mony othre knyghtes; of Mayne, Hungres de Beamounde and Guy de Laball¹ and dyuers othre; of Anyoye, Piers de Doune, Andrewe de La Toure, Guyllen de Roches, 15 the Lorde of Marmonte,² John de Petowe, the Lorde de Lassigne, Guy de Towars, Leonell de Malleon, Hungres de Parteney; of Turreyn, Hubberd de Malle, Hondes de Bausy, Patryk d'Amvoys;³ and mony of theym of Bretan and of Gascoigne. They weȝ wele xv^m, and discomfeted the hethen 20 people, and ther they did mony grete dedes of armes and toke mony grete tounes and castelles; and then vpon the wynteȝ euery man turned home agane into his awn contrey. And all gave grete love and prasyng⁴ to Pontus, for he payd theym wele the[i]ȝ wages and gave theym grete gyftes,—in so myche 25 that they said, theȝ was no right cheften bot he, and that he was likly to conquer all maner of contrees * be his knyghthode, larges, and curtesie,—“for all goode condicions be in his persone, aftre the revle of God and of the world, and in hym be all goodelynes, so that it be meruell of hym before all othre,— 30 he owe grete guerdon vnto God.”

He dwelled a while in Galice, and aftre he come agane to Bretan, and then he went and sawe his cosyn Pollides, the which was cronēd kyng of Englonde, wheȝ he was receyved

¹ W, *la vale*. B, *laual*.

² W, *Nermount*.

³ MS. *Damvoys*. W, *damboise*.

⁴ W, *loos and pryce*.

with grete ioye. It be not to aske if the quene Geneuer sett a grete payne forto feste hym and make hym grete chere.

And aftre that went the kyng of Englund into Gascoigne and into Galice to see his fadre and his kynesmen and he gave
5 theym grete gyftes. And then he turned agane into Bretan, wher̄ as he was myche made of and had grete chere. And aftre he went home agane into his awn reame.

The kyng Ponthus and the quene leved long enughe and reigned to the plesē of God and then they discesed and
10 finished to the grete sorowe and heynes to theȳr people.

Bot thus it is of this worldly live ; for ther̄ be noon so fair̄, ne so ryche, so strong, ne so goode, bot at the last he must nedes leve this worlde. *Explicit.*¹

¹After the last l. of the romance are four ll. blank. The rest of f. 203 has been cut out.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1897.

VOL. XII, 2.

NEW SERIES, VOL. V, 2.

II.—SPENSER'S IMITATIONS FROM ARIOSTO.

The influence of the *Orlando Furioso* on Spenser's *Faery Queen* has long been recognized. Warton, in his excellent *Observations*, devoted a section to it, and others have here and there remarked upon the affinity of the two poems. I cannot find, however, that any writer has yet given the subject more than casual attention. The reasons for this neglect are, of course, not far to seek. Men read and study the *Faery Queen*, and men read and study the *Orlando Furioso*, but few care to read and study them side by side, with the obligation of going through the *Morgante Maggiore*, the *Orlando Innamorato*, *Rinaldo*, and the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, for casual reference and general illustration. The *Faery Queen*, as it stands, is nearly twice as long as the *Odyssey*, the *Orlando Furioso* is longer than the *Faery Queen*, and the others are of varying, but always substantial bulk—a rather formidable array. Moreover, despite vast differences of spirit and method, these poems deal with the same subject-matter, romantic chivalry; and too steady converse with romantic chivalry is, to say the least, not stimulating. In view of such conditions and of the work already done by Warton, critics may very probably have felt that further labor in this field would hardly be worth while.

X If one could hope for no more than to add a few parallel references to Warton's list, the labor would certainly not be worth while, for, in themselves, parallel references are mere curiosities of literature. One must classify and compare and analyze them, before the influence of one poet on another can be determined. Just this, however, Warton has not done, did not attempt to do; it was not within the scope of his plan. Yet the work would seem to be worth doing. In the following pages I have tried to cover in part the field which he very naturally neglected. I do not aim at exhaustiveness. I shall not examine how far Ariosto may have influenced the literary methods of Spenser, nor shall I attempt to analyze the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Faery Queen* as typical romance poems, to discover just what elements Spenser may have borrowed from the Ferrarese. I wish merely to discuss those specific imitations of the *Furiosc* which are to be found in the *Faery Queen*, and to indicate how Spenser made direct use of his original.

I.

Before taking up detail-study it may be well to give a brief preliminary glance at the beginnings of the *Faery Queen*. The earliest mention of it which has come down to us is in the two well known letters which Spenser and Harvey exchanged in the spring of 1580. Spenser writes:

Nowe my *Dreames* and *Dying Pellicane*, being fully finished . . . and presentlye to bee imprinted, I wil in hande forthwith with my *Faery Queene*, whyche I praye you hartily send me with al expedition: and your frendly Letters, and long expected Judgement wythal, whyche let not be shorte, but in all pointes suche, as you ordinarilye use, and I extraordinarily desire.¹

Harvey replies, and his friendly criticism has become a classic of Spenser literature:

To be plaine, I am voyde of al judgement, if your *Nine Comædies*, whereunto in imitation of Herodotus, you give the names of the Nine Muses (and

¹ For this passage and the following v. Dr. Grosart's edition of Spenser, vol. ix, pp. 274 and 277.

in one mans fansie not unworthily), come not neerer *Ariosto's Comædies*, eyther for the finenesse of plausible Elocution, or the rarenesse of Poetical Invention, then that *Elvish Queene* doth to his *Orlando Furioso*, which notwithstanding you wil needes seeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last Letters.

Besides that you know, it hath bene the usual practise of the most exquisite and odde wittes in all nations, and specially in *Italie*, rather to shewe, and advaunce themselves that way, than any other: as namely, those three notorious dyscoursing heads, *Bibiena*, *Machiavel*, and *Aretine* did (to let *Bembo* and *Ariosto* passe) with the great admiration, and wonderment of the whole country: being in deede reputed matchable in all points, both for conceyt of Witte and eloquent decyphering of matters, either with *Aristophanes* and *Menander* in Greek, or with *Plautus* and *Terence* in Latin, or with any other, in any other tong. But I wil not stand greatly with you in your owne matters. If so be the *Faerye Queene* be fairer in your eie than the *Nine Muses*, and *Hobgoblin* runne away with the Garland from Apollo: Marke what I saye, and yet I will not say that I thought, but there an End for this once, and fare you well, till God or some good Aungell putte you in a better minde.

These passages give us one plain fact: at the very outset of his great poem Spenser is emulating the *Orlando Furioso* and hoping to surpass it. Circumstances, indeed, made the emulation almost inevitable.

In the spring of 1580, Spenser was about twenty-eight years old. He had been out of the University some three years and a half, and was then in London, the *protégé* of Leicester and the friend of Sidney, looking forward with a young man's hopefulness to a career of practical activity. The October eclogue of the *Calender*, to be sure, speaks with some bitterness of the indifference shown to poetry and true poets, and Spenser would unquestionably have liked to devote himself without check to the cultivation of his genius; but he very well understood the conditions of his day, and his lament, despite its genuine fervor, need not be taken too seriously.¹ His familiar correspondence with Harvey, of this same period, certainly shows no signs of dejection.

During these years he had been unusually active with his pen. Many of the poems which later appeared in the volume

¹ It is after Mantuan.

of *Complaints* had been more or less nearly completed and laid aside, and of the works in prose and verse since lost or transformed beyond certain identification we have a list of nearly two dozen numbers. He was one of the aristocratic "Areopagus," interested in classic quantities, half believing, perhaps, in the revolution to be wrought in English verse, though with a poet's inconsistency following his own irresistible bent towards the national measures and rhyme. As Immerito, or Colin Clout, or "the new poete," he was famous all over literary London. The *Calender*, indeed—in which youthful voracity of taste is so distinct—would, itself alone, indicate the varied interests and activity of his mind. None of these early works, however, was in any sense great, or opened the door to European fame, and he was of a generation which did not rest content with small things. We are, therefore, not surprised to find him already concentrating his attention on what is to be the poem of his lifetime, the *Faery Queen*.

X
 Now, the *Orlando Furioso* was by common consent the master-piece of the century. Neither France nor England had produced anything to match it: even in Italy it was still unequalled, for the *Rinaldo*, besides being of relatively modest scope, was no more than the work of a promising youth, the *Italia Liberata* was so dull that nobody read it, and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* had not yet been published to the world. Ariosto's fame was supreme, and would be the natural mark of every ambitious young poet like Spenser. Moreover, the *Orlando Furioso* was the one long poem of Europe which, dealing with romantic chivalry, gave it accomplished artistic expression. The poetical romances of the middle ages could of course not serve him for models; the *Morte d'Arthur*, despite its fine prose dignity, could give him nothing but raw material; the *Morgante Maggiore*, which he very probably did not know, was too grotesque for his purposes; and the *Orlando Innamorato*, which also he seems not to have known, had been too thoroughly eclipsed by the

Furioso to invite imitation. Ariosto's poem alone stood for a model to study and an achievement to emulate. We need hardly wonder, therefore, to find Spenser at the very outset of his *Faery Queen* consciously pitting himself against the great Italian.

The temper of Ariosto's mind and the main qualities of his work need not here be analyzed in detail. Essentially secular and modern in his outlook, he sees in the world of chivalry a fantastic, amusing, utterly unreal show. It stimulates his imagination; it stirs his sense of humor. He is not a strenuous poet; he has no thought for grand themes; all he cares for is complete artistic liberty. Planning to write a great poem, therefore, he looks about him for an unencumbered field, a field in which his fancy can range unrestricted, in which his wit and humor can find congenial topics and his worldly observation can be at ease, which will give him themes for varied sentiment and lively action, and satisfy his sense of beauty with landscapes and gardens and palaces and colored pageantry such as make his own Italian world so pleasant a place to live in. Just this field is open to him in romantic chivalry. It is almost infinite in extent and variety, and it has no beaten highways which a man must travel or miss his goal. Here he will be free and out of the reach of Aristotle. Furthermore, if he adopts chivalry, he can in part spare himself the labor of inventing a plot and characters. The *Orlando Innamorato* is at hand, unfinished: he can take up Bojardo's theme at the point of cessation, refine the cruder elements to meet his own more cultivated taste, and then carry it on wherever his fancy leads him. What more attractive work for a poet who, though bent on avoiding artistic constraint, has no ambition to be fundamentally creative?

The plainer qualities of Ariosto's poetry are notorious, and yet critics continue to differ about the *Orlando Furioso*. It contains passages of unquestionable irony; it contains passages of unquestionable seriousness. Is it a flippant poem, a deliberate

satire on chivalry, colored here and there with rhetoric and factitious sentiment? Or is it, on the whole, a serious poem enlivened by sallies of irony and humorous extravagance? The answer seems plain: it is neither. Those critics hardly understand Ariosto who imagine that he has a set point-of-view. If ever a man was "divers et ondoyant," it is he. We find him at times playing with chivalry as Heine plays with the legend of Rhampsenit: at times we find him portraying the emotions of his characters with genuine sympathy and power. There is no inconsistency in his attitude, for he has no definite attitude, or, better, his attitude is that of the impartial artist. He is a man of the Renaissance, indifferent to moral steadfastness, alive to the beauty of the world and the interest of life, determined, above all, to have free play for his faculties. The fervor and the fine idealism of chivalry amuse him and impress him by turns, according to his mood. If a distinction were possible we might say that mere chivalry provokes him to a smile; that when he is serious he is stirred by qualities of form or feeling or thought which are not peculiar to chivalry. Or we might say that though the spirit of chivalry means nothing to him, the external forms of chivalry, in their richness and varied life, strike his imagination and rouse him to an artist's sympathy. But such distinctions are hazardous; he is too elusive to be caught by definition. We recognize, of course, that he impresses various people very distinctly. To some of us his fertility, ease, and delightful art, his humor and his sunny scepticism are a constant charm; others can see nothing but his moral indifference, his frivolity, his licentiousness. Whether we like him or not, however, and for whatever reason, we shall certainly not understand him if we try to classify his temper as either serious or flippant. Most of us will agree that irony is the main trait of his genius, and that much of his seriousness is very conventional; but, on the other hand, we shall surely be uncritical if we deny that such passages as the crisis of Orlando's love (c. XXIII) are sincerely sympathetic. A tenta-

tive analysis might perhaps declare him to be an ironical, disillusionized courtier, gifted with the sensitive temperament of a poet. But again, he is too elusive to be caught by definition.

Looking back on Ariosto from the vantage ground of our own critical century, we can readily discriminate and weigh these elements of his genius: his contemporaries, of course, read him without need of analysis or commentary. During the sixty years, however, between the first appearance of his poem and the times of Spenser's emulation the temper of Europe changed, and in 1580 men no longer understood him as we can understand him now, or as his contemporaries understood him. If we would estimate his influence upon Spenser, therefore, even partially, we must first of all determine what Spenser really saw in him, and, to do this, we shall have to glance at the history of his reputation, that is, the development of Ariosto criticism in Italy. Certain important lines of this development do not lead us directly to Spenser's own views, but they can hardly on that account be eliminated. The movement should be taken as a whole. It is singular and interesting.

A traditional anecdote tells us that when Ariosto was planning his poem he turned to Bembo for advice, and that Bembo urged him to write it in Latin. According to another story, Bembo also urged him to cast it in regular epic form. Ariosto, whose chief desire was complete artistic liberty, would of course not listen to such suggestions as these. Yet he was far from neglecting the classics. The writing of so long a poem as the *Furioso* necessitated a careful gathering of material, and in his search for this he not only ransacked what mediaeval romances were at hand, but turned as a matter of course to the authors of antiquity. One has only to glance at some of his most effective episodes—Rodomonte within the walls of Paris, the midnight expedition of Cloridano and Medoro, Olimpia abandoned by Bireno on the desert island, Angelica exposed to the Orc and rescued by Ruggiero—to understand how

not all that
much!

freely he took from them. Nor does he, like Bojardo, utterly transform these borrowed passages in the spirit of frank and unregenerate romanticism: though accepting no limitations to his fancy, he yet has the true Renaissance taste for his originals and keeps as close to them as he fairly can. Indeed, as Professor Rajna has pointed out, the *Furioso* contains the germs of that classical movement which was to make such rapid progress in Italy during the middle of the sixteenth century. Ariosto would not hamper himself with the laws of epic construction, but he borrows from classic literature almost as freely as the pedants of later times, and seems to think with them that such imitation in itself adds beauty to a poem.

From the days of the *Furioso* onward the progress of classicism in Italy was indeed appalling. Ariosto's own comedies had already sent men back to Plautus and Terence, and in the very year in which his great poem was being prepared for the press Trissino wrote his *Sofonisba* and established the type of neo-classic tragedy. In narrative poetry the transformation came later. Before Ariosto's death, however, the *Italia Liberata* had been begun, and in 1547 Italy could at last boast of having an epic, unreadable to be sure, but rigidly classical. A little later Alamanni composed his *Avarchide*, in which Caesar's Avaricum was besieged by King Arthur exactly on the lines of the siege of Troy. Even the pure romance poem was infected. Almost within the decade of Ariosto's death Giovan Maria Verdizzotti, a lad of sixteen, divided between delight in the Ferrarese and reverence for the classics, began an *Orlando*, the style of which was to be modelled on that of the *Furioso*, while the structure was to be after Aristotle's strictest laws. In 1560 appeared Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi*, a work of the transition, in which the attempt to cast a romance poem in Aristotelian mould was frankly made and as frankly abandoned. Two years later the attempt was at least partially successful in Torquato Tasso's *Rinaldo*. Finally, in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, of 1581, the union of episodic romance with classic action and dignity was fully accomplished. This

union, however, was but temporary. In the *Gerusalemme Conquistata* romance was at last driven out and classicism triumphed unopposed.

During this period the *Orlando Furioso* ran a singular course of celebrity and misconception. At its first appearance there were a few murmurs from the critically orthodox, but the reading public and most men of literary judgment were captivated by its charm. It took its place almost at once as the chief work of Italian literature since the days of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Then, in the course of time, as classicism more and more fully possessed the critics and men like Trissino contemptuously said that the poem was merely popular, the need was felt of defending it systematically. The chief objections of the orthodox were that it violated the laws of epic construction and that it lacked seriousness. Its champions set themselves the task of proving its artistic legitimacy.

In the matter of construction, Ariosto had worked with the freedom of the man who makes his own laws. Aiming at variety of incident and situation, he had clearly seen the need of definite action, that if his reader's attention and interest were to be held, events must move constantly forward to an avowed goal. He had accordingly laid down side by side two or three main plots, so carefully interwoven that they could be brought together in a common end, and so distinct that neither constant shifting of scene, nor continual digressions, nor the multitude of independent and active characters could obscure them. He had reduced the wilderness of romance to complete artistic order; he had brought to perfection the type created by Bojardo. It was not epic, but it was of final excellence. When, therefore, in the middle years of the century, Giraldis and Pigna came forward to defend his title, their answer to the orthodox was clear. A new type had been evolved, the romance poem, having some qualities in common with the epic and many qualities peculiar to itself. It could not be judged by the authority of Aristotle; it was its own authority. Pigna

put the truth best: "Perchè d'erranti persone è tutto il poema, egli altresì errante è inquanto che piglia ed intermette infinite volte cose infinite: e sempre con arte: perciocchè se bene l'ordine epico non osserva, non è che una sua regola non abbia."¹ Yet if the constructive laws of the *romanzo* differed from those laid down by Aristotle for the *poema eroico*, its higher ideals, said Pigna, were essentially the same. "Come in tutto il duello non mai da lui veduto lume ne diede esso Aristotile: così quivi ne' romanzi è stato la nostra guida: benchè egli mai non ne parlasse."¹

These views held their own for about a generation. In 1581, however, the appearance of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* again brought the classical question to the fore.² The new poem was naturally compared to the *Orlando Furioso*, and as Tasso's chief boast was that he had framed it according to the strict laws of Aristotle, the argument for his admirers was evident: the *Furioso* was excellent of its kind, as good as a romance poem could ever be, but here was a poem of equal charm and of a far nobler type, for no one could deny that the romance poem was in itself inferior to the epic. This argument, pushed by Cammillo Pellegrino in his *Caraffa*, apparently took the followers of Ariosto by surprise. So long as the issue had been between the *Furioso* and such poems as the *Avarchide*, which nobody read, they had been content with the position of Pigna and Gibaldi. Now, however, with this new poem running like wild-fire among the people and through the courts, they could not listen to Pellegrino's argument with comfort. They did what most persons will do under such circumstances—they shifted ground. The quarrel which arose is one of the dreariest in literature. The *Accademia della Crusca* took up the cause for Ariosto, and others were drawn into the controversy, even Tasso himself. There

¹G. B. Pigna: *I Romanzi*. Venice, 1554, pp. 44, 65.

²Though not directly bearing on Spenser's early emulation of Ariosto, this phase of Ariosto criticism in Italy is too significant and important to be omitted.

is no need to report their bickerings: suffice it to say that the *Orlando Furioso* was now declared to be in accordance with the very letter of Aristotle, to be much more classically regular than the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In other words Ariosto, who to an earlier generation had been the master of a wonderful new type of poetry, was now become one more humble follower of the Stagirite.

One of the few sensible opinions put forward in this controversy is that of Patrizio, that Ariosto's chief aim is to delight, not to instruct his reader. "Pellegrino ha gran torto negando che l'Ariosto mirando a solo dilettere, posposto abbia il giovamento:"¹ Others were less clairvoyant—or less frank. Even Giraldi preached the Aristotelian ideal, "indurre buoni costumi negli animi degli uomini,"² evidently believing that Ariosto faithfully lived up to it; and in Giolito's 1554 edition of the *Furioso* (dedicated to the Dauphin of France) we read: "non è libro nessuno dalquale e con più frutto, e con maggiore diletto imparare si possa quello, che per noi fuggire e seguitare si debba." In brief, that element of seriousness in the *Furioso*—which still makes some readers uncertain how to classify the poem was being magnified and enhanced by these critics to the high seriousness of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. The exaggeration was but natural, for with the progress of the classical spirit in Italy, a somewhat new conception of the dignity of literature was beginning to make itself felt: poets were at least more self-conscious. Perhaps the change was chiefly due to the times. The Renaissance was now dead; the Catholic Reaction was afoot. The cheerfulness, the freedom, the mere delight in life which the men of Ariosto's generation had felt and expressed had given way to a gayety less frank and to a sadness much more frequent. Literature, in its looser moments more abandoned than ever before, had become, in its moments of seriousness, either dull and pedantic, or plaintive, melan-

¹ Tasso: *Opere*. Venice, 1735, v. III, p. 155.

² G. B. Giraldi: *De' Romanzi*; in the *Biblioteca Rara*, v. 52, p. 64.

choly, and suspicious. Tasso is the representative of this new order, and his experience with the *Gerusalemme Liberata* is thoroughly characteristic. He wrote the romantic episodes because he delighted in romantic beauty, but when he submitted the poem to his chosen set of critics, these episodes were at once attacked. He was told that they were trivial, unworthy an epic; he was told that they might even be dangerous and that the Inquisition might feel called on to interfere; and in the end, in order to save them he had to invent an allegory which gave them a mystic meaning. Then, with the Gardens of Armida and the Enchanted Wood conveying a spiritual lesson, the romance was allowed to pass the pikes of his friends' censorship.

Among such sensitive critics the *Orlando Furioso* was strangely interpreted. We have seen how seriously Giraldi and Pigna took it: it did not have to wait till the days of Tasso to be even more gravely expounded. Ariosto, who never overlooked what might give his poem variety and richness, had here and there made use of allegory. It was purely episodic; it served an immediate purpose; that was all he cared for. Within twenty years after his death, however, Fornari and Toscanella took his poem up and systematically read allegory into its minutest episodes and details. To them it was highly serious, almost cabalistic, and called for the penetrating commentator. What more rational? There was allegory on the surface; there must, of course, be allegory below the surface; they would dig for it. This pedantry may raise a smile; yet to find an exact parallel we have only to turn to our own century and read certain commentators on Rabelais. Rabelais, like Ariosto, is at times highly serious, and at times pretty obviously allegorical: therefore, let us read high seriousness and allegory into all he says. Even Coleridge fell victim to this illusion. It is old.

We have seen what work the critics made of Ariosto: how meanwhile was he read by the public at large? Very much, I fancy, as he has always been read—for his mere delight-

Yes!!

fulness—or, unfortunately, for his casual licentiousness. The average man thought little or nothing about the meaning of the *Furioso*, not only because the average man rarely reads to think, but because the poem itself would effectively distract attention from any possible meaning. One can draw moral inspiration from Dante, even from Tasso; only a genius could draw moral inspiration from Ariosto. Even the critics of that day must have read the poem like other men—when they were not intent on professional study. However sincere their convictions, it is not probable that they all took their pleasure in it so “moult tristement” as their critical writings might imply. It had been treated contemptuously; they were moved to defend their taste for it; and their defence was necessarily governed by the recognition of certain literary axioms. That there might be a discrepancy between their critical utterances and their real enjoyment of the *Furioso* would be no stumbling-block. They would continue to read the poem for its delightfulness and to praise it for classic dignity, untroubled.

Having followed this strange history, having seen how classical prepossessions so warped men's understanding that the *Furioso* was seriously classed with the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, and how all manner of grave meanings were read into it, we may be reasonably sure that the Ariosto of 1516 is not quite the Ariosto whom Spenser emulated; for when an Elizabethan undertook to study Ariosto, he would naturally turn to the Italian critics for guidance, and would naturally be influenced by their formal views. How readily such an Elizabethan might thus fall into their critical dualism—read and enjoy the poem one way and interpret it another—may be judged by the case of Sir John Harington, the first English translator of the *Furioso*, a thorough man of his time.

Harington is not only translator, he is critic as well. Besides his version of the poem the volume of 1591 contains an *Apologie of Poetrie*, a *Briefe Allegorie*, a *Life of Ariosto*, and commentaries on all the cantos. He is evidently taking pains to make his opinion of the *Furioso* as distinct as possible. At

times he is almost earnest—a mood which is somewhat comical when we think of his rumored point-of-departure. The story goes that in his mischievous way he Englished the notorious twenty-eighth canto of the *Furioso* and sent the manuscript round among the maids of honor, and that the Queen, irritated by this scandalous proceeding, ordered him not to show his face in court again till he had rendered the whole poem, good as well as bad. Whether apocryphal or not, this anecdote shows us how young Englishmen of that day were inclined to take Ariosto. Harington's further course is equally enlightening. He studied the poem with some care, having in mind all the while Her Majesty's rebuke, and he read the Italian commentators and their allegorical schemes, and in the end the *Furioso* stood revealed to him as a creation of high seriousness. He saw that the allegory was "the verie kyrnell and principall part, or as the marrow, and the rest but the bone and vnprofitable shell," and he saw that, for the most part, the looser passages were but a necessity of poetical decorum, that having some faulty characters to deal with, Ariosto must at times bring his poem to their level. The poem, as a whole, was unquestionably edifying. This conversion of Harington was not consciously insincere. We find, to be sure, that his translation shows no loss of relish for the scandalous, that though throughout the poem he condenses very freely, often cutting Ariosto's narratives down by a good third, he never condenses the questionable episodes, that they are given line for line. This, however, is no more than nature asserting itself. His formal views, though he took them whole from the Italians, he held seriously, even heartily. His pleasant *Apology* is no piece of hack-work done to placate the Queen, it is manifestly genuine. He is amusingly inconsistent, but he speaks what he really thinks.

Harington's attitude toward the *Furioso* was probably that of not a few Elizabethans, since many who read the poem for mere pleasure would be only too glad to persuade themselves that they were also being edified. There must have been

because it was for the King
 why she would not let it be read

some of less flexible disposition, however, who would not be so readily contented, men of idealizing and thorough natures. How would they take the poem—assuming, of course, that they cared to read it at all? Perhaps no set answer is possible; yet we have the suggestion of an answer in one of those fine, self-assertive utterances of Milton, himself in so many ways but a later Elizabethan. In that passage of the *Apology for Smectymnuus* in which he speaks of the studies of his youth and early manhood, he writes:—

I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantoes the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendom. There I read it in the oath of every knight that he should defend to the expense of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befell him, the honor and chastity of virgin and matron; from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; and if I found in the story afterward, any of them, by word or deed, breaking that oath, I judged it the same fault of the poet, as that which is attributed to Homer, to have written indecent things of the gods: only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up both by counsel and his arms to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even these books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and steadfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of bordelloes.

There can be hardly a doubt, I think, that in writing these memorable words Milton was thinking chiefly of the *Orlando Furioso*; for that poem was probably the most famous romance poem of Europe, and, as we have seen, it was certainly read by young men for "the fuel of wantonness and loose living." It has always attracted curious readers, most of them only too blind to its genuinely admirable qualities. How, then, did Milton take it in the days of his early manhood? Without attempting to interpret his general statements too specifically, we can perhaps draw a reasonable inference. It is clear that he did not, like Harington, condone the looser passages. To

him they were so much foulness, which could not be explained away. It is equally clear that, in despite of them, he could read his own fervent idealism into the poem, could even make them so many incentives to lofty thought. He was of the temper to mould things after his own mind. His judgment might very probably tell him that the chivalry of the *Furioso* was anything but earnest: he would read the poem with steady control of his imagination, and make it what he pleased. He would accept as much of the humor and irony as left his own ideal undisturbed; the rest he would ignore. He would exalt the serious passages to a higher seriousness. What he actually did make of Ariosto in later life we may see by comparing his *Paradise of Fools* (*Par. Lost*, III, 440-497) with that limbo of the moon in which Orlando's lost wit was stored (*O. F.*, XXXIV, 73-86). Ariosto's limbo is a brilliant and effective allegorical satire on the vanities of this world written by a witty courtier; Milton's is the grotesque vision of a Puritan, out of place in a great epic, perhaps, but not without impressiveness. Had Milton carried out his early plan of writing an epic on King Arthur, he might have left us imitations from Ariosto as remarkable as those by Spenser.

Harington's temper put him in sympathy with Ariosto, and he read the *Orlando* with natural delight. He took to the doctrine of its high seriousness from the need of justifying his taste. Milton's temper was the very reverse of Ariosto's, and if he read the poem with pleasure, it was because of his own transmuting idealism. He apparently felt no need of persuading himself that it had genuine moral elevation. What was Spenser's attitude?

What, in the first place, was his temper? Milton has called him "sage and serious," but had he nothing in common with Harington?

The passage from Harvey's letter of 1580 might seem significant. It tells us that Spenser had written nine comedies which, however distantly, suggested comparison with the comedies of Ariosto, Bibbiena, Macchiavelli, and Aretino.

He would of course not give himself to the grosser licentiousness of those Italian plays, but we might infer that he was at least not out of sympathy with Italian comic humor. The recollection might come to us of those early drafts of the *Hymns*, written "in the greener times of my youth," which "too much pleased those of like age and disposition," and for which he was later induced to cry *peccavi*; and we might think of that golden-headed apparition in the Harvey correspondence, "altera Rosalindula, mea Domina Immerito, mea bellissima Collina Clouta." Spenser's youth was certainly not like Milton's.

It is not very likely, however, that the comedies had much Italianated humor in them. It is by their "finesse of plausible Elocution" and "rarenesse of Poetical Invention" that they impressed Harvey, and although we really know nothing whatever about them, we might guess, without much danger of error, that they were mere closet plays, more literary than dramatic, perhaps somewhat like the comedies of Lyly. Being named after the nine Muses, they can hardly have had very much in common with the *Mandragola*. Then, as to the poet's early years, he was certainly not a Harington. An element of Puritanic coldness and strength tempered his sensuous nature, and, as he grew to maturity and his idealism more and more fully crystallized his imaginative life, merely sensuous pleasures probably appealed to him with less force. He was never austere, like Milton, for his ideals were much less inexorable and stern, but he was almost equally steadfast. Though in 1560, therefore, he may have enjoyed the looser episodes of the *Orlando Furioso* much like Harington, by 1589, when the final touches were put to the first three books of his poem, his taste must have been decidedly more sober. There are some few indications¹ that he never quite lost sympathy with Ariosto's scandalous *verve*; for instance, the tale which the Squire of Dames tells to Sir Satyrane (Bk. III,

¹ v. Bk. III, c. 10, st. 48.

c. 7, st. 53 ff.) suggested very probably by part of mine host's tale in canto XXVIII of the *Furioso* (especially st. 45-49), and manifestly worked up for comic effect. Such things, however, merely show that he was less rigid than Milton; they do not contradict the genuineness of his idealism.

But how did Spenser interpret Ariosto? Certainly very much like Harington. In the *Letter*, addressed to Raleigh, which prefaces the *Faery Queen*, he couples Orlando with Aeneas as being meant to "ensample" "a good governour and a vertuous man," and this of itself shows clearly that he accepted the conventional views about Ariosto's high seriousness. It was natural that he should do so; for though his temper was, in most ways, the very reverse of Ariosto's, he evidently enjoyed the *Furioso* much more than Milton did, if not so unreservedly as Harington,¹ and he would therefore be moved, like Harington, to give it the most favorable interpretation possible, without too scrupulous analysis. Since he read it in a somewhat more sober spirit, he would be less open to the feeling of inconsistency. Yet, though he might escape the grosser critical dualism of Harington—reading and enjoying the poem in the gayer spirit of Ariosto and interpreting it as though it were another *Iliad*—he could hardly avoid a certain dualism of his own. He might believe that the *Furioso* was a poem of high seriousness, but when he actually came to transfer some of its serious passages to his own lofty poem he would instinctively change and elevate them; for whatever theories he might hold, his immediate poetic sense was unerring. An example will make this clear. At the beginning of the third canto of Book III, the book of which Britomart is heroine, is an address to Love. Now, as we shall see later, the early cantos of this book are a sort of counterpart to the early cantos of the *Furioso*; they are full of the most distinct and evident imitations from the Italian. This address to Love was undoubtedly suggested to Spenser

¹ This point is discussed later.

by the similar address which opens canto II of the *Furioso*.
Let us compare them. Ariosto writes :

Ingiustissimo Amor, perchè sì raro
Corrispondenti fai nostri disiri?
Onde, perfido, avvien che t'è sì caro
Il discorde voler ch' in dui cor miri?
Ir non mi lasci al facil guado e chiaro,
E nel più cieco e maggior fondo tiri:
Da chi disia il mio amor tu mi richiami,
E chi m' ha in odio vuoi ch' adori ed ami.

And now Spenser :—

Most sacred fyre, that burnest mightily
In living brests, ykindled first above
Emongst th' eternall spheres and lamping sky,
And thence poud into men, which men call Love;
Not that same which doth base affections move
In brutish minds, and filthy lust inflame;
But that sweete fit that doth true beautie love,
And choseth Vertue for his dearest dame,
Whence spring all noble deedes and never-dying fame :

Well did antiquity a god thee deeme,
That over mortall mindes hast so great might,
To order them as best to thee doth seeme,
And all their actions to direct aright:
The fatall purpose of divine foresight
Thou doest effect in destined descents,
Through deepe impression of thy secret might,
And stirredst up th' heroës high intents,
Which the late world admyres for wondrous monuments.

The inference is clear. In reading Ariosto for hints Spenser was struck by the effectiveness of that opening stanza; but Ariosto's conception of Love was too radically different from his own, and, therefore, instead of directly translating the stanza, as he unquestionably would have done, had it proved adaptable, he took the theme suggested, and for the graceful, but rather conventional sentiment of the Italian substituted his own grave and lofty meditation. His general attitude, then, seems evident. Despite an instinctive sense that such

passages as this were not highly serious, and despite the touches of irony and open humor with which the *Furioso* abounds, he found no difficulty in believing that Ariosto's aims were lofty and his genius eminently moral. In those days of literary dogma a man's theories and his impressions were not necessarily at one, for our modern critical analysis was then unknown.

This attitude is assuredly not that of Milton, and yet, as we can see, Spenser must constantly have studied and imitated Ariosto with the complete imaginative independence of Milton. His conception of chivalry was as noble as Milton's; indeed, it was in good part because the spirit of chivalry was so sympathetic to his own consistent idealism that he chose the deeds of Prince Arthur and the mysteries of Faery Land for the theme of his great poem; in them he could best embody his grave spiritual convictions. The chivalry of the *Furioso*, on the other hand, was anything but earnest—whatever his conception of it may have been—and it only too often provided “the fuel of wantonness and loose living.” When he studied the poem, therefore, he must constantly have followed his own fervent imaginings—like Milton. When he adopted passages for imitation it was certainly with the transmuting touch of Milton. A couple of passages, which give the very essence of the two opposing views of chivalry, will make his independence clear.

In the first canto of the *Furioso* Angelica is fleeing terror-stricken from Rinaldo, the lover whom she detests and whom she will do anything to escape. He is afoot, she on her palfrey. In her headlong flight she comes upon Ferrau, another of her lovers, who, seeing her distress, rushes at Rinaldo and violently turns him off from pursuit. A furious combat is at once engaged: Angelica, not daring to await the issue, hurries on as fast as her palfrey can carry her. After some minutes of hot fighting Rinaldo, who is the cooler of the two champions, becomes aware that the lady has disappeared. He at once draws off, and with notable sense of fact suggests that it is rather foolish to be fighting for a prize which is gone.

Would it not be better, he asks, to catch Angelica before we fight for her? Ferrau is rather impressed by this idea, and at once agrees. He takes up Rinaldo behind him on his horse, and the two dash off after the lady. Then Ariosto breaks out:—

Oh gran bontà de' cavallieri antiqui!
 Eran rivali, eran di fe diversi,
 E si sentian degli aspri colpi iniqui
 Per tutta la persona anco dolersi;
 E pur per selve oscure e calli obliqui
 Insieme van senza sospetto aversi.
 Da quattro sproni il destrier punto arriva
 Dove una strada in due si dipartiva.

(st. 22.)

The effect of this serious apostrophe is evident: it heightens the comic humor of the preceding situation by a touch of unexpected irony. It is itself heightened and completed by that ludicrous image of the war-horse, bestridden by two hot champions and spurred on after the missing lady, poor beast, "da quattro sproni."

In the *Faery Queen*, in the first canto of the third book, Britomart appears on the scene unknown and runs a course with Sir Guyon. Guyon is overthrown by the power of the magic spear, and in his shame and anger would continue the combat afoot. But Prince Arthur and the Palmer interpose and by judicious words succeed in calming him. The two adversaries are reconciled, and all the party go on together in amity. Then Spenser breaks out in an apostrophe which is the exact counterpart of Ariosto's, the first line of it being a free translation from the Italian.

O goodly usage of those antique tymes,
 In which the sword was servaunt unto right!
 When not for malice and contentious crymes,
 But all for prayse and prooffe of manly might,
 The martiall brood accustomed to fight:
 Then honour was the meed of victory,
 And yet the vanquished had no despite:
 Let later age that noble use envý,
 Vyle rancor to avoid and cruel surquedry!

(st. 13.)

The situation, one sees, is much the same—with a difference. Rinaldo and Ferrau are reconciled after fight, though for a comically unchivalric motive, and rush off in their wild goose chase of Angelica; Britomart and Guyon are likewise reconciled after fight, and ride on together in goodly companionship. Ariosto's apostrophe is *apropos*; Spenser adopts it. He ignores its irony, which he can hardly have failed to perceive, and accepts its literal seriousness. The conclusion is clear. When Spenser read the *Orlando Furioso* for suggestions he read it in the light of his own serene idealism.

Spenser's talent for transforming the comic into the serious may be illustrated by another example.

↳ In the first canto¹ of the *Furioso*, Angelica, having escaped from Rinaldo and Ferrau, has put herself in the charge of Sacripante, King of Circassia, yet another of her lovers. She has persuaded him to conduct her back safely to her home in the Orient. They have hardly left the spot where she met him, however, when Rinaldo appears on the scene and loudly challenges her escort. Sacripante is not slow to defend his charge, and the two warriors rush to combat. This time Angelica waits to see the result, but before long a furious blow from Rinaldo, which partially cripples Sacripante, so alarms her that she flies the field. In her flight she meets a reverend friar, and asks the way to the nearest seaport. He is surprised by her beauty and tempted to a disreputable plan; she will not stay with him, such is her fear of Rinaldo, but presses on; he conjures a demon into her palfrey, instructed to lead her a circle to a desert island, where he himself will again find her. Meanwhile, another demon sends Rinaldo and Sacripante hurrying off to Paris, by the false report that Orlando has kidnapped Angelica and is taking her thither.

These bare facts hardly render the spirit of levity in which Ariosto handles this episode. The early passages are among the most diverting in the poem, the later among the most

¹ The episode is strung out over three cantos: I, 72-81; II, 1-23; VIII, 29 ff.

scabrous. Such as it is, however, Spenser reproduces it in some of its main features in the sixth canto of Book I (st. 34 ff.). Una is wandering in quest of the Red Cross Knight, under conduct of Satyrane (cf. Angelica : Sacripante). They come upon Archimago in his habitual disguise of the reverend old man (cf. the reverend friar and his magic), and asking him about the Red Cross Knight, are informed that the latter has recently been slain by a Paynim champion (a lie, of course, as that with which the friar's demon troubles Rinaldo and Sacripante). Satyrane rushes ahead to find the Paynim and wreak vengeance; Una follows. When she reaches the place of the combat, which has meanwhile begun, she finds that the Paynim is Sansloy, he who formerly had her in his clutches and from whom she was rescued at the last moment by the Satyrs (in the *O. F.* cf. the preceding episode of Angelica rescued from Rinaldo's hot pursuit by Ferrau). When Una appears, Sansloy, recognizing her, makes at her, but is turned by Satyrane. Una in terror flies (like Angelica), and Archimago, who has been watching the affair from the bushes, hurries after her, "in hope to bring her to her last decay" (like the friar after Angelica). The champions are left fighting, and we are told nothing about the issue of their combat. In the third book Satyrane appears again; Sansloy is heard from no more. Ariosto, scrupulously careful of his plot, leaves no such loose ends: the Rinaldo-Sacripante duel is brought to a definite close.

Spenser, we see, has taken the bare facts of the episode, not necessarily humorous in themselves, and has made use of them for his own grave purposes, utterly ignoring the turn which Ariosto gave them. Yet this is one of those passages which indicate that he was not insensible to Ariosto's humor. Why did he reproduce the facts of the episode, if not because they had fixed themselves in his mind and came to him at the time he was writing this canto? And what fixed them in his mind if not an enjoyment of the humor with which Ariosto handles them? One cannot, of course, argue from a single

instance: we shall find others that are still more striking. Indeed, after surveying the whole list of Spenser's imitations from Ariosto, one can hardly resist the conviction that he enjoyed him in almost all his work, serious, humorous, even ironical—barring perhaps that variety which so particularly appealed to Harington. This makes his complete imaginative independence all the more remarkable.

II.

I shall now examine more at large some of Spenser's specific imitations from the *Furioso*, with a view to indicating their character and variety. It would be tedious and unprofitable to enter into exhaustive detail, or to give a very systematic survey of the whole field. A few characteristic examples, briefly explained, will suffice.

It is well known to the readers of Ariosto that Orlando is not the hero of the poem which bears his name, and that the heroic wars of Charlemain and Agramante are not the centre of narrative interest: Ruggiero and Bradamante are the real hero and heroine, and the real centre of narrative interest is the story of their loves. This apparent inconsistency was inevitable. In continuing Bojardo's poem Ariosto found his titular hero and his main action already chosen for him, and he adopted them very willingly and made the most of them. One of his chief aims, however, being to celebrate the glories of the house of Este, and Ruggiero and Bradamante having been already set forth by Bojardo as the founders of the house, he naturally made them his chief care. They are perhaps the only prominent characters who are treated with almost uniform seriousness from beginning to end of the poem, and it is in their nuptials and Ruggiero's duel with Rodomonte that the poem comes to a triumphant close.

Now, the *Faery Queen* offers us a singular parallel to this. Prince Arthur is the nominal hero of the poem, and Gloriana

the titular heroine, but by reason of the curious narrative structure which Spenser adopted, Arthur remains a mere figure-head, appearing but once in each book, and the Faery Queen is a virtual nonentity, not appearing at all. If we seek for a real centre of interest in the poem, we shall find it only in Arthegall and Britomart and their love-story. From the beginning of the third book to the end of the fifth they are kept pretty constantly before us, and the prophecies of Merlin (Bk. III, c. 3, st. 26-29) and of the Priest of Isis (Bk. V, c. 7, st. 23) tell us enough of the future to make their story complete. How much prominence Spenser meant ultimately to give them, we have no means of telling, but, as the poem stands, their story is the only real centre of action, and they are in a way the real hero and heroine. Britomart, of course, as a "lady knight" and possessor of the magic spear, is the counterpart of Bradamante. Arthegall may stand for Ruggiero. He is certainly Spenser's ideal knight, strong, just, steadfast, much more real than the magnificent Arthur, and real because he was modelled on a real man, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, Spenser's chief patron. As Ariosto, therefore, made Ruggiero and Bradamante the centre of interest in his poem, to exalt the house of Este, so Spenser made Arthegall his virtual hero, in tribute to his former patron, to the man who more than any other had made a lasting mark on his imagination. He was presented as the lover of Britomart by analogy from Ariosto; to complete the analogy, the pair were made the ancestors of Elizabeth, through the genuinely British kings following Arthur.

When we come to trace the love-story we find that at almost every point it touches Ariosto. It is naturally brief, for Britomart and Arthegall, as the types of Chastity and Justice, are principally busied in allegorical action and have scant time for love. The passages which bear on the course of their love are few, and are scattered at rather wide intervals over the three books. As a centre of action the story is certainly rather slight. It is, nevertheless, the only plot of its

kind in the poem. Its dependence on Ariosto will be worth noting in detail.

In the first place, Britomart falls in love with Arthegall by the single glimpse which she has of his image in her father's enchanted mirror (Bk. III, c. 2, st. 22 ff.). The first account which we have of Bradamante in the *Furioso* (II, 32) tells us simply that she is in love with Ruggiero, whom she has seen but once. Now, Spenser probably did not know the *Orlando Innamorato*; he was, therefore, ignorant of the circumstances under which the two lovers first met (*O. I.*, l. III, c. 4, st. 49 to end, c. 5, c. 6, st. 1-33), and the passage in the *Furioso*, which was intended merely to refresh the memories of Ariosto's readers, gave him no more than a bare fact. He adopted the fact and accounted for it in his own way.

In the image which Britomart sees the knight's armor is inscribed with the legend: "Achilles armes which Arthegall did win" (Bk. III, c. 2, st. 25). One of Ruggiero's greatest feats is the killing of Mandricardo in single combat, as a result of which he becomes possessed of the armor of Hector, which his antagonist had formerly borne (*O. F.*, xxx).

The visit of Glauçè and Britomart to Merlin in his cave and the prophecy of Britomart's future line (Bk. III, c. 3) is of course taken bodily from canto III of the *Furioso*, in which Bradamante enters the cave of Merlin by chance, and is informed of her descendants by Melissa. One may note certain differences. In the *Furioso* the spirit of Merlin speaks from the tomb, and delivers a brief welcoming address of vaguely prophetic import; Bradamante's descendants are revealed to her in a series of phantoms conjured up by Melissa, like the vision of Banquo's issue in *Macbeth*. In the *Faery Queen* Merlin is sitting in his cave, alive and visible, and reveals Britomart's future line by word of mouth. In stanza 32, however, "Behold the man!" etc. would seem to indicate that Spenser had in mind the visible phantoms of the *Furioso*, and forgot himself.

Britomart wandering about Faery Land in quest of Arthegall is like Bradamante, who at the beginning of the *Furioso* is wandering about France in quest of Ruggiero (*O. F.*, II, 33). Britomart's long quest after Arthegall and the brief periods during which she enjoys his presence, periods intercalated in long months of separation, correspond very closely to the rare meetings and the long periods of separation which disturb the love-story of Ruggiero and Bradamante. (3)

Arthegall's courtship of Britomart follows upon their very first meeting (Bk. IV, c. 6, st. 40 ff.), and her consent is given before they separate. Ruggiero and Bradamante exchange troth at their first definitive meeting in the *Furioso* (*O. F.*, XXII, 31-36). Arthegall leaving Britomart, to pursue his quest, and promising to return at the end of three months (Bk. IV, c. 6, st. 42, 43) is like Ruggiero pursuing his *affaire d'honneur* with Rodomonte and promising to rejoin Bradamante within twenty days (*O. F.*, XXX, 76-81). (4)

Britomart waiting impatiently for the return of Arthegall, seeing the time appointed for his return slip by, tormented by fears and jealousies (Bk. V, c. 6), is the exact counterpart of the love-sick Bradamante waiting for the return of Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XXX, 84 ff.; XXXII, 10 ff.). Talus, who brings back news of Arthegall's defeat by Radegund and his captivity, thereby rousing Britomart's jealousy, corresponds to the "cavalier guascone" who brings to Bradamante the report that Ruggiero is betrothed to the warrior maiden, Marfisa. The conduct of Britomart when she receives the news is exactly like that of Bradamante: she first indulges in resentful despair, then sets out to go to her lover. The combat of Britomart with Radegund (Bk. V, c. 7, st. 26 ff.) might be likened to the combat of Bradamante with Marfisa (*O. F.*, XXXVI). As Bradamante discovers her jealousies to have been causeless, so Britomart. (6)

Here the love-story of Britomart and Arthegall comes to an end. How Spenser would have terminated it, had he carried his poem further, we, of course, do not know. In Bk. III, (7)

June 9, F. G.
+ Arthur J. J.

(2)

c. 3, st. 28, however, we have a prophecy by Merlin of the final destiny of the pair. This destiny is almost exactly that of Bradamante and Ruggiero, as given in the *Furioso*, c. XLI, st. 60 ff.

Could any imitation be more deliberate and thorough than this? Spenser has not merely taken suggestions here and there; every point of his story has its counterpart in the *Furioso*; the correspondence from beginning to end is complete. Of course, Spenser varies the details to meet the conditions of his poem, and, of course, his story has an atmosphere of its own; but he could hardly show himself more indifferent to the merits of narrative invention. He evidently had the genuine Elizabethan instinct for saving himself the trouble of inventing a plot.

Having seen how Spenser could borrow a plot, let us see how he might take hints for a character. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of his talents for this kind of work may be found in Braggadocchio, who is commonly supposed to be a satirical portrait of the Duke of Alençon.

In constructing this character Spenser determined on two main traits, inordinate boasting, and cowardice. Having chosen these he turned to his *Furioso* for suggestions.

Now there are several braggarts in the *Furioso*, but the most prominent, setting aside Marfisa, who is a woman, are Rodomonte and Mandricardo. Rodomonte is much the more celebrated of the two, as one may judge by our well-known word, "rodomontade." It would seem at first sight, therefore, that Spenser would probably take him for model. But Rodomonte is something more than a braggart; there is in him a touch of the king. He is a figure of heroic size and impressiveness, hot-headed and extravagant, to be sure, but capable at times of self-repression, even of wise counsel, and towards the close of the poem his fierceness settles into a sinister melancholy which makes him an almost sympathetic character. Mandricardo, on the other hand, though equally

fearless, is merely extravagant and savage. There is no impressiveness in his truculence. His inordinate boasting is very commonly ridiculous, and leaves a mark on our memories which that of Rodomonte does not. Spenser, therefore, chose Mandricardo. As for the coward, there was no room for choice. Martano has the field to himself, and Spenser took him without question.

That Spenser had these two characters in mind when he sketched his portrait of Alençon, alias Braggadochio, may be proved by the incidents which mark the scare-crow's career. On his very first appearance (Bk. II, c. 3) he promises Archimago to go in quest of the Red Cross Knight and Guyon and kill them, and when the enchanter, perceiving him to be without a sword, suggests that on such a perilous adventure he will have need of one, he says :

"Once did I swear,
When with one sword seven knightes I brought to end,
Thenceforth in battaile never sword to beare,
But it were that which noblest knight on earth doth weare."

(St. 17.)

This is the vow of Mandricardo never to carry sword till he should win Orlando's famous Durindana (*O. F.*, XIV, 43). Orlando is chief of the paladins; the "noblest knight on earth" is his British peer, King Arthur. Mandricardo's vow is serious; Braggadochio's of course a mere lie, for he is a coward, which Mandricardo certainly is not.

The passages which tell of the stealing of Arthur's sword (Bk. II, c. 3, st. 18; c. 6, st. 47; c. 8, st. 19-22; c. 9, st. 2) may be compared with that which tells of the appropriation of Durindana by Mandricardo (*O. F.*, XXIV, 58, 59). Mandricardo does not win the sword in fight: he comes upon it at the time of Orlando's madness, and calmly takes possession of it, under pretext that Orlando is feigning madness to escape him. The act is virtual theft. Braggadochio, the coward, is not capable of even stealing Morddure; Archimago has to undertake that, and succeeds. The good sword does

not come into Braggadochio's possession; but that is a mere variation of detail.

The next important appearance of Braggadochio is at the tournament of Satyrane (Bk. IV, c. 4 and 5). Here the knights fall out over False Florimel, and it is agreed to set her in the midst and let her choose which of them she pleases. She chooses Braggadochio, the most unworthy of them all (c. 5, st. 22 ff.).¹ This is a reminiscence of the choice given to Doralice between Rodomonte and Mandricardo, who are disputing the possession of her (*O. F.*, XXVII, 104 ff.). She chooses Mandricardo, who, as I have said, is much less worthy than his rival.

The incidents which tell us that Spenser also had Martano in mind are equally clear.

In the tournament of Satyrane Braggadochio's cowardly hesitation to joust (Bk. IV, c. 4, st. 20) is of a piece with Martano's cowardice at the tournament of Damascus (*O. F.*, XVII, 88-90).

At the tournament in honor of the spousals of Florimel (Bk. V, c. 3), Arthegall borrows Braggadochio's shield, and, riding into the *mêlée*, wins foremost honors. He then returns the shield to its owner. When the prize is to be awarded Braggadochio with his shield steps forward and claims it. Martano at the tournament of Damascus is guilty of a similar trick (*O. F.*, XVII, 108-116). While Grifone, who has won first honors, is asleep in his lodgings, Martano steals his armor and appears at court to claim the prize.

Both Braggadochio and Martano are in the end disgraced (*F. Q.*, Bk. V, c. 3, st. 37. *O. F.*, XVIII, 91-93).

In fine, in almost every incident of Braggadochio's career we find some reminiscence of either Mandricardo, the braggart, or Martano, the coward. The conclusion is plain: Spenser

¹ Braggadochio had formerly won her for his lady (Bk. III, c. 8, st. 11-14), as Mandricardo won Doralice (*O. F.*, XIV, 38 ff.), but he had immediately lost her through cowardice. His exploit in winning her might be regarded as a burlesque of Mandricardo's exploit.

went to Ariosto for help in devising his character. He had already chosen the two main traits to be developed; he, therefore, selected the two characters of the *Furioso* who best embodied those traits, and drew from them. The result is his own. Braggadochio is too distinct a figure to be called a mere reproduction: for he is neither Mandricardo nor Martano, but a personality evolved from the combination of both. We shall not grudge Spenser his imitation, when the result is so original.

Turning from characters to situations¹ we find Spenser working under slightly different circumstances. No one can read the *Furioso* attentively without noticing how much of its effectiveness comes from Ariosto's unlimited genius for the handling of situation. It is just this, indeed, which perhaps more than anything else distinguishes his poem from the *Orlando Innamorato*. There are few situations in the *Innamorato* which we remember; there are scores in the *Furioso*. The twenty-seventh canto, for instance, gives us a long climax of them, which for rising brilliancy of effect is among the most remarkable passages in Italian literature. Ariosto's best situations, however, are almost exclusively comic, and were therefore ill adapted to Spenser's purposes; and yet Spenser, who must frequently have read the *Furioso* for pleasure only, could not forget them. We accordingly find him adopting them not infrequently, but giving them such a peculiar turn that they are hardly recognizable.

~~I have already noted the situation at the end of the sixth canto of Bk. I.~~ It is thoroughly characteristic of Spenser's methods. He gets his external facts from Ariosto, but so renders them that the effect is not comic but highly serious. Indeed his situation, strictly speaking, is not that of Ariosto at all; for the character of a situation does not depend on mere external fact alone, but also on the qualities and the sentiments of the persons brought together. Throughout his

¹ I use the term "situation" in a somewhat loose sense.

poem Spenser works in much this same way. When he borrows the facts of a situation which in Ariosto are given a comic turn, he either treats them seriously outright, or tones down the comedy to harmonize with the general seriousness of his work. An example of such toning down will make what I mean clear.

One of the most laughable situations in the *Furioso* is that in which Marfisa and Zerbino joust together in presence of the old hag Gabrina (*O. F.*, xx, 106-129). Marfisa and Gabrina are travelling together in casual companionship, and Zerbino, meeting them, bursts out laughing at the sight of such a hideous beldam, apparently the lady of so big a knight. Marfisa resents his mirth, and challenges him to combat. Zerbino replies that he is no such fool as to fight for a hag like that. Then, says Marfisa, we will arrange matters this way: you shall joust with me, and the one who is overthrown shall be obliged to take the lady and bear her company faithfully. Zerbino confidently agrees; they come together; he is unhorsed; and Marfisa rides off laughing, calling back to him to remember his promise.

The situation is one of those which you remember: it is handled with all the liveliness and humor of which Ariosto at his best is so consummate a master. Spenser remembered it, and when he came to the hot-headed quarrels of the knights in the early cantos of Bk. iv, he made use of it. In canto 4 of this book Blandamour is riding in company with other knights, having two ladies with him, False Florimel and the hag Atè. Braggadochio joins them, and spying False Florimel, whom he had formerly had for lady himself, claims her as his own. Blandamour refuses, of course, to part with her, but is willing to joust, and makes the following proposition (st. 9): that Florimel and Atè be made the prizes of the combat; that the winner shall have Florimel and the loser the hag, under compact to keep her company till he can win another lady. Braggadochio, as usual, avoids the combat, and the proposition is left unexecuted.

The situation, one sees, is merely suggested. Spenser could not have developed it without giving it a frankly comic turn, and that would have been incongruous to the general character of his poem. That he introduced it at all would seem to indicate that he was not insensible to Ariosto's humor.

Spenser sometimes reverses a situation.

In the seventh canto of the *Furioso* Ruggiero is brought to the palace of Alcina. His life with her is an allegory of the self-indulgence of youth. On the evening of his arrival he has secured her promise that she will come to him that very night; and when all the house is silent he awaits her with the impatience, the anxiety of expectant passion. His suspense and his final rapture are given by Ariosto with very considerable vivacity (st. 21 ff.).

In the first canto of the third book of the *Faery Queen* Britomart comes to the house of Malecasta, one of the more obvious allegories of this book. The lady of the house, naturally mistaking her sex, pays open court to her, and at night, when all is quiet, steals in timorous suspense from her chamber to that of the Britoness, and softly lays herself down beside her (st. 59-61). Britomart's rage when she becomes aware of the intruder closes the scene.

This situation is manifestly the exact reverse of Ariosto's. The spirit in which Spenser develops it, treating with moral gravity a scene which Ariosto had treated with immoral levity, is one more indication of how he could read his own steadfast idealism into the most openly licentious passages of the *Furioso*.

One has only to set these situations from the *Faery Queen* side by side with their originals to perceive that Spenser had small genius for situation. They are anything but vivid; indeed, we hardly think of them as situations at all; they are mere groups of narrative fact. It is of course evident that Spenser did not need effective situations for the *Faery Queen*. Ariosto, aiming at narrative variety and life, would find them indispensable; Spenser, in a poem chiefly reflective and

picturesque, would find no use for them. Perhaps, however, this is merely another mode of saying again that he had no genius for situation.

Those who enjoy Ariosto are not likely to forget his descriptions. They have never the concise vividness of Dante's, they show no imaginative insight, they lack what we call natural magic, yet the best of them have a charm which, if somewhat external, is not the less satisfying. Ariosto's sense of beauty is not subtle; but this defect is largely compensated for by his sense of artistic balance. He never overloads his pictures; even his enumerative descriptions, which have proved so alien to our modern taste—such as the once famous portrait of Alcina—are composed with a precision and economy of effect which half reconcile us to them. Sometimes he has a distinctness which one might almost call Theocritan. The following stanzas are characteristic (*O. F.*, VIII, 19 and 20).

Tra duri sassi e folte spine già
Ruggiero intanto in ver la Fata saggia,
Di balzo in balzo, e d'una in altra via,
Aspra, solinga, inospita e selvaggia;
Tanto ch'a gran fatica riuscìa
Su la fervida nona in una spiaggia
Tra 'l mare e 'l monte, al mezodì scoperta,
Arsiccia, nuda, sterile e deserta.

Percuote il Sole ardente il vicin colle;
E del calor che si riflette adietro,
In modo l'aria e l'arena ne bolle,
Che saria troppo a far liquido il vetro.
Stassi cheto ogni augello all' ombra molle:
Sol la cicala col noioso metro
Fra i densi rami del fronzuto stelo
Le valli e i monti assorda, e il mare e il cielo.

Turning to the descriptive work of Spenser, we shall perhaps be surprised to find very few traces of Ariosto. The description of Belpheobe, to be sure (*F. Q.*, Bk. II, c. 3, st. 21 ff.), might be compared for method to that of Alcina (*O. F.*,

VII, 11 ff.), though it is more pompously ornamental, and the naked beauties of Serena (*F. Q.*, Bk. VI, c. 8, st. 42, 43) might seem to be after those of Olimpia (*O. F.*, XI, 67 ff.); but the parallel is in neither case close, and the method is generally Italian, not peculiar to Ariosto. The House of Morpheus (*F. Q.*, Bk. I, c. 1, st. 39-41) was perhaps suggested¹ by the Casa del Sonno (*O. F.*, XIV, 92-94); but one has only to set the two side by side to see that, if so, Spenser borrowed nothing save the primal idea. In the Gardens of Adonis (*F. Q.*, Bk. III, c. 6 and IV, c. 10) one might see a vague similarity to certain scenes in the *Furioso*—the Island of Alcina (VI, 19-22), in which the bridge guarded by Erifila, *i. e.* Avarice (VI, 78, 79 and VII, 2-5) might have suggested to Spenser the bridge guarded by Doubt, Delay, Daunger, etc.; the Gardens of Logistilla (X, 61-63); the Terrestrial Paradise (XXXIV, 49-51)—but one cannot be sure that Spenser had Ariosto in mind. Finally, such things as the tapestries of the House of Busyrane, setting forth the wars of Cupid (Bk. III, c. 11, st. 28 ff.) are apparently borrowed from the *Furioso* (cf. the pictures at the Rocca di Tristano prophesying the wars in Italy, *O. F.*, XXXIII); but these are merely part of the stage-setting, used indifferently, whenever convenient. In short, Spenser could, as we have seen, take a whole plot in all its essential details from Ariosto, he could make distinct character-studies from the figures of the *Furioso*, he could adopt situations; but he apparently did not think it worth while to imitate Ariosto's descriptions. His generally Italian methods of description he might get, as I have said, from Ariosto or from almost any sixteenth century poet.

This specific neglect of Ariosto may be ascribed to several causes. In the first place, the *Furioso*, being essentially a poem of plot, character, and action, Spenser would imitate it chiefly in just these lines, the more readily in that his own genius for plot, character, and action was not strong. In the

¹ See, however, Chaucer: *The Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 153 ff. Also Ovid: *Metam.*, XI, 591 ff. Statius: *Theb.*, X, 84 ff.

second place, Spenser may not have felt the charm of Ariosto's descriptions. His own taste probably inclined towards greater richness. In the third place, he found a much more congenial model in Tasso. The richness which Ariosto lacked Tasso had in full measure; indeed, to some modern critics, his descriptive beauties have seemed rather cloying. He certainly has not the artistic balance of Ariosto. Spenser, however, who was of Tasso's own generation, seems to have been captivated by him; at any rate, he goes to him for descriptive work, rather than to his great predecessor. The Bower of Bliss (Bk. II, c. 12) is taken bodily from the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (c. xv, xvi), and the Retreat of Cymochles (Bk. II, c. 5, st. 28 ff.), which gives us another glimpse of the Bower of Bliss, is after his manner. It is possible that the first enthusiasm roused by the appearance of the *Gerusalemme* may have been an element in the eclipsing of Ariosto.

There is one minor branch of descriptive work, however, in which Spenser has sometimes imitated Ariosto, and that is the comparison. The comparisons of the *Furioso*, indeed, are often wonderfully effective, with the distinctness which comes from clear vision and sure style. They are rarely impressive, and almost never highly beautiful, but they generally have at least the virtue of efficient illustration. A single example may serve to indicate how Spenser could use them.

Ruggiero has suddenly attacked a rabble of men-at-arms, who are conducting Ricciardetto pinioned to execution.

Come stormo d'augei, ch'in ripa a un stagno
 Vola sicura e a sua pastura attende,
 S' improvviso dal ciel falcon grifagno
 Gli dà nel mezo, et un ne batte o prende,
 Si sparge in fuga, ognun lascia il compagno,
 E de lo scampo suo cura si prende:
 Così veduto avreste far costoro,
 Tosto che 'l buon Ruggier diede fra loro. (xxv, 12.)

Talus, the iron groom of Arthegall, is attacking a rabble with his terrible flail. They fly from his presence and hide themselves in holes and bushes,

As when a faulcon hath with nimble flight
 Flowne at a flush of ducks foreby the brooke,
 The trembling foule, dismayd with dreadfull sight
 Of death, the which them almost overtooke,
 Doe hide themselves from her astonying looke
 Amongst the flags and covert round about.
 When Talus saw they all the field forsook,
 And none appear'd of all that raskall rout,
 To Arthegall he turn'd, and went with him throughout.

(Bk. v, c. 2, st. 54.)

One cannot but note that Ariosto's version is the more precise and effective. Indeed, the qualities of Spenser's style hardly adapted themselves to work like this requiring point and vivacity. He is more successful, perhaps, in his imitations of Tasso's comparisons, which are rich, one might say Venetian, in effect, and less strictly illustrative.

There is a field in which the dramatic and the picturesque come together, what one might call picturesque situation. In this field Spenser is more successful than in the field of merely narrative or dramatic situation, and naturally, for though he is not a poet of action, he is a descriptive poet of a very high order. As an instance of what he could get from Ariosto in this field one may cite the revelation of Bradamante at the Rocca di Tristano (*O. F.*, xxxii, 79, 80). She enters the castle-hall clad in full armor, and is of course received as a man; then, when she takes off her helmet, her golden hair bursts from its coif and streams down over her shoulders, revealing her a beautiful woman. The effect is startling, and Ariosto has rendered it with his customary brilliancy.

In the episode of Britomart at the House of Malbecco, an episode written throughout with constant reminiscences of the Rocca di Tristano, one might almost say distinctly modelled on it, Spenser repeats this situation (Bk. III, c. 9, st. 20-23). In the more dramatic quality of it one cannot say that he equals Ariosto. The latter rests his effect on one touch, the sudden rush of the hair when the helmet is taken off; Spenser

adds a touch by making his heroine remove the rest of her armor, thereby revealing also her womanly form, and in so doing he weakens his effect very badly. Yet the picturesqueness of the situation he renders well enough; his description catches the eye, though it is certainly not one of his more remarkable successes.

Another category might be glanced at, in which may be grouped things rather matter-of-fact than artistic.

The famous *lancia d'oro*, for instance, reappears in the *Faery Queen* as Britomart's ebon spear (that it is of *ebony* is told us in Bk. IV, c. 5, st. 8). Its qualities are the same, and are also unknown, apparently, to its possessor.

The magic shield of Atlante reappears as the shield of Arthur (Bk. I, c. 7, st. 33-35). In the *Furioso* it has the one quality of rendering temporarily senseless those who chance to look on its dazzling surface; Spenser has added a number of qualities to this, it cannot be said felicitously. The magic horn of Astolfo, likewise, which in the *Furioso* merely serves to throw all who hear it into headlong and terrified flight, is reproduced, as the horn of Arthur's squire, with additional qualities (Bk. I, c. 8, st. 3, 4).

Rodomonte's bridge (*O. F.*, xxix, 33-37) is made use of as the bridge of Pollentè (*F. Q.*, Bk. v, c. 2, st. 6-8), again with complicating additions, in this case, as probably in the preceding, suggested by the allegory.

In another field, Pinabello's shameful custom (*O. F.*, xxii, 48) is reproduced as the "wicked custome" of Turpine (Bk. vi, c. 6, st. 34).

There is no need to multiply instances or to attempt a detailed classification. It is evident that for such chivalric paraphernalia Spenser went to the *Furioso* with his customary freedom. Whatever caught his fancy, or would serve some immediate purpose, he adopted and transferred. He, of course, did not draw from the *Furioso* exclusively. The *Morte d'Arthur* could give him plenty of such things, or any romance of chivalry

he might happen to read, and he certainly took material wherever he found what he wanted. What he borrows from the *Furioso*, however, usually has some special mark which indicates its origin, and that poem was unquestionably his chief source.

One final category may be chosen to round out this incomplete and cursory classification—the introductory stanzas with which Ariosto opens each canto and which Spenser, following him, not infrequently employs. Such stanzas in the *Furioso* are either reflective or take the form of an address to the poet's imaginary audience. Spenser's are almost always reflective—we have seen above how he could take a theme suggested by Ariosto ("Ingiustissimo Amor") and raise it to a loftier plane of meditation—but once, at least, he adopted the address, on an occasion when Ariosto's precedent seemed worth following.

By way of cautionary preface to his twenty-eighth canto—that which Harington first translated—Ariosto writes:

Donne, e voi che le donne avete in pregio,
Per Dio, non date a questa istoria orecchia,
A questa che l'ostier dire in dispregio
E in vostra infamia e biasmo s'apparecchia;
Ben che ne macchia vi può dar nè fregio
Lingua sì vile, e sia l'usanza vecchia
Che'l volgare ignorante ognun riprenda,
E parli più di quel che meno intenda.

Lasciate questo Canto; che senza esso
Può star l'istoria, e non sarà men chiara.
Mettendolo Turpino, anch' io l'ho messo,
Non per malivolenzia nè per gara.
Ch' io v'ami, oltre mia lingua che l'ha espresso,
Che mai non fu di celebrarvi avara,
N' ho fatto mille prove; e v'ho dimostro
Ch' io son, nè potrei esser se non vostro.

An apology was, without question, desirable, and Ariosto makes it in the tone of playful deprecation which he can assume so well.

When Spenser came to write of Paridell and Hellenore (Bk. III, c. 9), he seems to have thought the opportunity a good one to imitate Ariosto's apology. His own story was relatively sober, and unquestionably, had not Ariosto set the precedent, he himself would never have thought of apologizing for it; indeed, he might seem to be going somewhat out of his way to do so. Adopting the suggestion, however, he sets his own unmistakable stamp upon the stanzas. They are utterly different in tone from Ariosto's.

Redoubted Knights, and honorable Dames,
To whom I levell all my labours end,
Right sore I feare least with unworthie blames
This odious argument my rymes should shend,
Or ought your goodly patience offend,
Whiles of a wanton lady I doe write,
Which with her loose incontinence doth blend
The shyning glory of your souveraine light;
And knighthood fowle defaced by a faithlesse knight.

But never let th' ensample of the bad
Offend the good: for good, by paragone
Of evill, may more notably be rad;
As white seemes fayrer macht with blacke attone:
Ne all are shamed by the fault of one:
For lo! in heven, whereas all goodnes is,
Emongst the angels, a whole legione
Of wicked sprightes did fall from happy blis;
What wonder then if one, of women all, did mis?

III.

To those who read the *Faery Queen* with Ariosto in mind the opening cantos of Book III are almost startling. At the very outset Britomart appears on the scene, and we at once recognize her for a copy of Bradamante. She makes her entry exactly like Bradamante, coming suddenly into view, and without pause rushing to an encounter with the knight in her path, and bearing him down (*F. Q.*, Bk. III, c. 1, st. 4 ff.; *O. F.*, I, 60 ff.). Then, a reconciliation being effected, her

yes!
Then they do
reaching a little
and she has
been by the
in the sky

antagonist, Guyon, Prince Arthur, and she ride on together, till suddenly a damsel on a milk-white palfrey dashes out of the brush pursued by a lustful forester, and Arthur and Guyon immediately spur after the pair, to save the damsel from harm (c. 1, st. 15 ff.). We are reminded of Angelica in the first canto of the *Furioso*, and the sequel indicates that Spenser had her in mind (c. 4, st. 46; cf. *O. F.*, I, 21-23: c. 7, st. 1, 2; cf. *O. F.*, I, 33-35). Florimel, in fact, with her many lovers, might be taken throughout the book for the faint counterpart of Angelica. Meanwhile Britomart, continuing her course alone, comes to the House of Malecasta, where, as we have seen, her experience is an imitation of Ruggiero's experience with Alcina—just reversed. So much for the first canto. In the second and third cantos we have the beginnings of her love-story, which is continuously parallel to that of Bradamante. These main facts, and some half-dozen minor imitations bring the early cantos of Book III so close to the early cantos of the *Furioso* that Spenser might seem to have taken a fresh start in his "emulation" of Ariosto. As a whole, the third book is incomparably richer than the preceding two in reminiscences of Ariosto.

This fact is, perhaps, hardly surprising, for Britomart being heroine of the book, Spenser's mind would naturally be occupied more than ever with his original. What is much more noteworthy is that the general character of Book III differs markedly from that of the preceding books, and approximates very distinctly to the type of the *Furioso*. The phenomenon is not inexplicable.

The first two books of the *Faery Queen* are, without doubt, the most systematic and careful of the six we now have. Each is devoted to the quest of a single knight, and each is rounded out to complete unity. In the second book, however, we can detect signs of a change. The plot of the first is rigidly concentrated; in the second—though the book can hardly be said to have a real plot, being made up of a string of unprogressive episodes—Braggadochio and Belphoebe, and

the chronicle of British kings, and the combat of Arthur with Maleger mar the narrative unity, if they do not absolutely destroy it. Spenser seems to be reaching out towards a somewhat freer, more varied narrative plan.

His stricter allegorical method seems also to be giving him trouble. The career of the Red Cross Knight in its progressive vicissitudes, from the Den of Error, through the House of Pride, the Dungeon of Orgoglio, the Cave of Despair, the House of Holiness, to the final combat with the Dragon of Evil and the triumphant marriage with Una, is, on the whole, set forth with rare imaginative power. In the career of Guyon the allegory begins to lose life. The House of Golden Meane is tolerable, but Medina herself is so pale and bloodless that Spenser seems to have hardly dared make her Guyon's avowed mistress; their mutual troth is suggested only in the faintest manner (Bk. II, c. 2, st. 30, l. 5; c. 7, st. 50); and the House of Temperance with its cut and dried allegory of the human body, the house of the soul, is perillously close to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Spenser, one would think, must have felt that if his characters and scenes were to continue to be the embodiment of merely abstract qualities and conditions, or the transmutation of things material, there would be danger of his poem becoming completely ossified. His imagination could not continue indefinitely to give life to abstractions.

We shall hardly be surprised, therefore, at the change in narration and allegory which comes with the third book.

In narration Spenser abandons unity of action. The plot of which Florimel is heroine runs side by side with the main plot, the quest of Britomart, touching it only at the outset, and other characters give other centres of interest, or incipient plots, as Timias and Belphebe. There are frequent digressions. The scene is constantly shifting. The quest of Britomart moves towards no definite goal of action; the achievement with which she brings the book to a close is accidental and unforeseen. The end of the book, indeed, ends nothing, for all the main threads of interest are still to be spun

out. In brief, the narrative character of this book is utterly different from that of the first two. For a single knight, pursuing his quest through opposing dangers, with varying vicissitudes of fortune, all accessory figures grouped about him in strict subordination, we have independent knights and ladies, whose paths cross and recross, who come and go much as fate drives them, without definite goal, all dominated by Britomart, but not controlled by her. This is manifestly the varied world of the *Furioso*.

The change in allegory is equally marked. One notices, for instance, that there are fewer allegorical sign-boards. From the "Wood of Error" to the "House of Holiness" the first book is full of them, and the second book has the "House of Golden Meane," the "Cave of Mammon," and half a dozen others: the third book has the "House of Malecasta," and that alone. One notices, too, the absence of characters labelled as mere abstractions. The first book has Despair, Orgoglio, Corecca, Sansfoy and his brethren, and others too numerous to mention; the second book has Furor, Occasion, Atin, Alma, Medina, Mammon, etc., etc.; save Malecasta and her crew—for the Masque of Cupid may fairly be set aside—the third book has hardly one. Taking the list of characters in each book at large, we discover a similar distinction. The Red Cross Knight, Una, Duessa, Archimago are the embodiment of manifest abstractions, as also are Guyon, the Palmer, Acrasia, Cymochles; what abstractions are embodied in the characters of the third book? Britomart is nominally the embodiment of Chastity; but what abstraction does Florimel stand for? Malecasta is, of course, Unchastity incarnate; what, then, is Hellenore? If Hellenore stands for some abstraction or other, why does Spenser apologize for writing of "a wanton lady," and defend himself from the charge of aspersing womankind by saying that she is merely "one, of women all" (c. 9, st. 1 and 2)? As for Malbecco, his ultimate transformation into the abstraction, Jealousy, is described with wonderful effect: what abstraction does he represent before his transformation?

Then, for the allegorical action. In the first book Holiness is shown struggling through those spiritual dangers which peculiarly beset it to the overthrow of Evil and to union with Heavenly Truth. In the second book Temperance stands firm against those passions and desires which peculiarly beset it, and in the end triumphs over Incontinence, the worst of all. In each case the allegory presents a perfectly definite succession of spiritual states considered in the abstract. What does Britomart, or Chastity, do? She reads Malecasta a lesson; she drives off Ollyphant, a type of Lust; she sets Amoret free from Busyrane—which may be taken to signify the power of Chastity freeing Womanhood from thralldom to material passion. But what is the hidden spiritual significance of her combat with Marinell, of her sojourn in the castle of Malbecco? Taking her career as a whole, one cannot but see that, whatever else the allegory may do, it certainly does not, like that of the first two books, present a succession of distinct spiritual states considered in the abstract. And turning from Britomart to Florimel, one perceives immediately that the allegory of this unfortunate lady's career is at the very antipodes to the allegory of abstractions. To sum up, the characters of Book III may fairly be regarded as men and women of certain general types engaged in actions which are typically moral. And here again we find ourselves close to the *Furioso*, which has allegorical episodes, but of general allegory only so much as one might read into almost any romance poem. Set Book III and the *Furioso* side by side, and one lends itself to allegory almost as readily as the other.

This change is certainly remarkable: it is a change of world. The world of Book I is a world of spiritual abstractions, in which the outer semblance of chivalry does not for an instant deceive the reader; the world of Book III is the world of chivalry itself, which occasional abstractions in no way perturb. Book II marks the transition. The change is lasting. In Book V we have a partial reversion to the earlier type, but Books IV and VI are distinctly of the later; Book

no - *Bruno* if any thing

VI, indeed, is about as purely chivalric as one could desire. Consciously or unconsciously, Spenser has drawn nearer to Ariosto. That his poem should begin in a world peculiarly his own, and then, as if irresistibly, drift into the world of the *Furioso* is perhaps not without significance.

IV.

How far Ariosto influenced Spenser's literary methods and what elements in the *Faery Queen* may be traced to the *Orlando Furioso* are questions beyond the scope of the present investigation. The data we have secured, however, will afford us some general conclusions about Spenser's imaginative debt to Ariosto which will be worth a brief statement.

First, we notice that the two men are radically different in temper and views. Ariosto is humorous, ironical, worldly-wise—serious chiefly by artistic mood; Spenser is "sage and serious" by fundamental constitution. Ariosto's attitude towards chivalry is that of the urbane sceptic, or of the impressionable artist; ~~to Spenser chivalry is an inspiring ideal, the highest expression of human nobility and earnestness.~~ The two men, in reality, have nothing but their art in common, and even on that they are not at one. However seriously, therefore, Spenser may at times have taken Ariosto, it is manifest that the latter can have had no real influence upon his deeper imaginative life.

If any romance poet exercised such an influence on him, it was Tasso. The intense seriousness, the reverence for chivalry which pervade the *Gerusalemme Liberata* could hardly fail to attract Spenser powerfully; even its somewhat morbid sadness and *dolcezza* seem to have charmed him, for though his own temperament was serenely cheerful,¹ he certainly had a strong taste for the poetry of melancholy—witness Du Bellay, the saddest of the *Pléiade* poets and the only one of them who

¹ Those who read Spenser attentively will hardly be convinced, I think, that there was "a life-long vein of melancholy" in him. v. Dr. Grosart's *Spenser*, vol. I, p. 185.

ever influenced him, and witness his own poetical laments. In the days when he first undertook the *Faery Queen* he was acquainted with the *Rinaldo* and borrowed from it; when the *Gerusalemme Liberata* reached him he was apparently as enthusiastic over it as the Italians themselves. If, as might very well be, he was then engaged upon his second book, the remarkable imitations of Tasso's poem of which that book is full might be taken to represent the first impulses of his enthusiasm.

How far Spenser was in sympathy with Tasso may be indicated by the character of his imitations. When he copies Ariosto it is almost always with a change. He may take the facts of a plot one by one as they stand in his original; the peculiar rendering will always be his own. He may adopt a situation—it will be with certain modifications which alter its character. He may imitate a reflective passage—the spirit of the version will be new. In other words, he is never thoroughly in touch with Ariosto. When he imitates Tasso, however, he does not feel the need of change, or if he changes, he preserves in good part the spirit of the original. The Bower of Bliss (Bk. II, c. 12) is a simple reproduction of the Gardens of Armida (*G. L.*, xv, xvi), partly by direct translation, partly by close imitation, partly by adoption of general features. The song of Phaedria (Bk. II, c. 6, st. 15–17) has not a word in common with the song of the siren (*G. L.*, xiv, 62–64); yet the spirit of the two is exactly the same; they might be transposed. In other words, Spenser finds in Tasso a kindred genius, and has no need of asserting imaginative independence.

Spenser imitated Tasso whenever he found occasion.¹ The *Gerusalemme Liberata*, however, was too little a romance poem to furnish him very much material; the epical subject-matter

¹Sometimes he superimposes Tasso upon Ariosto—not always felicitously. What Britomart says of her early training in arms (Bk. III, c. 2, st. 6, 7) is imitated from Clorinda (*G. L.*, II, 39, 40), but is in manifest contradiction to Glaucè's words (c. 3, st. 53, 57).

which Tasso had adopted was too far removed from the subject-matter of the *Faery Queen*. Having begun his poem with Ariosto in mind, therefore, he still found Ariosto his most convenient resource; indeed, as we have seen, during the very days of his early enthusiasm for the *Gerusalemme Liberata* the *Faery Queen* was drifting, as if irresistibly, towards the type of the *Furioso*, and was accumulating imitations in double volume; for Spenser was imitating, not to record his critical preferences, but to fill in the outlines of his extended poem. And, after all, it would be a grave mistake to imagine that he did not really enjoy and admire the *Orlando Furioso*. He and Ariosto were radically different in spirit, and could rarely, or never, be in complete sympathy, but we know that he thought him a grave and edifying poet, not much the worse for a strain of somewhat free humor, and it is evident to the most casual observer of his imitations that he read the *Furioso* repeatedly and assiduously. Had he undertaken to emulate it merely in the spirit of opposition, he would hardly have gone to it so frequently for suggestions and direct help, he would hardly have studied it with such care. Or if we conceive of him as borrowing from it in cold blood, using it merely because it was full of convenient plots, characters, situations, etc., we must admit that his memory for things he did not really enjoy was sometimes singularly tenacious, that he has imitated passages which he could not have hunted up for the occasion and which, to the unsophisticated observer, would seem to have stuck in his mind because they pleased him. It is not necessary to assume that Ariosto fascinated him, was his favorite poet; but a careful survey of the data will convince most of us, I think, that Spenser took very genuine pleasure in the fertile and amiable Italian. He certainly did not go to him for inspiration of the higher order, but for the practical conduct of the *Faery Queen* he found him invaluable—the consummate artist of the romance poem, a poet of almost inexhaustible variety and suggestiveness. Every passage borrowed might be recast, modified, animated with

another spirit—all, apparently, in repudiation of Ariosto's meaning; but that would not imply antagonism. Spenser might recognize the difference between his own poem and the *Furioso* without, therefore, disapproving of the latter—except casually; and he might read the *Furioso* like Milton without feeling any grave discrepancy between his own imaginings and the spirit of the context. He probably did not analyze his impressions like a philosopher. Ariosto had perfected the type of the romance poem; Spenser emulated and imitated him, and read him with pretty constant pleasure.

V.

The following list contains what specific imitations from Ariosto I have been able to discover in the *Faery Queen*. Many of them are also recorded in Warton's *Observations* and elsewhere, but as I drew up my list without assistance, and found upon later examination that, with four or five exceptions, it contained all the parallel passages noted by Warton and the others, I have thought it superfluous to give references. The list does not pretend to be even approximately complete: any one with a clear memory who chose to read and reread the two poems side by side might add to it considerably. In such a bewildering multitude of episodes and striking passages the discovery of a particular imitation may often be a matter of mere accident. I do not think, however, that any very important imitation has escaped me.

✓ Some of the imitations which I cite may seem to be wholly imaginary. As Spenser frequently worked from mere suggestions, passages which the student of the two poems will incline to think clearly imitative may often, to the unprejudiced reader, seem absolutely original. I have endeavored to be moderate in my ascriptions, but in conducting investigations like this it is often very difficult for the critic to "mark that point where sense and dulness meet."

The imitations are given in order as they occur. This arrangement makes it clear how steadily and frequently Spenser drew on the *Furioso* for matter.

BOOK I.

C. 1, st. 29. Red Cross Kt. and Una meeting Archimago. Warton cites Angelica meeting friar (*O. F.*, II, 12, 13). Both sages are deceivers and magicians. Perhaps more striking reference would be to Tasso's *Rinaldo*, I, 31, where Malagigi appears as venerable old man.

C. 1, st. 34. Faint similarity to *O. F.*, XLI, 57.

C. 1, st. 39-41. Cf. *O. F.*, XIV, 92-94.

C. 2, st. 3. Warton cites Atlante's magic palace (*O. F.*, XII) where every knight is deceived by an image of his mistress.

C. 2, st. 30 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, VI, 26 ff. Astolfo transformed by Alcina into myrtle tree. That the main suggestion came from Ariosto seems certain. Spenser may also have had Tasso in mind, *G. L.*, XIII, 41, 42.

C. 3, st. 38. Cf. *O. F.*, IV, 27.

C. 5, st. 7, l. 2. Similar to *O. F.*, II, 8, ll. 4-8; but hardly an imitation.

C. 6, st. 3 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, XIII, 26-29. Very characteristic difference of treatment.

C. 6, st. 33-48. Una, Satyrane, Sansloy, Archimago. Cf. *O. F.*, I, 72-81; II, 1-23; VIII, 29 ff. Angelica, Sacripante, Rinaldo, the friar. See detailed comment in sect. I of this paper.

C. 7, st. 7. Cf. *O. F.*, I, 59, 72. Sacripante and Angelica interrupted by a loud noise in the wood.

C. 7, st. 13, ll. 1, 2. Cf. *O. F.*, IX, 91, ll. 1-3.

C. 7, st. 33-36. Arthur's shield fabricated by the enchanter Merlin. Cf. *O. F.*, II, 55, 56. The shield of the enchanter Atlante. For further notice see sect. II of this paper.

C. 8, st. 3, 4. Cf. *O. F.*, XV, 15.

C. 8, st. 19. Cf. *O. F.*, XXII, 84-86.

C. 8, 46-48. Cf. *O. F.*, VII, 72, 73.

C. 10, st. 46 ff. Cf. Ruggiero with the hermit on the rocky island; baptised; his destiny in part revealed. *O. F.*, XLI, 52 ff.

C. 11, st. 20, 21. Might seem to be an amplification of *O. F.*, XXX, 60, ll. 1-4.

C. 12, st. 1. Cf. stanzas with which Ariosto opens the concluding canto of his poem, *O. F.*, XLVI, 1 ff.

BOOK II.

C. 1, st. 26. One might refer to *O. F.*, XXXVI, 37, 38.

C. 2, st. 24. Somewhat similar to *O. F.*, XXI, 53.

C. 3, st. 4. The stealing of Guyon's horse may have been suggested by several episodes in the *Furioso*: XXII, 12 ff.; XXIII, 33 ff.; XXXIII, 92 ff.; perhaps I, 72 ff.

C. 3, st. 17. Braggadochio's vow: cf. Mandricardo's, *O. F.*, xiv, 43. For character of Braggadochio see sect. II of this paper.

C. 3, st. 18. Archimago's promise to steal Arthur's sword for Braggadochio. Cf. Mandricardo appropriating Orlando's sword, *O. F.*, xxiv, 58, 59.

C. 3, st. 22 ff. Belpheobe. Cf. description of Alcina, *O. F.*, vii, 11-16. Spenser's more ornate method of description reminds one rather of Tasso.

C. 4, st. 18 ff. The tale of the Squire is after the story of Ariodante, *O. F.*, iv, 57 to vi, 16. Spenser's modifications are very characteristic. Ariosto's *novella* had to be harmonized with its new and more ideal surroundings, and its allegorical possibilities had to be developed.

C. 5, st. 4, 5. Similar to *O. F.*, xxiv, 105, 106.

C. 8, st. 30. Pyrochles strikes full at Arthur's crest with Morddure, hoping to cleave his head: the good sword swerves aside from its master and leaves him unhurt. In *O. F.*, xli, 95, 96, Gradasso strikes full at Orlando's head with Durindana: the sword does not swerve aside from its master; it is true to Gradasso's aim; only Orlando's invulnerability saves him. The parallel is suggestive. Pyrochles acquired Morddure from Archimago, who stole it for Braggadochio: Gradasso acquired Durindana from Mandricardo, who virtually stole it.

C. 8, st. 42. Cf. *O. F.*, xviii, 19.

C. 9, st. 2. Arthur, like Orlando, wins back his sword in open combat. *O. F.*, xli, xlii.

C. 10. Spenser in devoting a canto to the ancestry of Elizabeth is following the precedent of Ariosto, who in various ways and at different times celebrates the genealogy of the Estes. This canto is linked with c. 3 of Book III. Both together find their closest counterpart in canto III of the *Furioso*. As exordium to this pair of cantos Spenser adopts the stanzas which open Ariosto's canto (*F. Q.*, Bk. II, c. 10, st. 1-4: *O. F.*, III, 1-4). Here, as in several other imitations, Spenser directly translates the first few lines, and then drifts into an entirely original rendering of the theme suggested.

C. 11, st. 5 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, vi, 60-66.

C. 11, st. 33 ff. Warton likens Arthur's difficulty in killing Maleger to the difficulty which Grifone, Aquilante, and Astolfo have in killing Orrilo, *O. F.*, xv, 67 ff.

C. 12, st. 56. Possibly suggested by *O. F.*, x, 39, 40.

BOOK III.

C. 1, st. 4 ff. Britomart, like Bradamante, first appears in a chance encounter, in which she overthrows her antagonist: *O. F.*, i, 60 ff. How completely she is the counterpart of Bradamante has been indicated in sect. II of this paper, and will be made clear by many other reminiscences of Bradamante not there noted.

C. 1, st. 10. Spenser does not explicitly state that Britomart was ignorant of the virtue of her ebon lance, but we come to perceive that she was so. Cf. *O. F.*, xxxii, 48; xlv, 65, 66.

C. 1, st. 13. Cf. *O. F.*, I, 22.

C. 1, st. 42, 43. Perhaps suggested by *O. F.*, xxxii, 79, 80.

C. 1, st. 49. Cf. *O. F.*, xxii, 1-3.

C. 1, st. 59 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, vii, 23-26. For discussion see sect. II of this paper.

C. 2, st. 1-3. In these stanzas and in st. 1 and 2 of c. 4 Spenser is imitating Ariosto: *O. F.*, xx, 1-3; xxxvii, 1 ff. The imitation is scattering.

C. 2, st. 25, l. 6. Cf. Ruggiero's conquest of arms of Hector, borne by Mandricardo, *O. F.*, xxx. For connected account of Britomart's love story see sect. II of this paper.

C. 3. Imitated from c. III of the *Furioso*. For discussion see sect. II of this paper.

C. 3, st. 1. Cf. *O. F.*, II, 1. For discussion see sect. I of this paper.

C. 3, st. 22, ll. 5-9, 23. Cf. *O. F.*, III, 17, 18.

C. 3, st. 28. Cf. *O. F.*, xli, 61 ff.

C. 3, st. 60. The *lancia d'oro* of the *Furioso*, which Astolfo turns over to Bradamante: *O. F.*, xxxiii, 15.

C. 4, st. 46. The flight of Florimel, begun in c. 1, st. 15-18, and concluded in c. 7, st. 1-4, is after the flight of Angelica, *O. F.*, I, 33-35, with a possible reminiscence, at the end, of Erminia in the *Gerusalemme*. Arthur and Guyon pursuing her and parting at the parting of the ways may be compared to Rinaldo and Ferrau, *O. F.*, I, 21-23. Florimel, with her many lovers and her adventurous career, might seem at times to be modelled on Angelica, though, of course, she is a very different character.

C. 7, st. 34. Possibly suggested by *O. F.*, xxvi, 111. Spenser's comparison is imperfect, since the Beast is finally subdued—a good example of his indifference to exact illustration.

C. 7, st. 53 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, xxviii, especially st. 45-49.

C. 8, st. 11-13. Cf. the winning of Doralice by Mandricardo. *O. F.*, xiv, 38 ff.

C. 8, 15 ff. Spenser may have had in mind *O. F.*, I, 77-81; II, 3. False Florimel's apparent dismay is like Angelica's.

C. 9, st. 1, 2. Cf. *O. F.*, xxviii, 1-3. For discussion see sect. II of this paper.

C. 9, in which Britomart comes to the castle of Malbecco is a reminiscence of *O. F.*, xxxii, 64 ff., in which Bradamante comes to the Rocca di Tristano. Malbecco's jealousy (st. 5) is like that of Clodione (in *O. F.*, st. 83-94). The bad weather which forces Britomart to shelter (st. 11-13) is like that which Bradamante experiences (in *O. F.*, st. 63); both arrive at nightfall. Britomart jousting with Paridell for entrance to the shed is like Bradamante jousting for entrance to the castle (in *O. F.*, st. 69-77). The revelation of Britomart (st. 20, 21) is after that of Bradamante (in *O. F.*,

st. 79, 80). As Bradamante is entertained by pictures of the future wars in Italy, so Britomart is entertained by the story of "Troian Brute" told by Paridell.

C. 10, st. 47. Warton suggests comparison with Norandino getting access to Lucina in a similar way, *O. F.*, xvii, 45-48.

C. 11, st. 7 ff. Manifestly after *O. F.*, II, 34 ff. Pinabello's mistress, like Scudamour's, has been carried off by an enchanter and confined in an inaccessible castle. In each case the heroine later sets the lady free.

C. 11, st. 29 ff. Cf. the pictures of the wars in Italy at the Rocca di Tristano: *O. F.*, c. xxxiii.

BOOK IV.

C. 1, st. 13. Warton refers to *O. F.*, xxvi, 28. More probably imitated from *O. F.*, xxxii, 79, 80, already used in Bk. III, c. 9, st. 20, 21.

C. 1, st. 14. Britomart-Bellona. Warton refers to *O. F.*, xxvi, 24. Cf. Bk. III, c. 9, st. 22.

C. 1, st. 19 ff. Cf. Alcina seeking Invidia and bringing her up to the world to work mischief, in the *Cinque Canti*, I, 38 ff. The *Cinque Canti* were, in Spenser's day, commonly printed as an appendix to the *Furioso*.

C. 3, st. 45. The reference is to *O. F.*, xlii, 60-67.

C. 4, st. 9, 10. Cf. *O. F.*, xx, 106-129. For discussion see sect. II of this paper. One may note that in this episode Spenser forgot himself. In c. 1, st. 17, Atè is given the outer form of a fair lady; but the description of her natural form, in c. 1, st. 27-29, and her vile conduct suggested the analogy of Gabrina, and led Spenser to introduce this episode without noticing that he was contradicting his first statement. Spenser is very careless in such small matters: Ariosto is scrupulously careful.

C. 4, st. 20. Cf. *O. F.*, xvii, 88-90.

C. 5, st. 22-24. Cf. the conduct of Discordia in *O. F.*, xxvii, 39 ff. X

C. 5, st. 25, 26. Cf. *O. F.*, xxvii, 103-107.

C. 6, st. 40, 41. Cf. *O. F.*, xxii, 31-36.

C. 6, st. 43. Cf. *O. F.*, xxx, 76-81.

C. 7, st. 15 ff. Aemylia in the cave of Lust is apparently a reminiscence of Isabella in the robbers' cave, *O. F.*, xii, 89 ff. Her story in part resembles the story of Isabella, *O. F.*, xiii, 4-14. The old woman, her companion, is like Gabrina, with perhaps a touch of the house-keeper of the Orc: *O. F.*, xvii, 33.

C. 8, st. 36, ll. 5, 6. Cf. *O. F.*, xxxvii, 78, ll. 3-6.

C. 9, st. 26. Cf. confused and shifting fight in *O. F.*, xxvi, 70 ff.

C. 10. The Gardens of Adonis have a faint resemblance to certain gardens in the *Furioso*: vi, 19-22, x, 61-63; xxxiv, 49-51. The bridge guarded by Erifila, i. e. Avarice (*O. F.*, vi, 78, 79; vii, 2-5) may have suggested the bridge guarded by Doubt, etc. (st. 11 ff.). For st. 25 cf. *O. F.*, vi, 74. See sect. II of this paper.

BOOK V.

C. 1, st. 9, 10. Chrysaor might be compared to Ruggiero's Balisarda: *O. F.*, xxx, 57-59.

C. 2, st. 6-8. Cf. Rodomonte's bridge: *O. F.*, xxix, 33-37. For the combat between Pollentè and Arthegall, cf. that between Rodomonte and Brandimarte: *O. F.*, xxxi, 67 ff. Britomart passing the bridge despite Dolon's sons (c. 6, st. 36-39) is like Bradamante: she alone passes it without being forced into the water, *O. F.*, xxxv, 38 ff.

C. 2, st. 54. Cf. *O. F.*, xxv, 12.

C. 3, st. 10-15. Cf. *O. F.*, xvii, 86-113.

C. 3, st. 33. Cf. the ferocity of Baiardo, *O. F.*, i, 74.

C. 3, st. 34. Brigadore = Brigliadoro, Orlando's horse.

C. 3, st. 37. Cf. *O. F.*, xviii, 91-93.

C. 4, st. 11. Cf. *O. F.*, vi, 5.

C. 4, st. 21 ff. Cf. Ariosto's amazons: *O. F.*, xix, 57 ff.

C. 6, st. 3 ff. Cf. *O. F.*, xxx, 84 ff.; xxxii, 10 ff. For discussion see sect. II of this paper.

C. 6, st. 7, l. 4. Cf. the "alta torre" in *O. F.*, xxxii, 14, l. 5.

C. 6, st. 8. Cf. the "cavalier gascone" in *O. F.*, xxxii, 28.

C. 7, st. 29 ff. Cf. the combat of Bradamante and Marfisa: *O. F.*, xxxvi.

C. 9, st. 11. Cf. Caligorante's net, *O. F.*, xv, 44, 45.

C. 10 and 11. Cf. *O. F.*, ix, 17 ff. Arthur's exploit in behalf of Belgee is very much like Orlando's exploit in behalf of Olimpia. Note that Olimpia's dominions are in the Low Countries. It seems probable that Spenser, determining to allegorize the English wars in the Low Countries under Leicester, remembered this story of the *Furioso* and adopted certain of its features.

C. 12, st. 13. Cf. *O. F.*, xxxii, 108. This comparison is one of the commonest in Italian literature: v. Dante, *Inferno*, c. ii, ll. 127-129; Boccaccio, *Teseide*, ix, 28; Fr. Bello, *Mambriano*, c. viii, st. — (quoted by Panizzi, *Orlando Innamorato*, vol. i, p. 318); *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xviii, 16, xx, 129: It is evident that Spenser is following Ariosto's version.

BOOK VI.

C. 3, st. 30 ff. Turpine is modelled on Pinabello, and Blandina, though of different character from Pinabello's *meretrice*, might be set beside her in vice. This episode might be compared with *O. F.*, xx, 110 ff.

C. 3, st. 38. Cf. *O. F.*, xxxii, 83 ff.

C. 4, st. 4 and c. 5, st. 2. This "salvage man" might seem to be a reminiscence of the mad Orlando, naked and invulnerable.

C. 6, st. 34. Cf. Pinabello's custom: *O. F.*, xxii, 48.

C. 6, st. 42. Compare or contrast the *meretrice*, *O. F.*, xxii, 76-79.

C. 6, st. 44. Compare Pinabello treacherously seizing Aquilante and his companions in their beds: *O. F.*, xx, 104, 105; xxii, 53.

C. 7, st. 1. Cf. *O. F.*, xxxvi, 1.

C. 7, st. 3 ff. Cf. Pinabello deceitfully obtaining the assistance of Aquilante and his companions in maintaining his wicked custom, *O. F.*, xxii, 53 ff.

C. 7, st. 28 ff. Mirabella's story and the lesson thereby conveyed might be compared to Lidia's story: *O. F.*, xxxiv, 11-43.

C. 7, st. 47. Distantly like *O. F.*, xxiv, 62.

C. 8, st. 42, 43. Cf. *O. F.*, xi, 67-71.

C. 11, st. 2 ff. Pastorella in the cave of the robbers. Warton cites Isabella in the cave of the robbers: *O. F.*, xii, 91 ff.

C. 11, st. 25, ll. 8, 9. Cf. *O. F.*, xviii, 35.

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III.—THE CHRISTIAN COLORING IN THE *BEOWULF*.

It is admitted by all critics that the *Beowulf* is essentially a heathen poem; that its materials are drawn from tales composed before the conversion of the Angles and Saxons to Christianity, and that there was a time when these tales were repeated without the Christian reflections and allusions that are found in the poem that has reached us. But in what form this heathen material existed before it was put into its present shape is a question on which opinions are widely different. In the nature of the case we can look for no entire consensus of opinion and no exact answer to the question; the most that one can expect to establish is at the best only a probability.

The following hypotheses are possible:

1. The poem was composed by a Christian, who had heard the stories and used them as the material for his work.
2. The poem was composed by a Christian, who used old lays as his material. (This differs from the first supposition in assuming that the tales had already been versified and were in poetical form before they were used by the author.)
3. The poem was composed by a heathen, either from old stories or from old lays. At a later date it was revised by a Christian poet, to whom we owe the Christian allusions found in it. (This hypothesis differs from the others in assuming the existence of a complete poem without the Christian coloring.)

The purpose of the present study is to contribute to the settlement of the question inferences drawn from a careful examination of the passages that show a Christian coloring. Whether the *Beowulf* is a unit or a compilation made from several poems originally distinct is not considered, except in so far as a conclusion may be drawn from the character of the Christian allusions, and all other questions in regard to the

genesis of the Epic in general or of the *Beowulf* in particular are also left untouched.

It must be noted, however, at the beginning of the discussion, that it is not in all cases a simple matter to decide whether a passage under consideration is Christian in character.

It is clear, I think, that we have no right to classify under this head those passages that are simply moral and ethical. The commandment not to bear false witness is regarded with good reason as a fundamental part of Christian doctrine, but when the dying *Beowulf* says, 'I sought not unrighteous strife nor swore oaths deceitfully,' we are justified in claiming the passage as Christian only by bringing proof that our forefathers, before they were enlightened by the instruction of Christian missionaries, thought false oaths right and proper. But when the hero continues, 'In all this I may rejoice, though sick with mortal wounds, for when my life hath left my body, the Ruler of men may not charge me with the murder of my kindred,' we may properly recognize the Christian coloring. This does not lie in the assertion of the speaker that he has kept the commandment not to kill, for Christianity can claim a monopoly of this no more than of the other just referred to, but in the apparent reference to a judgment after death and to the Ruler who is to try men for their deeds; a reference that seems to prove the writer's knowledge of the teaching of the Gospels.

Other passages are doubtful for a different reason. It is well known that the missionaries of the early Church took many words belonging to heathen beliefs and practices and applied them to corresponding conceptions and usages of the Christian system. In *Yule*, *Easter*, *God*, *hell*, etc., we still keep words thus adopted; others, now obsolete, are *hælend*, *nergend*, *drihten*, *metod*, *frea*, etc. To these may be added the various epithets applied to the Persons of the Trinity, which are used so freely by the Old English poets. Most of these are simply equivalents of Latin expressions, or imitations of them; e. g. *ælmihdig* (omnipotens); *ece drihten* (dominus æter-

nus); *wuldorecýning* (rex gloriæ); and the like. This use of native words and epithets is nothing peculiar, of course; the same thing had already taken place in Latin and had given to *deus*, *dominus*, etc. their ecclesiastical meaning. But when such words are first used by the church, it is plain that something of the old meaning still clings to them and is suggested to the hearer. In some cases the older meaning vanishes after a time or becomes entirely subordinated to the later one; e. g. the word *Christ* has entirely lost, for most of those that use or hear it, its original meaning; *God* and *Saviour* have the older and more general meaning at times, but more often the later specialized one; *Father* and *Son*, as names of the Persons of the Trinity, are far less frequent than as ordinary names of relationship. We cannot always feel certain, therefore, in reading the *Beowulf*, whether the word is used by the writer with full consciousness of its later sense or with its older meaning. All cases of this kind are included in the following discussion; the question whether the earlier or the later meaning is to be assumed is considered in its place.

There are in the *Beowulf* sixty-eight passages in which the form of expression or the character of the thought seems to suggest something in Christian usage or doctrine, and we may properly assume that they had this effect on Christian readers at the time that the manuscript that has reached us was written. These passages may be classified according to content as follows:

1. Passages containing Bible history or allusions to some Scripture narrative.
2. Passages containing expressions in disapproval of heathen ideas or heathen worship.
3. Passages containing references to doctrines distinctively Christian.
4. Incidental allusions to the Christian God, to his attributes, and to his part in shaping the lives and fortunes of men. The fourth class is by far the most numerous; it comprises fifty-three cases, while under the first only

2741. for ðam me witan ne ðearf waldend fira
 morðorbealo maga þonne min sceaceð
 lif of lice,
 'for when my life hath left my body, the Ruler of
 men may not charge me with the murder of my kins-
 men.'
2819. him of hwæðre gewat
 sawol secean soðfæstra dom,
 'his soul departed to seek the lot of the righteous.'
3069. oð domes dæg,
 'until doomsday.'
3072. hellbendum fæst,
 'fast in the bonds of hell.'

These passages, when studied in connection with the context, are found, with one or two exceptions, to lack the clearness that one would wish in deciding how far Christian influence has shaped them. For example, the reference in 977 ff. seems when standing by itself to be a clear allusion to the day of judgment, but in the poem it is put into the mouth of Beowulf, who assures Hrothgar that the escape of Grendel is a matter of no importance, since his wound is surely mortal. The doom that Grendel must abide seems therefore to be death. The allusions to hell in 788, 852 and 3072, become equally doubtful when we remember that Hel is the goddess of the world of the dead and corresponds to the classical Persephone. If we treat the word as a proper name we make the allusion entirely heathen. But "hellegast," in 1274, we may assume, would be used only by a Christian. Other passages receive their Christian coloring from the use of the words *deofol* and *feond*. But it is not certain that *feond*, which strictly means 'foe,' has here the later sense that we now attach to the word 'fiend,' and *deofol*, though it was introduced from Latin with the coming of Christianity, does not refer in v. 756 to the devils of hell, but to the ocean

811. fag wið god,
‘hostile to God.’
928. alwealdan þanc,
‘thanks to the Almighty.’
930. a mæg god wyrcean
wunder æfter wundre wuldres hyrde,
‘ever can God, the glorious protector, work wonder
on wonder.’
940. þurh drihtnes miht,
‘through the might of the Lord.’
945. þæt hyre eald metod este wære,
‘that the ancient Lord was kindly toward her.’
955. alwalda þec
gode forgylde,
‘the Almighty repay thee with good!’
967. þa metod nolde,
‘since the Lord was unwilling.’
1056. nefne him witig god wyrd forstode
ȝ ðæs mannes mod metod eallum weold
gumena cynnes swa he nu git deð,
‘had not the wise God, fate and the man’s courage
withstood him. The Lord ruled all men, as he still
doth.’
1271. ðe him god sealde,
‘which God gave him.’
- ?1314. hwæpre him alwalda æfre wille
æfter weaspelle wyrpe gefremman,
‘whether the Almighty (alwalda by conj.) after a
period of sorrow will work a change.’
1397. gode þancode
mihtigan drihtne,
‘thanked God, the mighty Lord.’

2857. ne ðæs wealdendes wiht oncyrran
 wolde dom godes dædū rædan
 gumena gehwylcū swa he gen deð,
 'nor change the Ruler's will (willan by conj.); the
 power of God was to rule the fate of every man, as
 yet it doth.'
2874. hwæðre hī god uðe
 sigora waldend þæt he hyne sylfne gewræc
 'yet God, the ruler of victories, let him avenge
 himself.'
3054. nefne god sylfa
 sigora soðcyning sealde þam ðe he wolde
 he is manna gehyld hord openian
 efne swa hwylcū manna swa hī gemet ðuhte,
 'unless God himself, the true King of victories
 (he is the protection of men), should grant to whom
 he would to open the hoard, even to whomsoever he
 thought fitting.'
3109. on ðæs waldendes wære,
 'into the Ruler's keeping.'

A careful reading of the passages under this head shows that nearly all of them receive their Christian tone simply from the use of the words *God* and *Lord* (god, frea, metod, drihten), or of some equivalent expression (wuldres wealdend, fæder alwalda, ylda waldend, or the like). In a few cases these terms are qualified by an epithet and in a few others there is a statement, always in very few words, in regard to God's power or goodness. A classification based on these variations in the form of expression gives the following results:

(a). Cases in which a simple name of Deity is used; 39, viz.: god, 23; metod, 7; waldend, 4; drihten, 2; frea, 2; fæder, 1.

(b). Cases in which this name of Deity is qualified by an epithet, either an adjective, a genitive, or a word compounded

with the name-word, 28, viz.: god, 7; drihten, 8; waldend, 6; metod, 1; frea, 1; fæder, 1; cyning, 2; hyrde, 1; rædend, 1.

(c). Cases containing some Christian reflection, not simply a name or name accompanied by an epithet. Under this head fall seven cases, most of which have no more force than an epithet; in fact, in no one of them is more expressed than is stated by implication in the cases under the second head. Such a statement, for example, as 'he hath power over all' (he ah ealra geweald, 1727), has no more force than the epithet 'all-powerful' (alwalda, 316).

In all the Christian allusions of the poem, including those yet to be considered, there is one peculiarity that should not be overlooked. In no one of them do we find any reference to Christ, to the cross, to the virgin or the saints, to any doctrine of the church in regard to the trinity, the atonement, etc., or to the scriptures, to prophecy, or to the miracles. They might all have been written by Moses or David as easily as by an English monk. In fact, if it were not for the use of certain names and titles that have been appropriated by the church and thus given a technical meaning, it would not be difficult to find parallel expressions in Plato or Marcus Aurelius. This astonishing list of omissions seems to be without explanation if we assume that the poem first took its present shape at the hands of a Christian writer. We can well believe that many an inmate of the cloister had enough of the spirit of his fathers to find delight in tales of adventure by sea and land, and there is plenty of evidence that in many cases the monk was a kind of Friar Tuck, with only a thin veneer of Christianity, but we can hardly suppose that one could be found that would compose a poem and insert Christian reflections and yet fail to put in a single one on those phases of Christianity that were especially emphasized in the training of the time and that form the bulk of the poems professedly Christian.

The vague and colorless Christianity of these passages becomes very apparent if for the word *God* or equivalent epithet

we substitute *fate* or the name of some heathen divinity. No further change is needed in many of the passages cited to remove the Christian tone and make them entirely heathen. For example, in describing the avarice and cruelty of Heremod (vv. 1716 ff.), the author says, 'Though the mighty God had exalted him with the joys of power and with strength, and had helped him more than all men, yet in his heart there grew up a cruel disposition, etc.' If for *God* we substitute *fate*, or some word of like meaning, the moral sentiment of the reflection remains, to be sure, but it is no longer a Christian sentiment. In fact, in many cases it is not necessary to change a word but only to assign to it its older meaning. When it is said that Grendel could not destroy the followers of Beowulf, *þa metod nolde* (v. 706), 'because the Lord willed it not,' it is quite as natural to render the clause 'fate willed it not,' thus giving to *metod* its older meaning. The sentiment of this translation finds a parallel in many other passages of the poem. It would require but little skill to remove the Christian tone of the whole, with the exception of two or three passages, by making a few verbal changes and giving to certain words the older meaning instead of the later one.

Now if these passages can be heathenized by a few changes of this kind it is a very natural hypothesis that they were Christianized in the same way, and such a supposition explains their occurrence and their peculiarities. We may assume the existence of an older poem composed by a heathen Scop and containing moral sentiments and reflections of the same character as those of Homer or Virgil or the Edda. Later a Christian monk "edits" it for Christian readers. Where the author has spoken of the gods, he changes the word to the singular or makes some other change in the wording so that the God of the Christians may be referred to. He substitutes a verse of his own, or a portion of a verse, when necessary, possibly omits portions that do not readily yield to simple amendment, but does not materially change the general tone, which remains, therefore, essentially heathen.

This method of incidental change explains the lack of all allusions to the leading doctrines of the Church and of any reference to Christ and his teaching, to say nothing of the many other things that we should expect to find, if we suppose that the work was composed in the first instance by a Christian.

This method of revision requires great skill, if it is to escape detection, and there are several of the passages quoted that seem to show that the task that the pious reviser took on himself was beyond his poetic skill. The Christian allusion often has the tone of a deliberate insertion rather than a reflection naturally suggested by the situation or the course of the thought. Moreover, the revision was not thorough, for there are many passages that still keep the heathen tone, especially those that name *Wyrd* as the controller of the destiny of men; in one case this word apparently stands as an appositive to a name of Deity. The lack of sequence, and in one or two cases even grammatical confusion, suggest that we shall not be far wrong if we assume that the changes are the work of some monkish copyist, whose piety exceeded his poetic powers. That this Christianizing of an older work is quite possible, hardly needs proof; if an illustration of the method is needed, it may be found in Alfred's *Boethius*.

This explanation, if accepted, will account for all the passages under the third and fourth heads, and for the allusion to the Flood under the first. It is not necessary to attempt to restore the older readings by conjecture; in some cases it is not hard to find traces that suggest a reconstruction, but in most of them only conjectures are possible. A trace of the older heathen version may be seen, I think, in the allusion to the Flood, just mentioned. The sinners that lost their lives by the waters are there called giants, and one or two peculiarities of expression lead me to hazard the suggestion that the passage, before it was Christianized, contained an allusion to the Northern tale of the war of the gods with the giants. The whole passage reads :

‘at times they vowed honors in their temples, prayed that the devil would give them help against their woes. Such was their custom, the hope of the heathen; they thought on hell in their hearts, they knew not the Lord, the judge of deeds; they knew not the Lord God, nor could they praise the Keeper of Heaven, the Ruler of glory. Sad is it for him that must thrust his soul into the embrace of fire in direful enmity, nor hope for comfort or change; well it is for him that shall be allowed after his death-day to visit the Lord and enjoy protection in the bosom of the Father.’

This passage does not call for extended comment. Its Christian tone lies in the reflection with which it closes, which brings it also under the third class, and in the implied condemnation of heathenism contained in the statement that the Danes worshipped the devil and knew not the true God. But Hrothgar, the king of these same Danes, says that the holy God has sent Beowulf to his aid, that God can easily keep Grendel from his evil deeds, and thanks God for the sight of Grendel’s arm, which Beowulf has torn off in the fight. So, too, his queen, when she greets Beowulf, thanks God that her wish for a champion able to cope with the monster has been fulfilled, and the Danish coast-guard, after directing Beowulf and his comrades to the Hall, dismisses them with the pious wish, ‘May the All-ruling Father keep you!’ These and other instances are not in accord with the statement that the Danes knew not the true God, and seem to furnish good evidence that the passage containing the latter is an interpolation. I assume that the first reviser, in trying to put the poem in Christian garb, had left a little heathenism exposed here, as he has in other places, and that a later hand has added a moralizing passage on the wickedness of worshipping idols and the awful consequences to the worshipper.

There remains one case, the reference to Cain as the ancestor of Grendel and the other beings of earth, air and sea, who were put under ban by the coming of Christianity. This allusion, as was said, is found twice. The second passage is

short and will be considered with the longer one. It contains a direct allusion to the murder of Abel, which is only implied in the first, and repeats the statement that Cain was the progenitor of the various monsters. The two passages may best be treated together, for it is safe to assume that they are from the same hand.

It is in these two passages that we find the most distinctly Christian coloring of the whole poem. The first one extends through about twenty-four verses, but seems to be intermingled with references to Grendel and to the Danes, and as it stands in the MS. offers serious difficulties of interpretation and confusion of thought to a much greater degree than we should expect, even in Old English poetry. This confusion is not sufficient, of itself, to warrant us in pronouncing the passage a later addition, though it raises suspicion of its genuineness, but when we find that a re-arrangement makes the whole clear, this suspicion is strengthened until it approaches the character of proof. It can at least lay claim to consideration as a very good hypothesis.

An interpolation may be an intentional insertion by the copyist, and the motive for such insertion may be what it may; or it may be unintentional, the scribe inserting the matter because he supposes that it belongs there. The latter is most often the case when additional matter has been written on the margin. The copyist supposes that this matter has been added because it was omitted by the former scribe, and therefore puts it in. He does in this way just what the compositor now does with the additions of the proof-reader, and misplacement is likely to occur, as it now does, if the position of the new matter is not carefully marked.

It is in this way, as I suspect, that the passage under consideration found its way into the text of the poem. The MS. of the *Beowulf* that has reached us is a copy of an older one, on the margin of which, I assume, some pious owner had written some twenty or more verses about the creation, the crime and punishment of Cain and the monsters like Grendel,

whose origin was thus accounted for. This note occurs at the place where Grendel is first mentioned, and was supposed, no doubt, to make the work more fit for Christian readers and more edifying to Christian warriors. The copyist, supposing that this matter belonged to the story, copied it into the text, but in so doing he blundered badly and mixed the statements about Cain with those about Grendel into a story that is almost unintelligible.

The division and rearrangement that I propose is as follows:
Original; vv. 102–104a; 86–90a; 115 ff.

Interpolated; vv. 90b–101; 107–110; 104b–106; 111–114.

By putting the verses noted in this order and omitting those that I suppose to have been added later, we get what I suppose to have been the original form of the story. Hrothgar has built a hall and feasts there daily with his retainers. The writer goes on to say:

102. wæs se grimma gæst grendel haten
 mære mearcstapa se þe moras heold
 fen 7 fæsten
86. ða se ellengæst earfoðlice
 þrage geþolode se þe in þystrum bad
 þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
 hludne in healle þær wæs hearpan sweg
 swutol sang scopes
115. Gewat ða neosian syþðan niht becom
 hean huses hu hit hringdene
 æfter beorþege gebun hæfdon
 Fand þa ðær inne æþelinga gedriht
 swefan æfter symble,

This arrangement leaves two verses incomplete, a result of the confused arrangement of the scribe who did not find it easy to fit the inserted matter to the old. But the story is clear and straight. It runs thus:

‘There was a cruel spirit named Grendel, a famed mark-treacher, who held the moors and the fen as his

containing a reference to the Fall and the death of Abel are needed to make the proper connection between 101 and 107. It is noticeable that this gap is occupied in the ms. by the three verses in which Grendel and his dwelling-place are first mentioned. These verses, which in the rearrangement I have transposed to the beginning of the episode, where they naturally belong, have apparently crowded out a small portion of the interpolation. If the broken connection is restored by conjecture the story will run thus :

‘He that knew how to tell the tale of the beginning of men from of old has said that the Almighty made the earth, the fair-shining plain which the water encircles, that the Victorious set the brightness of sun and moon for a light to men and decked with bough and leafage the regions of the earth ; he also gave life to every living thing that dwells [therein]. Thus then mankind lived blessedly in joy, until one, the foe in hell, began to work mischief. [He beguiled them into disobedience, whereby they lost their home, and led Cain, their first-born, to slay his brother.] The Lord avenged on Cain’s race the slaying of Abel, he was not pleased with the murderous deed, but he, the Lord, drove him into exile far from mankind. The wretched man, after the Creator had outlawed him, inhabited awhile the land of the monsters ; from him sprang all the monsters, the Jotuns and elves and sea-beasts ; also the giants that long fought against God ; for that he gave them their meed.’

The other passage in which there is a reference to the descent of the various monsters from Cain contains about what we have supplied to make a consecutive story in the passage just given. It is as follows :

1261.	sifðan camp wearð
	to ecgbanan angan breþer
	fæderenmæge he þa fag gewat
	morþre gemearcod mandream fleon
	westen warode þanon woc fela

geoscaftgasta wæs þæra grendel sum
 heorowearh hetelic,

‘after Cain (so by conj.) became the slayer of his own brother, his father’s son; stained with murder and outlawed he fled the joys of men and dwelt in the desert. From him sprang many an accursed spirit; one of these was Grendel,’ etc.

The conclusions reached in this study of the Christian allusions in the *Beowulf* are these:—

1. Of the passages in the *Beowulf* that show a Christian coloring, two are interpolated. The interpolation is proved in the case of one of these by the statements in it, which are contradicted by the evidence of the poem itself; in the case of the other by the dislocated arrangement, which shows an unskilful insertion of marginal matter. A small portion of this latter is repeated by interpolation farther on.

2. All the other passages in which any Christian tone can be detected have been made to suggest Christian ideas by slight changes such as a copyist could easily make. The evidence for this conclusion is found in the colorless character of the allusions, which appears in the entire lack of reference to anything distinctively Christian as contrasted with heathenism. Only on some such theory can we explain the entire lack of any reference to Christ, to New Testament narratives and teachings, and to Church doctrines and practices most in vogue at the time.

3. From these two conclusions there naturally springs a third; that the *Beowulf* once existed as a whole without the Christian allusions.

F. A. BLACKBURN.

IV.—THE MANUSCRIPT, ORTHOGRAPHY, AND DIALECT OF THE *HILDEBRANDSLIED*.¹

The Old Saxon (or Old High German) *Hildebrandslied* occupies a unique position among the remains of Germanic antiquity. It is the only specimen of the ancient German national epic preserved in the O.H.G. or the O.S. language. Interesting as this noble poem is, when considered by itself, it gains still more in interest when viewed as an older type

¹ This paper was read at the meeting of the Central Modern Language Conference at Chicago, December 31, 1895. A paper on the "Dialect of the *Hildebrandslied*," read by Dr. Francis A. Wood at the same meeting, is published in the *Publications of the M. L. Assoc.*, XI, p. 323 f. A contribution by Kauffmann in *Philologische Studien (Festgabe für Eduard Sievers)*, 1896, was received after the manuscript was in the hands of the editor and could not, therefore, be considered here.

It is hardly necessary to give a comprehensive bibliography of the *Hildebrandslied* as the principal works are mentioned in Grein's edition², 1880, p. 3 f; Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*³, vol. II, p. 8; Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*³, p. 168 f; Kögel's *Althoch- und altniederdeutsche Literatur* in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, vol. II, p. 174; Kögel's *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, vol. I, 1 Teil, p. 211; furthermore in the *Jahresberichte für germanische Philologie*, 1878 f.

The text employed in this investigation is that of the manuscript unchanged, on the basis of Braune's *Althochd. Lesebuch*³, xxviii, pp. 76, 77. A German translation of the poem is given by Grein, p. 19 f., and by Kögel, *Gesch. d. d. Litt.*, p. 212.

Foremost among articles on the *Hildebrandslied* are Kögel's, in Paul's *Grundriss* and H. Möller's *Zur althochdeutschen Alliterationspoesie*, 1888, II. *Zum Hildebrandsliede*. 1. *Der Dialekt des Hildebrandsliedes*, p. 53-80. Kögel seems to have settled the vexed question of S. or H. G. origin in favor of S. origin. Möller's searching investigation sought to establish the *Hildebrandslied* a purely H. G. poem. On account of this view held by Möller, and from facts developed in the course of this investigation, it is possible to agree with him only in parts. The following works may be mentioned because they will be referred to: Schröder, *Bemerkungen zum Hildebrandsliede*, 1880; G. Kossinna, *Über die ältesten hochfränkischen Sprachdenkmäler*, 1881; and the author's treatise, *Zum hochalemannischen Konsonantismus der althochdeutschen Zeit*, 1891.

of the epic poetry developed into perfection, at a later period, in works like the *Nibelungenlied*. Its orthography and dialect also offer most interesting problems. These considerations will explain why a renewed detailed examination of the manuscript, orthography, and dialect of the poem were deemed justifiable.

I. THE MANUSCRIPT.

The question how many hands have written the two pages on which the *Hildebrandslied* is contained has frequently been considered by scholars. Wilhelm Grimm¹ decided that the whole poem was written by one scribe except the portion from the top of the second page (l. 25 of the manuscript) down to *inwit* (in all not quite 8 lines); this, according to Grimm, is the work of a second scribe. I shall endeavor to show in the following paragraphs that this opinion, although it has met with general favor, is untenable.

Objection might be raised at the outset against views radically different from those commonly accepted in regard to a well-known manuscript. It is appropriate, therefore, to recall that questions of hand-writing often present difficulties quite parallel to those which embarrass the critic in the attempt to determine the authenticity of a painting, or in the attempt to assign it to an artist when its origin is not known. A minute examination of single lines, next of lines grouped together, is necessary until it becomes apparent whether distinctions exist, small perhaps, but sufficiently eloquent in their constant repetition to establish a distinctive character in the work of art, or the hand-writing, as the case may be. To decide delicate

¹ *De Hildebrando antiquissimi carminis teutonici fragmentum*, 1830.

The *Hildebrandslied* covers the first and last page of cod. Theol., fol. 54, of the Library at Kassel (Grein, p. 8). The fac-simile employed in this investigation is that of Könnecke's *Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalliteratur*, 1887, pp. 6, 7. The fac-simile of Grein's edition is worthless for the purpose of minute examination of the script. Sievers' edition was not accessible to me.

questions of hand-writing a special training is necessary just as in art-criticism.

I shall try to show that the only manuscript of the *Hildebrandslied* which we possess was written by five different hands, not two, as is generally assumed. The five hands are distributed in the following manner :

First page of the MS.	{	The 1st hand (α) wrote to <i>guðhamun</i> inclusive (verse 5).
		The 2d hand (β) from <i>gurtun</i> to <i>uuortum</i> inclusive (v. 9).
		The 3d hand (γ) from <i>wer</i> to <i>quad</i> inclusive (v. 30).
Second page of the MS.	{	The 4th hand (δ) from <i>Hiltibraht</i> to <i>man</i> inclusive (v. 41) or a word or two further.
		The 5th hand (ϵ) from <i>so</i> to end (v. 68).

A crease in the second page and blurred writing make it impossible to determine by means of the facsimile the exact word where δ ends and ϵ begins ; this, however, is a matter of little importance.¹

These five hands are distinguished not only by differences in the form of single letters, but also—as would be naturally supposed—by a difference in the general character of their writing ; furthermore, by differences in punctuation and in the way in which words are spaced or written together. A magnifying glass will be found of service in bringing out clearly the distinction of the different hands.

We may begin with the letter *g*, which is especially adapted, on account of its complicated form, to accentuate variations in the writing. To make the matter plainer the different parts of the letter will be designated by (*a*) a loop at the top, (*b*) a shank below the loop, and (*c*) an appendage attached to this shank. In scribe *a* the shank is turned to the right with a

¹According to W. Grimm, a new hand begins with *inwit*; according to Sievers (Schröder, p. 4), with *ewin*.

sharp turn and a club-shaped appendage turned slightly upward is attached. The upper and lower half of the *g* are about of equal size. In β the shank is more vertical and the appendage takes the form of a well-defined hook bent at acute angle. The *g* of γ is similar to that of α , but has a more strongly defined hook (appendage). In δ we find a *g* that is very characteristic. The shank is drawn with a firm hand far to the right, and the appendage is in proportion longer. In ϵ the *g* shows slightly varying forms; this variability in the form of letters is quite characteristic of ϵ and extends even to the way in which the words are spaced now more, now less perfectly. But generally the shank or appendage show an angular break, which is quite peculiar to this scribe, and often appears even in lines which ordinarily should be straight. This peculiarity would seem to indicate that his hand was slightly palsied.

In a similar manner differences in the formation of the Anglo-Saxon runic symbol for *w* may be shown. Examples are wanting for α and β . Scribe γ (as Schröder has noticed) was evidently not accustomed to the use of this letter. Once, in *was* (v. 27), the runic *w* was written *pu*, the *p* being changed by a line placed over it into a faulty runic *w*. In *wer* (v. 9), the first word written by γ , we have, likewise, it seems, a *p* doing service for runic *w*. Scribe δ writes his runic *w* with energetic strokes, so that a triangle with sharply defined corners and outlines is formed. Scribe ϵ breaks the downward line along the right side of the triangle, such a breaking of lines being quite characteristic of his writing as just mentioned.

Differences in the formation of the *s* are, likewise, sufficiently apparent to deserve mention. The *s* of the Carolingian minuscule shows a vertical shank to which is affixed at the top a club-shaped appendage turned to the right. This appendage is raised boldly upward in β and is more curved than in α , with whom it is attached almost horizontally, and has a different shape. A difference between the *s* of the scribes

γ , ϵ is apparent on close examination, but it would hardly be possible to describe it in words. The appendage in δ first rises in a curve and then extends horizontally to the right.

In the case of other letters, also, differences in the writing of the five scribes are recognizable. More important, even, than the detection of variation in detail is an appreciation of the difference in the general character of the hands. The writing of a is clumsy, of β decidedly calligraphic, while the writing of γ is plain and somewhat slanting, though not specially careful or calligraphic. Scribe δ writes an energetic hand, while a fracture of curved, and frequently of straight, lines is characteristic of ϵ . Apart from this defect (due, perhaps, as stated, to a palsied hand), the writing of ϵ is not bad. The five scribes use a plain Carolingian minuscule belonging to about the beginning of the ninth century, possibly falling within the time of Charles the Great (768–814 A. D.).

Before leaving the subject of hand-writing it may not seem inappropriate to state that the division into five hands here proposed had been definitely determined, purely on the basis of the writing and without the least consideration of the contents of the poem, when it was discovered that the δ 's of the *Hildebrandslied* are a peculiarity of scribe a only. Since the d , δ had not been noticed at all in distinguishing the hands, and since the cross bar of the δ is so faint as to escape attention when searching for the salient characteristics of the writing, there can be no suspicion that the distribution of δ and d unconsciously influenced the determination of the different hands. We see, therefore, that a striking orthographic peculiarity supports the division into different hands at a place where it is most likely to be overlooked.

The spacing of words and the punctuation next deserve our attention. By spacing I mean the spaces between the words, unless specially stated. It will be found that in this respect, also, the different hands betray a different treatment which can in part be explained by the care bestowed upon their writing. In a the words are not properly spaced; sometimes

they are not spaced at all, sometimes inadequately, sometimes normally. In β the letters of a word are written evenly without abnormal crowding or spacing, the single words are separated by even spaces. In γ , again, the words are sometimes spaced and sometimes not, no special system is observable. In δ the words are correctly spaced; in a few cases unaccented forms are affixed to preceding accented forms, the scribe thereby indicating the possibility of treating such forms as proclitics or enclitics. In ϵ the spacing is not as neat as in δ ; but words with weaker accent are sometimes attached, as if proclitic and enclitic, to more strongly accented words. The careful observer of these differences is forced to recognize that the spacing of the words points to a number of different hands.

The punctuation of the five scribes shows the following peculiarities:

In a we find punctuation three times at the end of the half-verse; more often (four times) it is neglected. There seems to be no attempt to punctuate according to the structure of the sentence.

In β punctuation occurs three times at the end of the sentence, once between clauses (once omitted), once at the end of the half-verse, twice to separate words.

In γ , up to v. 24^a inclusive, punctuation is found eight times at the end of the sentence (three times omitted), twice to separate clauses (once omitted). From 24^b on, we find punctuation at the end of the sentence only once (omitted five times). It seems the scribe gets very careless towards the end and neglects to punctuate as before.

In δ punctuation is always (six times) employed at the end of the sentence, once for separating clauses.

In ϵ punctuation is employed thirteen times to separate sentences (omitted once), five times to separate clauses (eight times omitted), four times to mark the end of the half-verse. It seems that in several cases this scribe mechanically made sentence-divisions where they did not belong, because he did not fully perceive the connection of the passages.

It is not always possible to determine exactly according to what principle punctuation is used, whether with reference to sentence-structure or to indicate the end of the half-verse; for the end of the clause and sentence almost always agree with the end of the half-verse. Furthermore, we have to take into consideration the difficulty of determining how the scribes divided the text into sentences. The contrast between α and β in regard to punctuation is very decided and helps to determine a difference of hands. The scribes that are most careless in regard to writing, and spacing of words (α and γ) are also most careless in punctuation. We perceive, therefore, the connection already mentioned between handwriting, spacing, and punctuation, with reference to the care bestowed upon them.

The mistakes and corrections of the different scribes might with propriety have been treated in this connection. But the more delicate points can hardly be decided without an examination of the manuscript. The matter is, therefore, omitted here.¹

The question might be raised, what caused each of the five scribes to break off in the middle of the sentence when turning over the manuscript to the next scribe? According to what divisions were the different parts apportioned? The idea suggests itself that the scribes in certain cases wrote to the end of a line of the manuscript which they were copying. To test this assumption we may count the letters of scribe α and β . We find 126 letters in α , 150 in the portion written by β . These two numbers can be divided by 25 as neatly as is to be expected in a case where mathematical precision is impossible. It is, therefore, possible that α copied 5 lines of a manuscript having lines of 25 letters on an average, and that β copied 6 lines. The mistake in verse 26, *miti* (?) *Deotrichhe* [*darba gistontun*], is neatly explained if we assume lines of about 25 letters in the manuscript copied. The part given in brackets is evidently added falsely, the eye of the

¹ The subject is treated by Schröder, p. 6.

scribe having strayed to the *Detrihhe darba gistuontun* of v. 23 above. With lines of the given length in the manuscript copied the second *Deotrichhe* would be just 4 lines in a vertical direction below the first *Detrihhe*, which may have stood at the beginning of the 17th line, in the portion copied by γ ; here such a mistake was most likely to happen. The sections γ , δ , ϵ do not help us to determine anything. Scribe ϵ breaks off abruptly when he has reached the bottom of the second page of the manuscript; scribe γ also seems to have written to the bottom of his page, in which case it is impossible to make calculations with δ such as have been attempted with α , β , although it is possible that he, too, stopped when he reached the end of a line in the manuscript that furnished the text.

The suggestion just made does not claim to be more than a hypothesis advanced in the hope that further proof may be forthcoming at some future time.

It has long been recognized that we do not possess the original manuscript of the *Hildebrandslied*. A number of mistakes in the extant version can only be explained as due to the process of copying.¹ The existence of five scribes confirms this view. Every one of them stops in the middle of a sentence. This would not be possible if each scribe wrote his part from memory, or at the dictation of some one. The method followed in our manuscript was only possible in copying from another manuscript.

The extant manuscript of the *Hildebrandslied* may be designated as K (Kassel). The lost manuscript from which it was copied may be called X. The following reasons seem to make it certain that X was copied from a third manuscript, which we may designate as Y. Holtzmann¹ and Meyer² have already explained² that the form *-braht*, which occurs a number of times for *-brant* (for example, *Hiltibraht* instead of *Hiltibrant*), must be due to a ligature in which the *a* was raised above the line, and the line connecting the *a* with the

¹ Pfeiffer's *Germania*, vol. ix, p. 290.

² Pfeiffer's *Germania*, xv, p. 19.

n below was taken for the shank of an *h*, while the *n* was taken for the lower part of an *h*. We find this mistake with all of five scribes of K, as the following list shows: *Hiltibraht*, v. 3 (scribe *a*), v. 7 (β), v. 30 (δ), v. 45 (ϵ). *Hadubraht*, v. 14 (γ), v. 36 (δ). We find the correct form in *Hiltibrant*, v. 14, 17 (γ), v. 36 (δ), v. 44, 49, 58 (ϵ); *Hadubrant*, v. 3 (*a*), v. 17 (γ); *Heribrant*, v. 7 (β), v. 44 (ϵ). It is not likely that this mistake should have happened to five scribes of manuscript K, since, after all, the ligature of *a* and *n* is common enough in manuscripts of the eighth century, and does not even bother the tiro in matters of paleography. The mistake was evidently made by one person, and once made was several times repeated. It is needless to state that the mistake speaks well neither for the scribe of manuscript X, who made the mistake, nor for scribes K, who transmitted it unchanged: they cannot possibly have taken great interest in the subject of the poem they were copying.

The abbreviation *bt* (the *b* crossed by a horizontal line) occurs only once, in the form *Heribtes* (= *Heribert*), v. 45 (scribe ϵ). This would seem to open up the possibility that the original (Y) had, in places at least, the abbreviation *bt* for *brant*; that the scribes of X read it incorrectly as *braht*, and that the mistakes were copied by K. In this case, too, we might argue (in a manner similar to a former argument) that it is not likely that five scribes should all have read an abbreviation as *-braht* when a number of other readings were possible. This common second part of Germanic proper names occurs variously, as *-berht*, *-beraht*, *-bert*, *-berat*, *-breht*, *-braht*, *-bret* (although not necessarily all in the same dialect and with the same person). Hence, it is more natural to hold one scribe (X) instead of a number (K) responsible for the reading, and X must have copied from a third manuscript, Y. It is, however, doubtful whether this course of argument need be resorted to, for apparently the abbreviation *bt* was only used to designate *-bert* and its several variants. In collating the original documents of the cloister of St. Gall

(eighth and ninth century), the most reliable and at the same time a most copious source for the O. H. G. proper names, I have not, as far as I could determine, seen the abbreviation used in any other way; nor is it, *a priori*, at all likely that any doubt should be left in regard to the exact form of a proper noun.

To sum up, it seems much more likely that scribe ϵ found in the manuscript X (from which he was copying) the form *Heribrahtes* and substituted for this an abbreviation, *Heribtes*, that was quite admissible.

A second reason for assuming an intervening manuscript, X, between K and the original Y is that the H. G. elements in the *Hildebrandslied* are too much of one cast to assume that they were solely or principally introduced by the five scribes of K. They were probably introduced by the same scribe, X, who is responsible for the reading *-braht* instead of *-brant*. It is not intended, however, to convey the impression that scribes K had no influence in changing the orthography. In fact, if we assume that the repetition of the *darba gistuontun* (v. 26) from v. 23 is due to a carelessness of scribe γ , which is a likely assumption, considering the careless manner in which γ evidently writes, then it becomes necessary also to assume that γ has changed, in one way or another, the orthography of the manuscript copied. It seems that in writing the words a second time (incorrectly) he was more conservative and retained the original more faithfully. It is possible, however, that the mistake is due to X, and gives us an insight into the method according to which X copied Y. Scribe α seems to have introduced the δ 's, which occur only in the part written by him.

It seems not likely that another manuscript, or more than one manuscript, intervened between X and the original Y. I do not find anywhere traces that the poem has gone successively through the hands of a number of H. G. scribes; but, what is more important, I do not see how so many Saxon elements (compare the following chapter) should have passed unharmed through more than two copyings.

The following table gives an idea of the genealogy of the manuscripts of the *Hildebrandslied* as inferred in our investigation :

Y (original).
|
X
|
K (= α , β , γ , δ , ϵ).

We cannot make any definite statements in regard to the writing of X and Y. The writing of K has already been characterized. There are indications to show that X was written in A.S. script.¹ In v. 13 (scribe γ) *min* occurs, which was probably due to a false reading of *mir* in A.S. script, the A.S. *r* being very similar to an *n*.² The same scribe γ shows an A.S. *f* in *feheta* (= *feheta*) v. 27. Likewise the use of A.S. runic *w* probably goes back to this scribe X.

The original Y, if not written in Merovingian cursive (we have, I think, no good reason to assume this), still must have shown some cursive elements, as is proved by the ligature of *a* and *n*, which was erroneously read by X as *-braht* instead of *-brant*. It is interesting to note that these considerations, too, favor our assuming two manuscripts, X and Y, antedating our manuscript K.

II. THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE *Hildebrandslied*.

An attempt shall be made in this chapter to show that the orthography of the *Hildebrandslied*, as we possess it (K), has retained far more of the orthography of the original manuscript than seems at first sight compatible with the view that the original was an O.S. poem ; in the second place, that this orthography of the original manuscript was a systematic, though not very perfect, attempt to designate O.S. sounds on the basis of O.H.G. orthography. I assume that Kögel has

¹ Möller, p. 66.

² Schröder, p. 6.

proved that the *Hildebrandslied* is an O.S. poem,¹ and that the O.S. elements which we find in our manuscript of the *Hildebrandslied* are traces of the original O.S. version. To facilitate a clearer understanding of the following investigations it may be stated here that scribes K and X were Middle G., while the dialect of the H.G. scribe (Y) who noted down the poem is more uncertain.

On examining the orthography of the *Hildebrandslied* we are impressed by the fact the Germ. *t* appears always as *tt* or *t* (Saxon against H.G. *zz, z*),² while Germ. *d* is always (about 108 times) *t* (H.G. against S. *d*).³ This contrast is all the more striking inasmuch as we find besides the S. *tt, t* a great number of other reminiscences of the O.S. original (for example, the forms in *æ, e, e* for O.H.G. *ei*, the forms *ôdre, guðhamun, &c.*, to mention only the most striking examples).⁴ How is it that we do not once find O.S. *d*, but always H.G. *t*? The orthography *d* is the regular one in many Middle G. monuments, occurs frequently in interchange with *t*, and is not unknown even in Upper G.⁵ It is true that *d* is, in many cases, a trace of the orthography of an older manuscript, but this only proves that the *d* was not scrupulously changed into *t* and favors the statement which is now to be made. It seems that the original (Y) of the *Hildebrandslied* represented O.S. *d* by means of *t*.

Two explanations would suggest themselves for the use of *t* instead of *d*. Either a H.G. scribe wrote in this manner because he was not acquainted with the ordinary O.S. system

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, vol. II, p. 155.

² Möller, p. 58, propounds the view that *tt* is simply an archaic orthography for H.G. *z*. This view cannot find consideration in our investigation inasmuch as Möller supposes the original of the *Hildebrandslied* to have been H.G.

³ In *chind*, v. 13, 53, we have an agreement of final consonant in O.H.G. and O.S., on account of different Ablaut in the two dialects.

⁴ Cf. Wood, *Publ. of M. L. A.*, vol. XI, p. 326.

⁵ Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 163.

of orthography,¹ or the peculiar orthography was adopted for the convenience of H.G. readers. Of these two possibilities the former seems by far the most likely. In considering the use of *t* for O.S. *d* the following is to be noted. The genuine H.G. *t* is not identical with the English or North G. *t*; it is in the Middle G. and many Upper G. dialects a lenis² (*i. e.*, a sound not having a strong articulation). That it was also a lenis in the O.H.G. period seems reasonably certain from the fact that it is now generally a lenis and was developed out of the voiced lenis *d*; furthermore from the O.H.G. orthography *d* instead of *t*.³ The O.H.G. *t* and O.S. *d* were, therefore, not so very different. One advantage of the use of *t* for O.S. *d* was this that the similarity of the O.H.G. and O.S. vocabulary was clearly brought out. An O.S. 'word' would appear as 'wort,' in the form familiar to a H.G. It is even possible that a H.G. attempting to speak Saxon, pronounced O.S. *word* like *wort*. He would then be in the same position as a German from Southern Germany attempting to pronounce our English *word*. He does it in such a manner that we seem to hear a *t*. There might perhaps be another reason for the use of *t* for O.S. *d*. It is possible that the H.G. scribe of the original (Y) used *d* to designate a spirant *th*, at least in some positions, in which case *d* would not be available to designate O.S.

¹ The question might be asked whether a system of Saxon orthography existed when the *Hildebrandslied* was first written down.

² Behaghel, Paul's *Grundriss*, I, p. 588, § 94, 4; Leidolf, *Die Naunheimer Mundart*, pp. 3, 36; Lienhart, *Mundart des Zornthales*, p. 18; Mankel, *Mundart des Münsterthales*, p. 6.

The use of *t* in O.H.G. does not necessarily point to a fortis as Behaghel assumes (l. c. (2)); it may in many cases have been employed to distinguish a voiceless sound from the voiced *d* (= Germ. *th*). Even if part of the Franconian should have fortis *t* at the present day (Wrede, *Zeitschr. f. d. Allert.*, xxxvi, p. 137) this does not prove fortis for the O.H.G. period.

³ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 163, Anm. 3. This *d* may have been employed extensively in the Rhenish-Franconian dialect because Germ. *th* long kept its spirant character in this dialect (Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, § 167^b), so that the sign *d* was available for Germ. *d*. It does not necessarily prove a different pronunciation from that used in other O.H.G. dialects.

d. The use of *d* in O.H.G. for designating a spirant cannot well be denied.¹

Germ. *t* appears only as *t*, *tt* (Anlaut 5, Inl. 14, Ausl. 20 times). The Inl. after vowels shows *-tt-*, not only in the gemination (*luttilla* v. 20, 67, *sitten* 20), but also where the O.S. requires simple consonant (in *urhettun* v. 2, *hætti*, *heittu* 17, *motti* 60, *muotti* 61, *lęttun* 63, *huittę* 66). In *muotin* v. 2 (O.S. geminate) and *sceotantero* v. 51 we have simple consonant after long vowel, probably due to scribes X or K. Kögel has pointed out that the *-tt-* for *-t-* cannot be O.S. So much is certain that *tt* has been adopted with some reference to the O.H.G. system of sounds and orthography. Kögel thinks (as others before him) that the use of double *t* has been suggested by the fact that the H.G. scribe of the original wrote *zz* for the mutated *t* of his O.H.G. dialect.

This explanation, however, does not seem quite satisfactory. It seems to me that this peculiar *-tt-* is rather an attempt to give the more strongly articulated, possibly aspirated, *t* of the O.S.² Considering that *t* was used to designate S. *d*, as has been made probable, no expedient for distinguishing S. *d* from S. *t* was left but that of doubling the *t*. A double *t* at the beginning or end of the word were such monstrosities in O.H.G. orthography, as to be practically impossible; simple *t* had to do duty in these positions. It is a significant fact in this connection that *-tt-* after long vowels occurs not only in Upper G. (where its occurrence is to be expected), but also in Middle G. where geminates after long vowels hardly occur.³

A third sound of the dental series, Germ. *th*, next deserves our consideration. If we except scribe *a* who uses *ð* (4 times)

¹Cf. Author's *Zum hochal. Konsonantismus*, p. 82, § 120.

²Such a sound may be inferred for the O.S. from the quality of the *t* in the Low G. and English of to-day.

³Examples in Sievers' 2d. ed. of the O.H.G. *Tatian*, § 43; *Weissenburger Katechismus*, *hluttru*, *eittar*; *Isidor*, Cap. 3, § 6, *hluttror*; furthermore forms like *leitta* in *Tatian* and *Otfrid*. Is it possible that in these cases *tt* is a fortis rather than a geminate?

we find only *d*. The *Theotrihhe* of v. 19 has no significance. It is a traditional spelling of the name which we find for instance in Notker's *Boethius*,¹ at a time when the spirant had long disappeared in the High Alemannic dialect. Considering that scribe *a* alone has the δ , and that he always employs it to designate Germ. *th*, it is clear that the orthography is introduced by him and does not belong to X or the original (Y).² Our argumentation now is as before. If the original had any other orthography than *d* it is strange that it should have disappeared entirely, even in the Anlaut (54 *d* excepting scribe *a*) where *th* is the rule in Middle G. and frequent in Upper G. of the oldest period.³ There is nothing strange in the use of *d* to designate a spirant; it is clearly established by the orthography of the proper names in the original documents of St. Gall.⁴ The *d* may be simply an imperfect, perhaps archaic, orthography for the spirant.

Reviewing the series of dental consonants connectedly we easily recognize a system according to which the scribe of the original (Y) apportioned the different letters. He connected with *d* the idea of a spirant and applied it for O.S. *th*. He employed *t* (the designation of a voiceless lenis in O.H.G.) to designate a similar O.S. sound, the *d*. For O.S. *t* (a fortis?) the scribe of the original availed himself of *tt* in the Inlaut, while *t* had to do service for the Anl. and Ausl. The *d* and *t* (= Germ. *d*) were copied unchanged because X and K used the same orthography. If the *t*, *tt* (= Germ. *t*) were not

¹ *Die Schriften Notkers*, hsg. von Piper, I, p. 5, l. 17.

² Möller, p. 56, assigns the δ to the source of our manuscript: "Im Anfang pflegen Die Abschreiber der Vorlage genauer zu folgen." His explanation loses its force when we recognize a number of hands.

³ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 167^b.

⁴ Cf. Author's *Hochalem. Konsonantismus*, p. 82, § 119; Sievers' *Angels. Gramm.*, § 199, Anm. 1. The Alemannic *Benedictinerregel* undoubtedly designated a spirant by *d*, likewise an old Franconian monument like the *Frankfurter Glossen* (Steinmeyer-Sievers' *Ahd. Glossen*, II, 144 f., Pietsch, *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.*, VII, 414 f. Möller suggests, p. 56, that *d* in the *Hildebrandslied* may be an archaic orthography for *th*.

changed into *z*, *zz* by X and K, this proves that no systematic attempt was made by them to change the orthography of the original.

While O.S. *t* appears unchanged in our manuscript, the same statement cannot be made in the case of Germ. *k*; it appears unchanged only in *ik* v. 1, 12, *harmlicco* 66, against H.G. spirant. The forms *chunincriche* v. 13, *Deotrichhe* 26, *riche* 48 are doubtful; *ch* might designate the spirant as well as the explosive.¹ That *ch* has been used in the original for *k* seems to be reasonably certain from the frequent occurrence of *ch* in the Anl., Inl. after consonants, and in gemination where the H.G. preserves *k*. This *ch* occurs in scribe γ (*folche* 10, *chind* 13, 53, *chud* 13, 28, *chunincriche* 13, *chonnem* 28), δ (*cheisuringu*, *chuning* 34), ϵ (*reccheo* 48, *chind* 53), and perhaps in *dechisto* 26 (γ) and *Otachres* 18, 25 (γ); it must have occurred in X and probably in Y. The *c* of *cnuosles* 11 probably belongs to X or K; *c* is a later orthography for *ch* in East Franconian²; *qu* in *quad* v. 30, 49, 58 is doubtful. If *-ch* was used for *k* in the original, the H.G. scribes K and X might interpret *ch* as a spirant³ and substitute for it *hh* or *h* without knowing that they were making a spirant out of a S. *k* (examples of *hh*: *welihhes* 11, *Theotrihhe* 19, *Detrihhe* 23, *aodlihho* 55). If *-ch* was used for *-k* in the original in *ih* 17, 29, 50, 54 the *-h* of K might be explained in the same way. It seems probable, however, from the form *ik* 1, 12 that *-k* was used in the original, and that X or K changed it into *-h*. In *folc* v. 51 the *c* may be a reminiscence of the original.

It is doubtful whether *mih* v. 40 (2), 51, 53, *dih* 59 (*sih* 2, 5, 61) correspond to forms like *mik*, *thik*, or *mî*, *thî*, in the original. The Saxon dialect is divided into two sections, the one section using these pronominal forms with *k*, the other without *k*.⁴ Although no definite decision is possible, still

¹ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*², § 143, Anm. 2, 3; § 144.

² Kossinna, p. 51.

³ For this common use of *ch* in O.H.G., cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*², § 145.

⁴ Behaghel, Paul's *Grundriss d. g. Phil.*, I, p. 537.

the following facts deserve attention. The *miti* v. 19, 26, 68 is apparently the S. *midi* found in certain sections of the Cod. Cott. of the *Heliand*, and not a H.G. form. The *mik* and *thik* of the Cott. do not occur in the same sections as the *midi*, so that it seems the scribes who used *mik*, *thik* did not use *midi* and vice versa. This would speak against a form *mik*, *thik* in the original (Y). We have to concede, however, the possibility that *miti* is H.G., although no such form occurs in the O.H.G. monuments.¹ The *sih* (v. 2, 5, 61) must be regarded as H.G.; for an O.S. *sik* does not occur, although it puts in an appearance at a later period, perhaps under external (H.G.?) influences.² Before leaving Germ. *k* we should notice how *-cc-* in *harmlicco* 66 again betrays a H.G. scribe writing O.S.; since he only knew unchanged *k* in the Inlaut as a geminate, he used the geminate to designate Saxon unchanged *k*.

Germ. *g* (a spirant in Saxon) in the Anlaut and Inl. is designated by *g* which was probably also used in the original Y. In the Ausl. we usually find *c* (*chunincriche* v. 13 (γ), *dinc* 32 (δ), *wic* 43, *sehstic* 50, *burc* 52, *taoc* 55, *enic* 57 (ε)), only once *g* (*chuning*, v. 34). Perhaps the original had *-g*, but scribe X (and K?) changed this into *-c* which was more familiar to them. Such a change could be made mechanically, without knowledge on their part that *-c* (explosive) was not Saxon. *chuning* might then be preserved from the original. That *-c* was used in the original (*-c* sometimes designates a spirant³) seems to me not probable.

Germ. *p* appears unchanged in *werpan* v. 40, *scarpen* 64, and possibly in *wambnum* 68 and *stoptun* 65.⁴ Möller's suggestion that a scribe took the line over the runic *w* in *wamb-*

¹ Möller, p. 75. *methi* (= *meti*, *miti*?) occurs in the *Altd Deutsche Gespräche* (*Zeitschr. f. d. A.*, xxxix, p. 11 (101)). The *Gespräche* are localized by Martin at Münster in the Alsace. But the form may be Low G., since Low G. elements occur in the piece (*ibid.*, p. 20).

² Behaghel, Paul's *Grundr.*, I, p. 629.

³ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 145, Anm. 1; Author's *Hochal. Kons.*, § 80.

⁴ Möller (p. 60) assumes for *p* the value of an affricate, which assumption is of no interest if the *Hildebrandslied* is O.S.

num for the line designating an *m* seems quite possible; it would give us a form *wabnum*. The *b* in this word may have been introduced for *p* by the Middle G. scribes X or K because they were not accustomed to the use of *p* in the Inl. As in the East Franconian *Tatian* Germ. *p* may have been changed into *pf* with them.

Germ. *b* in the Anl. appears as *b* (except in *prut* 21, *pist* 41); for the Inl. we have 12 *b* (besides *habbe* 29, *sippan* 31 with gem. *b*) and 1 *v* in *hevane* 30; for the Ausl. *leop* 27, *gap* 34; *hb* 29, *ab* 30. The *v* in *hevane* must be S. and was probably preserved because the word seems to be unknown in H.G. It is quite possible that *b* was also used in the original to designate the Saxon spirant *b*, which orthography is common in O.S. and old A.S.¹ The form *ab* perhaps favors this assumption, if it can be regarded as a S. form foreign to the dialect of scribes X and K, while *ur*, *ar* are the H.G. forms, not known in S., of some scribe.² The phrase *ab hevane* was probably copied unchanged from the original. If *-b* was used in the original it is easy to see how scribes X and K might substitute *-p* without being conscious that they were changing the designation of a spirant sound.

The A.S. *w* is frequently employed for the usual *uu*, *u*. It has been recognized by Schröder that the A.S. *w* was copied from another manuscript; for scribe γ was evidently not familiar with the letter and twice used *p* instead (see Chap. I, form of runic *w* with the different scribes). Scribe X who used—as has been argued—A.S. script is probably responsible for the introduction of this sign. The *uu*, *u* (= *w*) may be, in part, reminiscences from the original. The way in which runic *w* is copied even by γ , who does not know the letter, illustrates the conservative tendency of scribes K.

The following examples of *h* before consonant occur: *wer* v. 9, *welihhes* 11, *werdar* 61 (all three have runic *w*), *huitte* 66, *ringa* 6, *hrustim* 46, *hrusti* 56, *hregilo* 61. Since the allitera-

¹ Gallee, *Altsächsische Gramm.*, § 106; Sievers, *Angels. Gr.*, § 191.

² Möller, p. 71.

tion proves that *hr*, *hw* were known to the original,¹ it is likely that *h* was omitted in *hw*, when X substituted runic *w* for *uu*, *u* of the original (Y). The form *huitte* may go back to Y. The dialect of X perhaps retained *hr* but had *w* for *hw*; such a development is known in O.H.G.²

The questions of consonantism so far treated are those which seem of interest for the purpose of the present investigation. The following remarks suggest themselves in regard to the vocalism of stem-syllables.

Germ. *ai* appears in the following forms: 2 *æ*, 1 *ae*, 5 *ē*, 15 *e*, 5 *ei*, 1 *ai*.³ The *ei*, *ai* are clearly H.G., and may be due to X or K, while the others indicate S. *ē*. The *æ*, *ae*, *ē* would seem to be the designation for an open *e* sound; they are often used in O.H.G. to designate the open *ē*.⁴ In Upper German *æ*, *ē* is frequently employed for the open *ē* developed out of *ai* before *h*, *r*, *w*.⁵ The O.S. *ē* (= Germ. *ai*) may with some probability be regarded as an open sound,⁶ in which case the *æ*, *ē* would be particularly appropriate. The *e* of the *Hildebrandslied* (instead of *æ*, *ē*) may in many cases be attributed to X and K. We find it particularly before *h*, *r*, *w*, where the Middle G. has *ē* instead of *ei*, and Middle G. scribes were therefore particularly tempted to make a slight change and substitute *e* for *æ*, *ē*, while the more radical change from *æ*, *ē* to *ei* was not so easily made. It may be noted in passing that the *ae* (not joined into a ligature) belong to *γ*, who perhaps was not accustomed to the ligature.

The use of *æ*, *ē* in *hætti* 17, *furlaet* 20, *lettun* 63, to designate *ē*² (as in H.G. *hēr* = *hear*, *hiar*) is most peculiar, as Kögel has noted.⁷ It is peculiar in view of the fact that the *ē* was proba-

¹ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 153, Anm. 1.

² Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 153, Anm. 1.

³ Wood, *Publications of the M. L. Ass.*, XI, p. 326.

⁴ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 28, Anm. 2.

⁵ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 43, Behaghel, *Paul's Grundr.*, I, p. 567.

⁶ About the quality of this sound in Middle Low G. cf. Behaghel, *Paul's Grundr.*, I, p. 567.

⁷ *Paul's Grundr.*, II, p. 176.

bly a closed sound. Only one explanation seems to suggest itself, namely, that the H.G. dialect of the original scribe (Y) had but one designation for a long *e*, namely, *æ*, while *ê*² had already changed into *ea*, *ia*. The extant Upper G. monuments, it must be acknowledged, do not favor the view that *ê*² became *ea*, *ia* after the orthography *ê* had taken the place of *æ* (from *ai*),¹ but in some dialects the development may have been different. In the following chapter it remains to be shown how the *æ*, *ê* seems to point to Bavarian dialect of scribe Y.

Germ. *au* appears in the following forms: 4 *ao*, 9 *o*, 1 *ou*, 1 *au*. The *ao* must belong to the original Y, since *taoc* cannot be H.G. and must stand for S. *dôg*. Möller takes *ao* to be a designation of O.H.G. *au*, *ou*;² but such a use is not known. The *ao* can hardly be explained on any other ground than that the original scribe Y used *ao* to designate H.G. *ô* (from Germ. *au* before dentals and *h*),³ and therefore also employed it to designate an open S. *ô*. If scribe Y had in his H.G. dialect employed *ô* (from *au* before dentals and *h*), which must have been an open sound (for it is distinct from the *ô* which becomes *uo*), then he would also have used *ô* for the S. *ô*, which we may assume was an open sound.⁴ It seems the *o* in the *Hildebrandslied* has often been substituted by K and X for *ao*. The *au*, *ou* in *rauba* 57, *bouga* 33 (according to the fac-simile it might as well be *baoga*) may also be due to X and K. As is well known *ao* is especially frequent in Bavarian, though not confined to it.

Germ. *eu* and *ô* require only passing notice. We always find *eo* (example, *deot*, v. 13), never *io*; once in *Detrihhe*, v. 23, and possibly also in *bretton e* appears for *eo*. Possibly all three scribes wrote *eo* in their own dialect. Germ. *ô* shows 7 *ô*, 6 *uo*; the *uo* may be due to K and X entirely, or in part.

¹ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 35 with § 43.

² P. 66.

³ Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 45.

⁴ Behaghel, Paul's *Grundr.*, I, p. 567.

III.—THE DIALECT OF THE *Hildebrandslied*.

In this chapter the dialect of scribes K, X, Y shall find treatment, special attention being devoted to the dialect of the original Y. It appears that scribes K have not materially changed manuscript X which they were copying; the H.G. elements are so much of one cast that they must mainly be attributed to one scribe X, as already mentioned in Chapter I. The clearest indication that we have for the dialect of K is the δ in scribe *a*. Since scribes K nowhere appear active in bringing out S. peculiarities, we cannot regard δ as an attempt to designate O.S. *th*. It must be a peculiarity of the dialect of *a* which is thus marked as Middle G. The δ occurs in the East Franconian *Lex Salica*,¹ to which dialect scribe *a* (and his companions β , γ , δ , ϵ) may also belong.

The dialect of scribe X appears likewise to have been East Franconian. This scribe was probably less conservative than K and to him may be due some of the Middle G. forms collected by Möller.² The *her* (occurring in scribes γ and δ) was probably copied from X and may have been introduced by the latter.

Looking over the list of Middle G. monuments we find that scribe γ ³ of the O.H.G. *Tatian* shows perhaps the greatest resemblance to the H.G. elements of the *Hildebrandslied* as far as phonology and orthography are concerned. The fact that the *Tatian* is East Franconian and that it (at least the original) was written in Fulda⁴ is significant in view of the fact that the *Hildebrandslied* (K), too, belonged at one time to the cloister of Fulda.⁵ How far the peculiarities in scribe γ are due to this scribe or were copied from another manuscript does not concern us materially. I give a list of the principal similarities of *Tatian* γ and the H.G. elements of the *Hildebrandslied*.

¹ Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Lesebuch*³, XIV, p. 37.

² P. 71.

³ Cf. Sievers' ed.² of the *Tatian*, p. XII.

⁴ Cf. Sievers' ed.², p. XXII.

⁵ Cf. Grein's edition², p. 12 f.

Most cases of *j* after consonants preserved before *a* and *o* occurring in the *Tatian* belong to γ (Sievers, § 7). For the *Hildebrandslied* cf. Möller, p. 64.

d- for *th-* occurs in γ (Sievers, § 19, Anm. ; § 20, 1).

p- for *b-* (3 times) occurs only in γ (§ 26). *Hildebrandslied*: *prut* v. 21, *pist* v. 41.

-p for *-b* is found 3 times in γ , occurring also with other scribes of the *Tatian* (§ 26).

-c for *-g* is not found in γ , but is quite frequent with scribe ζ (§ 28).

ch for *k* after cons., and for geminate occurs in γ (§ 48).

ϵ not changed to *ea*, *ia* occurs only in γ (§ 69, 2). *ea*, *ia* does not occur in the *Hildebrandslied* for α (= ϵ).

δ instead of *uo* occurs in γ (§ 70).

au occurs once instead of the usual *ou* (§ 72).

eo is the regular form for this diphthong in γ (§ 74).

It is necessary to state that scribe γ of the *Tatian* does not show traces of Upper G. dialect, but simply an archaic Franconian orthography resembling the Upper G.

What was the H.G. dialect of scribe Y, who first wrote down the *Hildebrandslied*? Möller has argued strongly against the idea that our poem contains any traces of Bavarian dialect or orthography.¹ Certain considerations seem, however, to point more or less distinctly to Bavarian dialect. Why should a Middle G. scribe employ *ao* and α to designate O.S. sounds when in his own dialect he employed δ and ϵ to designate the same or very similar sounds?² Möller states it is not likely that an O.S. poem should have been written down before the end of the eighth century; for the subjugation of the Saxons had only just taken place then.³ Granting the correctness of his argument, it is not likely that the *Hildebrandslied* was written down at a period when peculiar archaic orthographies like *ao* and α were in vogue in Middle G. The use of α seems to be quite unknown in these dialects. It must be

¹ Möller, p. 55.

² Cf. chap. II, where *ao* and *ae* are treated.

³ Möller, p. 72.

conceded, however, that the proper names of the *Codex diplomaticus Fuldensis* show certain orthographies similar to those assumed for the H.G. of scribe Y. In the documents of scribe Wolfram (anno 753-781), for instance, we find *ao* (*Gaozolt*, No. 26, *Aolmo* (?) 27), *d* instead of *th* (*Deodoni Danghilt* 17, *Plidrudae* 36, *Gordrud* 39) and a number of minor correspondences. Kögel inclines to the opinion that the original scribe was Bavarian.¹

The H.G. dialect of scribe Y having been considered, the question next arises, was the poem pure Saxon when first written down, or Saxon and H.G. mixed. A definite decision of this question is hardly possible; but something may be said in favor of the latter assumption. Take for instance the pronoun *sih*.² Can we imagine that scribes K or X substituted the same for a S. form (*sea* or something similar) when there is no indication that X or K read the manuscript intelligently, or could read a passage like v. 2 intelligently; when X is responsible for a promiscuous use of *Hiltibraht* and *Hiltibrant*, and scribes K copied this nonsense faithfully. It is more probable that the original scribe Y substituted, consciously or unconsciously, H.G. forms in an O.S. poem which he may have committed to memory at some time, perhaps while staying among the Saxons. Probably the O.H.G. scribe found the absence of a distinct reflexive *sih* as strange as we do and may not have mastered the Saxon idiom taking the place of this reflexive.

The memory of the original scribe Y in regard to Saxon forms does not seem to have extended beyond certain limits and to have retained particularly substantives, verbs and characteristic phrases that impress themselves on the mind, while being less reliable in regard to particles and inflexions. The forms *sudsat* v. 53, *alter* 38,³ *usere* 15, *fateres* 24,⁴ all show

¹ Cf. Kögel, *Gesch. der d. Litt.*, p. 228.

² Cf. chapter II, treatment of Germ. *k* in this paper.

³ Cf. Kögel, *Litteraturgesch.*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218. The O.S. would be *fader* (or *fater* in the orthography of our poem).

H.G. inflexion which apparently, for metrical reasons, must have existed in the original. Kögel recognizes the fact that these forms cannot easily be eliminated from the original and advances the suggestion that the language of poetry contained, within certain limits, a mixture of O.H.G. and O.S. forms. It seems to me more probable that these H.G. forms are to be explained in connection with the peculiar orthography of Y based on the H.G. orthography. Both the language and the orthography (as far as we can infer them) show distinctly that a H.G. was attempting to write a language with which he was not absolutely familiar, and a poem in this unfamiliar language which he did not remember perfectly. Our theory could only be proved if it were possible to show that a number of phrases are distinctly H.G., just as Kögel has shown a great number of characteristic phrases to be Saxon.

If scribe Y was a Bavarian of the end of the eighth century then a number of forms may perhaps be attributed to him, forms which are not Saxon or Middle G., or not well known in those dialects, such as the *chonnem* v. 28 (with gem. after long vowel), *sippan* (*pp* for *bb*) 31.

A further prosecution of this study would demand a critical investigation of the text and meter; this would carry us too far, involving as it does most difficult questions. The investigation, therefore, rests here for the present.

The results of our investigation are in short:

Our manuscript (K) of the *Hildebrandslied* is written by 5 scribes (α , β , γ , δ , ϵ), whose dialect is Middle G. (East Franconian). On the whole they seem to have copied mechanically.

Another manuscript (X) must have intervened between K and Y; the dialect of this scribe was likewise Middle G. (East Franconian). This scribe probably was responsible for a part of the H.G. forms.

X probably copied from the original (Y). It is not reasonable to assume more copies than these, else the O.S. elements would have been more nearly obliterated.

The orthography of Y is explained as a systematic attempt to designate O.S. sounds by means of a system of sound notation familiar to a H.G. scribe. It seems that Y was a Bavarian, and that in attempting to write the O.S. poem he introduced H.G. forms through ignorance of the language, aggravated by an imperfect memory of the poem.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS.

V.—SOME UNPUBLISHED POEMS OF FERNAN
PEREZ DE GUZMAN.

Spain, during the fifteenth century, was very prolific in writers of verse, as a glance at the *Cancioneros* of Baena, Castillo, Estuñiga, and a number of other early collections, both printed and manuscript, will show. That these were not all poets by divine right, no one perhaps will gainsay, nor would the world have suffered any great loss, if much of their verse had disappeared forever. In the time of Don Juan II. (1407–1454), himself a poet,¹ it seemed to have been considered a necessary accomplishment of every courtier to write poetry, and as the Spanish language falls into measure and rhyme at the slightest provocation, the practice of such an accomplishment was fraught with little difficulty. Still, despite what has been said above, there is a charm about much of the poetry in these *Cancioneros* that is undeniable, and among their poets many names occur that will always occupy an honorable place in the literature of Spain. With perhaps a few exceptions, the best poetry in these collections is found in the short lyrical pieces. They are often delightfully naive, but necessarily suffer from sameness, love being the theme of most of them, and even this may become wearisome. But there were also poets, though in much lesser number, who turned their thoughts to things spiritual. Of these, two of the most famous were the Marquis of Santillana,² and his kinsman Fernan Perez de

¹The poems of Don Juan II., King of Castile, have been printed by Pidal in the Appendix to the *Cancionero* of Baena, Madrid, 1851, p. LXXXI. One of the manuscript collections alluded to above has since been published by the writer: *Der Spanische Cancionero des Brit. Mus. (ms. Add. 10431)* in Vollmüller's *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. x, Erlangen, 1895.

²They are collected under the rubric "Obras devotas," in Amador de los Rios, *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, Madrid, 1882, p. 299 ff. With the religious poems of a later poet, Juan Tallante, a Valencian, begin all the editions of the *Cancionero* of Hernando del Castillo, from 1511 to 1573.

Guzman, some of whose religious poems are here published for the first time. They are among the best verses that he has written, and are very fairly illustrative of his style and ability as a poet.

I.

Fernan Perez de Guzman, Señor de Batres, was the son of Pero Suarez de Guzman, Notario Mayor of Andalucía, and of Doña Elvira de Ayala, a sister of the great Chancellor of Don Juan II., Pedro Lopez de Ayala.¹ Unfortunately neither the year of his birth, nor that of his death are known.

Ticknor says (vol. I, p. 420), "he was born about the year 1400," a date which has been generally accepted, but which is certainly wrong. In all probability Fernan Perez was born about a quarter of a century before this; nearly all the facts we know concerning his life point to the period between 1375 and 1380 as the time of his birth.² In the *Cancionero* of Baena (ed. of Madrid, 1851), p. 629 (No. 571), we read the following, prefixed to a poem by Fernan Perez: "Este dezir muy famoso é bien fadado é letradamente fecho fiso é ordenó el dicho Ferrand Peres de Guzman, señor de Batres, quando murjó el muy ourrado é noble cavallero don Diego Furtado de Mendoza, Almirante mayor de Castilla." Pidal, in a note to

¹ The best sketch of the life and works of Fernan Perez de Guzman, to which all later accounts have been more or less indebted, is the one prefixed to his *Generaciones y Semblanzas* (Madrid, 1775), and written, I think, by D. Eugenio Llaguna y Amirola, the name not being given anywhere in the copy I have, which contains also the *Centon Epistolario* of Fernan Gomez de Cibdareal, and the *Claros Varones de Castilla* of Fernando del Pulgar. See also Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, I, 420. The latter's statement, however, that the father of Fernan Perez was a brother of the Marquis of Santillana, is a mistake. See Amador de los Rios, *Obras*, etc., p. x. Amirola, *l. c.*, gives no date of the birth of our author. Some account of the Guzman family is given in Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y Leon*, Madrid, 1794, pp. 362, 363, and also Fernandez de Navarrete, *Vida del celebre poeta Garcilaso de la Vega*, Madrid, 1850, p. 145. Garcilaso was a descendant, in the female line, of Fernan Perez.

² See below, p. 254, note 1.

this poem, says: "The Almirante D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza died in 1405, a time when Fernan Perez could not have written verses, if, indeed, he was yet born" (p. 701). But there can be absolutely no doubt that our author wrote this poem, for it is the very one mentioned by the Marquis of Santillana in his well known letter to the Constable of Portugal,¹ to be referred to hereafter. The Marquis quotes the first verse of the poem:

"Onbre que vienes aqui de pressente,"

thus leaving no question on this point. But there is other evidence in the *Cancionero* of Baena to show that Fernan Perez was a well known poet at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A reply by him to a *dezir* of Francisco Imperial's is found on page 224 (No. 232). The latter was a Genoese who wrote a long poem (*ibid.*, p. 197, No. 226), celebrating the birth of Don Juan II., at Toro in 1405. From others of these poems (Nos. 113, 545, and 546) we also see that Fernan Perez exchanged verses with Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, a poet who, according to Pidal (*l. c.*, p. 640), wrote as early as 1374, if not earlier.² These facts induce Pidal to doubt Fernan Perez' authorship of these poems in the *Cancionero* of Baena; he says: "deben ser de otro poeta" (p. 658). But in view of the direct testimony of the Marquis of Santillana above, Pidal's doubts are unfounded. Besides, we know that our poet's mother was a sister of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. Now, Don John's great Chancellor was born in 1332, and died in 1407. From this, the impossibility of Perez de Guzman's being born as late as 1400, is at once apparent. In addition we are to take into account that the Marquis of

¹Amador de los Rios, *Obras*, p. 16. The Constable of Portugal (1429-66), afterwards King of Aragon for a brief period, was also a poet, whose verses are printed in the *Cancioneiro de Resende*, ed. Kausler, vol. I, pp. 67-69. See *Romania*, XI, p. 155, and Gröber's *Grundriss*, vol. II, pp. 135 and 231-232.

²According to Amador, *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, p. 592, Villasandino was born in 1340, and died about 1420.

Santillana (born in 1398) calls Fernan Perez his uncle. The latter was therefore probably, though not necessarily, older.¹

Like many other distinguished Spaniards of his time, Fernan Perez de Guzman was both a soldier and man of letters. The earliest notice of him in the *Chronicle of Don Juan II.*, is under the year 1421. In that year he was sent, together with the Archbishop of Santiago, as an envoy of the Infante Don Enrique, to the Queen of Aragon, the mother of the latter. According to Gomez de Cibdareal,² Fernan Perez de Guzman took part in the battle fought by King John II. against the Moors at *la Higuera* in 1431, fighting under his cousin Don Gutierre de Toledo, Bishop of Palencia. A curious incident of this battle is related by the same writer. He says: "After the battle the King commanded Alfonso de Acuña that he should take as prisoners to Cordova Fernan Perez de Guzman, he of Batres, and the Comendador Juan de Vera of Merida, because they had, in the presence of the King, vehemently disputed the honor of having rescued Pero Melendez Valdez from the hands of the Moors. He was only released through the intercession of the Prior Don Juan de Luna." On the King's return to Castile he ordered Don Gutierre de Toledo, whom he suspected of being in communication with the Kings of Aragon and Navarre, to be put in prison. Fernan Perez was also imprisoned, for no other reason, apparently, than that he was a cousin of Don Gutierre. There may have been some reason for suspecting the latter (see Epistola LII), but as nothing could be proved against the Bishop, both were set at liberty.

¹ It was not until long after the above was written that I was enabled to consult Amador de los Rios, *Historia Critica de la Literatura Española*, vol. VI, p. 212, where a portion of the will of Pero Suarez de Guzman, the father of Fernan Perez, is quoted, dated January 9, 1381, in which he mentions his three children, Ferrando, Maria and Aldonza, and says of them "son pequeños menores de edad;" also that his wife was already dead. So, if Ferrando was the oldest child, he must have been born about 1376, at the latest.

² *Centon Epistolario*. Epistola LI. Ed. 1775, p. 92.

Puibusque¹ says of their release: "Mais la politique eut plus de part que la justice à leur elargissement; Mafaya, ambassadeur de Portugal, intervint en leur faveur. Perez de Guzman, dégoûté des intrigues par cette rude leçon, se retira dans sa seigneurie de Batres, et ne se mêla plus aux troubles qui agitèrent tout le règne de Jean II. Il mourut vers 1470."

After this imprisonment (1431), Fernan Perez seems to have abandoned the profession of arms; at all events, there is no record of his having taken any part in the wars which for years afterward devastated the kingdom. The above date (1470) is taken from Llaguno, who says (*l. c.*, p. 192), "I presume that he died before 1470, for the introduction by Doctor Pedro Diaz to the *Querella de la Governacion* of Gomez Manrique,² seems to have been written in the last years of the reign of Don Enrique IV. (1454-1474), and in it he speaks as if Fernan Perez were already dead."

There is nothing in this introduction, however, to show that it was written "in the last years of the reign of D.

¹ *Histoire comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française*. Paris, 1843. Vol. I, p. 417. The source of Puibusque's information is unknown to me. In the *Chronicle of D. Juan II*, p. 310, the Portuguese ambassador is called Pero Gomez Malafaya.

² This Introduction is printed in: Paz y Melia, *Cancionero de Gomez Manrique*. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II, pp. 230 ff. The rubric is as follows: Introduccion al dezir que compuso el noble cauallero Gomez Manrique, que yntitula: Exclamacion e querella de la Gouvernacion, al muy noble e muy reuerendo señor, su syngular señor, Don Alfonso Carillo, por la gracia de Dios Arçobispo de Toledo, por el Doctor Pero Diaz. Diaz says (p. 233): En la nuestra lspana a avido assy mesmo grandes varones de conponer en metro, entre los quales fue Fernand Perez de Guzman en aquesta nuestra hedad, que fue cauallero bien enseñado, e compuso notables obras, assy quanto alla forma del conponer como ala sentençia de las cosas conpuestas. He then speaks of the Marquis of Santillana (died in 1458), as though he too were already dead. Perhaps much faith cannot be put in the words of the Toledan Doctor, who says, on the next page that Gomez Manrique (born 1415) is beginning to write verses, and that if time spare him, he will equal the poets already named. Supposing that this was even no later than 1458, it will be seen that Don Gomez must have courted the muse rather late in life.

Enrique IV." It only shows that it could not have been written before 1446, for in that year Alfonso Carillo, of the house of Acuña, became Archbishop of Toledo, nor after 1482, in which year the Archbishop died (Garibay, *Compendio Historial*, Barcelona, 1628, pp. 480 and 633). Rios is therefore mistaken when he says this dedication was probably written between 1483 and 1487 (*Historia Critica*, vol. VII, p. 109, note).

We know that Fernan Perez wrote a poem on the death of his friend Don Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, who died in 1456, and that he was still living in 1458, is shown by the poem of Gomez Manrique, quoted below, though it is very probable that our author did not long survive his great kinsman, the Marquis of Santillana, who died in that year (1458). Be that as it may, it is quite certain that he passed the latter years of his life away from the Court, upon his estates at Batres.

The following verses are found in the *Cancionero* of Castille (ed. of Madrid, 1886), vol. I, p. 147 :

"Ved aqui la inuencion mia
no sutil ni eleuada ;
como en Batres fabricada,
assi es grossera e fria."

And that his retirement was not voluntary is evinced by his lines, likewise addressed to the Marquis :

"pues entre rustica gente
me fizo vivir fortuna."¹

There is ample evidence to show that in his time, Fernan Perez de Guzman enjoyed great reputation as a poet. The Marquis of Santillana says of him in his letter written in

¹ These lines are quoted by Llaguno, *l. c.*, p. 188, as being in the Introduction to the "Quatro Virtudes Cardinales" of Fernan Perez. The *Cancionero General*, I, p. 139, contains the poem, but evidently the Introduction is there missing, as these verses cannot be found.

1449, to Don Pedro, Constable of Portugal:¹ "Fernand Perez de Guzman, mi tio, cavallero doto en toda buena dotrina, ha compuesto muchas cosas metrificadas, é entre las otras aquel epitáfio de la sepoltura de mi señor el Almirante, don Diego Furtado, que comiença :

"Onbre que vienes aqui de presente.

Figo muchos otros deçires é cantigas de amores, é aun agora bien poco tiempo há escrivió proverbios de grandes sentençias, é otra obra assaz útil é bien compuesta de las *Quatro Virtudes Cardinales*."²

Gomez Manrique, in a poem on the death of the Marquis of Santillana, says that no one is capable of doing justice to the great virtues of the deceased as well as Fernan Perez de Guzman :

"un cauallero prudente
tan sabio que, ciertamente,
yo no hallo que nos queda
otro ninguno que pueda
tomar el cargo presente."³

The religious poetry of Fernan Perez de Guzman appears, as is quite natural, to have been written during the latter years of his life. In a treatise called the *Oracional*, or Book of Devotion, written by Don Alonso de Cartagena for Perez de Guzman, and printed at Murcia in 1487, the author says in the prologue, speaking to Fernan Perez: "En vuestra juventud, y en la viril edad, ó algun tanto provecta, vos veia ocupado en questiones, e facer vuestros dulces metros é ritmos, que coplas llamamos, de diversas materias; mas eran sobre cosas humanas, aunque estudiosas é buenas. Pero agora acordades pasar á lo divino é devoto, que á todo lo humano trasciende, escribiendo por vuestra suave metrificatura himnos é oraciones, é otras contemplaciones pertenecientes á considera-

¹ The date of this letter has been quite clearly established by Rios, *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, p. xc, note.

² Rios, *l. c.*, p. 16.

³ *Cancionero General*, I, p. 167.

cion del culto divino, de que yo algo leí é vi leer é loar al Rey (Don Juan el II.) de gloriosa memoria, que de pocos dias acá de nos se partió."

As Don John II. is here mentioned as having died but a few days before, this prologue must have been written in 1454. For an account of the other works of Fernan Perez one may consult Ticknor, vol. I, p. 423 *et seq.* Several of them exist in MS. in the National Library at Madrid, and have not yet been published, so far as I know. See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, etc., vol. II, Appendix, p. 126.

II.

The poems here subjoined are contained in three MSS. of the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, described in the *Catalogue* under the numbers 587 (B); 588 (C); and 591 (F).¹ Of

¹ *Catalogue des Manuscrits Espagnols et des Manuscrits Portugais*, par M. A. Morel-Fatio, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1892, p. 192. These poems are found likewise in the *Cancionero de Ixar*. See Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española*, etc., Madrid, 1863, vol. I, col. 586; also in a *Cancionero* in the private library of the King of Spain. See Pidal, in the introduction to the *Cuncionero de Baena*, Madrid, 1851, p. LXXXVII.

Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity to examine the *Cancionero de Ixar*, now in the National Library at Madrid. The "Cient Trinadas" begin on folio 295, and the other poems of Fernan Perez here printed, on folios 66 ff. The readings of this MS. agree, except in a very few instances, with B; the variants are marked I. It may be mentioned here that the *Cancionero de Ixar* is composed of at least three separate collections, made at various times, and bound together in one volume. The first and earliest portion of this *Cancionero* ends on the verso of folio 329, where the date is given as follows: "A nueve dias de Março Año MCCCCLXX." In the additional poems that follow, two handwritings are easily distinguishable; the first being probably as late as the middle of the sixteenth century; the last, perhaps, even of the seventeenth century. The poems here printed are likewise contained in volumes III and IV of a MS. *Cuncionero del Siglo XV*, in ten volumes, also in the National Library at Madrid: No. 9 in vol. III, the others in vol. IV. All of these volumes are recent copies, the verses in volume III being copied from the *Cancionero de Fray Iñigo de Mendoza*, now in the private library of the King; those in volume IV, from the *Cancionero de Fernan Perez de Guzman*, likewise in the King's

these manuscripts, *B* is the oldest,—being of the latter part of the fifteenth century; *F*, or that part of it, at least, that contains these poems, is perhaps equally old; while *C* is probably not much older than the middle of the sixteenth century. There are indications, both phonic and graphic, which show that *F* was copied by a Catalan scribe;¹ *B* is doubtful, the deviations from the Castilian orthography being comparatively slight; while *C* is evidently Castilian. A peculiarity of *B*, which is shared by neither of the others, is the constant occurrence of *s* where the etymology requires a *z* or *g*.

Among the graphic modifications in *F* which indicate a Catalan scribe are: *ch* instead of *c* before *a* and *o*: *Luchas*, II, 1; *pocho*, v, 4. The use of *ny* instead of *ñ*: *senyor*, IV, 5; *enganyos*: *danyos*, III, 66–67; *senyalados*, I, 108, and often. The loss of prosthetic *e*, even in cases where it is necessary for the metre: *spiritual*, I, 159; *spanto*, I, 236; *stan*, I, 279; *scura*, IV, 12; *spejo*, IV, 28; *strella*, II, 18, etc. The spelling *linatge*, III, 61. Initial *l* and *li* instead of the Castilian form *ll*: *lieuas*,

library. The variants of the latter MS. are marked *N*, in the few cases that my notes give them.

An examination of the MSS. (except *N*, my collation of this copy being imperfect, and my attempt to consult the original, unsuccessful) shows that they fall into two divisions: *BI* and *CF*,—though other differences show that neither one was copied from the other. The sequence of the stanzas in I and the next to the last stanza of No. XI, are evidence, moreover, that *B* and *I* do not derive from the same copy, while other differences between *C* and *F* show that the same holds good for these. To properly edit the poetry of Fernan Perez, the MS. in the King's library, would, of course, have to be consulted, while the date of the *Cancionero de Ixar*, which was written probably within ten years of our poet's death, would alone entitle it to much credit; still, the evident care with which *B* is written, together with the fact that it is perhaps equally as old as *I*, has induced me to adhere to my original intention of merely publishing *B*, always indicating the variants of the other MSS. and making only such obvious corrections as they afforded.

¹ It is true that most of the variations from the Castilian, that are noted, might be due to Aragonese influence; *linatge*, however, in *F* is decisive for Catalan. Two others, at least, of the Spanish manuscript *Cancioneros*, in the National Library, are of Catalan origin. See *Romania*, III, p. 416.

VI, 19 (also in *B*); *lueuen* (*llover*), IX, 23 (both *B* and *F*); *leuan*, IX, 43 (*B*, *lieuan*); *lieuen*, X, 48 (*B* only); *leuado*, XI, 112 (*B*); *lamar*, X, 27; *lenos*, IX, 34.

Among the phonic modifications in *F* are: Atonic *u* substituted for *o*: *suspiro*, I, 167; *turmento*, I, 206. Atonic *a* instead of *e*: *piadades*, III, 70. The diphthong *ue* for *o*: *muestrados* for *mostrados*, I, 107. *T* final, instead of *d*, is the rule in both *B* and *F*: *grant*, III, 73, and often; *ciudat*, III, 2; *virtut*, I, 81; *segunt*, III, 98; also where it has no etymological basis, as in *ningunt*, IX, 64; *algunt*, III, 36; probably influenced by *segunt*. The form *et*, of the conjunction, has been everywhere changed to *e*, while for the *s* of *B*, a *z* has been substituted in every case where the etymology required it. There are few peculiarities in the vocalism in addition to those noted above. Latin *ę* and *ǫ* are regularly diphthongized; cf. *fruenta*, III, 90, later *frente*.

Consonants.—*P* is inserted between *mn* in *condempno*, I, 239; *solepne*, IX, 30; this is not rare in Castilian, and quite frequent in Provençal and Catalan, cf. Mussafia, *Die Catalanische metrische Version der sieben weisen Meister*, p. 159.

Ct rhymes with *t*: *defecto*: *subjeto*, III, 24; it is merely a learned spelling; the loan-words have *t*, cf. *Grundriss*, I, p. 705. So *pt*: *t*, which it regularly became: *escripto*: *bendito*, VIII, 21; cf. *abto* = *acto*, VI, 40; but latinisms abound everywhere in these poems. The forms *algañça*, IV, 55; *algañçado*, *algañar*, VI, 37, seem to support the Arabic origin of this word, first favored by Diez, cf. *Rom. Forschungen*, IV, 388. As *g* however is not found in Castilian MSS., we may consider it as an inaccurate reproduction of a word that was strange to the Catalan scribe. *Alcanzar* took the place of older *acalzar* and *encalzar*, and is a crossing of both, influenced at the same time by the numerous words with initial *al*-; *percanzar* followed; the Port. has the older form *percalçar*. The rhyme *digno*: *camino*, III, 108, shows that Fernan Perez, as indeed all Castilians, pronounced *dino*, for which the scribe substituted the latinized spelling, and also wrote by false analogy

magnifesto, XI, 88, which would scarcely have slipped from the pen of a Castilian. On the other hand the rhyme *antigo: enemigo*, I, 175-6, shows that the former is due to the poet; it is moreover the regular form in old Spanish.

III.

Cient Trinadas á loor de la Virgen Maria.

Alma mya,	Concebida
Noche e dia	No tañida
3 Loa la Virgen Maria.	21 De culpa, mas eximida
Esta adora,	Del maluado
Esta onora,	E grant pecado
6 Desta su favor implora.	24 Quel mundo a contami-
Esta llama,	nado.
A esta ama,	Asi junta
9 Que sobre todos der-	Desde defunta
rama	27 En cuerpo e elma as-
Beneficios	sumpta
Sin seruicios,	Fue al cielo
12 E nos libra de los vicios.	Con tal vuelo
Esta estrella	30 Que en pensarlo me con-
Es aquella	suelo.
15 La qual, Virgen e don-	Non se lee
zella,	Nin se cree
Concebió,	33 Que jamas se vyó nin vee.
Parió e crió	Que quien llama
18 Al gran Rey que nos	A esta dama
saluó.	36 Con deuoto ardor e flama,

5. *F* a esta h. 8. *I* omits A. 9. *N* todos dos d. 12. *I* e nobleça de l. v. 18. *C* al granrer. 19. *Wantng* in *I*. 21. *C* de al por mas e; *I* del mundo mas e. 23. *C* omits e. 24. *I* contraminado. 25. *C* Affin junta; *F* asumpta; *N* Ansi tacta. 26. *N* desde difnita. 27. *F* en cuerpo e en a. disjunta; *N* en c. e a. despanta; *I* disjunta. 29. *N* de tal b. 30. *F* Que en lo pre-sumir me c. 34. *F* lama; *C* ama.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Su gemido | Vos cantando, |
| Non oydo | Vos rimando, |
| 39 Fuesse, mas bien respon- | 66 Nunca cesses predicando, |
| dido. | Prosando, |
| Esta rosa | Metrificando, |
| Gloriosa, | 69 Ditando, versificando |
| 42 E clara pyedra preciosa, | Los loores |
| Con su uiso, | E honores |
| Gozo e riso, | 72 De la rosa entre las flores. |
| 45 Da á todos el parayso. | El que sabe |
| Quien se inclina | Nunca acabe |
| A la muy fina | 75 De loar, mas siempre |
| 48 Dulze flor de clauellina, | alabe |
| Sin falaçia | A la santa |
| Aurá la graçia | De quien tanta |
| 51. De aquel Rey quel çielo | 78 Gloria se lee e canta. |
| espaçia. | Cierto sea |
| Loemos, | El que desea |
| Glorifiquemos | 81 Loar su virtud, y crea |
| 54 Esta reyna, e no dude- | Que aplaze |
| mos, | E satisfaze |
| Quel favor | 84 Al Rey que á todos nos |
| Del su valor | faze. |
| 57 Nos dará salud e onor. | Mucho yerra |
| Oradores | El que cierra |
| E dotores, | 87 Su boca, e la pone en |
| 60 Sotiles conponedores, | tyerra, |
| Armonya, | Callando |
| Salmodya, | E no predicando |
| 63 Toda dulce melodya, | 90 Sus loores, nin cantando : |

37-39. *Wanting in I.* 38. *F* hoydo. 39. *F* fue. 42. *C* omits e. 45. *I* omits el. 50. *C* su g. 54. *CF* omit e; *I* esta fin. 55. *I* en el f.; *F* aquel f. 58. *F* horadores. 59. *IF* doctores. 60. *F* sutiles. 65. *I* vos rezando; *CF* nos. 66. *I* cesais; *F* cesse yo. 69. *F* dictando. 70. *I* omits los. 72. *F* desta rosa. 81. *F* virtut. 84. *N* los. 85. *CF* mucha; *I* yera. 86. *I* en q. ciera. 87. *N* la boca. 89. *N* nos. 90. *IN* los l. e. c.

<p>¿ Por qual via Yo podria 93 Fallar la saluacion mya Tan presta, Como por esta 96 Virgen preciosa e on- esta? Non por santos, Aunque quantos 99 Son, e si fuessen diez tantos; Ca su gloria E su vitoria 102 Excede toda memoria. Antes creo Que, se veo 105 E oygo dezir e leo Ser obrados E mostrados 108 Milagros tan señalados, A loores De doctores, 111 Martires, e confesores ; De sagradas, Coronadas, 114 Virgines purificadas ; Por fauor, Virtud e vigor 117 Son desta preciosa flor.</p>	<p>Si gozamos, Prosperamos, 120 Si de virtudes usamos. Si salud, Gracia, e virtud 123 En vejez e jountud ; Gran onor, Fama e valor, 126 Riqueza, ques bien menor, Si tenemos, No dudemos 129 Que desta Virgen lo aue- mos. Ca orando, E obsecrando, 132 Ella nos lo va inpetrando. Syempre exora Esta señora 135 Al gran Rey quel çielo adora, Por fyeles, Por crueles, 138 Obedyentes e rebeles ; Por diuerso, Aunque un verso 141 El ruego vaya disperso. ¡ O beata, Intemerata, 144 <i>Deo et angelis grata,</i></p>
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91. *F* por la via. 98. *F* haunque. 99. *N* fueren. 100. *C* la su g.
105. *F* oyo. 107. *C* a mostrados; *F* muestrados. 108. *F* miraglos t.
senalados. 110. *CF* dolores. 116. *IF* omit e. 120. *F* virtut. 121. *F*
salut: virtut: jountut. 124. *F* grant; *F* always has final t; such variants
are not noted hereafter. 126. *I* Requesta ques bien mayor. 128. *F* dub-
demos. 131. *IN* observando. 132. *C* inpretando. 140. *F* hahunque;
I aunque universo. 141. *IF* e disperso. 144. *F* de los angeles g.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Quanta cura,
Virgen pura, | Muy antiguo
Enemigo |
| 147 Has de toda creatura !
Byen lo vee
El que cree | 177 Eres defension e abrigo.
Si padesco,
A tí gradesco, |
| 150 Los tus milagros que lee.
Deuocion
E contricion, | 180 Porque es menos que
meresco.
Si byen é,
A tí daré |
| 153 E eficaz oracion ;
Abstinencia,
Continencia, | 183 Gracias e loor, porque
Mas de pena
Que de estrena |
| 156 Umildad e obediencia ;
Por tu ruego
Les das luego | 186 Soy digno, Señora buena.
¿ Quyen vió tanta
Bondad quanta |
| 159 El espiritual fuego.
A tí amo,
A tí llamo, | 189 Es la tuya, Virgen san-
ta?
Que vigor,
Salud e onor |
| 162 Porque eres el verde ramo
Do la flor
Del nuestro amor | 192 Procuras al pecador.
¡ O benigna !
Tanto digna |
| 165 Frutifico sin umor.
A tí miro,
E suspiro, | 195 De loor quanto maligna
Es la escura
Creatura |
| 168 Ca si me rebueluo e giro,
Non veré,
Nin fallaré | 198 De quyen tú as tanta
cura.
Bastaria
Luz del dia |
| 171 De quyen tanto bien auré.
A tí quyero,
En tí espero, | 201 Non punir la maldad
mya. |
| 174 Porque del maligno e
fyeró | |

145. *F* sancta cura. 150. *I* miraglos. 152. *N* contacion. 153. *F* omits e. 158. *F* las; *CF* da. 159. *F* e spiritual. 161. *I* clamo. 162. *I* omits el verde ramo. 163. *I* de la f. 164. *I* de. 167. *FI* a ti suspiro. 168. *C* Quasi; *F* casi me bueluo e regiro; *N* resgiro. 171. *F* abre. 173. *I* spero. 181. *F* a ti bien; *IN* he. 184. *I* m. da pena. 185. *F* e deestrena. 186. *F* no digno. 200. *C* lus. 201. *C* pagnar; *I* consumit la m. m.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Byen rendir
A mal venir
204 Quyen lo podrá esto ser-
uir.
Agradable,
E amable,
207 Dulçe e muy deleitable
Es loar,
Glorificar
210 Tus virtudes e dictar.
Quyen el mar
Puede agotar,
213 E las estrellas contar,
Aquel cuente,
Si se syente
216 A ello suficiente,
En memoria
O ystoria,
219 La tu excelencia e glo-
ria.
Si tentado
O turbado
222 Soy del diablo maluado,
Al tu accorro
Me recorro,
225 E sin toda duda corro.
Si penado,
Atribulado,
228 Affligido e molestado
[De] pobredad,</p> | <p>Enfermedad,
231 E de otra aduersidad ;
Si yo siento
Su tormento,
234 A tí, Virgen, me presento.
So tu manto
Todo espanto
237 Pierdo, e con dulçe canto
Loo á tí,
Condenpno á mí,
240 Porque nunca te serui.
So tus alas,
Porque valas
243 A mí e á mis obras malas,
Tú repares
Quando orares
246 Al tu fyjo e supplicares ;
Busco abrigo,
Pues contigo
249 No temo al mal enemigo,
Muy loados,
E famados,
252 Vos, poetas laureados,
A Maria
Toda via
255 Vostra alta fantasia
Siempre alabe,
E nunca acabe,
258 Ca mas que vos dyreys
cabe.</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

203. *F* beuir. 204. *N* sentir; *F* sto seruir; *the line is wanting in I.*
208. *C* deuen loar. 218. *F* en; *IN* e y. 219. *CF* la tu excelente g.
225. *I* acoro; *N* socorro. 227. *C* tribulado. 231. *I* toda. 236. *F* spanto.
239. *I* condepno. 240. *F* nunca. 243. *F* omits a. 245. *CF* Quanto. 246.
CF omit e. 249. *F* el. 252. *I* dos p. 253. *CF* Amaria. 254. *F* has
simply via. 255. *F* la v.; *I* yo loo con alegria. 257. *C* adcabe. 258. *I*
que mas que los dres c.

Perdido, Mal espendido	Cerrada Huerta signada,
261 Es vuestro dezir polido, En loores	282 Fuente e puerta sin en- trada,
De señores	Que non vió
264 Terrenales, e de amores. Lisonjar,	Jamas, ni entró
Mas que loar,	285 Sino el Rey que nos saluó.
267 Se puede el vuestro lla- mar.	Graciosa
Quyen se vee	En Gérico rosa,
Sabyo, e cree,	288 E oliua [e]speciosa
270 Su siençia aqui lanplee. ¡ O señora !	De Cades,
A quien adora,	Palma e çipres
273 De cuya virtud se inflora El jardin	291 Que en el monte Syon es : Clara aurora,
Donde sin fin	Mas decora
276 Cherubin e seraphin A tí loando,	294 Que la luna, por mí ora Al diuino
E no cesando,	Uno e trino,
279 Santa sacra estan can- tando.	297 Cuyo espiritu en tí vino ; E tú guya
	El alma mia
	300 A la celestial via. Amen.

Ymno á sant Luchas.¹

Animal del qual nos canta
La vision de Esechiel,
Sabio discipulo de aquel
Ypocras de fama tanta ;

260. *F* espendido. 261. *C* el vuestro. 270. *F* la emplee ; *I* su saber a que cunpliere. 273. *N* de cuita ; *F* virtud implora ; *I* se inplora. 275. *F* onde. 277. *C* omits A tí. 278. *C* a ti no c. 279. *F* santa santa stan c. ; *I* esta sacra esta c. 280. *I* cerada. 281. *F* vera e signada ; *I* e guardada. 282. *I* fuiste e p. 287. *I* e generosa. 288. *I* e oliua muy preciosa. 294. *C* por un ora. 297. *C* en tu vino. 298. *F* en tu guia.

¹Here, and in the following poems, the orthography of *B* is given.

- 5 E de la gente muy santa
 En sus actos coronista,
 Pintor de la dulce vista
 Que los diablos espanta.
- 10 Fuyste del santo portero
 Plenariamente ynstruydo,
 Para ser constituydo
 Euangelista terçero ;
 Despues fiel conpanero
 Del grant vaso de eleccion,
 15 Que de tu fe e devocion
 Es notable plegonero.
- 20 Fe tan copiosa y plena
 Es dada á lo que escreuiste,
 No de vista, mas que oyste,
 Y por relacion agena ;
 Como aquel que en la grant pena
 De la cruz non se partió
 Del Señor, y rescibió
 En guarda su madre buena.
- 25 Lo qual es grant argumento
 De tu vida virtuosa,
 Pues tu euangelica prosa
 Arouó el sacro convento ;
 Aun es regla y documento
 30 Para que sea creydo
 El justo en lo que non vido,
 Pues fama lo faze esento.
- O Lucas, por nacion Syro,
 E medico por ofiçio,

16. *C* pregonero. 18. *F* sereniste. 23. *B* resabio. 29. *F* haun. 32. *C*
 le faze; *F* lo faz exempto.

- 35 Relator del sacrificio
Del deificado viro ;
Del vulto precioso miro,
Virginal, sutil pintor,
Ora por mí, pecador,
40 Que mal biuyendo deliro.

III.

A Santa Leocadia.

- Defensora e patrona
De la ynperial çidat,
Que fue de la majestat
Gotica trono e corõna ;
5 Mi negligencia perdona,
Sy tan presto e diligente
Non loé, nin dignamente,
Tu santissima persona.
- Desden, dulce madre mia,
10 Non fue, nin mengua de amor,
Esto sabe aquel Señor
Que el mundo rige e guia ;
Mas cresciendo cada dia
Copia de tribulaciones,
15 Que son grandes turbaciones
Dél que en este mundo fia.
- Dizese quel yntellecto
Cresçe con la vexaçion,
Creolo, sy su intençion
20 No pasa el termino recto ;

37. *CF* e miro. 38. *F* subtil. 40. *BI* buyendo.III. 2. *C* cibdad. 6. *C* omits e. 7. *BI* non loare d. 9. *BI* En vos dulce
m. m. 10. *BI* non fue mengua de a. 12. *C* et lo गया. 19. *CF* infeccion.

Mas quando el flaco subjecto
 En extremo es combatido,
 De neçesario el sentido
 Padesçe mengua e defecto.

25 Aflegido e molestado
 De la contraria fortuna,
 Sy fortuna ay alguna,
 O por pena de pecado
 Fue tu loar retardado,
 30 ¡ O Virgen clara e serena !
 Que nin bendita ni (h)ordena
 El yngenio mal tratado.

Non porque vayan cesando
 Un punto las afliçiones,
 35 Mas por tus interçesiones
 Algunt tanto respirando
 De la flaqueza, sacando
 Fuerça, sy plaze al Señor,
 De todos bienes actor,
 40 Voy tus loores cantando.

Naciste, Virgen muy santa,
 En el reyno castellano,
 E del vergel toledano
 Eres muy preciosa planta ;
 45 En el tiempo que fue tanta
 La rauia de Daçiano
 Contra el pueblo cristiano,
 Que la fama nos espanta.

De generacion muy noble,
 50 Virgen santa, descendiste,

29. *B* relatado; *F* detardado. 34. *F* hun p. 36. *BIF* respinando;
C algun quanto. 39. *C* ator. 40. *B* doctos loores c. 41. *B* Nasaste.
 48. *F* spanta.

E lo que vale al trasdoble,
 En la santa fe naçiste ;
 Non turbada quando oyste
 Que venia el celerado,
 55 Mas con gesto muy pagado
 Al martirio te ofreçiste.

El maestro malecioso,
 Usando de su astuçia
 Diabolica, e versucia,
 60 Mostróse manso, amoroso ;
 Loando el tu generoso
 Linaje e tierna edat,
 Fingiendo humanitat
 En coraçon engañoso.

Enpero porque dubdó
 Valer tanto sus engaños,
 Luego con terribles daños
 E penas te amenazó,
 70 Dixiste: no azepto yo,
 Mal onbre, tus piedades,
 Ni temo tus crueldades,
 Amo al que me redimió.

Grant linaje no es virtud,
 Mas sonbra vana e menguada,
 75 Formosura e jouentud
 Flores son de alborada ;
 Muy frescas con la rociada,
 Marchitas con el sol fuerte,
 Tus tormentas no dan muerte,
 80 Mas vida glorificada.

51. *F* tres doble; *I* La que v. 53. *C* non te turba; *F* non te turba.
 54. *C* çelerado. 55. *C* jesto. 59. *CF* omit e. 62. *F* linatge. 63. *BI* de
 humanitat. 66, 67. *F* enganyos: danyos. 70. *F* piadades. 73. *F* linatge.
 77. *C* la rosada; *B* omits la. 78. *F* mas chichas.

¿Qué demandas pues, mal onbre?

Dexa tu braueza e arte,
 Jamas aquel dulce nonbre
 De Jesus de mí se parte;
 85 Su cruz es mi estandarte,
 Sus clauos mi proteçion,
 Su lança mi coraçon
 Trespassó de parte á parte.

Su corona espinada
 90 De mi fruente es diadema,
 Perla nin preçiosa gema
 A ella no es comparada;
 Mi sed farta e saçiada
 Es con su vinagre e fiel,
 95 La mi gloria es el vergel
 Do su carne fue ençerrada.

Viendo asy tu fe constante,
 Segunt que lo afirmo yo,
 Por fuerça no presumió
 100 Quebrantar tal diamante;
 Tiró via e pasó auante,
 Dexando á tí encarçelada,
 Creyendo que en su tornada
 Te faria mudar semblante

Quando á tu noticia vino
 105 Ser aquí la ruciada
 De la sangre purpurada
 De aquel terno santo e di(g)no;

84. *C* Jesus de mi no se parte. 86. *B* proteccion. 88. *B* traspasado.
 93. *F* set. 95. *I* del v. 97. *C* Veyendo aquel tu fee constante; *F* viendo aquí.
 98. *C* de artes desespero; *F* de artes desespero yo. 100. *F* crebantar.
 105. *I* noçia. 106. *BI* ser aguila ruciada; *C* auila roçiada; *F* auila
 rusciada.

- 110 E de aquel mesmo camino
 Santa Julia en la batalla
 Triunfar con sant Olalla,
 Confesando el rey diuino ;
- 115 Non el martirio temiendo,
 Mas el çielo deseando,
 E la tierra desdefiando,
 Deuota oracion faziendo ;
 Las manos á Dios tendiendo,
 El espiritu enbiaste
 Al Señor que tanto amaste,
 120 Con el qual reynas biuiendo.
- 125 Myenbrete, Virgen, la hora
 Que dexiste al grant perlado
 Santo, e de España primado,
 Por tí biuo ; mi Señora,
 El e tú orad agora,
 Porque por mí ore aquella
 Al su fijo, de quien ella
 Tanto ynpetra quanto ynplora.

IV.

Ymno al arcangel sant Miguel.

- Principe muy exçellente
 De la sacra gerarchia,
 E de aquella monarchia
 Celestial presidente ;
 5 Del Señor onipotente
 Sieruo constante e leal,

111. *C* triumpho. 112. *F* al rey. In *C* lines 115 and 116 are interchanged.
 115. *F* desdenyando. 120. *B* buiiedo ; *C* beuyendo. 124. *FC* biue.
 127. *F* tu fijo. 128. *C* impreta.

IV. In *C* lines 4 and 5 are interchanged. 5. *F* senyor. 6. *C* omits e.

- Enemigo capital
 De la luçifera gente.
- 10 Quando aquella criatura
 Que muy clara fue criada,
 E despues por su maluada
 Presunçion tornada escura ;
 Con orgullo e desmesura
 Dixo : en aquilon porné
- 15 Mi sylla, e ygual seré
 De aquel cuyo soy fechura.
- Muchas criaturas bellas
 De la angelica natura,
 Seguieron esta locura
- 20 Por la qual se dize dellas
 Que el terçio de las estrellas
 Cayeron con su doctor
 A do nunca mengua ardor,
 Fuego, fumo, e çentellas.
- 25 Tú, arcangel muy preçioso,
 Premicia de lealtad,
 De constançia, fe, y verdad
 Un espejo muy lunbroso ;
 Todo ardiente e ynflamoso
- 30 Contra el colegio maluado,
 Con espada e bien armado
 Fuyste sienpre riguroso.
- La estrella matutina,
 Con todo su cruel vando,

12. *F* scura. 13. *C* argullo. 16. *I* que soy f.; *C* so. 18. *C* omits la.
 19. *F* sta. 21. *F* strellas. 23. *F* nunca. 24. *C* fuego et f.; *F* e fuego
 fumo e centellas. 26. *I* primicia de lealtades. 28. *F* hun spejo. 29. *C*
 con zelo muy viguroso; then follows l. 29 of the text above, while l. 31 is
 wanting; *F* con sello m. v. with the same arrangement as *C*; l. 30 in *C*
 inflamado. 31. *I* con la e. 32. *C* fueste forte et riguroso. 33. *F* stella.

- 35 Cayó relanpagueando
Al suelo de la çentina ;
Donde çufre e resyna
Los quema syn piedat,
Blasfemando su maldat
40 De la justiçia diuina.
- El Señor que al maliçioso
Non dexa syn puniçion,
Nin syn remuneracion
Al leal e virtuoso ;
45 Punido el escandaloso,
Fizo á tí su alferez santo,
E del su colegio tanto
Prinçipe muy glorioso.
- Porque los sus beneficios
50 Son de tanta exçellencia
Que con gran magnifiçencia
Sobran todos los seruiçios ;
Añadiendo mas ofiçios,
De tí fió la balança,
55 Donde por virtud se alcança
Gloria, e pena por viçios.
- Vençedor de los maluados,
Capitan de los leales,
Juyzios justos e yguales
60 Son en tu peso afinados ;
Los ynojos ynclinados
[Yo] te ruego noche e dia,
Que á la Señora mia
Supliques por mis pecados.

35. *C* relanpeguando. 37. *B* rasina ; *C* reçina ; *F* suffre e rasina. 42. *C* pugnicion. 45. *F* scandaloso. 47. *C* ed al su c. santo ; *F* omits e. 53. *F* anyadiendo. 55. *B* alcança. 56. *C* sin viçios. 62. *B* la noche e dia.

V.

Fyn de loores de santos.

- Como fizo Bonifaçio
 Del panteon todos santos,
 Faziendo fiesta de tantos
 En un dia e poco espaçio ;
 5 Yo aqui, aunque no saçio,
 Fago fyn á los loores
 De vos, muy dulçes señores,
 Con este breue laudaçio.
- 10 Quien á vos, á mí onora,
 A mí esperne quien á vos,
 Son estas palabras dos
 Del rey á quien el çielo adora ;
 Flores de quien se enamora
 Todo el santo parayso,
 15 Dad loor non ynterçiso
 A la muy santa Señora.
- Floresced, preçiosas flores,
 Reholed, lirios muy santos,
 Suenen vuestros dulçes cantos,
 20 Calandrias e ruyseñores ;
 Martires e confesores,
 E virgines con las aues,
 Cuyos cantos muy suaues
 Sienpre dan á Dios loores.
- 25 Resplandesçientes estrellas,
 Fazed claro e luminoso

4. *F* en hun d. e pocho espacio. 5. *F* yo asi haunque n. s. 7. *C* de vosotros d. s. 8. *CF* esta. 9. *CQ*. vos ama a mi o. 10. *F* sperne; esperar, cf. It. spernere. 11. *F* stas. 12. *B* aqui. 18. *C* redoled; *F* redolet. 22. *B* son las a.; *F* e las v. con l. a. 26. *F* fazet.

Este mundo tenebroso,
 Con vuestras virtudes bellas ;
 Claras e biuas gentellas
 30 Del diuino fuego açesas,
 Orad con manos estesas
 A la flor de las donzellas.

VI.

*A santa Elisabel de Ungria.*¹

Graçias á santa Maria
 Por cuyas suplicaciones,
 Meritos e ynterçesiones,
 El nuestro Señor enbia
 5 En sus sieruos cada dia
 Deseos e deuociones,
 Deuotas contenplaciones,
 ¡O santa reyna de Ungria !

Elizabet muy preçiosa,
 10 La qual syn par e enxemplo
 Entre las reynas contenplo,
 Mas santa, mas virtuosa ;
 Muy odorifica rosa
 Entre las flores de aquella
 15 Huerta que la grant donçella
 Plantó tan marauilloso.

De las santas conjugadas,
 Dexando á santa Ana aparte,

30. *F* ancessas. 31. *C* estensas ; *F* extessas.

¹ Ymnos a santos e a santa Elisabel de U. ; *C* Ysabel ; *F* Elisabet.

10. *C* omits e. 11. *BF* ante. 12. *C* y mas v. 13. *C* odorifera. 15. *BIF* muerta. 17. *B* sojudgadas ; *I* soluzgadas. 18. *C* ad parte.

- 20 Tú lieuas el estandarte,
E de las canonizadas
Reynas bien auenturadas,
Dignas de clara memoria,
Aunque Elena ouo grant gloria
De las reliquias falladas.
- 25 Qual discreçion e elegancia
Ay tan florida que baste
A contar como juntaste
En tu nueua y tierna ynfancia
Tan(ta) copiosa abundancia
- 30 De virtud e santidad,
Innoçencia e castidad,
Omilledat, con grant co[n]stancia.

- 35 Si yo no(n) soy engañado
Mas preçio es de dexar,
Renunciar, desanparar
Lo poseydo e ganado ;
Que el que no(n) es alcançado,
Aunque se pueda alcançar,
Menospreciar, desdeñar,
- 40 Pero es abto asaz loado.

En la dignidad real
Ofiçio seruil usaste,
La continencia guardaste
En el matrimonial ;

19. *I* lyeuas. 23. *C* duo. 25. *C* Q. exerçicio o elegancia. 27. *C* mostraste. 33. *I* so; *F* enganyado. 34. *F* omits de; *C* mas perfeçion es dexar; *perhaps* Mas preçiado es d. 36. *F* posehido. 37. *B* alcançado; *C* lo que. 38. *B* a don que se p. alcançar. 39. *F* desdenyar. 40. *C* ato; *F* acto. 42. *FC* de ofiçio. *The sequence of the verses has been changed in this stanza. In B it is 42, 44, 45; in C 42, 44, 43, 46, but a correction indicates that l. 45 should be in place of l. 44; in F 42, 44, 43, 45. 43. B1 la conçencia tu g.; F la conçencia g.*

- 45 Asy al Señor amaste
Que, por tu gracia se leen,
Doze muertos, e se creen,
Que á vida resucitaste.
- 50 A tí miren las princesas
Reales, e en tí reguarden
Las que con cobdiçia arden,
E deste mundo son presas ;
Sy quieren sanas ser esas,
E de penas escapar,
- 55 Cupleles seguir e amar
Las tus deuotas enpresas.

VII.

*Ymno á Nuestra Señora, enbiado al prior de Lupiana fray
Estevan de Leon.*

- 5 La flor que de eterna laude
Es mas digna non que una,
Mas que quantas so la luna
Nascieron, e mas aplaude
Al Señor, que sienpre aude
Por nos otros suplicar,
En esto e en Dios loar
Se letifica e congaude.
- 10 La gentil perla que esmalta
Todo el çielo e lo claresçe,
Mas que los angeles alta
Refulge e resplandesçe ;

45. *C* et si al S. amaste. 46. *BIF* su. 53. *F* sanas e illesas; *C* et ylesas.
54. *FC* de las penas e. 55. *C* cuplelos.

VII. 1. *F* eternal. 3. *B* quantos. 9. *C* omits que. 10. *C* esclaresçe.
11. *B* q. en los a.

15 Magnifica, aumenta e cresce
 Los diuinales loores,
 E por nos, muy pecadores,
 Orando nunca fenesçe.

20 El çafir que faze ornado
 El çielo con las estrellas,
 Sus virtudes digo aquellas
 Con que paresçe argentado ;
 El su primero tratado
 Es sienpre loar á Dios,
 E interçeder por nos
 Es el segundo ditado.

25 La discreta ynterçesora,
 Con yndustria ynestimable,
 Primero faze placable
 Al Señor, e lo enamora ;
 E por conseguiente ynplora
 30 Remision de nuestros viçios,
 ¿ Quien podrá los benefiçios
 Regraçiar desta Señora ?

35 Rescebid, padre honorable
 De la dulce religion,
 Que segunt mi opinion
 Es de todas mas amable,
 Este loor venerable
 De la celestial rosa,
 Cuya virtud gloriosa
 40 Vos faga á Dios agradable.

Muestrate, Virgen, ser madre,
 Homillmente suplicando

13. *B* aumente. 17. *BIF* çafir. 18. *F* strellas. 23. *BI* e sienpre entender ; *C* en interçeder ; *F* e entender p. n. 27. *N* pecable.

Al diuine eterno Padre,
 Su graçia nos ynpetrando.
 45 Muestrate madre mandando
 Al tu Fijo, que mandó
 Onrrar los padres e dió
 Luenga vida en aguilando.

Muestrate, Virgen Maria,
 50 Ser madre osadamente,
 Mandando al fijo obediente,
 Pulsa, ynsiste e pörfia.
 Muestrate, Señora mia,
 Ser madre, e sey ynportuna,
 55 E fará, syn dubda alguna,
 Gran fruto tu osadia.

Pues á nos, gentes maluadas,
 Dió liçençia e libertad
 A la ynportunidad
 60 Ser atreuidas e osadas,
 Muestrate, Virgen, aosadas,
 Ser madre, e tú verás
 Que en pedir mas tardarás
 Que en las graçias ser ganadas.

Toma aquel dulce *¡aue!*
 De [la] boca de(l) Grabiél,
Ecce ancilla, con el
 Beruo omill e suaue;
 Abrirás con esta llaue
 70 Las puertas de la clemençia;

44. *C* enpretando; *G* (Canc. Gen.) implorando. 47. *C* que dio. 48. aguilando, v. *Romania*, IV, 253; *G* aguinaldo. 53. *B* Con ruego ynsiste e p. 54. *B* syn ynportuna; *F* y ser importuna; *C* madre e sey in terportuna. 59. *C* et a la i. 61. *F* a osadas. 62. *G* omits tu. 66. *C* Gabriel. 67. *G* y con el. 69. *F* con sta laue.

Considera tu potencia,
Non te será el osar graue.

75 Pues aquella porfiada
 Solicita Cananea,
 Pero que ynfiel e rea,
 Non se falló desdeñada ;
 Demas de serle otorgada
 La ynportuna petiçion,
80 La su fe e deuoçion
 Del Señor fue muy loada.

85 Tú, Reyna glorificada,
 Fuente de virginidat,
 Corona de humildat,
 Tanto mas serás osada
 Quanto mas aventajada
 Eres desta mugerçilla,
 Siendo trono, templo e sylla
 De la palabra encarnada.

90 Quien cree ser desdeñada,
 Virgen, tu suplicaçion,
 Creerá syn discreçion
 Ser tú de madre negada,
 Tú, princesa muy sagrada ;
95 Falso es el antecedente,
 Falsissimo el conseqente ;
 Madre eres yndubitada.

Myenbrate, Virgen preciosa,
Que por tu humildat el Padre

72. *G* no será 'l considerar graue. 75. *B* ynfiel erea; *F* erra; *G* aunque infiel y rea. 77. *G* mas de le ser o. 78. *C* interportuna. 79. *N* donaçion; *BI* e la su f. 83. *B* e corona. 87. *G* s. templo, torno, silla. 92. *G* omits de. 93. *C* absit processa s.; *F* absit princessa; so *G* and *N*. 95. *IB* altissimo. 96. *NM*. es indilitada.

100 Te eligió por digna madre
 Del su Fijo, ¡ O gloriosa !
 Esfuérçate, santa rosa,
 Nunca canses ni te enojés ;
 ¿ Qué dudas ? ¿ porqué te encoges ?
 Manda, atreúete e osa.

105 El tu Bernaldo deuoto,
 E sieruo muy singular,
 Como yo aqui lo noto,
 Nos anima á te rogar ;
 A tí nos manda llamar
 110 En nuestras tribulaciones,
 E manda en las tentaciones
 A tí, estrella, mirar.

En la ora peligrosa,
 En qualquier triste açidente,
 115 Mira sienpre e puramente
 A la Reyna gloriosa.
 De tu boca aquella prosa
 No se parta, *ave Maria*,
 Su memoria dé alegría
 120 Al coraçon do reposa.

Non yerras siguiendo á ella,
 Tan justas son sus carreras ;
 Confiando en esta estrella,
 Nin temes nin desesperas.
 125 Las actoridades veras
 E dulçes de Sant Bernardo,
 Me ençienden asy que ardo
 En flamas muy plaçenteras.

100. *B* e gloriosa; *G* del su Hijo glorioso. 102. *CF* nin canses. 103. *C* en cojes. 104. *C* m. a. rosa. 105. *G* Y tú *B*. 108. *BI* no es a mi a te r; *F* no es anima a. 109. *C* mando. 111. *G* relaciones. 114. *G* otra acidente. 115. *C* paramyente. 119. *C* da alegría. 121. *B* yerra; *G* aquella. 122. *C* tus. 124. *C* temas. 126. *B* O dulces. 127. *C* pero que ardo.

VIII.

A Nuestra Señora.

- ¡ O sacra esposa del espíritu santo !
 De quien nació el sol de la justicia,
 ¡ O resplandor ! ¡ O grandiosa leticia
 Del parayso, e del ynfierno espanto !
 5 ¡ O proteccion, conseruacion e manto
 De pecadores ! ¡ O caxa gloriosa
 De aquella joya oliente e preçiosa
 A quien alaba el serafino canto !
- Como podrá toda la humanitat
 10 Renderte graçias nin fazer tal seruicio
 Que digno sea á tanto beneficio,
 Quando se acuerda que por tu humildat
 Tanto agradeççe á la diuinidat
 Que en tí se fizo Dios, nuestro hermano ;
 15 ¡ O excelente obra del pueblo humano !
 ¡ O ynefable e dulce caridat !
- De tanta graçia, Señora, contenta
 La tu clemencia e amor ynfinito,
 Pues nuestras culpas continua e atenta
 20 Oraçion faze al tu fijo bendito ;
 ¿ Qual pensamiento, qual lengua ò escrito,
 Señora mia, lo podrá regraçiar,

1. *CF* spirtu. 2. *B* omits la. 3. *C* e grandiosa. 4. *F* spanto. 5. *B* e proteccion; *F* a p. 6. *I* e caxa. 7. *C* loculenta preciosa; *F* l. e p. 8. *C* serafico. 9. *B* todo; *BI* omit la; *F* podera. 11. *B* tal beneficio. 12. *B* quanto. 13. *C* agradaste. 14. *C* nuestro dios nuestro h.; *F* omits se. 15. *C* o excelente gloria; *B* omits o. 16. *B* O y. de grant c. 17. *CF* no contenta. 20. *BNF* su fijo; *C* fazes a tu f. 21. *B* nin l. nin e.; *C* qual l. qual espirto; *F* qual p. q. lengua only.

Qual eloquencia, qual discreto loar?
Al tu Bernaldo lo dexo e remito.

- 25 Yo creo ser conclusion vera e clara,
Syn requerir otra ynterpretacion,
Que tu favor e santa obsecracion
Sostiene el mundo, conserua e anpara
Las criaturas que en esta vida amara
30 Jamas non çesan al Señor ofendiendo,
Nin tú, Señora, çesas ynterçediendo
Al fijo tuyo que pór tí nos repara.

IX.

A la singular virginidad de Nuestra Señora.

- Sy yo mi ynsuficiencia,
E baxa yndignidad
Miro, e tu santidad
E gloriosa excellencia,
5 Señora, en cuya presençia
El çielo todo se ynclina,
E en quien la virtud diuina
Ençerró su paçiencia ;
¿Qual será mi presunçion,
10 E quanto mi atreuimiento,
Auiendo conoscimiento
De mi pobre condiçion,
E de tu gran perfeçion,
Sy te cuydo dar loor ?
15 O será sobra de amor,
O mengua de discreçion.

23. *F* q. discrecion loar. 24. *F* e lo remito. 25. *BC* omit vera. 27. *B*
Q. el tu f. e obsecracion. 28. *F* al mundo. 29. *B* su vida. 32. *C* mas r.
IX. 8. *C* sapiencia. 9. *C* prosunçion. 10. *C* adtuuimiyento.

Mas por que el amor perfecto
 Desecha todo t(h)emor
 E plaze á nuestro Señor,
 20 Sano e deuoto yntellecto ;
 E sobre recto ò non recto
 Lueue(n) e(l) su sol ynflama,
 Catará del que á tí ama
 Mas su fe que su defecto.

25 La tu grant benignidat,
 Muy dulce Virgen Maria,
 Me da deuota osadia,
 Pero con toda omildat,
 Loar tu virginidat
 30 En alto solepne grado,
 Non segunt el vulgo errado,
 Virgen, en comunidat.

De virgines e donçellas
 Llenos son los calendarios,
 35 Non bastan los breuiarios
 A las liçiones de aquellas ;
 Afirmo que todas ellas
 De obra fueron guardadas,
 E por tales collocadas
 40 Mas altas que las estrellas.

Pero de las tentaciones,
 E subitos mouimientos,
 Palabras que lieuan vientos,
 E noturnas ylusiones ;
 45 Los humanos coraçones
 Nunca fueron atreguados,
 Mas remotos e apartados
 De tí, por diuinos dones.

21. *C* omits e. 22. *F* lueuen e su s.; *C* llueue y su s. 28. *I* para con t. o.
 30. *C* sublime; *F* solempne. 34. *F* lenos. 43. *F* leuan. 45. *B* coraçones.

- 50 Tú fuyste virgen obrando,
 Virgen en tus sentimientos,
 Virgen en tus pensamientos,
 Virgen dormiendo e velando ;
 Departiendo e razonando
 Sienpre la virginidat,
 55 En nueua e madura (h)edat
 La fuyste continuando.

 De virgines se pagaron
 Los çelerados varones,
 E con promesas e dones
 60 Su santa honestad tentaron ;
 Virgen, los que á tí miraron,
 Asy fue el carnal fuego
 En ellos muerto, que luego
 En ningunt mal non pensaron.

 65 En la ley á Moysen dada,
 Tú diste principio santo
 A esta virtud, que tanto
 Es en el çielo presçiada,
 Sy de virgines amada
 70 E seguida fue despues,
 E agora asy lo es,
 Por tu puerta fue su entrada.

 ¿Sabes tú, Señora mia,
 Sabelo aquel en quien creo,
 75 Qual fue sienpre mi deseo ?
 A te loar todavia ;
 Non digo quanto deuria,
 Ca á esto, ¿quien bastara

50. *BI* mouimentos; *C* consentimyentos, and changes places with l. 51.
 52. *CF* durmyendo. 53. *F* de partiendo. 59. *BI* e sus promesas. 63. *B*
 muertos. 64. *For* ningunt, cf. 'Grundriss,' pp. 708, 762. 70. *F* segunda.
 71. *C* agora si assi lo es. 74. *C* yo creo; *BF* omit en. 78. *F* Ca esto; *CI*
 que á esto.

80 Mas, sy á tí agradara
Eso poco que sabia ?

X.

Ymnos á los gozos de Nuestra Señora.

Virgen que fuyste criada
Ab iníçio et eterno,
Del Rey diuino e superno
Elegida e consagrada ;
De aquel viçio conseruada,
Comun e oreginal,
De que la gente umanal
Toda fue contaminada.

10 La tu generacion vino
De reyes, tan gloriosa
Qual conuiene á la esposa
Del espirtu diuino ;
Tú eres el verde espino
Que del fuego quedó sano,
15 De ser saluo el pueblo humano
Tú sola fuyste el camino.

20 ¡ O bendita ! que creyste,
Porque obedeciste, madre,
Del muy altísimo padre
Es fijo el que concebiste ;
Syn pena e dolor pariste,
Mas, ¿ como faria dolor
El que fue consolador
Del mundo lloroso e triste ?

79. *C* Mas se ti a.10. *B* reys. 11. *C* sposa. 17. *C* Bendita por que c. 18. *B* per que.19. *C* santissimo. 20. *BI* el fijo que c. 22. *C* fizyera.

- 25 Con los pastores gozosa,
 Que velauan las sus greyes,
 Allegre con los tres reyes,
 E la estrella gloriosa ;
 E con Simeon gaudiosa
- 30 Por las palabras primeras,
 Pero con las postrimeras
 No dubdo que temorosa.
- Dulçe te fue la partida
 Al tu Jusep reuelada,
 35 Porque seria conseruada
 Al santo niño la vida ;
 Delectable la venida,
 Pues era el tirano muerto,
 Que las naues en el puerto
- 40 Quemó con rauya encendida.
- Los sus miraglos mirando,
 E sus palabras oyendo,
 Entre tí las conferiendo,
 En tu coraçon seruando ;
- 45 Quanto dulçor fue gustando
 Tu alma, yo la contenplo,
 Aunquè despues en el templo
 Te dolias, non lo fallando.
- Yo redugo á tu memoria
 50 Actos dulces e graçiosos,
 Non los tristçes e llorosos,
 Aunque dignos de grant gloria ;
 Paso por la vera estoria
 De la muy santa pasion,
 55 Que de nuestra redençion
 Reportó clara victoria.

26. *B* greys: reys. 29. *B* e consimen grandiosa; *I* consymen gaudiosa.
 Cf. *The Gospel of St. Luke*, II, 29-32. 31. Cf. *St. Luke*, II, 34-35. 45. *I* dulce.

- 60 Vengo con todo deseo
 A honor e gloria suya,
 Cantando con aleluya
 Gloria in excelsis Deo ;
 Non solo á la que leo
 Relatar con deuocion,
 Mas á la que syn ficcion,
 E syn toda dubda creo.
- 65 Digolo por la sagrada
 Resurecion que dubdaron
 Los que lo desanpararon,
 Mas de tí sienpre esperada ;
 70 ¿ Como seria ençelada
 Tal obra á madre tan santa,
 Pues la Magdalena canta
 Ser á ella demostrada ?
- El que te quiso dar parte
 De su ynjuriosa pasion,
 75 De su cruz e su pasion,
 ¿ Como querria apartarte
 De su gloria, e çelarte
 Acto de tanta alegria ?
 Diriamos que mas queria
 80 Afligirte que alegrarte.
- Los padres onrrar mandó,
 E en su remuneracion
 De la tal veneracion
 Luenga vida prometió ;
 85 Pues de aqui me esfuerço yo
 A prouar deuotamente
 Que á tí, madre excellente,
 Antes se ma(g)nifestó.

62. *C* tu deuocion. 69. *C* Como te seria celada. 70. *C* o madre. 74-75. *So in BIC.* 79. *IB* diremos. 82. *C* omits su. 85. *C* offresco yo.

- 90 Espiritualmente veo
 Aquel triunfo ynefable,
 Mas glorioso e notable
 Que de Cesar, nin Ponpeo ;
 Quant dulce e gracioso creo
 Ser á tí consolacion
 95 Tu santissima agension,
 Dexando este mundo feo.

 El tiempo que aca quedaste
 Fue para edificacion
 De la nueua plantacion
 100 Del fijo que tanto amaste ;
 Ynstruyste e ynformaste
 Discipulos e euangelistas,
 E cosas á ellos non vistas,
 Nin sabidas, reuelaste.

 105 Aquel dia ya llegado
 De la tu fin gloriosa,
 Que ante Dios es preçiosa,
 Por tí tanto deseado ;
 Fue tu gozo acabado
 110 E conplido, Virgen alma,
 Quando el cuerpo con el alma
 A la gloria fue leuado.

 Cesen de su vil estoria
 Los que te niegan concepta
 115 Syn pecado, e non reçepta
 En cuerpo e en alma en gloria ;
 Peresca la su memoria
 De aquellos que han afirmado
 So el vaso á tí encerrado,
 120 Que portó el rey de victoria.

94. *NC* a tu c. 95. *C* su s. a. 97. *C* aqua. 105. *I* alegrado. 116. *C*
 en cuerpo e alma ; *N* e alma en la g. 117. *C* la tu m. 119. *C* ser el vaso
 incinerado. 120. *C* al rey.

- 125 Entre mi ynsuficiencia
 De virtudes, e defecto,
 E el tu clarisimo aspecto,
 E perfecta preheminiencia,
 Con toda omill reuerencia
 Pongo los gozos presentes,
 Los quales son suficientes
 A ynpetrar la tu clemencia.
- 130 Como quier que muy bien veo
 Ser el loor ynperfecto
 En boca de onbre non recto
 Qual yo so, e tal me creo ;
 Pero sy oygo e leo
 Tu amor e caridat
- 135 Ser tanta, que la maldat
 Supliras de qual quier reo.
- 140 Asaz me pone t(h)emor
 Aquello que dixo el çiego,
 Lo qual con Agostin niego
 Dios non oye al pecador ;
 Mas creo que el tu valor
 Es tanto, Virgen Maria,
 Que la pobre obra mia
 Farás digna ante el Señor.
- 145 A la tu clara exçellencia,
 Que todo defecto sobra,
 Suplico que aquesta obra
 Yndigna de tu presencia,
 En estilo e eloquencia
- 150 Material e tan grosera,

122. *B* e virtudes. 123. *C* omits e. 127. *C* omits son. 128. *C* creo a
 inpetrar tu c. 129. *C* como quiere. 132, 133 are interchanged in *B*. 133.
N Pero si oigo et lo veo. 135. *C* se que tanta es la bondad. 136. *C* que
 supliras q. q. reo. 142. *C* O Virgen M. 146. *B* efecto. 150. *C* tan omitted.

Sea dulce e plazentera
A la tu magnificençia.

XI.

Oracion á Nuestra Señora en fin de toda la obra.

Virgen preciosa de muy dulce aspeto,
O debuxado, ò ymaginatio,
En este cuerpo mortal en que biuo,
A grandes vicios e pecados sujeto,
5 Tanto me alegre y en él me delecto,
Que, segurando en la mi fantasia
La graçiosa semblansa de Maria,
Jamás de mí non se parte el dilecto.

Reyna del cielo, en cuyo amor ardo,
10 E en quien es toda la mi esperançã,
De cuyo dulce e benigno reguardo
Mana e desciende toda mi confiançã ;
En tí, mi Señora, por tu humildançã
Fue ennoblecida la umana natura
15 Quando el factor fizo su fatura,
Como el graçioso poeta romançã.

En el tu vientre se ençendió el amor
Que consoló la natura humana,
Fue germinada en tí aquella flor
20 Que descendió de la luz soberana ;
Eres del çielo lumbre merediana
De caridat e de la mortal gente,

1. *F* de cuyo d; *C* cuy. 2. *BIF* omit ò. 5. *B* A tanto me alegre; *FC* tanto en el me d. 6. *C* figurando; *B* omits la. 7. *FC* La muy g. 9. *BF* ando; *F* yo ando; *C* yo ardo. 10. *F* es mi unica e; *C* toda mi u. e. 11. *C* En cuyo. 12. *B* esperançã; *F* sperançã. 13. *FC* grant umildanza. 15. *FC* se fizo. 16. *FC* lo romançã. 18. *B* con solo; *C* conçielo. 21. *B* lus. 22. *FC* e presente.

En esta vida transitoria, presente,
De esperanza eres muy clara fontana.

25 Tanto magnífica e de tanto valor
Eres, Señora, que quyen graçia demanda
Sin requerir e llamar tu fauor,
Yerra la vya e no sabe do anda ;
30 (La) tu potencia que çielo e terra manda,
No solamente quando es llamada accorre,
Mas muchas vezes al demandar precorre,
Con tales flores florece tu guirlanda.

Misericordia, piedat e clemencia,
Que en tí, Señora, asy son juntadas
35 Que todas juntas personas creadas
Non son yguales á la tu prudencia ;
¡ O Virgen ! digna de toda excellencia,
Yo te supplico deuota e omillmente,
Que dés tal graçia á la obra presente
40 Que de buen fruto aya suficiencia.

Utilogo.

De la gruesa ynuencion mia,
E synple maginacion,
Ved aqui la relacion,
Muy buen onbre Aluar Garçia ;
45 Plega á la Virgen Maria,
Que Sant Iohn e Sant Benito,
Al gozo dulce, ynfinito,
Nos lieuen con alegria.

24. *FC* omit muy. 25. *The sequence of the stanzas is that of FIC; in B this stanza is wanting.* 27. *F* lamar. 31. *I* Aquien te llama sienpre le acorre. 32. *I* [?] de tales flores es tu g. 34. *FC* ayuntadas. 35. *FC* las personas. 36. *FC* magnificencia. 37. *F* inextimable excellencia; *C* ineffable. 42. *C* ymaginacion. 44. *C* ome; *F* buen nombre. 45. *F* omits a. 46. *C* San Juan et San Benito; *F* Sanct Johan. 47. *C* qual gozo.

NOTES.

I. These verses are not in *B*; about thirty of them (not consecutive) are printed in Rios, *Historia Critica*, etc., VI, p. 92. In the *Cancionero de Ixar* (fol. 295), the verses in the text are followed by others, which are here subjoined :

<p>O Maria, luz del dia E respandor ; Quien tu virtud loaria 4 E gran valor ; Señora, pulcra e decora E mansueta, De los cielos regidora 8 Muy discreta. ¿ Qual balada e cancioneta Bastaria A te loar con perfeta 12 Melodia ? ¿ Qual prosa tan copiosa Es o será, Que á tu virtud gloriosa 16 Loará ? Qual musica cantará, Virgen Maria, Tus loores, no podria</p>	<p>20 Nin sabrá. Virgen santa de quien canta Salamon, De cuyo viso se espanta 24 El dragon ; Angelica profesion E gerarchia, A loar tu perfeccion 28 Fallesteria. fin. Tenplo, divino tenplo, El tu dulçor Con que aplazes sin en- xenplo 32 Al Saluador ; ¿ O sancta e preciosa flor ! Acore e guia Al tu pobre seruidor, 36 Que en ty confia.</p>
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Among the extracts from the *Cancionero de Ixar* published by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, etc., vol. I, col. 586, the opening lines of this poem are also given.

L. 175, antigo : enemigo ; antigo is regular, from the spoken Latin *anticus*, *antiqua*, Old Span. always antigo, *antigua*.

L. 180 in *C* is followed by *deuen loar* (l. 208) ; the text gives the sequence of *FI*.

L. 280 ; cf. Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Rimado de Palacio*, 836, 838 (ed. Janer, *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, p. 453).

III. Santa Leocadia, patroness of Toledo (l. 2), was born, according to Ford, *Handbook for Spain* (ed. of 1847, p. 484), in the year 306, and was cast down from the rocks by order of the *praeses* Dacian (l. 46). The relics of St. Leocadia were translated from Toledo to Soissons, according to Gautier de Coincy, in the time of Pope Gregory IV. (828-844), and subsequently to Vic-sur-Aisne. See Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, vol II, p. 19.

L. 108, *dino* : *camino* ; see the remark in the Introduction. *dignus* > *digno* or *dino* is opposed to the phonetic rule, not only because this requires *gn* > *ñ*, but also *ɪ* > *e*. In fact in Fr., Sp. and Port. *dignus* exists popularly only in the compounds *dedaigner*, *desdeñar* ; learned *gn* in the early period gives *n* : *dino*, *indino* (hence the "judino" Alfonso de Baena), *malino*, *benino*, *sino*, etc. Cf. *Grundriss*, p. 706.

L. 110, Santa Julia, virgin martyr at Merida, with Sant Eulalia (l. 111). The latter is said to have been born at Merida in the year 290. She suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Maximian, surnamed Herculius, being burned alive in the year 304, by order of Dacian (*P. Datianus praeses Hispaniarum*). She is the patroness of Merida. See Ford, *Handbook*, p. 258. There seem to have been two Saint Eulalias, for she is also the tutelar of Barcelona, v. *Zeitschrift für Rom. Philol.*, xv, pp. 34-35, and p. 41.

VI. St. Elizabeth of Thuringia was a daughter of King Andrew II., of Hungary, and was born at Pressburg in 1207. She became the wife of the Landgrave Ludwig of Thuringia, and bore him a son and two daughters. She died in 1231, and four years afterwards was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. Her head is said to be preserved in the church of St. Elizabeth at Breslau. Cf. Rutebeuf's poem : *La Vie Sainte*

Elysabel, Oeuvres, ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1839, vol. II, pp. 151 and 358; also *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, vol. XIX, p. 375.

L. 18, St. Anna, according to tradition, was the mother of the Virgin Mary, and the wife of Joachim. Her body is said to have been brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople in the year 710.

L. 10, for forms like *enxemplo*, with intercalated *n*, see *Zeitschrift für Rom. Philol.*, v, p. 551.

VII. Fray Estevan de Leon, prior of Lupiana, is mentioned as having made an exchange of hereditaments with the Marquis of Santillana on January 3, 1448. Amador de los Rios, *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, p. LXXXVII. Lupiana is about two leagues from Guadalajara, the family seat of the Marquis of Santillana, on the road to Cuenca. With the exception of the first five stanzas, this poem appeared in the *Cancionero de Castillo* (1511). It is entitled: Hymno trobado por Hernan Perez de Guzman que dize: "Monstrate esse Matrem," v. the edition of 1882, vol. 1, p. 67.

X. This hymn is not in *F*, but is contained in vol. IV of the *Canç. del Siglo XV*, in ten volumes, in the Bib. Nacional, Madrid. This volume is copied from the *Canç. of Fernan Perez de Guzman*, in the private library of the King, with the note: Los dos primeras estrofas se imprimieron en la edicion de los 'Sietecientas' hecha en Lisboa, año de 1564, 4°.

XI. L. 44, Aluar Garcia de Santa Maria was the brother of Don Pablo de Santa Maria, Bishop of Burgos. This distinguished family of baptized Jews, which played an important part in the reign of D. Juan II. (1407-1454), produced two well-known poets, whose works are found in the *Cancioneros Generales*: Don Alonzo de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, who died in 1456, and Don Pedro de Cartagena, who died in 1478. Ponz, *Viage de España*, Tomo XII, p. 70. Both were sons of Aluar Garcia de Santa Maria. The latter was one of the

chroniclers of Don Juan II., the first thirteen years of this chronicle, *i. e.*, down to the year 1420, being due to him. In the prologue to the *Chronicle* (ed. of Valencia, 1779), he is called, by mistake, a son of Don Pablo, Bishop of Burgos. He died in 1460, and is buried in the *capilla mayor* of the monastery of San Juan de Burgos. Amador de los Rios, *Historia Critica*, vol. VI, p. 217.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1897.

VOL. XII, 3.

NEW SERIES, VOL. V, 3.

VI.—LITERATURE AND PERSONALITY.¹

While the Germans have long recognized a *Litteraturwissenschaft*, we do not often speak in English of a 'science of literature.' Do we then lack something which the Germans have, or do they lack something which they think they have? Do we feel that the name is a misnomer? Or is it that we are satisfied to possess the *thing* without caring how it is called? If this last is so, it were as well perhaps to be a little less indifferent, since names gradually affect modes of thinking. A rose by any other name will smell as sweet, but a rose by the name of rose tempts people to smell of it, especially blind people. It is a fact of some import for the users of German, that they have the convenient word *Wissenschaft*, which they can apply freely to the serious and systematic study of any subject under the sun. On the other hand, we are not unaffected, and I think the effect is bad, by the drift of English usage toward a restricted application of the word 'science.' The tendency leads people to associate with that word not so much the grand ideals of carefulness and love of truth, as rather the particular methods employed, and the kind of accu-

¹Address of the President of the Modern Language Association of America, at its Annual Meeting, held at Cleveland, December, 1896.

racy aimed at, in the study of physics and biology. Many are also led to feel that there are spheres of thought in which science has nothing to say; and so, instead of enlarging their conception of science, they become suspicious of it. The result is that we are far from realizing that universal allegiance to the scientific spirit, which in our day we ought to have. Instead, there is a division of sentiment, many persons, intelligent persons too, feeling that for certain purposes science is a blind guide. As if there could be in the long run any better basis of life than the truth! And as if there could be any more hopeful way of getting at the truth than to keep trying, with all our might, in the light of all the evidence!

Nevertheless, the division of sentiment to which I have referred exists and a phase of it is found right in our own camp. On the one side are the men of letters and those whom they inspire, looking a little disdainfully upon the patient plodding, the extreme circumspection, of the philologists,¹ and teaching by example that the important thing in dealing with literature is, as M. Tissot expresses it, 'to talk well rather than to think well.'² Their ideal of the literary discourse tends toward the elegant *causerie*, which is apt to be interesting but not true. On the other hand, the philologists feel that what the literary men say consists pretty largely of cunningly-phrased guess-work, superficiality and personal bias. For their part they wish their work to rest on good foundations. It is the solidity of the fabric, not its beauty, that they care for. Thus they are tempted as a class (for every class has its besetting danger) to undervalue form and to confine themselves to somewhat mechanical investigations, such as promise definite, exact and unassailable results. They are suspicious of the larger and more subtle questions of litera-

¹ I use the word 'philologist' to denote the type of the investigator, in distinction from the *littérateur*.

² *Les Évolutions de la Critique Française*, p. 63: Jusque dans cette préoccupation de la forme trahie par la recherche de la diction—je retrouve l'esprit moderne qui a plus soin de bien dire que de bien penser.

ture; and so their ideal gravitates in the direction of the amorphous *Abhandlung* which is apt to be true but not interesting.

Now I am not guilty of supposing that a new and better era would dawn at once if we were all to commence talking about the 'science of literature.' In what I said a moment ago I only meant to drop the suggestion that if we were more familiar with the phrase, perhaps that very familiarity might help a little to the better realization of what the phrase implies. But I do not urge the value of the suggestion and I frankly admit that it does not loom up very large in my own field of vision. Meanwhile what we are all interested in is the thing, if not the name; and it is about that, or some aspects of it, that I purpose to speak. You see I assume that there is such a thing as literary science. Its object is to explain literature—not simply the bones, but the soul of literature. Of course we know that this is a hard task which will never be finished. Until our planet shall freeze up literature will no doubt continue to tease the thinking mind with new problems and to suggest fresh explanations. Probably our latest descendants will occasionally be taken in, even as we are, by crude theories and wrong deductions. But we need not be too much saddened by such considerations. A similar fate awaits all branches of science, including those which we call by courtesy 'exact.'

For the purposes of scientific study a literary production presents three main aspects. We may regard it, first, as a link in the chain of historical development, fixing our attention upon its relation to antecedent conditions and inquiring into the provenience of the factors that compose it. Secondly, we may regard it as an artistic fact in itself. Our aim will then be to explain its character and describe the effect it produces. In the third place, we may look at it as the product and the expression of personality, incidentally also as a link in the chain of personal development. I do not say that no other aspects are possible, nor that these three can always be

kept, or need to be kept, distinct. In some cases too the one or the other may be unimportant, or hidden from view, as is, for example, the personal aspect of the *Nibelungenlied*. It is enough that these are the three main lines along which the study of literature has been and is likely to be most fruitful.

Nothing is more characteristic of the scientific intellect in our time than its habit of looking at things under the aspect of development. Indeed, so fixed and so instinctive has this habit become that we should be justified in calling it *the scientific habit par excellence*. Whatever the matter that interests us, the first question we ask is, How came the thing to be what it is? We are interested in beginnings and in bit-by-bit evolutions. Under the influence of this historical spirit we have taught ourselves to look upon literature as the outgrowth and the register of ever-changing conditions, and hence as a connected series of social documents in which to read the spiritual history of large masses of people. This interest in conditions is connected with the two most momentous facts in the political history of the century now drawing to a close, the development on the one hand of nationalism and on the other of socialism. The effect of the drift is obvious. It leads us to emphasize the social and the national aspect of literature. We are very much concerned about general tendencies and movements, the action and reaction of social forces, the formation of schools and isms, the flocking of large numbers this way or that. Persons interest us for their relation to these generalities. We study authors for the purpose of labeling them, and if they refuse to fit in the boxes prepared for them, we resort to Procrustean surgery. I use the pronoun 'we' in a spirit of urbane condescension to sinners. Of course I do not really mean you nor myself.

The historical method, which received its first impetus not from the late-born Frenchman Taine, but from the great German pathfinder, Herder, was begotten in the spirit of opposition to literary dogmatism; more specifically, opposition to the worship of canons assumed to be absolute, but in

reality themselves the product of national tradition. Finding that certain writers spoke of Homer, Sophocles and Aristotle as if these names stood for perfection, for the ideal which modern nations had simply to copy after as best they might, Herder interposed the consideration that the Greeks were simply the Greeks. Each nation's poetry and its rules of poetry were determined by the national tradition and environment, and were to be judged accordingly. Since no two peoples had the same tradition and environment, one could not possibly be a norm for another. The greatest glory of each was to be itself.

This doctrine, with all its far-reaching implications, has become for us a fundamental postulate. No one now thinks of judging Shakespeare, for example, by standards that were not *his* standards. But does it then follow that judgment, or criticism in the old etymological sense, is out of place in the scientific interpretation of literature? A strict determinism seems to lead to this conclusion. If an author or his book is the inevitable outcome of antecedent conditions, is it not folly to blame or praise him for being what he could not help being? There is nothing to do apparently but to explain and describe. One does not find fault with Niagara for being where it is, or for not being higher; and if any one says that he is or is not impressed by it, we set that down as a matter of taste which tells us something about the observer, but nothing at all about the cataract. There are some writers of our day who seem to have taken a through ticket on the deterministic route, and tell us, in effect, that all criticism is an impertinence. I quote from one of them:¹ "Our sole aim should be to know, and as invariably any expression of surprise is nothing more than a confession of ignorance, our blame can merely come from a lack of knowledge of all the facts and the same must be true of our praise. The highest quality of human nature is comprehension, which is a placid quality."

¹T. S. Perry, *From Opitz to Lessing*, p. 58.

Is this sound? Will the critics be forced out of business in the good time coming? And must we give them their walking-papers in the name of science? I do not think so. It does not seem to me a betrayal of the scientific spirit to use one's judgment, if one has such a thing, or to express one's opinion, provided the opinion has been carefully formed according to the evidence. We must not be misled by the analogy of natural phenomena. Between Niagara Falls and *Hamlet*, for example, there is at least one momentous difference; and that is that the latter has in it an element of purpose. To find out what that purpose is and whether the work does or does not accomplish its end, is a perfectly legitimate scientific enterprise. The play was meant to excite certain emotions. What emotions? Does it succeed? If so, how? If not, why not? Where does the fault lie? These, so far as I can see, are just as strictly scientific questions as any that can be imagined; but no one can do anything with them without calling into play his aesthetic judgment. On the other hand, if there is any purpose in Niagara, it is at any rate hidden from our view. We have no reason to suppose that the Falls were meant to arouse feelings of awe and admiration in the human biped. If we had, an aesthetic opinion of them would come quite within the purview of science. Of course opinions might differ, but experts differ about all sorts of things. They may disagree about the strength of a bridge or the height of a tower.

I am arguing simply that admiration and disapproval are not necessarily unscientific. In the realm of natural science, no doubt, comprehension is a "placid quality," if one choose to call it a quality at all; but how can one be placid and comprehend a great poem? The poem is meant to move, and unless one is moved by it one does not really comprehend it as literature at all. Literary criticism is rightly conceived, it seems to me, as the science of the emotional effects produced by literature. If this is so, then the critic's capacity for admiration is the organ by which he apprehends the facts

with which he must deal. If he lacks such an organ, or has a poor one, he can not talk knowingly of literature. He is a deaf man discoursing of music. But if he has the organ why should he not report his impressions, when his impressions are intimately bound up with his comprehension? Is it that another and another may be impressed differently, and there is no court of appeal to decide between conflicting opinions and tell us which is right? This is a matter worth looking into somewhat closely, for it must be admitted, I think, that there are no universal canons of literary excellence. The poem which delights you or me will leave an educated Chinese quite cold; and if we tried to explain the grounds of our admiration we should probably make little impression on his mind. We should find that *our* associations of literary beauty, power and value were quite different from his. And even among the occidental nations that have a large common inheritance there are no general and immutable standards, though education has done much to create a common basis of feeling. Thus an Englishman, a German and an Italian may read a book of the *Iliad*, each in his own way, and all get pleasure from it, though a pleasure quite different in quality from that aroused in their hearers by the old Ionian rhapsodists. But is the heroic hexameter beautiful in itself? Is it adapted to German or English poetry? These are questions upon which the wise will at once begin to disagree. Is the Alexandrine verse good for dramatic dialogue? The Frenchman will probably say 'yes,' the Englishman 'no,' because their aesthetic sense in this sphere has been trained upon different models. So too the stylistic and spiritual qualities which we admire in literature appeal to us usually through personal experience and education. Whether one is to find joy and edification in Wordsworth, for example, will depend largely on the road one has privately travelled in religion and philosophy. Who can tell how far our liking for the literary quality of the English bible depends upon purely religious associations? Are there any qualities of style which are always and everywhere

good? Is lucidity, for instance, such a quality? One can not say so. Poetry often charms us by its very lack of lucidity. Perfect clearness would spoil it.

In short, one's taste in literature is very largely a matter of national and individual peculiarity. It does not follow a logic which is valid for all mankind, but grows out of temperament, education and experience. There is no objective test of rightness; indeed, we can associate no idea with the phrase 'correct taste' except the idea of conformity to a certain fashion. The political economists sometimes talk of the 'economic man,' meaning a human abstraction conceived as having nothing in the world to do but to move naturally under the impact of economic laws. If we do not hear of a corresponding aesthetic man, I suppose it is because wisdom from on high would be needed to tell how such a man would act in a given case.

But conceding that the critic's opinion can settle nothing for those who do not agree with him, does it follow that his opinion is an impertinence from the scientific point of view? Certainly not if it is a faithful record of honest feeling. If we think of criticism as the science of the effects produced by literature, what can be more relevant than a description of these effects, with the greatest possible precision and minuteness, in a particular case? For the effect of literature is not produced upon humanity in the abstract, but always upon individual souls. The feelings of men and women with regard to books or, to speak in the jargon, their emotional reactions under the stimulus of literature, are facts which have the same right as other facts, to be carefully recorded and studied for such instruction as they may be capable of yielding. In the aggregate they constitute the evidence by which we must estimate the *power* of literature, its power to impress and to edify. It is of course essential to this view of the matter that the critic be honest in reporting the state of his mind. Let him tell how he is actually impressed, and regard this as more important than to tell how other people ought to be impressed.

If he does this he will perform a service in any event, and a great service if he has the advantage of wide knowledge and delicate sensibility. His first virtue is breadth. He should know what there is to be known about that which he assumes to judge, should let his mind play freely about it, and be patient in the search for light. And then his second virtue is candor; he should tell the truth as he feels it, resisting every temptation to sacrifice this truth to rhetorical point, to the turn of a phrase, to wit or humor, to any didactic aim, to the fashion of his time or his coterie. When he begins to sophisticate and to think less of the truth of what he is saying than of its effect upon his own reputation for sagacity or literary cunning, then, indeed, he parts company with the scientific spirit.

I should be sorry if any one were to draw from what I have just been saying the inference that I undervalue the graces of style in criticism. Far from it. My point is simply that the ideal of perfection in style is not opposed to but in harmony with the ideal of all science, namely, a continual approximation to the truth, the greatest possible fidelity to the facts. But the facts with which we have to do in aesthetic criticism are of a subjective nature; they consist of feelings to be recorded. Of course we can not draw a rigid line between feelings and thoughts. They run together inextricably so that the critic will often find occasion to explain, to argue and even to dogmatize. But his true function, his highest function, is to report feelings with nicety. The other things are ancillary to that. Now other things being equal he is the best stylist who can best seize upon his own more subtle thoughts and feelings, his nicer observations and discriminations, the more delicate promptings of his aesthetic sense,—who can best seize upon these elusive things, disentangle them, find precise expression for them and present them effectively so that another may think and feel them after him and verify his statements. Take Macaulay and Matthew Arnold, for example. How can we better describe the difference between them than by saying that

Arnold, besides being more discriminating, cares more for the subjective truth of what he says. But are not discrimination and truthfulness precisely the highest of scientific virtues?

I come now to that other aspect of literary study, which our printed program invites you to regard as the proper subject of this address. Literature is the expression of personality and may be studied for the purpose of comprehending personality. There are many proper studies of mankind besides man, but none is more instructive, none more difficult; and not the least of the factors which render it so instructive and so difficult is the simple truth that, do what we will, personality can never be made to appear entirely inevitable. It comes upon us with the effect of something new in the world, something not fully deducible from the past. It has a way of eluding our formulae. With astonishing recalcitrancy it often refuses to belong to its own school, to move with its own movement and to conform to the ism which has been named after it. Plato was no Platonist, Byron was much more than Byronic, nor is Ibsen an Ibsenite.

Let me not be misunderstood. From the view-point of pure theory I am a good enough determinist. Nothing happens without a cause and this law is just as inexorable in the domain of psychology as elsewhere. Had we a complete record of all the pertinent facts, any man's character would be like an open scroll. We could draw the curve of his personality, account for his traits and his doings and even predict how he would act under the influence of given conditions. And nowhere would there be any room for surprise or admiration except, indeed, such as we may feel in presence of purely physical phenomena. But this is only a way of saying that if men were gods, things would be different. We have no such record of the facts that make up personality and we can not possibly get it. The web is too fine and intricate for our unraveling. Many of the things we should need to know in any given case will always be lacking through mere imperfection of the record. Many more will be hope-

lessly beyond our reach, because, from their very nature, they do not admit of precise recording. And then, worst of all perhaps, we are ever more in danger of being misled by facts which have the unfortunate peculiarity of not being so. And thus it comes about that personality is always more or less incalculable. Examine the political, social and religious conditions of Germany in the eighteenth century as much as you will; study the city of Frankfurt, into which Goethe was born; scrutinize his ancestry as far back as you can trace it; take account of every discernible influence that affected him at each stage of his life,—and what have you got? No doubt much that is worth knowing, but you have not got the secret of the man's individuality. That is something that defies your synthetic efforts. The conditions noted will be seen to have been for the most part general conditions that affected also a large number of other men. At the beginning of every life there is a certain something, call it if you will the form of the individual, which has for our minds at least the quality of an original datum, which we can not get behind. An oak tree and a beech grow side by side, nourished by the same soil and air, exposed to the same winds and rains. Evidently the essential difference between the two can not be accounted for by these conditions. Nor can it be cleared up by the microscopic or the chemical study of an acorn and a beechnut. We can not produce an acorn by putting together the materials of which it is composed in the form which mother Nature seems to prescribe. The oakiness of the tree depends upon starting with an acorn.

There are some well-known verses in which Goethe himself touches upon this subject. After referring one of his traits to his father, another to his mother and others to remote ancestors, he concludes with the rueful query:

Sind nun die Elemente nicht
Aus dem Complex zu trennen,
Was ist denn an dem ganzen Wicht
Original zu nennen?

What now is the right answer to this question? Simply this, as it seems to me: Nothing *in* the entire wight can boast of originality, but the entire wight is original. The momentous facts of heredity are there and must be reckoned with. In a certain true sense we *are* our ancestors. They live in us. But we are also something more, something different; not because a miracle has intervened, but because the elements derived from the past have entered into a new combination and in combining have given rise to a product that is unique; just as atoms may unite chemically and form a new substance the properties of which are not determinable from the elements composing it. Strictly speaking, this is true of every personality, however humble. It appears in the world as a new aggregate of qualities, tendencies and capacities. As such it goes its own way and preserves its own being. If comprehended at all, it must be comprehended as an entirety.

Now the comprehension of personality in its entirety and its *Eigenart*, is one of the hardest things in the world. Ideally what we have to do seems perhaps easy enough, being simply to see the facts just as they were and let them work upon us naturally. But we can not help seeing them in a perspective of our own. Some will seem to us more important, others less; and by pressing those which seem more important and slighting those which seem less, we are easily led to distort the true relation of things. We bring to the study of an author a mass of prepossessions from which we can not escape if we would. Then perhaps there is a pet theory to exploit or some one else's theory to explode. A bit of a discovery may afflict us with temporary myopia. You will say perhaps that these are only the well-known sources of subjective error which have to be guarded against in all scientific study whatever, and this is true. But in dealing with personality one has especial need of vigilant self-discipline, because one inevitably brings to his work, or soon develops, a certain amount of sympathy or antipathy. One *must* be a partisan in a greater or less degree. If you try to look at Luther,

say, with cool impartiality, you will run a great risk of not really *seeing* Luther at all. A certain measure of heat is necessary in order to comprehend *his* heat. Not that one must be passionately interested at this late day in all the sixteenth-century questions that disturbed his soul; but one must have so trained his historical imagination by aid of the documents that one can look at Luther's world through Luther's eyes. When that has been done it will be impossible to avoid taking sides for or against him, and the attitude assumed will color one's entire estimate of the man.

This brings me to consider the question whether the scientific spirit in its most perfect manifestation is incompatible with a respect for persons. A distinguished German scholar, Hermann Paul, expresses the opinion that the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, because it takes regard for an individual as the starting-point of investigation, occupies a position for which there is no longer any justification.¹ Now I hold no brief for the editor of the *Jahrbuch*, but to my mind this is a very hard saying. Is it the idea that the starting-point ought to be regard for truth in the abstract rather than for a person? If this be what is meant one can only ask: Why? What difference can it make what the starting-point of the inquiry is provided the result of it is to promote accurate knowledge? When Saul found his kingdom it was no less a kingdom because he set out to look for his father's asses. It is a familiar fact that the most valuable scientific discoveries are often stumbled upon accidentally in the course of a search for something else. Our concern is not with the starting-point, but with the method and the results.

Or does Professor Paul mean that regard for truth and regard for a person are in some way incompatible? Does he

¹ *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, I, 138: So zeigt sich, z. B., die Vermischung von strenger Wissenschaft und Dilettantismus in dem seit 1880 von Ludw. Geiger herausgegebenen *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, welches manche willkommene Gabe gebracht hat, aber denn doch, indem es die Verehrung für die einzelne Person zum Ausgangspunkt für die Forschung nimmt, einen Standpunkt vertritt, der jetzt überwunden sein sollte.

fear that admiration of Goethe will so warp the mind of his admirers that they will be unable to deal critically with him? That they will be apt, for example, to treat unimportant scraps of writing as important simply because they are his or pertain to him? That they will be predisposed to magnify his virtues and to ignore or condone his shortcomings? Well, these dangers no doubt exist and many there are who have fallen into them. It is necessary to be on one's guard. But is it then impossible to admire a man in a large way without losing one's head when it comes to dealing with particular phases of his life and work? I trow not; and I would undertake to prove by notable examples, if it seemed worth while, that admiration often co-exists with the most perfect critical equipoise. And there is this further consideration. One who is intimately familiar with the life and works of Goethe will either like or dislike the man—indifference is not to be thought of. The question then reduces to this: Whether love or hate gives the better guaranty of judicial fairness. Now for myself I vote unreservedly for love. We are less likely to be stampeded by sympathy than by antipathy. It is certain that the friends of Goethe have written much nonsense about him; but more and worse nonsense has been written by his enemies.

It is just possible, however, that I have not yet hit upon the real grounds on which our austere methodologist meant to condemn a journal specially devoted to the study of one man. Perhaps he meant to teach that before the bar of science it is not the man that counts, but only his books, his ideas, his style, his tendency, his relation to the movements of his time. If this be what is meant and is to be taken as a part of the orthodox creed, then I must confess myself a heretic. Why should not a personality, especially a unique and commanding personality like that of Goethe, be an object of scientific interest for its own sake? If it is scientific to care for the life-history of a bug or a worm, why not for that of a man? It may be urged, perchance, that nothing is literary science

which does not aim primarily at the explanation of literature. Granted; but the works of Goethe are the product and the expression of his personality and this is for many precisely their most interesting and instructive aspect. The works and the life are indissolubly bound up together and what makes for a better knowledge of the man must make in the long run for a better understanding of the works. Of course it does not follow that everything produced by him or left on record by those who knew him is important or has even a possible value. The laborious collection of his unfinished fragments and sketches, his rejected verses, the chips from his workshop, his trivial correspondence, his dinner-bills and freight-bills, the record of his goings and comings, the gossip of his friends and enemies, his chronicles of small beer—is a business which he himself would have preferred to characterize through the mouth of Mephistopheles. Indeed he has made use of that very organ for that very purpose:

Noch immer glücklich aufgefunden!
 Die Flamme freilich ist verschwunden,
 Doch ist mir um die Welt nicht leid.
 Hier bleibt genug Poeten einzuweihen,
 Zu stiften Gild- und Handwerksneid;
 Und kann ich die Talente nicht verleihen,
 Verborg' ich wenigstens das Kleid.

These are precious words which the latter-day *Goethe-Forscher*, in their arduous pursuit of the infinitely little, would do well to bear in mind and say over occasionally in order to preserve their sense of humor and of proportion. But after all the question has another side, which warns us while enjoying the devil's fun not to take him for an oracle of perfect wisdom. When a man has acquired in the totality of his work and influence the importance which Goethe possesses for modern Germany, so that he is constantly studied by multitudes from every point of view and for the most diverse purposes, who can wisely set limits to the publication of material concerning him? What seems trivial and worth-

less to one will often prove useful to some one else. One can not always tell in advance. Upon the whole there is less danger of going too far than of not going far enough. The man does not live who could safely be trusted to winnow the material relating, say, to *Faust*, with a view to destroying all that in his opinion could never by any possibility be of use.

Thus far then we have found no solid basis for the general dogma that regard for a person is an unworthy incentive in literary study, though there is no denying that it *may* lead to uncritical habits. Everything will depend, as it seems to me, upon the spirit in which the study is carried on. If it is mere blind hero-worship, bent on the burning of incense rather than the promotion of exact knowledge, then of course it is unscientific. Not so, however, if it proceeds from a deliberate conviction, based on fact and argument, that the man is worth studying more closely than most men because of the exceptional importance of his personality. This is a perfectly legitimate attitude which requires no sacrifice of scientific *acribia*. For a man may be greater than his productions, as is actually the case with the man we have been considering. My interest in Goethe, at any rate, is something quite different from the sum total of the interest I feel in the separate volumes of his works. One may go through the works in a critical spirit, as Prof. Dowden did lately in an article published in the *Cosmopolis*, and find pretty serious defects in all of them. *Götz* is certainly weak on the side of dramatic construction. *Werther* is a sentimental tale which, I fancy, few of us would care to read at the present time if its authorship had chanced to remain unknown. *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* are elegant exponents of high culture, charming in style and correct in form; but they are not powerful dramas. *Meister* and the *Elective Affinities* are much too straggling and discursive for good novels. The best friend of Goethe can easily read himself to sleep in either of them. And as for *Faust*, all the world knows how full of faults that is when tried by the conventional canons. Of course there are in each case countervailing considerations which a fair criticism

will always take into account. But in the end it will have to be admitted that the great works of Goethe are each and all rather vulnerable. Of themselves they hardly suffice to account for the commanding position which has been accorded him among modern writers, nor for the deep and abiding interest taken in him by a vast multitude of thoughtful men in all parts of the world.

What then is the explanation? Simply this, as I conceive: That behind the works at every stage is a pre-eminently original and powerful personality. It is this personality in its entire development, in the totality of its manifestation from first to last, that interests us. Napoleon's *Voilà un homme* was not the dictum of a hero-worshipper, but of an eminently cool observer; and it suggests a perfectly scientific point of view for you and me. One may outgrow the works of Goethe or become indefinitely cool toward them as did their author himself, who said in 1825 that he could hardly read any of them with delight except *Hermann and Dorothea*; which certainly would not suffice in itself for a foundation of first-class literary renown. But what one never outgrows who has once come under the fascination of it, is the personality that informs the works. Not that this personality is in any sense canonical. It is not only unscientific, but contrary to Goethe's own spirit, to treat any man as an embodiment of perfection; for there are no such men and his central maxim was to see things just as they are. Now any one who essays to see Goethe just as he was, in his relation to times and places, to men and women, to art, science, and philosophy, in the varying phases of his experience from youth to age, will find like the psalmist that "his feet have been set in a large room." And when he has made himself at home there by patient study, he will see that the works appear in a new light and derive a large part of their importance from their relation to personal vicissitudes.

I have been led to speak at length of Goethe in particular, partly because the dogma of Paul, which I have been criticis-

ing, had reference to the study of Goethe, and partly because his case illustrates very forcibly the line of thought which I wished to present. But the case is by no means unique. On the contrary I think it may be said that every great writer is more than his books and is most instructive through his individuality. How true this is of Lessing, for example. The fame of Lessing to-day rests mainly on two plays and two contributions to criticism. But one may read these works carefully and find himself at the end quite unable to understand the saying of Hettner: *Dem Deutschen geht das Herz auf, wenn er von Lessing redet.* *Minna von Barnhelm* is a fairly good play of its kind, but where are its elements of immortal greatness? Put it beside *As You Like It* and how dim is the light with which it shines! *Nathan* is richer in elements of permanent interest, but chiefly because of its religious import. Apart from this its artistic quality is not very high, and its religious import interests us largely—I do not say exclusively—because of its relation to Lessing's individuality and personal history. The *Hamburg Dramaturgy* and the *Laokoon* are characterized by great logical acumen and by great learning, but not pre-eminently by critical equipoise. They are the works of a brilliant attorney rather than of a wise judge. But is Lessing really summed up for those who know him well by any such coarse and general verdicts as these? Not at all. The man is more than the works and the works, if one would read them to the best advantage and comprehend their full significance, must be read in the light of biography.

According to my best insight, then, the interest we all instinctively feel in personality is not something to be repressed, but something to be made much of in our pursuit of the science of literature. And that simply in the interest of truth. Occupied, as we are apt to be very largely, with the generalities of historical and aesthetic criticism, we are always more or less in danger of being fooled by half-truths and of getting wrong mental images. Against this danger the best protection is a lively interest in personality. Who

has not had some such experience as this? One has read a little of some author, a very little, perhaps, but a great deal about him,—in the histories of literature, in books of reference, in popular essays and critiques. One thinks he understands the man, perchance one even has the temerity to lecture about him. Then one day, for some reason or other, one is led to take up the author in earnest, to read all that he wrote and to make a thorough study of his life and character. And now one finds that one's former ideas were mostly wrong. What one knew was really not worth knowing. Thus does grey theory play havoc with the green tree of life, and admonish us in our 'critical endeavor' to keep as close as we can to concrete realities.

A man, if he is worth studying at all, is nearly always more interesting and instructive than the cleverest abstraction that can be framed about him. And then the study of personality has a useful effect on the student himself; it keeps the mind flexible, prevents it from growing mechanical. I am not trying to justify literary idolatry—it is not a question of hero-worship, but of comprehension. We have got rid of all the supernaturalism that used to cluster about the idea of genius and have resolved the old mystery into more or less commonplace elements, like energy, capacity for work, openness to experience, power of expression. But we have not thereby done away with the difference between genius and common mortality. The difference is not infinite; we can pass from the one to the other by easy gradations. But after all the difference is very great and we should recognize it in a whole-souled way, while doing what we may to account for it by the study of conditions and dependences. All honor to the science of historical interpretation! But when it has done its utmost to account for genius as the product of circumstances, it will still remain true that genius is a reality. The primates of the mind are there and one of the noblest functions of literature is to reveal them as they were.

CALVIN THOMAS.

VII.—LEARNÈD AND LEARN'D.

This paper is a part of a larger study on the general subject, 'The Loss or Retention of Weak Syllables in English,' which I shall publish at a later time.

It is well known that there are words like *aged*, *blessed*, *learned*, in which the *e* is silent if the word is a participle, but is sounded if the word is an adjective. I am not aware that an explanation of this interesting phenomenon has been offered, other than the usual untenable one that it is "in order to distinguish" the parts of speech. It is my object in this paper to show (1) that this, as well as certain closely related phenomena, is based on the fact that our speech prefers a rhythm consisting of syllables alternately strong and weak, and (2) that this has produced different results in the adjective from what it has in the participle because the usual position of the adjective with reference to the other members of the sentence is not that generally occupied by the participle.

From the start we must exclude from consideration all those cases in which the ending *-ed* is preceded by a *d* or *t*; for here the *e* was retained (or restored) because essential to the preservation of the consonantal frame of the word: *faddèd*, *gildèd*, *intendèd*, *weddèd*, *giftèd*, *spiritèd*, *notèd*, etc.

Where the *e* of *-ed* adjoined a vowel (whether stressed or unstressed) or a diphthong, it early blended with it: *annoyèd*, *dignifièd*, etc. These words, too, are therefore excluded from further consideration, and the field is clear for the observation of the action of rhythmic forces.

An alternate rhythm implies:—

(1) The retention of a weak syllable between two heavily stressed ones.

(2) A tendency to lose one of two adjoining weak syllables.

These tendencies were formulated by ten Brink as follows:—

(1) "Schwach^e *e* zwischen dem Hauptton und dem Ne-

benton hat in englischen Wörtern (wo es häufig auf Analogie beruht) sowie in englischen Ableitungen aus bezw. Zusammensetzungen mit fremden Elementen gewöhnlich Silbenwerth" (*Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, § 262).

(2) "I. Enthalten zwei aufeinander folgende Silben je ein schwaches *e*, so verliert ein von diesen nothwendig seinen Silbenwerth. . . . II. Nach unbetonter, jedoch tonfähiger Silbe muss ein schwaches *e* verstummen" (*Id.*, §§ 256, 257).

Ten Brink himself had occasion to apply principle (2) in treating of Chaucer's participles in *-ed*: "Einem allgemeinen Gesetz gemäss (§ 257) wird das *e* der Endung *-ed*, wenn die zweitvorhergehende Silbe den Ton trägt, stumm, ohne dass die Syncope gewöhnlich graphisch ausgedrückt würde: *púnissshēd*, *vánissshēd*, *enlúminēd*, *empoisonēd* u. s. w." (*Id.*, § 181).

To these should be added those words whose simple form ends in a consonant + a sonorous consonant (or a semi-vowel) + *e*, for example, *-tle*, *-kne*, *-lwe*, *-rīe*, etc. In Chaucer's time the sonorous consonant or semi-vowel was not syllabic (*Id.*, § 261); thus, *whistl̄a whistl̄əd*, *herkn̄a herkn̄əd*, *halw̄a halw̄əd*, *harī̄a harī̄əd*, etc. When, shortly after Chaucer's time, the final *e* became silent, the sonorous consonant—when not followed by a word beginning with a vowel—became syllabic, that is, *whistl̄a* > *whistl̄*, *herkn̄a* > *herkn̄*, etc. Naturally the inflected forms also assumed the syllabic *l*, *n*, etc.; but this forced the loss of the *a* of *-ed*; thus, *whistl̄əd* > *whistl̄(ə)d*, *herkn̄əd* > *herkn̄(ə)d*, *halw̄əd* > *halu(ə)d* (> *hælod*), *harī̄əd* > *harī(ə)d*,—just as Chaucer's *ladīas*, *bodīas* > *ladi(ə)s*, *bodi(ə)s*, by analogy to *lady*, *body*, etc.

There remain for consideration those verbs in which the stress falls on the syllable before the *-ed*, and in which the *-ed* is separated from this stressed syllable by a consonant or a consonant combination other than non-sonorous consonant + sonorous consonant. It is my object to show that in these the very same principles apply, except that it is now the weak syllable of a following word—not a preceding syllable in the word itself—that causes the loss of the *e* of *-ed*. It will be

observed that, if the *e* be retained, the words we have to consider are¹ of this type $\text{—}əd$, in which — represents a heavily stressed syllable and $əd$ represents the weakly stressed ending. When a word of this type is followed by a weak word or a weak initial syllable of the succeeding word, we again get $\text{—} \vee \vee \text{—}$, and the alternate rhythm favors the loss of the *e* of *-ed* (cf. (2) page 318). On the other hand, when a word of this type is followed by a heavily stressed syllable, we get $\text{—} \vee \text{—}$, and the alternate rhythm as imperatively requires the retention of the *e* (cf. (1) page 318). It is, in fact, more difficult to stress heavily two succeeding syllables than to allow two weak syllables to intervene between two heavy ones; where there is no such intervening weak syllable, we usually make a slight pause in which to recuperate (cf. my *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 274, 2 end), or admit *ə*, cf. dialectic *Lóok & hère, thát & wáy*. Let the rhythmical force (or the physiological convenience of utterance) have full sway, and such an *-ed* word will appear in the two forms *-ed* and *-d*, the first before a heavy stress, the second before a weak syllable. We pronounce the word in both ways and, hence, retain, unconsciously of course, a muscular memory of both; we also hear both forms and, hence, retain an auditory memory of both. If the two forms are practically equally distinct and occur with about the same frequency, they will probably continue side by side, and our phonetic, or rhythmical, or physiological law (however we may choose to designate it) is supreme. But if, with practical equality in distinctness, one of the two forms occurs much more frequently than the other, that is, if we ourselves utter it much more often and hear it from others much more often, then the impression it makes upon the mind is stronger and fresher, and it is far more likely to suggest itself in response to the idea than is the other form, and that, too, even when the physical conditions would have favored

¹That is, if no syllable precedes the stressed syllable; the few words having such a preceding syllable *end* in this type.

the rarer form. That is, the results of the phonetic law are more or less effaced by the psychological.

But this need not be the same over the whole ground. If on the one hand the word has one function and on the other another, and if one form is the more common in the first function and the other in the second, the one form is apt to prevail in the one case and the other in the other.

Now, with reference to the words under consideration, I took as a basis for my study a prose text that fairly represents the language as it was shortly before the *e* of *-ed* began to become generally silent—*The Persones Tale* of Chaucer. I divided the words into three classes:—

- (1) Adjectives used attributively and predicatively.
- (2) Participles.

(3) Adjectives used almost only predicatively, such as *ashamed*, *enclined*, etc. They are arranged below according as the rhythm would require the type $\rightarrow d$ or the type $\leftarrow d$, or as it is neutral, namely, when the word occurs just before a pause. First the actual number of cases found is given, and then the percents.

	$\leftarrow d$	$\rightarrow d$	neutral	total
Adj's, attrib. and pred.....	12	49	7	68
Participles.....	95	10	28	133
Adj's, only predicate.....	6	0	4	10
Adj's, attrib. and pred.....	18%	72%	10%	
Participles.....	71%	8%	21%	
Adj's, only predicate.....	60%	0%	40%	

That is, in the adjectives used both attributively and predicatively the rhythm favored the retention of the *e* in 72 per cent. of the cases, and favored its suppression in but 18 per cent.; but in the participles it favored the suppression of the *e* in 71 per cent. of the cases, and favored its retention in but 8 per cent., while in the adjectives used almost only predicatively it favored the suppression of the *e* in 60 per cent. of the cases and in no case favored its retention. In other words, the rhythm favored the retention of the *e* in the

ordinary adjectives just about as strongly as it favored its suppression in the participles and the predicate adjectives. Hence, what happened is just what we should expect to happen: the *-ed* became general in the ordinary adjectives, and the *-d* became general in the participles and the predicate adjectives.

It may be asked, just how does it happen that the ordinary adjective usually stands before a heavy syllable, and the participle and the predicate adjective before a weak syllable? This is due to the fact that most adjectives that are used both attributively and predicatively are far more often used attributively than predicatively, and to the fact that an attributive adjective usually stands before a heavy syllable because most of our substantives begin with a heavy syllable: *thè wrétchéd mán*. The same thing is true when there is a series of adjectives, for most adjectives also begin with a heavily stressed syllable: *thè wrétchéd sínfúl mán*. On the other hand, participles, like verbs, are usually followed by some modifier, and this, in the vast majority of cases, is an adverbial group beginning with a preposition or a conjunction, or it is a weak pronoun. Of the 95 cases that we found above to favor the loss of *e* in the participle, 90 come under the following heads:—

53 prepositions,

18 conjunctions,

10 pronouns and articles,

9 weak adverbs and adjectives—and dissyllabic adverbs beginning with a weak syllable.

As to the final position it will be observed that the figures are as might be expected: it is the predicate adjective that occurs there most frequently, 40 per cent.; while the participles are found in this position less often, 21 per cent., being more apt to be followed by adverbial modifiers; and the common adjectives, being attributive much more frequently than predicate, occur just before a pause least often, 10 per cent.

The most common adjectives of this kind that are used both attributively and predicatively are, perhaps, included in the following list :—

<i>*naked</i>	<i>*blessed</i>	<i>striped</i>
<i>*wicked</i>	<i>*(a)cursed</i>	<i>jagged</i>
<i>*wretched</i>	<i>deuced</i>	<i>ragged</i>
<i>aged</i>	<i>*crooked</i>	<i>crabbed</i>
<i>learned</i>	<i>peaked</i>	<i>dogged</i>
<i>beloved</i>	<i>streaked</i>	<i>rugged.</i>

Of these Chaucer had occasion to use in *The Persones Tale* those marked with an *, as also *dampned* 'damned,' in which the short form has prevailed because of its frequent occurrence between stressed *Gód* and a following stressed noun like *fóol*, cf. page 324. *deuced* is usually an adverb before an adjective: *deücēd prēttyj*. *aged*, *learned*, *(a)cursed*, *peaked*, *streaked*, *striped*, *crooked*, *dogged*, *beloved* and *blessed* are also used as participles and then have *-d*; *beloved* and *blessed* hardly occur as predicate adjectives.

Many adjectives in which we might expect *-ed*, have *-d*, because in them the participial idea is still more or less alive, and because they but recently were, or still are, more frequently used in the predicate; so *inclined*, *ashamed*, *appalled*, etc. Some are now quite often used attributively, but retain the form they acquired when more often used predicatively: *arched*, *forced*, *stuffed*, *chapped*, *chopped*, *diseased*, *reserved*, *fixed*, *vexed*, *ribbed*, *webbed*, etc. In some cases we can still see how the attributive use was of later growth, as in the case of *barbed* in consequence of the general introduction of barbed wire. Compare also the comparatively recent frequent use of *unabridged* attributively in connection with certain dictionaries.

The list might be much increased by the addition of such words as *stubbled*, *chubbed*, *scabbed*, *cragged*, etc., for many of which forms in *-y* are more common. So *crazed* is hardly an adjective, *crazy* being always used attributively at least.

Sometimes the dissyllabic pronunciation has prevailed in but one meaning or use of the adjective: *a pickèd leaf*, but *pickèd men*, often *hookèd nose*, *forkèd beard*, *forkèd lightning*, but *hookèd line*, *forkèd stick*, etc. As to some of these usage is not settled.

Very many adjectives drop the *e* because, when used attributively, it is always or most frequently after an emphatic modifier, where their stressed syllable gets weaker stress. This corresponds to ten Brink's rule II, § 257 (page 319 above). Thus *fár-fètchèd árgument*, *lóng-tímbed féllow*, *lárge-sduled mán*, *bíg-móuthèd bóy*, *góod-sizèd chícken*, *shórt-tíved fáith*, *bób-táiled hórsè*, *únskilled lábor*, *stíff-nèckèd príde*, *húneh-báckèd wóman*, *cróss-gráined blóck*, *hárd-shèllèd Báptist*, *sháme-fáced mánnèr*, *háre-bráined ídiot*, *hén-pèckèd húsband*, *Gód-dámned fúol*, *hálf-stárved children*, *fóur-lèaved clóver*, *twó-èdged swórd*, etc. This is made especially clear by the fact that the *e* is sometimes dropped in such cases, but not when the word is used independantly: *óld-àged mán*, *lóng-wínged bírds*, but *an áged mán*, *a wínged Nike*, etc. As to some usage varies, thus *bow-leggèd* or *bow-legg'd*, etc. Children often say *learn'd* for *learnèd* because they have long known the participle when they first meet the adjective, a good illustration of the way analogy often works in such cases. Not infrequently more than one force tends in the same direction, thus *famed* occurs most frequently after strong *far*: *á fár-fámèd héró*, or before weak *for*: *fámèd fór déeds óf válör*, and *armed* usually occurs after strong *wèll*: *á wèll-àrmèd fléet*, or before a weak preposition: *àrmèd wíth gúns*, etc.

The ending *-ly* was formerly a heavy syllable, the *y* being long. This, therefore, required before it a weak syllable and thus the *e* was retained in such adverbs as *ádvísèdly*, *ássúrèdly*, *cómpósèdly*, *cónféssèdly*, *fixèdly*, *rèservèdly*; not, however, in *íll-fávörèdly*, *gòod-nátürèdly*, etc., because these have one weak syllable before the *-ly* anyway. The same is true of derivatives in *-ness*, formerly a heavy ending: *cómpósèdnèss*, *rèservèdnèss*, *fixèdnèss*, *ámázèdnèss*, *pléasèdnèss*; but such derivatives

are now less often used, our feeling for them is largely lost, and when we meet with them in reading or are otherwise forced to use them, we often allow the analogy of the participle to prevail and omit the *e*, which we can easily do on account of the present weakness of the ending. In poetry the fuller forms are still very common.

GEORGE HEMPL.

VIII.—A STUDY OF THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF
THE MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM *THE PEARL*.¹

The difference in the treatment of final unstressed *-e* among the various ME. dialects has long since been noticed. In Nth., according to Morsbach (*Mittelenglische Grammatik* §§ 6-9), it became silent ("ist stumm") about 1350; in Ml. it was in part sounded throughout the fourteenth century, though as Morsbach remarks, "in vielen fällen ist es schon verstummt;" in WSt. and MSt. it was in general retained throughout the century; while Kt. on the whole retains it intact quite up to the middle of the century.

The usage of the various districts of Ml., however, has not yet been fully investigated. That of Eml. (in Chaucer) has probably been most fully worked out, through the labors of Ellis, Child, ten Brink, Kittredge, and others. Concerning *The Pearl* (NWML.), however, Mr. Henry Bradley wrote in 1890 (*The Academy* xxxviii 249): "The question of the final *e* in the poem needs investigation. It is quite obvious that in many cases the *e* (whether written or not) is not sounded as it would have been in Chaucerian verse." It is important to note, too, that as a specimen of NWML. of the second half of the fourteenth century, *The Pearl* is in its metrical structure well-nigh unique, and because of this structure is of great value in determining the question of the pronunciation of *-e* at this time. Moreover, since its author was probably contemporary with Chaucer, it affords a convenient means of comparing the WML. with the London usage.

The present paper is offered as a contribution to the history of final unstressed *-e* in WML. It was begun as an investigation of this subject alone; but considerable data on

¹For the suggestion which led me to write this paper, and for valuable assistance in its preparation, I am indebted to Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

other points having accumulated, it was afterward decided to present in addition a brief treatment of some of these points.¹ The arrangement of material in the paper follows that of the Metrical Chapter in Professor Kittredge's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (Kt.). References (by section) are made to this book and to ten Brink's *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst* (tenB.). The text used is that of Morris (EETS. 1, 2d ed. 1869), except as more recent emendations have been adopted. The latter have been noted in their proper places.

I. 1. Weak *-e* is elided before a vowel and usually before *h*; but in the definite article *-e* is sometimes preserved (see II 2, cp. Kt. 125, tenB. 269).

(a) Before a vowel: in *vche*² *araye*, 5; *My breste* in *bale*, 18; *so swete* a *sange*, 19. In the first 500 lines, 166 instances occur.

(b) Before *h*. Elision of weak *e* takes place before *he*, *hys*, *hym*, *hit*, *ho*, *hir*, *her* (plu.), and *hem* (with one exception, l. 551, see I 2); before *haue* (inf., pr. ind. and sjc.), *hatz*,³ and *hade* (with one exception, l. 1142, see I 2), whether independent or auxiliary; before *hente*, *heue*, *holde*, *hope*, *hurt*; before *here*, *hepen*, *hyder*; before *harm*, *holt*, *honour*, *how* ("hue"), *hyre*.

Examples are: *Hys prese*, *hys prys*, 419; *her wyllē ho waynez*, 131; *To benke hir color*, 22; & *wolde her corounez*, 451; *aboute hem bydeg*, 75; *Ofte haf I wayted*, 14; *What wyrde hatz hyder*, 249; of that || *place had þre gateg*, 1034; of *happē more hente*, 1195; to God || *wordeg schulde heue*, 314; *pennē helde vch sware*, 1029; *oure hope is drest*, 860; *þag he were hurt*, 1142; *Sir, fele hereþ porchaseg*, 439; *No gladder gome || hepen into Grece*, 231; *Er date of daye || hider arn we wonne*, 517; *ofte harmeg hate*, 388; *Bot by þyse holteg*, 921; *What more honour* (Gollancz's reading), 475; *þe topasȝe twynne how*, 1012; *What resonabele hyre*, 523.

¹The general structure of the poem has already been described: see Trautmann, *Angl.* I 119; Kaluza, *Est.* XVI 178; Gollancz, *Pearl* p. XXIII f.

²In the use of signs I have in general followed Kittredge: *-e* (in italicized words *-e*) indicates a final *e* written but elided before a vowel or *h*. *-ē* (or *-ĕ*) indicates a final *e* pronounced before a vowel or *h*. Used over a vowel in the interior of a word the diæresis indicates that the vowel is pronounced. *-[ē]* indicates that the metre requires an *e* to be pronounced at the end of a word which is written without *-e* in the ms. *-ē* indicates a final *-e* written but not sounded before a consonant (not *h*). *-e-* indicates syncopated *e* (and so of other vowels).

³I have followed Morris in using the character *ȝ* for (a) *z* (sonant spirant), (b) *h* (guttural and palatal spirant), and (c) *y* (consonant).

2. Hiatus of *-e* before a vowel is not found; before *h* it occurs rarely.

Ex. þeſeþ bot an ourē || hem con streny, 551; to hellē hete (where *helle* is gen.), 643; þy hys[ē] hylles, 678; & woundē hade, 1142.

II. Elision of weak *-e* in monosyllables (cp. Kt. 128).

1. *-e* of the definite article is generally elided. The following instances occur :

The adubbenente, 85 (cp. 109, 121); þe empyre, 454; þe apocalyppeþ, 787, 1020, (apokalypce) 983, (apocalyppe) 1008; þe apostel, 836, 944, 984, 985, 996, 1008, 1020, 1032, (apostel) 1053; þe aldermen, 887; þe vrþe, 893; þe olde gulte, 942; þe emerade, 1005.

2. *-e* of the definite article remains unelided in the following instances :

& ay þē ofter, þē alder þay were (here *þe* < OE. instr.), 621; þē innosent, 666, (innosent) 684, 696, (innocent) 720; þē olde, 941; þē aȝtþe, 1011; þē enleuenþe gent, 1014; þē amaȝtyst, 1016.

3. *ne* regularly elides *-e* before a vowel.

Ex. Nis, 100; nys, 951; ne is, 1071. Cp. *nif* he nere, Cl. 21.

NOTE. No instance of *ne* before *h* occurs. Before *w* in *wȝte*, *wyte*, *ne* combines with the following word: þou ne ȝ woste in worlde, 293; I ne wyste in þis worlde, 65.

III. Pronunciation of final unstressed *-e* before consonants.

1. The following considerations lead to the belief that before consonants the final unstressed *-e* of our text is generally silent :

(a) In the first 500 lines 208 words occur (not counting words which come at the end of the line or immediately before the caesura) in which the metre is best satisfied by not sounding the *-e* before a consonant (not *h*), as against 43 words in which *-e* must be pronounced. Of these 208 words 11.54 per cent. are proparoxytone words (e. g. *wyschande*, 14; *fortune*, 98; *enclynande*, 236), in which *-e* earliest lost syllabic value (cp. tenB. 191).

NOTE. It is interesting to compare these figures with some recording Chaucer's usage. In the first 500 lines of *The Book of the Duchesse* (written in similar metre, iambic tetrameter), there are 47 words (not counting words which come at the end of the line or just before the caesural pause) in which the metre is satisfied by not sounding the *-e*, and 115 words in which *-e* must be pronounced.

(b) Variations of spelling in the same word, where *-e* is not pronounced even when written: *blys*, 729, *blysse*, 478; *coroun*, 255, *coroune*, 205; *emerad*, 118, *emerade*, 1005; *fayr*, 46, *fayre*, 1178; *gret*, 250, *grete*, 237; *ioy*, 395, *ioye*, 1197; *lamb*, 407, *lombe*, 1064; *quen*, 444, *quene*, 468.¹

2. But final unstressed *-e* is to be pronounced in the following words (the arrangement is alphabetical):

(a) Words in which *-e* goes back to an OE. or ON. inflectional ending or to OF. *-e*.

(a) Nouns: *blys[sē]*, 286 (dat.); *brymmē*, 232 (dat.); *facē*, 809 (<OF. face); *gemmē*, 118, 289 (<OF. gemme); *glymmē*, 1088 (dat.); *gracē*, 670 (dat., <OF. grace); *groundē*, 1173 (dat.); *heldē* (here accepting Gollancz's emendation, which seems better than Morris's reading), 1193 (dat.); *hellē*, 643 (gen. or dat.); *hert[ē]*, 17, 51; *hertē*, 128, 176² (acc., <OE. heortan); *lompē*, 1046 (<OF. lampe); *lotē*, 238 (<ON. dat. lāte); *logē*, 119 (<OE. lagu); *motē*, 142 (<OF. mote); *myndē*, 1130 (dat.); *ourē*, 551 (<OF. ūre); *perrē*, 730 (<OF. perrée); *sorzē*, 352 (dat.); *spechē*, 793, 1132 (dat.); *step[pē]*, 683 (cp. stepe, Cl. 905, and MDu. steppe); *sunnē*, 83 (<OE. wfem.); *sutē*, 203 (<OF. suite); *tongē*, 100 (acc., <OE. tungan); *tong[ē]*, 225 (nom., <OE. tunge); *vynē*, 535 (<OF. vine); *wollē*, 844 (dat.); *worldē*, 476, 657, 761 (dat.); *woundē*, 1142 (acc. plu.); *zērē*, 588 (dat., cp. MnE. to-dáy, to-mórraw); *yndē*, 1016 (<OF. inde).

(B) Adjectives: *allē*, 292, 1091 (nom. plu.); *brodē*, 650 (dat.); *derē*, 758 (wnom.); *fayrē*, 169, 177, 946 (wacc.); *formē*, 639 (wnom. plu.); *fowrē*, 886 (wnom. plu.); *fuyfē*, 1006 (wnom.); *fyrre*, 148 (wnom.); *fyrst[ē]*, 486, 635, 1000 (wdat.), 999 (wnom.); *fyrte*, 54 (dat. plu.); *gret[ē]*, 616 (wgen., cp. grete, 637; grete, plu., Gaw. 2490); *hyzē*, 395, 1051 (wnom.), 401 (stnom.); *hyz[ē]*, 678 (wacc. plu.); *ilk[ē]*, 995 (wacc., cp. ilke, Gaw. 1385); *kyndē*, 276 (wnom.); *long[ē]*, 586 (dat.); *much[ē]*, 776 (dat., cp. muche, Piers Plowm. A VIII 70); *newē*, 155 (nom. plu.), 882 (wacc.); *newē*, 894 (nom. plu.); *onē*, 312 (wnom.); *quytē*, 1137 (wdat.); *rych[ē]*, 68 (nom. plu., cp. ryche, 770), 1036 (dat. plu.); *samē*, 1099 (wdat.); *schē*, 965 (wnom.); *self[ē]*, 1046, 1076 (wnom.); *styllē*, 20 (stnom.); *tenbē*, 136 (wdat.); *brydē*, 833 (and possibly *bryddē*, 299; wnom.); *bryd[dē]*, 1004 (wdat.); *wlonk[ē]*, 122 (dat. plu.); *wynnē*, 154 (pred. nom. plu.), 647 (stnom.); *your[ē]*, 497 (wdat.).

NOTE 1. Line 690 is obviously imperfect. Bradley's proposed emendation (*The Academy* Sept. 6, 1890, p. 201 f.) could be scanned, How koyn | tise onour | ē || con aquyle, since the poet usually retains the French accent. If we accept Gollancz's emendation, How kyntly ourē lord him con aquyle, the line will be taken out of the present discussion.

¹None of the words cited occur at the end of the line; cp. Summary 14.

²We might also read: myn herte a brunt, 174.

NOTE 2. Line 997 lacks the catchword *Iohan*. If we accept Gollancz's restoration, the line will scan, As Iohan | þiſe ſtoneſ || in writ | con nemme.

(γ) Verbs: *aſkē*, 316, 580 (inf.); *aſk[ē]*, 564 (inf.); *carp[ē]*, 381, 949 (inf.); *corondē*, 767 (pt. 3 sg.); *delē*, 606 (pr. 3 sg. s.jc.); *glenē*, 1001 (pt. 3 sg.); *herdē*, 873 (pt. 1 sg.); *hyrē*, 507 (inf.); *maddē*, 359 (inf.); *neddē*, 1044 (pt. 3 sg.); *ogtē*, 341 (pt. 2 sg.); *setē*, 1201 (inf.); *takē*, 552 (inf.).

(δ) Adverbs: *faſtē*, 54; *semē*, 190; *þerinnē*, 1061.

(ε) Prepositions: *byforē*, 885; *bytwenē*, 140.

(b) Words in which -e has been taken on in ME.

Nouns: *blyſſē*, 397, 611 (nom., -e borrowed from dat. sg. by analogy); *Quat-kyn[nē]* þyng, 771 (< OE. *cynn*; -e borrowed from dat., cp. *kinne*, *Piers Plowm.* B v 639; *kinne*, *Orm.* 1051); *worldē*, 743 (acc., cp. ll. 476, 657, 761).

NOTE. These instances of the pronunciation of -e occur in alliterative phrases in about 35 per cent. of the examples. Some of these were probably stock phrases in alliterative poetry, e. g., *fayrē face*, 169, *hyg[ē]* hylleg, 678. Cp. tenB. 335 and Fuhrman, *Die alliterierenden Sprachformeln in Morris' EE. Allit. Poems und im Sir Gawayne*.

IV. Elision of close -e (cp. Kt. 129).

1. The poet seems to elide close -e in *me*, *þe*, *we*, *he*, *ne* ("neque") before a vowel or *h* when the metre demands it.

The following cases occur: *me* eſchaped, 187; & don *me* in þyſ del, 250; & pygt *me* in perleſ, 768; þou telleg *me* of Ieruſalem, 919; & buſyge þe aboute, 268; I hetē þe arn heterly, 402; I haue þe aquylde, 967; Oþer profēren þe ogt, 1200; *We* haf ſtanden her, 519; When *he* hit ſchal eftē, 332; *Hymſelf* to onſware *he* iſ not dylle, 680; So closed *he* hys mouth, 803; *Ne* how fer of folde, 334; *Ne* Arystotel nauþer, 751.

NOTE 1. The case of *þe* l. 362 is not considered. Gollancz omits the word altogether.

NOTE 2. No instance of elided -e in *ye* occurs.

2. Close -e in the above words is not elided before a vowel or *h* in the following instances :

þou traweg || *me in* | þiſ dene, 295; I do | *me ay* || in hys mys | eſcorde, 366; & take *me halte*, 1158; þe ogtē better, 341; I wolde þe *aſke*, 910; þe on þiſ syde, 975; So fare *we alle*, 467; *Sir*, ge *hāf*, 257; ge *han* ben boþe, 373; Why stande ge *idel*, 515, (stondē) 533; *Ne* knowe ge of, 516; þer mozt ge *hede*, 1051.

3. Instances of the elision of close -e before a vowel or *h* in other words are rare (cp. tenB. 269).

But cete of God, 952; I syȝe | þat cyty || of gret renoun, 986; þis noble cite of ryche enpresse, 1097 (cannot be full ecthlipsis); be he neuer so swyft, 571; In Iudee hit is, 922.

4. Examples of hiatus are numerous.

(a) Before vowels: as *ble of ynde*, 76; to *fre of dede*, 481; þe nwē | citē || u Ierú | salém, 792; to *be outfleme*, 1177.

(b) Before *h*: & *se her adubement*, 96; oþer much *be hys rewarde*, 604; schal *se hys face*, 675; þou may *be innome*, 703; con *se hyl* be to-done, 914; He gef | vus to *be* || *hys hom* | ly hyne, 1211.

V. Elision or slurring of -o (cp. Kt. 130).

1. Final -o of the preposition *to* is sometimes slurred before vowels, rarely before *h*.

(a) Before vowels: I wan *to a water*, 107; Er moste | þou ceu | er || to oþer | counsayl, 319; þe óldē | Ierú | salem || to ún | derstonde, 941; tyl þou to a hil be veued, 976; & *to euen* with þat worþly lyȝt, 1073.

(b) Before *h*: & nw | [ē] men || to hys vyne he broȝte, 527 (if we accept Gollancz's scansion).

2. Of the slurring of -o in other words no instances occur.

3. Instances of hiatus with -o are:

(a) In *to*. (α) Before vowels: *to on of þo*, 557; *to askē dome*, 580; dotȝ to *enclyme*, 630; þer-*to is bent*, 664; *to onsware*, 680; *to ysaye*, 819. (β) Before *h*: *to haue*, 132; *to heuen lyȝte*, 500; *werkmen to hys vyne*, 507; *to hys porpos*, 508; *vnto hym brayde*, 712; *tó hys bónerté*, 762; *to hým wardē gón*, 820; *Grouelyng to his fete*, 1120; þer-*to hade had delyt*, 1140.

(b) In other words. (α) Before vowels: in *wo ay wraȝte*, 56; bot *blo & blynde*, 83; *mó iwysse*, 151; þennē véreȝ *ho ép*, 177; þennē ros *ho vp*, 437; For *ho is quene*, 456; *Ryȝt so is vch*, 461; *Lo! euen*, 740; To *mo of his mys-terys*, 1194. (β) Before *h*: *Ho haldeȝ*, 454; *fro hém repárde*, 611; þat *fro hym ȝede*, 713; *fro heuen*, 873.

NOTE. Of elision of -a no instances occur.

VI. Slurring of -y (cp. Kt. 131).

1. Final -y is sometimes united by synclisis with the vowel of the following word.

þat worþly || I wót | & wéne, 47; But Crystes mersy & Mary & Ion, 383; Now for synglerty o hyr dousour, 429; a lady of lasse aray, 491; þe merci of God, 576; so holy in hys prayere, 618; Pitously of hys debonerté, 798; So cumly a pakke, 929; To loke | on þe glory || of hys grac|[i]ous gote,

934; þer glory & blysse, 959; my frely I wolde be þere, 1155; So sodenly of, 1178.

2. Before *h*, *-y* is generally retained.

lelly hyȝte, 305; *by hys* letrure, 751.

VII. 1. Weak *-e* in two successive syllables (cp. Kt. 132, tenB. 256).

Ten Brink's rule holds in the inflection of (a) nouns, e. g. *schyldēreȝ*, 214, *heueȝeȝ*, 423 (cp. *heuenesse*, 735, though *heuenȝ*, 441 would seem to show an occasional variation in pronunciation); and (b) verbs, e. g., *powdēred*, 44; *pynakled*, 207; *suffred*, 554; *profēren*, 1200.

2. Weak *-e-* which is inserted between *v* and a strong syllable and sometimes after *th* (tenB. 61, III) likewise suffers syncope.

Ex. *liureȝ*, 1108; *neuer*, 262; *opēreȝ*, 450. In *euer* and *neuer* the final vowel (<OE. æfre, ME. efere, evere) never appears in the text, and in the majority of cases both words are monosyllabic (*euër* in 3 instances, *euer*—more probably *e'er*—in 19; *neuër* in 15 instances, *neuer* or *ne'er* in 27).

VIII. Apocope of weak *-e* immediately after the syllable bearing the main stress. Ten Brink's rule (260, Kt. 135) holds in general.

The only exception noted is *byforë*, 885, cp. *byfore*, 49.

IX. Slurring of *-e-* in final syllables when the noun accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding (tenB. 259, Kt. 136).

1. *-eȝ* may or may not slur *-e-*, the number of instances where it does not slur (we are of course not considering words in which *-eȝ* comes just before the caesural pause) being slightly in the majority. E. g., *streteȝ*, 1025, *nedēȝ*, 344, *lepēȝ*, 377, *quykeȝ*, 1179, *blameȝ*, 275, *elleȝ*, 32, 491, 567, *agaynēȝ*, 79; but *frytēȝ*, 87, *sydēȝ*, 6, *wobēȝ*, 151, *lokēȝ*, 1134, *blomēȝ*, 27, *ellēȝ*, 130, *graynēȝ*, 31. Ten Brink's rule (227) that *-eȝ* is syllabic after *c*, *ss*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, *g*, and mute + liquid, holds good. The only apparent exceptions are *ryseȝ*, 191, which may be changed to *ros*, cp. ll. 437, 506, 519, and *wascheȝ*, 655, in which *-eȝ* must be regarded as part of an anapaestic foot (pat wásch | eȝ awáy ||). In about two-thirds of the words in which *-eȝ* is syllabic, the syllable forms the first part of the last foot of the verse.

2. *-ed*. In *-ede* of the pret. sg. both *e*'s generally lose their syllabic value, and even *-ed* generally slurs *-e-*, except after roots ending in *t* or *d*, as in

MnE. Exceptions are: *iuggēd*, 7; *stalkēd*, 152; *lokēd*, 167; *formēd*, 747; *ioynēd*, 1009; *waknēd*, 1171; *ogtē*, 341; *corondē*, 767; *herdē*, 873; *glentē*, 1001; *neddē*, 1044. -ed of the pp. likewise generally slurs -e-, with the same limitation. Exceptions are: *merkēd*, 142; *vnlappēd*, 214; *passēd*, 528; *apassēd*, 540; *dampnēd*, 641; *emurnēd*, 1027; *dasēd*, 1085; *praysēd*, 1112.

3. -en. Regularly syncopated are *arn*, 384, *wern*, 71, *han*, 373, 554, 776, (*hauēn*) 859; likewise the greater number of past participles, and of pres. and pret. 3d plurals. One instance of the gerund, *to lystēn*, 880, occurs. Even in other kinds of words there is a strong tendency to syncopate the e. The one exception is *withouten*, which syncopates in only 9 out of 27 cases (withoutē, 644, 695). Syncope is more frequent when the following word begins with a vowel; but it does not necessarily occur in the latter case.

4. -er is slurred when the metre demands it, and this happens in the majority of cases. In most instances the following word begins with a consonant. *euer* slurs oftener than *neuer* (see VII 2). *oper* (= or) invariably counts as one syllable. Even *oper* (= other) usually slurs; the exceptions occur in ll. 206, 209, 219, 842. *nouper* (*nawper*) slurs in four instances out of seven.

5. -el is also slurred where the metre demands it. The author's usage is about equally divided between slurred and unslurred -el. *apostel* slurs three times out of eight; *lyttel* four times out of seven. In the majority of instances in which slurring occurs the next word begins with a consonant.

6. -em. The only word noted is *baptem*, which apparently slurs in l. 653 (cp. l. 627), though it may be read without the slur since it comes directly before the caesura. Cp. XIV 2 i.

NOTE. The remarks in this section do not in general apply to syllables coming just before the caesura, where it cannot be determined whether syncope (slurring) takes place or not. We may suppose that at least it was not so marked as elsewhere in the verse.

X. The treatment of interior unstressed -e- varies, as in Chaucer (Kt. 137); but the tendency is decidedly toward syncopation.

E. g. *denely*, 51; *iueſler*, 265, 289, 301, 730, (*ioueſler*) 734, but *iueſler*, 264, 276, 288, 300, (*iueſlere*) 252; *kyndely*, 369; *louely*, 693, (*louyly*) 565; *makeſeſ*, 435 (though this may be a trochee), 733, 757, 780, 784; *maſkeſeſ* (which the poet interchanges with *makeſeſ*, cp. 732, 733, 756, 757, though they are distinct in 780), 745, 900, 923, (*maſkeſeſ*) 769, 781, but *maſkeſeſ*, 756, 768, 780, (*maſkeſeſ*) 744, (*maſkeſeſ*) 732, depending upon the position of the word in the verse; *moſteſeſ*, 899, 925, 961; *naweſeſ*, 877, (*naweſeſe*) 889, (*neuer be leſe*) 913, but *naweſeſeſ*, 950 (cp. XI 2), (*neuer be leſe*) 901; *rapeſy*, 363; *ſemblaunt*, 211, but *ſemblaunt*, 1143; *ſengeſeſ*, 8; *wrepeſy*, 135; *fundeſeſeſ*, 993; *coueſeſaunt*, 562, *coueſeſaundeſeſ*, 563; *remnaunt*, 1160; *geneſeſeſyduſeſ*, 827; *holteſeſodeſeſ*, 75; etc. On the other hand we find *umbegon*, 210; *adubbē*

ment, 84, 85, 96, 108, 109, 120, (adùb[bē]mènt) 72, but *dub̄ment*, 121; *vm̄bē-pȳzte*, 204, 1052; *myss̄ēgēme*, 322. but *mȳsetente*, 257.

XI. Of syncope of other vowels than *e* and of consonants (Kt. 138) several instances occur. *

1. *-y-*: *bodyly*, 478, 1090; *gentyleste*, 1015; *hardyly*, 3, but *hardjly*, 695; *ladyly*, 774; *worpyly*, 47, (worthyly) 846, (worply) 1133; *ladyschyp*, 578 (this can hardly be complete syncope); *damysel*, 489, but *damyselle*, 361; *charyte*, 470; *erytage*, 443, but *herjitage*, 417.

2. *-a-*: *paradys*, 248, 321, but *parädysē*, 137; *apocalyppez*, 787, (apocalyppe) 944, (apokalypce) 983, but *ap̄cäl̄yppez*, 996, 1020, (apokäl̄ypez) 834, (apocäl̄yppece) 866; *Ierusalem*, 793, 805, 817, 820, 841, 919, 941, 950 (though the line may be scanned: & Ieru | salem || hȳzt bōe | naw̄peles), but *Ierusälem*, 792, 804, 816, 828, 840; *Salamon*, 689; *Iohan* invariably counts as one syllable (spelled *Ihoñ*, 984, *Ion*, 383; rimes with *con*, 818); *margarys*, 199, (mariorys) 206, but *margjrye*, 1037; *topasye* (< MLat. *topacius*), 1012; *am̄atyst*, 1016; *reiatez*, 770.

3. *-o-*: *innosent*, 684, 696, (innocent) 720, but *innöscente*, 672, (innöcent) 625, (innössent) 666 (cp. *innöcens*, 708); *resonabele*, 523 (cp. *vnr̄sounable*, 590); *brōogt*, 628 (cp. *brōog[t]*, 286); *coroun*, 237, 255, *corounes*, 451, but *cöroune*, 205; *corounde*, 480, (coronde) 767, 1101, but *cörounde*, 415; *suplantorez*, 440.

4. *-th-*: On *ōper* (= or), *now̄ber* see IX 4. *wēber* best satisfies the metre when read as one syllable (130, 581, 604, 826), though it may be regarded as part of an anapaestic foot.

5. *-v-*: On *euer*, *neuer* see IX 4. With *paraunter*, 588, cp. *auenture*, 64. *naule* occurs in l. 459, cp. *nauel* Pat. 278.

6. Even *-wh-* may have been syncopated if pronounced as *w* (cp. *wy*, 533, 564) in *nawhere*, 932: this satisfies the metre better than the dissyllabic word.

XII. Apocope of consonants (Kt. 139).

Few unmistakable instances of apocope occur: *runnen*, 26 (:sunne); *runnen*, 874, is best scanned *runnen*; *founden*, 1203, probably leaves off *-en*. But considering the inflected words in *-en* (pres. and pret. pl. and pp.), we find that *-en* loses its syllabic value before consonants in 66 per cent. of cases, showing that at the time of composition the consonant had begun to disappear in the spoken language, though it was still written.

XIII. Synzesis (Kt. 142) occurs regularly.

1. *-ia-*: *glory* &, 959; *maryage*, 414, (maryag) 778; *redy* &, 591; *specyal*, 938.

2. *-ie-*: *feryed*, 946; *myryer*, 850; *myryeste*, 199; *oryent*, 3.

3. -io-: *body on*, 62; *contryssyoun*, 669; *generacyoun*, 827; *glorious*, 799; *gromlyoun*, 43; *legyounes*, 1121; *precious*, 4 et pas.; *Pymalyon*, 750; *pyonys*, 44. But *pytij of*, 1206.

4. -yi-: *holy in*, 618.

XIV. The extra syllable before the caesura (Kt. 144). Many instances of such an extra syllable undoubtedly occur. Whether we are to suppose that *-e* before the caesura was ever pronounced when the next word begins with a consonant, is a question. The following list contains all the instances which can possibly be cited as supporting the theory of an extra syllable (not including words coming before weak *h*):

1. *-e*. (a) Weak nouns: *balke*, 62; *folde*, 334; *herte*, 135; *mone*, 1057, 1072, 1081; *reue*, 542; *sunne*, 982, 1076; *tonge*, 898; *welc*, 133.

(b) Masc. and neut. nouns with *-e* or *-u* in OE.: *bale*, 18, 373; *ende*, 186; *ryche*, 722.

(c) Fem. nouns in OE. *-u*: *hele*, 713; *menske*, 162; *note*, 155; *saghe*, 226; *tale*, 311.

(d) Monosyllabic fem. nouns with long stem syllable: *blysse*, 658, 853, 959; *blybe*, 354; *heste*, 633; *hyre*, 523, 534, 543, 583, 587; *kyste*, 271; *myrbe*, 92, (mirbe) 1149; *payne*, 664; *quene*, 468; *rauþe*, 858; *rode*, 705; *sorþe*, 352; *speche*, 235, 471; *strete*, 971; *stunde*, 20; *trauþe*, 495; *whyle*, 15; *worldc*, 65, 293, 424, 537.

(e) Masc. and neut. nouns that sometimes show an inorganic or dat. *-e*: *banke*, 196; *boke*, 837; *breste*, 222, 1103; *broke*, 141; *burne*, 397; *cllyffe*, 159; *daye*, 517, 541; *fote*, 350; *fryte*, 29; *golde*, 165; *gresse*, 245; *grounde*, 434; *gulte*, 942; *harne*, 681; *kynde*, 752; *lombe*, 413, 741, 830, 1127, 1129, (lambe) 757; *lorde*, 304, 513, 526, 557, 632, 795; *lyste*, 173, 908; *mote*, 855; *mynde*, 1154; *rourde*, 112; *sede*, 34; *songe*, 882, 891; *sobe*, 292; *twynne*, 251; *vyse*, 254 (< OF. vis); *werke*, 599; *gere*, 503, 505.

(f) Romance nouns with inorganic *-e*: *acorde*, 509; *auenture*, 64; *blame*, 715; *coroune*, 205; *corte*, 701; *crysopase*, 1013; *date*, 529¹; *dystresse*, 280; *gemme*, 266; *glayue*, 654; *grace*, 623, 625; *gyle*, 671; *huec*, 842; *ioye*, 128, 1197; *mote* ("city"), 948, 973; *perle*, 12, 24, 36, 48, 53, 60, 221, 228, 229, 242, 282, 330, 732, 733, 756, 902, 1038, 1104, 1173; *perre*, 1028 (< OF. perrée); *place*, 405; *sardonysc*, 1006; *saule*, 845; *spyce*, 938; [s]tresse, 124 (the emendation is Gollancz's); *trone*, 835, 1051, 1055, (throne) 1113; *vine*, 504, 521, 535.

(g) Proper names: *Marye*, 425.

¹ If we adopt Gollancz's reading, At date of the day, the *-e* will be removed; but ep. *daye*, 517, 541.

(h) Monosyllabic definite (weak) adjs.: *dere*, 1208; *fyrste*, 548; *furbe*, 1005; *laste*, 547, 571.

(i) Monosyllabic strong adjs.: *clene*, 972; *colde*, 50; *dere*, 1183; *epe*, 1202; *grete*, 470; *large*, 609; *nerre*, 233; *quyte*, 220, 844; *sade*, 211; *schene*, 80; *smobe*, 6; *worbe*, 100.

(j) Plu. of monosyllabic adjs. and pps.: *alle*, 73, 404, 467, 545, 739, 777; *bope*, 1056; *fele*, 1114; *none*, 440; *summe*, 508.

(k) Romance adjs.: *plesaunte*, 1; *ravyste*, 1088.

(l) Advs., preps., and cnjs.: (α) Advs.: *alone*, 933; *byfore*, 172, 1110; *efte*, 332; *euermore*, 666; *forbe*, 150; *fyrre*, 347; *here*, 399; *ille*, 1177; *more*, 1190; *quere*, 376; *penne*, 1003. (β) Preps.: *byfore*, 294; *bygonde*, 158. (γ) Cnjs.: *byfore*, 530.

(m) Verbs, pres. ind.: *leue*, 876; *oge*, 552; *raue*, 363; *stande*, 514.

(n) Verbs, pres. sjc.: *forbede*, 379; *forloyne*, 368; *leue*, 865.

(o) Strong prets.: *swange*, 1059; *werne*, 585.

(p) Weak prets.: *burde*, 316; *lyste*, 181; *sayde*, 289, 602, 965; *sette*, 52; *sozte*, 730.

(q) Reduplicating prets.: *hyzte*, 305.

(r) Imperatives: *forsake*, 743.

(s) Infinitives: *abyde*, 348; *calle*, 721; *haue*, 928; *klymbe*, 678; *laste*, 956; *leng*, 261; *loue*, 1124; *make*, 176; *pass*, 299, 707; *stryke*, 1125; *telle*, 134; *tempte*, 903; *bole*, 344; *wende*, 643; *wrybe*, 488.

(t) Perf. participles: (α) Strong verbs: *calle*, 572; *fonde*, 283, (fonte) 327. (β) Weak verbs: *keste*, 66.

2. Unaccented terminations ending in a consonant.

(a) *-est*: *blybest*, 1131.

(b) *-en*: *coruen*, 40; *drawen*, 1193; *founden*, 1203; *heuen*, 490; *knawen*, 637; *laden*, 874 (cp. *lade*, 1146); *reken*, 5; *selden*, 380; *standen*, 1148; *stoken*, 1065; *wroken*, 375.

(c) *-es*: (α) Nouns: *apocalyppez*, 996, 1020, (apocalyppe) 1008, (apocalyppece) 866; *bales*, 807; *barnez*, 712, 1040; *bemes*, 83; *bestes*, 886; *bonkes*, 931; *bryddes*, 93; *clerkes*, 1091; *corounes*, 451; *coraes*, 857; *craftes*, 890; *dayes*, 416; *feres*, 1150; *flaoues*, 87; *flowres*, 208; *forhedes*, 871; *gates*, 1106; *gemmes*, 991; *glodes*, 79; *gyftes*, 607; *holtes*, 921; *hwes*, 90; *klyffes*, 74; *kythes*, 1198; *launces*, 978; *lures*, 358; *maydenes*, 869; *membres*, 458; *meres*, 140 (if we adopt the reading proposed by Holthausen, *Bytwen|ē meres* || by *myrch|es* made), 1166; *modes*, 884; *myddes*, 740; *notes*, 883; *peres*, 82, 204, 856, 1102, 1112, 1212; *plonttes*, 104; *porchases*, 439; *randedes*, 105; *resounes*, 716; *rokkes*, 68; *skylles*, 54; *spyses*, 25; *sternes*, 115; *stones*, 997 (cp. III 2 α β N. 2); *sydes*, 198, 218; *syngnettes*, 838; *syztes*, 1179; *bowsandes*, 1107; *browes*, 875; *vergynes*, 1099; *vyses*, 785; *webbes*, 71; *wetes*, 154; *wones*, 917; *wordes*, 307; *wortes*, 42; *wyses*, 579. (β) Advs.: *anendes*, 975; *elles*, 32. (γ) Verbs: *byddes*, 520; *byggynnes*, 561; *commes*, 848; *deuyes*, 995; *dysplezes*, 455; *fares*, 129; *gaynes*, 343; *glades*, 861; *lestes*, 269; *lowes*, 408; *marres*, 23; *menes*, 937; *motes*, 613; *passes*, 753; *stytes*, 1186; *trawes*, 295; *urytes*, 1033.

NOTE. Cp. IX 1, tenB. 227.

(d) *-ed*: *baptysed*, 818; *blusched*, 1083; *blysned*, 1048; *called*, 273; *departed*, 378; *deuysed*, 1021; *dubbet*, 97; *endured*, 476; *eschaped*, 187; *excused*, 281; *fayled*, 270; *folged*, 127; *fordolked*, 11; *forfeted*, 619; *iugged*, 804; *lened*, 1043; *longed*, 144; *lyued*, 776; *meled*, 589; *passed*, 428; *payred*, 246; *paymed*, 217; *prayed*, 1192; *pyked*, 1036; *restored*, 659; *sayd*, 593; *semed*, 760; *sparred*, 1169; *tyged*, 464; *wayted*, 14.

(e) Consonant + *-le*, *-re*: *enle*, 849; *symple*, 1134; *table*, 1004; *temple*, 1062; *chambre*, 904; *purpre*, 1016.

(f) *-el*: *apostel*, 985, (apostel) 1053; *gospel*, 498; *habel*, 676; *pobbel*, 117; *ydel*, 515, 533.

(g) *-er*: *after*, 256; *better*, 341; *bygger*, 374; *byggynner*, 436; *ceuer*, 319; *chylde*, 714, 718; *clypper*, 802; *cofer*, 259; *enter*, 966; *euere*, 617; *fader*, 639, 736; *forsere*, 263; *fynger*, 466; *hyder*, 249; *iasper*, 1026; *lenger*, 180; *moder*, 435; *myrre*, 850; *nawber*, 485, 751; *newer*, 4, 19, 333, 367, 724, 916; *ofter*, 621; *ouer*, 449, 773; *ouer*, 318; *saffer*, 118; *sauter*, 698; *suffer*, 954; *syluer*, 77; *wyder*, 723, 946; *water*, 107, 122, 139, 230, 365, 647, 650, 1077, 1156.

(h) *-y*: *cumly*, 775; *cyty*, 986, (cite) 1097, (cyte) 939; *frely*, 1155; *glory*, 70, 171, 934; *gostly*, 185; *heuy*, 1180; *holy*, 618; *lady*, 491; *lowly*, 565; *mercy*, 333, (mercy) 670; *meyny*, 899, 925; *pené*, 562, (peny) 614; *rybe*, 1007; *synglerty*, 429; *worby*, 616; *worbyly*, 47.

(i) Miscellaneous: *baptem*, 653 (cp. IX 6); *fenyx*, 430; *kyndom*, 445; *lyfsoom*, 398; *mornynng*, 262; *payment*, 598; *spyryt*, 61; *welkyn*, 116; *worschyp*, 394.

XV. Seven-syllable lines.

1. Lines which lack the initial syllable of the opening iambus:

1, 27, 29, 73, 75, 89, 111, 132, 133, 145, 163, 193, 194, 195, 196 (note the quatrain of like verses), 202, 217, 229, 246, 257, 289, 291, 325, 353, 358 (possibly a word has been omitted after &), 379, 388, 433, 435, 447, 469, 471, 479, 524 (unless we accept Gollancz's emendation, I [will] you pray), 537, 545, 558, 559, 561, 564, 569, 573, 616, 635, 638, 646, 650, 661, 699, 706, 709, 717, 725, 755, 756, 760, 781, 807, 822, 830, 853, 859, 885, 912, 928, 961, 963, 977, 999, 1002, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1093, 1109, 1120, 1173.

Of seven-syllable lines as given above there are 77, or one to every 15.73 lines. 20 of these lines begin stanzas: that is to say, in one-fifth of the whole number of stanzas this slight variation of the movement occurs at the outset.

2. Lines which lack a syllable within the line:

As *glemandę glas* || *burnist broun*, 990. This could be read, *As glem | andę glas* | [*sę*] || *burn* | *ist broun*, cp. *glasse*, 1025; but it seems better to accept Gollancz's emendation, [*al*] *burnist broun*.

NOTE. It may be added that over three hundred anapaestic feet are found, an average of one for every four lines. Only about forty trochaic feet are found.

XVI. Alliteration (tenB. 334).

1. Miss M. C. Thomas has rightly remarked (*Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, p. 6) that *The Pearl* is not written in alliterative measure. But it is prevailingly alliterative. If we consider only stressed syllables as alliterating with one another, only 387 lines, or 32 per cent., are without alliteration. The statistics of the lines showing alliteration are as follows:

Alliterating 2 stressed syllables.....	547, 45 per cent.
“ 3 “ “	192, 16 “ “
“ 4 “ “	49, 4 “ “
Double, transverse, and introverted all... 37, 3 “ “	
<hr/>	
Total number of alliterating lines.....	825, 68 “ “

2. Double alliteration (type *aabb*) is found in 25 lines, e. g., *No bonk so byg þat did me dereg*, 102; *In sauter is sayd a verce ouerte*, 593.

3. Transverse alliteration (type *abab*) occurs in 2 lines:

Blod & water of brode wounde, 650; *þat ay schal laste withouten reles*, 956.

4. Introverted alliteration (type *abba*) is found in 10 lines, e. g.,

Bot þe water watg depe I dorst not wade, 143. Other lines are 56, 74, 287, 290, 862, 960, 1027, 1093, 1171.

5. Vowel alliteration occurs in only 46 lines, e. g., 261, 310, 545. Alliteration of a vowel with *h* is found in about 25 lines, e. g., 58, 210, 614, 679.

SUMMARY.

1. Weak *-e* is elided before a vowel and usually before *h*, though sometimes preserved in the definite article. Hiatus of weak *-e* before *h* is rarely found.

2. It is probable that, in general, final unstressed *-e* before consonants, as written in this poem, was not sounded; but the

poet felt at liberty, in the case of many words—some occurring in stock alliterative phrases—to sound *-e* for the sake of metre.

3. The great number of words in which final *-e* is written but unsounded, as compared with the few which sound an *-e* not written, tends to confirm the theory of Fick and Knigge that the copyist of the ms. spoke Sth. or SWMI. So far as *-e* is concerned, it is not necessary to suppose, as Gollancz conjectures, that the dialect is artificial.

4. Close *-e* is elided before a vowel or *h*, in *me*, *þe*, *we*, *he*, *ne* ("neque"), when the metre demands it; close *-e* in other words is rarely elided. Hiatus is frequent.

5. Final *-o* is sometimes slurred before vowels, rarely before *h*. Final *-y* is sometimes united by synclisis with the vowel of the following word.

6. In the treatment of weak *-e* in two successive syllables and of weak *-e* inserted between *v* and a strong syllable, and in apocope of weak *-e* immediately after the main stressed syllable, the *Pearl* poet agrees in general with Chaucer.

7. In final syllables when the noun accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding, *-eʒ* is syllabic in rather more than half the number of instances, and always after *c*, *ss*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, *g*, and mute + liquid (as in Chaucer); *-ed*, *-de* of the pret. is usually slurred, but is always syllabic after roots ending in *t* or *d*; *-en* in the inflection of the verb and in the pp. is usually slurred and in other words shows a tendency to slur; *-er* is usually slurred; *-el* slurs about as often as not.

8. In the treatment of interior unstressed *-e*, the tendency is decidedly toward syncopation. Some instances are found of syncope of other vowels and of *-th-*, *-v-*, and possibly *-wh-*.

9. Few unmistakable instances of apocope of consonants occur.

10. Synizesis occurs regularly.

11. It seems probable that weak *-e* before the caesura was not sounded.

12. Seventy-seven lines lack the initial syllable, of which twenty are found at the beginning of the stanza.

13. Alliteration of stressed syllables is found in a little more than two-thirds of the whole number of lines. It appears to have been neither carefully sought after nor avoided.

14. At the end of the verse *-e* may have been sounded up to a later date than when occurring in the middle of the verse. The final determination of the question probably rests on an examination of the rimes, which I intend to make and the results of which I hope soon to publish.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

IX.—GASTON PARIS: ROMANCE PHILOLOGIST AND
MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

For a number of years a *mot* passed quietly about in the learned world of Paris—fortunately without ever committing the indiscretion of finding its way into print—to the effect that Gaston Paris ought to be elected to the French Academy in order that there might be in that august body at least one member who was an authority on the French language. Another and more piquant form of this much appreciated pleasantry, was that the one man who, as a matter of course, could not expect to be elected to the Academy, happened to be the greatest living authority on the subject of its labors.

Little by little, however, a career of profound scholarship, enhanced by the distinction of a rare literary charm and of a personality most engaging, came to be more and more recognized in the influential circles of the French capital, and for the last three or four years it had been an open secret, among those directly interested, that the “apotheosis” of Gaston Paris was only a matter of a little time. Yet when the verdict of immortality arrived, it was not a little diverting to note the embarrassment of the daily press in endeavoring to set forth the claims of the slightly known scholar to so coveted a distinction. To describe him as one of the editors of the *Romania* (a review, of the name or of the existence of which most good people had never heard), and as the author of an *Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin* and of a *Manuel de l'ancien français*, which was about the extent of the enlightenment accorded to the general public, was manifestly inadequate. Jules Lemaitre, it is true, in the third series of his *Contemporains*, and Gaston Deschamps, in *La Vie littéraire à Paris*, of the *Temps*, had discoursed brilliantly on the more salient features of their friend's literary reputation, but for the most part the new academician still remains a comparative stranger to the *grand*

public. This fact, however, in view of the abstruse nature of most of his productions, need not be accounted a discredit to the intelligent public, while the election of such a candidate by the Academy reflects distinguished honor on a body supposed to be little devoted to the interests of minute and exacting scholarship.

If there was ever a notable instance of the influence of inheritance and environment on human development, such an instance is to be seen in the early predilections and later attainments of Gaston Paris. He is the son of his own predecessor at the Collège de France, Paulin Paris, an eminent savant, an outline of whose career deserves to be briefly recorded here. Paulin Paris, the father, was born at Avenay (Marne), in the year 1800. In 1828 we find him installed in the Department of Manuscripts at the National Library in Paris. In 1837 he was elected a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, and in 1853 became the first incumbent of the newly created chair of the Literature of the Middle Ages at the Collège de France. From that time forward, until he was succeeded, in 1872, at the Collège de France, by his distinguished son, and even until his death in 1881, he continued to be an indefatigable and prolific student of the Old French language and literature.

In order that we may have before us from the outset the principal *data* of our proposed study, and at the same time may clear from our pathway, by setting them aside in a single paragraph, a mass of details that should not be omitted, let us make a barren list (yet not, indeed, too easily collected) of the external facts of Gaston Paris' early life.

Gaston Bruno Paulin Paris was born at Avenay, August 9, 1839. In 1856 he had finished his studies at the Collège Rollin in Paris, and had become a student at the University of Göttingen. In 1857 he studied at the University of Bonn. From 1858 to 1861 he was a student at the *Ecole des Chartes*, where he received, in the latter year, his diploma as *Archiviste-paléographe*, presenting as his thesis an *Etude sur le rôle de*

l'accent latin dans la langue française, dedicated to Friedrich Diez, and published in 1862. In 1863 he translated into French the Introduction to Diez' *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (the whole of which work was later published in translation, by collaboration). In 1865 he became Docteur-ès-lettres, his French thesis being the voluminous *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, and the Latin thesis, *De Pseudo-Turpino (dissertuit Gaston Paris, juris litterarumque licentiatius)*. In 1865 he was also one of the founders of the *Revue critique*, which became the receptacle of most of his learned productions for the following two or three years. In 1868 he was one of the authors of the *Recueil de rapports sur l'état des lettres et le progrès des sciences en France*. In 1869 he became instructor in the newly-founded *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, where he began his epoch-making investigation of the *Vie de St. Alexis*, the publication of which was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war, but which appeared in 1872, receiving the Prix Gobert. The year 1872 is also memorable in Romance scholarship for the founding by Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer of the quarterly journal *Romania*, and for the accession of the former to the chair of Mediaeval French Literature till that time officially occupied by his father, but which he himself had filled for several years as substitute. In 1875 he was one of the founders of the *Société des anciens textes français*. In the same year he was named Chevalier (and later Officier) de la Légion d'Honneur, and in 1876 was elected *Membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*.

We shall here do well to desist from an incomplete chronicle of activities that become, from this time on, too multifarious for so arid an enumeration. Suffice it to say that in the *Romania*, the *Revue critique*, the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, the *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, the *Journal des Savants* and the *Revue de Paris*, our author has continued down to the present moment to display a prodigious literary and scholarly activity. Closing now, as was suggested, this paragraph of annals, not inglorious though unadorned, let us return to the

boyhood of our hero, and gather for our pleasure and instruction a few of the reminiscences that have been incidentally preserved for us by his own gifted pen. Listen, if you will, to the dedication to his father of the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*:

“ Mon cher père,

Tout enfant, je connaissais Roland, Berte aux grands pieds et le bon cheval Bayard, aussi bien que la Barbe-Bleu ou Cendrillon. Vous nous racontiez parfois quelque une de leurs merveilleuses aventures, et l'impression de grandeur héroïque qu'en recevait notre imagination ne s'est point effacée. Plus tard, c'est dans vos entretiens, dans vos leçons et dans vos livres que ma curiosité pour ces vieux récits, longtemps vaguement entrevus, a trouvé à se satisfaire. Quand j'ai voulu, à mon tour, étudier leur origine, leur caractère et les formes diverses qu'ils ont revêtues, votre bibliothèque, rassemblée avec tant de soin depuis plus de trente années, a mis à ma disposition des matériaux qu'il m'eût été bien difficiles de réunir et souvent, même de soupçonner. Vos encouragements m'ont soutenu dans le cours de mes recherches; vos conseils en ont rendu le résultat moins défectueux. En vous dédiant ce livre, je ne fais donc en quelque façon que vous restituer ce qui vous appartient. Acceptez-le comme un faible témoignage de ma profonde et respectueuse tendresse.”

As an additional echo from early student days and a further testimony to the rare opportunities for development that smiled upon this favored youth, we may record the sympathetic words that fell from his lips at the celebration at Paris, in 1893, of the centenary anniversary of the birth of the founder of Romance philology, Friedrich Diez.

“ J'ai bien volontiers accepté d'être ”—he said on that occasion—“ avec mon ami Paul Meyer, un des deux présidents de ce banquet. Nous sommes en effet sans doute presque les seuls Français actuellement vivants qui aient connu le patriarche de nos études et qui lui aient parlé *di bocca a bocca*. J'ai eu surtout ce privilège, ayant habité pendant neuf mois, dans ma dix-huitième année, la charmante ville [de Bonn] qui était

devenue sa seconde patrie. . . . Il me restera toujours de lui un souvenir précieux et doux, fait de *vénération*, de *sourire* et de *attendrissement*. La *vénération* est due à ce qu'a produit de vraiment grand cet homme si modeste et qui s'effaçait si volontiers; le *sourire* me revient involontairement aux lèvres quand je le revois avec sa timidité qu'augmentait son extrême myopie, sa casquette verte à longue visière, ses manières embarrassées, la gêne avec laquelle il avouait (et prouvait) qu'il parlait médiocrement ces langues romanes qu'il possédait si bien; mais le sourire fait bientôt place à une *émotion attendrie* quand je repense à son extrême bienveillance pour l'écolier inconnu qui lui était un beau jour arrivé de Paris, à la bonté qui éclairait son visage quand ses yeux incertains m'avaient enfin reconnu dans le demijour de son paisible cabinet, aux promenades qu'il me permettait de faire à ses côtés, répondant (en français, malgré l'effort qu'il lui fallait faire) à mes questions souvent bien peu réfléchies, aux encouragements si chaleureux qu'il donna bientôt à mes premiers essais."

Having thus caught a glimpse of the formative influences affecting the mind and heart of the future scholar, we are in some degree prepared to address ourselves to the welcome task of studying, as the limitations of the present occasion may best permit, his aims, and what the French would so aptly term his *œuvre*. For this purpose it will be convenient to divide the remainder of this paper under four heads, covering briefly the labors of Professor Paris (1) in *Philology proper* (using that word as at present accepted in this country); (2) in *Literary History*; (3) in *Criticism and Belles-lettres*; (4) in *Education*.

I. PHILOLOGY.

Leaving out of the account a brief study of an *Épître farcie pour le jour de Saint-Etienne* in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* for 1862 (and I cannot refrain from noting that it stands immediately next to an article by our own Prof. Francis A. March, entitled "*Die National-literatur der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1860-*

61," and treating of Hawthorne's *Marble Faun*, Holmes's *Elsie Venner*, Theodore Winthrop's *Cecil Dreeme*, and George Wm. Curtis's *Trumps*), the first essay of Gaston Paris in the field of philology (though he had already tried his hand in another line, as we shall see later), was his *Etude sur le rôle de l'accent latin*. To this treatise of 132 pages Diez devotes in the *Jahrbuch* an eight-page review, in which he remarks :

"Herr Paris war, als er seine These unternahm, mit allem ausgerüstet, was zu ihrer Lösung erforderlich war. Ich bemerke nur, dass ihm auch Deutschlands grammatische Literatur sehr wohl bekannt ist. Dazu zeugt seine Arbeit von Beobachtungsgeist und unabhängigem Urtheil: jeder, der sich mit der französischen Grammatik in wissenschaftlicher Weise beschäftigt, sei er Schüler oder Meister, wird aus ihr lernen können. Sie macht der neuen Schule Ehre. . . ."

And, in conclusion :

"Ich schliesse diese Anzeige mit dem Wunsche, Herr Paris möge fortfahren, die romanische Sprachwissenschaft mit seinen schätzbaren Beobachtungen zu bereichern."

In order to appreciate the sincerity of this wish, in view of the little recognition that the work of Diez himself had received at this time in France, we have only to quote a few lines again from the centenary address of Gaston Paris. They will serve also to illustrate the state of Romance scholarship in France at the date at which Gaston Paris began his own work there.

"Ses travaux [c'est-à-dire, les travaux de Diez] vraiment admirables de finesse et de pénétration sur la littérature provençale étaient en France comme non venus, et l'*Histoire littéraire* continuait, longtemps après qu'ils avaient paru, à publier sur les troubadours des notices où l'on n'en tenait aucun compte. Sa grammaire, hâtivement et maladroitement résumée, dans sa partie française, par Ampère, provoquait les sarcasmes de Génin, qui pensait écraser l'auteur sous le reproche d'avoir traité le français 'comme il eût fait le sanscrit

ou le persépolitain,' et ne rencontrait que le scepticisme à l'École des Chartres même, où Guessard se faisait fort d'opposer à chacune des règles de Diez autant d'exemples qu'il en avait donné pour l'appuyer."

In the *Jahrbuch* for 1865 is to be found, if I am not mistaken, the first adventure of Gaston Paris in the fascinating field of the original editing of mediaeval texts. His article is entitled *Fragment d'un petit poème dévot du Commencement du XII^e Siècle*. It is a critical edition in diminutive of what has since been more generally known by German scholars as *Die Paraphrase des Hohen Liedes*, and is the forerunner, in this direction, of a long line of texts critically constituted and annotated by Gaston Paris. But it was not until 1872 that the work appeared that was destined not only to set its author, at a single bound, in the front rank of philological scholars, but also to serve as a model to all subsequent investigators: *La Vie de Saint Alexis: poème du XI^e siècle*. In this extensive work the editor applies for the first time rigorously and on a large scale those thorough-going principles of manuscript classification, restitution of readings and forms, and historical and critical investigation, which constitute the foundations of all philological scholarship, whether applied to fields ancient or modern. In regard to the spirit in which the work was carried on, the author himself remarks in his preface:

"Je serais heureux qu'il [ce volume] obtînt l'approbation du monde savant s'il pouvait ainsi contribuer à faire apprécier favorablement et par conséquent à affermir notre jeune École des Hautes Etudes. C'est par elle que s'est introduit chez nous l'usage de ces *conférences pratiques*, si nécessaires à côté des *cours* proprement dits, qui peuvent seules propager efficacement les méthodes et créer ce qui nous manque le plus, une tradition scientifique."¹

¹ Perhaps almost the only criticism of a general nature that could be applied to this work is its failure in some cases to grasp the bearing of certain principles not at that time fully understood, such as the nature of *accent doublets* (*car, quer*) and the influence of analogy in such words as *amour, époux*.

As early as 1870 Paris had published, in the *Jahrbuch*, his first contribution to the lexicology of the Old French language, under the modest title of *Contributions aux Glanures lexicographiques de M. Schéler*. With this little article began a series of elucidations of the difficulties and obscurities of the Old French vocabulary and phraseology that may be aptly characterized by calling attention to the fact that one of the difficult phrases unsuccessfully grappled with in the *Jahrbuch* at this early date by Schéler, Paul Meyer and himself, and later by several other scholars, was fully explained by him in a similar article twenty-two years afterwards. (*Boute-en-courroie*. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, XI, 148, and *Rom.*, XXI, 407.)

We have now reached the date of the founding by Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris of the quarterly journal *Romania*. Its first article is by M. Paris, entitled *Romani, Romania, Lingua romana, Romancium*; and its opening words are as follows:

“Le nom de langues romanes, actuellement reçu dans la science, rend sensible à tous le lien qui réunit les idiomes auxquels on l’applique et l’origine de leur communauté. Ce nom ne leur est attribué que depuis assez peu de temps; le mot *roman* lui-même, avant d’être réservé à l’usage auquel nous l’appliquons, a reçu souvent des significations plus ou moins spéciales. L’objet des pages qui suivent est d’étudier l’histoire, le sens primitif, les applications successives et les formes diverses du mot *roman* et de ceux qui s’y rattachent, et de justifier ainsi le titre que nous avons donné à ce recueil.”

Of the journal thus auspiciously launched it has been estimated that over a fourth part, from that day to this, has been contributed by the joint founders, while of this fourth, it is probable that something more than half is the share of M. Paris, about equally divided between constructive philology and literary history, on the one hand; and criticism in these two fields, on the other. How characterize such a wealth of productiveness? For the philological side, let it suffice to

hint at critical editions of the *Vie de Saint Léger* and the *Passion du Christ*, of *Mainet*, of *Lais inédits*, of *Jean Renaud*, of *Martin le Franc*, of the *Lai de la Rose*. As a model of phonological research, we have his *Phonétique française: o fermé*. In the domain of historical grammar, under the title *Le Pronom neutre de la 3^e personne en français*, the author writes (as I have recently had occasion to say in the *American Journal of Philology*) "on an obscure and almost unknown Old-French monosyllable, a richly annotated article of sixteen pages, which for graceful directness of treatment, charm of style and intrinsic interest, not to speak of sound and penetrating scholarship, is notably worthy of the member of the French Academy which Gaston Paris has since become." In addition to these and other philological productions, there still deserve to be mentioned his *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland* and *Extraits de Joinville* critically prepared for elementary use.

II. LITERARY HISTORY.

With such a training and such a predilection for minute and painstaking philological research, it might perhaps be occasion for surprise that a similarly strong bent for studies in literary history, such as was displayed in so remarkable a manner in the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, should not have been stifled or neglected. It seems, however, on the contrary, that the splendid philological equipment of our author has only been a stimulus to him to bring to bear his linguistic insight and attainments upon the solution of the many existing problems in literary history. In the first volume of the *Romania* he writes, "*Sur un vers du Coronement Loois*," a full-length treatise on the relations to each other of the various elements that go to make up the northern and the southern "Guillaume" cycles. Next, it is the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy* that engages his facile pen, and the history of whose origin and development he traces with masterly hand. As a

specimen of the style of treatment let us follow for a few lines—taken at haphazard—the course of our author's study:

“Avant d'examiner les sources et le fondement historique de ce romau, signalons quelques passages intéressants pour l'histoire des mœurs et des usages, que nous n'avons pas relevés dans l'analyse précédente.

“Bien que le héros du roman soit appelé *châtelain*, c'est-à-dire gouverneur, de Couci, il ne paraît pas habiter ce château. Son *manoir* est à trois lieux de Chauvigni. . . . Il séjourne en outre fréquemment à Saint-Quentin, mais il n'y a qu'un *hostel*, c'est-à-dire qu'il est reçu habituellement chez un bourgeois. Cette distinction entre le manoir ou domicile réel, qui est aux champs, et l'*hostel* en ville, est à signaler: elle marque la transition entre le moyen âge où les seigneurs n'habitaient que leurs châteaux, et l'époque plus moderne où ils passent au moins une grande partie de l'année dans les villes; les *hôtels* des familles nobles étaient sans doute à l'origine, comme celui du châtelain [de Couci] les maisons bourgeoises où ils descendaient d'habitude.”

Most extensive of the studies that Gaston Paris has devoted to French literary history are, on the one hand, the series of papers on the Old French Epic, such as his *Chanson du Pèlerinage Charlemagne*, his *Episode d'Aimeri de Narbonne*, his *Le Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis et la Légende de Roncevaux*, and *La Date et la Patrie de la Chanson de Roland*; and on the other hand, his *Etudes sur les Romans de la Table Ronde: Lancelot du Lac; Le Conte de la Charrette; Guinglain, ou le Bel Inconnu; Tristan, etc.* Of these collective studies it can only be said that they surpass in interest and importance anything that has been done on the same subjects by other scholars; while the titles mentioned represent only a fragmentary portion of the author's contributions to literary history.

III. CRITICISM.

Passing from the theme of constructive scholarship to that of learned criticism, one who is acquainted with the output of

Gaston Paris in both fields would perhaps find it difficult to decide, so eminently does he excel in each direction, in which of the two domains his more important labor lies.

On entering, in 1893, upon the third decade of their joint labors as editors of the *Romania*, MM. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, in an article placed at the head of the journal, take a comprehensive survey of the situation of Romance scholarship, and this is the manner in which they express themselves in regard to scientific criticism :

“A côté des recherches originales, nous devons réserver une place suffisante à l'examen des travaux d'autrui. Nous le disions dans notre programme de 1871 : ‘La critique des ouvrages qui paraîtront dans le domaine de nos études sera une partie importante du recueil.’ Et cette partie devient de plus en plus considérable, à mesure que la philologie romane va se développant en tous les sens. Nous sommes inondés de livres, de périodiques, de dissertations pour le doctorat allemand (dont beaucoup pourraient sans dommage être présentées en manuscrit), de contributions à telle étude, de suppléments à tels recherches. C'est une marée montante qui menace de restreindre la part consacrée aux études originales. On voudra bien nous excuser si trop souvent de bons livres n'ont pas le compte rendu qu'ils méritent, et si l'analyse de tel ou tel périodique est en retard. C'est que ce genre de travail ne peut être confié au premier venu. La critique exige une expérience et, s'il est permis de le dire, un tour de main, qui ne sont pas communs. Et puis les jeunes érudits de notre temps ne semblent pas avoir pour cet exercice salutaire le goût que nous manifestions, lorsqu'en 1865 nous fondions la *Revue critique*.”

Only those who have been accustomed year after year to read and digest Gaston Paris's fifteen or twenty page reviews in solid minion type can fully appreciate all that is signified by such a statement. The patient care, ungrudging faithfulness and brilliant critical ability displayed by Gaston Paris in each succeeding number of the *Romania* is something to stir the ambition and kindle the zeal of younger scholars everywhere. Nor is it in the *Romania* alone, but notably also in

the *Journal des Savants*, not to mention the critical journals of less importance, that this devotion to what might in other cases be regarded as a minor form of scholarship, is exhibited.

IV. EDUCATION.

Entering upon the work of higher education in France at a period when, as we have seen, the methods of scholarship especially in his chosen field were far from being abreast of the times, the example, the labors and the ideals of Gaston Paris have exerted an untold influence on the educational rejuvenation of his much loved country. Yet, strange as it may appear, what he has accomplished for the advancement of education in his own land is scarcely more than what the force of his personality, exercised through devoted pupils of his drawn from all the quarters of Europe and America, has been able to effect throughout the learned world outside of France. One of the external evidences of this fact is the great number of books and learned dissertations that have been dedicated to him by scholars in all countries, while two extensive memorial volumes, one in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary (in 1889) of his birth, and the other of the twenty-fifth anniversary (in 1890) of his doctorate—each composed of scientific papers contributed by former pupils of his—attest the love and veneration felt for him by all who have been accorded the privilege of his friendship. In his public acknowledgment of the latter of these volumes (comprising the contributions of no less than forty-five of his earlier pupils) M. Paris expresses himself in words that throw a flood of light upon the noble aspirations of his life:

Je me rappelle qu'il y a vingt-cinq ans, dans la première leçon que je fis, aux cours libres de la rue Gerson fondés par M. Duruy, je disais que le vœu de tout professeur digne de ce nom pour chacun de ses élèves est le vœu d'Hector pour son fils:

Καί ποτέ τις εἶπησι Πατρός δ' ὄγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων

Ce vœu s'est réalisé pour plus d'un de ceux qui, venus de France ou de l'étranger, ont depuis lors trouvé dans mes cours et mes conférences leur première initiation à la science. En voyant la façon dont ils ont su développer et accroître le germe qui leur avait été confié, je me dis que ma carrière didactique n'a pas été inutile et cela ne me fait pas seulement plaisir, cela me prouve que j'ai eu raison (contre l'avis de quelques conseillers bien intentionnés), de donner inflexiblement à mon enseignement la direction toute scientifique que je lui ai donnée, le tenant également à l'écart de toute préparation à un examen quelconque et de tout appel à l'intérêt d'un public étranger au travail : cela m'a valu quelques heures difficiles, où j'ai pu craindre de me trouver isolé, et, par suite, d'avoir choisi une mauvaise voie ; mais je suis aujourd'hui délivré de mes doutes et largement payé de mes peines."

Many are the learned productions and many are the personal qualities—both private and public—that I have failed to mention in this brief survey,¹ but there remains one utterance of the distinguished savant, that may fitly serve as a closing paragraph in any attempt to do honor to his name : In a memorable lecture delivered on the 8th of December, 1870, at the Collège de France, Gaston Paris thus declares his profession of intellectual faith :

Je professe absolument et sans réserve cette doctrine, que la science n'a d'autre objet que la vérité, et la vérité pour elle-même, sans aucun souci des conséquences bonnes ou mauvaises, regrettables ou heureuses, que cette vérité pourrait avoir dans la pratique. Celui qui, par un motif patriotique, religieux et même moral, se permet dans les faits qu'il étudie, dans les conclusions qu'il tire, la plus petite dissimulation, l'altération la plus légère, n'est pas digne d'avoir sa place dans le grand laboratoire où la probité est un titre d'admission plus indispensable que l'habileté. Ainsi comprises, les études communes, poursuivies avec le même esprit dans tous

¹ Especially to be cited for the convenience of scholars who have yet to become acquainted with the work of Gaston Paris, are his *Littérature française au moyen âge*, 1 vol. in-16, and his *Poésie au moyen âge*, leçons et lectures, 2 vol. in-16.

les pays civilisés, forment au-dessus des nationalités restreintes, diverses et trop souvent hostiles, une grande patrie qu'aucune guerre ne souille, qu'aucun conquérant ne menace, et où les âmes trouvent le refuge et l'unité que la cité de Dieu leur a donnés en d'autres temps.

H. A. TODD.

X.—PASTORAL INFLUENCE IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

I. THE PASTORAL.

At first thought the word "pastoral" scarcely seems to require definition, yet, as a matter of fact, the word has been used in several different senses. Usually it has been employed to designate a distinct species of literature, but the more careful critics refer to it as a mode of literary expression. The latter view is undoubtedly more accurate, for the pastoral treatment may be applied to almost any form of literature,—lyric, drama or romance. Still it is convenient to speak of the pastoral as a species of literature, and this use of the term is not misleading if we understand it to refer to the literature which is written in the pastoral mode, and which is altogether free from, or only slightly affected by, other influences. The real difficulty is to state definitely the essential nature of the pastoral, its characteristics, and the motives which prompted men to produce it. Here again the critics disagree. Some seem to regard pastoral literature as a sincere expression of man's delight in rural simplicity and content; others as an artificial and insincere portrayal of imaginary rural life. Perhaps it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory definition of the pastoral; certainly a narrow view of the subject based on modern prejudice is utterly inadequate.

Pastoral literature professed to be a portrayal of rural life; therefore it is necessary to examine the methods used by various writers in depicting rural scenes and characters. The methods employed were either realistic, based on observation, or idealistic, based on imagination. As typical examples of the former may be cited Theocritus's *Idyl IV*, Herrick's *Corinna's Going A-Maying*, Worthsworth's *Michael*, and Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night*. The chief motive which prompts men to

write such poetry is a delight in the beauty of nature, joined with a feeling of sympathy and respect for whatever is noble, sincere and wholesome in the life of the lowly. Realistic portrayal of country life appeared only at rare intervals in former times because the poets, as a rule, were blind to nature's beauty and regarded the inhabitants of the country chiefly as subjects of ridicule. In modern times, however, this form has been cultivated most assiduously. The introduction of shepherds is of course purely accidental. It is, therefore, somewhat misleading to apply to this form the name pastoral. If it be necessary to classify these poems, would not the term "idyl" be more appropriate than "pastoral?"

Idealized portrayal of rural life results when a writer strives to leave out of his descriptions all that is rude, gross or commonplace. The chief motive which actuates men to write this kind of literature is a desire to escape from the complexity of city life with its vices and follies, and to refresh themselves with the simplicity and freedom of the golden age. Idealized portrayal of country life, though employed in classic times, flourished chiefly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy, Spain, France and England. This form was devoted mainly to shepherd or pastoral life, because shepherds were regarded as the most refined type of countrymen. Occasionally a poet would strive to idealize the life led by farmers or fishermen; but the attempt was regarded with little favor by the majority of the poets, and was severely censured by the critics.¹ Idealized portrayal of rural life, therefore, may be appropriately designated as pastoral literature. Some account of its origin and development is necessary in order to understand why in the later stages idealization was carried to such a preposterous extent.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find everywhere a well defined legend of primitive pastoral life which

¹ Cf. Fontenelle. *Poésies Pastorales, avec un traité sur la Nature de l'Eclogue*. Walsh. Preface to Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*. *The Guardian*. Nos. 22, 23, 28, 30, 32.

was credited by the poets and their readers. It was, in reality, an offshoot of the legend of the "golden age," localized and defined by Theocritus. Though Theocritus placed his shepherds in Sicily, other poets selected Arcadia for their scene;¹ and finally the shepherd life of Arcadia became one of the most generally accepted traditions. According to this tradition, the Arcadians dwelt amid scenes of quiet rural beauty; they were free from toil (for sheep-tending was regarded as a life of leisure); they preserved simplicity of manners, and spent their time in love-making or in criticising the wickedness of the city. These were the chief elements of Arcadian life, and out of these elements the poets sought to construct their rural pictures. In the later stages of pastoral development, when the tradition began to be doubted, some of these elements were emphasized and others were subordinated or altogether omitted. If the rural scene and simplicity of manners were made prominent, the pastoral approached a realistic portrayal of rural life; if the shepherds' disgust of city life was emphasized the pastoral became satiric; if the shepherds' art in love-making was elaborated, the pastoral became simply amatory verse; finally, if the high honor of the shepherds' calling was exaggerated, the shepherd became something of an aristocrat with herdsmen and rustics beneath him in the social scale.

In other words pastoral life was idealized by the poets until it often lost all resemblance to actual shepherd life in Sicily or elsewhere. So the pastoral became in the end a mere mode of literary expression. In the words of Dean Church:—"Spenser and his contemporaries turn the whole world into a pastoral scene. Poetic invention required they thought a scene as far as possible from the realities where primary passions might have full play. The masquerade, when the poet's subject belonged to peace, was one of shepherds; when it was one

¹ Vergil, in his *Bucolica*, *Eloga*, VII, speaks of Corydon and Thyrsis as "Arcades ambo." Sannazaro and Sidney also laid the scene of their romances in Arcadia.

of war and adventure, it was a masquerade of knight-errantry. But a masquerade was thought necessary to raise the composition above the trivialities of street, fireside, camp and court, to give it dignity and ornament, the unexpected results, the brightness and colour that belong to poetry. So the Elizabethan writers portrayed their thought under the imaginary rustics to whom everyone else was a rustic and lived among sheep-folds with a background of vales and downs and hills."¹

Pastoral literature, therefore, includes not only all forms of idealized country life based on primitive shepherd life in Sicily, Arcadia or elsewhere, but also much literature in which the characters represented are shepherds only in name, and in which the scene is rural only in a townsman's imagination.

The importance of the pastoral influence can scarcely be overestimated. It affected some of the greatest of the Greek and Latin poets, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries invaded all forms of literature in Italy, Spain, France and England. It took possession of the lyric, inspired the most famous of the romances, and even entered into the drama. But pastoral literature had powerful rivals, and gradually lost its hold upon the public. In Italy it degenerated into opera; in Spain it was overwhelmed by "picaresque literature;" in France it was brought into contempt by the affectations of petty writers; while in England, after maintaining an unequal struggle with the virile romantic drama, it was finally laughed out of existence by the burlesques of the eighteenth century.²

¹ English Men of Letters Series: *Spenser*, pp. 40, 41.

² In modern times the pastoral influence occasionally asserts itself, as is proved by the following sonnet written some years since by an English clergyman:

"When Daphnis comes adown the purple steep
From out the rolling mists that wrap the dawn,
Leaving aloft his crag-encradled sheep,
Leaving the snares that vex the dappled fawn,
He gives the signal for the flight of sleep,
And hurls a windy blast from hunter's horn
At rose-hung lattices, whence maidens peep
To glimpse the young glad herald of the morn.

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So foreign is pastoral literature to modern methods of thought that we are sometimes at a loss to account for its former popularity. An age of reason and science finds difficulty in comprehending an age of imagination and poetry. Yet if we examine carefully the various characteristics which appear in pastoral literature we see that almost all were especially adapted to further its popularity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Take for example the introduction of supernatural characters and incidents, or of mythological allusions. Even as late as the days of the *Guardian* Steele writes:—"The theology of the Ancients is so very pretty that it were pity to change it." Not until the nineteenth century do we find a poet daring to write "Roll, happy earth, and bring the wished-for day."¹ In the sixteenth century the audience preferred, "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds, towards Phoebus' mansion," even though they had as little belief in the beautiful myth as we have to-day. Therefore the Greek mythology was retained, and served to add poetic coloring to the speeches of English swains. Usually, supernatural characters did not appear in person but revealed their will by oracles. Yet pastoral writers made prodigal use of the supernatural; sometimes merely for ornament, sometimes for tragic effect (as in the introduction of sorcery and witchcraft), and frequently to aid in the develop-

Then haply one will rise and bid him take
 A brimming draught of new-drawn milk a-foam;
 But fleet his feet and fain; he will not break
 His patient fast at any place but home,
 Where his fond mother waits him with a cake
 And lucent honey dripping from the comb."

The Poems of Edward Cracroft Lefroy. N. Y., 1897.

¹Tennyson's *Maud*. Tennyson, however, is not consistent, but often prefers the imaginative to the scientific view, as in the following passage from *The Princess*:

"Till the sun
 Grew broader toward his death, and fell, and all
 The rosy heights came out above the lawns."

ment of the plot. To a modern reader neither interest nor tragic effects can be obtained in this way,—even Shakespeare's witches no longer arouse the thrill of dread and horror which must have held an Elizabethan audience spell-bound,—but it is altogether probable that supernatural incidents and allusions aroused the deepest interest in a sixteenth-century reader, and certainly they did not create any impression of unreality.

The love of nature was another emotion to which pastoral writers appealed. This finds better expression in pastoral poetry than almost anywhere else in the literature of the time. Still it was nature portrayed by imagination, not from observation, and was moreover an extremely limited phase of nature, that cultivated and subdued by man. This is precisely the aspect of nature which appealed to the city dwellers who formed the audience for pastoral writers. The sublimity of mountain and ocean aroused only fear and terror; but a calm rural scene breathing quiet content and prosperity was regarded with the keenest delight. Even as late as Queen Anne's time Steele can truthfully write, "Pastoral poetry not only amuses the fancy most delightfully, but is likewise more indebted to it than any sort whatsoever. It transports us into a kind of fairyland, where our ears are soothed with the melody of birds, bleating flocks and purling streams, our eyes enchanted with flowery meadows and springing greens; we are laid under cool shades and entertained with *all the sweets and freshness of nature.*"¹ This is the manner in which pastoral descriptions were regarded by the men of that time. Exact observation was not demanded as it is now by our scientifically trained senses: the pastoral writer might draw a scene from careless observation or imitate one from some classic writer without fear of the ornithologist or the botanist.

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the popularity pastoral poetry gained by making love its main theme. The love of man for woman, subordinated as it usually is in real life to parental or filial affection, to ambition and a host of

¹ *Guardian*, No. 22.

other emotions, has always been the main theme of all forms of literature.¹ In the sixteenth century pastoral, as in the most popular of nineteenth century novels, the supreme passion of lovers fills the whole canvas, and the popularity of one form explains the popularity of the other. Pastoral literature portrayed love in all its varieties. On this field were fought out the conflicting demands of passion and duty. Some pastoral writers like Fletcher and Milton depict chastity; others brand lust in the person of some satyr, or devote themselves to the portrayal of the highest spiritual love (exemplified by some faithful shepherd). The love scenes, however, seem to modern readers long, tedious and over-elaborated. Here again we recognize a change of taste; the modern audience weeps at flimsy, sentimental melodramas, the Renaissance audience preferred subtle analyses of the causes and effects of love, and witty or courtly disquisitions on its nature and scope. Many of us care for one as little as for the other, but it is perhaps pertinent to inquire whether our horror of the sentimental has not crushed out, to some degree, our power to appreciate true sentiment?

Doubtless another important reason for the popularity of pastoral literature is to be found in its marked poetic coloring. Poetry intrudes even into the domain of prose romance, not only appearing in frequent songs and lyrics, but often in an impassioned form of prose. In the early pastoral romances, such as Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, we find a very large admixture of verse. In fact all pastoral romance is instinct with the spirit of poetry and might better be classed as poetry than as prose. In the pastoral dramas, also, prose seldom occurs and if used is diversified with many songs. Oftentimes a dramatist would discard even blank verse, and write in a shorter

¹The Stage is more beholding to *Love*, then the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is ever the matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies. But in Life, it doth much mischief: sometimes like a *Syren*; sometimes like a *Fury*.

Bacon's *Essays*, x, "Of Love."

and more lyrical measure as Fletcher did in the greater part of *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

In some cases the popularity of a pastoral was due to its hidden allegorical meaning. In the simplest form of allegory the characters personified some abstract quality; the surly shepherd prefiguring incivility or the wanton shepherdess, licentiousness. Sometimes a coarse pastoral loses all its grossness if we interpret the meaning aright. Very interesting in this connection is Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, in which Clorin, impossible and exasperating as a character in the play, becomes perfectly intelligible when regarded as the symbol of constancy or chastity; Cloe, also, whom even the wide sympathies of Charles Lamb could not tolerate, loses half her grossness if we regard her as an allegorical character. This tendency to allegorical scenes and characters, so stimulating to the readers of former times, has now almost died out of our literature and has been relegated to pulpit oratory, and the various forms of pictorial satire.

Sometimes a pastoral writer, instead of allegorical characters, introduced real characters or events under some easily penetrated disguise. In this way a poet defended or revealed himself or his friends, and his readers were interested in the interpretation of the allusions. This practise began with Theocritus, who in his seventh idyl introduces himself under the name of Simichidas, and was sanctioned by Vergil, who in his eclogues represents his own misfortunes under the names of Tityrus and Menalchus. Following their example, Tasso (*Aminta*) exposes his love for Leonore (*Silvia*), his resentment toward Sperone (*Mopsa*) and his desire to propitiate Pigna (*Elpino*). In like manner Montemayor (in the *Diana*) reveals his own misfortunes, and D'Urfé goes so far as to include almost all the court stories of love and intrigue in the various episodes of *Astrée*. It was also a very common practice to praise one's family or one's patron under the conventional pastoral disguise. Thus Sannazaro in many incidents of the

Arcadia refers to the misfortunes of his patron Frederick III, King of Naples.

It was an easy step from personal allusion to satire, and many pastorals won fame by the keenness of their satirical shafts. Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* is a most amusing satire on the court of King James. Many other pastoral dramatists and poets write with a marked satiric intent, sometimes mildly ridiculing certain court affectations and sometimes resorting to bitter invective against some vicious custom. When the satire is keen and is directed against matters deserving satire to-day we read it with relish, but usually the persons or customs satirized are remote from our modern interests. Nevertheless we can readily understand how the satiric element increased the former popularity of pastoral poetry, especially in its later stages.

Thus by splendor of poetic coloring, by idealized portrayal of rural scenes, by skilful use of the old myths, by subtle love-disquisitions, by personal allusion, satire or allegory, pastoral literature created and maintained its popularity. Moreover certain aspects of pastoral poetry which now directly repel us were looked upon by the sixteenth century audience with toleration or even with pleasure. For example the ever-present anachronisms. What had chronology to do with the eternally youthful Arcadian life which was conceived to spring up in the early history of any country. A critic who begins by pointing out carefully the anachronisms in pastoral literature will end by writing a log-book of the voyage of the Ancient Mariner. As a matter of fact pastoral writers allowed their imaginations free rein. If they chose they would mix Roman and Italian customs or Greek and Teutonic myths. In dramas, representing real life, we have some reason to be offended at the anachronisms carelessly introduced by Elizabethan playwrights, but surely in the visionary land of Arcadia we need not demand consistency and realism.

For the same reason we should be slow to condemn the improbable incidents in the pastorals which so often create an

air of unreality to modern readers. These were taken as a matter of course by an audience little given to analysis or criticism. This fact is abundantly proved by an examination of other departments of literature at the time. Nor is it at all improbable that in many cases a pastoral may have been intended for a burlesque and keenly appreciated as such by the readers. This is undoubtedly true of many of the later pastorals in England. The difficulty in forming a correct estimate as to certain pastorals is very great, and there is hardly a more amusing spectacle than a modern critic seriously and ponderously dissecting what was deliberately intended for burlesque or delicate raillery, and then explaining its absurdities by a reference to the childish credulity or vivid imagination of the Renaissance. The poets regarded Arcadia as a province in which their imagination was unfettered by terrestrial laws, and naturally their readers accepted this view without question. Oftentimes, also, a scene which seems to us utterly improbable was accepted and praised for its naturalness by the readers of the time. "Probability" we must remember is a relative term. No work of the imagination can be exactly true to life—nor ought it to be—for the function of art is to make idealized pictures seem real. The extent to which idealization can be carried before it leads to improbability and unreality varies with the age and even with different readers of the same age.¹

Perhaps the most objectionable characteristic of the pastoral writers is their slavish imitations. Not only were incidents and suggestions borrowed extensively, but direct plagiarism was not held a vice. The same names appear again and again. Sometimes a character is stolen, name and all; oftener, the conventional names are apparently distributed at random—Guarini's Corisca lives again in Fletcher's Cloe. Suggestions

¹In this connection it is interesting to note different judgments in regard to the characters in Dickens's novels—how real they seem to some, how preposterous to others.

for the plot are appropriated with the greatest freedom,¹ and still more noticeable is the slavish borrowing of descriptions of nature. But here again we must remember how extensively writers in other branches of literature borrowed. There is this difference, however, when a dramatist like Shakespeare or Heywood borrowed, he ransacked history, epic, drama, prose fiction,—in fact everything he could lay hands upon, while a pastoral writer limited his thefts almost entirely to earlier pastorals. This explains why certain scenes and characters appear again and again. This habit of borrowing and re-borrowing tended, of course, to reduce the characters to types, such as the constant shepherd, the chaste shepherdess, the wizard, etc. This tendency to types, far from detracting from, probably added to, the popularity of pastoral literature in an age which delighted in such books as Overbury's *Characters*. As for the constant borrowing, the audience was accustomed to this in all branches of literature. The modern dictum of the critics that literature should display the national characteristics, should reflect the national life and the peculiar genius of a people, would have been received with utter astonishment during the period we are studying. So far from resenting plagiarism from the classics, men welcomed a clever paraphrase from the ancient authors and applauded a covert allusion, regarding it as a compliment to their own learning. We must remember that a cultivated Frenchman or Englishman of the sixteenth century admitted without question the superiority of the Greek, Latin and Italian literatures, and was glad to prop up the tender shoots of his own literature with the seasoned wood of the classics.

The employment of rustic dialect, a natural and artistic device, was rare among pastoral writers. Theocritus, to be

¹To give only a few examples:—the incident of curing a bee's sting with a kiss appears in the romances of Tatius and Durfée, and in the pastoral dramas of Tasso and Rutter; Fletcher borrows the trial of chastity from Tatius, who in turn copied Heliodorus; Guarini borrows from Longus the device of hunting with dogs a person disguised in a wolf's skin.

sure, uses the Doric speech, Spenser makes his swains speak in a Northern dialect sprinkled with archaic words, and Ben Jonson in his *Sad Shepherd* used many rustic words and expressions; but aside from these writers we find almost no attempts to add local coloring of this kind. Nor is it much to be regretted; for dialect, unless used with great skill, introduces countless absurdities, and destroys the illusion. Modern realism has "gone mad" over dialect, but the Renaissance audience looked at it askance. It is doubtful whether pastoral poetry lost much intrinsically, it certainly lost nothing in popularity, by neglecting to use dialect.

Thus it was that pastoral literature gained and kept a foremost place in popular estimation. Its popularity, though based on standards of taste different from ours, was genuine and not affected, was widespread and not local, and historically is of great significance in tracing the development of literature along other lines.

II. SOURCES OF THE ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA.¹

The pastoral drama originated in Italy. Nowhere save in the land of its birth did it attain the popularity, either of the short pastoral poems or of the pastoral romances. In Italy, however, pastoral drama for two centuries held the highest place of honor. It arose very naturally from pastoral eclogues (many of which were in dialogue) and was cultivated assiduously in spite of the fact that the dramatic form is the least adapted for the representation of pastoral life. In a drama character and plot are the essential elements; but it was well-nigh impossible for a pastoral dramatist to construct either vivid characters or an interesting plot, because of the traditional limitations of his theme. In a drama, moreover, description of rural scenery, which formed one of the most pleasing characteristics of other forms of pastoral literature,

¹ This section of the essay, being foreign to the main line of investigation, has been gleaned from the usual authorities.

could not be introduced to any extent. Yet many of the characteristics of pastoral literature mentioned above (such as satire, allegory and personal allusion) do appear in the pastoral drama; and it is to these rather than to the plot and characters that the critic should direct his attention. In spite of the inherent difficulties in the construction of a pastoral drama, we find that the form was immediately welcomed by the Italian aristocracy. This popularity is not difficult to explain. The Italian gentry of Renaissance times had a deep-seated love for country life. They spent the greater part of their time in their beautiful country villas, and when called to town for business or pleasure they longed for rural scenes, and listened with delight to the idealized reflection of that life which they heard on the stage. Moreover, the regular Italian drama at the time was in a very rude and undeveloped stage. The classic tragedy had attained only equivocal success. "The dramatists did not know how to make kings talk, and their attempts in lower ranks of life were even more unsuccessful. Comedy, on the other hand, lived only among the bourgeois, and was given over to trivialities."¹ Failing to represent real life on the stage, the Italian writers turned their attention to the representation of ideal beings in an idealized manner. Passages from Sannazaro's *Arcadia* were on everyone's lips, and the dramatists saw an opportunity to please their audiences. In less than a century two hundred pastoral dramas appeared; but none approached the beauty of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. So the pastoral drama rapidly declined; it became more and more given to imitation; and finally was absorbed in the opera. In its imitative characteristic, the pastoral drama shared in the general tendency of Italian literature. Note how the later sonneteers were content to imitate over and over the masterpieces of the classic age.

It is not necessary for our purpose to mention these dramas in detail. The first was Poliziano's *Orfeo* (1472), "which

¹ F. Salfi, *Littérature Italien*, p. 114.

begins like an idyl and ends like a tragedy.”¹ This example was not followed by later pastoral dramatists who almost invariably adopted the form of tragi-comedy. Passing by the dramas of Beccaria and Aigente, we note as the next important work the famous *Aminta* of Torquato Tasso. This play was acted with great success at Ferrara in the year 1573. Eight years later it appeared in printed form, and immediately attained a wonderful popularity, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe. Its popularity in England is attested by reprints of the Italian editions, and by several translations into English, the first of which appeared as early as the year 1591.² Tasso's *Aminta* had a most important influence on the English pastoral drama; and though it is so well known must be discussed at some length.

The story of the play is very simple, and the action is carried on by some half-dozen characters. In the prologue, Cupid appears in shepherd's dress. He asserts his freedom from the control of Venus, who desires him to inspire only the courtiers with love, and states his intention of trying his arrows on the Arcadians. He confesses that he has wounded the shepherd Aminta, and promises in due time to pierce the heart of Silvia.

In the first scene, Silvia protests to her confidante, Daphne, that she desires not love but the chase. She mocks her friend's pleading for the necessity of love. The next scene is in a way complementary, for in it Aminta tells his dear friend Thirsi that he will be constant to Silvia until death. Thirsi seeks to encourage him. After this the chorus appears, and sings the famous song, celebrating the Age of Gold.

¹ Ward, *History of the English Drama*, I, 581.

²This translation was made by Abraham Fraunce, who tried to construct an English poem by combining a translation of Tasso's *Aminta* (as far as v, 2) with a translation of Thomas Watson's *Amyntas*. The first complete translation was made by Henry Reynolds in 1628. See Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 404, 405, 438.

In the second act, evil enters in the person of the Satyr, who resolves to ravish Silvia as she bathes in the fountain. His plan is foiled by Aminta, who, sent to the fountain by the matchmaker Thirsi, finds Silvia bound naked to a tree. He releases her, but receives no word of thanks; for, overcome with shame, she flees from him into the secrecy of the forest. All join in the search, and at last one of the shepherdesses finds her veil torn and stained with blood. Aminta, not doubting that she has been slain by wild beasts, rushes madly away from his friends to seek relief in suicide. The chorus sings the praises of fidelity and a constant heart.

Silvia, who had escaped from the wolves, is found by Daphne, who tells her of Aminta's rash resolve. This arouses Silvia's pity, and, when a messenger appears and tells how Aminta has thrown himself from a precipice, she resolves to follow him to the other world. At this point, the chorus sings of love and death. Aminta, however, is saved by overhanging bushes, and all his sorrows are forgotten in the arms of Silvia. The play ends with a mocking choral song which celebrates easily-obtained love, far beyond that accompanied (as was Aminta's) with tears and suffering.

The drama is not to be judged by this simple story; it holds its position because of its beautiful lyric choruses, its subtle reasonings on love, and its revelation of Tasso's own love and opinions. Moreover, the play is full of personal allusions, some of which have already been commented upon (see p. 362).

The *Aminta* made the sylvan fable (as it was called) the fashion in Italy. "It was the first successful attempt to modernize the classic eclogue, and to fill it with romantic passion; its purity of style and harmony of verse; its fine lyrics and adaptations from the ancients, combined with its passionate love and delicate delineations procured for it many imitators."¹

But Tasso's effort was not destined to be unrivaled. In 1585 Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* was acted in Ferrara. This

¹ Nannucci, *Literatura Italiana*, p. 120.

play is not an imitation of Tasso's, but a rival; and it attained to equal fame. Guarini's drama is far less simple than Tasso's masterpiece. He increases the number of characters, maintains a kind of underplot and in many ways elaborates his theme. The prologue is delivered by the god of the river, Alfeo, instead of by Cupid, and is devoted to the praises of Arcadia.

At the opening of the play, we find Arcadia filled with mourning, because of Cynthia's wrath. Without entering into the causes of this, or the various measures taken by the Arcadians to appease the goddesses, it is sufficient to mention the final oracle which declared that all would be well when two of divine race should, of their own will, unite in love, and when a faithful shepherd should atone for the sins of a faithless nymph. The play is devoted to the fulfilment of this oracle. The priests plan for a union between Sylvio, descended from Hercules, and Amarillis, descended from Pan. But to the perplexity of all Sylvio refuses love and devotes himself to the chase, while Amarillis falls in love with her faithful lover, Mirtillo. Corisca, a wicked nymph, who is jealous of Amarillis plans to bring disgrace upon her, by beguiling her into a cave with a shepherd named Coridon. Her plan, however, miscarries; for Mirtillo, seeing Amarillis enter the cave, thinks she has become false to him, and rushes in to punish her. Here the two are discovered before the laggard Coridon arrives. By the law of the land Amarillis, having violated her troth-plight to Sylvio, must die. Mirtillo offers himself as a substitute, and is saved only by the discovery that he is really of divine race and his true name is Sylvio. This being the case, it is decided that Amarillis has not violated her troth-plight to Sylvio (for that is Mirtillo's real name), and that their marriage will fulfil completely the oracle. The underplot is taken up with the wooing of the huntsman Sylvio by Dorinda, who finally wins his love.

On the whole, the plot is skilfully constructed, and has interest if judged merely from the point of view of a play-

wright. The choruses, though inferior to those in the *Aminta*, have very great beauty. There is considerable personal allusion and satire in the play, also much refined analysis of love in all its phases.

Il Pastor Fido held the stage for a long time, and when published went through twenty editions in twelve years. It became the accepted model of the English pastoral dramatists, who imitate both its general spirit and many details. The first English translation, by Charles Dymock, appeared in the year 1602, and several others followed, the best of which was Fanshawe's, published in 1647.¹

None of the later Italian pastoral dramas attained to the fame of the *Aminta* and *Il Pastor Fido*, nor do they appear to have had any marked influence on the development of the English pastoral drama. The Italian poets were content to copy and imitate Tasso and Guarini, and most of the English dramatists followed their example.

Yet the English pastoral drama is not to be regarded merely as an offshoot of the Italian. Several pastoral plays were constructed by the English playwrights from materials borrowed from pastoral romances,—Italian, Spanish, French or English; a few dramas were based on current pastoral traditions; and a very small number of plays appear to have been constructed from original plots.

III. ENGLISH PLAYS AFFECTED, BUT NOT DOMINATED BY THE PASTORAL INFLUENCE.

In order to trace the extent of pastoral influence in the English drama, it will be necessary, not only to make some analysis of the elements entering into each play considered, but especially to note the general spirit or "atmosphere" of

¹ Many references attest the admiration felt by English writers for Guarini's drama. As late as the time of Isaac Walton we find Guarini cited to prove that dignity is not necessarily absent from a playwright. See Walton's *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, p. 84. London, 1864.

the play. If the pastoral element predominates so that it colors the whole play, the drama may be said to have the pastoral atmosphere, and may be classified as a pastoral drama.¹ If, on the other hand, the pastoral atmosphere is obscured by the introduction of other elements, the play does not strictly deserve to be termed a pastoral drama. A free combination of elements was the practice of the more skilful playwrights and undoubtedly led to the production of more interesting plays—for pastoral scenes and characters are restricted within too narrow a range for the best comedy, and when employed in tragedy they fail to stir the deeper emotions. On the other hand this introduction of elements foreign to the pastoral spirit oftentimes disturbs the general effect and brings in irritating incongruities. The dramatists, however, who used this method followed the example of the writers of pastoral romance, who frequently mingle pastoral with non-pastoral elements. In the English drama the chief elements combined with the pastoral were (1) the "mythological" element, concerned with the gods and goddesses of the Greek theology; (2) the "forest" element, bringing in outlaws and hunters; and (3) the "court" element, introducing kings and courtiers. Each of these elements brings with it a characteristic atmosphere, which in each case is distinct from the pastoral atmosphere. For example, a drama in which the Greek gods and goddesses play the principal rôles transports us immediately into a supernatural realm, and we judge the play by peculiar standards, usually seeking for some underlying allegory or allusion. The Elizabethan dramatists did not favor such plays as these, but John Lyly wrote one play at least, *The Woman in the Moon*, which belongs in this class. Here we are in the dawn of history; we witness the creation of

¹This seems on the whole the best basis of classification; for the pastoral was a foreign influence of peculiar nature, and almost all attempts to combine it with other influences violate artistic unity. Other elements, however, combine without incongruous effects, as the court and camp in *All's Well That Ends Well*.

the first woman, Pandora, and no scene nor character is brought in which interferes with the general impression of primitive times when gods and goddesses associated familiarly with mankind. In other words, the atmosphere of the play is consistently mythological. This is distinct from the Arcadian atmosphere; for in Arcadia supernatural beings do not appear in bodily form, but express their will by oracles and seers. Both mythological and pastoral plays give an impression of unreality, but this results in the former from the impossibility of the episodes, in the latter from their improbability. Two English dramas have come down to us which combine mythological and pastoral coloring, viz., *The Arraignment of Paris*¹ and *The Maydes Metamorphosis*.²

In Peele's play, the pastoral influence gently and naturally insinuates itself for the scene is laid "in Ida Vales," where the gods and goddesses roamed in company with shepherds and shepherdesses. Pan, the god of shepherds, and Paris a shepherd under the protection of Venus, cannot of course be termed Arcadians, but they suggest Arcadia. CEnone, however, as well as Colin, Thestylus, Hobbinel, Diggon and Thenot are genuine Arcadians. The other characters are gods and goddesses, and bring with them the mythological atmosphere. The extent of the pastoral influence will appear from an examination of the plot. A brief prologue introduces Ate, who tells how she has brought the fatal apple from the golden tree of Proserpine and has cunningly left it in "Ida Vales." In the first scene the goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus are given presents by Pan, Faunus, Silvanus and Pomona. Up to this point no trace of pastoral influence appears. In the next scene, however, CEnone implores Paris to remain true to her and with him she sings what may be termed a pastoral eclogue.

¹ *The Arraignment of Paris, A Pastorall.* Presented before the Queen's Maiestie by the Children of her Chappell. Imprinted at London . . . , 1584.

² *The Maydes Metamorphosis.* As it hath been sundrie times acted by the children of Powles. London . . . , 1600.

The second act is devoted to the dispute between Juno, Pallas and Venus about the golden apple, and the decision of Paris in favor of Venus. It is needless to say there is nothing pastoral in this act.

The third act opens with Colin's song, bewailing his unrequited love. Then three shepherds discuss the nature of love in true pastoral style. At the close of the scene Mercury appears and overhears CEnone's lament (a pastoral lyric). He tells her he is come to fetch Paris before Jove's throne. This scene is mainly pastoral. Scene second also is to be classed as pastoral, for it contains the account of the death of Colin (who is unmistakably a faithful shepherd in Arcadian parlance), the dirge sung over his body, and the punishment of his scornful mistress Thestylis. The last part of the scene is not pastoral, for it contains only Mercury's conversation with Venus.

The last two acts of the play are in no sense pastoral,—Paris defends himself before the gods, and Diana, charged with the responsibility of determining "who is the fairest," renders a decision in favor of Eliza (Queen Elizabeth). To summarize:—about one-third of the play is pastoral, namely, Act. I, Sc. 2, Act III, Sc. 1, and part of Act III, Sc. 2.

There are several things to be noted about this play; first, that Peele on the title-page termed the play "a pastorall." This merely shows with what vagueness the term was used by the dramatists, or perhaps it may have been added by the printer to tempt readers. At this early date the influence of the Italian pastoral drama had not penetrated into England, and the mythological and pastoral elements were confounded. Still it must be admitted that Peele has combined them with great skill. He has given us, as it were, a picture of primitive Arcadian life when gods and goddesses conversed familiarly with shepherds. In the next play to be considered, the two elements were welded together with far less art.

The Maydes Metamorphosis resembles *The Arraignment of Paris* in nothing save the blending of mythological and pas-

toral elements. No sources of the play have been discovered, the author is unknown, and the date when the play was first acted is still in doubt.¹ About one-third of the play is pastoral, as will appear from an analysis of the plot. The prologue is apologetic, stating the author's "good intent" and beseeching attention to the play. Nothing is said as to the author's intention to write a pastoral drama, and probably such a thought never entered his mind.

The first scene contains the conversation between Eurimene (the heroine) and her hired murderers. They tell her that they have been commanded to murder her because she has inspired the Duke's son Ascanio with love. By her entreaties she softens them, and they kill a goat and dye her veil in its blood. Then, taking this proof of her death, they abandon her in the forest. This scene contains nothing pastoral.

In the next scene Silvio, a ranger, and Gemulo, a shepherd, find Eurimene and offer to protect her. They tell her of the joys of their respective callings. She ends the contention by accepting a cottage from one and a flock of sheep from the other. This scene is in the pastoral mode.

In the second act, Ascanio sends his page, Joculo, to search for Eurimene. Meanwhile he lies down and bewails his fate. A drowsiness steals over him, and while he sleeps Juno and Iris appear. The rest of the act concerns Juno, Iris, Somnus and Morpheus. At the end fairies are introduced. Nothing in the second act suggests pastoral influence.

At the opening of the third act, Apollo discourses with the three Charities, who seek to find out the cause of his grief. After their departure, he confesses that his melancholy is caused by love for Eurimene. Next follows his wooing of Eurimene, and her request for a boon. Apollo vows to fulfil anything she may ask, but to his consternation she requests to be unsexed, to be changed from maid to man. Apollo, perforce, grants her request. The act closes with the visit of

¹For a discussion of the authorship and date, see Baker, *Endimion* Introduction.

Joculo to the seer Aramanthus, and the latter's prophetic utterance. In this whole act there is nothing pastoral, though of course the seer Aramanthus suggests similar characters in pastoral literature.

The first part of the fourth act, containing the conversation of Ascanio, Joculo and the Echo, is in the pastoral mode; as is also the visit to Aramanthus. Afterwards, Silvio and Gemulo, both in love with Eurimene, agree to accept her decision. Eurimene (now a boy) meets them and tells them that she is Eurimene's brother and that Eurimene has disappeared. This act has throughout a pastoral coloring.

In the fifth act we have the extraordinary wooing of Ascanio and Eurimene, in which Eurimene confesses her manhood. The seer advises them to go to Apollo and pray that Eurimene's womanhood be restored. News comes from court that the Duke has pardoned Ascanio and Eurimene, and longs to see them united. All go to Apollo's palace and the muses intercede for Eurimene. Apollo consents and crowns their happiness by revealing that Eurimene is the long lost daughter of the seer Aramanthus. In the end Silvio and Gemulo depart forlorn and Apollo sings the closing song. Some of the incidents in this act suggest pastoral influence, but the general impression is not pastoral.

The whole play is a curious blending of diverse elements, pastoral, mythological, fairy and others. Only four of the characters could possibly be termed pastoral,—Silvio, a pastoral ranger;¹ Gemulo, a shepherd; Aramanthus, a seer (who

¹Silvio, though called a ranger, has no kinship with English foresters, but is a true Arcadian. This is sufficiently clear from his speech in the first act:—

“*Diana*, with her bowe and arrows keene,
Did often use the chase in Forrests greene,
And so, alas, the good Athenian knight,
And swifte *Acteon* herein tooke delight,
And *Atalanta*, the Arcadian dame,
Conceived such wondrous pleasure in the game
That with her traine of Nymphs attending on,
She came to hunt the Bore of Calydon.”

supplies the place of the oracle), and Eurimene who lives for a time as a shepherdess.

Several plays of John Lyly are often referred to as pastoral, and still oftener are said to combine mythological and pastoral elements. Moreover, *Love's Metamorphosis* is termed on the title-page, "A witty and courtly pastorall." But Lyly, like Peele, has a faint conception of the traditional Arcadian life. His placing the scene in Arcadia, has no more significance than his choice of Lincolnshire for the scene of *Gallathea* or of Utopia for *The Woman in the Moon*. These three plays have the same atmosphere and it is foreign to pastoral tradition. Lyly apparently had no intention of representing pastoral life in Arcadia: none of his plays contain genuine pastoral characters, and very few pastoral scenes occur.¹ Most of Lyly's plays are to be classed as mythological or allegorical. If we are to term them pastoral we must broaden the definition of pastoral beyond all reason. Lyly appears to have had a peculiar definition of his own for pastoral, and even when tried by this test none of his plays are pastoral.²

We come next to a consideration of the dramas which mingle pastoral characters with huntsmen and foresters. No drama preserves consistently the true forest atmosphere unless it may have been the play of *Robin Hood and Little John*, which is not extant.³ The forest atmosphere is distinct from the pas-

¹ The characters of Tyterus and Melebeus in *Gallathea* may possibly be termed pastoral. The pastoral scenes are in *Love's Metamorphosis*: I, 1, 2; III, 1; IV, 1.

² "At our exercises, souldiers call for tragedies, their object is bloud; courtiers for comedies, their object is love; countrymen for pastorals, sheep-heads are their saints,"—prologue to *Midas*. This observation is curious in two respects. The date of *Midas* is 1588-9, and up to this time no English drama containing pastoral characters had appeared except Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Must we conclude that pastoral dramas existed then which have been lost? Secondly, countrymen are not fond of pastorals, either in the form of romance or drama, for pastorals are the delight of city-dwellers. Probably the truth of the matter is that Lyly thoughtlessly inserted this allusion to fill out the antithesis.

³ We have only a glimpse of this forest life in Munday's *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, and the sequel, *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*.

toral, because one represents a desire to secure freedom from tyrannical laws, the other freedom from court intrigue and the complexity of city life. The forest element, moreover, never became conventionalized. It was English and Teutonic to the core. Two plays alone combine forest and pastoral scenes and characters, Shakespeare's *As You Like It*¹ and Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*. In Shakespeare's play there are of course other elements beside the "forest" and the "pastoral." The first act has the "court" atmosphere. This act, however, is short, and constitutes a kind of introduction to the main action, which takes place in the forest. *As You Like It* was written about the year 1599, and the *Sad Shepherd* at least fifteen years later.²

To determine the extent of pastoral influence in *As You Like It*, it will be necessary to examine the sources. Lodge's *Rosalynde*, the direct source and probably the only one,³ may be regarded as an attempt to treat an old story in the pastoral mode. Lodge retained the bare outline of the *Tale of Gamelyn*, but obliterated all traces of the forest and substituted the pastoral atmosphere. The following table contains a list of

¹ In no other play of Shakespeare's does any considerable pastoral element enter. Part of two scenes of *The Midsummer Night's Dream* (I, 1, and II, 2) are unmistakably pastoral. In *The Winter's Tale*, however, the pastoral element borrowed from Greene's *Pandosto* is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would ever speak of Perdita as an Arcadian? In all probability Shakespeare realized how little dramatic power existed in the pastoral theme, and was too wise to risk the experiment of writing a true pastoral drama.

² Mr. Fleay identifies *The Sad Shepherd* with *The May Lord*, which must have been written before 1619, for Jonson mentioned it to Drummond when he visited him in that year. Whether this identification be substantiated or not, internal evidence seems to point to about this period for the date of composition. *The Sad Shepherd* was first printed in the folio of 1641.

³ "There is no evidence in *As You Like It*, which is to me at all conclusive that Shakespeare drew any the smallest inspiration from *The Tale of Gamelyn*." H. H. Furness, Appendix to *As You Like It*, *Variorum Ed.* Lodge, on the other hand, undoubtedly read the *Tale of Gamelyn*.

the characters in *Gamelyn*, *Rosalynde*, and *As You Like It*, the pastoral characters being italicized :—

TALE OF GAMELYN.	ROSALYNDE.	AS YOU LIKE IT.
Sir John of Burdeuxs.	Sir John of Bourdeaux.	Sir Roland de Bois.
His sons { Johan, { Ote, { Gamelyn.	{ <i>Saladyne</i> , { Fernandine, { <i>Rosader</i> .	{ <i>Oliver</i> , { Jacques, { Orlando.
Adam, the spencer (a young steward).	Adam Spencer (an old servant).	Adam.
The outlawed king.	Gerismond.	Duke, Senior.
Wrestler.	The Norman, a wrestler.	Charles, the wrestler.
	Torismond (King of France).	Duke (the usurper).
	<i>Rosalynde</i> .	Rosalind.
	<i>Alinda</i> .	Celia.
	<i>Montanus</i> .	<i>Sylvius</i> .
	<i>Coridon</i> .	Corin.
	<i>Phoebe</i> .	<i>Phoebe</i> .
		Amiens.
		Jacques.
		Le Beu.
		Touchstone.
		William.
		Audrey.
		Sir Oliver Mar-text.

From an examination of the separate scenes or episodes, we find that *The Tale of Gamelyn* preserves throughout the forest atmosphere. The action takes place in three localities; Sir Johan's house, the market-place (where the wrestling occurs), and the neighboring forest. This wood is Sherwood forest, the nameless "maister outlawe" is evidently Robin Hood, and Gamelyn is "Young Gammell," nephew of Robin Hood, in the ballad of *Robin Hood and the Stranger*.¹ No trace of

¹"I rede that we to wode goon . ar that we be found,
Better is us ther loos . than in town y-bounde."

pastoral or "court" influence is to be found in the poem. These were added by Lodge, being invented by him or borrowed from some unknown source.

The action in *Rosalynde* is located at Sir John's house, at the tilting-ground (where the wrestling takes place in presence of the court), and in the "Forrest of Ardenne." Sir John's sons are metamorphosed into courtiers (Rosader "vailed bonnet to the king, and lightly leapt into the lists"). Moreover, several "court" characters are added, chief among them being Rosalynde and Alinda (Shakespeare's Celia). This gives to the first part of the romance a distinct "court" coloring. But fully three-fourths of the story takes place in the "Forrest of Ardenne." Lodge makes this an Italian pastoral forest inhabited by true Arcadians. Montanus and Phoebe sing sonnets, and Montanus and Corin recite eclogues; the disguised shepherd Rosader (Shakespeare's Orlando) makes love to the disguised shepherdess Rosalynde in a "wooing eclogue." For the king of outlaws in Gamelyn is substituted the King of France. This change is not important, for the king takes little part in the plot, and is neither a pastoral nor forest character.

The scene in *As You Like It* is mainly "forest." This is accomplished by bringing into prominence the exiled Duke and his companions. They live the life of outlaws, not of shepherds. In this forest environment Silvius and Phoebe become sadly out of place. In a word, Lodge's Forrest of Ardenne is Arcadia; Shakespeare's is Sherwood. But what shall be said of the lovers, Oliver and Celia, Rosalind and

"Our maister is i-crowned . of outlawes kyng."

l. 660.

[Tidings came to the master outlaw]

"That he shoulde come hom . his pees was i-mad."

l. 689.

"Tho was Gamelyne anon . without tarrying,
Maad maister outlawe . and crowned here kyng."

l. 694.

See also *Tale of Gamelyn*: Introduction by W. W. Skeat.

Orlando? In Lodge's romance we have seen how these characters became purely conventional pastoral characters from the moment they entered the forest. Not so in Shakespeare. Celia, neither by word nor action reveals that she is a shepherdess, or desires to become one. She buys a sheep-fold simply to elude pursuit. In the character of Oliver, Shakespeare greatly reduced the pastoral coloring. His prototype, the courtier Saladyne, becomes a shepherd for Alinda's (Celia) sake, and woos her in true pastoral style, but Oliver's wooing is omitted entirely from *As You Like It*, and only briefly referred to by Oliver in conversation with Orlando and by Rosalind in her famous speech, "They no sooner met but they look'd; no sooner look'd but they lov'd; no sooner lov'd but they sigh'd; no sooner sigh'd but they asked one another the reason; no sooner knew the reason, but they sought the remedy" (V, 2). Yet Oliver, though a minor character, must be counted an Arcadian. In the end he says to Orlando, "My father's house, and all his reversion, that was old Sir Rowlands, will I estate upon you, and heere live and die a Shepherd" (V, 2). Orlando, generally, and Rosalind, always, are free from pastoral taint. When Orlando hangs sonnets on the trees and soliloquizes, "Hang there my verse in witness of my love" (III, 2); when he battles with the lioness and conquers her, then we recognize the pastoral element. Rosalind, however, never adopts the pastoral tone, nor does she bear the faintest trace of the Arcadian. Corin, a typical Arcadian in Lodge's story, is naturalized by Shakespeare into a rural character, an English shepherd. "Sir, I am a true labourer; I earn that I eat, get that I wear, etc." (III, 2). In only two important characters, Silvius and Phoebe, does Shakespeare preserve the full pastoral coloring. Finally, not one of the new characters introduced by Shakespeare bears the stamp of Arcadia.¹

¹ By the most liberal allowance the pastoral scenes and episodes in *As You Like It* include only the following:—The conversation between Corin and Silvius, and the purchase of the sheep-farm by Rosalind and Celia, II,

In general we may say that Shakespeare subordinated the pastoral element as much as possible, and brought back the true forest atmosphere which Lodge had entirely omitted. In all probability Shakespeare did this consciously in order to make a better play. He may have done it unconsciously by allowing free rein to his Teutonic nature. At any rate the means he used to subordinate the pastoral element is interesting: (1) by expanding the court scenes from Lodge, and adding Le Beau and the clown; (2) by making prominent the forest life of the royal outlaws (which is barely touched upon by Lodge), and adding Amiens and Jacques; (3) by introducing real rustics, Corin, William and Audrey, to take the place of shepherds; (4) by condensing pastoral episodes and descriptions, and decreasing the number of pastoral lyrics (Lodge has eighteen, Shakespeare only three); (5) by assigning only a few speeches to Sylvius and Phoebe (these are typical pastoral characters, and are given an important part in Lodge's *Rosalynde*); (6) by replacing the long pastoral wooing between Saladyne (Oliver) and Alinda (Celia) with an indirect reference of a few lines; (7) by giving an air of parody to Orlando's wooing of Rosalind (in other words, making them natural characters who burlesque pastoral wooing). Therefore, *As You Like It*, though it exhibits strong pastoral influence, and contains some pastoral scenes and characters, does not give a final impression of pastoral—it has not the Arcadian atmosphere. This explains why most of the critics have been loath to class it among pastoral dramas.¹

4; Orlando's soliloquy and his sonnets, III, 2; Corin's speeches, III, 4; the dialogues between Sylvius and Phoebe, III, 5; between Orlando and Rosalind, IV, 1; between Sylvius and Rosalind, and between Oliver and Celia, IV, 3; the whole of V, 2; and finally the conversation of Rosalind, Orlando and the Duke, and of the second brother and the Duke, V, 4.

¹"*As You Like It* is the most ideal of any of this author's plays. It is a pastoral drama in which the interest arises more out of the sentiments and characters than out of the actions or situations."—Hazlitt.

"Less fascinating than Shakespeare's other comedies. The dramatist has presented us with a pastoral comedy, the characters of which, instead

Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, however, has been termed by almost all the critics a pastoral drama, notwithstanding the fact that the forest element predominates, and the scene is Sherwood not Arcadia. Unfortunately the drama has come down to us in unfinished form. Out of one thousand lines less than four hundred are devoted to pastoral episodes or dialogues. The remaining lines, recounting the hunting of the stag, the conversations of the witch and her son, the allusions to forest superstitions and the final search for the witch by Robin Hood and his merry crew: these certainly give to the play the atmosphere of the forest. We have seen how Shakespeare subordinated and almost obliterated the pastoral element he found in Lodge. Ben Jonson on the other

of belonging to an ideal past age, are true copies of what nature would produce under similar conditions."—Halliwell.

"Phoebe is quite an Arcadian coquette; she is a piece of pastoral poetry; Audrey is only rustic. A very amusing effect is produced by the contrast between the frank and free bearing of the two princesses in disguise and the scornful airs of the real shepherdess."—Mrs. Jameson.

"For vigorous natures, temporarily out of tune, the poet offers a wholesome medicine throughout this airy romantic life, which, however, is not to be regarded as the sentimental ideal of a normal condition which has been overwhelmed and lost in society. What the shepherds and shepherdesses in conventional pastoral poetry really are (without intending to appear so), namely, fugitives from a false social condition enjoying for a while a sort of masquerade and picnic freedom—in place of such, Shakespeare gives us honest and true his romantic dwellers in the forest of Ardenne. And this is the very reason why he catches the genuine tone of this careless, free, natural existence, which, in the case of the ideal shepherds of the Spanish, French or Italian writers, is cabined and confined by merely another form of artificial intercourse. . . . The genius of the British poet rises above the conventional forms of the South which it had borrowed, and many of the scenes of this comedy are transformed into a diverting parody of the sentimentalism of pastoral poetry."—F. Kreyssig, *Vorlesungen*, etc., Vol. III, p. 243, Berlin, 1862.

"Such a life as Rosalind led in the Forest . . . is to the German mind well-nigh incomprehensible, and refuge is taken, by some of the most eminent Germans, in explanations of the 'Pastoral Drama' with its 'sentimental unrealities' and contrasts, etc."—H. H. Furness, *The Variorum Shakespeare, As You Like It*, p. viii.

hand wove together the two threads, pastoral and forest, apparently regarding them of equal importance and seeing no incongruity in the combination. The title-page (in the folio) is significant—*The Sad Shepherd, A Tale of Robin Hood*. The characters, moreover, are divided into two nearly equal groups, the pastoral group headed by Aeglamour and Earine, the forest group by Robin Hood and Maid Marian. In general the pastoral incidents serve as an underplot, utterly foreign in spirit to the main plot, yet interwoven in such a way as to show Jonson's skill in plot-construction at its best. The underplot is consistently pastoral throughout, Aeglamour, Karolin, and the rest are Arcadian shepherds in every word and action. The main plot, so far as its incidents are concerned, is consistent with the forest traditions; but here and there in descriptive passages the classical coloring so inseparable from Jonson's work somewhat mars the general "forest" effect. When the plots intermingle, and foresters and Arcadians appear together on the stage, the effect is necessarily incongruous. But Jonson has constructed an interesting and in the main an original plot, and has expressed it in such exquisite poetry that many critics do not perceive that he failed in the task he set himself. This was to transplant the pastoral into English soil. To do this a poet must idealize English shepherd life.¹ Jonson, on the other hand, merely took the foreign Arcadian shepherds and tried to make them English by transporting them to Sherwood Forest, and making them guests of Robin Hood. In this connection it is interesting to note Jonson's own idea of a pastoral which he gives in the prologue to *The Sad Shepherd*. After defending his introduction of mirth into a pastoral, he condemns those who claim "that no style of pastoral should go Current, but what is stamped with Ah! and O!" and adds indignantly,

¹ The nearest approach to such portrayal is Allan's Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, but even here realism enters so largely that the term pastoral drama is somewhat inappropriate.

“As if all poesie had one character In which what were not written, were not right.” Evidently there was a feeling abroad when Jonson wrote, that clownish mirth was inconsistent with the seriousness and dignity of Arcadian life.¹ But the pastoral writers occasionally introduce comic scenes and Jonson’s practice therefore was not altogether an innovation. Certainly no one now would condemn him for introducing comedy. Jonson’s condemnation of the use of the exclamations Ah! and O! is quite as sensible (though this sounds like a direct hit at Daniel² rather than a general attack on writers of pastorals.) Finally Jonson’s remark about the rules of the critics which condemn all that departs from traditional practice, is a well-merited rebuke. However it does not apply to the criticism made against Jonson; we do not condemn his innovation because it is an innovation, but because it brings in irritating incongruities. This has been noted by Mr. Swinburne in his *Study of Ben Jonson*. “A masque included also an anti-masque, in which the serious part is relieved and set off by the introduction of parody and burlesque: but in a dramatic attempt of higher pretention this intrusion of incongruous contrast is a pure barbarism—a positive solecism in composition. The collocation of such names and such figures as those of Aeglamour and Earine with such others as Much and Maudlin, Scathlock and Scarlet is no whit less preposterous or less ridiculous, less inartistic or less irritating than the conjunction in Dekker’s *Satiromastix* of Peter Flash and Sir Vaughan of Ross, with Crispinus and Demetrius, Asinius and Horace, and the offense is graver,

¹ Drummond of Hawthorndon voices this opinion in his *Conversations*, p. 224: “Jonson (in his play) bringeth in clowns making mirth and foolish sports, contrary to all pastorals.

² In Daniel’s pastoral play, *Hymen’s Triumph*, “Ah” and “O” are used so frequently as to become a mannerism well deserving of censure. See ll. 167–171, 386, 401, 402, 410, 414, 639, 674, 718, 749, 1109, 1124, 1214, 1322, 1419, 1428, 1518–9, 1535, 1645, 1654, 1703, 1734.

more inexcusable and more inexplicable in a work of pure fancy or imagination than in a satiric play."¹

A large number of plays combine pastoral and court scenes. Real kings and queens, real lords and ladies converse intimately with the Arcadian swains and nymphs, or more commonly the introduction and conclusion of a play is given up to court scenes and characters, and the main part of the action is carried on in Arcadia. The general custom of the playwrights was to take a pastoral romance, and either to cut out altogether the pastoral scenes or to change them beyond recognition; then to construct a play out of the remaining court episodes. So it happened that many plays, though taken from pastoral sources and carelessly termed pastoral dramas by the critics, really preserve absolutely the atmosphere of the court. The distinction between the court and the pastoral atmospheres is sufficiently obvious. The former appears in plays where the characters are drawn from observation or from Italian models; they are real courtiers in the real court environment. When, however, a courtier disguises himself as an Arcadian, when he seeks the company of shepherds and speaks and acts like an Arcadian, then to all intent and purposes he is a pastoral character. In most of the plays combining court and pastoral element the former predominates.

Three plays contain court and pastoral elements, Henry Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*,² *The Thracian Won-*

¹ Swinburne: *A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 87-88.

Mr. Ward in his *History of the English Drama* takes a different view of this drama. Though he grants the absurdity of introducing the Lowland Scotch dialect in Sherwood Forest, and admits that passages here and there have too great classical colouring, yet he claims that Jonson on the whole has "with singular freshness caught the spirit of the greenwood." Moreover, the Arcadian shepherds introduced, seem to him beings of a definite age and country, and the combination of these with Robin Hood seems "a lucky combination difficult to be repeated." Ward, *History of the English Drama*, I, p. 586.

² *Argalus and Parthenia*. As it hath been acted at the court before their Maiesties and at the Private-House in Drury Lane. By their Maiesties Servants. The Author, Henry Glapthorne, . . . 1639. Mr. Fleay thinks that the play was first acted in 1638. *Chron. of the Eng. Drama.*, II, p. 245.

der,¹ attributed to Webster, and Thomas Forde's *Love's Labyrinth*.²

In *Argalus and Parthenia*, Glapthorne has taken an episode from Sidney's *Arcadia* and has treated it so as to subordinate as much as possible the pastoral element. The atmosphere of the play is, in general, that of the court; the main characters are princes and warriors; and the scenes are laid either at court or at the tilting ground. As a kind of under plot, there is introduced the love-making of Clitophon, "an inconstant shepherd," Strephon, "a foolish shepherd," and Alexis, "another swaine," with three shepherdesses. These characters talk and act like pastoral characters, but they appear only for a short time on the stage, (I, 2 and II, 2.)

The Thracian Wonder and *Love's Labyrinth* were founded on Greene's pastoral romance *Menaphon*. The Author of *The Thracian Wonder* subordinated and almost eliminated the pastoral element he found in the romance. The principal characters are the King of Thrace, his brother, daughter, son-in-law and grandson. Consequently the atmosphere of the play is that of the court and camp. A few pastoral characters are introduced, however;—Antimon (a mere shadow of the shepherd Menaphon, in Greene's romance,) Tityrus, a merry shepherd, and Palaemon, a mad shepherd. The last part of Act I; the conversation between Tityrus and Radagon and the consulting of the oracle in Act II; the wooing of Ariadne in Act II and IV: these are all the scenes that could possibly be termed pastoral.

Love's Labyrinth preserves much more of the pastoral coloring. This fact, together with the comparative rarity of the play justifies a more detailed analysis.

¹ *The Thracian Wonder*. . . . By John Webster, . . . 1661. . . . Mr. Fleay considers this to be the same play as *War Without Blows and Love Without Suit*. By Thomas Heywood, 1598. The identification seems probable. See *Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, p. 287.

² *Love's Labyrinth or The Royal Shepherdesse*. A Tragi-Comedie. By Tho. Forde, . . . 1660.

The first Act of the play contains nothing pastoral. It relates how Damocles, King of Arcadia, angered by the clandestine marriage of his daughter Sephestia to Maximus, Prince of Cyprus, condemns her and her babe Plusidippus to the mercy of the sea. Maximus offers his life in exchange but is refused; the king's brother Lamedon also intercedes in vain, and finally determines to share the exile of the lovers. A storm separates the exiles, Sephestia and her uncle Lamedon are wrecked on a remote coast of Arcadia, and find refuge with the shepherd Menaphon. Maximus, cast up on another part of the coast, resolves to spend the rest of his life as a shepherd. The babe, Plusidippus, is found upon the seashore by outlaws who take him as a present to the King of Thrace.

The remainder of the play is almost equally divided between the pastoral and the court element. There are three centres of the action; the court of King Damocles; the court of the King of Thrace; and the home of the shepherd Menaphon. King Damocles is smitten with remorse, as year after year passes by without tidings of his daughter or grandson, and finally he leaves his throne and goes to seek them. The part played by the King of Thrace is very small. He adopts as his son the babe Plusidippus and in the course of time plans for the boy a marriage with his own daughter. The plan miscarries, for Plusidippus when he grows to manhood is dissatisfied with the princess and goes into Arcadia to seek a shepherdess in marriage. The fortunes of Sephestia, Lamedon and Maximus form the pastoral incidents of the play. Menaphon, who protects Sephestia and Lamedon, belongs to a common type, the heart-free shepherd. He boasts of his freedom to his friend Doron.

“ Fond love no more,
Will I adore
Thy feigned Deity;
Go throw thy darts,
At single hearts,
And prove thy victory.

Whilst I do keep
 My harmless sheep,
 Love hath no power on me ;
 'Tis idle fables
 Which he controules
 The busie man is free."

Before long, Menaphon begins to fall under the spell of Sephestia's beauty, and, from time to time, he woos her with songs (one of which, *Love's Duel*, is taken from Anacreon ; another from Greene's romance). Sephestia rejects his love, and finally leaves him and becomes a shepherdess, living with her uncle Lamedon. They become enamoured with Arcadian life. Lamedon recites its praises as follows :—

"How happy are these shepherds! here they live
 Content, and know no other cares, but how
 To tend their flocks, and please their Mistris best.
 They know no strife, but that of love, they spend
 Their days in mirth ; and when they end, sweet sleeps
 Repay, and ease the labours of the day.
 They need no Lawyers to decide their jars,
 Good herbs, and wholesome diet, is to them
 The only Æsculapius ; their skill
 Is how to save, not how with art to kill.
 Pride and ambition are such strangers here,
 They are not known so much as by their names.
 Their sheep and they contend in innocence,
 Which shall excell, the Master or his flocks.
 With honest mirth, and merry tales, they pass
 Their time, and sweeten all their cares :
 Whilst Courts are fill'd with waking, thoughtful strife,
 Peace and content do crown the Shepherds life."

The years pass swiftly by and Sephestia becomes famous for her beauty and wit. At last she meets Maximus at a shepherds' feast. They fail to recognize each other. Their love, however, revives and Maximus succeeds in winning her consent to a marriage. Menaphon laments his loss in a song taken from Greene's romance, "Ye restless cares, etc." His grief is increased by the taunts of his former mistress Pesana (the forsaken shepherdess).

The conclusion of the play relates how King Damocles and Plusidippus came to Arcadia, and how both fell in love with the beautiful shepherdess Sephestia. She recognizes them as her father and her son, and reveals her identity. A general reconciliation ensues, and Maximus is reunited to Sephestia.

A comedy element is introduced into the drama by the wooing of Camela by Doron, "a foolish shepherd:"

"*Carmela.* What does the mouth of your affection water?"

"*Doron.* Water? No, it fires. I'm so all afire that I dare not go amongst my flocks for fear lest I should burn up all their pasture, if thou dost not showre down some dew of comfort to cool me."

Doron, failing of success, hires a poet to write verses for him, and in the end he wins Carmela's love.

Forde follows his original very closely. He reduces the pastoral element, however, by placing Plusidippus at court (in the romance he is brought up among shepherds) and by cutting out many pastoral incidents. The whole drama is about equally divided between court and pastoral scenes.

John Day's *Ile of Gulls* and James Shirley's *Arcadia* are often mentioned as pastoral dramas, for no better reason apparently than that they were both founded upon Sidney's famous romance. In *The Ile of Gulls* the court atmosphere is preserved throughout. There are no shepherds nor shepherdesses among the characters, nor even courtiers disguised as shepherds. Though the scene is laid in an island (satirically termed "the Ile of Gulls") near Arcadia, and though ambassadors come from Lacedaemon; yet the action might have been localized, just as well, at any court in christendom. The characters are the Duke, Duchess, princes, princesses and their servants, and the play is devoted to the working out of various love intrigues. The plot, as stated above, was taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, but pastoral scenes, characters and allusions were carefully avoided.

Shirley, in *The Arcadia* followed Day's example, using in the main the same episodes, but adding the supposed death of

Basilus and the trial scene. In this way Shirley introduced tragic effects, and made the play a tragi-comedy instead of a pure comedy. Dametas though termed a shepherd is really a clown, while in Day's play he is both clown and knave. Both plays, however, preserve throughout the court atmosphere and are not in the slightest degree pastoral.¹

IV. THE ENGLISH PASTORAL DRAMA.

England did not give so cordial a welcome to the pastoral drama as did Italy, for in England the pastoral impulse sought expression chiefly in pastoral poems and romances. Moreover, the wonderful success of the drama along other lines than pastoral made the English poets little desirous of trying experiments. So it happened that the pastoral drama was a late and scanty growth in England. Not until the opening of the seventeenth century did the English playwrights seriously turn their attention to pastoral drama. We

¹The following plays and poems have been classed by various writers as pastoral dramas:—*The Faery Pastorall, or Forrest of Elves*, by W. P., Esquier. This play exhibits no trace of pastoral influence. It is made up of fairy and forest elements, and the humor is supplied by a pedagogue and his blundering boys. *Omphale, or The Inconstant Shepheardesse*, by R. Braithwaite, 1623. There is no play bearing this title. Braithwaite's production is a short pastoral poem. *La Pastorelle de Florimène*, acted before Prince Charles and the Prince Palantine, by the French maids of the Queen at Whitehall, 1635. A pastoral play undoubtedly, but hardly belonging to English Literature. *Amphriza, the forsaken Shepheardesse*, by Th. Heywood, 1637. This is a dramatic poem or masque, and therefore does not come within the scope of our discussion. In *The Cyprian Academy*, a pastoral romance by Robert Baron (1647), occurs on p. 16 a short pastoral play in three acts, entitled, *Gripus and Hegio, or The Passionate Lovers*. This piece is more of the nature of a masque than a regular drama. *Love in its Extasie, or The Large Prerogative*, 1649. This play reflects throughout the court atmosphere. *The Shepherds' Holiday*, by Sir William Denny, 1651. This is a pastoral eclogue, not a drama. *Thyrsis*, by John Oldmixon, 1697. This is a short play of one act, printed with four other dramatic pieces in a curious volume entitled, *The Novelty, Every act a play, being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy and Farce after the Italian manner*.

have found twelve plays which preserve consistently the pastoral atmosphere, which are due to pastoral influence alone, and which represent characters which are either traditional Arcadians or courtiers disguised as such. These plays with one exception, Gay's *Dione*, appeared within the short period 1605 to 1660. As a class they represent a comparatively unimportant division of the English drama. Many show youthful or amateur work; several were never acted at all; and none attained popularity, the majority being written for some special occasion or for representation at Court.

In dealing with these plays we propose to consider the sources, the characteristics of the verse, the satiric, allegorical or personal allusions, and the part each drama played in the development of pastoral drama in England. In the case of dramas not easily accessible an outline of the plot will be given. The list of English pastoral dramas, arranged in their probable chronological order, is as follows:—

1. *The Queen's Arcadia* by Samuel Daniel; acted 1605.
2. *The Faithful Shepherdess* by John Fletcher; acted 1608.
3. *Hymen's Triumph* by Samuel Daniel; acted 1614.
4. *The Careless Shepherdess* by Thomas Goffe; written before 1629.
5. *Rhodon and Iris* by Ralph Knevet; acted 1631.
6. *The Shepherds' Paradise* by Walter Montague; acted 1632.
7. *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*, by Thomas Randolph; written 1632-4.
8. *The Shepherds' Holiday* by Joseph Rutter; printed 1635.
9. *Love's Riddle* by Abraham Cowley; written 1632-6.
10. *Astraea* by Leonard Willan; printed 1651.
11. *The Enchanted Lovers* by William Lower; printed 1658.
12. *Dione* by John Gay; written 1720.

Six of these plays were constructed on Italian models; the rest were based upon pastoral romances or were constructed

from original plots. For purposes of comparison we shall consider first the imitations of the Italian pastoral drama, the earliest of which was Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*. The life of Samuel Daniel, poet, masque-writer and dramatist, is too well known to require any detailed account here. It is interesting, however, to note that Daniel while in Italy actually met Guarini, and that he was personally interested in the first English translation of *Il Pastor Fido*.¹ *The Queen's Arcadia* was first acted, as set forth in the title, at Christ's Church, Oxford, before the queen in August, 1605. The prologue, which expands the thought contained in the motto, "*chi non fa, non falla*," proves that Daniel had a well-conceived theory as to what a pastoral should be. The main thought is as follows:—"The humblest rank of words best accords with rural passions which use not to reach beyond the groves and woods where they were bred: where men, shut out, retired and sequestered from public fashion, seem to sympathize with innocent and plain simplicity. Therefore it is a mistake to make shepherds discuss the hidden mysteries and arts of state which neither they nor the dramatists who represent them know anything about. So we will not show, in the view of state, a counterfeit of state, but erect our scene on the ground whence our humble argument has birth, and thus if we fall we fall but on the earth."

If this modest and somewhat obsequious prologue is to be taken seriously, it shows that Daniel intended to write a strictly pastoral drama, and especially to avoid mixing in the "court" element. He does not seem to realize, however, the difficulty of constructing out of the simple elements of pastoral life an interesting play. We have seen how Tasso and Guarini accomplished this by the introduction of lyrical choruses of surpassing beauty, and how pastoral writers in general sought by personal allusion, satire and the like to arouse the interest of their readers. Daniel's practise, how-

¹See Daniel's sonnet prefixed to Dimock's translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, 1602.

ever, differs somewhat from his theory; he introduces several characters whose experience reaches far "beyond the groves and woods," and he attacks with amusing and penetrating satire many evils of his own days. Yet the atmosphere of the play is Arcadian throughout, and the characters are all pastoral except a few corrupt visitors from without. The scene, moreover, is consistently Arcadian, as the following descriptions attest:

"For this poore corner of *Arcadia* here,
 This little angle of the world you see,
 Which hath shut out of doore, all t'earth beside,
 And is bard up with mountaines, and with rocks;
 Have had no intertrading with the rest
 Of men, nor yet will have, but here alone,
 Quite out of fortunes way, and underneath
 Ambition, or desire, that weighes them not,
 They live as if still in the golden age,
 When as the world was in his pupillage.

* * * * *
 thus they make themselves,
 An everlasting holyday of rest
 Whilst others work."

III, 1, 1023-1035.¹

"This montaynous *Arcadia*, shut up here
 Within these Rockes, these unfrequented Clifts,—
 The walles and bulwarkes of our libertie,—
 From out the noyse of tumult, and the throng
 Of sweating toyle, ratling concurrency;
 And have continued still the same and one
 In all successions from antiquitie;
 Whil'st all the states on earth besides have made
 A thousand revolutions, and have rowl'd
 From change to change, and never yet found rest."

v, 3, 2202-2211.

The time chosen for the action is a comparatively late period of Arcadian history when the primitive honesty of the golden age is threatened by intruders from without. The play opens with the lament of two old Arcadians, Melibaeus

¹The references throughout are to Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*. Ed. Grosart, 1885.

and Ergastus, for the evils growing up about them—diseases, lawsuits, extravagance of dress. They first learn the cause of these evils by overhearing a conversation between Colax, a returned traveller, and Techne, a “subtle wench” of Corinth. Colax is trying to persuade Techne to procure him the love of the shepherdess Cloris, and thus to separate her from her lover Amyntas. Techne, hoping to win Amyntas for herself, readily consents. The old men resolve to expose the plotters.

In the second act Sylvia, the jealous lover, warns Cloris against men. She laments the loss of her lover Palaemon, whose falseness is attested by Colax. Cloris resolves to abjure the company of men. In this frame of mind she repulses Techne’s pleadings for Colax. Techne changes her tactics, and offers her a new head-dress, hoping thus to gain some influence over her. As a companion scene, Daniel here introduces Palaemon, the jealous lover, who rails at woman’s baseness because Sylvia (as testified by Colax) has deserted him for another. The old men, who have overheard all, moralize on the success of the evil which comes clothed in honesty.

The third act introduces the secondary agents of corruption, Lincus, a pettifogger, and Alcon, a quack-salver. The rogues are interrupted by Daphne, a shepherdess, who has been ruined by Colax. She applies to Alcon for medicine and he promises to prepare it. Meanwhile Techne has arranged a meeting with Cloris at the cave of Erycina, and has sent Colax there in her stead. Her next plot is to send Amyntas also to the cave where (she tells him) he will find proofs of Cloris’s unfaithfulness. In this way she hopes to win him for herself. The old men again moralize on the villainous plots they are witnessing.

In the fourth act Techne meets Amyntas returning from the cave. Having seen Cloris and Colax enter the cave, he believes his mistress is guilty. Still he refuses to be comforted by Techne’s feigned sympathy, and tells her he is

resolved to put himself to death. Techne, left alone, grows remorseful, and decides to seek Cloris and unite her to her lover. She finds Cloris laughing at the sorry figure cut by Colax when he wooed her in the cave. She grows serious, however, on learning from Techne of Amyntas's fatal resolve and she rushes off to prevent it. The act closes with the usual tirade of the old eavesdroppers.

In the fifth act occurs the main part of the underplot which is concerned with the love of Amarillis for the huntsman Carinus. Meanwhile Amyntas has attempted to carry out his resolve by taking poison. He is brought back to life by the care of Cloris, assisted by an herb-woman. Finally the old men call together a large hunting party and, when all are assembled, expose the villains. The rogues are banished, and all the lovers are united. Arcadia regains its primitive honesty and simplicity.

The influence of Guarini and Tasso is very evident in this drama. The incident of the meeting in the cave and the wooing of the huntsman are from the former poet, while the attempted suicide and the recovery of Amyntas are borrowed from Tasso. With the exception of these poets, Daniel seems to have had no models. Altogether, Daniel has constructed an interesting and, in the main, an original plot. In construction it is open to some adverse criticism. Each act closes with a dialogue between the two old men who really constitute a kind of chorus to the play. This leads to repetition and monotony. Are we to imagine these two old eavesdroppers hidden behind a tree and appearing at stated intervals from their place of concealment? Another fault in construction is the mechanical arrangement of several scenes in pairs. Moreover, the secondary agents of corruption, Alcon and Lincus, are not connected closely enough with the main plot. This gives one the impression that they are introduced only to satirize tobacco for the delectation of King James.

In delineation of character Daniel is more successful than most pastoral writers. Melibaeus and Ergastus, to be sure, are

not individualized, but this is not necessary, for they represent the "providence" of the play. Cloris is well-drawn. Her distrust of men is a natural consequence of what she has heard; her amusing account of Colax's attempt on her virtue shows her courage and wit; while her final submission to love (an incident borrowed from Tasso) is highly poetic and natural. Her lover Amyntas arouses far more sympathy in the reader than does his original, Tasso's Aminta. His rejection of Techne is manly and consistent, as is also his reference to Cloris. His attempted suicide, moreover, is justified by a sufficient motive: here Daniel again improves on his original. The evil agents are all clearly delineated, especially Techne, who, by her repentance, almost deserves a better fate. Daphne, the erring maid, is drawn with a master's hand. Her words are truly pathetic; and in the end when all are made happy save herself, we realize the fine artistic conscience of the dramatist. Amarillis, the forward shepherdess, and the huntsman Carinus (Guarini's Dorinda and Silvio) are altogether shadowy and unsuccessful as characters in the play. The characters of Montanus and Acrysius (Guarini's Montano and Titiro) are still more shadowy, and are dragged in at the end without any apparent reason.

Daniel's verse is in general smooth and melodious. The whole play is written in decasyllabic iambic verse, there being no songs or choruses in shorter measures. The prologue is in quatrains, rhyming alternately, with an occasional couplet. The main part of the play is in blank verse diversified by rhymed couplets and by quatrains rhyming alternately.¹ Yet the general effect of the whole is not that of blank verse, since fully one-fourth of the lines are rhymed. The close connection of pastoral drama with pastoral poetry is seen in lines 430 to 500, and 800 to 860. These two passages really constitute related pastoral love lyrics.² In general, Daniel's

¹ See II, 3 and 4.

² On the analogy of the titles in *Tottel's Miscellany* one might call the first selection "The Forsaken Nymph recites her love, and rails at her Lover."

verse flows on in a leisurely fashion often delighting to expand to three lines what might better be expressed in one. Occasionally, however, the poet writes with admirable terseness. For example:—

“There is no misery unlesse compar’d” (757).

... “Since love knew never Lord
That could command the region of our will” (1901).

“Ah, ’tis the silent rhetoricke of a looke,
That works the league betwixt the States of hearts” (2159–60).

The chief metrical license in the play is the ellipsis of the final letters in such words as “the,” “he,” “they.” This is resorted to so frequently to smooth out a verse that it becomes a blemish.

Of the general characteristics of pastoral literature, enumerated above,¹ the one chiefly noticeable is satire. The whole play is satiric in character; the corrupted Arcadia representing England. In the characters of Lincus and Alcon, the dramatist satirizes pettifoggers and quacks; in Colax, returned travellers; in Techne, the cosmetic-sellers and perfumers. Corinth (282) may stand for France. The most amusing satiric passage, however, is the “counterblast against tobacco” inserted to please King James. Alcon tells how he bought from a seaman a certain pestiferous herb, grown in the Island of Nicosia, and introduced its use among the Arcadians,

“I thought how well
This new fantastical devise would please
The foolish people here growne humorous.
..... now with strange
And gluttonous desire, they exhaust the same
Insatiate to devour th’ intoxicating fume.
And whereas heretofore they wonted were
At all their meetings, and their festivalls,
To passe the time in telling witty tales,
In questions, riddles and in purposes,
Now they do nothing else but sit and sucke,
And spit and slaver, all the time they sit.

* * * * *

¹See p. 363.

Another age will finde the hurt of this,
 And they will wonder with themselves to think
 That men of sense could ever be so mad,
 To sucke so grosse a vapour, that consumes
 Their spirits, spends nature, dries up memorie,
 Corrupts the blood, and is a vanitie."

III, 1.

The Queen's Arcadia contains comparatively few references to supernatural characters or agencies. Daniel follows tradition in not admitting gods and goddesses into the action of the drama. He even suppresses all mention of oracles, and limits his supernatural characters to a satyr, who is mentioned but not brought into the action. Allusions to the Greek myths are frequent, but are used simply for ornament.

Most of the characters in the drama belong to the conventional types; the faithful shepherd, Amyntas; the shepherdess, devoted to virginity, but overcome at last by the perseverance of her lover,¹ Cloris (Compare Tasso's Sylvia); the shepherdess who woos a reluctant swain,¹ Amarillis (Compare Shakespeare's Helena, M. S. N. D., II, 1); the rival shepherds, Palaemon and Carinus. In his delineation of the jealous lovers, Palaemon and Sylvia, Daniel apparently followed no pastoral model. This applies also to the character of Daphne. There is probably no allegorical meaning underlying *The Queen's Arcadia*, nor is there any attempt to describe rural scenery.

As a whole the play is an interesting attempt to construct a pastoral drama in English, which should strictly follow tradition and especially the examples of Tasso and Guarini. Daniel failed to equal his models, not because he lacked skill in construction, but because he lacked the highest poetic genius.

Hymen's Triumph, Daniel's second venture in pastoral drama, will be considered next, though Fletcher's *Faithful*

¹These types occur so frequently in the pastoral dramas that for uniformity and convenience I shall term the first the *heart-free* shepherdess, and the second the *forward* shepherdess.

Shepherdess preceded it by several years. As a matter of fact, Daniel borrowed nothing from Fletcher, but sought inspiration again from the Italian dramatists. *Hymen's Triumph* was performed at Somerset House, at the marriage of Lord Roxburgh in February, 1614, and was published in January of the following year.¹ The main purpose of the play is not satiric,² but an attempt to represent idealized pastoral life as Daniel imagined it.

Hymen's Triumph opens with an allegorical prologue.³ Hymen, Envy and Jealousy proclaim to the audience their determination to enter Arcadia and take possession of the hearts of the swains and nymphs. Such a prologue might be prefixed, of course, to almost any drama. It is not meant that these allegorical figures are included among the *dramatis personae* of the play. All the characters concerned are genuine Arcadians, and the drama preserves strictly the pastoral atmosphere.⁴

The first scene contains the lament of Thirsis (a faithful shepherd) for his lost Silvia. He has found in the forest her veil, torn and bloody, and concludes that she has fallen a prey to some wild beast. Palaemon (type of the confidant or consoler) tries to allay the grief of Thirsis, but his efforts are vain. Finally he leaves his friend, and Thirsis seeks to divert his mind by listening to the singing of his boy :

" Had sorrow ever fitter place
To act his part,
Then in my heart,
Where it takes up all the space
Where is no veine
To entertaine
A thought that weares another face.

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 94.

²A few passages are slightly flavored with satire. See II, 1, and II, 2, ll. 649-656. The references are to Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*. Ed. Grosart, 1885.

³ Cf. synopsis of prologue to Tasso's *Aminta*, on p. 368.

⁴The foresters of II, 1, are true Arcadians, especially Montanus, who belongs to the type of the surly shepherd.

when love was the only master of the heart. They ascribe the change to the introduction of wealth. Montanus recounts how his mistress Phillis embraced the boy Clarindo, and vows to be revenged. His friends try to dissuade him. Montanus leaves them and seeks Phillis. The wily shepherdess tells him that so far from seeking to embrace Clarindo she had with difficulty checked his presumption. Montanus is completely deceived, and rushes off to punish the innocent boy. Meanwhile Clarindo (Silvia) reports to her mistress her interview with Thirsis. She relates how Thirsis talked only of Silvia and refused to entertain the thought of any new love. Then follows the second chorus:—

“Desire that is of things ungot,
See what travaile it procureth,
And how much the minde endureth,
To gaine what yet it gaineth not:
For never was it paid,
The charge defraide.
According to the price of thought.”

In the third act Palaemon again seeks to comfort Thirsis. Alexis, he says, has overcome his grief for Silvia and is about to marry. Why should not he (Thirsis) do the same? Thirsis defends constancy and relates to his friend an oracle he has received:—

“Go youth, reserve thyself; the day will come
Thou shall be happy and return again.”

Thirsis adds that in his curiosity he asked the oracle when that day should come, and the oracle had answered, “The day thou diest.” Palaemon wisely leaves the lover to his grief. Fortunately the father of Silvia has overheard the conversation and he is filled with admiration for the constancy of Thirsis. The act closes with a nuptial song by the chorus of shepherds.

The fourth act opens with a soliloquy of Thirsis, in which he tells how he found carved on a tree the words, “Thy Silvia lives, and is returned.” He cannot believe in the truth of the message, though it is written in a cipher known

only to Silvia and himself. His soliloquy is interrupted by the entrance of Clarindo, who has been sent a second time by Phillis. Thirsis does not recognize her, but being pleased with the appearance of the boy asks for a story. Clarindo tells him her own misfortunes under the name of Julia.¹ Thirsis is too dull to comprehend that Julia, Silvia, and Clarindo are one and the same person. Finally Clarindo leaves him, and on her return to her mistress is met by the jealous Montanus, who accuses her of familiarities with Phillis, and then in a fit of passion stabs her to the heart. Thirsis, hearing her cries, hastens to her aid. He discovers she is a woman, and at last recognizes his Silvia. He swoons upon the body and the chorus sings:—

“Were ever chaste and honest hearts
 Expos'd unto so great distresses?
 Yes: they that act the worthiest parts
 Most commonly have worst successes.
 Great fortunes follow not the best
 Its virtue that is most distressed.

Then fortune why do we admire
 The glory of thy great excesses?
 Since by thee what men acquire,
 'T'hy worke and not their worths expresses.
 Nor dost thou raise them for their good:
 But t' have their illes more understood.”

The fifth act recounts how Thirsis and Silvia were healed by Lamia (compare the healing of Amyntas in *The Queen's Arcadia*). Then, after a humorous dialogue between Phillis and her nurse, the play ends with a song of the chorus.

“Whoever saw so faire a sight,
 Love and virtue met aright:
 And that wonder Constancy,
 Like a Comet to the eye
 Seldom ever seene so bright?
 Sound out aloud so rare a thing,
 That all the Hills and Vales may ring.

¹ The passage, lines 1475-1641, is one of the most beautiful in the play, but is too long for quotation.

Looke Lovers looke, with passion see,
 If that any such there bee:
 As there cannot but be such
 Who doe feel that noble touch
 In this glorious company.
 Sound out aloud so rare a thing,
 That all the Hills and Vales may ring."

As a whole, this play is better constructed than *The Queen's Arcadia*. There is less repetition and monotony, and fewer unnecessary and detached characters. The faults in construction are first, the delay of the oracle until the third act (if introduced earlier it would have explained the depth of Thirsis's grief and aroused more sympathy for him); and secondly, the hurried close. In the last act all the characters should have been assembled and a double marriage celebrated. Perhaps, also, Montanus should have married Phillis.

In respect to character delineation, Daniel succeeds best in Silvia, Thirsis, and the nurse Lydia. Palaemon, however, is a failure. Montanus (type of the sullen shepherd) is well portrayed. The chorus, an awkward task for any dramatist to manage, is brought in naturally and according to pastoral traditions.

Daniel's indebtedness to Tasso and Guarini is very great. Thirsis is borrowed directly from Tasso, while Medorus and Clarinus, the fathers of the hero and heroine, are taken from Guarini. For the oracle, Daniel had recourse to D'Urfé's *Astrée*. The incidents in the play, however, are in the main original with Daniel.

The supernatural element is not employed, save in the oracle, and even here it is really unnecessary to the plot. There are no gods, goddesses, satyrs or fauns. Dreams are regarded as sacred by Medorus, but ridiculed by Clarinus. Anachronisms are almost entirely lacking. In both of Daniel's pastoral dramas great care was taken to avoid this fault.

The versification of *Hymen's Triumph* is interesting. The first fourteen lines of the dedication may be regarded as a sonnet; to this are added quatrains, and the whole is concluded by three couplets. The prologue is written in blank

verse, diversified with occasional rhyming lines. This practice is continued throughout the play, about one-fourth of which is in rhymed couplets. In the songs and choruses Daniel uses a shorter line and writes usually in stanzas.

But, perhaps, the most noteworthy feature of the play is the treatment of love. Many passages are devoted to expressing the poet's ideal of this passion. In the characters of Thirsis and Silvia he extols constancy, while in the character of Lydia he satirizes the lower views of life entertained by the vulgar throng of mankind who are incapable of lofty passion.

The most famous of English pastoral dramas, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* was acted in 1608, and published the following year. It was "damned" on the stage, but in spite of this fact was revived after the restoration of Charles II., and, according to Pepys, "much thronged after for the scene's sake."¹ This play was extremely popular with the reading public, and was reprinted in 1629, 1634, 1656 and 1665. It was included in the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher (1679), and has always been regarded as one of the best plays in the collection. Its influence on Milton's *Comus* is very marked, and many other poets have borrowed from, or praised, this exquisite pastoral poem. The authorship has been assigned by almost all the critics to Fletcher alone, but Mr. Fleay finds internal evidence of Beaumont's co-operation in the drama.² Many critics mention this play as the earliest pastoral drama in the language, but it is undoubtedly later than Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*.

It is interesting to compare Fletcher's theory in regard to pastorals with that of Daniel already quoted.³ Fletcher says in his preface:—"A pastoral is a representation of shepherds and shepherdesses with their actions and passions, which must be such as agree with their nature as depicted in former fictions and vulgar traditions, adorned with no art save singing

¹ Pepys' *Diary*, 1663.

² *Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, I, 178.

³ See page 393.

and poetry, or such as experience may teach (e. g., the virtues of herbs and fountains); also it must be remembered that shepherds were owners of flocks not hirelings." This is the task Fletcher set himself, but his imagination failed to construct a consistent picture of the simplicity of a "golden age," and his shepherds (which his fastidious soul would not permit him to taint with any trace of the rustic sheep-tenders of his own days) became so idealized as to give little impression of reality. The plot is intentionally simple and the characters do not impress one as real. This is almost inevitable in a pastoral drama, and a critic misses the whole value of the work if he confines himself to a consideration of the plot and characters. However, it is only fair to point out the skill in the technique, the touches which show Fletcher to have been a born playwright. All the characters are introduced in the first act in such a way that each makes a distinct impression on the reader; the tragic element in the wounding of Amoret is sufficient to rouse sympathy without too great apprehension; and all the characters are brought together naturally at the end of the play for their respective rewards and punishments. The central figure, which gives unity to the plot, is of course Amoret, the loving shepherdess; the good genius (the providence of the play) is consistently enough placed in Clorin, the chaste votaress, and her servant the satyr; the evil to be overcome is the plotting of the sullen shepherd and Cloe. The play is noteworthy as one of the few English dramas which preserve the unities. The unity of time is strictly observed, the play beginning in the evening and ending at dawn the next day. The unity of place is in the main observed, each scene being placed in a wood close to a village. The unity of action, however, is occasionally violated. The weak points in the construction of the plot are in twice wounding Amoret; in the absurd success of Clorin's ruse to get rid of Thenot; and in the pardoning of Cloe. Yet, on the whole, the plot may be said to be skilfully imagined, and it certainly compares favorably with the entangled

inartistic plots of so many pastoral dramas. The principal characters are treated so as to arouse a proportionable interest. Daphnis, however, is assigned too important a part. Here Fletcher fails—Daphnis might have been omitted. He is introduced not to forward the plot, but to represent a certain phase of love.

This brings us to a consideration of the allegory which seems to underlie this play. We have seen how fond the pastoral poets were of disguised allegory. Usually it was not thought necessary to prefix a key to the allegory as Spenser did in the *Faery Queen*. The pastoral writers preferred to leave the interpretation to the reader's imagination. It seems not improbable that Fletcher in this respect has followed the general practise, and that the allegory of *The Faithful Shepherdess* is intended to symbolize the various phases of love. Such an interpretation of *The Faithful Shepherdess* explains many of the absurd incidents as well as the general unreality of the characters. If this view of the play be the correct one, we may conclude that Fletcher represents in allegorical form at least five phases of love,—first, spiritual love; second, constancy; third, chivalrous worship of woman; fourth, physical love; and fifth, lust. Fletcher's portrayal of spiritual love in Amoret, Daphnis and Perigot is as beautiful as Milton's portrayal of chastity in *Comus*. Amoret's and Perigot's conversation (I, 2), Daphnis's guileless words to Cloe (I, 3), and especially Perigot's wounding of Amarillis (III, 1)—all these arouse only a smile of incredulity if we judge the characters as human beings, but if we regard them as poetic idealizations of the highest spiritual love, we at once find them perfectly consistent. In the second phase, constancy, the same reasoning holds. Abstractly considered, Clorin's devotion to her dead lover is highly beautiful, and we can understand the admiration it caused in Thenot, and his disappointment when he supposes her to be on the point of yielding to human desires (IV, 5). In real life, however, or in a play representing real life, Clorin would be altogether

impossible and exasperating, and her ruse to get rid of Thenot would be equally unjustifiable. Thenot, apparently, is introduced simply to represent a chivalrous idolatry of woman—a mediæval conception based on the worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints—which raises certain favored women above human passions.¹ Physical love Fletcher seems absolutely to condemn. It is capable of being refined into spiritual love, however, as is illustrated in the characters of Amarillis and Alexis. The treatment of lust in Cloe and the sullen shepherd passes all bounds if we judge them as real personages, but can easily be justified if we regard them as allegorical characters. Fletcher intends to show the degradation of love, when divorced from the spiritual nature and given over to brutal excesses. It must be admitted, however, that the pardon of Cloe—while the sullen shepherd is condemned—is an inconsistency whether we regard her as a real or an allegorical character.

In fine, the inconsistencies in the play are those which appear in almost all allegories. When an abstract quality is personified, some absurdity is sure to result. But if we regard the play as a representation of certain phases of love, as they were regarded by many men of the time, the drama gains an added interest and loses much of its inconsistency. Nevertheless few thoughtful men can accept the conclusions which Fletcher suggests, first, that constancy to a dead lover and a vow of virginity is supremely holy; secondly, that spiritual love between the sexes is necessarily destroyed by any taint of physical love (another mediæval conception making marriage a degradation); and thirdly, that the deification of women is in itself commendable. Finally, though all may assent to the doom pronounced on the lustful, yet few will accept Fletcher's portrayal of it as legitimate art.

¹ Thenot may represent the general sentiment that desire ceases when it attains what it seeks. But this interpretation is probably too cynical for the general spirit of the play.

Why then is the play not forgotten? It seems that the true answer is to be found in its poetic beauty and melodious versification. Metrically, the play is an interesting study. The first scene begins with about fifty lines of very musical blank verse. In the rest of the play, however, blank verse is seldom employed—the whole play containing less than three hundred unrhymed lines. The greater part is in rhymed decasyllabic verse. About four hundred lines are written in octosyllabic couplets. For the songs more diversified metres are preferred, and their beauty alone is sufficient to preserve the drama from oblivion. Moreover, passages of great poetic merit occur in almost every scene. Clorin's opening speech in renunciation of the joys of life; the satyr's speeches throughout; Perigot's wooing of Amoret (I, 2). Cloe's speeches, if we can pardon the licentious touches, are of great poetic beauty; so are the words of the priest of Pan (II, 1 and V, 5) and of Clorin as she sorts the herbs (II, 2). The real value of the play, therefore, is to be found best by treating it as a lyrical love poem.

Satirical passages are rare in *The Faithful Shepherdess*. There may be a thrust against city and court in Amoret's speeches (I, 2); against women (II, 3 and III, 1). Nor is the drama noteworthy for its treatment of nature. There are no set descriptions. Many enumerations of trees, plants, flowers and fruits are given, but in general the scenery is left to the imagination of the reader.

A pastoral dramatist is hardly deserving of censure for the introduction of anachronisms, yet Fletcher's treatment of love is exasperating in this respect. The marriage rite is not mentioned, and we are justified in thinking that Fletcher wishes to represent Arcadian life in too primitive a stage to enjoy the rite imposed on mankind by social and religious laws. What then should have been his treatment of the relation of the sexes? Evidently, either complete freedom in sexual relations, or union after mutual vows. The former was farthest from his thoughts, the latter is censured. So the

absurd consequence follows that his amorous Arcadians must pass their lives in the purgatory of the betrothed pair, with clasped hands and chaste embraces. This is the only conclusion logically to be deduced from Fletcher's play. Still, logic is not to be expected in Arcadia, and Milton's *Comus* reflects the same absurdity. In both cases we see the persistence of mediaeval conceptions in regard to the holiness of virginity, and the degradation of physical love.

Fletcher's treatment of the supernatural is interesting. The English folk-lore witches, fairies and goblins are mixed with the Greek nymphs and satyrs. Clorin can cure "men or cattle charmed with powerful words or wicked art." The beautiful mediaeval superstition that virginity was unassailable by evil is frequently referred to. From the Greek, through the Italian pastoral writers, Fletcher borrows the god of the river. He entirely discards the mechanism of the oracle. Direct plagiarism is not resorted to. Fletcher, like Daniel, borrowed only suggestions from Tasso and Guarini. The title implies that Fletcher intended to write a companion piece to Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. The English play is to be regarded as a rival, not an imitation of the Italian drama.

The English dramatists were apparently discouraged by the failure of Fletcher's play, Jonson never finished his *Sad Shepherd*, and a number of years elapsed before an English dramatist attempted to place a pastoral scene upon the stage. About the year 1625 Thomas Goffe wrote *The Careless Shepherdess*.¹ It was performed before the King and Queen at Whitehall, and afterwards (1629) at Salisbury Court theatre. The first edition bears the date 1656.²

¹The title-page reads, "*The Careless Shepherdess*. A Tragi-Comedy. Acted before the King and Queen, and at Salisbury Court, with great applause. Written by T. G. Mr. of Arts. Pastorem Tittere pingues Pascerere oportet oves, deductum ducere Carmen, London . . . 1656."

²The exact date of composition is uncertain. While a fellow at Oxford (1615 to 1623) Goffe was writing plays of an entirely different sort—tragedies on Greek models. Still he may have written this play during that period. It is more probable, however, that he wrote it afterwards between

Very little is known of the life of Thomas Goffe. He was born in the year 1592; educated at Westminster School, and at Christ's Church, Oxford. After receiving the degrees A. B. and A. M. he resided at Oxford until 1623, probably as a fellow. During this time he wrote "three excellent tragedies," which were acted by the students at Christ's Church. In one of these, *Orestes*, he himself delivered the prologue. From 1623 until his death (1629) he held the living at East Clandon, Surrey. It was probably during this period that he wrote his last and best play, *The Careless Shepherdess*. The Argument prefixed to the 1656 edition need not delay us, for in all probability it was not written by Goffe. After the Argument, comes the Praeludium, which is a comic introduction. A courtier, a lawyer, a citizen, a country gentleman and the doorkeeper of the theatre discuss the play. The ability of the citizen and country gentleman to judge the play is ridiculed by the others, and a thrust is given to the poets also, who "of late have drowned their brains in sack, and are grown so dull and lazy that they may be the subjects of a Play, rather than the authors." After this comes the Prologue to the performance at Salisbury Court. First, the author condemns the judgment of the

the years 1623, when he left Oxford, and 1629, when his death occurred. The dates of production can be more accurately ascertained. The play was acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall. This must have been some time between the years 1625 and 1629, for Goffe himself wrote the prologue to their Majesties. The first performance at Salisbury Court Theatre was certainly in 1629, for in that year the theatre was opened, and a new prologue written by Goffe (whose death occurred July 27, 1629). Mr. Fleay (*History of the English Stage*) finds a record of another performance at Salisbury Court in 1632. The printed copy (1656) contains an argument for the play, which was probably written by the editor, while the Praeludium and the two Prologues were undoubtedly written by Goffe. This seems to the writer the correct interpretation of the evidence. Mr. Fleay (*Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, I, 247) has confused the performance at Whitehall with that at Salisbury Court; he is also in error as to the date of Goffe's death, which was certainly in 1629, as is attested by the registry of burials at East Clandon, Surrey.

groundlings who scorn the play because of its rural scenery and costume. Then he adds, indignantly,

“ Would it be proper, think you, for a swain,
To put on Buskins, and a lofty strain?
Or should a Shepherdess such praises vent,
As the Spring-Garden Ladies complement;
Should a rough Satyre, who did never know,
The thing we call a Taylor, Lord-like go
In Silks and Sattins? Or a Country Lasse
Wear by her side a Watch or Looking-Glasse.
Faith, Gentlemen; such Solecisms as these
Might have done well in the Antipodes:

* * * * *

The Author aims not to show wit, but art.
He could have writ high lines, and I do know
His pains were double to descend so low:
Nor does he think it infamy, to confess
His stile as *Careless* as his *Shepherdess*.
Good voices fall and rise, and *Virgil*, who
Did *Georgicks* make, did write *Aeneids* too.
Laurel in woods doth grow, and there may be
Some wit in Shepherds' plain simplicity:
The pictures of a Beggar and a King
Do equal praises to a *Painter* bring;
Meadows and Groves in *Landskips* please the eye
As much as all the *City* bravery.
May your ears too accept this rural sport,
And think yourselves in *Salisbury Plain* not *Court*.”

The sentiment expressed here is very similar to that in Daniel's prologue to *The Queen's Arcadia*,¹ namely, that the style of pastoral should be unstudied and the whole impression consistently rural. However, Goffe like Daniel and the other pastoral poets sees rural life through a pastoral medium, and the atmosphere of his play is consistently Arcadian. The short prologue, “to their Majesties at White-Hall,” is merely apologetic, and contains nothing worthy of note. The rarity of the play, however, justifies an account of the plot. In the first scene Philaretus bewails Cupid's cruelty, because Arismena (the careless shepherdess) does not return his love. His

¹ See page 393.

father, Cleobulus, overhears his words and upbraids him for loving a maid beneath his station. Philaretus defends his action, and his father, overcome with rage, disinherits him. Philaretus assumes the dress of a common shepherd and goes into exile. In the next scene another pair of lovers are introduced, Lariscus and Castarina. Castarina refuses to entertain his suit until her lost father, Paromet, returns from exile. Lariscus goes to consult the oracle.

Act second opens with the visit of the shepherds and shepherdesses to the bower of the goddess Silvia. The goddess welcomes them with a song :

“Come, Shepherds come, impale your brows
 With Garlands of the choicest flowers
 The time allows.
 Come Nymphs deckt in your dangling hair,
 And unto Silvia's shady Bowers
 With haste repair :
 Where you shall see chaste Turtles play,
 And Nightingales make lasting May,
 As if old Time his youthfull minde,
 To one delightful season had confin'd.”

The shepherds and shepherdesses enter.

1 sh. What Musick's this doth reach our ears?
 Which sounds like that made by the Sphears,
 And so affects the eager sense,
 'Tis ravisht with its excellence.

2 sh. The Ayr doth smell of Indian spice,
 Or that the sences stupifies,
 Which by Arabian winds is spread
 From the ashes of a Phoenix dead
 Whence is this wonder.

3 sh. See, see, where
 The lovely Goddess doth appear :
 Fair Silvia, she that orders how,
 Before Pans Altars we should bow,
 And for propition every year
 Of the choice fleece our sheep do bear :

Pay thankful Sacrifice, that he
 May keep our flocks from danger free
 Instruct us Goddess what's thy will.

Sil. Upon this heavy wood-crown'd hill,
 I do invite you to Pans feast,
 Where each shall be a welcome Guest,
 Then to the Musique of my voice,
 Move gently on, each with his choice,
 But so that no malicious eye
 See ought to task your modesty ;
 For your delights must always be
 Attended on by chastity.

Dance.

Sil. 'Tis time the Sacrifice begin,
 Devotion must be done within ;
 Which done ; you may of Ceres tast,
 And Bacchus gifts, but make no wast :
 For oft where plenty injur'd stands,
 The bounteous Gods do shut their hands :
 The snowy fleeces you have shorn,
 And cropt the golden ears of corn ;
 Lyaeus blood is prest and put
 Into the safe preserving Butt :
 Then when the cold and blustering ayr
 Invites you from the Plains (yet fair),
 To take warm shelters, that may keep
 Yourselves in health, and ek your sheep,
 Will into your numb'd limbs inspire
 An active and preserving fire ;
 Let your expressions then be free
 And gently moving follow me.

She ascends to the Bower singing,

On Shepherds on, wee'l sacrifice
 Those spotless Lambs we prize
 At highest rate, for Pan doth keep
 From harm our scat'ring sheep :
 And hath deserved
 For to be served
 With those ye do esteem the best
 Amongst the flock, as fittest for the feast.

Come Virgins bring your garlands here
 And hang them everywhere:
 Then let his Altars be o'erspread
 With Roses fresh and red:
 Burn Gums and Spice,
 Rich Sacrifice.
 The Gods so bounteous are, ye know,
 Ye mortals cannot pay them what ye owe."

This scene is followed by one in which Philaretus, in shepherd garb, sings the praises of love. Scene third is devoted to a conversation between Castarina and Arismena, in which the latter explains why she has forsworn love.

"Now fie on love, it ill befits,
 Or man or woman know it,
 Love was not meant for people in their wits,
 And they that fondly shew it
 Betray their too much feather'd brains,
 And shall have only Bedlam for their pains.

 To love, is to distract my sleep,
 And waking, to wear fetters,
 To love, is but to go to School to weep,
 I'll leave it for my betters.
 If single love be such a curse,
 To marry, is to make it ten times worse."

Castarina, doubting her words, accuses her of loving Philaretus. This she denies to Castarina's great joy, because she herself loves Philaretus. At this point Philaretus enters and Arismena begs him to become reconciled to his father, because his love for her is useless. The act closes with the visit of Lariscus to the shrine of Apollo. The God is discovered playing his harp in accompaniment to a song of the Sybils:—

"We to thy Harp, Apollo, sing,
 Whilst others to thy Altars bring
 Their humble prayers
 For length of daies.
 Or else for knowledge of their Fates,
 Which by their prayers thou renovates,
 And dost renew
 Not as their due,
 But as their worth, incites thy love
 To shower thy blessing from above."

Lariscus kneels and invokes the god,

“Shall Castarina be my Love?
 Speak Apollo, and if she prove
 But kind unto my vows, I swear
 I'll offer Incense every year,
 And oft my grateful thanks return,
 And Spices on thy Altars burn.”

Apollo answers :

“Thou shalt finde crosses in thy love,
 Yet time may make them blessings prove ;
 For when the Virgins o're the Herse,
 Have plac'd the Garland and sad verse,
 And bath'd the cold earth with their tears,
 Thy hope shall overcome thy fears.
 And till that she be dead, shall not
 Enjoy thy love: unty the knot.”

Lariscus complains of the obscurity of the oracle, but the god vouchsafes no explanation.

Meanwhile Bracheus, the father of Arismena, has tried to discover by various tricks whether his daughter really loves Philaretus. She refuses to entertain the thought of marriage. Philaretus overhears the conversation and is filled with despair. At this opportune moment Castarina appears and suggests to Philaretus that he should love where he would find his love rewarded. He yields to her, and as they embrace, Arismena and Lariscus return. The former now realizes for the first time that she really loves Philaretus. She accordingly makes an agreement with Lariscus that they feign love, and so separate the pair. The ruse is successful. Philaretus, on seeing Arismena in the arms of another, feels his old love revive. This feeling is intensified when he rescues Arismena from a satyr. He decides to reject the love of Castarina, and challenges Lariscus to a duel. The two shepherdesses, however, resolve to stop the duel. They follow their lovers to the field and threaten to fight a duel together unless the men desist. This threat has the desired effect, and the lovers are about to embrace when the whole company is carried off by satyrs. The leader

of the band of satyrs is Paromet (father of Castarina), who has taken the disguise of a satyr. He has some difficulty in restraining the unruly herd. They place the maidens in coffins and sing over them a solemn dirge. The other characters of the play are captured and brought in bound. All are overcome with grief at the death of the shepherdesses. The maidens, however, arise from their coffins, the lovers are united and the oracle fulfilled.

The chief comedy element of the play is supplied by the adventures of the servant Graculus with the satyrs. Some of the scenes describing these are extremely amusing. The incident of the duel is original and well-managed. The mock funeral, however, is weak, and the conduct of Paromet is not sufficiently explained. He has been exiled for some unknown cause, and is received back into favor for an unexplained reason.

Goffe does not appear to have borrowed much from the Italian pastoral dramatists, yet in general the play adopts the Italian model. Arismena, the careless shepherdess, belongs of course to the type of the heart-free Arcadian (cf. Tasso's *Silvia* and Daniel's *Cloris*). The faithful shepherd is represented by Lariscus. The oracle is borrowed from Dürfé's *Astrée* (see also Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*). Graculus reminds us of one of Lyly's pages, and is rather out of place in Arcadia. The disguised satyr is a curious invention of the author. In one respect the play differs from most pastoral dramas. It represents a class of gentlemen in Arcadia who are above the rank of shepherds. Traditionally, the shepherds themselves were the aristocrats—the highest class in the community. This tradition was not always adhered to in the pastoral romances, and it is from this source that Goffe probably drew. However, Philaretus and his father Cleobulus are true Arcadians, and might just as well have been classed as "rich shepherds."

Goffe pays more attention to supernatural characters than either Daniel or Fletcher, but does not give in any sense a

mythological coloring to the play. Apollo is brought on the stage, but takes no part in the action or dialogue, save to speak the oracle. Silvia, a kind of patron saint to the shepherds, appears in one scene where she performs the office usually assigned to a priest of Pan. The satyrs take considerable part in carrying on the plot. One attacks Arismena, another Graculus; and all combine under the leadership of Paromet to capture the whole company of Arcadians.

No satiric nor allegorical meaning can be detected in *The Careless Shepherdess*. The drama must, therefore, be judged in respect to plot-construction and character-delineation. It is needless to say that it has little merit in either respect. Yet the characters do not impress the reader with the unsubstantial unreality of most pastoral characters, and the plot has movement and a few really good situations.¹ In poetic merit *The Careless Shepherdess* falls below Daniel's plays and infinitely below Fletcher's. The dirge sung over the shepherdesses is especially weak, and with the exception of a few passages the general character of the verse is trivial and commonplace. The introduction of comic scenes in prose was an innovation in pastoral drama. This would certainly have been regarded as a blemish by Goffe's contemporaries. There was a general impression abroad that a pastoral should not descend to prose, and even Ben Jonson, with all his contempt for pastoral traditions (see prologue to *Sad Shepherd*), thought it best to write the comic scenes of his *Sad Shepherd* in poetic form. These prose scenes in *The Careless Shepherdess* certainly are incongruous with the general spirit of the play, but this is not due to the fact that they are written in prose. The incongruity arises from the introduction into these scenes of the character of Graculus, who is not in any sense a pastoral character.

¹ E. g., the duel, IV, 7, and the scene between the satyr and Graculus, IV, 5.

Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry,¹ was the chief dramatic venture of Thomas Randolph. The author was educated at Cambridge, where he held both minor and major-fellowships, and received his M. A. degree in the year 1632. While he was at Cambridge, Randolph wrote two dramatic satires, also a comedy, *The Jealous Lovers*, which was presented by the Trinity students before the king and queen in 1632. During his residence in London (1632-'33), Randolph wrote *The Muses Looking Glasse*, an allegorical satirical play, which was acted with success. He mingled with the poets and wits of the day, and was especially fortunate in gaining the friendship of Ben Jonson, who doubtless helped him in many ways. Randolph soon became known by his poems, several of which were pastoral. *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*, was written sometime during the years 1632 to 1634. Randolph's promising career was cut short by his death in 1635, at the age of thirty years.

The scene of *Amyntas* is laid in Sicily, and "the action takes place in an astrological day, from noon to noon." The prologue is in the form of a comic dialogue between a nymph and a shepherd. In this Randolph explains his conception of pastoral poetry as follows:—

"*Shepherd.* Gentlemen, look not from us rural swaines
For polished speech, high lines, or courtly strains
Expect not we should bring a labored scene
Or compliments; we know not what they mean.

Nymph. And, ladies, we poor country girls do come
With such behaviour as we learned at home.
How shall we talk to nymphs so trim and gay,
That ne'er saw lady yet but at a May?"

Randolph's Arcadians, however, do not correspond with this conception. We look in vain for rude shepherds or rustic

¹ The title-page reads: *Amyntas, or The Impossible Dowry*. A pastoral acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall. Written by Thomas Randolph. "*Pastorem, Tityre, pingues Pascere oportet oves, diductum dicere Carmen.*" Oxford 1638.

shepherdesses. Nothing could be more "polished or courtly" than Amarillis's defence of her lover,¹ or Damon's remorseful words.²

At the opening of the play, Arcadia is represented as suffering under the curse of Ceres. An oracle has been received from the goddess to this effect:—

" Sicilian swaines, ill-luck shall long betide
To every bridegroom and to every bride
Till Caius' blood both quench and kindle fire;
The wise shall misconceive me, and the wit,
Scorned and neglected, shall my meaning hit."

On receiving this oracle, Caius (the father of Amarillis, the heroine) fled the country. Amarillis is in love with Damon, but her love is not returned for Damon is more attracted by her friend Laurinda. Laurinda is wooed also by the shepherd Alexis, and her impartial treatment of Damon and Alexis furnishes some of the most amusing scenes of the play. Finally she discovers that Amarillis is in love with Damon. She decides, therefore, to accept Alexis, and for this purpose arranges a plot to deceive her rival lovers. She makes them promise to leave the decision to the first maid they meet coming from the temple the next morning. Then she arranges that Amarillis shall go first to the temple. The plan miscarries for Damon, meeting Amarillis at the temple supposes she has purposely put herself in his way. Without waiting for her decision, he wounds her with his spear and leaves her lying on the ground apparently dead. When she revives she refuses to reveal the name of her assailant, though commanded to do so by the priest. This generous act conquers Damon, who pleads for her love and forgiveness. Laurinda now is free to accept Alexis. The oracle is declared fulfilled, because Caius' blood (i. e., Amarillis) has quenched and kindled fire (i. e., the love of Damon). Caius returns just before the fulfilment of the oracle. There is

¹ IV, 8.

² IV, 9.

much that is truly pathetic in the scene which describes his return. On the first sight of his home he exclaims,

“I see the smoke stream from the cottage tops
The fearful housewife rakes the embers up
All hush to bed. Sure no man will disturb me.
O Blessed Valley! I the wretched Caius
Salute thy happy soil.”

Interwoven with this plot is the wooing of Amyntas and Urania. Amyntas has received an oracle as follows:—

“That which thou hast not, mayst not, canst not have
Amyntas is the dowry that I crave.
Rest hopeless in thy love or else divine
To give Urania this, and she is thine.”

Naturally enough, Amyntas lost his wits trying to interpret this oracle. His mad conversations furnish part of the comedy element in the play. Finally he is cured by Caius, and the oracle is interpreted to mean “a husband.” The chief comedy element is supplied by the servant Dorylas, by Mopsus, a foolish augur, and by Jocastus, a fantastic shepherd. The hallucinations of Mopsus and Jocastus verge on madness, and both are cleverly deluded by Dorylas.

This intricate plot is developed with considerable skill. The three pairs of lovers are kept distinct; their trials are due to different causes, and solved by different methods. Each lover, moreover, is thoroughly individualized, and each arouses our sympathy. There are many dramatic situations, the most powerful being in the fourth and fifth acts. In general the plot seems well adapted for representation on the stage, especially if the nonsense of “the augur” Mopsus and “the faery knight” Jocastus had a definite meaning to the audience.

Halliwell-Phillipps, commenting on this play, says, “It is one of the finest specimens of pastoral poetry in the language, partaking of the best properties of Guarini’s and Tasso’s poetry, without being a servile imitation of either.” This

praise is rather excessive. The quality of the poetry in a few scenes of *Amyntas* may be said to approach Guarini, but as a whole Randolph's play is altogether below comparison with either *Aminta* or *Il Pastor Fido*. The farcial element in Randolph's play is excessive, and is moreover trivial and fantastic. The mere outline of the main plot somewhat resembles that of *Il Pastor Fido*. Both plays open with Arcadia under a cloud of the wrath of an incensed goddess, and the final scene in each play is the sacrifice of the priest's son, averted by an ingenious interpretation of the oracle. In characterization Randolph appears more original; the priests are of course conventional, Amarillis also bears the pastoral stamp, but most of the characters do not suggest pastoral types. Laurinda is thoroughly individual. Her various devices to keep both her lovers in subjection form the most enjoyable scenes of the play. The characters of Jocastus, Mopsus and Dorylas in no way suggest pastoral influence. Dorylas reminds us of one of Lyly's pages, or he may have been suggested to Randolph by Graculus in Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, or by Joculo in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*. The persecution of Jocastus by the supposed fairies (III, 4) may have been suggested by the similar trick on Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (V, 5), but the indebtedness of Randolph is very slight. The wooing of Damon by Amarillis (the forward shepherdess) shows, according to Mr. Hazlitt, the influence of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Shakespeare's Helena and Demetrius, however, as well as Randolph's Amarillis and Damon are borrowed from pastoral tradition.

Amyntas is written entirely in blank verse, save the oracles and the letter of Amarillis, which are in rhymed heroic verse. There are no songs introduced into the play except those of the fairies which curiously enough are in Latin. The author does not appear to have had any satiric or allegorical purpose, but to have sought to interest his audience by the clever interweaving of incidents; by farcial nonsense and horse play in the comic scenes; and by the poetic beauty of the pathetic

scenes. In the main Randolph depends less on the Italian pastoral dramatists than either Daniel or Fletcher. *Amyntas* may be classed with Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, as an attempt to popularize the pastoral drama by increasing the comic element and somewhat subordinating the highly idealized scenes of the Italian pastoral drama.

The Shepherds' Holiday,¹ by Joseph Rutter, may be classed with Daniel's plays, for it was an attempt to construct without plagiarism an English pastoral drama on Italian models. This play is the only extant work of Rutter, except a translation of Corneille's *The Cid*. Joseph Rutter was tutor in the family of the Earl of Dorset, and to him Rutter dedicated *The Shepherds' Holiday*. The play was first printed in the year 1635. Sometime previous it had been acted at Whitehall before their Majesties. The play was also performed at the Cock-pit, but with what success we do not know.² It had one sturdy admirer at least in Ben Jonson, who wrote the following lines in its praise :

" I have read
And weigh'd your play ; untwisted every thread,
And know the woof and warp thereof ; can tell
Where it runs round and even ; where so well,
So soft, and smooth it handles, the whole piece,
As it were, spun by nature off the fleece."

In the prologue Rutter disclaims all satiric intention. Like almost all pastoral dramatists he considered it necessary to give his ideal of what a pastoral should be.

"A Shepheards muse gently of love doth sing,
And with it mingles no impurer thing
And if there be not in 't what they call wit
There might have been, had it been thought so fit."

¹ *The Shepherds Holy-day*. A pastorall tragi-Comoedie. Acted before their Majesties at Whitehall by the Queen's Servants. With an elegy on the death of the most Noble Lady, the Lady Venetia Digby. London . . . 1635.

² See Fleay, *Chronicle of the Eng. Drama*, II, 173.

These lines represent a common view of the office of the pastoral, that it should be emotional rather than intellectual, and that its main theme should be love.

The play opens with the lament of Thirsis for Sylvia, whom he fears has been carried off by wild beasts. This calamity is but the culmination of his woe which began with his receiving an oracle.

"Thou shalt enjoy thy Sylvia on that day
Thou art not Thirsis nor she Sylvia."

Thirsis is so overcome with grief that he refuses to accompany the shepherds to the court to play before the king. In a complementary scene Hylas protests his constancy to Nerina, who has been promised by her father to another shepherd Daphnis. At first Hylas does not succeed, for Nerina prizes her freedom. She is also wooed in vain by Daphnis, who sends her as a gift a magic mirror. Meanwhile Daphnis is annoyed by the advances of the shepherdess Dorinda.

In the third act the scene changes to the court,¹ where the lost Sylvia (the King's daughter) is kept in captivity. She confesses to her maid that she had lived some months among the shepherds disguised as a shepherdess, and had learned to love Thirsis, the sweetest singer among them. In the next scene the King's chief counsellor tells his son of an oracle received by the King many years before.

"If e'er thy issue male thou live to see
The child thou thinkest is thine, thine shall not be:
His life shall be obscure, twice shall thy hate
Doom him to death. Yet shall he escape that fate:
And thou shall live to see, that not long after
Thy only son shall wed thy only daughter."

The counsellor also reveals the fact that Sylvia (supposed to be the King's daughter) is really his own child.

¹The "court" element in Rutter's play is so completely overshadowed by the pastoral that the drama is classed with the strictly pastoral plays rather than with the plays combining court and pastoral elements, such as *Love's Labyrinth*.

When the shepherds arrive at the court, they proceed to rehearse a masque and Thirsis is forced to help them against his will. Sylvia sends a message to Thirsis arranging a meeting. Though overjoyed to find her alive, his melancholy returns when he discovers her high rank. The lovers are discovered together and condemned to death. Meanwhile Nerina, through the influence of the magic glass, has fallen into a violent sickness, which threatens to end in her death. She calls for Hylas; and her father, fearing for her life, agrees that she shall become his wife. Nerina soon after falls into a trance which all believe to be death. They place her in a tomb, and Hylas laments her in a beautiful elegy. Afterwards Daphnis comes to the grave with a flask of water which is to undo the spell of the glass. He recovers Nerina and tries to force her to marry him. Hylas rescues her from her persecutor. Daphnis in disgrace wanders apart, but is met by Dorinda, who still loves him. To her great joy he now consents to marry her. Meanwhile the king's executioner has discovered a necklace on Thirsis which proves that he is the king's lost son. The counsellor now reveals the fact that Sylvia is his own daughter, and so Thirsis and Sylvia are united and the oracles exactly fulfilled.

This complex and interesting plot is very skilfully managed. The three pairs of lovers are kept distinct and their fortunes interest us throughout the play. The obscure oracles are cleverly fulfilled. The main fault is in Act V, Sc. 4, where an opportunity for a powerful scene is lightly passed over. In this scene the courtier, Cleander, relates how Thirsis was led to death, and how his identity was discovered. This incident would have made a powerful scene, and it is difficult to understand why Rutter preferred to have it related instead of acted. The last two acts contain considerable "court" element which is remote from the pastoral, especially in the introduction of a masque. In general, however, Rutter preserves consistently the pastoral atmosphere. The customary lament for the loss of the "golden age" is introduced (A. I,

S. 4), we find likewise a firm belief in oracles prevalent. The "court" characters, the king and his counsellor, are mere shadows and do not play any prominent part in the action. Most of the characters represent the common types, the heart-free shepherdess, Nerina; the forward shepherdess, Dorinda; the lustful shepherd, Daphnis; the magician, Alcon. Mirtilus may be regarded as a refinement on the conventional lustful shepherd. He is a trifle, a gallant, and his introduction adds a comedy element that is very pleasing. Rutter borrowed largely from Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*, especially in the early scenes of the drama. The characters of Thirsis and Dorinda conform in the main to their originals, Tasso's Thirsi and Guarini's Dorinda. The incidents at court were probably taken from some pastoral romance, but they may have been original with Rutter.

The Shepherds' Holiday is written in blank verse save a few rhymed couplets at the end of scenes. There are four songs introduced which are in "fours and threes," or in octosyllabic couplets. Judged simply as a pastoral poem, the drama has many excellent passages.

" Never any love
Was bought with other price than love,
Since nothing is more precious than itself
It being the purest abstract of that fire
Which wise Prometheus first endowed us with :
And he must love that would be loved again." I, 2.

"The messages which come to do us hurt
Are speedy, but the good comes slowly on." IV, 2.

" It is better
Always to live a miserable life
Than once to have been happy." V, 1.

"All the world to me
Will be Arcadia, if I may enjoy
Thy company, my love." IV, 3.

In Act IV, Sc. 1 we have a short pastoral poem in which the lover laments over the grave of his dead mistress. The

sonnet on sleep, recited by Mirtillus in the third act, has considerable merit; as has the song of Venus in the masque.

The personal allusions mentioned by Mr. Fleay and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt are purely conjectural. Mr. Fleay thinks that *Stella*, mentioned in the fifth act, second scene, is Lady Venetia Digby, but it is altogether improbable that Rutter would cast a slur on his patroness.¹ Mr. Hazlitt thinks that "Sir Kenelm Digby's intimacy with a certain royal personage" is represented by Thirsis and Sylvia. This interpretation is scarcely permissible for Sylvia is really the daughter of the king's counsellor and Thirsis the king's own son.

As a whole Rutter's play compares favorably with the pastoral dramas of Daniel and belongs to the same general type. Rutter does not preserve the pastoral coloring so consistently as Daniel, nor does he follow so closely his Italian originals.

Rutter's play completes the list of English pastoral dramas constructed on the Italian model. None of the six plays considered can be called a slavish imitation. All are in the main original in plot, but the characters have a close family likeness, and certain incidents appear again and again. Daniel follows his models the most faithfully; Fletcher preserves best the poetic atmosphere, and professedly seeks to rival, not imitate, the Italian dramatists. Goffe and Randolph seek to enliven their portrayal of pastoral life by the introduction of English types, and Rutter has recourse to the court element to add contrast and increase the interest of his readers. The Italian pastoral dramatists with all their faults had at least produced successful acting plays. This can scarcely be said of the English dramatists who imitated them. Still less successful from an actor's point of view were the English dramatists who tried to strike out new paths in the portrayal of pastoral life. The six pastoral dramas remaining are dramatic experiments by poets unschooled in stage methods, and were written for some special occasion or merely for recreation.

¹ Note Rutter's elegy on the same lady published with the play.

On May 3, 1631, a pastoral drama, called *Rhodon and Iris*,¹ was performed at the Florists' feast in Norwich. The author, Ralph Knevet, was tutor or chaplain in the family of Sir Wm. Paston of Oxnead. Very little is known concerning the life of Knevet. He was born in the year 1600 and died in 1671. For the last six years of his life he was rector at Lyng, Norfolk, and within the chancel of his church may still be seen a stone bearing the letters Ra. Kn. His writings were not extensive: besides *Rhodon and Iris* he wrote *A Discourse of Militarie Discipline* in verse (1628), *Some Funeral Elegies* to the memory of his patroness, Lady Katherine Paston (1637); and *A Gallery to the Temple*, sacred poems, which were never printed. His drama, therefore, represents the attempt of a man, with small title to the name of poet, and none at all to that of playwright, to construct an acting drama for a special occasion. Naturally the attempt was unsuccessful, and in all probability the play was acted but once and only once printed. Still, the drama is distinctly original; it contains an ingenious allegory, and a number of strong lines.

Rhodon and Iris aims to represent allegorically the relation and properties of various plants and flowers under the guise of pastoral characters. It is due entirely to pastoral influence, it has the pastoral atmosphere and the characters, though named after various flowers, and in a way symbolizing these flowers, are yet referred to as shepherds and shepherdesses. On the plains of Thessaly they carry out their various love intrigues, and both in word and action conform to the traditional Arcadian type. Indeed, if one should change the names of the characters and cut out an allusion here and there, the allegory would vanish and a strictly pastoral drama would remain. Prefixed to the printed edition is the Dedication to Mr. Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham, selected for the

¹*Rhodon and Iris*. A pastorall, as it was presented at the Florists Feast in Norwich, May 3, 1631. Urbis Et Orbis gloria Flora. London, 1631. Then follows the dedication signed Ra. Knevet.

honor, because he was "addicted to a speculation of the virtues and beauties of all flowers." A letter follows addressed to the author's "much respected friends, the Society of Florists." In this letter Knevet praises the beauty of flowers; commends the feasts of the Society, because "not given to rioting," but to a "civil and unspotted meeting," and disclaims all satiric purpose for his play. Both in this letter, and in the commendatory verses which follow, there is evidence that the play aroused opposition because of some supposed satire contained in it. In the prologue Knevet announces his allegorical intent,

"Candid spectators, you that are invited
To see the Lily and the Rose united;
Consider that this Comedy of ours,
A Nosegay is composed of sundry flowers."

After the usual ridicule of the opinions of the groundlings, and an appeal to those of higher understanding, the author naïvely declares,

"That he no small foole is, though a small Poet."

Rhodon and Iris is constructed on the simplest lines. Martagon (the proud or covetous shepherd) encroaches upon the lands of the shepherdess Violetta. She applies for aid to her brother Rhodon, who marshals his friends and declares war upon Martagon. As the two hosts are about to join battle the goddess Flora appears, bids them put up their swords and forces Martagon to make restitution to Violetta. The love episodes of the play comprise the wooing of Iris by Rhodon, and the attempt of the shepherdess Eglantine to win the love of Rhodon by means of a love-philter. Poneria (Envy) is the originator of the strife. She calls in Agnostus (Ignorance) to aid her, and together they encourage Martagon in his pride. Poneria also makes a tool of Eglantine, giving her a poisoned draught instead of a love-philter for Rhodon. Rhodon, however, is cured by Panace and the plot fails.

Such in brief is the story, but the extreme rarity of the play justifies a more detailed account. The first scene intro-

duces the evil agents, Poneria and Agnostus. The latter rails at the light of day. Poneria suggests to him that his wrath might better be turned against the florists,

“This is the day whereon the new Society of
Florists, have determined to keepe their annual festivals.
..... Art and Nature both have try'd
To make this Feast surpass all feasts beside
Unite thy force with mine, then ten to one
We shall disturbe their mirth, e're we have done.”

The second scene is devoted to a discussion of love by Rhodon and his friend Acanthus. Rhodon relates that he was “advised by his indulgent stars” not to bestow his love on Eglantine. Acanthus (type, the heart-free shepherd) exults in his freedom from love’s yoke,—

“When Sol shall make the Easterne Seas his bed,
When Wolves and Sheepe shall be together fed;
When Starres shall fall, and planets cease to wander,
When Juno proves a Bawd, and Jupiter a Pander;
When Venus shal turn Chast, and Bacchus become sober,
When fruit in April’s ripe, that blossom’d in October;
When Prodigals shall money lend on use,
And Usurers prove lavish and profuse;
When Art shal be esteem’d, and golden pelfe laid down,
When Fame shal tel all truth, and Fortune cease to frown,
To Cupid’s yoke then I my neck will bow;
Till then, I will not feare loves fatal blow.”

In the next scene Eglantine, overcome with grief at the desertion of Rhodon, sings to the accompaniment of her lute:—

“Upon the blacke Rocke of despaire
My youthfull joys are perish’d quite,
My hopes are vanish’d into ayre,
My day is turn’d to gloomy night:
For since my Rhodon deare is gone,
Hope, light, nor comfort, have I none.

A cell, where grieffe the Landlord is,
Shall be my palace of delight;
Where I will woove with votes and sighes,
Sweet death to end my sorrowes quite;

Since I have lost my Rhodon deare,
Death's fleshlesse armes why should I feare ?

Touched by the grief of Eglantine, her servant, Clematis invokes the aid of Diana :—

“Thou gentle goddesse of the woods and mountains
That in the woods and mountains art ador'd,
The Maiden patronesse of chaste desires,
Who art for chastity renowned most,
Tresgrand Diana, who hast power to cure
The rankling wounds of Cupid's golden arrowes ;
Thy precious balsome deigne thou to apply,
Unto the heart of wofull Eglantine ;
Then we thy gracious favour will requite
With a yong Kid, than new falne snow more white.”

In the fourth scene Martagon, the tyrant, who has oppressed Violetta, and Cynosbatus, the brother of Eglantine, comment on the desertion of Rhodon. Martagon secretly rejoices because he wants no tie formed between Cynosbatus and Rhodon that might oblige the former to champion Rhodon's sister Violetta. In the last scene of the act Rhodon visits Iris, immediately falls in love and begins to woo her. Acanthus, forgetting his scorn of love, pays suit to Panace, a shepherdess, skilled in the use of herbs (this is a type constantly appearing in the pastoral dramas, but is usually represented by some old man or woman). A messenger brings a letter from Violetta complaining of Martagon's usurpation and imploring aid from Rhodon. Rhodon decides to try first a friendly treaty, then if necessary declare war.

In act second Poneria disguises Agnostus with the robe of virtue and the cap of knowledge. They decide

“To delude the world,
And set the flowers at ods among themselves
That they in civil enmities embroyled,
Shall of their pride and glory be dispoyl'd.”

First they meet with Eglantine, who is on the point of taking her life. They dissuade her from the thought of suicide

and promise her by magic to bring back Rhodon's love for her. The last scene of the act describes the meeting of Rhodon and Martagon. Rhodon appeals to the usurper to restore Violetta's lands. Martagon refuses and defies both Rhodon and Acanthus. Rhodon replies,

"Tenacious Tyrant in whose flinty heart
Nor equity nor justice, ere had part,
Thy guilty soul shall feel Revenges hand."

The first scene of act third is pure comedy. Clematis enumerates the dresses, cosmetics and lotions which her mistress has been induced to procure by Poneria. Another servant rails at her for being "a tattling chamber maid" and a quarrel ensues. In the next scene Poneria gives Eglantine a love-philter for Rhodon, and tells her that she will arrange a meeting in the myrtle-grove where Eglantine shall counterfeit Iris. Meanwhile Martagon and Cynosbatus, having marshaled their forces, visit the haunt of Poneria to learn what will be the result of the battle. Another scene describes the preparations on the other side. Acanthus, eager for battle, charges Rhodon with "tedious cunctations." He urges him to order an advance :—

"For now our hostile forces are assembled,
Covering the fields from Ossa to Olympus.
Their painted banners with the winds are playing :
Their pamper'd coursers thunder on the plains :
The splendour of their glistening armes repels
The bashfull sun-beames back unto the clouds.
Their bellowing drums and trumpets shrill,
Doe many sad corrantos sound
Which danger grim and sprawling death must dance."

III, 4.

In the first scene of act fourth Iris bewails the necessity of war, and especially the threatened danger to Rhodon. She sends a gem to Rhodon which will insure victory. Violetta also sends a precious herb to her brother to protect him from enchantments. Then the two maidens go to the shrine of

Flora to implore the interposition of the goddess. In the next scene Poneria assures Martagon that he will be victorious. Then she prepares the poison to be given by the innocent Eglantine to Rhodon. Scene third discloses Rhodon and Acanthus waiting in the myrtle grove for the expected visit of Iris. Rhodon asks,

“What houre of night is ’t friend Acanthus?
Ac.: Th’ eleventh at least; for see Orion hath
 Advanced very high his starry locks in our horizon.
Rh.: Methinks the stars looke very ruddy,
 As if they did portend tempestuous weather.
Ac.: They doe but blush to see what crimes are acted
 By mortall under covert of the night.”

The conversation is interrupted by the approach of Eglantine disguised as Iris. After the greetings Eglantine says,

“The sodaine newes of this warre made
 Me transgress modesty. And here I do
 Bestow this viall, a potion made
 By wondrous art. It cheers the heart,
 Prevents dreams,
 And cures all griefes of body and of minde.
 Drink it this night before you sleep.”

Rhodon accepts the supposed love-philter and makes the desired promise.

In the first scene of act fifth Panace cures Rhodon from the effects of the poison. The next two scenes are taken up with the rejoicing of Martagon and Poneria over the supposed death of Rhodon. Poneria promises Agnostus he shall be made general of the army. In scene four Rhodon learns that Eglantine and not Iris gave him the poison. He delays no longer, but pushes forward the preparations for the battle. In the next scene Acanthus challenges Martagon to single combat, but his foe prefers a general battle of all the forces. In the last scene the battle array is described by Acanthus. Just as the troops are about to engage in battle, Flora enters, “aroused from her peaceful bower by the din of arms,” and

by her divine power establishes peace, banishes the evil agents and unites the lovers. The play concludes with a short epilogue:—

“Since Ignorance and Envie now are banish’d;
 Since discord from among the flowers is vanish’d;
 Since Rhodon is espous’d to Iris bright;
 Since warre hath happy Thessaly left quite,
 Let every one that loves his Countries peace,
 His height of gladnesse with his hands expresse.”

As a first attempt at dramatic writing *Rhodon and Iris* is remarkable. The plot is so arranged that all the characters are introduced in the first act and differentiated without the slightest confusion. Moreover, each scene of this act introduces a new motive: the plottings of the evil agents, Rhodon’s explanation of his desertion of Eglantine, Clematis’ design of suicide, the coalition of Martagon and Cynosbatus, Rhodon’s meeting with and love for Iris, and the complaint of Violetta.

The second act drags a little, but contains several good situations, e. g., the attempted suicide of Eglantine, and the conference of Martagon and Rhodon. Act third is largely taken up with repetition, but develops the character of Acanthus, and describes Martagon’s alliance with the powers of evil. Act fourth contains several good scenes; the anxiety of Iris and Violetta for Rhodon, the meeting of Eglantine and Rhodon in the myrtle grove leading to the climax of the supposed death of Rhodon from the poison. The first scene of act five should have contained the curing of Rhodon by Panace, instead of merely her words, stating her intention of doing so. The other scenes might have been condensed into one ending with the establishment of peace by Flora. The comedy element might well have been increased. There are only two scenes that could be so considered.¹ However, there is much humor in the satiric passages.

Knevet’s dramatic material was scarcely sufficient for the length of the play. But this censure would apply to the

¹ III, 1, and V, 3.

majority of pastoral dramas; and Knevet is not the greatest offender by any means. In the opening scene of the play alone Knevet's object is not clear. One expects here the plotting of the evil agents to arouse strife in Thessaly,¹ instead of their plan to disturb the meeting of the Florists. This scene might have been introduced more appropriately as a prologue, and the play have opened with Act I, Sc. 2. In the conduct of the plot the chief weaknesses are the following:—Rhodon's desertion of Eglantine is not sufficiently explained, and Iris is given too subordinate a part in the action. In regard to the characters, the introduction of purely allegorical figures, like Agnostus and Poneria into a pastoral drama, is something of an innovation. We have seen how, in *Hymen's Triumph*, Daniel admitted similar characters into the prologue, but not into the drama itself. In *Rhodon and Iris* these allegorical characters do not disturb the general pastoral coloring; for Poneria takes the part usually assigned in pastorals to the witch or sorceress, and Agnostus may be regarded as her servant. The introduction of war, however, is somewhat out of place in Arcadia. Most pastoral writers would have subordinated this element and given greater prominence to the love-motive.

Very little praise can be given to Knevet's verse. He was certainly right in his admission that he was a small poet. In general he attempted iambic verse, varying the number of feet in a line to suit his own convenience and rhyming wherever he chose. Some of his lines defy all attempts at scansion, though evidently intended for verses.

It is difficult to believe that satire of so general an interest as that of *Rhodon and Iris* should have come near involving the author in difficulties; but such seems to have been the case, if we are to judge from the letter and commendatory verses prefixed to the play. The old subject of female extravagance in dress is satirized at length. Eglantine thinks "of all

¹ The reader does not learn of this plot until II, 1.

fashions change is the best," and under the direction of Poneria (Envy) she sends for

"Chains, coronets, pendans, bracelets and ear-rings,
 Pins, girdles, spangles, embroyderies, rings,
 Shadowes, rebatos, ribbands, ruffes, cuffes and fals;
 Scarfes, feathers, fans, maskes, muffes, laces and cals;
 Thin teffanies, copweb-lawne and fardingals,
 Sweet-bals, vayles, wimples, glasses, crisping-pins;
 Pots, oyntments, combs, with poking-sticks and bodkins,
 Coyfes, gorgets, fringes, rowles, fillets and haire-laces,
 Silks, damasks, velvet, tinsels, cloth of gold,
 And tissue, with colours of a hundreth fold." III, 1.

The perfumes and lotions are next enumerated for about thirty lines. Politicians come in for their share of satire. Cynosbatus regrets that Rhodon has so ignobly died and Martagon replies,

"Thou art too ceremonious for a politician,
 And too superstitious: our duties 'tis to judge
 Of the effect as it concernes the state of our affaires,
 And not to looke backe on the meanes by which 'twas wrought.
 He is unfit to rule a Civill State
 That knowes not how in some respects to favour
 Murther, or treason, or any other sinne,
 Which that subtile animal, call'd man,
 Doth openly protest against, for this end
 That he may more freely act it in private
 As his occasions may invite him to 't." V, 2.

But perhaps the keenest shafts of satire are leveled at "Moderne Captains."

Poneria: I tell thee I will procure thee a Captaines place.
Agnostus: But I am altogether ignorant in the words of command
 And know not one posture neither of Musket or Pike.
Pon: Hast wit enough to swallow the dead payes,
 And to patch up thy Company in a Mustring day:
 Hast valour enough to weare a Buffe-jerken
 With three gold laces?
 Hast strength enough to support a Dutch felt
 With a flaunting Feather?
 Can thy side endure to be wedded to a Rapire

Hatch'd with gold, with hilt and hangers of
 The new fashion?
 Canst drinke, drab, and dice?
 Canst damne thy selfe into debt among
 Beleeving Tradesmen?
 Hast manners enogh to give thy Lieutenant,
 Antient or Sergent leave to goe before thee
 Upon any peece of danger?
 Hast wit enogh, in thy anger, not to draw a sword?
 These are the chiefe properties that pertaine
 To our modern Captaines." V, 3.

The passage which brought down censure upon the author was probably the following:—

"The light of day is
 The Mistris of disquiet and unrest, and breeds
 More trouble in the world then one of my yong
 Hungry Lawyers doth in a Common-Wealth,
 Or a schismatical selfe-conceited
 Coxcombe in an antient Corporation." I, 1.

Possibly the same person is satirized in these words of Poneria:—

"*Agnostus*: How heavy is authority? *Poneria*: 'Tis true,
 But not so heavy but an asse may bear it." II, 1.

The chief purpose of the play was undoubtedly to symbolize the properties of the various flowers in an allegorical form readily understood by the audience assembled at the feast of the Florists. The characters in the play are named after the flowers which represent their fundamental traits. Martagon, the Red Lily, is haughty and overbearing; Violetta, timid and easily oppressed. The servant appropriately receives the name of the dependent and clinging Eglantine. The fair physician is called Panace (All-heal); Acanthus (the Thistle) and Cynosbatus (the Bramble) are both defiant and headstrong warriors. In the conduct of the plot many incidents may also have had an allegorical interpretation. The oppression of the Violet by the Red Lily is evident enough; but other interpretations we must leave to the ingenuity of some antiquarian botanist.

The next pastoral drama to be considered, *The Shepherds' Paradise*,¹ by Walter Montague, was also written for a special occasion, and exhibits a unique development of the pastoral influence. This play has long been recorded in the annals of scandal, because it provoked the wrath of William Prynne, and thus was instrumental in causing his imprisonment and mutilation.² *The Shepherds' Paradise* was acted only once, and when it appeared in printed form (1659) was ridiculed for its intelligibility. It is difficult to understand how this play could ever have been acted with success. It is extremely long, containing one hundred and seventy-five pages of closely printed prose;³ it is almost utterly lacking in incident and dramatic

¹The title-page reads:—*The Shepherds Paradise. A Comedy. Privately acted before the Late King Charles by the Queens Majesty and Ladies of Honour. Written by W. Mountague, Esq., London 1659.* A few copies bear the date 1629, evidently a printer's error for 1659. Note the words, "the *Late* King Charles" in title, and the editor's letter, "These papers have long slept, and are now rais'd to put on immortality." This statement could not have been made in the year 1629.

²The earliest reference to this play is found in a letter from Mr. Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, dated 20th Sept., 1632: "That which the Queen's Majesty, some of her ladies, and all her maids of honour, are now practising upon, is a pastoral penned by Mr. Walter Montague, wherein her Majesty is pleased to act a part, as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English." The exact date of first presentation is given in another letter by Mr. Pory, dated 3 Jan., 1633: "On Wednesday next (i. e., Jan. 8) the Queen's pastoral is to be acted in the lower court of Denmark House." (Both letters appear in *Court and Times of Charles I.*, Vol. II, London, 1848.) During these months of preparation and rehearsal (Sept., 1632–Jan., 1633) William Prynne was at work writing his famous *Histrio-Mastix* (printed 1633), and consequently his words in regard to the acting of women gave serious offense to the Queen and her Ladies of Honour. The obnoxious words were, "St. Paul prohibits women to speak publicly in the church, and dares any Christian woman be so more than whorishly impudent, as to act, to speak publicly on a stage, perchance in man's apparel and cut hair." It is not to be wondered at that Prynne lost his ears.

³*The Shepherds' Paradise* contains about 6,300 lines. *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's longest play, has only 3,933 lines. Since Montague wrote in prose, it is a fair estimate to say that *The Shepherds' Paradise* contains twice as many words as *Hamlet*.

situations; and it is written in an obscure, "courtly" style. The drama impresses one as an adaptation from some pastoral romance made by a writer who knew nothing of stage necessities and had not a spark of dramatic talent. At any rate Montague handles his materials, whether original or borrowed, exactly after the manner of the pastoral romances. The first act of the play maintains the "court" atmosphere. The king of Castile arranges a marriage between his son and the princess of Navarre. The prince, however, falls in love with Fidamira, a lady of the court. His wooing is unsuccessful, for Fidamira loves a courtier named Agenor. The prince resolves to travel in disguise, being especially anxious to visit the Shepherds' Paradise (a quiet valley inhabited by royal exiles masquerading as Arcadians). He takes with him Agenor as companion. Fidamira, left alone, is wooed by the king, but succeeds in escaping him by asking as a boon "that which only a King can bestow, Liberty." This being granted she leaves the court and, in the disguise of a "moor," seeks the Shepherds' Paradise. This act is comparatively short, and may be regarded as an introduction to the play. The rest of the drama relates what happened in the Shepherds' Paradise, and the atmosphere is essentially pastoral. It represents the last stage of pastoral development, when the shepherds and shepherdesses have lost simplicity of manners and forsaken all rural employments, but retain merely the country environment, isolated from the world, and spend their time in subtle arguments on love or refined courtship.¹ There is not a genuine Arcadian among all the inhabitants of the Shepherds' Paradise, but the community consists of aristocratic exiles. The place is thus described by one of the inhabitants:—"The peace and settleness of this place is secured by Natures inclosure of it on all sides by impregnableness. . . . At one passage only the rockes seeme to open a way of themselves, so as to let in the King's care in a Garrison which he maintains for safety of the place, which delivers all strangers

¹See page 12 in Ed. 1659.

to us as sutors, not invaders" (A. II, S. 1). The laws governing this strange community are in brief, first, that a queen be elected by the sisters annually on the first of May; second, that the queen be under thirty years and be chosen for her beauty; third, that both brothers and sisters vow chastity while they remain in the order, and that breach of this law be punishable by death; fourth, that at the end of the year, those who wish to retire and marry may have license to do so; fifth, that strangers be admitted if they can show that their misfortunes have been great; sixth, that there shall be community of all goods and possessions; seventh, that after final dismissal none shall be admitted again; that strangers be admitted by grace of the queen or by particular warrant of the King of the country."

The various discussions and courtships carried on by the inhabitants of the Shepherds' Paradise require no detailed account here. The main incidents may be summarized as follows:—The princess of Navarre (Belesa), to escape being forced into a marriage with the prince of Castile, flees in disguise to the Shepherds' Paradise, and is elected queen. Soon after her election, the prince and Agenor reach the Shepherds' Paradise, and are admitted to the society. They quickly forget Fidamira and fall in love with the queen. Meanwhile Fidamira, disguised as a Moor, gains admission to the society. She encourages the prince in his love for Belesa, and accepts philosophically the fickleness of Agenor: "The contemplation of inconstancy has justified Agenor to me; 't has taken off the fault from him and laid it upon nature." She wins the confidence of the queen and in every way forwards the suit of the prince. Belesa begins to yield when she learns the high rank of her lover, "for though birth and quality be not the only foundation to build love upon, yet it is a fair roofe to cover it." Finally the king also comes to the Shepherds' Paradise. He recognizes Fidamira and renews his suit. In the end an old counsellor appears, explains the various disguises, and reveals the relationship of

the characters. Fidamira is really the sister of Belesa, and Agenor is their brother. Belesa marries the prince, but Fidamira refuses the king, preferring to live a maid in the *Shepherds' Paradise*. She is chosen perpetual queen.

The Shepherds' Paradise is written almost entirely in prose. Occasionally a scene will end with a few rhymed couplets; the ceremony at the Tomb of the Founder¹ is in verse; and there are a few tedious love songs. The following lines, written by the prince on the supposed death of the princess of Navarre, and praised by Belesa as "discreetly passionate," will suffice as an illustration of Montague's poetic talent:

"Having allowed my sorrows choise of paine,
They have chose this, the searching still in vaine
The cause of this strange death, and though on earth
I find more reason for 't, then for her birth,
As curses are much more then blessings due;
Yet that doth not seem strange enough for new
Methinks heaven's wisdom needed not disburse
Such treasure, to resume it for a curse.
But as the benefactor's use, or want,
Doth justify resumng of his grant:
So the recalling her doth but imply
Her want brought heaven unto necessity.
So heav'n did re-impropriate this wealth,
Not to impoverish us but store itselfe.
This then methought did me some reason show,
Because it did transcend all reason so:
Then carried by this rapture up above,
I found that all the gods had been in love
With her, so as their immortality
Would have been tedious to them, if to dye
Had been the way to her, so, to be even
With all their loves, she dy'd and went to heaven."

(IV, 1.)

It is possible that the drama held the interest of the spectators because of its allusions to persons or events of the time: these are difficult to detect now or to verify. Indeed, the play does not appear to have been written with this purpose:

¹See IV, 1.

the conversations as a rule are devoted to general discussions of various phases of love. There is, however, considerable flattery of Queen Henrietta Maria, who took the part of Belesa.

Montague's style, even if compared with the most artificial of pastoral romances, is unparalleled for obscurity and courtly conceits. Almost every long speech must be studied before its real meaning becomes evident. A few illustrations will suffice. Belesa, in her description of the Shepherds' Paradise, says: "This place is civill onely in making all strangers, of what ever Nation that are not residents; and for that, that there are none that are not so to virtue and to honour."¹

Agenor, fearing that he will fall in love with the queen and so become false to Fidamira, says:—"My feare was quicker-sighted then my sense, that did propose to me at first the readiest safety that that passion knows, of flying from danger. Which I obeyed so fast, as nothing could have overtaken it; therefore my curse was forced to meet mee, so to bring mee back; and now methinks, I am so fixed, I can but move against my feare, for having been so bold as to precede my love. Oh! how I curse my fear for having disputed so against the Prince's staying here."²

In one of the discussions on the nature of love, Agenor is thus addressed:—"Do you know, Agenor, that they that love after the knowledge of the delivery of their wishes to another are inconstant in the act, for they love another? For in that instant she is no more her self. And he that will begin againe, must love two at once. For of lovers, none knows which is which."³

These illustrations are not in any way unjust to Montague, for every scene contains thorny sentences which almost defy interpretation. Montague's choice of this obscure style was probably due to his following a somewhat antiquated court fashion. However, he carried it to such an extent that his drama may be regarded as a literary curiosity, or perhaps it may be characterized as a courtier's dream of Utopia written

¹ II, 3.² II, 5.³ See V, 2.

in the pastoral mode. Its condemnation by Sir John Suckling, in his *Sessions of the Poets*, seems altogether deserved. In this well-known poem the various writers of the time are represented as receiving the judgment of Apollo, and Montague's sentence is as follows:—

“Wat Montague now stood forth for his trial,
And did not so much as suspect a denial;
But witty Apollo asked him first of all,
If he understood his own pastoral.
For if he could do it, 't would plainly appear
He understood more than any man there,
And did merit the bays above all the rest;
But the Mounsier was modest, and silence confest.”

Love's Riddle,¹ by Abraham Cowley, though written by a boy of seventeen, loses nothing in comparison with other pastoral dramas. Mr. Edmund Gosse, commenting on this play, speaks of “the precocious humour of the world-wise boy.”² The satiric passages especially reveal maturity of thought. Therefore, there is no injustice in applying to *Love's Riddle* the same method that has been used in the case of other pastoral dramas. Mr. Gosse finds much to praise in the general conduct of the plot, but censures the play because it reveals “no genuine passion, no knowledge of the phenomena of Nature, no observant love of birds and flowers, or the beauties of country life.” In this sentence Mr. Gosse has condemned Cowley's work because it lacked what almost all pastoral poetry lacks, and what was especially wanting in the English pastoral drama. Such criticism is manifestly unjust to Cowley.

The sources of *Love's Riddle* have not been discovered.³ Mr. Gosse maintains that Cowley's play is “a distinct following

¹*Love's Riddle*. A Pastorall Comoedie. Written at the time of his being Kings Scoller in Westminster Schoole, by A. Cowley. London . . . 1638. Cowley left Westminster School in 1636. The play was written probably in 1635.

²*Cornhill Magazine* for Dec., 1876.

³A few passages show the influence of Theocritus and Virgil, e. g., the description of the beechen cup, II, 1; cf. Theocritus, *Idyl*, I; Virgil, *Ecl.*, III.

without imitation of *The Jealous Lovers*, by Thomas Randolph." As a matter of fact the only similarity in the two plays consists in the portrayal of the lustful old women (Truga and Dipsas), and the ridicule of the jargon of the astrologers,¹ both characters of sufficiently frequent occurrence in the earlier drama. It is difficult to see how such similarity can be called "a distinct following." Randolph's play, moreover, is modelled after Plautus, the chief characters being the indulgent father, the spendthrift son, and the pander; Cowley's play is based on pastoral traditions, the principal characters being Alupis, a merry shepherd; Palaemon, a love-sick swain; Hylace, a heart-free shepherdess, and Callidora, a gentlewoman, disguised as a shepherd. Moreover, the incidents in the two plays have no similarity whatsoever.

Love's Riddle is now so easily accessible that a brief outline of the story of the play will suffice. Callidora, the heroine, in order to escape the lust of Aphron, flees into the country and disguises herself as a shepherd. Her brother, Florellus, going in search of her, also disguises himself as a shepherd. Philistus, her lover, joins in the search. Callidora is mistaken for a man and is wooed by two shepherdesses, Bellula and Hylace. Florellus falls in love with Bellula, and being jealous of Callidora seeks satisfaction in a duel. They are parted by Philistus; Callidora's sex is discovered, and a scene of general recognition closes the play. The evil agent, Aphron, is not only pardoned, but is united in marriage to the sister of Philistus. The comedy element in the play is supplied by the merry shepherd, Alupis, in his playful aid to Palaemon's suit for Hylace, and his pretended courtship of Truga. Aphron, who poses as a mad shepherd, may also be regarded as a comic character.

The real Arcadians are the shepherdess, Hylace; Palaemon, her modest lover; and Alupis, a merry misanthrope, who spends his time satirizing city customs. Bellula may be added to these, for though of noble birth she is brought up

¹ Cf. *The Jealous Lovers*, V, 2, with *Love's Riddle*, III, 1.

as a shepherdess. Florellus and Callidora are disguised as Arcadians. Aphron and Clarinus, however, are "court" characters, but they take comparatively minor parts in the play. The old shepherd, Melarnus, and his wife, Truga, somewhat disturb the pastoral coloring, for Melarnus bears an unmistakable stamp of the surly English rustic, and Truga (perhaps borrowed from Randolph) is a stock comedy character.

Although a few scenes are introduced into the play which cannot be termed pastoral, such as the scene at the home of Callidora,¹ and the scene at Clariana's house;² yet in the main the play preserves the Arcadian atmosphere. Callidora says,

"Methinks a sad and drowsie shepheard is
A prodigy in Nature for the woods
Should bee as farre from sorrow, as they are
From sorrow's causes, riches and the like." I, 1.

After dwelling for a time among the shepherds, she praises pastoral life with greater enthusiasm.

"How happy is that man, who in these woods
With secure silence weares away his time!
Who is acquainted better with himselfe
Then others; who so great a stranger is
To Citie follyes, that he knowes them not.
He sits all day upon some mossie hill
His rurall throne, arm'd with his crook, his scepter;
A flowry garland is his country crowne;
The gentle lambes and sheepe his loyall subjects,
Which every yeare pay him their fleecy tribute;
Thus in an humble statelinesse and majestie
He tunes his pipe, the wood's best melody;
And is at once, what many Monarches are not,
Both King and Poet. II, 1.

How consistently pastoral is the description Palaemon gives of his wooing!

"If gifts would win her, she hath had
The daintiest Lambes, the hope of all my flock;
I let my apples hang for her to gather;
The painful Bee did never load my hives

¹ II, 1 (ll. 1-95).

² IV, 1 (ll. 188-368).

With honey, which she tasted not.
 If Poetry would win her, what shade
 Hath not bene Auditor of my amorous pipe?
 What bankes are not acquainted with her prayes?
 Which I have sung in verses, and the shepherds
 Say they are good ones; nay, they call me Poet,
 Although I am not easie to beleve them.

* * * * *

If shew of grieffe had Rhetorick enough
 To move her, I dare sweare she had bene mine
 Long before this; what day did ere peepe forth
 In which I wept not dulier then the morning?
 Which of the winds hath not my sighes encreas'd
 At sundry times? how often have I cryed
Hylace, Hylace, till the docile woods
 Have answered *Hylace*; and every valley
 As if it were my Rivall, sounded *Hylace*.

II, 1.

In the conduct of the plot the actions of Aphron are not sufficiently explained. Is his madness real or feigned? Moreover, his pardon in the end seems hardly justifiable. With these exceptions the plot deserves the praise of Mr. Gosse, "the several threads of intrigues are held well in hand and drawn skilfully together at last." The comedy incidents, if we can pardon the grossness of Truga, are very happily conceived. Especially well-drawn is the character of Alupis.

Love's Riddle is written in blank verse, with a large number of hendecasyllabic lines. Its general character is excellent without being at all remarkable. The lyrics are musical and exhibit a promise at least of Cowley's later work. The song of Alupis is sung by the merry shepherd on every possible occasion:—

"Rise up thou mournfull Swaine,
 For 'tis but a folly
 To be melancholy,
 And get thee thy pipe again.

Come sing away the day,
 For 'tis but a folly
 To be melancholy,
 Let's live here whilst we may."

I, 1.

The lament of *Bellula* makes a pleasant contrast :—

“ It is a punishment to love,
And not to love, a punishment doth prove ;
But of all paines there's no such paine,
As 'tis to love, and not be lov'd againe.

Till sixteen, parents we obey,
After sixteene, men steale our hearts away :
How wretched are we women growne,
Whose wills, whose minds, whose hearts are ne're our owne !”

IV, 1.

The only remaining lyric is devoted to an ingenious conceit quite in Cowley's manner.

“ The merry waves dance up and downe, and play,
Sport is granted to the Sea.
Birds are the queristers of the th' empty ayre,
Sport is never wanting there.
The ground doth smile at the Spring's flowry birth,
Sport is granted to the earth.
The fire it's cheering flame on high doth reare,
Sport is never wanting there.
If all the elements, the Earth, the Sea,
Ayre, and fire, so merry bee ;
Why is man's mirth so seldome, and so small,
Who is compounded of them all ?”

I, 1.

The satire in the play is delivered by the melancholy *Alupis*. He attacks various follies of the city and its inhabitants. The following may serve as a specimen.

“ *Callidora* : Why art thou madde ?

Alupis : What if I bee ?

I hope 'tis no discredit for me, Sir ?
For in this age who is not ? I'le prove it to you :
Your Citizen, hee's madde to trust the Gentleman
Both with his weares and wife. Your Courtier,
Hee's madde to spend his time in studying postures,
Cringes, and fashions, and new complements ;
Your Lawyer, hee's madde to sell away
His tongue for money, and his Client madder
To buy it of him, since 'tis of no use
But to undoe men, and the Latine tongue ;

Your Schollers, they are made to breake their braines,
 Out-watch the Moone, and look more pale then shee,
 That so when all the Arts call him their Master,
 Hee may perhaps get some small Vicaridge,
 Or be the Usher of a Schoole; but there's
 A thing in blacke called Poet, who is ten
 Degrees in madnesse above these; his meanes
 Is what the gentle Fates please to allow him.
 By the death or mariage of some mighty Lord,
 Which hee must solemnize with a new Song
 Lovers are worst of all;
 Is 't not a pretty folly to stand thus,
 And sigh, and fold the armes. and cry my *Coelia*,
 My soule, my life, my *Coelia*, then to wring
 One's state for presents, and one's brayne for Sonnets?
 O! 'tis beyond the name of Phrenzie." I, 1.

The keenest satire is directed against physicians. When Callidora asks Alupis to cure her disease, he answers :

" I turne Physitian?
 My Parents brought me up more piously,
 Then that I should play booty with a siknesse,
 Turne a consumption to men's purses, and
 Purge them, worse then their bodyes, and set up
 An Apothecarie's shop in private chambers;
 Live by renew of close-stooles and urinals,
 Deferre off sick men's health from day to day
 As if they went to law with their disease.
 No, I was borne for better ends, then to send away
 His Majestie's subjects to hell so fast,
 As if I were to share the stakes with Charon." I, 1.

Apparently no allegorical nor local allusions were intended in *Love's Riddle*. The play represents a boy's conception of Sicilian life, based on his reading of Theocritus and the Italian or French pastoral romances, with a slight element of his own added from observation of country life.

Astraea, or True Love's Myrrour,¹ was printed in the year 1650. The author, Leonard Willan, was a friend of the poet

¹*Astraea, or True Loves Myrrour*. A Pastoral composed by Leonard Willan, Gent London, 1651. There is also an edition of 1650 which I have not been able to examine.

Herrick, but little else is known about him. His literary work consists of two dramas, a translation from Æsop and a political treatise. *Astraea*, his earliest work, is an attempt to weave certain episodes from D'Urfé's *Astrée* into a connected drama. The plot is very complex, being devoted to the various adventures of six pairs of lovers. To give a general idea of this rare play, we will trace the fortunes of the principal characters, Celadon, the faithful shepherd, and Sylvander, the heart-free shepherd.

Prefixed to the play is the following elaborate direction for the stage:—

“The frontespiece is a wreath of fresh Foliage, much like the entrance into a close Alley, the tops whereof interlac'd, represent the perfect figure of an Arch; at whose intersection is a kind of knot, whereon is enscribed in letters of gold, FOREST: over which two little Cupidons by either hand support a Garland little distant from the same. At either foot hereof is plac'd on little pedestals the figure of a Shepherd and Shepherdess; the one in a pretty posture, merrily playing on a Flute, the other very intently ording her scatter'd flowers in form of a Garland. To which succeeds, in prospective order, close united Trees, which by degrees o'retop each other, the former not much exceeding the height of a man, through which the sight is conveyed to a very fair Palace; at foot whereof runneth a winding stream; the Canopy of the whole a Serene Skie.

“The Scene being a pretty while discovered, appears at far end thereof a shepherdess, with a little Dog parried in Ribbons of several colours; when sodainly, privately within, are heard sundry voices, one answering the other, till each have sung his part: at the end whereof all joyn their voices; each voice is so ordered as may seem far distant from the Auditors, and a like distant from each other.”

After the song of the shepherds, *Astraea* the heroine enters, and in a monologue declares the superiority of reason over love. Her lover, Celadon, appears, and she accuses him of loving another. He asserts his innocence, but she interrupts his defence and bids him “never more come nigh till bid.” Celadon in despair throws himself into the river. *Astraea*, in her efforts to save him, also falls into the river, and both are swept away by the current. *Astraea* is rescued by Lycidas, the brother of Celadon. In their search for the lost shepherd

they find his hat floating on the waves. Within the lining is sewed a letter which proves Celadon's faithfulness to Astraea.

Meanwhile Celadon has been rescued by the princess Galatea and her nymph Leonida. Celadon remains true to Astraea and writes to her a letter beseeching her to revoke her sentence. Finding Sylvander asleep he puts the letter beside him. Leonida entreats her uncle, the priest Adamas, to help Celadon. Adamas consults the oracle and is commanded to unite Celadon to his mistress. But Celadon refuses to disobey Astraea's command. As a last resort Adamas disguises Celadon as his daughter Alexis. When Astraea comes to the temple to mourn for Celadon's death, she meets her lover whom she supposes to be Alexis. Celadon is overjoyed by the affection displayed by Astraea, but he dares not reveal his identity: Leonida comes to his aid. "With a book of characters in one hand, and a bough in the other," she invokes the gods to change Alexis to Celadon. Celadon throws off his disguise, but Astraea, incensed by the trick played on her, dismisses him forever.

"Haste thee from mine Eye
Unto thy Ruine, hence away and die."

Celadon takes this command literally, and goes into the wilderness to seek a violent death.

Sylvander, after giving the letter to Astraea, meets the shepherdess Diana with a merry company of nymphs. To while away the time Sylvander is commanded to counterfeit love for Diana. Soon he begins to love her in earnest. He consults the oracle and receives the following reply:—

"Thy present Ills e're long shall end;
But Her thou woul'st, Paris shall wed.
To thy Desires do not pretend,
Untill such time Sylvander's dead."

This the shepherdesses interpret to mean that Paris, the priest's son, shall marry Sylvander to Diana, and that Sylvander shall die by giving his heart to Diana.

Paris, however, hearing the oracle, interprets it literally and seeks Diana in marriage. Her parents accept his suit, and Diana is forced by the Arcadian laws to obey them. Sylvander yields to authority and bids farewell forever to Diana. He goes into the desert to seek death by the lions who guard the fountain of Love. Here he meets Celadon heart-broken at Astraea's bitter words. They decide to sacrifice themselves; for tradition says that on the death of "the two perfectest lovers" the fountain will be freed from magic spell.

Astraea soon forgives Celadon, and with Diana she also seeks death at the fountain of Love. Near the fountain the two shepherdesses fall into an enchanted sleep. Here the priest Adamas finds them. Close at hand lie Celadon and Sylvander apparently dead. The enchantment, however, is broken and the lions turned to stone. A voice from the fountain bids the priest bear away the corpses and come the next day for the final oracle.

On the following day the lovers revive and the oracle gives Astraea to Celadon, but denies Sylvander's suit:—

"Sylvander must no longer live
To Paris I Diana give
And Adamas my just command
Bids that he die by thine own hand."

Adamas is on the point of sacrificing Sylvander when he notices on his arm a mark which proves him to be his son Paris. The shepherd who has gone under the name of Paris is discovered to be Ergaste, the brother of Diana. So the oracles are fulfilled amid universal rejoicings.

In general, the dramatization shows little skill. Many links in the chain of events are omitted, and far too many minor characters are introduced. Many episodes which are fitting enough in the romance—such as the various courtships of the fickle Hylas—are absurd in the condensed drama. In fact one must be familiar with the romance to understand

the drama. A few of the songs are original with Willan, but the oracles and the letters are literally translated from D'Urfé. The incidents and dialogues are also taken direct from the romance, though of course Willan had to paraphrase the thought in order to fit his metre, which is the rhymed heroic couplet.

The underlying meaning of the romance is of course lost. D'Urfé represented the adventures of real persons under the guise of a pastoral romance, and consequently his work excited the liveliest interest. It is scarcely conceivable that the same incidents would apply to the English court, even if the play was written before the execution of Charles I.

The poetic talent of Willan was of an inferior order, and it is difficult to understand how his drama passed through three editions in fifteen years. This success shows the great charm which was exercised on the readers of the day by the famous original. In dramatizing a successful romance, Willan followed a practice common down to our own days, and which usually succeeds in spite of the most serious defects. *Astraea* represents the only English play taken directly from a pastoral romance which strictly preserves the pastoral atmosphere.

Sir William Lower, the author of *The Enchanted Lovers*,¹ was more famous as a soldier and courtier than as a writer. He fought with distinction in the army of Charles I., and after the failure of the Royalist cause took up his residence abroad. Here he spent his leisure in translating and adapting six dramas from the French of Corneille, Scarron and Quinault. In the midst of this work, he produced *The Enchanted Lovers*, which has been regarded by most critics as an original play. *The Enchanted Lovers* has few points of resemblance to other English pastoral dramas.

The story of the play is as follows: Celia, the heroine, fleeing from the lust of Nearchus, the king's favorite, is ship-

¹ *The Enchanted Lovers*. A Pastoral. By Sir William Lower, Knight. . . . Hage, 1658. Part of this edition was bound up in London, with a new title-page, bearing the date 1661.

wrecked on the Island of Erithrea. She is rescued by Melissa, a princess, who rules the Island. Celia is admitted into the confidence of the princess, but she cannot forget her sorrows. In order to indulge her grief, she feigns to be in mourning for a lost brother. Under this mask she is enabled to lament her lover, Cleagenor, and to keep at a distance the amorous shepherds of the island. Meanwhile Cleagenor has challenged Nearchus to a duel, and inflicted on him a mortal wound. This arouses the anger of the king, and Cleagenor is obliged to flee for his life. After seven years of wandering he finds a refuge in the Island of Erithrea. Here he lives under an assumed name and in the disguise of a shepherd. Celia does not recognize him at first, but when he reveals his identity her old love returns. The lovers are afraid to declare their love because Cleagenor is beloved by the princess, and Celia is sought after by a shepherd of the Island. Consequently they decide to pass themselves off as brother and sister. The princess rejoices that Celia has found her long lost brother, and begs Celia to help in her own match with Cleagenor. Everything goes well until a merchant from Seville, the home of Celia and Cleagenor, recognizes the lovers, and demands that Cleagenor be delivered up to the king. Melissa is overwhelmed with anger and shame.

"How both of you abuse me
 With an imposture form'd under false names
 To carry on your love in a disguise.
 Insolent wretches!
 I'll sacrifice you both to my disgrace
 In such a manner that ye shall repent
 Eternally that er ye made me blush."

She punishes the lovers by putting them under a magic spell. First, Celia sickens and Cleagenor endures the agony of seeing her die; then Celia revives and witnesses the death struggles of Cleagenor. So the torture continues day after day. At length the people of the Island, indignant at the cruel punishment imposed on the lovers, implore the princess

to remove the spell. This she is unable to do. Finally the goddess Diana interferes. She degrades Melissa, and gives her kingdom to another. Then she dissolves the magic spell and unites Cleagenor and Celia.

The most interesting character in the play is Ismenia (the heart-free shepherdess), who is instrumental in bringing Cleagenor and Celia together, and who aids Parthenia, the niece of the princess, in her love affair with Clidamant. Ismenia's playful treatment of her lovers, and especially of Thimantes (whom she finally marries) form the most amusing scenes of the play.

The Enchanted Lovers lacks action and dramatic situations. The best scene is at the end of the fourth act, where Melissa learns the deception of the lovers. This passage illustrates Lower's poetic talent at its best.

"O misfortune

Not to be parallel'd? What shall I do?
 Of whom should I take counsel in this case?
 Shall I hear yet my love that murmureth?
 Ought I to suffer, or repel the injury?
 It is resolv'd in my offended heart
 That those black Passions shal succeed my love,
 By which the soul, when in disorder, breaks
 The chain wherewith she's ti'd. Break forth my fury,
 And ruine these ingratefull. They shal know
 My power, as they have seen my goodness to them:
 They shal not mock at my simplicity,
 Nor reproach me for my credulity,
 How! treacherous Cleagenor, oh! that name
 Cleagenor combats yet within my heart,
 In its defence, my spirits at this name
 Are wavering, and my anger's weak; my hate
 Is in suspense: I am not pleas'd with that
 Which I demand; I fear what I would most.
 Ha, traitor, must I to torment myself,
 Suspend my judgment upon thy destruction?
 Must I dispute the case within myself
 As doubtful to determine. No, pass sentence
 Against him for this barbarous affront.
 Arm my despair, and inspire thou my rage
 And let me see how faithfully my Art

Will serve my vengeance in the punishment
 Of these ingratefull Lovers, I intend not
 To give a sudden death to either of them,
 But they shal suffer that which shall be worse :
 By the effect, and strange force of my charms,
 They shal have, without dying, every day
 A thousand deaths; both of them shal see each other
 To die and to revive. This punishment
 Is strange and cruell; but 'tis that I use
 In my revenges; come, why loiter we
 In our design? my heart like flint shal be
 Insensible of their calamity."

IV, 6.

The characters in the play do not conform very closely to the traditional types. Almost all are courtiers masquerading as shepherds. The disguise is often laid aside, and many scenes do not in any way show pastoral influence. Yet in general the pastoral predominates over the court atmosphere. The scene is certainly Arcadian in spirit. A shepherd thus describes his island home:—

. . . . "Here ambition
 Hath no imployment; if at any time
 We sigh here, 'tis for love, no other passion
 Is seen among us; though this Island be
 A part of Portugal, we have our laws,
 And Empire to our selves; she that rules here
 Hath not the name of Queen, we subjects are
 Our Sovereigns companions, and her vertue
 Makes us to taste so much repose, that she
 Hath put the Sheephook into the hands of
 A hundred Hero's, who wearied with Laurels,
 And the noise of the war, are here retir'd
 From the four corners of the World: she rules
 So sweetly, that crime only feels her anger."

I, 1.

In regard to supernatural characters, Lower disregards tradition. No satyrs nor nymphs appear on the scene, and no mention is made of them; the goddess Diana, instead of exhibiting her will by oracles, appears in person and takes part in the action. *The Enchanted Lovers* suggests that the pastoral influence was on the wane; for Lower, though he

had a truly Arcadian scene, and characters and incidents, which almost demanded pastoral treatment, failed to give a general impression consistent with tradition.

During the Restoration period a few of the old pastoral plays were revived, but they were not popular, and the dramatists turned their attention to other fields. It was not until the year 1720 that a strictly pastoral play was written. In this year, however, John Gay composed *Dione*, a pastoral tragedy. Gay's attitude toward pastoral literature was a peculiar one. At the instance of Pope he wrote *The Shepherds' Week*, a parody on the pastoral eclogues of Ambrose Philips. Though professedly written in ridicule of pastoral poetry, this may be regarded as "a genuine work of pastoral art." Certainly in many of Gay's poems and in his pastoral drama there is no trace of parody or burlesque. Gay follows the pastoral tradition as closely as any poet in the language. In the prologue of *Dione*, he says,

"Our author
 draws no Hemskirk boors, or home-bred clowns,
 But the soft shepherds of Arcadia's downs."

Dione was never acted, nor indeed was it written for stage representation. It was printed with some poems in a small volume, and it was well received by the public. The drama is devoted to the working out of a very simple plot. *Dione* (the faithful shepherdess) is deserted by her lover, Evander. Her father attempts to force her into a marriage with Cleanthes, but she flees into the country and becomes a shepherdess. Here she finds Evander, who has taken the disguise of a shepherd in order to court Parthenia, the heart-free shepherdess, who has already by her disdain caused the death of Menalchus. *Dione*, by the advise of her friend Laura, disguises herself as a shepherd boy and seeks to wean her false lover from his new love. Evander, however, sends her to woo Parthenia for him. Parthenia rejects Evander's suit, but conceives a friendship for the supposed boy. Evander's

jealousy is aroused and he begins to suspect his innocent companion.

Meanwhile Cleanthes also has come into the country to seek Dione. He is robbed and murdered by some outlaws. With his last breath he reproaches Dione for the sorrows she has brought upon her father and friends. Dione overhears his words and in despair seeks to take her life. Parthenia prevents her, and seeks to find out the cause of her grief. Evander discovers them together and, suspecting Dione of treachery, he stabs her to the heart. Dione in her last words reveals her identity. Evander, filled with remorse, takes his own life.

The character of Dione resembles, in some respects, Clarindo in *Hymen's Triumph*, while Menalchas, a shepherd who dies because of Parthenia's disdain, suggests Colin in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Two scenes are imitated from Cervantes (see the story of Marcella in *Don Quixote*, Part II, Chap. XIII). In attempting a pastoral tragedy, Gay tried a new experiment with not the happiest results. We have seen how all the other dramatists adopted the form of tragic-comedy as the appropriate form for the development of a pastoral story. Gay violated the traditions deliberately. He says in the prologue:—

“No trumpet's clangour makes his heroine start,
And tears the soldier from her bleeding heart.
He, foolish bard, nor pomp nor show regards,
His lovers sigh their vows. If sleep should take ye
He has no battles, no loud drum to wake ye.
What, no such shifts? there's danger in 't, 'tis true,
Yet spare him, as he gives you something new.”

Whether a good tragedy can be constructed on a pastoral theme is doubtful; at all events, Gay did not succeed in the attempt. The ending of his play violates all artistic canons, especially in leaving no implied future for Parthenia and Laura save to spend the rest of their days mourning for Dione.

Gay preserves strictly the pastoral coloring except in the character of Cleanthes, who plays a very subordinate part in

the action. One of the best innovations is the introduction of descriptive passages, such as the following:—

“Now flames the western sky with golden beams,
And the ray kindles on the quivering streams;
Long flights of crows, high-croaking from their food,
Now seek the nightly covert of the wood;
The tender grass with dewy crystal bends,
And gathering vapour from the heath ascends.”

A. IV, S. 3.

In this and similar passages Gay follows the model of the pastoral eclogues, not the pastoral dramas.

Dione is written in rhymed couplets, and contains no songs in shorter measure. Some of the scenes impress one as being short poems inserted in the drama. For example, the first scene of the fourth act might have been entitled, “To his mistress asleep in a Bower.”¹ The following passage is really a poem, “On the Security of Poverty.”

“You whose ambition labours to be great,
Think on the perils which on riches wait.
Safe are the shepherd’s paths; when sober even
Streaks with pale light the bending arch of heaven,
From danger free, through deserts wild he hies,
The rising smoke far o’er the mountain spies,
Which marks his distant cottage; on he fares,
For him no murderers lay their nightly snares:
They pass him by, they turn their steps away;
Safe poverty was ne’er the villain’s prey.
At home he lies secure in easy sleep,
No bars his ivy-mantled cottage keep;
No thieves in dreams the fancy’d dagger hold,
And drag him to detect the buried gold;
Nor starts he from his couch aghast and pale,
When the door murmurs with the hollow gale.”

On the whole it is scarcely unjust to characterize this drama as a series of pastoral eclogues bound together with a slight thread of narrative.

Gay’s pastoral tragedy completes the attempts of the English dramatists to nationalize the foreign pastoral. The later

¹Other examples occur in III, 1, and IV, 5.

dramatists, who portrayed rural life, sought inspiration from the country scenes about them, and produced such plays as Ramsey's *Gentle Shepherd*, or devoted their efforts to operas containing rural or forest scenes; but the visionary shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral tradition disappear from dramatic literature,—never in all probability to return.

There is little to add in conclusion, save by way of summary. The pastoral influence, a foreign mode of idealization in rural portrayals, began at an early date to affect the English drama. At first the pastoral element was combined with, and subordinated to, other elements, such as the "mythological," the "forest," or the "court" elements. These elements, distinct from the pastoral in origin and general characteristics, brought in various incongruities. To some plays, however, the diverse dramatic materials added movement and interest. Typical examples of these "mixed" forms were Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, in which the mythological element overshadows the pastoral; Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, in which the forest element predominates; and Forde's *Love's Labyrinth*, a drama combining court scenes and characters with pastoral scenes and characters. The attempts to dramatize pastoral romances, such as Sidney's *Arcadia*, did not lead usually to pastoral dramas but to dramas reflecting mainly court life. With Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia* a series of strictly pastoral plays began, and between 1603 and 1660 eleven plays of this type appeared, most of which followed more or less closely Italian models. The pastoral drama did not appeal to Restoration or to later dramatists, Gay's *Dione* being a unique revival of an obsolete fashion. Of the twelve English plays which may be safely classed as pastoral, six were written for court representation. The pastoral drama failed, however, to attain the popularity at the court which had been won in former times by the allegorical plays of Lyly. The court preferred the elaborate daintiness of the masque, a form supported by the genius of Ben Jonson and the ingenuity of Inigo Jones. With the general public, the pastoral drama

was still less successful: many of the plays were presented only once before an audience, and some were not acted at all. All of the English pastoral dramas, save Montague's *Shepherds' Paradise*, were written in rhymed or blank verse; but in only one instance, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, was any considerable poetic excellence attained. Some of the plays are redeemed by occasional passages of genuine poetry, or by satiric or allegorical significance. Historically these pastoral plays are important because they show the extreme popularity of the pastoral *motif*, and especially the extraordinary influence of Tasso and Guarini.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1897.

VOL. XII, 4.

NEW SERIES, VOL. V, 4.

XI.—ON THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE LEGEND
OF SIGFRID.

To the researches of Lachmann and Müllenhoff we owe the knowledge that the *Nibelungensaga* which appears in the *Nibelungenlied* as an organic and an artistic unity is in reality a composition of two elements: of the Sigfridsaga and the legend of the Burgundians. While it is a well established fact that the latter saga preserved certain reminiscences of the historical annihilation of the Burgundians by Attila in 437, no account can be found in history which might, in a like manner, explain the origin of the Sigfridsaga. It was Lachmann who, for this reason, first advanced the opinion that the legend of Sigfrid was of mythological origin, and this mythological explanation of our legend is, in some form or other, now held by most scholars.

I wish to state at once that I do not share the belief in an original Sigfrid myth, which is said to embody the old Baldr-myth, according to Lachmann, and which is interpreted by others as an allegorical representation of the victory of spring over winter, or of similar natural phenomena. Aside from the fact that the allegory is the product of later artistic poetry, the product of times when the creative power of poetry is on

the decline, there is in Germanic mythology not the slightest trace of a god or a demigod Sigfrid, and the mythological interpretation of the legend of Sigfrid is based entirely on the *Eddas* and other Old Norse versions of our legend.

As long as it remained undisputed that we possessed in these Norse sources a tradition of our legend much older and authentic than that preserved in the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Seyfridlied* the soundness of the mythological interpretation could not easily be attacked, for in the older *Edda* and in the *Völsungasaga* we are told that Sigfrid was a descendant of Odin, and that Brynhild was a Valkyrie whom he had rescued by riding through a wall of flames from a deathly sleep into which she had been thrown by Odin. Was this not a most satisfactory explanation of the real relations between Sigfrid and Brynhild, relations which the German *Nibelungenlied* left entirely unexplained? Moreover, the authenticity of the Norse version of the *Nibelungensaga* received further support by the fact that, in the account of the legend of the Burgundians, the historical truth seemed to be preserved far more faithfully than in the *Nibelungenlied*. While in the latter poem Kriemhild is killed by Hildebrand, Attila surviving the final catastrophe, in the Norse version Kriemhild (or Gudrun as she is called there) kills Attila, thus corresponding closely with the account of Attila's death given by Jordanis, according to which Attila died at his wedding night by the side of a woman named Ildico. The followers of the mythological interpretation consequentially are arguing that, owing to the greater authenticity of the Norse version in the case of Attila's death, a similar authenticity of these versions had necessarily to be assumed also in the case of the legend of Sigfrid, and a critical discussion of the latter could be carried on only upon the basis of the Norse versions.

The general belief in this dogma was, however, severely shaken by the publication of Sophus Bugge's famous *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensage*. Though, altogether too hasty in its conclusions, this book

nevertheless started a more critical investigation of Old Norse mythology with the most beneficial results to this science. While Jacob Grimm and his followers had accepted the mythological accounts in the *Eddas* as the most authentic sources of German mythology, it has now become one of the first principles in the scientific discussion of mythological problems, to regard with utmost distrust in the Norse accounts that which cannot be verified by German sources or by Latin or Greek writers. There is no doubt that a number of original German myths underwent, in the poetry of the skalds, such essential changes as to impress on them the stamp of pure Norse productions. A most striking example of this fact is furnished by the myth of Wodan. Originally being an attribute of the great god Tivaz, and known and worshipped only by northgermanic tribes, Wodan gradually becomes the central figure of the Old Norse Olympus, and a number of qualities and accomplishments are attributed to him of which the old German war-god never dreamed. It is my opinion that the legend of Sigfrid underwent a similar change in the poetry of the skalds, and it will be one of the objects of this paper to show how this change, probably under the influence of the myth of Wodan, gradually took place.

At once the question arises, which was the original form of the legend that was transformed by the skalds? I believe it is contained in the oldest account of the legend of Sigfrid which we possess, and which, though generally known, has strangely enough not yet been made the starting point for the critical investigation of our saga. I mean the account in *Beowulf*, v. 885 ff. (Heyne-Socin):

Sigemunde gesprong
 äfter deað-däge dôm unlýtel,
 syððan wíges heard wýrm áwealde,
 hordes hyrde; hé under hárne stán,
 äðelinges bearn, ána genêðde
 fréne dæde; ne wás him Fitela mid.
 Hwæðre him gesælde þæt þæt swurd þurhwôd
 wrätlicne wýrm, þæt hit on wealle ätstôd,

dryhtlic iren; draca morðre swealt.
 Häfde áglæca elne gegongen,
 þát hé beáh-hordes brúcan môte
 selfes dôme: sæ-bát gehlód,
 bär on bearm scipes beorhte frätwa,
 Wälses eafera; wrym hát gemealt.
 Sê wäs wreccena wide mærost
 ofer wer-þeóde, wīgendra hleó
 ellen-dædum: hé þäs áron þáh.

All commentators of *Beowulf* agree that Sigfrid and not Sigmund is the hero of whom this passage speaks. We hear that this hero gained no little glory (*dóm unlyftel*) for killing the great dragon, the keeper of the hord (*hordes hyrde*). He performed this deed alone, under the grey stone (*under hárne stán*), stabbing the dragon with his sword so that the latter stood in the wall. Having thus gained the hord, the son of Walis (*Wælses eafera*) loads it on a vessel (*sæ-bát gehlód*). The dragon melts in the heat (*wrym hát gemealt*). No hero in the wide world can equal him in fame.

The account of our legend agrees in its essential features with the story told in the *Lied vom hürnen Seyfrid*, a poem dating in its oldest parts back to the twelfth century, though we have it only in a print of the sixteenth century. According to this song the dragon too "ist auf einem stein gesessen," he is killed with a special sword, the *dryhtlic iren* of the *Beowulf*, and he begins to melt just as in *Beowulf*, "erst ward das horen weychen, das es ab von im randt."

It is instructive to see how this simple account, the narrative of the great deed of the hero, was changed in the *Edda*. Neither in the Anglo-Saxon version of our legend nor in the German poem can we detect the slightest trace of mythology. To introduce the mythological element was reserved for the Norse writers. In the first place we are treated to a history of the treasure which is guarded by the dragon. Accordingly we are told how Loki, the devil of Norse mythology, upon the command of Wodan and Hönir, obtained the treasure by his cunning from a pike, or rather a dwarf, who pronounces a

curse upon the gold which he was forced to give up. Like the fateful fork in Müllner's tragedy, *Die verhängnissvolle Gabel*, the treasure immediately works mischief on its possessor. Hreidmar, who obtained it first from the gods, is killed by his son, Fafnir, who, in the form of a dragon, lies upon the gold on the *Gnitahéide*, crawling down only occasionally when he needs a drink of water.

It will be seen that the dragon, too, has undergone a change in this version of our legend. He is no longer the monster of the *Beowulf* or the later *Sevfridlied*, the awe-inspiring creation of popular imagination. He has a father who, by his pronounced talent for business, obtained the treasure from the gods; he has a brother by the name of Regin who inherited the smartness of the family, and later on advises Sigfrid to kill Fafnir: in fact Fafnir is no longer a dragon at all. Evolution has worked wonders with him. He looks like a dragon, but he talks like a gentleman. When Sigfrid has stabbed him through the heart, he says (Hildebrand, p. 193):

Sveinn ok sveinn!
 hverjum ertu sveini um borinn?
 hverra ertu manna mögr?
 er þú á Fáfni rautt
 þínn inn frána mæki,
 stöndumk til hiarta hiörr.

This Jordan translates rather freely:

Ha Bengel, Bursche, von welchem Buben
 Aus böser Sippschaft bist du geboren,
 Dass du dein blinkendes Messer im Blute
 Fafners rötetest? Ich fühl es am Herzen.

But the exquisite drollery of the situation, reminding one of the speaking of Balaam's ass, would be preserved far better if the monster's words were rendered by the German slang-phrase:

Junge, Junge, du scheinst nicht von schlechten Eltern zu sein.

And as soon as he has cooled down somewhat he begins to prophecy to Sigfrid, his slayer, in the most good-natured manner imaginable. Is this the same dragon that filled the hearts of primitive times with awe and caused the bard in *Beowulf* to extol Sigfrid for having slain him?

But we notice also a most remarkable change in Sigfrid. The *Edda* introduces him with a dialogue which he has with his uncle Gripir, and in which the latter, in the form of a prophecy, sketches a program for the future life of his nephew. I shall have to speak of this prophetic uncle later on, and will, therefore, now content myself with the remark that the orthodox believers in the mythological interpretation of our saga reject this poem as a later fabrication. Still Sigfrid is bound to carry out in his life the prophecies of his uncle. The first thing he needs is a good horse, and he obtains it from the stud of Hjalprek (der *Hilfreiche*), the father of his stepfather. It will be remembered that Wodan, too, possessed in Sleipnir a most remarkable horse of eight legs, and in the *Völsunga-saga*, which is chiefly a prose transcript of the *Edda*-poems, we are told that Sigfrid's horse, 'Grani,' was the offspring of Wodan's Sleipnir. At Hjalprek's stock-farm Sigfrid meets Regin (Rathgeber), the brother of Fafnir, the dragon, who tells him the story of the treasure, and advises him to kill Fafnir. Sigfrid, who knows from his uncle that this task is before him, goes with Regin to the Gnitahede, finds the trace which the dragon leaves when he crawls to the water, digs a ditch and waits in it for the dragon. As soon as the latter becomes thirsty and, creeping to the water, reaches the ditch, Sigfrid from below stabs him to the heart. I believe that killing a dragon is always a difficult undertaking, whatever method one may employ in order to accomplish it. But in comparing the old account in *Beowulf* with the narrative in the *Edda* it seems to me that it is far more hero-like to meet the monster, as Sigfrid does in *Beowulf*, face to face, and to stab him, so that the sword running through his body nails him, as it were, against the rocky wall, than to dig a

ditch, stab the unsuspecting beast cowardly from below, and jump out of the safe hiding-place when all danger is over. I need not say which of the two accounts I consider the older. }

But a closer inspection of the *Edda*-poem, which contains the story of Sigfrid's fight with the dragon, reveals the fact that the object of the poem is not so much to describe this famous fight, as to give the dragon a chance of prophesying to Sigfrid. Indeed, this poem contains two prophecies. For as soon as the dragon is dead, Regin, his brother, appears on the scene and demands a share of the treasure. He tells Sigfrid to roast the heart of Fafnir, while he, Regin, takes a nap. Sigfrid faithfully obeys his command, and, while testing the meat, he burns his finger. In order to cool it he puts his finger in his mouth and suddenly, by getting some of Fafnir's heart-blood on his tongue, he understands, like Wodan, the language of the birds in the bushes around him. Immediately these good birds begin to advise Sigfrid and to predict his future. I do not deny the poetic beauty of this scene, especially when I remember the rapturous music by which it is accompanied in Wagner's opera. It is, moreover, an old Germanic legend that a few elect among men can understand the language of birds, and possibly the old legend of Sigfrid told of Sigfrid that he belonged to those few. But in the poem I am discussing the prophesying birds, which have their prototype in Odin's ravens, doubtlessly were introduced by the pronounced fondness for prophecies, which is evinced throughout the entire *Edda*. I doubt whether there is another hero to be found who has his fortune told as often as Sigfrid has. The Sigfrid of the *Edda* is no longer the impetuous, self-confident naïve youth of the *Beowulf* and the *Segfridlied*, bent on adventures, but a precocious boy, "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

The question arises, can we show whence this fondness of the prophetic element in our poems originates? It will be remembered that it was during the time of the Vikings, at the courts of their princes, when the skalds with poetic

imagination created the Walhalla and the entire mythological heaven which we find in the *Eddas*, and which for a long time was taken for the true Germanic Olympus. It was here that Wodan, the old wind and war-god, developed into a god of wisdom, prophecy and poetry. We are still in a position to observe this process of evolution in a number of poems of the older *Edda*. Thus we are told in the *Völuspá* and in the *Sigrdrífumál* that Wodan obtained his wisdom from Mimir, and in the *Hávamál* he himself relates how he came into the possession of the runic charms. When Baldr is troubled with bad dreams, and Wodan and the rest of the gods are at a loss about their meaning, then Wodan saddles his horse, rides down to hell, and under an assumed name asks the *Völva*, a giantess, to interpret Baldr's dreams and predict his future. It seems to me beyond doubt that these poems, like the latter, became the model for the prophetic portions in the songs which treat of the legend of Sigfrid. I have already mentioned Gripir, the prophetic uncle of Sigfrid, who, at the beginning of Sigfrid's career, predicts the entire future of his nephew. The poem in which he does this is usually interpreted by the commentators as a versified table of contents of the entire cycle of the Sigfrid-poems. This interpretation is, in my opinion, entirely wrong, for in language and style this poem corresponds closely to the poem mentioned before in which Wodan seeks the prophetic information of the *Völva*.

So close is the similarity of these poems that in certain portions they agree almost verbally :

þegiattu völvá !
þik vil ek fregna.

Wodan addresses the *Völva* three times.

Segðu gegn konungr !
Segðu ítr konungr !
Segðu mér, ef þú veizt !

repeats Sigfrid when questioning Gripir.

A time which developed the myth of Wodan, the god of prophecy and wisdom, would naturally revel in a poetic style, filled with oracular and didactic elements. Hence the *Völuspá*, the greatest of the oracular poems, a prophecy concerning the beginning and the end of the world, placed in the mouth of a *Völva*, i. e., one of the mysterious women who made a business of fortune-telling. Hence, also the great mass of didactic poetry containing words of wisdom and advice. We have a number of poems in which Wodan himself utters such words of wisdom, and as soon as Sigfrid has awakened Sigdrífa, she begins at once to give him advice, similar to that which Wodan is so fond of giving gratuitously.

Summing up what I have said thus far, my theory concerning the history of the legend of Sigfrid in the old Norse version, after a careful and a repeated study of the sources, is as follows :

The original form of the legend of Sigfrid as we find it in *Beowulf*, and as it must have been known among the Anglo-Saxons during the sixth and seventh centuries, migrated during the time of the Vikings from England to Norway. Here it arrived at a time when the Wodan-myth was the chief subject of poetry, and when this myth was undergoing the process of formation which we may still observe in the poems of the *Eddas*. The *Sigfridsaga*, being originally the story of an extraordinary human hero, whose wonderful deeds were praised in the songs of many German nations, participated in the process of formation of the Wodan-myth. The attempt at a transformation of the original legend into a myth similar to the Wodan-myth, and under the influence of the latter, may still be observed in the Sigfrid-poems of the *Edda*.¹ Sigfrid possesses a horse sired by Wodan's famous Sleipnir, and like Wodan he carries a wonderful sword. As Wodan obtained his wisdom and prophetic gift from Mimir from other

¹I call attention here to the Bragimyth which seems to furnish another instance of the transformation by the skalds of a human hero into a divine being.

dwarfs and from his two ravens, so Sigfrid is instructed, advised and prophesied by his uncle Gripir, by Regin, the dwarf-shaped brother of Fafnir, whose name itself means Rathgeber ('adviser'), by Fafnir and by the magpies. Like Wodan he is finally initiated into the secrets of the runic-charms by Sigdrífa, the Valkyrie.

One of the most important laws of modern philology is the law of *Formübertragung* or analogy. A most decided case of such *Formübertragung* and assimilation we have, according to my opinion, in the case of the Sigfridsaga.¹ Accepting my point of view it will be the business of the critic to divest the Norse version of our legend of all its mythological embellishments and thus to establish as far as possible the original form of the saga.

I believe, moreover, that we are justified in performing this critical operation by a careful analysis of the *form* of the poems of the *Edda* that treat of the Sigfridsaga.

The great respect with which the poems of the *Edda* are treated as documents, especially valuable, of Germanic antiquity, is an inheritance of the eighteenth century. So great was the enthusiasm at their discovery that Klopstock introduced the Norse mythology into his poetry, and Herder, in a special essay, also advocated its substitution for Greek mythology. When, later on, the Romanticists looked upon the folk-song as the unconscious poetic revelation of the Germanic folk-soul, the *Edda*-poems rose still more in the estimation of scholars. Men like Lachmann and the Grimms accepted them as folk-songs, and there is no doubt that Lachmann's "Liedertheorie," as well as his mythological interpretations of the legend of Sigfrid, gained no little support from the supposition, that in the *Edda*-poems there were preserved some of the old "Lieder," in the form of which the legend of Sigfrid was believed to have originally existed.

¹The change, which the original legend of Sigfrid underwent in the Norse versions, may well be compared to the change through the influence of chivalrous poetry of which the *Nibelungenlied* is the classic example.

Even at the present time this traditional view concerning the character of the *Edda*-poems is held in some shape or other by most scholars, and it will easily be seen how this view must necessarily influence the entire interpretation of the Sigfridsaga. For, if we really have in the Sigfrid-poems of the *Edda* the songs in which the legend was carried to the North, it necessarily follows that the entire contents of the songs, including the mythical embellishments, were also imported. I believe that the view I have referred to is only partially correct, and that it contains a prejudice which must be overcome. I propose to show that the very poems which have for their subject the original form of the Sigfridsaga, as I have tried to reestablish it, are the product of artificial meditation, composed with a distinct and conscious purpose. Even the perusal of a translation of these poems will convince the unprejudiced reader that the so-called Heldenlieder of the *Edda* must be divided into two groups: the poems written in the form of dialogue, and those composed in the style of epic narrative. Of course this difference in the style of the poems has not escaped the commentators, but, strange to say, it has never been made the subject of a closer investigation. In fact, only the opinion of Müllenhoff on this point is worth mentioning here. Being the most orthodox believer in the mythological origin of the Sigfridsaga and, being in consequence strongly convinced of the great age of the *Edda*-poems, he claims for both styles of poetry the descent from Indogermanic antiquity. Thus he says in his essay, "Die alte Dichtung von den Nibelungen," *Zeitschrift f. d. A.*, xxiii, 151: "zwei Formen der epischen Überlieferungen, prosaische Erzählung mit bedeutsamen Reden-Wechsel—oder Einzelreden—der handelnden Personen in poetischer Fassung und erzählende epische Lieder in vollständig durchgeführter strophischer Form finden wir im Norden neben einander im Gebrauch und keineswegs ist die Prosa der gemischten Form bloss eine Auflösung oder ein späterer Ersatz der gebundenen Rede." And in a passage in *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, v, 238,

he remarks, in speaking of one of the Wodan-poems: "Der Gedanke dies Wissen in einem Zweigespräch und Wettstreit darzustellen ist gewiss grossartig, er ist auch besonders alterthümlich insofern er den didactischen Zweck der eristischen oder allgemeiner gesprochen, der katechetischen Poesie und damit ihren uralten Zusammenhang mit dem Gottesdienst und den religiösen Festfeiern noch aufs deutlichste zu erkennen gibt."

While it is true that we have in the *Rigveda* specimens of such didactic poetry in dialogue form, we have no evidence whatever for the existence in Indogermanic antiquity of epic poetry in this dialogue form. And it is entirely an arbitrary assumption on the part of Kögel when he claims the existence of such poetry in his recently published *Literaturgeschichte*. Besides, this assumption shows a gross misunderstanding of the nature of epic poetry.

The oldest attested form of the Germanic epic is the epic narrative in the ballad or song form, a classic example of which is furnished by the *Hildebrandslied*, which, though written down at about 800, is in form and contents much older, and certainly in regard to age dates back further than any one of the *Edda*-poems. Nothing can be more instructive than a comparison of the *Hildebrandslied* with those Sigfrid-poems of the *Edda* which are written in dialogue form. To be sure there is very little description in the former, the greater part of the poem is filled with the dialogue between Hildebrand and his son Hadubrand, but, after the true epic fashion, it is *action* which this song unrolls before us, and even the speeches of the dialogue contribute toward the *progress of the action*, bringing it to a final climax. Quite different from this is the construction of the *Edda*-poems. Here we find condensed in a short prose account what should have formed the very soul of the poem, i. e., the *action*, and the prose account is followed by a dialogue which, as I said before, contains good advice and prophecies, but very little of what we would expect in an epic poem. What

a splendid subject for a ballad in the style of the *Hildebrandslied* must Sigfrid's fight with the dragon have been! Still we can feel, from the short account in *Beowulf*, how the old bards must have delighted in its narration. And what has the old Norse version made of this greatest of Sigfrid's deeds?

It is quite evident, in my opinion, that the Sigfrid-poems, written in the dialogue form, are not ballads of the old Germanic type, but are the production of later artificial poetry. Their dialogue form is due to the intention of their author to convey to the hearers or readers his *interpretation* of the Sigfridsaga as a myth, embodying, besides, the abstract Christian idea of the curse connected with the possession of the gold. For this purpose the author selected the single chief facts and events of the old legend, and treated them in the described dialogue manner. In the *Gripisspó*, the first of these poems, a general synopsis of the contents of the Sigfridsaga, is given in the form of a prophecy; in the *Reginismól* we hear the story of the treasure before it came into the possession of the dragon; in the *Fáfnismól* the killing of the dragon is made the occasion for further prophecies, and in the *Sigrdrífumól*, after waking the Valkyrie from her sleep, Sigfrid is instructed in the wisdom of the runic charms. Then follows a great gap in the manuscript, but from the transcript in the *Völsungasaga* of the lost poems, we can conclude that at least one more of these dialogue-poems existed. The last of these poems is the *Hellreið* of Brunhild, the proper close of the whole series, which is evidently the work of one author.

In examining the whole group of these poems, I have come to the conclusion that we have before us an attempt—though a very primitive one—at a dramatization of the old legend of Sigfrid, a dramatization undertaken by the same author for purposes indicated and discussed by me in this paper. Whether we have in this primitive dramatic form—the dialogue interspersed with prose-narration—the influence of old Germanic plays as still shown in the dialogue between summer and

winter, or whether this form developed from the didactic dialogue between teacher and pupil, frequently used in old Norse documents, it is difficult to decide. With the year 1000 Christianity was introduced in Iceland, and it is quite probable that the beginnings of the Medieval drama, which date back to this time, may have exercised their influence upon the dramatic poems of the *Edda*. I shall attempt to trace this influence in a future paper.¹

JULIUS GOEBEL.

¹ A full and detailed account of the results of my researches, of which I could give only a rough sketch in the present paper, I hope, soon, to submit in a larger work on the history of the legend of Sigfrid.

APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD
AT THE WESTERN RESERVE
UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND,
OHIO, DECEMBER 29,
30, 31, 1896.



THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

In response to an invitation extended by the members of the Association resident at Adelbert College, the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA held its fourteenth annual meeting as the guest of the Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, 30, 31, 1896.

The first and fourth regular sessions and the extra session were held in the Public Library Building of Cleveland, the second and third regular sessions were held in Adelbert College.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 29.

The President of the Association, Professor Calvin Thomas, called the meeting to order at 2 o'clock p. m.

The Secretary, James W. Bright, submitted the following report :

The Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America begs to submit as the chief part of his annual report the complete published volume (the eleventh of the series) of the *Publications* of the Association, with Appendix I, containing the Proceedings of the last Annual Meeting of the Association, and Appendix II, containing the Proceedings of the first Annual Meeting of the Central Division of the Association.

In accordance with the established relation between the Association and its Central Division, this volume contains articles read at the meeting of the Central Division.

The Secretary wishes to add an expression of his gratification at the hearty coöperation of the Central Division in aiding the promotion and extension of the work of the Association during the past year.

The Secretary's report was adopted.

The Treasurer of the Association, Herbert E. Greene, presented the following report :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 26, 1895,		\$564 92
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:		
For the year 1892,	\$ 3 00	
" " " 1893,	6 00	
" " " 1894,	38 70	
" " " 1895,	193 50	
" " " 1896,	1,181 40	
" " " 1897,	20 43	
	<hr/>	\$1,443 03
Sale of <i>Publications</i> ,		64 04
For partial cost of publication of articles and for reprints of the same:		
Gustav Gruener,	10 00	
A. H. Tolman,	3 00	
Thomas R. Price,	4 25	
O. F. Emerson,	2 75	
E. H. Magill,	4 25	
C. C. Marden,	80 00	
Mary A. Scott,	90 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 194 25
Advertisements,	95 00	
Postage returned,	63	
From the Central Division,	15 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 110 63
Total receipts for the year,		<u>\$2,376 87</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XI, 1, and Reprints,	\$ 298 31
" " " " 2, " "	257 24
" " " " 3, " "	180 61
" " " " 4, " "	422 71
Wrappers,	12 00
	<hr/>
	\$1,170 87
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, postage, mailing <i>Publications</i> , etc.,	62 90
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, postage, etc.,	27 62
The Secretary,	200 00
Job printing,	9 25
Stenographer,	3 75

Shelves for store-room,	6 00	
The Central Division,	15 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 324 52
Total expenditures for the year,		\$1,495 39
Balance on hand December 26, 1896,		881 48
		<hr/>
		\$2,376 87
		<hr/>
Balance on hand December 26, 1896,	\$881 48	

The following Committees were appointed by the President :

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's accounts : Professors Charles Harris and George Hempl.
- (2) To nominate officers : Professors W. T. Hewitt, F. N. Scott, H. Schilling, E. A. Eggers, and Dr. B. D. Woodward.
- (3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting : Professors M. D. Learned, W. T. Hewitt, G. A. Hench, F. M. Warren, and H. E. Greene.

The Secretary, on behalf of the Committee appointed to consider questions touching the relation of the Association to the Central Division of the Association (vid. *Proceedings for 1895*, pp. vi and xx), reported as follows :

The Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Association to receive and act upon further communications from the Central Division of the Association, with reference to the establishment of relations between the Association and its Central Division, ask to submit the following report :

The first report of the Committee was adopted by the Association (vid. *Proceedings for 1895*, p. xx f.) and thereafter communicated to the Central Division, where it was received and acted upon as recorded in *Proceedings for 1895*, p. lxii, and as set forth in the following letter :

THE UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA,
 PROFESSOR G. L. KITTREDGE, 6th Feb., 1896.
Harvard University.

Dear Sir :

At the Chicago meeting of the Central Modern Language Conference, December-January, 1895-96, a Committee on Organization was appointed to consult with the corresponding Committee of the Modern Language Association of America on the question of union between the two societies. I have, therefore, the honor of informing you, as Chairman of that Committee, that the Conference has adopted a Constitution, framed by our

Committee with the assistance of Professor Tolman of Chicago University, as representative of your Committee, whereby our society has established itself as "Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America." I enclose copies of our Constitution for the use of the members of your Committee and of the officers of the Association. It will appear that our Constitution is in harmony with the report offered by your Committee upon the request of our Secretary. A few points which were specified by your Committee have not been embodied in our Constitution, but it was the sense of the assembly that your suggestions were generally acceptable. I believe that the formulation of any further details may now be left to future experience; if, however, your Committee desire to propose any questions upon which an agreement should be reached at present, I shall be glad to correspond with you on behalf of our Committee.

Hoping that the two branches of the Association may never cease to work together harmoniously for the good of the common cause, I am

Respectfully yours,

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN,

Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

The Secretary of the Association and Professor A. H. Tolman, as members of the Committee representing the Association, have recently conferred with the Secretary of the Central Division and with Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, Chairman of the Committee representing the Central Division. This conference resulted in the framing of the following rules for the practical coöperation of the Association and the Central Division:

1. All bills for membership dues shall be sent from the Treasurer of the Association, and shall be payable to him.

2. All official publications, including programmes and other announcements, whether printed by the Association or by the Central Division, shall be sent to all the members of the Association.

3. The Editorial Committee shall consist of three members, one to represent the Association, one to represent the Central Division, and, *ex officio*, the Secretary of the Association. This Committee shall determine all questions touching the publication of papers and articles by the Association. The present practice is commended in accordance with which the three members of this Committee represent respectively the Germanic, the Romanic and the English Departments.

The Committee recommends the approval of the action of the Central Division as here reported, and the adoption of the three rules of the Committee in conference.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, *Chairman.*

JAMES MORGAN HART,

JAMES W. BRIGHT,

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

On motion of Professor George Hempl this report and its recommendations were adopted.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "*Learn'd, learnèd* and their kin." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

This paper was discussed by Professors O. F. Emerson, F. N. Scott, Frank H. Chase, and James W. Bright.

2. "Goethe's Sonnets." By Professor Henry Wood, of the Johns Hopkins University. [Read by Dr. T. S. Baker.]

This paper was discussed by Professors R. Hochdörfer, Calvin Thomas, and W. T. Hewitt.

3. "Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama." By Dr. Edward Meyer, of the Western Reserve University.

Remarks upon the paper were offered by Professor M. D. Learned.

4. "Recent work of the Rumanian Academy." By Dr. B. D. Woodward, of Columbia University.

During a recent visit to Rumania I had many excellent opportunities to become acquainted with the institutions of that country, and took great interest in particular in the work of the Rumanian Academy. This body, as now constituted, is made up of thirty-six members, evenly divided into three sections—literary, historical, and scientific. Four charter members, two literary and two historical, still appear on the roll of the Rumanian Academy (since April 22d, 1866); thirty members are dead. The Academy elects also thirty-six honorary members, forty-five corresponding Rumanian members—fifteen to each section—and foreign corresponding members. First in the list of honorary members stands King Charles of Rumania, who bears the title of protector of the Academy, and is also its honorary President. His name is followed by that of his Queen, Elizabeth (Carmen Sylva); then come those of the Crown Princes of Rumania and Italy.

It was my good fortune to become acquainted with several members of the Academy, and to hear from them directly of the work in which they, individually as scholars and collectively as members of the same learned body, are interested. The Annals of the Academy, including the latest volume of transactions (1895-96), were before me while preparing this paper, and have enabled me thus to report to you on the recent work

of the Rumanian Academy. There is one academician, at least, whose name is not unfamiliar to the members of the Modern Language Association, inasmuch as at a recent meeting he was elected to honorary membership in it. I am charged to bring you his most cordial greetings and to express his sincere gratification at the honor conferred on him. The last great work on record of our honorary member, the eminent philologist, Mr. B. P. Hasdeu, is the *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*, a dictionary of the Rumanian language in its historical and popular aspects. The proposition to compile such a dictionary came from King Charles, and was made to the Academy in 1884. The offer of a liberal endowment from the same source was immediately met by another on the part of the Academy. Mr. Hasdeu was appointed to carry out the work, and he at once set himself to outline a comprehensive plan. In gathering together his material, he proposed to seek the older forms of the language, 1st, in Rumanian texts, printed or in MS.; 2d, in Slavonic or other foreign documents containing Rumanian words or phrases; 3d, in Rumanian acts in print or in MS.; 4th, in old Rumanian dictionaries or MS. glosses. For popular forms and expressions, he was to consult the works of the best modern writers; Rumanian dictionaries and vocabularies chosen from the early part of this century, with a view to avoiding neologisms; also, popular poems, fables, proverbs, and the like, whether published or not. Here is to be found one of the most important features of his work. He planned to collect archaisms and provincialisms, also current technical terms in natural history and industrial life. This he did by draughting a series of some two hundred and six questions which he put to school-teachers, priests, and persons of learning throughout the country. These questions served at once the ends of dialectology and of folklore. The material thus collected is to be deposited eventually in the archives of the Academy. Mr. Hasdeu's constructive plan of the dictionary called first for the more usual form of a word; then for its dialectal forms, both old and new; then for its several acceptations, with quotations in support of each; and finally, for historical and etymological remarks. Mr. Hasdeu was everywhere on familiar ground, for like most modern men of letters in Rumania he is imbued with the love of history. This spirit is manifest everywhere, both in gathering together documents bearing on special periods of history, and in collecting coins to throw light on the sequence of princes and rulers, as well as in conducting archeological excavations with a view to reconstructing the history of the life of the Romans on Dacian soil. Mr. Hasdeu estimated that the entire dictionary could be completed within six years. The work, however, has grown on his hands in unexpected measure, and unfortunately also, a domestic affliction has made it impossible for the editor to finish the task within the set limit of time. The first volume appeared in 1886, the second in 1887, the third in 1893, the fourth is not yet completed. There is no sign of any further publication, and the dictionary has not yet reached the letter *C*. Judging

from this outlook, the *Etymologicum Magnum Romanicæ* will remain for a while at a standstill. Others will doubtless some day take up the work where Mr. Hasdeu has left off, but probably to the disadvantage of the unity of construction, for it will be no easy matter to find associated the remarkable sense of philological, literary, and historical proportion that characterizes Mr. Hasdeu.

A substitute, meanwhile, is to be found in a compendious work of the early seventies by Laurianu and Massimu, compiled at the instigation of the Academy and published by it. [Dictionarul Limbei Române, dupo insarcinerea data de Societatea Academica Româna, elaboratu ca proiectu de A. T. Laurianu și J. C. Massimu, Bucarest, 1873-76; also a Glossariu care coprinde vorbele d'in limb'a româna straine, &c., of the same authors, Bucarest, 1876.] Foreign students of the language are excellently equipped for their work, either with Damé's *Nouveau dictionnaire roumain-français*, just published; or with Tiktin's *Rumänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, in course of publication in Bucarest at the expense of the state.

In the matter of a grammar, the Academy is inactive, and must be for some time to come. The work of Capari is that of a purist: it is academical, yet old-fashioned. Tiktin's grammar is trustworthy, and Manliu's book is of high order for elementary school work. The difficulty, however, lies chiefly in the language itself: in its written form, it is in an unsettled condition, reflecting the political dissensions of the government. Rumania is called by Rumanians the "Belgium of the East," or the "Japan of Europe," and in the general striving toward higher forms of civilization and of progress, the life and language alike are in a state of unrest. Their main common medium of expression is journalism, progressive and far-reaching, but seriously wanting in standards of orthography and grammatical unity. The wave of phonetic spelling has extended even to Rumania, and while war is waged between the etymologists on the one hand, and the advocates of consistency between speech and writing on the other, arbitrary spelling is to the vexation of the neophyte everywhere prevalent.

Next to Mr. Hasdeu in philological importance, though not reckoned among Rumanian academicians, stands Lazar Shaineanu, whose name is well-known to Romance scholars. His latest work, however, is mainly literary, being a comparative study of Rumanian fable-lore and older legends of classical literature. [Basmele române în comparațiune cu legendele antice clasice și în legătură cu basmele popoarelor învecinate și ale tuturor popoarelor romanice. Studiū comparativ, de Lazăr Șăinenu. Bucarest, 1895, 8o.] The Academy awarded the author a prize and ordered the printing of the book. Printed separately from the Annals of the Academy, yet published under its auspices, have appeared also some of the more extensive works of Marianu, member of the Academy, historical section, and an authority on the ethnography of his country. [Nascerea la Români. Studiū etnografic de S. Fl. Marian, Bucarest, 1892, 8o.—Nunta la Români. Studiū istorico-etnografic comparativ de S. Fl.

Marian, Bucarest, 1890, 8o.—Inmormântarea la Români. Studiù etnografic, de S. Fl. Marian, Bucarest, 1892, 8o.]. Again in this series must be noted such historical contributions to Rumanian studies as the works of Nicolae Bălcescu, [Istoria Românilor sub Michaiu-Vodă Vitézul, Bucarest, 1887, 8o.], Principele Demetriu Cantemir, [Descrierea Moldovei, Bucarest, 1875, 8o.; and Evenimentele Cantacuzinilor și Brâncovenilor din Țera Munte-nescă, Bucarest, 1878, 8o.], and Dr. A. M. Marienescu [Cultul păgân și creștin Bucarest, 1884, 8o.]; while among works of a purely literary character, mention should be made, not only of the above work of Shaineanu, but also of those of Dr. Jean Urbain Jarnik [Doine și strigături din Ardel, Bucarest, 1885, 8o.; and Glossaire des chansons populaires roumaines de Transylvanie, Bucarest, 1885, 8o.], and of Dr. M. G. Obedenaru [Texte macedo-române, basme și poezii populare dela Crușova, Bucarest, 1891, 8o.]. It will be noticed in all these statements that the nature of this paper limits me to the recent work of the Rumanian Academy. I must refrain, therefore, from naming men of letters, whose productions are of a more purely literary order,—I mean belonging to creative literature. It is, however, eminently proper to turn to very recent volumes of the Academy's transactions, and to note rimed satires of Dr. C. Ollănescu, of the literary section [Satira I contra actualei direcțiuni a poeziei române, *Anal. Acad.*, XVI *Desb.*; Satira IV, *Anal. Acad.*, XVII *Desb.*; Satira V (Carmen Amoebeum), *Anal. Acad.*, XVII *Desb.*; and Ospetul lui Nasidienus, Satira VIII (cartea II), *Anal. Acad.*, XVII *Desb.*]; also to observe this poet's ode of welcome to Ferdinand, Crown Prince of Rumania, and to Marie, daughter of the house of Edinburgh-Coburg [Altețelor Lor Regale Principelui Ferdinand și Prințesei Maria a României, *Anal. Acad.*, XV *Desb.*]; also his ode on the birth of their son Carol of Rumania [Odă cu prilegiul născerei Principelui Carol al României, *Anal. Acad.*, XVI *Desb.*]. Let us furthermore note that on two occasions since her election to honorary membership in the Academy in 1881, the queen of Rumania, Carmen Sylva, has graced the official Annals with short stories [Puiu, legendă, *Anal. Acad.*, IV, 2; and Sola, *Anal. Acad.*, XIII *Desb.*].

To revert again to the older theme, the deep-seated love for the country's lore is marked by the recent publication of a volume of Rumanian legends edited by V. A. Urechia, of the historical section,—published however without any attempt on the author's part to seek the Academy's seal of approval. [Legende române: reminiscențe de V. A. Urechia, Bucarest, 3d ed., 1896]. It may be added, in passing, that interest in the literature of the country is always keen: stories, legends, songs, heroic poems, and the like have been taken down verbatim from the lips of those men of marvelous memory, the *laoutars* or lute-players, who have transmitted by word of mouth, from father to son for generations, their literary inheritance, often consisting of as much as thirty-five thousand lines. From the written Rumanian form, these poetic compositions have found their way in later days into foreign tongues: witness Carmen Sylva's edition of the *Bard of the Dimbovitza*, and Jules Brun's work on the *Romancero roumain*.

Again I am reminded to exclude such Rumanian bibliography as is irrelevant to the Academy's work. But while I am on the subject of Rumanian interests abroad, it becomes most fitting to mention the labors of a German university that are carried on with the strong moral support of the Rumanian Academy [cf. *Anal. Acad.*, xvii *Desb.*, Ședința din 14 Octobree, 1894]. As early as November 27th, 1892, the minutes of the Academy show that the Rumanian ministry of public instruction subsidized Dr. Weigand's publications on the Rumanians in Turkey, or rather of that part of Turkey formerly known as Macedonia. Dr. Gustav Weigand conducts a Rumanian seminary at the University of Leipsic, and is more particularly engaged with the Macedo-Rumanian, so-called to distinguish it from the Daco-Rumanian. There are very nearly as many Rumanian-speaking people outside of Rumania as in the country itself. This means that there are six millions of Rumanian speaking people in Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia (Turkey), and Northern Greece. [At its session of October 14th, 1894, the Academy acknowledged the receipt from Dr. Weigand of the *Erster Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache (Rumänisches Seminar) zu Leipzig*, 1894, 8vo.; also the second volume of *Die Aromunen, Ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren*, Leipzig, 1894, 1 vol., 8o. The following year, July 7th, the first volume of this work (Leipsic, 1895) was received; and later, November 3rd, 1895, the *Zweiter Jahresbericht* (see above), Leipsic, 1895.] In connection with bibliography it is appropriate to mention the name of Georges Bengesco, Rumanian corresponding member of the Academy, literary section, formerly Rumanian minister to Belgium, now filling that post at Athens, who is known to all Romance scholars as the author of an invaluable bibliography of Voltaire, and as at present engaged on a *Bibliographie franco-roumaine du XIX^e siècle*. The first volume, published at Brussels in 1895, was laid before the Academy at its sitting of June 16th, of that year.

But history remains the truest field, on the whole, for the serious activity of Rumanian academicians. I have already mentioned the name of Vasili A. Urechiș, but without alluding to his eminence as an investigator, a scholar and an educator. For certain periods in the history of the Rumanians his authority is unquestioned, and his massive works testify to his learning and thoroughness. [*Memoriu asupra periodei din istoria Românilor de la 1774-1786, Anal. Acad.*, xii *Ist.*, Bucarest, 1893; and *Trei ani din Istoria Românilor, 1797-1800*, one volume in-4o., Bucarest, 1895.] Articles by him have appeared in the *Annals of the Academy* since their initial volume, while one of his latest long papers deals with the *Codex Bandinus* [*Anal. Acad.*, xvi *Ist.*].

To Mr. Dimitrie A. Sturdza I am chiefly indebted for the substance of this paper, and I gladly acknowledge the generosity with which he placed much valuable material at my disposal. Mr. Sturdza, formerly minister of public instruction, now prime minister of Rumania, and secretary general

of the Academy, is most eminent as an historian and politician, and distinguished as a numismatist. A work in which he has been interested for years is now progressing with unusual rapidity, thanks to a liberal endowment administered by the Rumanian Academy. [*Acte și documente relative la Istoria Renasceriî României, de Dimitrie A. Sturdza, Vol. I-VII, Bucarest, 1888-96, 80.*] It is a voluminous collection of acts and documents, relating to the history of Rumania, composed in various languages and uniformly translated into French. It begins with the treaties made by the Rumanian princes and *voyvods* with their Turkish masters in 1391, 1460, 1511, and 1634; and later, with Russia, from 1674 on; and follows the documentary history of the country from that time forward. Under Mr. Sturdza's direction foreign archives everywhere are diligently searched for further material, although the facilities, especially in Turkish territory, are not always particularly good. Since 1876 a similar series of documents has been publishing under the auspices of the Academy and the minister of public instruction. [*Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, culese de Eudoxiü de Hurmuzaki, Bucarest, 1876-96, 23 vols., 80.*] This series takes up the posthumous work of the late academician Hurmuzaki, and is edited by various scholars, among others by Mr. Sturdza himself. Twenty-three large volumes have already appeared, and others are reported in preparation. As a numismatist, Mr. Sturdza has won especial recognition. His valuable collection of Rumanian coins, one of the most perfect of its kind, is in the keeping of the Museum authorities, where it receives constant care and numerous additions at the hands of its generous patron, who is appointed by the Academy a committee of one in charge of numismatics. As secretary general of the Academy, Mr. Sturdza is present at nearly every debate, where by his wide learning, he plays a leading part in directing the discussions.

This study would not be complete if I failed to say a word about the scientific section. Dr. V. Babeș, the great bacteriologist, is frequently heard at the sessions of the Academy; also Dr. C. I. Istrati, corresponding Rumanian member of this section, an ardent admirer of Lavoisier, a frequent contributor to the *Bulletin de la Société Chimique de Paris*, an authority on the natural salt and petroleum oil resources of his country. His latest work, on the Nomenclature of Organic Chemistry, presented to the Academy, March 12, 1896, lies before me as I write. I cannot undertake to give to this section the attention it deserves, nor am I able to enter into the details of its work, or to consider the relative merits of its members. Let me therefore turn to a matter of greater intrinsic interest to the members of this Association.

Perhaps most welcome on the whole may prove to be a few words on the recent work in the field of archæology under the direction of the eminent academician, Prof. Grigorie Tocilescu, of the literary section. Traces of Roman occupancy are repeatedly found in Rumania, from the famous bridge built by Emperor Trajan over the Danube, to the site of Ovid's

exile at Tomi close to the modern Costanza on the Black Sea. And now we have before us the reports on most important archæological discoveries of a Roman city buried since the fifth century of our era in the Dobrudscha or lower Danube region, south of that river but on Rumanian soil. [See the informal announcement made by Professor Tocilescu to the Academy at its sitting of June 16, 1895, *Anal. Acad. XVIII Desb.*] After carrying on extensive excavations during several years, the most striking results of Professor Tocilescu's labors, according to a report of the proceedings at the recent congress of the Royal Archæological Institute at Canterbury, England, included the identification of the ancient topography of Lower Moesia; the discovery of three great lines of fortifications running across the province; the collection of over six hundred ancient inscriptions; and the excavation of a considerable part of a buried city, Tropaeum Trajani, now Adamklissi, situated about ten miles to the south of Raşova. It was one of the most important places in that region, attained municipal rank, and became the chief garrison of the frontier. A few years ago all that was visible of it was a heap of ruins, including a great tumulus of masonry; its name even was unknown. By some it was regarded as a Persian monument of the age of Darius; others supposed it to be the tomb of a Roman general or of a Gothic chief. These conjectures have now given place to certainty, since Professor Tocilescu has unravelled the history of the site and laid bare some of its most remarkable buildings. His plan indicates a city of some twenty-six odd acres in area, surrounded by walls adapted to the variations of the surface, and with thirty-six towers or bastions, of which twelve have been already uncovered. Three gates are visible, two larger ones east and west, and a postern on the south. The principal street is paved with slabs of stone and has central channels, one for the water supply, the other for drainage. Right and left of the main street were ranged great buildings—here a basilica (in the classical sense), there a Byzantine basilica with a crypt under the altar and containing a fine mosaic. There are proofs that the city had been rebuilt, as stones bearing inscriptions had been used as building material. Further evidence of this has also been found in the inscription of a trophy which dates from the year 316, and furnishes information as to the history of the region. The city was founded by Trajan, received municipal rights towards the close of the third century, and was probably destroyed by the Goths. The Emperor Constantine and his associate Licinianus fought the barbarians and 'built the city of the Tropaeans from its foundations.' [Ad confirmandam limitis tutelam etiam Tropaeensium civitas a fundamentis feliciter auspicate constructa est.] The *tropaeum*, of limestone, 8 feet 9 inches in height, was the memorial of the victory, and its design served as the arms of the city. It will require several years of continuous excavation to lay open the entire city. Thanks to the labors of Professor Tocilescu, the great tumulus has ceased to be an enigma; its epoch and motive have been revealed, and the

splendid monument of which it encloses the remains has been described and figured in a monograph by the discoverer. [Monumentul de la Adamklissi, Tropaeum Traiani—de Grigorie Tocilescu, Vienna, 1895—presented before the Rumanian Academy at the public session held November 3rd, 1895, *Anal. Acad.*, XVIII *Desb.*] It may be briefly described as a gigantic trophy erected by the Emperor Trajan, after his victory over the Dacians in the years 108–109. It was dedicated to Mars Ultor, and its architect was Apollodorus of Damascus.

On the sixth of October, 1895, Prof. Tocilescu reported to the Academy another most important find,—a mausoleum erected by Trajan to commemorate the soldiers who fell near the spot in a battle in which the Emperor himself took part. The monument is quadrangular on a platform of five or six steps, and bore plaques covered with inscriptions recording the names of the Roman citizens, the legionaries, and even the *peregrini* who fell in the battle. These inscriptions are full of interest, and contain details of the *domus* or of the *domicilium* of the Roman soldiers, and of the countries to which the *peregrini* belonged. Prof. Tocilescu suggests that the great trophy was erected by Trajan at Adamklissi, although the war was mostly fought north of the Danube, on account of the Emperor's own presence at the opening battle near that spot, and within the three lines of defense. This battle is indicated on the Trajan column. The mausoleum appears to have been in the form of a *πυρός* such as is seen on the coins of Antoninus Pius and Julia Domna.

These excavations are now going forward without interruption, and are of the utmost interest to Rumanians, as bringing to light long-buried memorials of the birth of their nation.

Professor F. N. Scott commented upon this paper.

5. "On the morality *Pride of Life*." By Professor Alois Brandl, of the University of Berlin, Germany. [Read by title.]

[The American Dialect Society held its Annual Meeting at 5 o'clock.]

EXTRA SESSION.

The Association convened in an extra session, December 29, at 8 p. m., to hear the annual address of the President of the Association.

Dr. C. F. Thwing, President of the Western Reserve University presided, and in a brief address saluted the Association

with a hearty welcome, and commented upon the significance of its work. He then introduced Professor Calvin Thomas, President of the Association, who delivered an address entitled "Literature and Personality."

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 30.

The second regular session was begun at 9.30 o'clock, a. m.

6. "Diseases of English prose: a study in rhetorical pathology." By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

This paper was discussed by Professors H. E. Greene, James W. Bright, E. L. Walter, George Hempl, O. F. Emerson, and Calvin Thomas.

7. "Gaston Paris: Romance philologist and member of the French Academy." By Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University. [Read by Dr. B. D. Woodward.]

A discussion of the paper was offered by Professor E. W. Manning.

8. "The *Cronica de los rimos antiguos*." By Dr. C. C. Marden, of the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor F. M. Warren discussed this paper.

9. "The primitive-Teutonic Order of Words." By Dr. George H. McKnight, of Cornell University.

This paper was discussed by Professors M. D. Learned, George A. Hench, George Hempl, and James W. Bright.

10. "A Study of the metrical structure of the Middle English poem *Pearl*." By Mr. Clark S. Northup, of Cornell University. [Read by title.]

[The Modern Language Association of Ohio held a brief session for the transaction of business at 2.30 o'clock, p. m.]

THIRD SESSION.

The President called to order the third regular session of the meeting at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

The committee on place of meeting reported invitations extended by the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Toronto, and the University of Virginia. It recommended the acceptance of the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania. This report was adopted.

11. "Etiquette Books for Women in the Middle Ages." By Dr. Mary N. Colvin, of the College for Women, Cleveland, Ohio.

Comments upon the paper were offered by Professors F. M. Warren and C. C. Marden.

12. "The geographical boundaries of the *ka-* and *che-* districts in the north of France." By Dr. F. Bonnotte, of the Johns Hopkins University.

13. "Spenser's debt to Ariosto." By Mr. R. E. Neil Dodge, of Brown University.

This paper was discussed by Dr. Edward Meyer and Professor H. E. Greene.

14. "Report of the work of the Modern Language Association of Ohio." By Professor Ernst A. Eggers (*Secretary*), of the Ohio State University.

Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Wade received the ladies and gentlemen of the Association at their home, 1043 Euclid Avenue, on Wednesday evening, December 30, at 8 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH SESSION, DECEMBER 31.

The fourth regular session of the meeting was convened at 9.30 o'clock a. m., December 31.

15. "The novels of Hermann Sudermann: *Der Katzensteg*, and the light it throws on the general theme of his works." By Professor Lawrence A. McLouth, of the New York University.

This paper is a brief study of Sudermann's novel, *Der Katzensteg* (Cotta, Stuttgart, 1886), with reference (1) to the development of the characters, and (2) to the author's views of some social and ethical questions, more or less prominent in most of his works. The numbers refer to the pages of the twenty-sixth edition (Cotta, Stuttgart, 1896). Sudermann and Boleslav are sometimes referred to by the initial letter.

I. *The plot of Der Katzensteg.*—Boleslav von Schranden, son of a hot-headed Polish sympathizer in Prussia, loses his mother early and grows up with little or no training, till the village parson undertakes his education. He conceives a boyish affection for Helene, the parson's daughter; this develops into a youthful love in Königsberg, where they are at school.

Meantime his father, a cruel and dissipated man, forces his young mistress, Regine, to betray the Prussians into the hands of the French. The indignant villagers burn his castle, among the ruins of which the baron and his still faithful mistress live in a state of half siege. The baron's disgrace causes his son to be ostracised at Königsberg; and with Helene's promises to be faithful, he goes to East Prussia, gives up his real name, and becomes a farm laborer. Later he enters the service of Prussia against the French and becomes a very popular officer under the name of Baumgart. He is severely wounded and left for dead upon the field. He recovers.

On his way home after the war he is entertained by his war comrades, in conversation with whom he hears of his father's death and of the villagers' refusal to give him proper burial. A cry of anger betrays B.'s identity. He hastens home. Among the ruins of the castle of Schranden he finds Regine, the ragged, forlorn, hopeless mistress of his father, digging in the castle park a grave for her seducer. He spurns her, summons by her aid some army comrades, and with their help succeeds in burying his father properly in spite of the villagers. Alienated by the traitorous act of his father, his friends then leave him to himself.

He must live amid the ruins till spring, or give up his estate. He and Regine must live together. During the autumn and winter her self-sacrifice, dog-like fidelity and natural beauty gradually change B.'s disgust to passionate love; his dignity, manliness and goodness awaken her pride and finally kindle her love. His former sweetheart, Helene, residing in the village with her father, the parson, a bitter enemy of B.'s on account of the old baron's deed, seems indifferent to B., does not answer his letters. Boleslav has idealized her and thinks that the worship of this ideal is

love. It checks him in his love for Regine, which he opposes as unworthy and base. During the winter an attempt made by his arch-enemies, the Merckels, to involve him in difficulty on account of his assumed name, fails and results in his being made captain of the militia at Schranden by the king. This further embitters the villagers. He sees that, if he remains with Regine, temptation will prove too great. He leaves and spends some months preparing to return with an army of laborers, to rebuild the castle and to reclaim his paternal acres. As he nears Schranden, war with France breaks out anew, he hastens to his post at the head of the militia of Schranden. The soldiers hate him; Lieutenant Merckel mutinies, is struck down with the captain's sword, is imprisoned in the church.

Going home, B. finds Regine fast succumbing to the maddening influences of solitude, disappointment and hopelessness. In his presence she rouses and brightens. He cannot bear to tell her that he must leave for the war on the morrow. The poor thing must have an evening of respite. But the old passion returns. To strengthen his resolves, he turns to the few letters that have come during his absence. One is from Helene, making an appointment to meet him that very night. In spite of Regine's entreaties he goes to meet Helene. He finds her a prudish, selfish woman, who is trying to use his love for her to secure the release from imprisonment of her new lover, the insubordinate Lieutenant Merckel. Then B. realizes that he loves not Helene but Regine.

When he returns to the castle, he finds that Regine has been shot and killed. This had happened while she was trying to escape that she might warn B. of an ambush against his life. He carries her body up to the castle park. When he descends to the village to announce her murder to the authorities, he hears the ravings of her inebriate father in *delirium tremens*. The old wretch betrays himself as guilty of arson of the castle and of murder of his daughter, whom he had purposely sent to her ruin at the hands of the old baron. Boleslav returns, determined to bury Regine without the hateful offices of the parson or the villagers. As he prepares to bury her, he realizes for the first time clearly what the poor creature really was. He buries her in the grave that she had begun for his father. The same morning he marches away at the head of his troops, and falls on the field of battle.

II. *Development of Boleslav's character.*—He is determined and brave; for he defies the whole village, insists upon the proper burial of his father, plans to wrest his inheritance from the hands of his tenants, and is a valiant soldier (pp. 52, 53, 72, 79, 85-86, 101, 116-117, et al.). He has a fiery temper (pp. 78-79, 81-82, 134, 259-260). He has a kind and sympathetic heart (pp. 123-129, 132-133, 168-169). He feels ashamed of his father's treacherous deed (pp. 43, 48, 49, 63, 124-125, 266, 268), but is willing to assume such blame as is put upon him. He is patriotic, and this feeling is strengthened by his desire to make up for his father's sin (pp. 42, 46, 47, 49, 223-224).

III. *His feelings for Helene.*—He early begins to idealize her and his boyish love for her. Her face and character he gradually blends with those of a saint, whose picture hangs in the *Königsberger* Cathedral (pp. 35–36, 37, 45, 141, 148, 170, 263). His ideas of his feelings for Helene and for Regine are not correct (pp. 285, 322, 330). He loves Regine, while thinking he loves Helene. His last interview with her shows him her heart and his own (pp. 321–331).

IV. *His love for Regine.*—Boleslav's feelings for Regine begin with disgust, almost hatred (pp. 60, 63, 67, 73). He avoids her (pp. 108, 131). Then his necessity (pp. 73, 130, 131) and her faithfulness (pp. 102, 117–118, et al.) make him grateful. He begins to take interest in her (p. 165), but cannot make up his mind to talk with her (p. 166). He misses her (pp. 169–170). Seeing her often, he begins to notice her beauty. It impresses him slowly at first, and he tries to hide his admiration (pp. 171–172, 173, 181, 184, 190). It is difficult to decide at what point his love first shows itself: perhaps (pp. 171–172), or (pp. 183–184), or (pp. 197–198), or (p. 199), or (pp. 200–201), or elsewhere. But clear indications of love are found (p. 261); it has the heart-beat of a thoroughly human love.

V. *Development of Regine's character.*—Her appearance as a child, her early life, her introduction and career at the castle we see pictured (pp. 54, 67, 180, 181, 192, 193, 194). Here lie the causes of her fall. She is brave (pp. 60, 70, 117, et al.), but sometimes slavish (pp. 60–61, 108), self-sacrificing (pp. 117, 186–187, et al.), faithful as a dog (pp. 63, 69, 108, 129, 133, 136, 204–205, et al.), superstitious (pp. 183–184), imaginative (pp. 206–207), unused to kindness (pp. 148, 173–174, 204), frank (pp. 65–66, 69, 178, 192–193, 255), sometimes stubborn (pp. 257, 259); she feels shame at the past (pp. 67, 175, 193, 258), and has a natural desire to please (pp. 166, 167, 172, 178, 201–203).

VI. *Regine's love for Boleslav.*—At first she looks at him with suspicion, possibly anger (p. 60). Soon her fidelity and devotion are marked (see above). These arise not from love but from a habit of abject obedience and from the thought that B. is her only friend. Gradually Regine and B. are brought together, at first only to be repelled, he by the disgust at the depths to which she has gone, she by shame and dislike of showing him her feelings (pp. 135–138, 145–148, 172–175, et al.). Then his kindness shows its effects on her, in awakening her womanly modesty and pride (pp. 60, 71, 166–167, et al.), her love of admiration (pp. 171–172), and in causing outbursts of feeling, which he sometimes repels and of which she is usually ashamed (pp. 137–138, 148, 173–175, et al.). He arouses her womanliness: she is ashamed of her past life as far as her low ideals allow her (pp. 67, 175, 193, 255, 258). Absence in Regine of jealousy of Helene would place the point of her falling in love with B. later than (pp. 186–188). But see (p. 186, lines 18 and 19). Peculiar embarrassment points suspiciously to an earlier feeling, but other emotions can easily be given as causes (pp. 148, 173–174, 184–185, etc.). But rather strong indications of love are found (pp. 195–197), also (pp. 204–205, 207–208). Or in the last case was it the wine? The dramatic scene

(pp. 243-250) shows her condition of heart. She has risked her life for B. (p. 253). Her accepting him instead of her father would be natural without the factor of love; but her greater anxiety for B. than for herself shows deep affection. But from the scene (pp. 260-261) there is no doubt about her love. Her letter (pp. 283-284), the conversation at B.'s return (pp. 300-302), her emotions (pp. 306-307), her appearance and actions (pp. 308, 311), and finally the circumstances of her death (pp. 333-334) are clear indications that she gave Boleslav the best love her heart had.

VII.—*Boleslav's final consideration of Regine's character.*—Regine had not repented, was even content with what had happened (p. 346). And yet she admits her wickedness, though she seems rather indifferent to its consequences (p. 208), and often shows a feeling of guilt and shame (pp. 137-138, 174-175, et al.). Boleslav had wondered whether it was the obtuseness of the beast or the wickedness of the demon that made her will so strong and her conscience so weak. [But neither of these qualities is strongly marked in the novel.] Now he knows that she was simply a complete and great human being (p. 347). The *Herdenwitz* (p. 347) has botched Nature's handiwork; human beings no longer remain one with the *Naturleben* (p. 347) in the bad and the good. What men call 'bad' and 'good' floats indistinct on the surface between what man is and what he thinks he is: the natural lies in latent energy in the depths below. Those blest by Nature may seek light without being confused by the fogs of wisdom and error. Regine was one of these (p. 347). What Nature demands of men becomes to them filth and sin; what human institutions ask seems shallow and absurd. Human feelings are not consistent (p. 348); the good and the bad, the right and the wrong, honor and disgrace are mingled in confusion; God himself is powerless. Dust need not fear dust (p. 349). What was sin, if that which was called virtue, so pitifully went to naught? Where was the bad, when the good became mockery (p. 330)?

III. *Conclusion.*—These words are either simply Boleslav's, or are Sudermann's put into B.'s mouth. The fact that most of S.'s works represent some phase of the conflict between the natural and the conventional, in human love, the fact that the closing sentence in *Die Geschichte der Stillen Mühle* (*Geschwister*, Berlin, 1887; 14th edition, Cotta, Stuttgart, 1895, p. 130), "*Sie sühnt das grosse Verbrechen, das sich Jugend nennt,*" almost certainly expresses the author, and the fact that he manages in almost every case to awaken the sympathy of the reader for those suffering under the pressure of the conventional—these facts seem to indicate that Sudermann stands on the nature side of the controversy.

Sudermann himself says he is no writer of *Tendenzromane*, and a careful reading shows this to be true. But neither is he the idea-less, opinionless amateur photographer of human nature, 'snapping' his camera without method or plan, nor yet the dauber of pictured signs to advertise some social nostrum: he is rather the artist in whose pictures of human nature we can see somewhat of his own opinions.

Remarks upon this subject were offered by President Calvin Thomas.

16. "*b* after *r* and *l* in Gothic." By Professor George A. Hench, of the University of Michigan.

This paper was discussed by Professor James W. Bright.

17. "The so-called eye-rimes in *o* in Modern English." By Dr. Charles Davidson, of the University of the State of New York.

Comments upon this paper were offered by Professors George Hempl and James W. Bright.

Professor Charles H. Thurber, of Morgan Park Academy, as a member of the Committee appointed by the National Educational Association to investigate and report upon the subject of college entrance requirements, opened a discussion of

18. "College entrance requirements in French and German:"

a. Uniform units of measurement. Are they possible? If so, should they be based on time or quantity?

b. Elements that should compose a proper entrance examination paper. (1) Sight translation. (2) Grammatical questions. (3) Translation from English into the foreign language. The adoption of these three elements to the exclusion of others would obviate specification of authors and permit free substitution.

c. Advantages of fixed requirements for a definite period of time, say five years.

d. The preparation of a model scheme of entrance requirements for French and German.

This discussion was continued by Professors Hermann Woldmann, George A. Hench, L. A. McLouth, F. M. Warren, James W. Bright, Charles Harris and Hugo Schilling.

Professor George A. Hench closed the discussion by offering the following resolutions, which were adopted :

Resolved, That a Committee of Twelve be appointed (*a*) to consider the position of the Modern Languages in Secondary Education ; (*b*) to examine into and make recommendations upon methods of instruction, the training of teachers, and such other questions connected with the teaching of the Modern Languages in the Secondary Schools and the Colleges as in the judgment of the Committee may require consideration.

Resolved, That this Committee shall consist of the present President of the Association, Professor Calvin Thomas, as Chairman, and eleven members of the Association to be named by him.

Resolved, That the Association hereby refers to this Committee the request of a Committee of the National Educational Association for coöperation in the consideration of the subject of college entrance examinations in French and German.

Resolved, That this Committee be authorized to draw upon the Treasurer of the Association for an amount not exceeding one hundred dollars, for the necessary expenditures of the Committee.

The following Committee was accordingly appointed :

CALVIN THOMAS, *Chairman*, Professor of Germanic Languages, Columbia University.

E. H. BABBITT, *Secretary*, Instructor of Germanic Languages, Columbia University.

B. L. BOWEN, Professor of Romanic Languages, Ohio State University.

H. C. G. BRANDT, Professor of German, Hamilton College.

W. H. CARRUTH, Professor of German, University of Kansas.

S. W. CUTTING, Associate Professor of German, University of Chicago.

A. M. ELLIOTT, Professor of Romanic Languages, Johns Hopkins University.

C. H. GRANDGENT, Professor of Romanic Languages, Harvard University.

G. A. HENCH, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Michigan.

HUGO A. RENNERT, Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Pennsylvania.

WM. B. SNOW, Teacher of French, English High School, Boston, Mass.

B. W. WELLS, Professor of Modern Languages, University of the South.

The auditing committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer were found to be correct.

The Secretary read the following message received from the Secretary of the Central Division :

The Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America sends greeting to friends and colleagues in Cleveland.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.,
December 31, 1897.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG.

The report of the Committee on nomination of officers was received, and the following officers were elected for the year 1897:

President : Albert S. Cook, Yale University.
Secretary : James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.
Treasurer : Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
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President: F. N. Scott, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Secretary: O. F. Emerson, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.

Editorial Committee.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Professor Herbert E. Greene offered the following resolution, which was heartily seconded by the Secretary, and adopted by a unanimous vote of the Association:

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, assembled in Cleveland for its fourteenth annual convention, tenders its hearty thanks to the President and the Officers of the Western Reserve University, and to the Local Committee, for the cordial entertainment and for the efficient coöperation which have contributed so much to the success of this Convention; and

Resolved, That the Association hereby expresses to Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Wade its sincere thanks for their gracious hospitality in welcoming to their home the members of the Association.

The Association adjourned at 12.30 o'clock p. m.

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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, a Secretary, a 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 be 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.



APPENDIX II.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT ST. LOUIS, Mo.,
DECEMBER 29, 30,
31, 1896.



THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSO- CIATION OF AMERICA.

The second annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., December 29, 30 and 31, 1896.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 29.

On Tuesday, December 29, the first session was called to order by the President of the Division, Professor W. H. Carruth. Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University, introduced the Hon. Cyrus P. Walbridge, Mayor of St. Louis, who gave an address of welcome.

The next speaker was Chancellor W. S. Chaplin, of Washington University, who welcomed the members on behalf of the University. In his speech Chancellor Chaplin dwelt at length on the position of the Modern Languages in the College curriculum and their importance in education.

Then followed the address by the President of the Division, of which the following is an abstract :

In the remarks which it was my privilege to make at the first annual meeting of this organization, attention was called to some statistics of our territory which concern teachers of modern languages. These figures throw

a sombre light upon the question which I am to discuss: *Original Research for Modern Language Teachers in Small Colleges.*—

Turning to the individual languages and their study, what I have to say is based primarily on conditions of work in German, but most of it will probably apply to English, French and other foreign languages. The most special training is required for research in the field of historical phonology. At the same time, I think this field has already been more exhaustively cultivated. The average scholar, remote from large libraries, can only sigh as he looks at a criticism of Verner's Law, or a Reconstruction of X-words, and exclaim with the Psalmist: "It is high; I cannot attain unto it!"

But the same is not true of the study of the vocabulary, the inflections, and especially the syntax of individual authors. Any person who is not quite out of place in a language chair is qualified to carry on investigations in these lines. Syntax especially seems to me to have been neglected in favor of phonology by the great German philologists. But in any one of these three lines—vocabulary, inflections and syntax—there is enough of unexplored territory, while the pioneer's tools are comparatively simple. Take, for instance, so prominent a writer as Lessing. Is there such a thing as a Lessing dictionary? I think not. But English students have made Shakespeare lexicons, and are making a Milton lexicon; why should there not be a Lessing lexicon? Now, while the doubtful points in such an undertaking must be settled by high authorities, the preliminary work can be done by very humble hands, with a little guidance. Again, is there such a thing as a Lessing grammar? Is there anywhere a complete survey of his inflections or his syntax? I have not heard of it. But certainly these are as worthy subjects for investigation as the minute researches in phonology which occupy so much space in philological journals. To properly judge the source, and trace the history of an inflection or a construction, requires, to be sure, very extensive knowledge and experience, but to systematically record the usage of an author requires only patience and accuracy and good sense. I would compare such work to that of the collectors for natural history museums. While these need not be high scientific authorities, they are useful servants of science, and may in the course of time and as the result of such work, come to be genuine scientists. For my own part I would rather know, for instance, whether Lessing makes any distinction between *welcher* and *der* as relative pronouns, than know whether his final dental stop after an accented vowel was *weiches t* or *hartes d*. A host of studies could be made on Lessing alone. The length of his sentences in earlier and later works; the involution of subordinate clauses; his figures of speech; his use of participial constructions as substitutes for clauses, and so on. These can be made on single works or on several works compared, or, in the course of time, the author's whole work surveyed. If this be yet the case with Lessing, how much more so with his humbler contemporaries and the writers who preceded him?—

Several of the studies I have suggested could be undertaken by a committee which might distribute portions of the work among instructors in half a dozen or a dozen schools, the results to be collated by the committee, or by some one especially competent for the work. You may smile, perchance, at my vision of coöperative philology, but will you also think about it? If my dozen coöperators were together in the seminar at a great university, would they not be working in just this way? Why should we not continue for ourselves, so far as possible, the pleasures and benefits of *seminar* work?

I have thus far assumed that it is the ambition of every scholar to be an investigator. If it is not so, it certainly should be. And I say this not simply from the standpoint of unselfish devotion to science, but because the intellectual life of most scholars, yea, of every scholar, needs at least a little of this discipline. There is a confidence and satisfaction which comes from the attainment of original results, however humble, that lifts the soul and gives tone to the whole work of the teacher. The love of all sciences springs from the love and cultivation of even a small corner of one.

The study and teaching of the modern languages is only beginning to come to its own. Whether we wish it and welcome it or not, the time is coming when modern languages will be accepted in full satisfaction of the language requirement for entrance to college. For my own part I do not wish to speed that day. It will come soon enough. My only concern is lest it come and find the academies and high schools of the country unable to match in modern languages the solid standards of Latin and Greek. The Modern Language Association can do no better work than to encourage scientific language study in the academies and small colleges of the land.

After some explanatory remarks by the Secretary concerning the programme, the society adjourned to the Museum of Fine Arts, where a reception was tendered to the members of the Association and invited guests by the Board of Directors and the Faculties of Washington University.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 30.

The Second Session met at 9.15 a. m. in the Lecture Hall of the University; President W. H. Carruth occupied the Chair.

Professor John Phelps Fruit, the Treasurer of the Division, presented the following report:

Report of the Treasurer of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America :

RECEIPTS.

1896.	Jan.	From the former Treasurer, . . .	\$30 15	
		Dues from Prof. Gerber, . . .	3 00	
	Mar.	From the Secretary, . . .	44 68	
	Nov.	" " " . . .	15 00	
	Dec. 28.	" " " . . .	3 00	
	" "	" " " . . .	15 00	
	" "	From the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	15 00	
			<hr/>	\$125 83

EXPENDITURES.

	June.	To the Treasurer of the M. L. A., . . .	\$75 00	
		Stamps and envelopes, . . .	2 83	
	Dec. 29.	To the Secretary for expenses, . . .	20 10	
			<hr/>	\$ 97 93
		Balance on hand, . . .	27 90	
			<hr/>	\$125 83
			<hr/>	<hr/>

The amount of unpaid dues for 1896 is \$83.00. With the exception of one membership-fee during the year, and several at this meeting, no money has come to the Treasurer but through the Secretary's hands. This is a clear indication that the work of the Treasurer's office has been done by the Secretary, and that a different disposition of the Treasurer's office should be made.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN PHELPS FRUIT,
Treasurer.

The following Committees were then appointed by the President :

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors Glen L. Swiggett and J. M. Dixon.
- (2) To nominate officers: Professors G. E. Karsten, F. A. Blackburn, C. W. Pearson, W. E. Simonds, Raymond Weeks.
- (3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors A. G. Canfield, J. P. Fruit, L. Fossler, Ch. Benton, E. Jack.

In his report the Secretary gave an account of his activity as a member of the Executive Committee and of the Editorial Committee. After having presented the statistics of membership and a resumé of the official correspondence the Secretary continued :

The Secretary begs leave to add a few remarks about the future policy of the Central Division, not in the spirit of unduly influencing the views of the members, but with a thought of removing any obstacle in the way of a correct appreciation of the situation.

The plan adopted by the Central Division was the one suggested in the propositions of the special Committee of the Modern Language Association (cf. *Proceedings for 1895*, p. xx). Professor G. E. Karsten, as Chairman of the Central Division Committee, has been in correspondence with this Committee. The report, which will be presented at this session, embodies the opinion of the Eastern Committee that a different or closer formulation of the plans of organization be left to future experience. After one year's trial it may be a fit question for discussion here whether the original statutes need any modification or whether the whole plan of coöperation should be remodeled. The second alternative will surely be discountenanced by those that have carefully followed the development of the Central Division.

To secure the desired harmony in matters that are largely at the discretion of individual views and interpretation, the Secretary of the Modern Language Association recently had an interview with the Secretary of the Central Division, in which the relations of the two Associations were discussed and opinions exchanged as to the best course of proceeding in the future. The Secretary was also present during a meeting of Professors J. W. Bright and A. H. Tolman, members of the Eastern Committee of Four. The propositions formulated by this Committee will be presented to this body by Professor A. H. Tolman.

The Secretary takes occasion to give information about one point in the statutes of the Division that, to judge from correspondence and personal expressions, seems to be somewhat obscure; this is the question of membership in the Central Division. Our Constitution provides the following: "All persons elected members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association shall be *ipso facto* members of the Modern Language Association of America." As the converse holds true also, the Central Division has no clearly defined individual membership. Although there may be objections to this condition, the officers think that any change in the present arrangement, according to which any member of the Association may attend either meeting as a member of that body, must necessarily lead to complications that will render the administration of either Division almost an impossibility.

Professor G. E. Karsten, as Chairman of the Committee on Organization, reported that the Secretary's statement contained the result of the negotiations with the Eastern Committee of Four.

Professor A. H. Tolman presented the following recommendations formulated by the Committee of Four:

1. All bills for membership dues shall be sent from the Treasurer of the Association, and shall be payable to him.

2. All official publications, including programmes and other announcements, whether printed by the general Association or by the Central Division, shall be sent to all the members of the Association.

3. The Editorial Committee shall consist of three members,—one to represent the Association, one to represent the Central Division, and, *ex officio*, the Secretary of the Association. This Committee shall determine all questions touching the publication of papers and articles by the Association. The present practice is commended, in accordance with which the three members of this Committee represent the Germanic, Romanic, and English departments.

4. It is recommended that the Secretary of the Central Division shall also hold the office of Treasurer.

On motion of Professor Ch. B. Wilson, the above recommendations were accepted.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "New interpretation of passages in Chaucer's *Prologue*." By Professor Ewald Fluegel, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In the absence of the author this paper was read by Professor F. A. Blackburn. It will appear in full in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. I.

Remarks were made by Professors A. H. Tolman, C. A. Smith, and F. A. Blackburn.

The Secretary made the following announcement :

"The Directors of the University Club (Grand Ave.) extend a cordial invitation to the members of the Modern Language Association to make the Club their home during their sojourn in St. Louis. Cards signed by the Secretary admit."

2. "On the original form of the Sigfrid saga." By Professor Julius Goebel, of Leland Stanford Jr. University. [Read by Professor W. E. Simonds.]

The paper was discussed by Professors F. A. Blackburn, W. H. Carruth, L. Fossler and H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

3. "Goethe's influence a possible factor in Schopenhauer's pessimism." By Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University.

While Goethe's relations with eminent contemporaries seem to be pretty well explored, the influence exerted by him upon Schopenhauer still offers a field for investigation. The two men held each other in extraordinarily high regard, and in some important respects their world-views were strikingly consonant.

Schopenhauer first met Goethe in his mother's house. In the winter of 1813-14 a lively intercourse took place between the two. Schopenhauer was made acquainted with Goethe's experiments and speculations on the subject of his *Farbenlehre*. Later many letters were exchanged. G. predicted that S. would "eines Tages und allen über den Kopf wachsen." Notices relating to S. are found in *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, sub 1816 and 1819. In May, 1814, G. inscribed a significant couplet in S.'s album. He watched the young doctor's career with keen interest. About *Die Welt als Wille und*

Vorstellung he wrote at length to S.'s sister. G., on the other hand, is probably the only contemporary for whom S. had a feeling of unmixed reverence. He liked to couple his own name with G.'s. He frequently quotes G. and appeals to him in course of his argumentation.

The key to the inquiry, whether G. was a potent factor in the construction of S.'s doctrine, is found in a letter which bears upon a difficult passage in *Faust*: "Ich bin ein Teil der Kraft, Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft." This significant self-definition of Mephisto cannot be taken as a meaningless phrase, as Schröer would have us do. Nor will Calvin Thomas's bold interpretation bear the test of close analysis. Schreyer's explanation accords best with the spirit of the poem and the prologue in Heaven: Mephisto's nihilism is a pessimistic world-view taking on a practical form in his endeavor to undo whatever on earth is good. But Mephisto—who, in the end, *stets das Gute schafft*—is an agent, directed by the hand of Providence for the good of man. It is interesting that in Schopenhauer's opinion these lines may possibly be fraught with a meaning diametrically opposed to this optimistic contemplation of life.

In 1860 a well-known actor asks for S.'s opinion on the character of Mephisto. To him Mephisto is the embodiment of egoism, which, biased in all stages of objectivation by the *principium objectivationis*, mocks and mortifies itself, but hastens the ultimate triumph of the intellect by exposing the *principium objectivationis*. In replying to this inquiry, S. leaves it undecided, whether the words "und musz der Teufel schaffen" be imputable to a certain Hellenism of G.'s mind, or whether, indeed, the devil as the author of suffering was conceived by the poet as superinducing will-negation, and thus, indirectly, salvation.

This reply is worthy of notice, because S., who guarded so jealously the priority of his philosophy, in Germany at least, suggests the possibility of G.'s having dealt with the problem of will-negation in an allegory.

[This is followed in the paper by a discussion of the many resemblances between Goethe's and Schopenhauer's world-views, and of their concurring conception of the oneness of science.]

S.'s acquaintance with Indian philosophy dates from his sojourn at Weimar in the winter of 1813-14. World-contempt and Nirvana had no place in his philosophy previous to that time. G.'s friend Majer introduced S. to Hindoo literature. From now on S.'s own mode of meditation assumes a resemblance to Brahmanistic and Buddhistic forms.

Goethe, too, was absorbed in Oriental studies in 1813, in which he had shown a lively interest since 1808. Now he was busy with Persian and Arabian poetry. The *West-Östl.-Divan* was not influenced by Hindu lore (v. Loeper). Still, Loeper admits that he purposely refrained, in his commentary, "von den oft nahe liegenden hinweisungen auf indische poesie." And in one instance he draws a parallel with the *Mahabharata*.

Before Schopenhauer came to Weimar, he was in the dark as to the form and aim of his intellectual growth. One year later, all the tenets of his

philosophical system were established. In 1814 he began to write down the thoughts of which his principal work was the consummation. This amazing culmination of his faculties was not accomplished so suddenly without the powerful stimulus of the contact with Goethe.

As Schopenhauer's philosophy would not have been possible without Fichte, so too it would not have been possible without Goethe. Dissent from others incited in his intellect a productive counteraction. He was one of those rare men in whom, as in Lessing, critical genius rises to a creative function.

That Goethe and Schopenhauer were very intimate at a time when the receptivity of S.'s mind was unusually great is certain. It is equally certain that they freely exchanged their ideas on the grave problems in which they were engrossed. G.'s *Farbenlehre* called forth S.'s *Über das Leben und die Farben* (1815), the manuscript of which G. carried with him on his Rhine journey. It is safe to assume that many of the "familiar talks" referred to by G. in S.'s album turned on the two matters which occupied the foreground of S.'s interest at the time: Eastern religions, and the momentous events in contemporary history.

It is significant that in 1814, shortly after the battle of Leipsic, S. writes concerning Napoleon in words which seem to presage Rainer's inquiry with regard to the character of Mephistopheles (1860). Of the Usurper he says: ". . . He is no more culpable than others who are possessed of the same will, but lack his power. Because he was endowed with extraordinary power, he has revealed fully the malignity of the human will. And the conversely implied sufferings of his generation reveal the misery which is inseparably linked with the evil will whose consummate manifestation is the world. But it is the world's design to make known the nameless misery with which the will of life is bound up and is, in reality, one. Accordingly, Bonaparte's personality conduces largely to this end. It is not intended that the world be an insipid Utopia, but rather that it be a tragedy wherein the will of life might see itself reflected, and turn to self-annulment. Bonaparte is a powerful mirror of the will of life."

This was not the expression of Goethe's opinion concerning Napoleon, but S.'s formulation of his own view. Goethe's influence, however, seems to be perceptible here. It may have been of a direct, or of an indirect nature. Probably it was indirect in that Goethe—like his Mephisto—*reizte und wirkte*—and provoked the young philosopher, his junior by thirty-nine years, into a systematic contradiction.

In conclusion I would say that I am far from believing that *Faust* was ever meant to be the poetical apology of a pessimistic world-view, as Rainer thought and Schopenhauer deemed possible.

Remarks were made by Professors J. M. Dixon, G. L. Swiggett, E. P. Morton, G. E. Karsten, W. H. Carruth, Ch. B. Wilson, C. A. Smith, C. W. Pearson, and the author.

THIRD SESSION.

The President called the meeting to order at 2 40 p. m.

4. "Shakspeare in the Seventeenth Century." By Mr. E. P. Morton, of Indiana University.

The paper was discussed by Professor A. H. Tolman. (Published in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. I, No. 1.)

5. "Experimental Phonetics." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri.

By means of instruments now in use, the student of Experimental Phonetics can study and record the movements of the following organs of speech: the glottis; the soft-palate; the lower jaw; the lips; the base of the tongue taken externally under the chin; the tongue as its action is indicated by the conduct of its upper surface with the hard-palate.¹ The movements of the tongue, properly speaking, cannot as yet be recorded, the nearest approach being the method described by Professor Grandgent in the *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, sup. to vol. V, 2.² This method, although extremely slow and requiring the utmost patience and discretion, is none the less capable of great accuracy for single sounds. It may be doubted whether there has yet appeared in Experimental Phonetics any work more accurate than the above-mentioned researches of Professor Grandgent.

It is also possible to record by means of instruments the action of the diaphragm, which determines the action of the lungs; the variations and vibrations in the air which comes from the nose; the variations and vibrations in the column of air which comes from the mouth; the varying pressure and vibrations of the air taken within the mouth.³

¹ Most of the instruments used for these purposes may be found described in an article in the *Revue des Patois Gallo-Romans*, 1891, republished later under the title: *Les Modifications Phonétiques du Langage*, par l'Abbé Rousselot, Paris, 1891. Cf. also: *Bulletin de l'Institut Catholique*, Nov. 1894, Paris, Ch. Poussiégué, and the last catalogue of Ch. Verdin, Rue Linné, 7, Paris, (1896).

² See also, by the same author, *German and English Sounds*, Ginn & Co., 1892, especially pp. 22 +.

³ Some of the instruments here referred to will be found in the references already given. For others see: Ph. Wagner, *Phonetische Studien*, IV, and VI; Koschwitz, *Herrig's Arch.*, LXXXVIII; Vietor, *Die Neueren Sprachen*.

The person who has done most in the invention of instruments useful as mentioned above, is Dr. Rosapelly, of Paris. The best laboratory at this time is that of the Abbé Rousselot, at the Institut Catholique, at Paris.¹

One of the most serviceable and accurate instruments mentioned is that for recording the varying pressure of the air in the mouth. This instrument, called the spiograph,² consists of a small metal tube connected with a rubber tube to a recording tambour, and so bent as to pass around the side of the mouth and terminate inside the chamber of air which is put under pressure and exploded in forming k or g. The metal tube is held lightly in the corner of the mouth, like a tooth-pick. The principle of the instrument will be clear from the following comparison. If a tube connected with a tambour be held between the lips and a p or b exploded, the end of the tube being within air-chamber put under pressure to form the p or b there will be produced by the index of the tambour a motion corresponding to the degree of pressure within the air-chamber. If, however, instead of a labial, a dental be pronounced, the index will not respond, because the end of the tube is not back of the point where the tongue touches the hard-palate to form the closure necessary to a dental. If now the end of the tube be thrust far enough back to terminate behind the point of closure, the index will instantly answer to the pressure. Furthermore, if with the tube in this position a labial be produced, the index will answer just as when the tube was held further forward between the lips. If, however, a k or g be pronounced with the end of the tube as just described, i. e., slightly back of the point of closure for a dental, the index will not answer, since the tube does not extend far enough back to tap the air-chamber whose explosion constitutes k or g. Is it possible so to bend a small metal tube that, without falsifying the action of any organ, it shall terminate back of the point of closure where k and g are exploded? If so, we shall have an instrument which will record k and g, and, with no change of position, all the explodents in an ordinary language, since the points of closure of these other explodents are further forward in the mouth. Such an instrument is the spiograph. This instrument not only records the above-mentioned explodents, be they gutturals, dentals, or labials, but any consonant (such as s, f, f) which demands a damming-up, so to speak, of the air in the mouth, thus causing an increase in the pressure, will be

¹ It is reported that the French Chamber has passed an appropriation for establishing a fine laboratory at the *Collège de France*, the Abbé Rousselot to be put in charge. This measure is due to the efforts of Gaston Paris and Michel Bréal. Dr. Rosapelly's address is, 10 Rue de Buci, Paris.

² A short description of this instrument may be found in the *Proc. Phil. Soc. of America*, 1895; and also, together with certain experiments and their result, in the *Année Psychologique, Première Année*, Paris, 1895, Félix Alcan, p. 74.

recorded. The consonants producing the smallest result are those approaching nearest the nature of vowels, such as l, r, n, m.¹

It will thus be seen that the spiograph offers a means of recording the CONSONANTS in natural speech.² When it is added that the instrument records perfectly for the normal rate of speech, one sees to what a variety of uses it may be put. Furthermore, one may record synchronously the vibrations of the glottis, taken for instance with the trembleur of Rosapelly. These vibrations, recorded on a line immediately above or, better, below that written by the spiograph, permit us to carry to an unprecedented degree of exactness the analysis of human speech. The spiograph records the consonants, the trembleur the vowels. One has only to drop a perpendicular from any point of either line to the other, to determine the relative action at that given instant of the glottis and the organ or organs producing the consonant.

By the employment of a hollow wire in the apparatus for the recording of the movement of the soft-palate,³ one may go one step further, obtaining at the same instant the information offered by this instrument and the spiograph also.

Professors G. E. Karsten, A. H. Tolman, and W. H. Carruth made remarks upon this paper.

6. "Christian coloring in the *Beowulf*." By Professor F. A. Blackburn, of the University of Chicago.

Remarks were made by Professors C. A. Smith, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler, G. L. Swiggett, B. F. Hofmann, A. H. Tolman, F. Lange, and the author.

FOURTH SESSION, DECEMBER 31.

The President called the Fourth Session to order at 9.25 a. m. Several names were recommended for membership in the Association.

¹ In addition to this, the vowel i is recordable.

² The record obtained is divided into segments which stand out clearly to the eye. These segments are the breath-groups, since each inhalation causes a movement of the index in the opposite direction from that of the consonants, which are expirations.

³ See *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, vol. II, 1893. Cf. H. Allen, *On a new method of recording the motions of the soft-palate*, *Transactions of the College of Physicians*, Philadelphia, 3 s., vol. III. This method is simply that of Czermak, and is commented on by Techmer: *Intern. Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwiss.*, I, 501; II, 287.

The Committee on Time and Place of next meeting reported as follows :

“We recommend that the time and place of next meeting be left to be determined later, after conference with other associations of scholars representing the same territory and meeting at about the same time.”

After some remarks of the Secretary on the difficulties of such an arrangement the report was accepted.

7. “Modern Languages in College entrance requirements.”
By Dr. A. F. Nightingale, Superintendent of High Schools, Chicago.

If, as seems certain in accordance with the demands of the secondary schools which are and forever must be in close touch with the people, and in accordance with Divine law that no two minds need the same diet for their best development, many colleges are to give the Modern Languages the same recognition as the Ancient, others to allow German or French as a substitute for Greek, and a few still to demand a third foreign language, in addition to Latin and Greek, it is necessary for us to fix some uniform units of measurement, consistent with these plans. Shall these units be based upon time or quantity? It will be easier to say time; it will be more logical to say quantity; it will be nearer just to combine these elements. If, for instance, a pupil is to offer German or French in addition to four years of Latin and three years of Greek, the time element will depend on the time at the pupil's disposal. It will make a great difference whether he pursues the modern language the first two, the middle two, or the last two years of his course. A majority of secondary pupils seem to take on years of added intelligence between June of the second year and September of the third year.

Since it is impossible to dictate at just what time in the course these two years of extra modern language work may come, let us suit the quantity to what pupils of average ability may accomplish in the second and third years of a High School course, and call it elementary French or German. If these pupils should pursue the study the last two years, they would find the task somewhat easy of accomplishment, and if the first two years, quite difficult. Generally speaking, the pupil will take the Modern Language the last two years, if his intentions for college are fixed when he enters the High School, but alas! how few there are of such, and how many have denied themselves a college education because, forsooth, they have neglected Latin and Greek, and could find no great college ready to welcome them and accord them equal privileges.

Again many pupils will wish to offer French or German in place of Greek. We must then arrange courses in these languages each of which shall be an equivalent in time occupied and quantity accomplished to those of the Greek. I would call this the intermediate course.

Lastly there will always be some who will wish to offer German and French in place of Latin and Greek, and therefore a course in each of the Modern Languages should be arranged which may be compassed in the four years of the High School and which I would call the advanced course.

To recapitulate we would have :

1st. Elementary courses in French and German, one of which may be offered in addition to Latin and Greek.

2nd. Intermediate courses in the same, either of which may be offered in the place of Greek.

3rd. Advanced course in both, one of which may be offered in place of Latin, together with the intermediate course of the other in the place of Greek.

Having reached this decision, the important question arises for consideration, how much shall be included in each of these courses, and here lies the greatest danger. While the colleges must be consulted for a frank and full expression on this matter, the courses must be arranged by those who are in sympathy with and have a complete knowledge of our secondary schools; the obstacles in the way of home study; the demands of other subjects; the ability of pupils of immature age; the size of classes; the length of recitations; indeed all the factors that enter into the general management of schools whose primary object is to give the pupils the best preparation for life.

We must avoid the fatal error which each sub-committee of the Committee of Ten made, which was such that in the general round up it was found that the school-day must be seven and a half hours long, and all preparation of recitations attended to out of school.

Uniformity in details while attractive in theory, and beautiful in sentiment, is a consummation not to be so devoutly wished as to justify any large expenditure of time or sacrifice of opinion. Some one has said "Read not the Times; read the Eternities." If, therefore, there are some French and German books, which bear the same relation to their literatures, that the *Iliad* does to Greek, or Cicero to Latin—let them be prescribed by all the Colleges, but in the main, let each school select its own readings, giving due heed to the number of pages which will be prescribed for each course. In order, however, that there may be some general conformity to fixed ideals, I would recommend that an extended list of German and French readings, covering four or five times as many as would naturally be read in any course, be prepared by experts, with the understanding that the pupils of all schools selecting from this list and reading the required number of pages, shall be admitted to an examination as candidates who have covered the elementary, intermediate or advanced course.

The question of examination for admission, so long as the certificates of secondary schools are not considered worthy of recognition, an incident in a pupil's progress much to be deplored, is one that needs our careful consideration.

Some plan should be devised that shall release the schools from the bondage of the pouring-in, dry-drill, time-wasting system of a preparation for an examination, and leave them free to teach the French and German languages. Harmony, union, confidence will never be established until the colleges "with broken chains under their feet and an olive branch in their right hand" shall say to the secondary schools, "We know the quantity and quality of your work, and when you will certify that your pupils are ready to cross the narrow threshold which separates you from us in our scholastic work, your certificates shall be honored and your pupils admitted without the embarrassment and nervous strains of an examination at the hands of strangers."

A few colleges not having thrust their hands into the sides and felt the prints of the nails, still refuse this recognition,—and we must provide accordingly.

May there not be a substantial agreement upon a plan that shall consist, first, of a passage for "sight reading."

We believe such a passage may be selected that shall be consistent in its thought and vocabulary with the reading power of the pupil developed in each course. Secondly, grammatical questions, based upon passages which shall test the candidate's fundamental knowledge of the etymology and syntax of the language; and, thirdly, the most vital and most logical of all tests, a passage to render from English into the French or German. This passage must, of course, contain the words with whose equivalents in the foreign tongues the student will be familiar. The key to unusual words should be given. Such a plan as the foregoing will obviate the necessity of uniformity of readings, and will duly emphasize quality as the central thought in all language teaching.

In conclusion, permit me to recommend that a committee of five be appointed by this Central Section of the National Modern Language Association, to confer with a like Committee of the Eastern Section, now in session, for the purpose of arranging a model scheme of Entrance requirements in German and French, in accordance with the plan I have outlined or a better one, and to report the same in tentative form by the first of May to the National Committee on College Entrance Requirements, to be incorporated in their second report to the National Educational Association at Milwaukee in July. I further recommend that this Committee consist of six representatives of secondary schools, three French and three German teachers, and four representatives of the colleges, two French and two German professors; that this section select three German and two French instructors, and suggest to the Eastern Section to select three French and two German.

The discussion on this paper was led by Professors L. Fossler and Ch. W. Benton. As the time was very limited the Chairman admitted only Dr. Nightingale to a final remark. Dr. Nightingale expressed his regrets that no definite results seemed to be reached. Somebody would have to do the work sooner or later—the Association ought to take it up. The college ought to come into closer relations with the secondary schools; that would regulate their courses according to the demands of the colleges.

On a motion of Professor Ch. B. Wilson it was decided to meet in the afternoon at 3 o'clock instead of 4 o'clock, in order to discuss the question brought up by Dr. Nightingale.

8. "A view of the views about *Hamlet*." By Professor A. H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago.

No time was left for discussion.

9. "The *Finnsburg Fragment*." By Professor G. L. Swiggett, of Purdue University.

Lack of time prevented discussion of this paper.

In the afternoon the members enjoyed a carriage drive to the different points of interest, the Missouri Botanical Gardens, Forest Park, etc.

FIFTH SESSION.

The fifth session was convened at 3 o'clock. Professor C. A. Smith, First Vice-President of the Central Division, presided.

The discussion of Dr. Nightingale's paper was continued. On motion of Professor G. E. Karsten it was decided to provide for the Committee as recommended by Dr. Nightingale. The selection of members to serve on this Committee was left with the President.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year reported as follows :

- For President, W. H. Carruth.
- For First Vice-President, C. A. Smith.
- For Second Vice-President, Ch. W. Benton.
- For Third Vice-President, G. A. Hench.
- For Secretary and Treasurer, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.
- For the Executive Council, G. E. Karsten, L. Fossler, Otto Heller, Ch. B. Wilson.

The report was received, and the candidates named were elected officers for the year 1897.

The Auditing Committee reported as follows :

As Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts we respectfully beg leave to report that we find the same correct.

J. M. Dixon,
Glen L. Swiggett.

Professor Ch. B. Wilson offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a rising vote :

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, in convention assembled, does hereby publicly express its hearty thanks to the University Club, the St. Louis Club, the Mercantile Club, the Local Committee, the Citizens of St. Louis, the Board of Directors and the Faculties of Washington University, for the very generous and hospitable entertainment, and the many favors shown the members of this Association.

10. "A proposed reconstruction of the English verb-paradigm on a logical basis." By Professor J. M. Dixon, of Washington University.

The paper was discussed by Professor F. A. Blackburn and the author.

11. "The Mind and Art of Poe's poetry." By Professor J. P. Fruit, of Bethel College.

During the reading of this paper the President was called to the chair. No time was left for the discussion of this and the following paper.

12. "Notes on Slang." By Dr. J. W. Pearce, of New Orleans.

The Association then adjourned at 5.50 o'clock p. m.

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