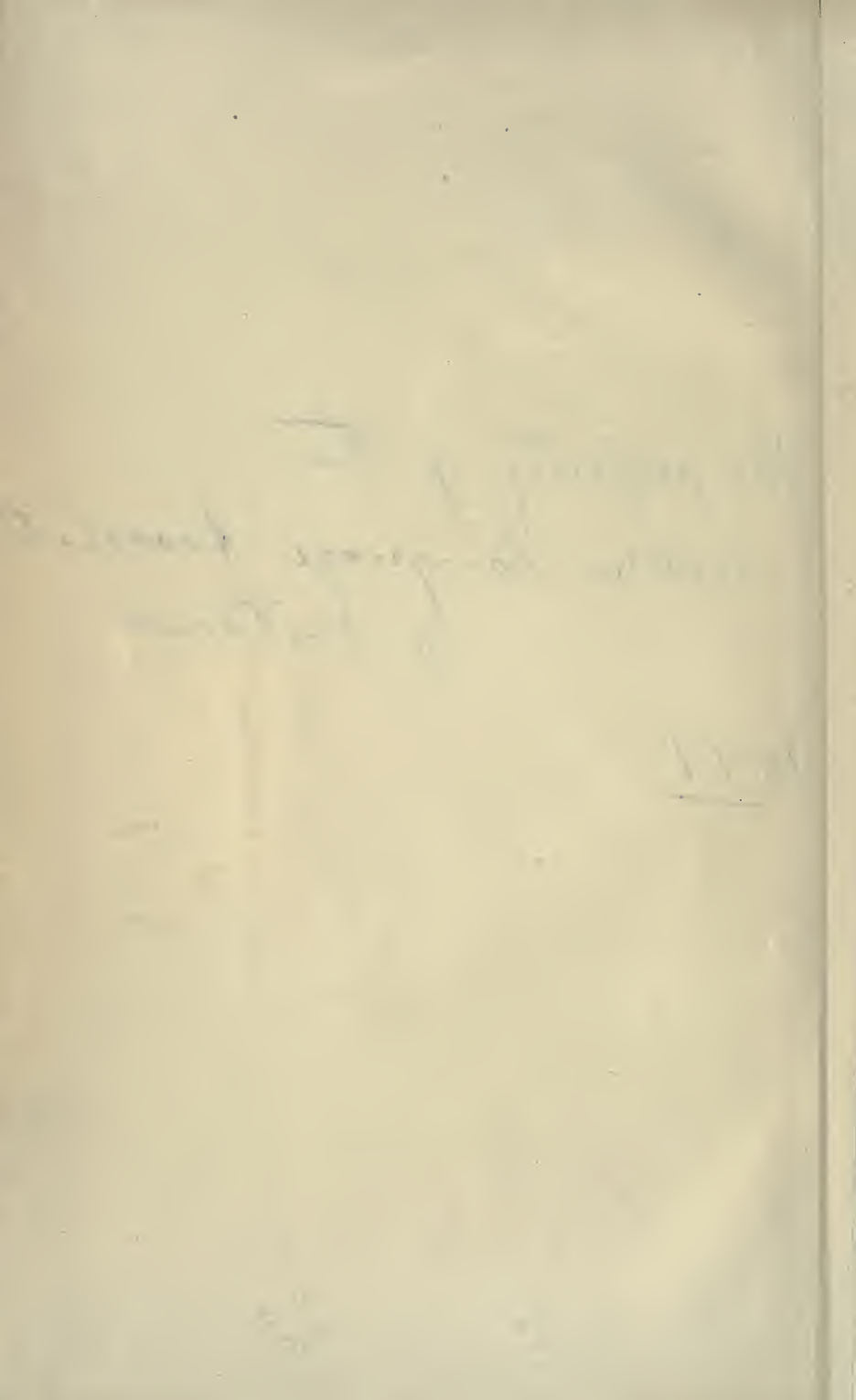


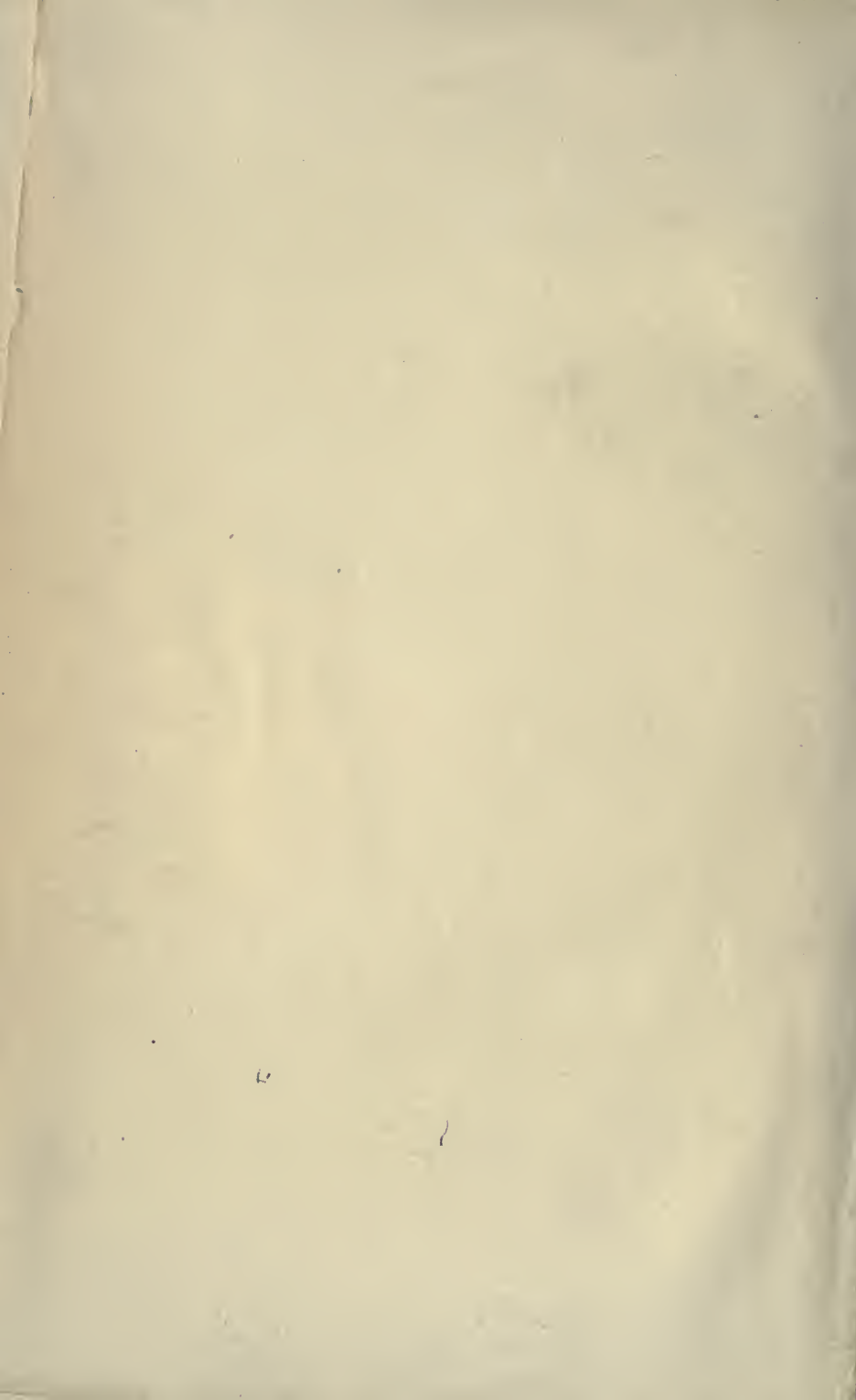


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

The property of the
Modern Language Association
of Ontario

1899





Handwritten: H
PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
Modern Language Association
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
JAMES W. BRIGHT
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XIII
NEW SERIES, VOL. VI

Handwritten: p. 103-104 missing

BALTIMORE
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
PRINTED BY JOHN MURPHY & COMPANY
1898

Handwritten:
$$\begin{array}{r} 324.80 \\ 4 \overline{) 2.36} \end{array}$$

PB

6

M6

v.13

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I.—The question of Free and Checked Vowels in Gallic Popular Latin. By JOHN E. MATZKE, - - - - -	1
II.—Elizabethan Translations from the Italian: the titles of such works now first collected and arranged, with annotations. By MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT, - - - - -	42
III.—A View of the Views about <i>Hamlet</i> . By ALBERT H. TOLMAN, -	155
IV.—The Province of English Philology. By ALBERT S. COOK, -	185
V.—A Sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati and its place in Fable Literature. By KENNETH MCKENZIE, - - - - -	205
VI.—Ben Jonson and the Classical School. By FELIX E. SCHELLING, -	221
VII.—The Earliest Poems of Wilhelm Müller. By JAMES TAFT HATFIELD, - - - - -	250
VIII.—On Translating Anglo-Saxon Poetry. By EDWARD FULTON, -	286
IX.—The Poetry of Nicholas Breton. By EVA MARCH TAPPAN, -	297
X.—Boccaccio's Defense of Poetry; as contained in the fourteenth book of the <i>De Genealogia Deorum</i> . By ELIZABETH WOODBRIDGE, - - - - -	333
XI.—The Language of Modern Norway. By GISLE BOTHNE, -	350
XII.—De Ortu Waluuanii: An Arthurian Romance now first edited from the Cottonian ms. Faustina B. VI., of the British Museum. By J. DOUGLAS BRUCE, - - - - -	365
XIII.—The Old English Version of the Gospel of Nicodemus. By W. H. HULME, - - - - -	457
XIV.—Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Romantischen Sagas. By E. KÖLBING, - - - - -	543

APPENDIX I.

	PAGE.
Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., December 27, 28, 29, 1897.	
Report of the Secretary, - - - - -	iii
Report of the Treasurer, - - - - -	iii
Appointment of committees, - - - - -	v
1. The new requirements in entrance English. By T. W. HUNT, - - - - -	v
2. The close of Goethe's <i>Tasso</i> , as a literary problem. By HENRY WOOD, - - - - -	v
3. The phraseology of Molière's <i>Précieuses ridicules</i> . By THÉRÈSE F. COLIN, - - - - -	v
4. The question of free and checked vowels in Gallic Popular Latin. By JOHN E. MATZKE, - - - - -	vi
Discussion: By L. E. MENDER, - - - - -	vi
5. Ben Jonson, and the origin of the Classical School. By FELIX E. SCHELLING, - - - - -	ix
6. The sources of Goethe's printed text. By W. T. HEWETT, - - - - -	x
7. Parallel treatment of the vowel <i>e</i> in Old French and Provençal. By A. JODOCIUS, - - - - -	x
Address of welcome. By CHARLES C. HARRISON, - - - - -	x
Address by the President of the Association, ALBERT S. COOK. Subject: The province of English Philology, - - - - -	x
8. The morphology of the Guernsey dialect. By EDWIN S. LEWIS, - - - - -	x
9. The poetry of Nicholas Breton. By EVA MARCH TAPPAN, - - - - -	x
10. Luther's "Teufel" and Goethe's "Mephistopheles." By RICHARD HOCHDÖRFER, - - - - -	xi
11. Notes on some Elizabethan poems. By J. B. HENNEMAN, - - - - -	xi
12. The relation of the Drama to Literature. By BRANDER MATTHEWS, - - - - -	xi
13. The influence of Lawrence Sterne on German literature. By T. S. BAKER, - - - - -	xi

CONTENTS.

	V
	PAGE.
Report of the Secretary of the Phonetic Section, GEORGE HEMPL,	xi
Report of the Committee of Twelve, - - - - -	xv
Report of the Committee on Place of Meeting, - - - - -	xv
Election of Officers, - - - - -	xv
Report of the Auditing Committee, - - - - -	xvi
The request of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, - -	xvi
14. Color in Old English poetry. By W. E. MEAD, - -	xvi
15. Professor Schultz-Gora, and the <i>Testament de Rousseau</i> . By ADOLPH COHN, - - - - -	xvii
16. Recent work in Celtic. By F. N. ROBINSON, - - -	xvii
17. The relation of the Old English version of the <i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i> to the Latin original. By WILLIAM H. HULME, - - - - -	xvii
18. The French literature of Louisiana from 1894 to 1897. By ALCÉE FORTIER, - - - - -	xvii
19. The rhythm of proper names in Old English verse. By JAMES W. BRIGHT, - - - - -	xvii
Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society, - - -	xvii
20. Early influence of German literature in America. By FRED- ERICK H. WILKENS, - - - - -	xvii
21. On translating Anglo-Saxon poetry. By EDWARD FULTON,	xviii
22. Boccaccio's Defense of Poetry, as contained in the fourteenth book of the <i>De Genealogia Deorum</i> . By ELIZABETH WOODBIDGE, - - - - -	xviii
23. A sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati and its place in fable literature. By KENNETH MCKENZIE, - - - - -	xviii
24. Seventeenth Century conceits. By CLARENCE G. CHILD,	xviii
25. Verbal taboos, their nature and origin. By F. N. SCOTT,	xviii
26. Prepositions in the works of Hans Sachs. By C. R. MILLER,	xviii
Final vote of thanks, - - - - -	xviii
List of Officers, - - - - -	xx
List of Members, - - - - -	xxi
List of Subscribing Libraries, - - - - -	xxxiv
Honorary Members, - - - - -	xxxvi
Roll of Members Deceased, - - - - -	xxxvii
The Constitution of the Association, - - - - -	xxxviii

APPENDIX II.

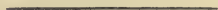
Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Evanston, Ill., December 30, 31, 1897, and January 1, 1898.	
Addresses of welcome, - - - - -	xliii
1. Methods of studying English masterpieces. By J. SCOTT CLARK, - - - - -	xliv
Report of the Secretary, - . - - -	xlvii
Report of the Treasurer, - - - - -	xlvihi
Appointment of Committees, - - - - -	xlvihi
2. Thomas Murner's prose writings of the year 1520. By ERNST VOSS, - - - - -	1
3. The autobiographical elements in William Langland's <i>Piers the Plowman</i> . By ALBERT E. JACK, - - - - -	1
4. On the development of Roots and their meanings. By F. A. WOOD, - - - - -	1
5. One phase of Keats's treatment of nature. By EDWARD P. MORTON, - - - - -	1
6. The inflectional types of the qualifying adjective in German. By G. O. CURME, - - - - -	lii
7. The component elements of <i>Aliscans</i> . By RAYMOND WEEKS, - - - - -	lii
8. The gender of English loanwords in Danish. By DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, - - - - -	lii
9. On the Scandinavian element in English. By ALBERT E. EGGE, - - - - -	lii
Report of the auditing committee, - - - - -	liv
Election of Officers, - - - - -	liv
Vote of thanks, - - - - -	liv
10. Heine's relation to Wolfgang Menzel. By JULIUS GOEBEL, - - - - -	lv
11. The <i>Metamorphosis</i> of Greene and of Lyly. By C. F. MCCLUMPHA, - - - - -	lv
12. The unity of place in the <i>Cid</i> . By J. E. MATZKE, - - - - -	lvii
13. The language of Modern Norway. By GISLE BOTHNE, - - - - -	lvii
Motion in favor of joint meetings of the Association, - - - - -	lviii
14. Notes on Romanic Syntax. By KARL PIETSCH, - - - - -	lviii

CONTENTS.

vii

PAGE.

15. The relation of the *Knightes Tale to Palamon and Arcite*. By
GEORGE HEMPL, - - - - - lviii
16. The earliest poems of Wilhelm Müller. By J. T. HAT-
FIELD, - - - - - lviii
17. Bacon's *Historia Literaria*. By EWALD FLUEGEL, - - - lix



PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1898.

VOL. XIII, 1.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, 1.

I.—THE QUESTION OF FREE AND CHECKED
VOWELS IN GALLIC POPULAR LATIN.

The problem of the nature of free and checked vowels in the gallo-roman popular speech has recently been made the subject of an article published by Dr. L. E. Menger, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, x, pp. 306–341. His conclusions are that vowels are free when ‘they develop: $a > e$, $e > oi$, $e > ie$, $o > ou$, $o > ue$;’ that they are checked when ‘they retain their original forms,’ and that those cases which cannot be included in either category are neither free nor checked, and are to be grouped under the general term of ‘secondary developments.’ It is evident that such a division begs the question at issue. The solution offered must be rejected *in toto* and has already received a categorical answer by Behrens in *Z. f. R. Ph.*, xxi, p. 304. The question is however of sufficient importance to merit new consideration, and I shall try to outline in the following pages the direction in which its solution must be sought. The history of the terms *free* and *checked* and of their grammatical signification will serve as a suitable basis for the argument.

Ab Jove principium! Diez in his Grammar, adopting the terminology handed down by the Latin grammarians, spoke

of long vowels, short vowels, and vowels in position, and this division became the model upon which the history of the Latin vowels was studied for years. If additional terms were needed, those of 'open or short,' and 'closed or long' syllables were available, but a vowel standing in such a closed or long syllable could in the next sentence be referred to as standing in position, and we even find the word 'Positionssilbe' used to express the same idea. Objections to the term 'in position' were advanced only when the relative importance of vowel quantity and quality became the subject of discussion. As a matter of fact, Böhmer in his article "Klang nicht Dauer," *Rom. Stud.*, III (1878), p. 352, criticises the use of these terms, referring in that instance particularly to Schuchardt. He adds the following foot-note: "Positionssilben sollte man gar nicht sagen. Es giebt nur Positionslänge im Unterschied von Naturlänge, beides von Silben zu sagen. Position heisst eigentlich ebensowenig die Stellung des Vokals vor zwei Consonanten als die Stellung zweier Consonanten nach Vokal, noch auch die Stellung Vokal + 2 Consonanten sondern als Uebersetzung von *θέσις*, das die Bedeutung, die es im Gegensatze zu *φύσις* sonst hat, auch hier bewahrt, die Satzung, dass als lange Silbe auch diejenige gelten soll, deren kurzem Vokal zwei Consonanten folgen." He himself makes use of the terms 'open and closed syllable.' As though in answer to this criticism ten Brink, in his famous pamphlet entitled *Dauer und Klang* (1879), introduced the terms 'lange' (= geminated), 'mehrfache,' and 'kurze Consonanz,' to describe the consonants which follow after any given vowel, though in general he maintained the old terminology, and often spoke of Latin or Romanic position.

Since the phonetic conditions now called a check resemble so closely the combinations of consonants making a syllable long by position, no serious misconception could arise from the use of the term. It was only necessary to understand clearly the change of meaning which the term had undergone. In modern grammar it no longer referred to the length of the

syllable as such, but it described the position of the vowel before more than one consonant, except mute plus liquid. While the term was thus of service, its greatest drawback arose from the fact that the nature of vowels could not be described directly by it, but only through the consonants which followed them or the syllables which contained them. This deficiency was remedied by G. Paris in *Rom.*, x (1881), p. 36. He there introduced the terms 'libre' and 'entravé' and defined them as follows: "J'appelle voyelle libre celle qui est finale, suivie d'une voyelle, d'une consonne simple, ou des groupes *pr*, *br*, *tr*, *dr*; voyelle entravée celle qui est suivie de deux consonnes autres que les groupes mentionnés. . . ." This new terminology he then proceeded to apply in an extensive study of closed *o*, and thereafter it was soon adopted by other scholars.

In this connection it was of interest to determine when and where these new terms were first introduced into German science. Tobler, who wrote a short notice of the article in question in *Z. f. R. Ph.*, vi, p. 166, passed them over in silence, but in the year following Viesing, in an article, "Ueber Französisches *ie* für Lateinisches *á*," *Z. f. R. Ph.*, vi (1882), p. 372 ff., used the terms 'frei' and 'gedeckt' as evident translations of 'libre' and 'entravé,' in a manner which shows that they had already been commonly accepted. While 'frei' is a simple translation, 'gedeckt' is not, and it is for this reason that it would be interesting to know the circumstances under which the translation was made. The term 'gedeckt' had been used for some time to describe a consonant followed by another consonant, as in Haase's dissertation *Das Verhalten der pikardischen und wallonischen Denkmäler des Mittelalters in Bezug auf a und e vor gedecktem n*, 1880. Thus it appears that 'gedeckt' as an equivalent of French 'entravé' represents an adaptation of an old term to a new purpose. Since words have the meanings which are ascribed to them by those who use them, it will be useless to criticize the employment of the term, but it seems to me that 'gebunden' would have been a

much better rendering of the notion of G. Paris. The English term 'checked,' which commended itself to me, cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, col. 207, in my opinion expresses the idea much more accurately.

G. Paris called 'free' all final vowels, vowels in hiatus, vowels followed by a single consonant, or by the groups *pr*, *br*, *tr*, *dr*; and 'checked' those followed by any two consonants other than those mentioned. Then he went on to say, 'devant les groupes *cr*, *gr*,¹ *pl*, *bl* et devant ceux dont l'un des éléments est un *j*, la condition de la voyelle est variable et demande à être étudiée particulièrement dans chaque cas.' A comparison of this definition with the paragraphs in point in the different O.Fr. Grammars seems unnecessary here.² Lack of harmony prevails in the categories pointed out by G. Paris, namely in the case of vowel + palatal, or of vowel + mute + liquid. There is moreover evident a decided lack of consistency. For instance, every unprejudiced reader will, according to Behrens' definition, consider vowel + *cl*, *gl* or cons. + *j* to be free, while all the examples in point are invariably found in paragraphs treating of checked vowels. Suchier states that in learned words *cl* and *gl* leave the preceding vowel free, yet on p. 44 the remark is found, "Mehrfach steht *ie* in Romanisch gedeckter Silbe . . . *siecle* saeculum. . ."

The question before us is one of terminology, but the terminology itself is based upon a principle. In looking at the history of Latin vowels we are confronted with the following well known fact. Under certain conditions these vowels³ retain their original form while in others they change.

¹ An oversight of the punctuation leads Menger (p. 307) to distort the definition of G. Paris in a curious manner.

² Cf. Bartsch-Horning, *Chrest.*, p. 4; Schwan, *Grammatik*, 1st ed. (1888), §§ 49, 50; 2nd ed. (1893), §§ 55, 56; Schwan-Behrens (1896), § 33; Suchier, *Altfrz. Gram.* (1893), § 6.

³ Following Menger's example we omit the consideration of *i* and *u*, because no criterion as to their free or checked nature can be gathered from their history.

Leaving out of account those doubtful cases which have given rise to the obscurity which prevails, we notice that when the vowel changes (diphthongizes) it ends the syllable, as *fa-ba* > *fe-ve*, *ve-la* > *vei-le*, *go-la* > *gou-le*, *fe-ra* > *fie-re*, *prq-bat* > *prue-vet*. When it remains the syllable is closed by a consonant, as *ar-ma* > *ar-me*, *ver-ga* > *ver-ge*, *mqs-ca* > *mos-che*, *tes-ta* > *tes-te*, *pqr-ta* > *por-te*. From the large number of examples illustrating this rule, we are justified in deducing the law that vowels in open syllables diphthongize, while those in closed syllables retain their original sounds in the earlier stages of the language. Those of the first category we may call free (*frei*, *libre*), those of the second category checked (*gedeckt*, *entravé*). Only we must not allow ourselves to be misled by these terms and believe that they denote or describe processes of development or non-development, which seems to have been the case and is especially prominent in the reasoning of Menger and which has determined the results at which he arrived. Free and checked as terms of grammar merely describe linguistic conditions and not linguistic processes. The later fate of vowels may and often does depend upon causes quite foreign to their original surroundings.

It becomes evident, therefore, that the true definition of free and checked vowels is dependent upon popular Latin syllabification. Meyer-Lübke in his *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, § 402, enumerates the following Popular Latin combinations of two or more different consonants in the middle of the word :

- (1). *n* + dental stop, or *s, f, c, g, q*.
- (2). *m* + labial stop, or *n*.
- (3). *l* + any consonant except *r*.
- (4). *r* + any consonant except *l*.
- (5). *s* + voiceless stops.
- (6). Any stop + *r*.
- (7). Guttural + *l*.

- (8). Labial + *l*.
- (9). Guttural or labial + *s*.
- (10). *g* + *m* or *n*.
- (11). *p* or *c* + *t*.
- (12). *b* or *g* + *d*.

To these *kw* (= *qu*) *gw* (= *gu*), and *t'l*, *d'l* may be added. Of combinations of three or more consonants he mentions *net*, *nes*, *ncl*, *ngl*, *ntr*, *nst*, *mpt*, *mps*, *mpl*, *mbr*, *cst*, *cstr*, *str*, and we may add *ltr*, *nkW* (= *nqu*) and *ngw* (= *ngu*).

The Latin grammarians¹ taught that a single consonant between vowels belonged to the second syllable. Of two or more consonants in the same position the sonants (with the exception of *m* in the combination *mn*) and the first of two geminated consonants belonged to the first syllable. All other combinations of consonants went undivided to the second syllable. Examples are *ta-bu-la*, *al-ter*, *al-ma*, *ar-ma*, *compu-ta-re*, *in-fan-tem*, *sic-cus*, *mit-to*, *au-ctu-mnus*, *ho-stem*, *a-gmen*, *ma-gi-strum*, *la-xo*, *no-ctem*, *sce-ptum*. Seelmann comes to the conclusion that Latin syllabification was strictly phonetic,² and that these rules represent the actual pronunciation. If this were true, Latin vowels would have stood in open syllables in all cases, except when the first of two consonants was *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, and such a condition of things does not at all meet the needs of the question. Theoretic arguments could not possibly be convincing here, for it is well-known that different languages may follow widely different methods in the pronunciation of their consonantal combinations. Seelmann refers in support of his thesis to the Modern French practice³ with regard to similar groups of consonants. The

¹ Cf. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein*, p. 137 f.

² "Sie folgten dabei den eingebungen ihres articulationsgeföhles," *l. c.*, p. 137.

³ "Indessen sind viele lat. worte mit solchen consonanten complexen später neu entlehnt, und so wenig bedeutung sie auch für die historische grammatik sonst haben mögen, für unsere Zwecke sind sie desto wertvoller. Da kein historisch-traditioneller causal-nexus zwischen den lateinischen und

argument is sound, but it proves quite the opposite from that for which it was intended. The combinations under discussion are consonant + *l* or *r*, combinations of which the first member is a guttural or labial and *s* + consonant. In the case of cons. + *l* or *r* the preceding syllable is undoubtedly open in Modern French as it was in Latin, but in the remaining combinations the end of the first syllable falls after the first of the two consonants.¹ The Modern French pronunciation is not *acce-pter*, *a-ctif*, *bénédi-ction*, but *ak-sɛp-tɛ* (*accepter*), *ak-tif* (*actif*), *bɛ-nɛ-dik-sjɔ̃* (*bénédiction*), *ap-sɔ̃-lü* (*absolu*), *ab-di-kɛ* (*abdiquer*), *pig-mɛ* (*pygmée*) *mag-de-bur* (*Magdebourg*), *di-ag-nɔs-tik* (*diagnostique*), *ka-lɔm-ni* (*calomnie*). If therefore the modern usage is an indication of the older practice, the conclusion must be that whenever a stop plus any other consonant (except *l* or *r*) or *m* + *n* come together, the division of the syllable was made between the two consonants.

The case of *s* + cons. is peculiar in as much as there is direct evidence that in popular speech, the rule of the grammarians to the contrary notwithstanding, the *s* was drawn over into the first syllable.² The same pronunciation is moreover demanded by the later history of the vowel before *s* + cons., which is always treated like a checked vowel.³ In this connection it is of interest to point to a remark made by Jenkins, *l. c.*, col. 102, note 12. The origin of the prosthetic *e* before *s* impurum must without question be considered in connection with this subject of popular Latin syllabification. The causes producing the prosthetic vowel are not satisfied if *unu sposu* became *unspɔs* > *u-ne-spɔs*. The division must have been *u-nɛs-pɔs* > *u-nes-pɔs*. But since the prosthetic vowel could

romanischen orthographisten besteht, so wird gerade an diesem entlehnten gut die neuromanische Eigenart die silben abzuteilen, am charakteristischsten und lebendigsten hervortreten,' *l. c.*, p. 148-149.

¹ For a good exposition of Modern French syllabification from the phonetic point of view, see Jenkins, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII, col. 96 f.

² Cf. Seelmann, *l. c.*, p. 147.

³ For the exceptions in the case of *-stj-* and *-strj-*, cf. below.

develop only after the atonic ultima had fallen, the evidence derived from this development is not necessarily valid for the actual Latin period. In the modern language the division of the syllable in the case of *s* + cons. is also a debated question, but the best evidence seems to place the *s* in the preceding syllable.

For geminated consonants or groups of more than two consonants no question can arise. In the latter case the first consonant is usually *n*, *m* or *l*, which must belong to the preceding syllable; *cst*, *cstr* and *str* are divided as *jux-ta*, *ex-tra* and *ma-gis-trum*.

The condition of things in Popular Latin must therefore have been as follows:

1. Open syllables are all those followed by a vowel, by a single medial consonant, or by consonant + *l* or *r*.
2. Closed syllables are all those followed by *l*, *r*, *n*, *m*, *s*, *c*, *g*, *p*, *b* + consonant.
3. Syllables followed by a geminated consonant, or by a group of more than two consonants, are invariably closed.

We have now reached the crucial point of our argument. The development of Latin vowels is subject to a law which was first seen and formulated by ten Brink in his *Dauer und Klang*, 1879. Latin vowels were distinguished by the grammarians according to their grammatical quantity, but in speech quality is an inherent element of quantity. Long vowels have a tendency to be closed, short vowels to be open. That this tendency, which has been observed in other languages, actually existed in Popular Latin is now generally held and needs no further proof. It would be useless to speculate whether original long vowels in open syllables were long and closed, while those in closed syllables were short and closed. From the point of view of modern grammar this seems to have been the case. At a certain period of the language, now, which we shall specify later, a new process of lengthening and shortening took place. All vowels in open syllables, that were not already long, were lengthened, and all vowels in

closed syllables, that were not already short, were shortened, and by this process the list of vowels from which the modern sounds were to spring, was finally established. This process may be tabulated as follows :

OPEN SYLLABLE.

CLASSICAL LATIN.	SPEECH.	POPULAR LATIN.
$\bar{a}, \bar{\alpha}$	a	\bar{a}
\bar{e}, ae	e	\bar{e}
$\bar{e}, \bar{\epsilon}$	e	\bar{e}
\bar{i}	i	\bar{i}
\bar{o}	o	\bar{o}
\bar{o}, \bar{u}	o	\bar{o}
\bar{u}	u	\bar{u}

CLOSED SYLLABLE.

$\bar{a}, \bar{\alpha}$	a	$\bar{\alpha}$
\bar{e}	e	$\bar{\epsilon}$
$\bar{e}, \bar{\epsilon}$	e	$\bar{\epsilon}$
\bar{i}	i	$\bar{\imath}$
\bar{o}	o	$\bar{\omicron}$
\bar{o}, \bar{u}	o	$\bar{\omicron}$
\bar{u}	u	\bar{u}

This law was fundamental in its operation and must necessarily affect all open and closed syllables alike. Free and checked, as phonetic terms, can describe merely the manner in which a vowel will be affected by ten Brink's law. Vowels which according to this law remain long or are lengthened are free, and vowels which remain short or are shortened are checked. And in as much as this process depends upon the open or closed nature of the syllable, the consonants which follow the vowel must invariably determine the free or checked nature of the vowel. This conception of the terms should do away with all confusion and uncertainty in their use. I have already said that all vowels must in the nature of things be affected alike by the operation of this law. If, for instance, the first syllable in *bq-nam*, *bę-ne* was open and the vowels therefore free, the same term must be applied

to the tonic vowels in pa-nem, plę-num, regardless of their final development; and if the vowels are free in prę-cat, dę-cet, vę-clum, fq-liam, lę-vium, they must be free also in bra-cam, vę-cem, solę-clum, consi-lium, ca-vea. The main point to be established will be the open or closed nature of the syllable at the time of operation of ten Brink's law.

Its period of operation has been fixed very neatly, and it seems to me unquestionably, by Mackel in *Z. f. R. Ph.*, xx, p. 514 f. On the basis of a study of German loan-words in French, and of French loan-words in German, he proves that its active period was in the sixth century. The terms free and checked can therefore be applied correctly only to the vowels as they existed at that period, and it becomes necessary to determine the phonetic processes which had been accomplished at that time, and whether the relative condition of open and closed syllables had changed. For if a combination of consonants closing a syllable in early Popular Latin had become simplified, so that a single consonant now occupied the place formerly filled by two consonants, or vice versa, the nature of the syllable would be changed.

The following is a list of the most important of such changes.¹

(1). *n* before *s* in strictly popular words had fallen about 240 B. C.; men-sem > mę-se, pen-sare > pę-sa-re.

(2). In proparoxytones the vowel of the penult had fallen if it stood between *l* or *r* and *p*, *m*, *d*; between *s* and *t*; and between mute and liquid. The examples are so well known that it is unnecessary to quote them; see Schwan-Behrens, § 21.

(3). *ct*, *cs(x)* or *kw(qu)* had become *it*, *is* and *iv* respectively. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundr.*, I, p. 367, puts the development of *ct* > *χt* before the colonization of Rhetia. The same early date follows from the Celtic pronunciation of *ct*; cf. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 14. The Celts would naturally treat

¹ The material for this list is for the most part taken from Meyer-Lübke's article in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. I.

Latin *et* like their native *et*. In a similar way *gd* in *frīgīdus* > *frīg'dus* and *rīgīdus* > *rīg'dus* had become *id*.

(4). By assimilation *pt* (or *bt* in words like *subtus*) and *ps* and *rs* had become *tt* or *ss*; *rūpta* > *rōtta*, *capsa* > *cassa*, *dorsum* > *dossu*.

(5). *cl*, *gl* and *t'l*, *d'l* had become *l̄*. For an attempt at a more accurate dating see below.

(6). *gn* had become *ñ*.

(7). *gm* had changed to *um*; cf. *sauma* < *sagma*, *peuma* < *pigma* in *Probi Appendix*.

(8). Stops (*p*, *t*, *c*) before *r* had probably become voiced, and *pl*, *bl* had changed to *vl*, with labio-labial spirant.

(9). Hiatus *j* had lost its syllabic function very early, and palatalized the preceding consonant, evolving a parasitic *i* before the palatalized consonant. The sounds thus affected are *rj*, *tj*, *sj*, *trj*, *prj*, *brj*, *strj*, *stj* and *ssj*; *lj* and *nj* become *l̄* and *ñ* and *dj* and *gj* become *j*. No parasitic *i* appears in the case of *bj*, *pj*, *vj*, *cj*, *ptj*, *ctj*, *ttj*, *mj*, *mnj* and *mbj*.

Through the syncope mentioned in (2) the number of closed syllables is increased. All the cases contain *l* or *r* + consonant or *s* + voiceless stop. Where a geminated consonant results through assimilation (4) the preceding syllable remains closed as before. On the other hand, however, the number of originally closed syllables is considerably lessened, as in (3) and (7), quite in accord with the well-known tendency of the language towards open syllables.

With these facts as a basis, we may now proceed to the examination of the different vowel developments. Though the difficulty of the problem is concentrated in one or two categories, already mentioned, it will be necessary, in order to gain a clear conception of these cases, to reëxamine the whole question of vowel development in all positions.

VOWEL + SIMPLE ORAL CONSONANT, EXCEPT PALATAL.

Examples are *fā-ba* > *fe-ve*, *ha-bē-re* > *a-veir*, *fī-dem* > *fē-de* > *feit*, *co-lō-re* > *cou-lour*, *pē-de* > *piet*, *nō-vu* > *nuef*.

These O.Fr. values of the Latin vowels are commonly accepted to be characteristic of free position, and deviations from this normal type are explained as irregular. While this point of view is correct, it regards the whole question as an accomplished fact, and does not take into account the nature of the development and its chronological order.

All changes of free vowels are due in their origin to the length of the vowels, but the nature of the development is not the same in every case. The change of \bar{e} to $\bar{i}e$ and $\bar{o} > \bar{u}o$ represents true vowel breaking, and it is immaterial here whether we accept the row of $\bar{e} = \bar{e}\bar{e} > \bar{e}e > \bar{i}e$ and $\bar{o} = \bar{o}\bar{o} > \bar{o}o > \bar{u}o$, or whether we are ready to believe with Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, § 639, that these diphthongs are due to the greater intensity which is expended in producing a long vowel in the place of a former short one; in either case we have the effect of dissimilation, in that the initial portion of the articulation is dissimilated from the rest. It is different however with the change of $\bar{e} > ei$ and $\bar{o} > ou$. These diphthongs passed through the intermediate stages of \bar{e}^i and \bar{o}^u , which are evidently due to this, that on account of the narrow position of the tongue the characteristic feature of the articulation is emphasized in its second half, when the articulation is lengthened. The change of $\bar{a} > e$ finally is quite different from either of these processes. Here we have no diphthongization at all, but merely a process of fronting, quite in harmony with the general tendency of the language to shift the basis of articulation toward the front of the mouth ($a > \bar{a} > \bar{e} > e > \bar{e}$).

The relative age of these processes is also of importance in our inquiry. While \bar{e} and \bar{o} had changed to $\bar{i}e$ and $\bar{u}o$ in the sixth century, it is certain that the development of \bar{a} , \bar{e} and \bar{o} is noticeably younger. Meyer-Lübke in his *Grammatik*, § 644, places it in the eighth century, but he evidently hesitates for in § 648, only a few pages further on, he puts the change of $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ a century earlier. This latter date, which is based

upon the treatment of Germanic words in French,¹ is merely a terminus post quem. In the oldest French text free *a* is still written *a*; cf. *Oaths*: *fradre*, *fradra*, *salvar*, *returnar*. To be sure the pronunciation of this *a* is a much debated point,² but the general acceptation now is that the sound for which it stands is that of *ä* or *ɛ*, i. e. a very much palatalized *a*. If therefore we accept Meyer-Lübke's date of the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, which seems to be correct, the process of fronting must have been very slow and gradual. In the case of *ē* and *ō*, however, Meyer-Lübke's date of the eighth century must be rejected. In the *Oaths* *ē* appears twice as *i* (*savir*, *podir*), and since the scribe knew the diphthong *ei* and used it in *dreit* (*dirēctum*), the sound which he wished to represent cannot have been *ei*. The only alternative left is that presented by Storm, *Rom.* III, p. 289, that the pronunciation of *ē* in the *Oaths* was still *ē* or at best *ēⁱ*. In the case of *ō* the matter is still more complicated. The sound into which the vowel developed was represented for a long time by *o* or *u*, though the diphthong *ou* is found as early as the *Eulalie* (*bellezour*). In the *Oaths* we find *u* written (*amur*), and the pronunciation was probably similar to that of *ēⁱ* < *ē*, viz.; *ō^u*. In view of these facts it must be accepted that the diphthongs *ei* < *ē* and *ou* < *ō* are late and that the vowels had only reached the stages *ēⁱ* and *ō^u* in the ninth century. The chronological order of vowel changes in open syllables is therefore as follows:

$\bar{e} > \text{fe}$	}	VI century.
$\bar{o} > \text{úo}$		
$\bar{a} > \bar{ä}$		VIII century.
$\bar{e} > \bar{e}^i$	}	IX century.
$\bar{o} > \bar{o}^u$		

¹ Cf. *l. c.*, § 225.

² Cf. Koschwitz, *Commentar zu den ältesten französischen Denkmälern*, p. 11 ff.

VOWEL + SIMPLE NASAL.

Examples are $b\bar{e}\text{-}ne > bien$, $b\bar{o}\text{-}na > buene$ or *bone*, $p\bar{a}\text{-}ne > pain$, $c\bar{a}\text{-}ne > chien$, $pl\bar{e}\text{-}na > pleine$, $ra\text{-}c\bar{e}\text{-}mu > raisin$, $ratj\bar{o}\text{-}ne > raisun$.

A simple nasal consonant between two vowels unquestionably belongs to the second syllable, so that the vowel preceding it must have been lengthened in the sixth century. That its further development does not coincide with that of vowels followed by oral consonants, is due to the nasalizing effect of the following consonant. Everything will therefore depend upon the time when nasalization took place. For reasons which it is not necessary to repeat, it was held for a long time that this process did not affect all vowels at the same time, but that *a* and *e* were affected first, and that the other vowels were attacked but gradually. This opinion, which had such eminent support as that of G. Paris,¹ has now been abandoned, so far as I know, and it should be given up for the reason that it is unlikely according to the theory of nasalization. If nasal vowels were the effect of a loose or lazy articulation of the velum, which, when vowel + *n* came together, was drawn forward into the position for the consonant, while the vowel was sounded, it follows that this articulation resulted whenever vowel + *n* or *m* came together, and that all nasal vowels are alike old. The age² of nasalization can be determined quite accurately by a comparison with the development of oral vowels. The process must be younger than the diphthongization of \bar{e} and \bar{o} , for $\bar{e}n$ and $\bar{o}n$ become *ien* and *uon* respectively. Since furthermore $\bar{a}n$ becomes *ain*, which later forms assonance with $an < \check{a}n$, it must also be older than the change of $\bar{a} > \check{a}$. The *i* in *ain* is usually explained as being a glide between the nasal vowel and the consonant. In going from *a* to *n* the tongue may pass through the *i*-position, and this

¹ Cf. *Alexis*, p. 82.

² Suchier, *Altfrz. Gram.*, p. 63, puts it into the ninth century without assigning any reasons.

glide may develop into an independent vowel.¹ The same considerations will explain the change of *ēn* to *ein*. In *ōn* on the other hand the tongue position was sufficiently different to prevent the growth of an *i*-glide, and in *ien* and *úon* its absence is accounted for by the falling nature of the diphthongs. The question is however complicated by the fact that *ōn* later may or may not show a diphthong, and that in the same texts. Suchier, *Gram.*, § 46, explains this *o* (= *ō*) as a reduction from older *uo*. The explanation is possible, but it presupposes an older pronunciation *uón*, which is disproved by the existence of *uen*. This latter form can come only from an older *ūon*. Behrens, in the third edition of Schwan's *Grammatik*, § 59, Note, attributes *bon*, *bone* and the pronoun *om* to the atonic use of these words in stress groups; the noun *om* to influence of the accusative *omme* (qmine) and *son*, *tonent*, etc., to influence of ending accented forms from the same stems. There are two other combinations which present similar difficulties, namely, palatal + *ān* or *ēn* (*cāne* > *chien*, *racēmu* > *raisin*), where the vowels also seem to have developed exactly as before oral consonants. That palatal + *an* in the *Oaths* is represented by *ian* (*χṑiian*) cannot prove or disprove anything, for the orthography may be modeled on the Latin or *χṑiian* may stand for *chrestiiān* as *fradre* for *frädre*.

Nasalization in its beginnings probably did not differ seriously from the much decried nasal twang in Modern English, and while this stage lasted, the development of vowels affected by it must have resembled closely that of oral vowels. Thus *úon* with loose nasalization became either *úen* or *ūōn*, and this latter form was soon reduced to *ūōn* > *ōn*, since nasalization at first had the effect of darkening the color of the *o*, cf. *ponte* > *pōnt*. These doublets lived in the language until for the reasons advanced by Behrens the forms with diphthongs were crowded out. The reduction of *iēin* to *īn* is also readily understood on the same supposition of a loose articulation of

¹ In *Eulalie maent* < *manet* the glide is represented by an *e*.

the velum, and $\bar{e}n$ and $\bar{o}n$ show no departure from the development of oral vowels at this period. Only palatal + $\bar{a}n$ presents difficulty. If we place the process of nasalization with Suchier in the ninth century, when a had become \bar{a} , the pronunciation of $\bar{a}in$ remains unexplained, and on the other hand we know that iai elsewhere is not reduced to ie but to i , cf. $jacet > gist$. Under these circumstances the following considerations seem valid. The process of fronting of the \bar{a} was evidently a very slow one, and it must be presumed that not all \bar{a} 's were affected at the same time. The first to move were those standing after a palatal, as $cane > k'\bar{a}-ne$, $christianu > krestj\bar{a}-nu$, while $pane$ was still pronounced $p\bar{a}-ne$. Now nasalization occurred and crystalized this condition of things; $p\bar{a}-ne$ becomes $p\bar{a}in$ and $k'\bar{a}-ne$ is changed to $k'\bar{a}n > chien$. On this supposition a stage $k'ia'n$ or $k'i\bar{a}n$ is unnecessary, and $\chi\bar{p}iian$ in the *Oaths* finds a ready explanation as *chrestiiän*. We should also thus gain an additional means of dating the process, which, if our position is correct, must have taken place simultaneously with the earliest changes of $\bar{a} > \bar{ä}$, i. e., towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.

The whole history of these vowels, however, demands long vowels as points of departure. On this supposition alone can the glides and diphthongs be explained. Hence it follows that all vowels before simple nasals were free. When the nasal consonant was followed by another consonant, the vowel was checked and remained short, and its lack of glide is the result of its quantity.

VOWEL + SIMPLE PALATAL.

Examples are $pr\bar{e}-cat > priet$, $b\bar{a}-ca > baie$, $pl\bar{i}-cat > pl\bar{e}-cat > pleiet$, $n\bar{e}-gat > niet$, $pl\bar{a}-ga > plaie$, $l\bar{i}-gat > l\bar{e}-gat > leiet$, $tr\bar{o}-ja > trui\bar{e}$, $pr\bar{e}-co > pri$, $p\bar{a}-co > pai$, $*ver\bar{a}-cu > verai$, $d\bar{e}-ce > dis$, $d\bar{o}-cet > duist$, $pl\bar{a}-cet > plaist$, $v\bar{i}-cem > v\bar{e}-ce > feiz$, $v\bar{o}-ce > voiz$.

The words belonging here have c, g, j before a, o, u and c or g before e or i . As far as the history of these consonants

is concerned, it seems certain that *c* before *e* and *i* in the sixth century had still the value of a pure palatal stop. There is no evidence of any change in its articulation before the seventh century.¹ As to *g* in the same position the matter is not so certain, and it is quite possible that it had become the spirant *j* in early Popular Latin,² and this was its sound still in the sixth century. The voicing of medial stops, according to which *c*^a went through *g* > *j* > *i*, is placed generally towards the end of the seventh century. Whether the change of *c*^{e-i} to *its* (*iz*) or *is* belongs to the same period, it is impossible to say, but the presumption must be that the interval between the two developments was very small. The parasitic *i* in either case had certainly developed before the fronting of *ā* > *ä*. The tonic syllables were therefore in every instance open, and the vowels free.

Their further history is determined by the growth of the parasitic *i*, which falls after the diphthongization of *ē* and *ō* and before the changes of *ā*, *ē*, *ō*. Thus *ē* and *ō* became either *iei* and *uoi* (*nēcat* > *nieiet*, *trōja* > *truoie*) or *ieit'* > *ieiz* and *uoit'* > *uoiz* (*dēce* > *dieit'e* > *dieize*, *dōcet* > *duoit'et* > *duoizet*) while *ā*, *ē*, *ō* could only form falling diphthongs with the parasitic *i* (*plāga* > *plaie*, *pāce* > *pait'e*, *lēge* > *leie*, *vōce* > *voit'e*). If the *ā* stood between palatals a triphthong arose in this way, as in *jacet* > *gait'et* > *giaizet*. Each category now goes its own way. The triphthongs are reduced (*dieize* > *dis*, *giaizet* > *gist*, *duoizet* > *duist*), and the diphthongs develop as diphthongs, and their history now differs from that of simple *ā*, *ē*, *ō*. But to conclude from this difference in development that the vowels were not free, or the syllables not open, would be wrong in principle.³

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *L'altération romane du c latin*, Paris, 1893.

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundr.*, I, p. 363, and Schwan-Behrens, § 28.

³ The words ending in *-cum* and *-gum*, as *lōcu*, *fāgu*, should be briefly discussed at this point, but their history is altogether too obscure to figure in the argument.

VOWEL + COMPLICATED PALATAL.

Examples are *lęctu* > *lit*, *nęcte* > *nuit*, *factu* > *fait*, *tęctu* > *teit*, *sęx* > *sis*, *cęxa* > *cuisse*, *laxat* > *laisset*, *ęqua* > *ive* *aqua* > *aive*.

The combinations of palatal + consonant belonging here are *ct*, *cs(x)* and *kw(qu)*. In all these cases the palatal had been vocalized quite early (see p. 10 above), and this vocalization had given rise to the diphthongs *ęi*, *ęi*, *ai*, *ęi*, *ęi*. The division of syllables was now *lei-tu*, *nęi-te*, *cęi-se*, *ęi-ve*, *tęi-tu*, etc.

In the further history of these words identity of development with words whose tonic vowel is followed by a single palatal is possible only when the tonic vowel is *a*, *e*, *ę*. In the case of *ę* and *ę* the early development was different. On the one hand we have *ie*, *uo* + palatal becoming *iei*, *uoi*, on the other *ęi* and *ęi* change to *iei* and *uoi*. Two explanations are current for this phenomenon. Schwan and Behrens¹ state that after the vocalization of *c* > *i*, *ę* and *ę* had become free, and developed therefore as free vowels. The objection to this point of view lies in the fact that the vowels were no longer simple *ę* and *ę* but the diphthongs *ęi* and *ęi*, and such notations as *nęi-te*, *cęi-se* really distort the true nature of the problem. The other explanation² separates the diphthongization of *ę* and *ę* in these cases from that which came about as the result of the lengthening of free vowels, and sees the cause of the diphthong in the following *j*. Meyer-Lübke, *l. c.*, § 639, supports this opinion by the statement that the Provençal, which ordinarily does not diphthongize *ę* and *ę* agrees here with the French.³ Since the distance between the two lan-

¹ Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 56, Anm. and Schwan-Behrens, § 33-3, Anm.

² Cf. Suchier, *Grundr.*, I, p. 574, and Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, §§ 154, 189, 639.

³ The history of *ę* in Provençal is full of obscurities, but the diphthong is found not only before *j*, but also under other conditions; cf. Suchier, *Grundr.*, I, p. 574.

guages grows wider the nearer we approach more modern times, it follows that linguistic processes in which they agree are very old; hence *piẽts* (< p̃etus) falls in the time before, *piẽd* (< p̃edem) in the time after their separation. That this argument is not sound, appears from the fact that phonetic processes can be found in which the two languages agree, and which are certainly younger than the change of *ẽ* > *ie*, as for instance the voicing of medial stops and the fronting of *c* before *e* and *i*.

The main reason for a separation of this process from the general diphthongization of *ẽ* and *õ* lies in the fact that before an *i* the diphthongs appear also in closed syllables. These are the syllables containing *ẽ* and *õ* before *stj*, *scj* and *strj*, as *b̃estja* > *bisse*, *ñescju* > *nice*, *q̃stju* > *huis*, *q̃strja* > *huistre*. The true explanation seems to me to lie in the fact already mentioned that the syllables under discussion did not contain simple vowels but diphthongs. Diphthongs are naturally longer than simple vowels, and this inherent length can readily have been increased at the time when other vowels in open syllables were lengthened. That the diphthong should share the same fate also in a closed syllable need not appear strange. The examples of that kind are very few in number, and the lengthening there may be due to simple phonetic analogy, or to the fact that diphthongs are lengthened more readily than simple vowels.

If it be objected that this explanation is made ad hoc, to fit this particular case, it must not be forgotten that Meyer-Lübke's explanation is of exactly the same nature. The diphthong is attributed to the *j* only because a *j* follows *ẽ* and *õ* in the words under discussion, but the physiological process involved, by which such a *j* broke a preceding *ẽ* and *õ*, has not been demonstrated so far. On the other hand, if the view of the problem presented here be correct, it is no longer necessary to separate phenomena identical in their results, which ought therefore to be presumably identical also in their causes. Similar diphthongs, but of different origin,

existed in the language in the sixth century, and their further development was identical with that discussed here. These have as second element *i* or *u*, which formed hiatus with the tonic vowel, as in *mēi*, [il]lēi, *mēu*, *dēu*, and here we find the triphthong in both Provençal and French; cf. Prov. *miei*, *lieis*, *mieu*, *dieu*, Fr. *mi*, *li*, **mieu* (cf. Pic. *miue*), *dieu*. To explain the change of *e* > *ie* in these words as simply due to the development of simple vowels in open syllables, would not be correct, for these words had been monosyllabic since early Popular Latin times. Parallel cases for *oi* do not exist, nor are these diphthongs ever found in originally closed syllables, but these facts could not be construed as disproving the explanation attempted here. Thus *ēi* and *ōi* become *ēi*, *ōi* > *iei*, *uoi* > *i*, *ui*. That *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi* > *āi*, *ēi*, *ōi* show no results of this lengthening is due partly to the late development of *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, and partly to the fact that in the case of *ē* and *ō* the added elements would come to stand between the vowel and the *i*.

If this explanation is accepted, it will be necessary to extend the influence of ten Brink's law to falling diphthongs which existed in the language in the sixth century, regardless of the nature of the syllable in which they stood, and palatalized consonants before which the diphthongs appear in Provençal must be looked upon as favoring diphthongization, but not as causing it.

VOWEL + CONSONANT + *j*.

The linguistic process which these combinations underwent is so well known, that a few words will serve our purpose. The hiatus *i* had early lost its syllabic function, and become a semi-consonant. The palatal articulation thus produced now attacks the preceding consonant and draws it completely into or near to its own region of articulation; in other words it palatalizes it. The on-glide, which must precede such palatalized consonants, soon becomes an independent factor in

the word and appears before the consonant as a parasitic *i*. When this is done, the consonant, as though all its palatal life had been exhausted in the production of the parasitic *i*, is pushed forward out of the palatal into the dental region. Everything points to a very early period, probably the second or third century, as the time when this process of palatalization took place. In the fourth century its results are recognized by the grammarians.¹ There can be little question that the different consonants which came under its influence did not all succumb with equal readiness. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundr.*, I, p. 364, says *lj* and *nj* were palatalized first, and *gj*, *dj*,² *tj*, *sj* followed somewhat later.

The actual time of the process, since it certainly was completed before the sixth century, is of less importance for our present purpose than the results which were obtained. Whenever the preceding consonant was palatalized, the result was a simple sound, produced with a single effort of articulation, and as such it became the initial element of the following syllable, leaving the vowel before it free. Here, however, a new element must be drawn into the discussion. Looking for the present only at those cases where a single consonant preceded the *j* in Latin, we find the following categories:

1. The palatalization has disappeared, leaving a parasitic *i*.
2. The palatalization has remained.
3. Hiatus *i(j)* became the palatal spirant *j*.

Each of these cases must be considered separately. A single example for every vowel will suffice by way of illustration. Where the example is lacking, the language does not have it. Completeness has been aimed at only where the problem required it, and I hope that nothing of importance has been overlooked.

1. *The palatalization has disappeared, leaving a parasitic i.* Here belong *tj*, *dj*, *sj*, *gj*, *rj* and final *nj*.

¹ Cf. Seelmann, *l. c.*, p. 320.

² Behrens, *l. c.*, § 21-3, Anm., and 28-3, says with great probability that *gj* and *dj* had become *j* in early Popular Latin.

tj — *prętju* > *pris*, **põtjo* > *puis*, *palatju* > *palais*, *-ętja* > *eise* (*proeise*), *lõtju* > *lois*.

dj — *mędju* > *mi*, *mõdju* > *mui*, *radju* > *rai*, *veđjat* > *veie*.

sj — *ceręsja* > *cerise*, *basju* > *bais*, *ardeşja* > *ardeise*.

gj — *rõgju* > *rui*, *exagju* > *essai*, *corręgja* > *correie*.

rj — *matęja* > *matire*, *cõrju* > *cuir*, *varju* > *vair*, *fęrja* > *feire*, *dormitõrju* > *dortoir*.

nj — *ingęnju* > *engin*, *cumpango* > *compaing*, *cõnju* > *coin*.

An examination of these examples shows conditions identical with those prevailing in the case of vowel + complicated palatal. The history of these words must therefore have been identical with the development discussed there, and since the palatalized consonants are formed by a single articulation of the tongue, the diphthongs *ei*, *oi*, *ai*, *ei*, *oi* stood in open syllables.

2. *The palatalization has remained.* Here belong *lj* and medial *nj*, but in as much as the history of vowel + *l̃* or *ñ* is not influenced by the sources of these sounds, the discussion may be deferred for the present, cf. below p. 27.

3. *Hiatus j became the palatal spirant j.* Here belong *pj*, *bj*, *vj*, *mj*, *cj*. Two words with *fj* (*kupphja* > *coiffe* and **grafja* > *graiſſe* > *greffe*) are too irregular to affect the argument.

pj — **prõpju* > *proche*, *sapja* > *sache*, *sępja* > *seche*.

bj — **rabja* > *rage*, *rõbjju* > *rouge*, *gõbjja* > *gouge*.

vj — *lęvju* > *liege*, **tręvju* > *triege*, **gręvju* > *grege*, *abbřęvjat* > *abrieget*, *cavja* > *cage*, *nęvja* > *nege* (*neige*), *veđõvju* > O. Fr. *veduge* > Mod. Fr. *vouge*.

mj — *vendęmia* > *vendange*.

cj — **spęcja* > *espece* and *espice*, *Gręcja* > *Grece* and *Grice*, *Gallęcja* > *Gallice*, *fačja* > *face* (*fasse*), *solacju* > *solaz*, **tręcja* > *trece* (*tresse*), *-ęcja* > *ece*.

It is evident that wherever *a*, *e*, *o* stand before any of the combinations mentioned, their development is unquestionably that of checked vowels, and we may conclude that labial + *j* or *c* + *j* checked the tonic vowel. In view of this fact it

may well be doubted, whether the palatalization of labials first demanded by Neumann,¹ ever really existed in France. It is well known that those consonants which are articulated near the palatal or *j* region, are most readily palatalized. The greater the distance between the two articulations, the greater will be the struggle against a complete amalgamation of the two sounds. Now in the case of labial + *j*, though the tongue be placed in *j* position while the labial is produced, the two articulations will remain distinct in nature; the effect of the palatal articulation is not heard until the labial articulation is broken, and its acoustic quality is that of the palatal spirant. The final result is *tʃ* or *dʒ*, showing that a palatal stop must have developed before this palatal spirant. This I think is due to a partial assimilation of the whole articulatory effort. The energy expended in the labial stop is transferred from the lips to the dental region and at the same time the spirant is drawn forward, so that labial + *j* becomes *tʃ* or *dʒ*. In this new combination, however, the moment of minimum expiratory stress fell between the two articulations, and as a consequence the preceding vowel was checked.

The case of *c* + *j* is strictly similar. Since *c* maintained its articulation as a pure post-palatal or medio-palatal stop until the seventh century, a following *j* could become only a palatal spirant. The result was the combination *kj*, which checked the preceding vowel. Later when *k* became fronted, the whole articulation passed rapidly to *ts*, but its effect on the preceding vowel did not change.² The vowel remained checked.

Difficulties are found in the words where *ç* or *ç* precede the combinations in question. In those words the diphthongs appear so regularly as to be almost fatal to the view advanced

¹ *Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen* (1878), p. 25.

² The difference in development between *cj* > *ts* and *cʰ-i* > *its* or *is* lies in the different points of departure; *cj* was *kʰj* while *cʰ-i* was *kʰ*. It will be seen below that with the exception of *stj*, *sej*, *ssj* and *strj* a parasitic *i* never appears in the case of a checked vowel.

here, and these difficulties are increased by the small number of words and the consequent lack of any possibility for comparison. By the side of the regular *proche* we find forms like *repreuce*, *C. Ps.*, 68-17, *reproece*, *Rol.*, 1076. Suchier, *Gram.*, § 13-c, attributes the diphthong to the following *e*, an explanation which it is difficult to prove or disprove, because similar examples are lacking in the language. Since the diphthong, however, appears also in the forms of the verb *tordre* (< *törquere*), where the vowel is certainly checked, it becomes evident that it is not due to the free position of the vowel. Where *ε* precedes *ψ*, the simple vowel appears only in the stem *grɛvɣ*.¹ Whether the diphthong in the other examples, however, can be used to prove that *ε* in this position was free, must remain doubtful. There are other well known examples in French, where the diphthong *ie* appears in closed syllable, as *fierge*, *cierge*, *tierz*, *vierge*, and it may be due here to the same cause. On the other hand, it is not impossible that *liege*, owing to its signification, was influenced by the stem accented forms of *lever* < *levare*, as *abrieget* may be under the influence of *brief* < *brève*. The history of *triege* finally has not at all been definitely established. By its side we have *tries* or *triez*² with identical meaning, and the two words will probably have to be explained in the same way. *Espice*, *Grice* and *Gallice* present similar difficulty. If the tonic vowel derives from an older triphthong *iei*, we have to account for the double irregularity of the diphthong and the presence of the parasitic *i*. Fortunately we have the regular forms *espece* and *Grece*, so that *espice*, *Grice*, *Gallice* may be safely set aside as irregular forms.

The conclusion must be that labial or *c + j* checked the preceding vowel. The evidence is conclusive for *a*, *ε*, *ο*, and the irregularities in the case of *ε* and *ο* must find their explanation outside of the free or checked nature of the vowel.

¹ For *agreger* cf. Behrens, *Unorganische Lautvertretung*, p. 51.

² Cf. Godefroy, s. v. Note also the variants *triaige* and *trriage* cited *ibid.*, s. v., *triege*.

MORE THAN ONE CONSONANT + *j*.

The combinations of two or more consonants + *j* also fall into two classes, according to the development or non-development of a parasitic *i*.

A parasitic *i* develops in the following cases :

stj — *bęstja* > *bisse* or *biche*, **qstju* > *huis*, *pęstj(a)* > *puis*, *angęstjat* > *angoisset*, *fręstjat* > *froisset*.

scj — *nęscja* > *nice* or *niche*, *fascja* > *faisse*.

ssj — *gręssja* > *grosse*, *grassia* > *graisse*, *spęssjat* > *espeisset*, *spęssjo* > *espeis*.

brj — *ębriu* > *ivre*.

prj — *cęprju* > *cuivre*.

trj — *repatrjo* > *repair*.

strj — *qstrju* > *huistre*.

nęj — *anxja* > *ainse*.

It is evident from the examples given above that *scj* does not have the same history as *cj*. The former is closely parallel to that of *stj*. For this Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, § 509, posits the row *st'* > *sk'* > *iss*, but a stage *sk'* does not seem necessary for the reason that *iss* can develop readily from *st'j*. In view of the fact that simple *cj* did not develop a parasitic *i* and remained *k'j* until after the sixth century, it is necessary to accept an earlier fronting for the *c*, when it was preceded by an *s*, and the cause of this fronting must lie in the front articulation of the *s*. Thus *scj* became early *sk'j* > *st'j* > *iss*. The parasitic *i* forms a falling diphthong with the tonic vowel. The further history of these diphthongs and the triphthongization of *ęi* > *iei* > *i* and *ęi* > *uei* > *ui* have already been commented on above. Only *gręssja* > *grosse* forms a noteworthy exception. The syllables were closed in all cases, except where mute + *r* follows after the tonic vowel.

The parasitic *i* is absent in the following cases :

rtj — *tęrtju* > *tierz*, **scęrtja* > *escorce*, *fęrtja* > *force*.

- rej* — *fērcja > *fierce*, *fierche*, *fierge*, *ōrcja > *urce* (*ourse*).
rdj — qrdju > *orge*.
rvj — cērvja > *cierge*.
ltj — exaltjat > *esalcet*.
lej — calcja > *chalice* (*chausse*).
lvj — salvja > *salge* (*sauge*), alvja > *auge*.
ntj — infantja > *enfance*, cadentja > *chedance* (*chance*),
 -antja > -*ance*, but antjus > *ainz*.
nej — lancja > *lance*, Francja > *France*, *ōncja > *once*.
mny — sqmju > *songe*, calōmnia > *chalonge*.
mbj — cambjas > *changes*, *lōmbja > *longe*.
ccj — *crqccja > *croce* (*crosse*).¹
ppj — O.H.G. krippja > *creche*.
ttj — *pēttja > *piece*, Scōttja > *Escoce*, mattja > *mace*,
 plattja > *place*.
ptj — nēptja > *niece*, nqptjas > *noces*, captjat > *chaces*.
ctj — tractjat > *tracet*.

All combinations with *r*, *l*, *n*, *m* as first member may be eliminated as certainly checking the preceding vowel. The only exceptions are *tierz*, *cierge*, *fierce*, *fierge*, where the diphthong has so far defied explanation, but can under no circumstances be due to original lengthening. Of the remaining combinations *ptj* and *ctj* became early *ttj*, passing thus into the category of geminated consonants where a check is the rule. The two seeming exceptions *piece* and *niece* are usually explained as being due the former to the influence of *pied* (< pēde) the latter to that of *nies* (< nēpos).

Thus when two consonants precede the *j*, the tonic vowel is checked, except when the consonants are mute + *r* (*brj*, *prj*, *trj*). Seeming exceptions are those combinations which develop a parasitic *i*, but here the development depends upon the diphthongal nature of the tonic syllable, and not upon the combination of consonants which follows it.

¹ Cf. Förster, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, II, p. 85.

VOWEL + \tilde{l} OR \tilde{n} .

\tilde{l} . The following examples will serve as illustrations:

- lj — $m\acute{e}ljus > mie\tilde{l}us > mieldz$, $f\acute{o}lja > fueille$, $palja > paille$, $cons\acute{e}lju > conseil$, $t\acute{e}lja > teille$, $colju > coil$.
 $c'l$ — $qc'lu > oeil$, $trabac'lu > travail$, $mac'la > maille$,
 $sol\acute{e}c'lu > soleil$, $gen\acute{o}c'lu > genoil$, $genuil$.
 $g'l$ — $trag'la > traille$, $r\acute{e}g'la > reille$.
 $\ell'j$ — $*c\acute{o}llijis > cuoillis > cuelz$, $*c\acute{o}llijo > cueil$.
 $j'l$ — $bajulat > baille$.
 $\ell'l$ — $v\acute{e}t'lus > vie\tilde{l}us > vielz$, $v\acute{e}t'lu > vieil$, $s\acute{e}t'la > seille$.
 $d't$ — $radula > raille$.

Noticeable uncertainty prevails in regard to the history of vowel + \tilde{l} . It seems to be generally accepted that an \tilde{l} checks the preceding vowel, but since ϵ and ϕ diphthongize in this position it is usually added that these vowels develop here as though they stood in free position,¹ or that the diphthong is due to the palatal value of the \tilde{l} .²

It is not easy to decide how far back the development of cl , $gl > \tilde{l}$ reaches. The *Appendix Probi*, which contains the often cited examples for the development of $\ell'l > cl$, *veclus* *capiclum*, etc., was written according to the best authorities towards the end of the third century.³ The development of lj and $nj > \tilde{l}$ and \tilde{n} is placed by Meyer-Lübke, *Grundr.*, I, p. 364, as early as the second century. This date is based upon Gröber's well known theory in *Arch. Lat. Lex.*, I, p. 210 ff., and rests upon the absence of the sounds in Sardinian. Though this line of reasoning is not safe in all cases, there can be no objection in this instance, and it is made all the more probable by the great affinity which exists between l or n and j . In that case, however, it follows that $\tilde{l} < cl$, gl is decidedly younger, for at the end of the third century we have

¹ Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *l. c.*, § 48, Anm., and § 60, Anm.

² Cf. Suchier, *Grundr.*, I, p. 574, and Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, §§ 154 and 189.

³ Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XVI, p. 625, and Förster, *Wiener Studien*, 1892, p. 316.

the above mentioned evidence of the *Appendix Probi* that *c'l* and *t'l* were becoming identical, i. e., that the assimilation, which produced \bar{l} as final result, had set in. Whether this development was complete in the sixth century, can only be surmised, but there is no reason to believe the contrary, though the oldest examples of $\bar{l} = cl$ found so far, belong to the eighth century.¹

Since an \bar{l} is produced by a single articulation of the tongue, it must necessarily introduce the following syllable. Hence it follows that, unless the diphthongization of *e* and *o* in these words is older than the sixth century, and due to the palatal nature of the \bar{l} , all vowels preceding this consonant stood in open syllables and were free. The explanation which sees the cause of the diphthongs in the \bar{l} is difficult to refute, for reasons already stated in our discussion of vowel + complicated palatal. But it seems to me that all the problems involved can be satisfactorily explained on the basis that the vowel in this position was free and that it was lengthened, when all vowels in open syllables were lengthened. The difficulties lie in the absence of the parasitic *i* and the seeming evidence of the modern forms that *a*, *e*, *o* developed as in checked position.

Menger, *l. c.*, p. 327, rejects the possibility of a pronunciation *-ai̯l̄*, *-ei̯l̄*, *-oi̯l̄* for the reason that then *-iei̯l̄* and *-uei̯l̄* must also have existed, and these would have been reduced to *-i̯l̄* and *-üi̯l̄*. He overlooks, however, the fact that the parasitic *i* before \bar{l} was of an altogether different nature from that which developed from other consonants. In the case of *t'*, *s'*, *r'* the consonants, after the growth of the parasitic *i*, early lose their palatal quality and become fronted dental sounds. Palatal \bar{l} (and \bar{n}) on the other hand remain thus for centuries, and the productive period of the parasitic palatal is therefore indefinitely lengthened. It was constantly there in tendency, and was constantly held back and reabsorbed by the palatal consonants. When he further maintains that it never developed

¹ Cf. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, II, p. 488.

into an independent vowel, he errs completely. In my article on "Dialectische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des mouillierten l im Altfranzösischen," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, v, p. 52 ff., I have shown that this *i* in certain dialects was pronounced. The most conclusive cases are those, where *-eīl* becomes *-oīl*, as in Chrestien de Troies, *conseil* > *consoil*. It would be useless to follow out here the question whether it was or was not silent in the Isle de France dialect. After *a*, this dialect seems to have followed its neighbor on the East, the Champagnois, while in the case of *e* + *l* it agrees with the Picard, where it was silent. Whether it was ever pronounced in case of *-ieil* and *-ueil* is a question which it is impossible to answer. The absence of *-īl* and *-ūīl* cannot disprove it, however, for the *i* before *l* developed long after the other triphthongs *iei* and *uei* had been reduced to *i* and *ui*. The history of vowel + *l* is in my opinion closely parallel to that of vowel + simple palatal. The only difference lies in the fugitive nature of the parasitic *i*. All vowels before *l* were free, and variations from the regular free development are due to the nature of the following consonant.

Thus *e* and *o* were lengthened in the sixth century, and diphthongized to *ie* and *uo*, and since the ultima did not fall until the eighth century, *mēljus* becomes regularly *mēlūs* > *mīelūs* > *mīelz*,¹ *veç'lus* > *vēlūs* > *vielūs* > *vielz*, *qc'lu* > *qōlu* > *uol* > *ueil*. Forms like *cueil* and *cueilz*, it seems to me, support the view advanced here. The *o* in this word could not diphthongize until the check caused by the *ll* had been reduced. But this had been accomplished, when *ll'j* had become *l̄* as in *cōlligis* > *cōllijis* > *cōlīs* > *cuolīs* > *cueilz* and *cōlligo* > *cōl-lijo* > *cōlo* > *cueil*.

In the case of *a*, *e*, *o* the development is quite similar. On account of the potential presence of the parasitic *i*, these vowels could not follow the ordinary development of free *a*,

¹The attempt which I made in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, v, col. 104, to explain the diphthong in *mīelz* as due to analogy of *vielz*, is therefore unnecessary.

e, *o*. Their history is therefore parallel to that of *a*, *e*, *o* + simple palatal with this difference that, owing to the continued palatal pronunciation of *l̃*, the original condition of things has been preserved in the spoken language to the present day. The modern pronunciation of *travail*, *conseil*, *grenouille* contains the same potential parasitic *i* which existed here in the older stages of the language. The case of *o* alone presents some difficulty, in as much as it seems to show the development of this vowel in checked position to *u*. This explanation is however not the only one that presents itself. The darkening of the *o* > *u* may be due merely to the influence of the following *l̃*, and would then be parallel to the well-known change of *oi* > *ui* in *croiz* and *cruiz*, *conoiz* and *cunuis*.

In conclusion I would say, that all vowels before *l̃* must be looked upon as free. If it still be maintained that *a*, *e*, *o* show the development of the checked vowels, then the check must be analyzed not as *lj̃* but as *l̃i*, which is equivalent to saying that *a*, *e*, *o* are influenced in their development by the nature of the *l̃* and not at all by the nature of their free or checked position.

ñ. Examples are the following :

nj — *vēja* > *viegne*, *-anja* > *agne* (*champagne*), *tēja* > *teigne*, O.H.G. *brunja* > *brōja* > *brogne*, *ingēju* > *engieing* > *engin*, *companjo* > *compaing*, *conju* > *coing*.

gn — *insegnat* > *enseignet*, *pōgna* > *poigne*, *stagnu* > *estaing*, *sēgnu* > *seing*, *plantaginem* > *plantain*.

ndj — *vereqndja* > *vergogne*.

The history of *ñ* and its parasitic *i*, as it is understood at present, may be stated as follows. The vowel preceding it was nasalized under all conditions, but the parasitic *i* developed only when *ñ* was final. Since an *ñ* like *l̃* is produced by a single articulation, vowels preceding it must have been free. Hence *ingenium* became *engēñu* > *engieñu*, *vējam* > *viegne*. For the rest, barring the difference of the nasal quality of the

vowel, the history of these words must have been similar to that of vowel + \tilde{l} , where \tilde{n} was medial, or of vowel + simple palatal, where \tilde{n} was final, and further discussion is therefore unnecessary.

VOWEL + MUTE + l OR r .

Consensus of opinion with regard to the effect of mute plus liquid on the preceding vowel, does not seem to have been reached so far. G. Paris mentioned *pr*, *br*, *tr*, *dr* as leaving the vowel free, while in the case of *cr*, *gr*, *pl*, *bl* the question must be decided in each individual case. A more sweeping statement was made by Schwan, who in the first edition of his Grammar classified a vowel + muta cum liquida as free, but his illustrative examples contain only *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *gr*, and Behrens in the third edition has allowed this definition to remain practically unchanged. Again Suchier, *l. c.*, § 6, omits *gr* from this list, but he adds *dr*, *pl*, *bl*, besides adding the remark that in later learned words *cl* and *gl* also begin the following syllable. Menger finally gives only labial or dental + l or r as making free position for all vowels; *cr* and *gr* are said to leave only ϵ and ϕ free, but not the other vowels, while *cl* and *gl* are only mentioned incidentally except in as much as they become \tilde{l} . The combinations in doubt are therefore *cr*, *gr*, *pl*, *bl*, *cl*, *gl*, *tl*, *dl*, and our discussion need be concerned only with these.

I have already stated my belief that whenever consonant + l or r followed a vowel in Latin, the preceding syllable was invariably open and the vowel free. It remains here to show that this belief is born out by the historical development. The large number of learned words in this category will furnish additional proof, if their tonic vowel developed according to the regular law of free vowels.

cr, *gr*. Wherever these combinations had changed to *ir*, the development is identical with that of vowel + complicated palatal; cp. *integru* > *entēir* > *entieir* > *entir*, *negru* > *neir*, *flagro* > *flair*. When the stops have remained, the tonic

vowel was evidently free; cp. *alęcru > *aliegre*, *alacre* > *allęgre*, *acre* > *aigre*, *macru* > *maigre*.¹

pl, bl. In a number of words *b'l* early became *ul*, as *tabula* > *taula*, *parabola* > *paraula*, *nebula* > *neula*. These diphthongs then have the history of diphthongs, *taula* > *tole*, *paraula* > *parole*, *neula* > *nieule*. Where the labial remains, the preceding vowel was undoubtedly free; *ębulu* > *ieble*, *nebula* > *nieble*, *flebile* > *fieble*, *indebile* > *endieble*, *populu* > *pueble*, *mębile* > *mueble*, *febile* > *feible*, *indebile* > *endeible*, *populu* > *peuple*, *stopula* > *estouble* > *ęteule*. *Doplu* > *double*, *copula* > *couple*, *treple* > *treble* are due to influence of *doubler*, *coupler*, *trebler*.

c'l, g'l. All words, where these combinations have remained, are learned, but the tonic vowel, when it in any way develops according to popular tendencies, always shows the results of free position; *saeculu* > *seę'lu* > *siecle*, *siegle*, *sieule*, **reęula* > *riegle*, *abęculu* > *avuegle*, *seęale* > *seigle*.

t'l, d'l. Words, where *t'l* and *d'l* did not develop into *l* form a class quite apart whose history is not fully understood. The examples are *spatula* > *espadle* > *espalle* > *ępaule*, *mędulu* > *mędle* > *molle* > *moule*, *ętulu* > *roule*, *ętulat* > *croule*, *mętula* > *meule*. The explanation which is usually given admits assimilation to *ll* and subsequent vocalization of the first *l* > *u*.² If the words were adopted early enough into the language to come under the influence of ten Brink's law, the check which is evident in their development must have been exercised by *t'l* or *d'l*, for the assimilation to *ll* took place quite late; cf. *crodle*, *Q. L. D. R.*, 205. At the present state of our knowledge, however, it will be impossible to answer this question definitely.

There remain now of the original Latin combinations of two consonants only *n, m, l, r, s* + consonant, and the vowels

¹In both of these words the digraph is merely a graphic sign for *ę*; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, § 223.

²Cf. Förster, *Rom. Stud.*, III, p. 184, and Gutheim, *Ueber Konsonanten-Assimilation*, p. 44.

preceding these combinations are invariably checked. A check is further made by a Latin geminated consonant, and by those geminated consonants which existed in the sixth century as the result of assimilation, as *ps* > *ss* and *pt* > *tt*. Latin combinations of more than two consonants always check the vowel after which they stand.

SECONDARY COMBINATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

The words belonging here are paroxytones and proparoxytones in which consonants, originally separated by an atonic vowel, are brought together through the syncope of the vowel. In paroxytones it is the vowel of the ultima which falls, but inasmuch as this did not take place until after the tonic vowel had changed or begun to change, no checking effect of this class of combinations is to be noted.

The problem is different in proparoxytones. In certain cases, which have been enumerated above,¹ the penult fell long before the time when vowels in open syllables were lengthened, so that these combinations have identical influence with the primary combinations of the same nature. In the majority of cases, however, the syncope of the penult takes place later, and the question is consequently more complicated. Everything depends here upon the chronological order of the different processes which these words underwent. These processes are principally the following three: (1) the lengthening of vowels in open syllables; (2) the voicing of voiceless medial stops; (3) the falling of the atonic vowels. All three in their ultimate analysis are due to the same cause, viz., the change in the nature of the accent, which from a predominantly musical pitch-accent became a strong expiratory stress-accent. In such an accent the whole energy of the word or stress-group is used up in the ictus on the tonic vowel, and the surrounding elements are in consequence wasted away. Thus the vowel ending the tonic syllable is

¹Cp. p. 10.

lengthened, a voiceless tenuis in its neighborhood becomes a voiceless media passing rapidly further to a voiced media, and an atonic vowel is worn off to the neutral vowel sound (ɛ) before it falls.

There can be no question that the conclusions of Neumann, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, XIV, p. 559 ff., must be accepted with regard to the chronological order of the processes involved. The syncope of the vowel of the penult is oldest when the vowel of the ultima was *a*, as *rásicà* > *rasca*, *děbità* > *děbta*. The greater resonance of the ultima helped to subdue the vowel of the penult. Since, however, *ɛ* usually becomes *ie* in words of this class (**fēmīta* > *fiente*, etc.), it follows that the syncope is younger than the lengthening of vowels in open syllables. When the ultima contained the vowel *u*, the resonance was more evenly distributed between the two atonic syllables, and the penult was more slow in falling. In fact words like *cūbitum* > *cōbedu* > *cobde* > *coude*, *aetaticum* > *edadigu* > *edadgu* > *edage* show that the vowel of the penult fell after the voicing of medial voiceless stops.¹

There is one restriction to be noted here. When *c* (+ *e*, *i*) was the initial consonant of the atonic penult, it seems to have been reduced to *j* in early Popular Latin times.² This opinion, which it is impossible to substantiate with forms from early documents, is based upon the evidence afforded by the later development, as *placitu* > *plait*, *placet* > *plaist*. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the initial consonant of the atonic penult (*placitu*) or of the pretonic syllable (*vocitare*)

¹ Rydberg, *Die Entstehung des 2-Lautes*, Upsala, 1896, p. 30 ff., overlooks the diphthongization of *ɛ* just mentioned and as a result places the syncope of the penult before *a* in the ultima too early. "Obengenannte Synkopierungen müssen folglich alle vor Ende des v. Jahrh. vollendet gewesen sein und gehören, wenigstens zum Teil (so z. B. die Typen *manca*, *rasca*, etc.) der ältesten galloromanischen Zeit an," p. 33. On p. 32 he puts the change of *c* (+ *a*, *o*) > *g* as having taken place centuries before that of *t* > *d*, without citing the necessary proof. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, § 648, puts this development into the seventh century.

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, §§ 314 and 523.

had a different history from that of the initial consonant of the ultima. This development, which may be accepted as a fact, was of fundamental influence in the history of the ultima, as will be shown hereafter.

All these processes precede the further development of $\bar{a} > \ddot{a}$, $\bar{e} > \epsilon^i$ and $\bar{o} > \omicron^u$, since these vowels remain unchanged in words of this class. In other words, these vowels are checked by the new combinations of consonants caused by the syncope; cf. *gabata* > *jatte*, *rapidu* > *rade*, *dēbita* > *dette*, *sēmita* > *sente*, *cōbita* > O. Fr. *coute*, *cōbitu* > *coude*. Since the development of $\bar{a} > \ddot{a}$ took place towards the end of the seventh century, it follows that the syncope was completed by that time. This view of the development is however not shared by all scholars. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, §§ 530 and 644 and elsewhere, maintains that *a*, *e*, *o* remained unchanged, not because they were checked by the secondary combinations of consonants, but for the reason that in proparoxytones they were not lengthened. The conclusions which he draws in support of this theory from the development of *anate* > *ane* have already been objected to by Horning, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, xv, p. 501. The whole theory is based upon the date which he ascribes to the fall of the ultima, and before proceeding further it will be necessary to define our position with regard to this development.

Meyer-Lübke maintains that the ultima fell before the syncope of the penult in words like *cūbitum* > *kōbedu*, *Rom. Gram.*, § 313. When the ultima in words of this class remained as *e*, it is not a supporting vowel, but the result of the rhythm of the word. Wherever the rhythm was trochaic ($\text{— } \text{˘}$) as in *sērvu*, *ámo* the ultima disappeared, but where a dactyl ($\text{— } \text{˘ } \text{˘}$) prevailed the penult fell and the ultima remained. On this basis he explains the retention of the ultima in *ált^oru* > *altre*, *témp^olu* > *temple*, *sóm^onu* > *somme*, *ál^onu* > *alne*, *cál^omu* > *chalme*, *pát^ore* > *pedre*, *cōbedu* > *cobde* > *coude*, *-áticu* > *-ádegū* > *-age*, *pūmice* > *ponce*, etc. Cases where the ultima in proparoxytones has disappeared, as *placitu*

> *plait*, *digitu* > *deit*, -agine > *ain*, are explained on the basis of an earlier syncope. Finally the accuracy of the theory is based upon such comparisons as *cūbitu* > *coude* and *sūbtus* > *souze*, *pūlice* > *puce* and *calce* > *chaux*, *cōgnitu* > *cointe* and *sanctu* > *saint*.

It seems to me, however, that the following reasons militate forcibly against the accuracy of Meyer-Lübke's doctrine.

1. A tendency like that to lengthen vowels in open syllables must in the nature of things attack all vowels alike. Hence *a*, *e*, *o* in proparoxytones must have been lengthened just as *e* and *o*. Since, moreover, the change of $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$, $\bar{e} > \bar{e}^i$ and $\bar{o} > \bar{o}^u$ was later than the syncope, the check caused by the new combination of consonants is sufficient to account for their lack of development.

2. The ultima in paroxytones does not fall until after the change of $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$, $\bar{e} > \bar{e}^i$, $\bar{o} > \bar{o}^u$. Meyer-Lübke admits this fact in § 644, without seeming to notice the evident contradiction of his argument. The date of this process is given by Rydberg, *l. c.*, p. 43-44, as the eighth century.

3. Meyer-Lübke's dactylic rhythm as the cause for the retention of the ultima in proparoxytones does not explain the atonic vowel in words like *pejor* > *pire*, *major* > *maire*, *melior* > *mieldre*, *minor* > *mendre*, *insimul* > *ensemble*, *senior* > *Oaths*, *sendra*, *apju* > *ache* (*atše*), *sabju* > *sage*, *simju* > *singe*, where we certainly have a supporting vowel which developed to make the final consonantal combinations pronounceable.

4. The comparison of *cubitus* with *subtus* is inadequate, since original labial + dental had been assimilated to *tt* in the second century; cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundr.*, I, p. 364; *sūbtus* was therefore *sōttus* in the sixth century. *Cointe* does not necessarily derive from *cognitu*, but it may be the feminine form generalized; cf. Neumann, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, XIV, p. 563. The case of *calce* > *chaux*, *pulice* > *puce* presents more difficulty and will be considered below.

In view of all these facts it seems to me erroneous and unnecessary to place the falling of the ultima earlier than the

syncope of the penult. In my opinion the development was as follows.

The syncope of the penult was gradual, depending partly on the resonance of the ultima and partly on the nature of the consonants which surrounded the vowel of the penult. Reasons advanced by Rydberg, *l. c.*, p. 29 ff., make it extremely probable that the suppression of this syllable under favorable conditions was practiced without interruption in popular speech from the earliest times, and some of the irregularities mentioned below may probably find their explanation through such an early syncope. When the process was completed, the language possessed only paroxytones, some of which had a single consonant before the ultima and others a combination of consonants. When the ultima now began to disappear, it fell after all single consonants and after all those combinations of consonants which could readily be combined according to the inherent tendencies of the language into a single crescendo expiratory effort. If on the other hand the combination was new or unusual or could not be readily thus combined, the ultima remained in the form of the neutral vowel sound of the language, as the result of the effort expended in pronouncing the last consonant, thus making or leaving the word bisyllabic, and the tonic vowel was checked, if it had not already, as *ε* and *ο*, changed to a diphthong.

Thus the ultima falls after liquid plus stop or spirant, and if the stop or spirant is voiced, it now becomes voiceless through the crescendo effort of expiration; cf. *servu* > *serf*, *perdo* > *pert*, *cal'du* > *chalt*, *ver'de* > *vert*. If the ultima, however, is preceded by a consonant plus liquid or by liquid plus liquid (except geminated liquid and *rm* or *rn*) it remains as in *fabru* > *fevre*, *doplu* > *double*, *coperc'lu* > *couvercle*, *cal'mu* > *chaume*, *alnu* > *aune*, *somnu* > *somne* > *somme*, *scamnu* > *eschamme*,¹ *-umine* > *ume*. The same is true after *sm* and *ne* (+ *e*, *i*) as in *baptismu* > *baptisme*, *metipsimu* > *medesme*, *lynce* > *l'once*.

¹ Rydberg, *l. c.*, p. 44, draws from these forms the valid conclusion that the assimilation of *m'n* had not yet taken place, when the ultima fell.

The absence of the ultima in certain proparoxytones is readily explained on the same basis. An examination of such cases shows in every instance combinations of consonants which are easily combined in a single expiratory effort. These combinations are illustrated by the types *nřtidu* > *nřtedu* > *nřttu* > *net*, *pēditu* > *pēdedu* > *pēddu* > *pet*, *dřgitu* > *dějidu* > *děidu* > *deit*, *gürgite* > *gorjite* > *gorjte* > *gort*, *-agine* > *-ajine* > *-ain*, *vřcitu* > *vřjidu* > *vuojidu* > *vuoit*, *cřlligo* > *cřllijo* > *cřlo* > *cuoř* > *cueil*.

Groups of consonants on the other hand which no longer existed or which had never existed in the language require a supporting vowel; cf. *těpidu* > *tiebidu* > *tiebde* > *tiede*, *cřbitu* > *coude*, *jřvene* > *jřvene* > *juefne*, *Stęphanu* > *Estienne*, *řřsinu* > *resne*, *sędicu* > *siedigu* > *siedgu* > *siedge* > *siege*, *-aticu* > *age*, *rřmice* > *ronce*, *cřmite* > *comte* > *conte*, *hřspite* > *ospte* > *oste* (cf. *hoste* > *ost*), *canabe* > *chanve*, *asinu* > *asne*, *ordine* > *ordne* > *orne*, *ęecimu* > *diejme* > *dime*.

The only serious difficulty to this opinion is presented by words like *calce* and *pulice*, already noticed above, which show a difference in their French forms (*chalé* and *pulce*). Only few similar examples exist in the language, cf. *dulce* > *dolé*, *falce* > *falé* (*faux*), and *pollice* > *polce*, *salice* > *salce*. It must be admitted that in both sets of words the conditions are sufficiently similar to warrant our expectation of finding identical results. As a matter of fact, *salice* occurs in O. Fr. both as *salce* and *salé*, and these forms may contain the key to the riddle. It is well known that the color of the *l* differed according to its position, being 'pinguis' before consonants, 'exilis' before vowels and when geminated.¹ Therefore we have to posit *dořce*, *fařce*, *cařce*, but *salice*, *pulice*, *pollice*, and of these two *l*'s it is *ř* which most readily combines with the following articulation. To be sure in *salice* the nature of the *l* changed after the syncope, but it does not seem impossible that for a short time it maintained enough of its original color to prevent a ready union with the following consonant, and that

¹ Cf. Seelman, *l. c.*, p. 326.

would explain the retention of the ultima. It must not be forgotten that *l'e* (with the addition of *l'r*) is the only instance in which the vowel of the penult had not been syncopated in very early times when this syllable began with *l*. It is often asserted that *i* changed to *u* most readily after the vowel *a*. If this be true, its guttural quality must have been most prominent after this vowel, and this may be the explanation of the doublets *salce* and *salc'*. In *pulce* and *polce* on the other hand the quality of the *l* did not change until after the ultima had become firmly established. I offer this explanation as a possible solution of the difficulty. That a slight difference in the color of the *l* may affect the fate of the ultima is shown by the development of *altu* > (*h*)*alt*, and *helmu* > *helme*, *alnu* > *alne*.

The tonic vowels in paroxytones were therefore always free when the penult began with a single consonant; but *e* and *o* alone can show the effects of the consequent lengthening, while the further development of *a*, *e*, *o* is hindered by a secondary check caused by the falling of the vowel of the penult. The examples in point will bear out the accuracy of this rule, and the exceptions are probably the result of an early syncope.

e. *Tēpidu* > *tiede*, *Stēphanu* > *Estienne*, *antēphona* > *antienne*, *sēdicu* > *siege*, *pēdicu* > *piege*, *mēdicu* > *miege*, *dēcimu* > *dime*, *fēmīta* > *fiente*, *frēmīta* > *friente*, *fēretu* > *fietre*. Exceptions are *generu* > *gendre*, *tēneru* > *tendre*. O.Fr. *giembre* (> *gēmere*) and *criembre* (> *trēmere*) may have their diphthong from *gēmit* > *gient* and *trēmit* > *crient*, and are therefore not necessarily parallel to *gendre* and *tendre*. *Pectine*, according to Meyer-Lübke, *Z. f. R. Ph.*, VIII, p. 237, should have become **pigne*. His explanation is that the language "singuläres singulär behandelt" and this remark is no doubt correct in view of the fact that the word in the sixth century must have been pronounced *peit'ine*. O.Fr. *resne* does not derive from *rētina* but *rēsinu*, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Neutrum*, p. 137, and Körting, s. v.

o. **Jōvine* > *juefne*, (*mōbile* > *mueble*), *mōvita* > *muete*, *vōcitu* > *vuoit* > *vuit*, **cōgitat* > *cuidet*. Exceptions are

cqphinu > *coffre*, Rhqdanu > *Rhosne*, elemqsyna > *almosne*, hqmine > *homme*, cqmite > *conte*, dqmitu > *donte*, canqnicu > *chanonge*, abrqtonu > *aurone*, cognitu > *coint*.

a. Only a few typical examples need to be cited. Rapidu > *rade*, gabata > *jatte*, -aticu > *age*, rasica > *rasche*, amita > *ante*, Lazaru > *Lazdre*. Where a palatal follows the vowel we find the diphthong *ai*; placitu > *plait*, facimus > *faimes*, facitis > *faites*. Exceptions are *chainse* and *aisne*. The latter derives from *acinu*, but it is either a late importation or we have to accept Meyer-Lübke's explanation, *Rom. Gram.* § 531, that *ci* before *l* and *n* becomes *is*. *Chainse* is irregular, whether it derives from *camice* or from *camisi* as Gröber puts it, *Arch. Lat. Lex.*, I, p. 541.

ę. Dębita > *dette*, bębita > *bette*, nętidu > *net*, pęditu > *pet*, haeręticu > *erege*, treędece > *treze*, sęmita > *sente*, cęnere > *cendre*, domęnica > *dimanche*. Before a palatal the diphthong *ei* arises as in *expleęitu* > *espleit*, *solleęitu* > *solleित*, *deęitu* > *deit*. In O. Fr. *reisne* or *resne* (< *ręsinu*) the *i* is merely graphic, and *ei* stands for *ę*. The history of *peisle* > *poisle* > *poęle* from *pę(n)sile* alone is obscure and the vowel remains unexplained.

q. Cqbitu > *coude*, cqbita > O. Fr. *coute*, dqbitas > *doutes*, dqędece > *douze*, sqbitus > *soude*, rqmice > *ronce*, pqmice > *ponce*, rqmigat > *ronge*, cqmulat > *comble*, nqmeru > *nombre*, pqnere > *pondre*.

Words in which the penult begins with a combination of consonants checking the tonic vowels are so regular that it is unnecessary to cite examples. The only cases to be mentioned particularly are those whose penult begins with *x*. The examples are *taxitat* > *tastet*, *intoxicat* > *entoschet*, *fraxinu* > *fraisne*, *caxinu* > *chaisne*, *Saxone* > *Saisne*, *buxita* > *boiste*, *texere* > *tistre*, *proximu* > *prueisme*, and because their history seems to have been identical, also *muccidu* > *moiste* and *flaccidu* > **flaiste* > *flaistre*. Since Latin *xt* is reduced to *st*,¹ it would look as though the syncope had taken place earlier

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gram.*, § 403 f.

in *taxitare* > *taster*, *intoxicare* > *entoschier* than in the other words. The consideration of this feature does, however, not belong into the domain of this paper. Where a parasitic *i* developed, the further development must have been identical with that of vowel + complicated palatal. The diphthongs *ai* and *oi* remained as such, while *ei* and *oi* became *iei* > *i* and *uoi* > *uei*. If the history of *muccidu* and *flaccidu* is correctly understood, *-cc-* must have been pronounced like *x*, i. e., *cs*.

It is evident now that the terms 'free' and 'checked' can be applied to vowels only with reference to the consonantal conditions as they existed in the sixth century. From this point of view their definition should read as follows.

Free vowels are :

1. All simple final vowels.
2. All simple vowels in hiatus.
3. All simple vowels before a single medial consonantal articulation, whether labial (*p, b, v*), dental (*t, ð, d, s, z, r, l*), nasal (*n, m*) or palatal (*k, g, k', g', j, s', t', r', l, ñ*).
4. All simple vowels before consonant + *l* or *r*.
5. All simple vowels in monosyllables.¹
6. All diphthongs existing in the sixth century, regardless of the consonants which follow.

Checked vowels are :

1. All simple vowels followed by a complicated consonantal articulation. These are *l, r, m, n, s* + consonant, and *t + ð, d + z* and *t + s*.
2. All simple vowels followed by a Latin or Romanic geminated consonant.
3. All simple vowels followed by a group of more than two consonants.

JOHN E. MATZKE.

¹ The consideration of vowels in monosyllables has been omitted in this paper, because this class of words presents no particular difficulty. The principle regulating their development is stated by Behrens in the third edition of Schwan's *Grammatik*, § 33.

II.—ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATIONS FROM THE
ITALIAN: THE TITLES OF SUCH WORKS
NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND
ARRANGED, WITH
ANNOTATIONS.

III. MISCELLANEA.

INTRODUCTION.

The whole bibliography of Elizabethan translations from the Italian, as far as my researches have gone up to the present time, consists of 404 separate titles. Of these, I have already published 70 numbers in Part I, "Romances in Prose" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. x, No. 2, June, 1895), and 82 numbers in Part II, "Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances" (*Ibid.*, Vol. xi, No. 4, December, 1896). The "Miscellanea," Part III, comprise 252 numbers, so many that I have found it convenient to divide them. The present paper contains 111 titles, classified under the general heads, religion and theology, science and the arts, grammars and dictionaries, and proverbs. It will be followed by a second section dealing with history and politics, voyages and discovery, manners and morals, and Italian and Latin publications in England. I need hardly add that this is merely a working classification. Many of the titles are obvious enough, but as is well known the Elizabethans exercised a lively fancy in the naming of books. To one uninstructed in the Elizabethan love of color and melody in phraseology, *A Joyfull Jewell* does not at once suggest a treatise on the plague, nor *A Divine Herball* a sermon, nor the *Enimie of Idlenesse* a complete letter-writer. I have no doubt but that with a wider acquaintance with the subject I should reclassify to a certain extent.

In this connection I wish to repeat, from the Introduction to Part I, that this bibliography has grown out of some studies into the Italian origins of the Elizabethan drama. The sources of so many plays are to be found in the popular translations from the Italian of the time, sometimes through the French or Spanish, that I found it impossible to go on with a systematic study of the origins until I had collected the translations. For this reason I use the term Elizabethan in its large sense, to include the entire cycle of the great drama, approximately from the accession of Edward VI. to the Restoration, from 1549 to 1660, with some extension at both ends of this period. This occurs in the case of authors whose literary activity overlaps the dates fixed upon; for example, among the religious translations, the sermons of the great Italian preacher, Ochino, began to be turned into English under the Protestant influence of Henry VIII., and the works of the grammarian, Torriano, run half way through the reign of Charles II. In each section I have kept to the chronological order of publication. This shows at a glance the growth of the Italian influence, besides throwing out side-lights that open up many interesting questions. It will be noticed that the religious influence, with only one exception, is at first exclusively Protestant, while after 1600 the Roman Catholic faith is accorded a hearing. One of the most novel and striking aspects of the whole question is the showing here made for Italian Protestantism in England. Roger Ascham refers to an Italian church in London in his time:—

“Thies men, thus Italianated abroad, can not abide our Godlie Italian chirch at home: they be not of that Parish, they be not of that felowshyp: they like not the preacher: they heare not his sermons: Excepte somtyme for companie, they cum thither to heare the Italian tonge naturally spoken, not to heare Gods doctrine trewly preached.”

The Scholemaster, p. 85 (ed. 1570).

Whether John Florio's father was the preacher whose Italian the young courtiers went to listen to, or not, I do

not know, but he appears here as an Italian preacher in London patronized by Cranmer and Cecil, and the author of a life of Lady Jane Grey and a catechism for children, both in Italian. Peter Martyr occupies a large space in the early history of the Established Church. Archbishop Cranmer made him professor of ecclesiastical law at Oxford and some of the ablest Anglican divines learned theology at his feet, among them Archbishop Grindal, Bishops Jewel and Ponet, and Dean Nowell.

It is for the most part a childish sort of science, much mixed with alchemy and magic, as it gets itself translated for Englishmen, but John Halle's *Lanfranci* and Porta's *Natural Magick* represent at least in this list the great Italian anatomists and physicists of the sixteenth century. During the years 1583, 1584 and 1585 Giordano Bruno brought out five books in London. He tells us how he was invited by Fulke Greville to meet Sidney and others, in order that they might hear "the reasons of his belief that the earth moves." "We met," says Bruno, "in a chamber in the house of Mr. Fulke Greville, to discuss moral, metaphysical, mathematical and natural speculations."

In the arts we see the Italians the intelligent teachers of a great variety of subjects, from the building of palaces to the making of ink and the breaking in of horses.

I would call attention to the wide use of dialogue as a form of literary expression. Bruno uses it, and Machiavelli, and even a book on gunnery is written in dialogue. How much the dialogue form, copied from Italian into English, may have had to do with the development of the great dramatic cycle of the Elizabethan period, can be a matter of conjecture only, but there is hardly a doubt, I think, but that it acted as a sort of bed of Procrustes for the poets of the time. It throws light on the non-dramatic Elizabethan dramatists. It explains the dull, ponderous plays, like *Loocrine* and *Covent Garden*, which move across the stage, whether as tragedy or comedy, with elephantine tread. It explains why the sweet,

bright fancy of John Day soars but lamely, with clipped wings, in the dramatic form. Neither Nabbes, nor Day, nor Munday, nor many another Elizabethan playwright, should have written plays.

As many of the authors mentioned in this paper are little known, I have interspersed a few biographies, and now and then I have given some account of a particular book. The aim of the notes has been simply to clear up the subject; if, perchance, they add interest to it, I shall be twice paid, once in my own pleasure in these studies, and again in sharing it.

a. RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

1547. *Five Sermons, translated out of Italian into Englishe, Anno Do MDXLVII.*

London, by R. C. [probably Robert Crowley] for William Beddell. 1547. Sm. 8vo.

Translated from the *Prediche* of Bernardino Ochino, of Siena, 1487–1564. Ochino was an Italian Protestant, whose restless disposition brought him many vicissitudes in life. Having become an Observantine friar, he renounced his vows to study medicine, but not finding medicine to his taste, he reëntered his order, only to leave it again to become a Capuchin. In 1538 he was elected vicar-general of the Capuchins, and travelled all over Italy preaching, the people everywhere flocking to hear him. About 1542 he became a Protestant, preaching that doctrine in Geneva, where he was welcomed by Calvin, and in Augsburg. Shortly before the death of Henry VIII. he accepted the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer to go to England, and under Edward VI. he was made a prebendary of Canterbury and received a pension from the king's privy purse. At the accession of Mary, he became the pastor of the Italian Protestant church in Zurich, through the friendly offices of Henri Bullinger. He was exiled from Switzerland, in 1563, on account of his *Dialogue of Polygamy*, dialogue twenty-one of his *Dialogi XXX*, and spent the last

year of his life in wandering from place to place; after seeing three of his four children die of the plague at Pinczow, Poland, he himself died at Schlakau, Moravia, towards the end of 1564.

Bernardino Ochino was the intimate friend of Bembo, Tolomei, Pietro Martire, and Vittoria Colonna. Besides several volumes of *Prediche*, his most famous work is the *Tragedy*, translated by Bishop Ponet, 1549. See *Dialogue of Polygamy*, 1657.

1548. *Sermons of the ryght famous ād excellent clerke Master Bernardine Ochine*, etc.

A. Scoloker: Ippeswich. 1548. 8vo. Black letter. Without pagination. *British Museum*.

Dedicated to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, by "Rychard Argentyne," the translator.

This is another translation from the popular *Prediche* of Bernardino Ochino; they are controversial tracts, rather than sermons, and were written to explain and vindicate his change of religion. The collection contains sermons 1 to 6 of the later edition, entitled *Certayne Sermons*, etc. [1550?], translated in part by Lady Bacon.

1549. *A tragoedie or Dialogue of the unjste usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the just abolishyng of the same, made by Master Barnardine Ochine, an Italian, and translated out of Latine into Englishe by Master John Ponet Doctor of Diuinitie, never before printed in any language.* Anno Do. 1549.

Imprynted for Gualter Lynne: London. 1549. 4to. Black letter. Library of Edward VI. Royal Library. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

Dedicated to King Edward VI., by Bernardinus Ochinus Senensis.

The parties that doe speake in thys dialogue are these—

- i. Lucifer and Beelzebub.
- ii. Boniface the third, & Doctour Sapience secretary to the Emperour.
- iii. The people of Rome. The Church of Rome.
- iiii. The Pope, and men's iudgement and the people of Rome.
- v. Thomas Massuccius the master of the horse. Lepidus the pope's chamberlain.
- vi. Lucifer and Beelzebub.
- vii. Christ and Michael and Gabriell archangelis.
- viii. King Henry viii. and Papiste, and Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.
- ix. King Edward vi. and the Counsell.

"This remarkable performance, originally written in Latin, is extant only in the translation of Bishop Ponet, a splendid specimen of nervous English. The conception is highly dramatic; the form is that of a series of dialogues. Lucifer, enraged at the spread of Christ's kingdom, convokes the fiends in council, and resolves to set up the pope as Antichrist. The state, represented by the emperor Phocas, is persuaded to connive at the pope's assumption of spiritual authority; the other churches are intimidated into acquiescence; Lucifer's projects seem fully accomplished, when Heaven raises up Henry VIII. and his son for their overthrow. The conception bears a remarkable resemblance to that of *Paradise Lost*; and it is nearly certain that Milton, whose sympathies with the Italian Reformation were so strong, must have been acquainted with it."

Richard Garnett.

John Ponet, or Poynt, 1514(?)–1556, was not only a great preacher, but a man of learning, knowing mathematics, astronomy, German and Italian, besides being a good classical scholar and theologian. The *Tragedy*, translated from Ochino's manuscript, brought him to the notice of the Pro-

tector Somerset, who is mentioned in the dedication, and Ponet was made successively Bishop of Rochester and of Winchester. He was somewhat unscrupulous, and is thought to have voiced the opinion given by himself; Cranmer, and Ridley, when consulted about the Princess Mary's hearing mass, 'that to give license to sin was sin; nevertheless, they thought the king might suffer or wink at it for a time.' (Strype, *Memorials*, II, 1, 451.)

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, Bishop Ponet was deprived, and Stephen Gardiner reinstated in the bishoprick of Winchester. Stow asserts, and Froude after him (*History of England*, Vol. VI, Chap. 31), that Ponet was out in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, in 1554. Eventually he found his way to Peter Martyr, at Strasburg, where he seems to have lived comfortably enough. "What is exile," he wrote to Bullinger at Zurich, "a thing painful only in imagination, provided you have wherewith to subsist."

At his death, in 1556, his library came into the possession of Sir Anthony Cooke.

[1550(?)] *A discourse or traictise of Peter Martyr Vermill a Florétine . . . wherein he openly declared his . . . iudgemente concernynge the Sacrament of the Lordes supper, etc.* [Translated from the Latin by Nicholas Udall.]

London: R. Stoughton. [Under Vermigli the *British Museum Catalogue* gives the date [1550?], but under Udall [1558?].] 4to. Black letter.

Pietro Martire Vermigli, 1500-1562, was of a noble Florentine family. He entered the order of Augustine friars, and soon became distinguished for his learning and piety. Having turned Protestant, he was invited to England in 1547 by Archbishop Cranmer and the Duke of Somerset to assist in the English reformation. Cranmer made him a professor at Oxford, and one of three commissioners charged with drawing up a new code of ecclesiastical laws to take the place of the Canon Law of the Catholic church.

When Queen Mary came to the throne, Peter Martyr asked leave to return to the continent, and it is one of the generous acts of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, that he supplied the Italian the means to get back to Strasburg. Here he resumed his post as professor of theology, subsequently removing to Zurich to teach the same subject.

Peter Martyr wrote commentaries on some of the principal books of the Old and the New Testament, and several treatises on dogmatic theology, and at one time ranked next to Calvin as a Protestant writer. He was more learned than Calvin, of moderate counsels, and wished to unite the various sects broken off from the Catholic Church, for which he always retained an affection. He was married twice.

[1550 (?)] *Certayne Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent clerk Master B. Ochine, now an exyle in thys lyfe for the faithful testimony of Jesus Christe. Faythfully translated into Englyshe.*

J. Day: London. [1550 ?.] 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

This is another collection of sermons translated from Ochino's *Prediche*; the first six, by Richard Argentine, had already appeared in *Sermons of the ryght famous ſd excellent clerke Master Bernardine Ochine*, 1548. The last fourteen sermons were translated by Ann Cooke, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, afterwards second wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon and mother of Sir Francis Bacon. Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to King Edward VI., had five daughters who all made brilliant marriages. Mildred, the eldest, was the second wife of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and of the three younger daughters, Katherine became the wife of Sir Henry Killigrew, Elizabeth, the wife (1) of Sir Thomas Hoby, and (2) of John, Lord Russell, son of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, and Margaret married Sir Ralph Rowlett.

Ann Cooke was one of the learned women of her time, and is said to have been able to read Latin, Greek, Italian

and French, "as her native tongue." She was a fervent Protestant, inclined to Puritanism, and translated Ochino's *Prediche* before her marriage to Sir Nicholas Bacon. Her most interesting work is a translation from the Latin of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1562, entitled *Apologie, or aunswer in defence of the Church of England*, 1562 and 1564. Both editions appeared without the author's name, but the second one contains a prefatory address to Lady Bacon as the translator, by Archbishop Parker. It seems that she had submitted the MS. to him, accompanied by a letter written in Greek. He returned it printed, "knowing that he had hereby done for the best, and in the point used a reasonable policy; that is, to prevent such excuses as her modesty would have made in stay of publishing it."

The translation is referred to in *A Declaration of the True Causes of the great Troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of England*, 1592, p. 12.

"The apologie of this Church was written in Latin, & translated into English by A. [nn] B. [acon] with the comendation of M. [ildred] C. [ecil], which twaine were sisters, & wives unto Cecill and Bacon, and gave their assistance and helping hands in the plot and fortification of this newe erected synagog." Queen Elizabeth thought so highly of the *Apologie* that she ordered a copy of it to be chained in every parish church in England. (G. P. Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 374.)

Theodore de Bèze, who knew of Lady Bacon's learning and piety from her son Anthony, dedicated his *Meditations* to her.

Many of Lady Bacon's letters to her sons Anthony and Francis are extant, and some of them have been printed in Spedding's *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon*. They are thickly interspersed with quotations from Greek and Latin writers, but the English is vigorous, and the picture of family relations presented is highly interesting. The mother never relinquished her authority over her sons, even as grown men, and one of them Lord Chancellor of

England. She took the liveliest interest in their affairs, and reproved them sharply, if they neglected to make known to her what they were doing. The young men were both dutiful sons, and the second clause of Sir Francis Bacon's will reads,—“For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's church, near St. Alban's—there my mother was buried.”

[1550?] *Fourtene Sermons, concerning the Predestinacion and Eleccion of God: very expediente to the settinge forth of hys Glorie among his Creatures. Translated out of Italian [of Bernardino Ochino] into oure natyve Tounge by A. C. [Ann Cooke.]*

London, by John Day and W. Seres. [1550?.] Sm. 8vo. Black letter. Edited by G. B. *British Museum.*

Dedicated by A. C. to her mother, the Lady F.

These *Fourtene Sermons* are numbers 12 to 25 of the collection, entitled *Certayne Sermons*, [1550?].

1550. *The Alcaron of the Barefote Friers, that is to say, an heape or numbre of the blasphemous and trifling doctrines of the wounded Idole Saint Frances [Francis [Bernardoni], of Assisi, Saint,] taken out of the boke of his rules, called in latin Liber Conformitatum [by Bartholomaeus Albizzi]; the selections made by E. Alberus].*

R. G. [rafton], excudebat, [London,] 1550. 8vo. B. L. *British Museum*, (2 copies). Also, London, 1603. 8vo. *British Museum.*

This work seems to have been translated from the French; a French original in the British Museum is of later date.

L'Alcoran des Cordeliers, tant en Latin qu'en François; c'est à dire, Recueil des plus notables bourdes & blasphemes . . . de ceux qui ont osé comparer Saint François à Jesus Christ: tiré [by Erasmus Alberus] du grand livre des Conformitez, iadis composé par frere Barthelemi de Pise. . . . [Translated by Conrad Badius]. Parti en deux livres. Nouvellement y a esté adioustee la figure d'un arbre cōtenat par branches la conference

de S. François à Jesus Christ. Le tout de nouveau reveu & corrigé. Lat. and Fr. 2 pts.

G. de Laimerie. Genève. 1578. 12mo. British Museum.
Also, Amsterdam. 1734. 12mo. *British Museum.*

At the time of the Reformation Erasmus Alberus wrote a refutation of the *Alcoran*, with a preface by Luther. It is entitled, *Der Barfüßser Münche Eulenspiegel und Alcoran. 1542. [2nd edition.]* A Latin paraphrase of this, is *Alcoranus Franciscanorum; id est, Blasphemiæ et nugarum Lerna, de stigmatizzato Idolo, quod Franciscum vocant, ex Libro Conformitatum [of Bartholomæus Albizzi, of Pisa]. Translated and abridged from the Eulenspiegel und Alcoran of E. Alberus. With the prefaces of M. Luther and E. Alberus.]*

Daventraie. 1651. 12mo. British Museum.

The *Liber Conformitatum Sancti Francisci cum Christo* was presented by the author, Bartolommeo Albizzi da Pisa, to the chapter of his order assembled at Assisi, in 1399, and the brothers were so pleased with it that they gave him the habit worn by St. Francis. The first printed edition appeared at Venice, folio, without date, and is one of the rarest incunabula. The editions of 1480 and 1484 have the title,

Li fioretti di San Francisco assimilati alla vita ed alla passione di Nostro Signore.

1550. *An epistle unto the right honorable and christian Prince, the Duke of Somerset written unto him in Latin, anone after hys deliverance out of trouble . . . translated into Englyshe by T. [homas] Norton.*

Imprynted . . . for Gualter Lynne: Londõ. 1550. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

The epistle was written by Peter Martyr to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, upon his release from the Tower, in 1550. Thomas Norton was only eighteen years old when he published the translation, which is the more interesting from the fact that the original letter is not extant. Norton was at the time amanuensis to the Duke of Somerset and undertook the translation at his desire.

The rest of Norton's literary work is curiously divided between legal papers, controversial Puritan tracts, twenty-eight metrical Psalms which he contributed to *The whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, etc.*, 1561, and the first three acts of *Gorboduc*, 1565, the earliest English tragedy. He was a Calvinistic barrister, and married (1) Margery, third daughter of Archbishop Cranmer, and (2) Alice Cranmer, his first wife's cousin. In 1571 he was made the first Remembrancer of the City of London, and as such was elected to a seat in the third Parliament of Elizabeth.

1550. *A notable and marvelous epistle of the famous Doctor Mathewe Gribalde, professor of law in the universitie of Padua; cōcerning the terrible iudgement of God, upon hym that for feare of men denieth Christ, and the knowne veritie: with a Preface of Doctor Caluine. Translated out of Latin intoo English by E. A.*

Worcester. [Printed by John Osmen.] 1550. [1570 (?) in the *British Museum Catalogue*.] 8vo.

The work was republished at London, by Henry Denham, for William Norton, without date:—"Now newly imprinted, with a godly and wholesome preseruative against desperation, at all tymes necessarie for the soule: chiefly to be used when the deuill dooeth assaulte us moste fiercely, and death approacheth nighest."

The original is a Latin epistle by Matteo Gribaldi, called *Mopha*, entitled,—

Francisci Spierae, qui quod susceptam semel Evangelicae veritatis professionem abnegasset damnassetque, in horrendam incidit desperationem historia, a quatuor summis viris, [C. S. Curio, M. Gribaldus, Henricus [Scrimzeor] Scotus, and S. Gelous,] summa fide conscripta: cum praefationibus Caelii S. C. et J. Calvinii & P. Vergerii Apologia . . . accessit quoque M. Borrhai, de usu quem Spierae tum exemplum tum doctrina afferat iudicium.

[Geneva? 1550?] 8vo. *British Museum*.

The translator was Edward Aglionby, recorder of Warwick, as appears from an acrostic contained in "An Epigram of the terrible example of one Francis Spera an Italian, of whom this book is compiled." The translation has been attributed to Edmund Allen, who died bishop-elect of Rochester, in 1559.

Francesco Spiera, or Spera, a juris-consult of Padua, became a Protestant, and subsequently retracted that faith publicly before the Holy Office at Venice. Returning to Padua, he died shortly afterwards in despair. His story seems to have made a profound impression on the Protestant world of the time, and for long after. It is the subject of an Elizabethan comedy, called *The Conflict of Conscience*, 1581, by Nathaniel Woodes, a minister of Norwich; "in *The Conflict of Conscience*," says John Churton Collins, "the struggle between the old faith and the new is depicted with an energy which is almost tragic in its intensity."

Stationers' Register B, for June 15, 1587, records, *A ballad of master Ffrauncis an Italian a Doctor of Lawe who denied the lord Jesus.*

I find also,

A Relation of the Fearefull Estate of Francis Spira, in the yeare 1548. [By N. B., i. e., Nathaniel Bacon.]

Printed by I. L. for P. Stephens, and C. Meredith, London, 1638. 12mo. *British Museum.* Also, 1640. 12mo. *British Museum.* 1665.

The first edition of the *Relation* came out anonymously, and it was not until the edition of 1665 that Nathaniel Bacon's name appeared on the title-page, when he is said to have 'compiled' the book. A Welsh translation was issued in 1820, and an edition of 1845, is styled, "*An Everlasting Proof of the Falsehood of Popery.*" The *British Museum* contains also duodecimo editions of the *Relation*, dated 1678, 1681, 1683, 1688, 1784, and 1815, in all eleven editions.

A French tragedy on the theme, by J. D. C. G., is entitled, *François Spera, ou le Désespoir.*

1564. *Most fruitfull & learned Comentaries of . . . Peter Martir Vermil [upon the Book of Judges] . . . with a very profitable tract of the matter and places, etc.* [With the text.]

J. Day, London, 1564. Folio. B. L. *British Museum*.

Dedicated by the printer, John Daye, to the "Earle of Leicester."

A translation of *In librum Judicum . . . P. M. Vermilii . . . commentarii, etc.*

[Zurich. 1561. Folio.] 1571. Folio. *British Museum*.

Dedicated to Sir Anthony Cooke, father of Lady Bacon.

Peter Martyr lectured on the Book of Judges, and the ethics of Aristotle, at Strasburg, before a kind of college of the English exiles of Mary's reign, who gathered around him there. They were Edmund Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury and author of the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, John Ponet, the deprived Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Thomas Wroth, and others.

[1566.] *Pasquine in a Traunce. A Christian and learned Dialogue (contayning wonderfull and most strange newes out of Heauen, Purgatorie, and Hell) Wherein besydes Christes truth playnely set forth, ye shall also finde a numbre of pleasaunt hystories, discovering all the crafty conueyaunces of Antechrist. Wherunto are added certayne Questions then put forth by Pasquine, to haue bene disputed in the Councell of Trent. Turned but lately out of Italian into this tongue, by W. P. [histon?] Seene [and] allowed according to the order appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. Luke 19. Verily I tell you, that if these should holde their peace, the stones would cry.*

Imprinted at London by Wylliam Seres dwelling at the Weast ende of Paules at the signe of the Hedgehogge. [1566.] [1550? B. M.] 4to. Black letter. *Huth. British Museum*, (2 copies.) Also, no date, W. Seres, and 1584, 4to., Thomas Este.

This is a translation of *Pasquillus Ecstaticus, unà cum aliis etiam aliquot sanctis pariter & lepidis Dialogis, quibus præcipua religionis nostræ Capita elegantissime Explicantur.*

[*Sine loco aut anno.*] Small 8vo.

This book was written by Caelius Secundus Curio, and was printed at Basle about 1550. It contains an account of Curio's escape from prison in Turin, where he was confined because of his Evangelical opinions.

1568. *Most learned and fruitfull Commentaries of D. P. Martir Vermilius . . . upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes; wherein are . . . entreated all . . . chiefe common places of religion touched in the same Epistle. With a table of all the common places, and expositions upon divers places of the scriptures, and . . . an Index . . . Trāslated out of Latine into Englishe by H. B. [Heinrich Bullinger.] [With the text.]*

J. Daye, London, 1568. Folio. Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies.)

A translation of *In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos P. M. Vermilii . . . commentarii*, etc.

[Basle. 1558. Folio.] 1570. Folio. *British Museum*.

1569. *Most Godly Prayers compiled out of David's Psalmes by D. Peter Martyr. [Edited by J. Simler, and] translated out of Latin . . . by Charles Glemhan.*

W. Seres, London, 1569. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum*.

A translation of *Preces sacrae ex Psalmis Davidis desumptae per D. P. M. V.*, etc.

Lyon. 1564. 16mo. *British Museum*.

1568. *The Fearfull Fancies of the Florentine Couper: Written in Toscane, by John Baptista Gelli, one of the free Studie of Florence, and for recreation translated into English by W. Barker. Pensoso d'altrui. Sene & allowed according to the order appointed.*

Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman. Anno 1568. 12mo. 138 leaves. *British Museum*. Also, 1599. 12mo. *British Museum*. 1702. 8vo.

In an address to the reader, the translator says, "the talke that olde Iust the Couper hadde with himself, when he could not slepe did minister matter to the maker of this presente boke, who by other occasion hath made diuers other to his cōmendatiō in the Toscare tong. . . . John Baptista Gellie, for so is the tailer called, and for his wisdom chief of the vulgar uniuersitie of Florence, when I was ther, did publish these communications of Iust the Couper and his Soule, gathered by one Sir Byndo his nephew and a notarie."

The work is divided into ten dialogues or "Reasonings."—*British Bibliographer*, Vol. II, p. 207.

Giambattista Gelli was the author of the *Dialogue of Circe*, translated into English, in 1557, by Henry Iden. See I. *Romances in Prose*.

1576. *The Droomme of Doomes Day. Wherein the frailties and miseries of mans lyfe, are lyuely portrayed, and learnedly set forth. Divided as appeareth in the Page next following. Translated and collected by George Gascoigne, Esquyer. Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.*

Imprinted at London for Gabriell Cawood: dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the holy Ghost. 1576. 4to. Black letter. Pp. 276. *Huth. British Museum* (2 copies); 1586. 4to. Black letter. *Huth. British Museum*. Herbert mentions a third edition, without date.

Dedicated to Francis, second Earl of Bedford, to whom Gascoigne gives the following account of the book,—

"And thereupon, not many monethes since, tossyng and retossyng in my small lybrarie, amongst some bookes which had not often felte my fyngers endes in xv years before, I chaunced to light upon a small volumne skarce comely covered, and wel worse handled. For, to tell a truth unto your Honor, it was written in an old kynd of caracters, and so torne, as it

neyther had the beginning perspicuous nor the end perfect : so that I cannot certaynly say, who shuld be the Author of the same. But as things of meane shewe outwardely, are not alwayes to bee rejected, even so in thys olde torne paumph-lette I found sundrye thinges, as mee thought, wrytten with suche zeale and affection, and tendynge so dyrectly unto the reformation of maners, that I dyd not onelye myselfe take great pleasure in perticuler reading thereof, but thought them profitable to be published for a generall commoditie : and thereupon, have translated and collected into some order these sundry parcellis of the same. The which (as well bicause the Authour is to me unknowen, as also bicause the oryiginal copies had no peculyar tytle, but cheefly bicause they do all tend zealously to an admonicion whereby we may every man walke warely and decently in his vocation) I have thought meete to entytile *The Droomme of Doomes daye*. Thinking my selfe assured, that any souldier which meaneth to march under the flagge of God's favour, may by sounde of this Droomme be awaked, and called to his watch and warde with right sufficient summons."

The Droomme of Doomes Day is divided into three parts, which are thus set forth on the back of the title,—

- I. *The View of worldly Vanities. Exhorting us to contempne all pompes, pleasures, delightes, and vanities of this lyfe.*
- II. *The Shame of Sinne. Displaying and laying open the huge greatnesse and enormities of the same, by sundrye good examples and comparisons.*
- III. *The Needels Eye. Wherein wee are taught the right rules of a true Christian life, and the straight passage unto everlasting felicitie.*

Heereunto is added a private Letter ; the which doth teach remedies against the bitterness of Death.

Brydges, *Restituta*, Vol. iv, pp. 299–307.

Part I, *The View of Worldly Vanities*, is a translation of *Lotharius de miseria humanae conditionis* [1470?], by Lotario Conti, Pope Innocent III. It is curious that there should have been another translation of this same work in the same year. See *The Mirror of Mans lyfe*. . . . *Englised by Henry Kerton*, 1576, from the same treatise, *De contemptu mundi sive de miseria humanae conditionis*.

1576. *The Mirror of Mans lyfe: Plainely describing, what weake moulde we are made of: what miseries we are subject unto: howe uncertaine this life is: and what shal be oure end. Englised by H. [enry] K. [erton]*.

London. H. Bynneman. 1576. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum*. 1580, 1586. 8vo. (Allibone.) With *The Speculum Humanum*, a short poem in stanzas of eleven lines, by Stephen Gosson, at the end.

Dedicated to Anne, Countess of Pembroke.

The original of this translation is a very popular mediaeval work on the contempt of the work written by that ambitious prelate, Lotario Conti, Pope Innocent III. It is entitled, in the earliest edition I have met with, *Liber de miseria humane condicoñis. Lotarii dyaconi anno dñi. MCCCCXLVIII. Et hñ tres ptes*. Gothic letter. Few MS. Notes. [1470?.] Folio. *British Museum*.

See George Gascoigne's *The Droomme of Doomes Day*, 1576.

1576. *An Epistle for the godly and christian Bringing up of Christian Mennes Children, or Youth, englised by W. L. P. of Saint Swithens, by London Stone, 28 June, 1576*. 16mo. (Lowndes.)

This is a translation from Caelius Secundus Curio, which I find catalogued in the *British Museum*, as follows:—

C. S. Curionis Christianae Religionis institutio Accessit epistola de pueris sancte christianeqe educandis.

[Basle.] 1549. 8vo. MS. Notes. Partially mutilated.

1576. *A briefe and most excellent Exposition of the XII. Articles of our Fayth*, translated by T. P.

London. 1576. 16mo.: n. d. 16mo. (Lowndes.)

A translation of Peter Martyr's *Una semplice dichiarazione sopra gli XII Articoli della Feda Christiana*.

Basilea. 1544. 4to. *British Museum*.

[1580?] *A briefe Treatise, Concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing. Collected oute of the learned workes of . . . Peter Martyr, by Maister Rob[ert] Massonius; and translated by I. K. [or T. K., according to the dedicatory epistle.]*

London, by John Jugge. [1580?.] 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum*.

1580. *Certaine Godly and very profitable Sermons of Faithe Hope and Charitie; first set foorth by Master Bernardine Occhine . . . and now lately collected and translated out of the Italian tongue into the English by William Phiston of London, student.*

London. Tho. East. 1580. 4to. Black letter. 100 leaves.

Dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. A collection of thirty-eight sermons, or rather sections, nineteen on Faith, eight on Hope, and eleven on Charity.

1583. *The Common Places of . . . Doctor Peter Martyr, diuided into foure principall parts: with a large addition of manie theologicall and necessarie discourses, some never extant before. Translated and partly gathered by A. [nthony] Marten, etc. (An oration wherein is set foorth the life and death of . . . P. Martyr Vermillius . . . by J. Simlerus.)*

London. 1583. Folio. 6 pts. Black letter. *British Museum*, (3 copies.)

A translation of Peter Martyr's *Loci communes D. P. Martyris Vermilii ex variis ipsius authoris scriptis in unum librum collecti & in quattuor Classes distributi, etc.* [Edited by R. Massonius, with the preface of R. Walther, and an oration upon the life of the author by Josias Simler.]

[1576. Folio, (Lowndes.)] London. T. Vantrollerius, Londini. 1583. Folio. *British Museum*. Amsterdam and Frankfort. 1656. Folio. *British Museum*.

1584. *The contempte of the world and the vanitie thereof, written by the Reverend F. D. de Stella. . . . And of late translated out of Italian into Englishe [by G. C.] etc.*

[Douay?] 1584. 12mo. *British Museum*. Also, S. Omers. 1622. 8vo. *British Museum*.

The original of this is a Spanish work by Diego de Estella, entitled,—

Primera (-tercera) parte del libro de la vanidad del mundo. Salamanca. 1576. 8vo. *British Museum*.

The first edition appeared in Salamanca, in 1574. 8vo. I have not met with the Italian translation.

[1600?] *Instructions and Advertisements, how to meditate the Misteries of the Rosarie of the most Holy Virgin Mary. Written in Italian [from the Latin of Gaspare Loarte] and newly translated into English. (Litaniae Deiparae Virginis quae in alma domo Lauretana decantari solent.)*

[Rouen? 1600?] 8vo. *British Museum*.

[Another edition.] *Whereunto is annexed brief Meditations for the seven Evenings and Mornings of the Weeke.*

Cardin Hamillon, Rouen. 1613. 12mo. *British Museum*.

The original work, by the Spanish theologian, Gaspare Loarte, is *Meditationes de Rosario B. Virginis*. Venice, 1573.

1606. *A full and satisfactorie answer to the late unadvised Bull, thundered by Pope Paul the Fifth, against the renowned State of Venice: being modestly entitled by the learned author, Considerations upon the censure of Pope Paul the Fifth [against the Republic of Venice]. . . . Translated out of Italian [of Pietro Sarpi, Fra Paolo Servita].*

Printed for J. Bill. London. 1606. 4to. *British Museum*.

I take this to be a translation of Father Paul's *Trattato dell' Interdetto*. Venice. 1606. 4to.

On April 17, 1606, Pope Paul V. pronounced sentence of excommunication against the doge, senate and government of Venice. The Venetian clergy were enjoined to publish the letter of interdict before their assembled congregations, and to fix it on the church doors. The government of Venice took the ground that the pope's bull was in itself null and void, and on May 6, 1606, the doge, Leonardo Donato, issued two short proclamations, making known to the citizens and clergy the resolution of the republic to maintain the sovereign authority, "which acknowledges no other superior in worldly things save God alone." The clergy did not hesitate; they obeyed the republic and not a copy of the brief was posted. (Ranke, *History of the Popes*, Bk. VI., pp. 122-3, of E. Foster's translation. Bohn. 1856.)

For an account of the dispute, see *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice*. 1626.

1606. *A Declaration of the Variance betweene the Pope, and the Segniory of Venice, with the proceedings and present state thereof. Whereunto is annexed a Defence of the Venetians, written by an Italian doctor of Divinitie [i. e. Fulgenzio Manfredi?] against the Censure of Paulus Quintus, [of 17 April, 1606] proving the nullitie thereof by Holy Scriptures, etc.*

1606. 4to. *British Museum*, (2 copies). See *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice*. 1626.

Fulgenzio Manfredi was a Franciscan who, during the interdict, preached against the Pope and the Jesuits. After the Venetians had made peace with Rome, he was pensioned by the State, and received for his own Order of St. Francis a grant of the House of the expelled Jesuits. But, says Bedell, "it was sodenly noised y^t he was departed" (to Rome). Sir Henry Wotton writes, April 23, 1610, that he was drawn "from hence long since under safe conduct." In Rome, Fra Fulgenzio was accused of correspondence with King James I.,

through the English ambassador, and was burnt at the stake in the Field of Flora. Sir Henry Wotton, under date October 29, 1610, strenuously denies any dealings with the friar, and speaks of his execution as recent.

1606. *Meditations uppon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Newlie translated out of Italian [of Fulvio Androzzi] into English.*

[Douay?] 1606. 12mo. *British Museum.*

1608. *A true copie of the Sentence of the high Councell of tenne Judges [Consiglio de' Dieci] in the State of Venice, against R. [odolfo] Poma, M. Viti, A. [lessandro] Parrasio, John of Florence [Giovanni da Firenze] and Pasquall of Bitonto; who attempted a murder upon the person of Paolo Servite. . . . Translated out of Italian. (A Proclamation made for the assecuration of the person of Paolo Servite, in execution of a Decree accorded, in the Councell of the Pregadie upon the 27. of Oct. 1607.—A Decree made in the Councell of Tenne, 1607, the 9. of Januarie, etc. [With two Latin Poems, "In Innocentiam," by O. Mavinus, and "In Meretricem dolosam."])*

H. Lownes, for S. Macham, London, 1608. 4to. *British Museum.*

On the 5th of October, 1607, at five in the afternoon, Fra Paolo was returning from the Ducal Palace, accompanied by Fra Marino, his servant, and Alexander Malipiero, an old patrician. The party had reached the Ponte della Fondamenta, near the Servite Convent, when a band of bravoës rushed upon them. One seized Fra Marino, another Malipiero, while a group occupied the bridge, keeping it against all comers. The assassin who had singled out Fra Paolo rained upon him fifteen or twenty blows of his poniard, aiming at his head. His cap and the collar of his dress were pierced through and through, but only three of the stabs took effect, two in the neck and the last, through the right ear out

through the right cheek bone. Fra Paolo fell as if dead, with the weapon sticking in the wound.

The assassins were Rodolfo Poma, a Venetian; Alessandro Parrasio, of Ancona; Michael Viti, a priest of Bergamo; Pasquale, of Bitonto; John, of Florence; Hector, of Ancona, and others unknown, all, except perhaps Viti, common and hired bravoës. After the attempted assassination, Poma and his confederates fled into the Papal States. At Ancona he received from Franceschi, a Venetian priest, a letter of credit for one thousand ducats, payable by Scalamonte, the Pope's agent.

In Rome the bravoës found an asylum for more than a year in the palace of Cardinal Colonna, although the Cardinal Inquisitor was all the while assuring the Venetian Legation that some one of them would surely be apprehended. When public clamor became too pronounced, Pope Paul V. ordered his Nuncio at Naples to provide for the assassins, at the same time begging the intercession of Henry IV., of France, to induce the Venetians to suspend the inquiry. This the Venetians had no intention of doing, and it was a large body of assassins plotting with a still larger body of enemies of Fra Paolo. Finally, towards the end of the year 1608, the serious indiscretions of these people, induced the Roman Curia to change its policy. Poma, Parrasio, and Viti were thrown into the dungeons of Civita Vecchia, where they perished, and Franceschi disappeared.

While Fra Paolo lay at death's door, the Council of Ten, the Senate, and the people vied with one another in testifying to their respect and admiration for him. The people surrounded the convent, broke out into imprecations against Rome, and attempted to burn the palace of the Bishop of Rimini. The republic called in the best surgeons at its own expense, and after Fra Paolo's recovery, created Fabrizio d'Acquapendente, his chief physician, a *Cavaliere di San Marco*, presenting him with a rich gold chain and a silver cup of forty ducats' weight; an additional pension was offered to Fra Paolo, who refused it.

The poniard with which the wound was inflicted was affixed to a crucifix in the church of the Servites, with the inscription *Deo Filio Liberatori*.

1608. *Newes from Italy, of a second Moses, or the life of Galeacius Caracciolus the noble Marquesse of Vico. Containing the story of his admirable conuersion from popery, and his forsaking of a rich Marquessedome for the Gospels sake. Written first in Italian, [by Niccolò Balbani] thence translated into latin by Reuerend Beza, and for the benefit of our people put into English: and now published by W. Crashaw Batcheler in Diuinitie, and Preacher at the Temple. In memoria sempiterna erit Iustus. Psalme 112. The iust shall be had in euerlasting remembrance.*

Printed by H. B. for Richard Moore, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleete streete. 1608. 4to. Pp. 82. *British Museum*. Also, 1612. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1635. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1655. 8vo. 1662. 8vo. The last three editions are called *The Italian Convert*.

Dedicated to Edmund Lord Sheffield, the Lady Dowglas his mother, and Lady Ursula his wife;—

“Give me leaue (right honourable), to put you all in one Epistle, whom God and nature haue linked so well to-gether: Nature in the neerest bond, and God in the holiest religion. For a simple new-yeares gift, I present you with as strange a story, as (out of holy stories) was euer heard. Will your Honoures haue the whole in briefe afore it be laid downe at large? Thus it is.

“Galeacius Caracciolus, sonne and heire apparent to Calantonius, Marquesse of Vicum in Naples, bred, borne [Jan. 1517] and brought up in Popery, a Courtier to the Emperour Charles the fift, nephew to the Pope Paul the fourth, being married to the Duke of Nucernes daughter, and hauing by her six goodly children; at a sermon of Peter Martyrs was first touched, after by reading Scripture and other good meanes, was fully conuerted; laboured with his Lady, but

could not perswade her. Therefore that he might enioy Christ, and serue him with a quiet conscience, he left the lands, liuings, and honoures of a Marquesdom, the comforts of his Lady and children, the pleasures of Italy, his credit with the Emperour, his kinred with the Pope, and forsaking all for the loue of Jesus Christ, came to Geneua, and there liued a poore and meane, but yet an honourable and holy life for fortie yeares. And though his father, his Lady, his kinseman; yea, the Emperour and the Pope did all they could to reclaime him, yet continued he constant to the end, and liued and died the blessed seruant of God, about fifteene yeares agoe, leauing behind him a rare example to all ages."

The work is divided into thirty chapters, and the incidents of the life of the Marquis of Vico are principally those which connect him with Peter Martyr and Calvin. See *Censura Literaria*, Vol. x, pp. 105-7.

William Crashaw was the father of Richard Crashaw, the poet.

1608. *This History of our B. Lady of Loreto. Trāslated out of Latyn, [by T. P. i. e. Thomas Price, from Orazio Torsellino]*, etc.

[Saint Omer.] 1608. 12mo. *British Museum*.

I take this to be a translation from Torsellino's *Lauretanæ historiae lib. V*. Rome. 1597. 4to.

Loreto, or Loretto, is a small town in the Marches of Ancona, which contains the celebrated shrine, the *Santa Casa*, reputed to be the veritable house of the Virgin, transported by angels from Nazareth, out of the hands of the Saracens, and miraculously set down in Italy, December 10, 1294. Over it Bramante built the *Chiesa della Santa Casa*, a beautiful late-pointed church of 1465, with a Renaissance marble façade. The *Santa Casa* within is a cottage built of brick, forty-four feet long, twenty-nine and a half feet wide, and thirty-six feet high; the interior reveals the rough masonry of the supposed original, but the white marble casing, put on

in columns, niches, and panels, is sculptured over by Sansovino with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Within the rude stone cottage there is a Madonna and Child, a wonderful black image carved, it is said, by St. Luke from cedar of Lebanon. Church and chapel together form one of the most beautiful productions of Renaissance art. Richard Crashaw was a canon of the Holy House of Loreto for a short time, and was buried in the Lady Chapel there.

[1609.] *Flos Sanctorum. The Lives of the Saints. Written in Spanish by . . . A. [lfonso de] Villegas. . . . Translated out of Italian into English, and compared with the Spanish. By W. & E. [dward] K. [insman] B. [rothers]. Tome I. [of three tomes intended.]*

[1609.] 4to. *British Museum.* 1615. 8vo. *British Museum.*

An Appendix of the Saints lately Canonized and Beatified by Paule the fift and Gregorie the Fifteenth. [Lives, translated and abridged by E. K.]

H. Taylor. Doway. 1624. 12mo. *British Museum.*

One of the *Lives* of this *Appendix* is, *The Life of S. Charles Borromeus, translated into English [by Edward Kinsman, from the Italian of Giovanni Pietro Giussani, (Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo, arcivescovo di Milano. Roma. 1610. 4to. British Museum).*

Another edition.

Lives of the Saints. . . . Whereunto are added the lives of sundry other Saints extracted out of F. Ribadeneira, Suruis, and out of other approved authors. The third edition. (An appendix of the Saints lately canonized, and Beatified, by Paul the fifth, and Gregorie the fifteenth [translated into English by E. Kinsman]). 2 pts.

[J. Heigham. St. Omer.] 1630. 4to. *British Museum.*

Another edition.

With the lives of S. Patrick, S. Brigid, and S. Columba. . . . All newly corrected and adorned with many brasen pictours, etc.

J. Consturier. [Rouen.] 1636. 4to. *British Museum.*

The original of this popular collection of the lives of the saints is,

[*Flos Sanctorum, Historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo, y de todos los santos de que reza la Iglesia Catolica.* By Alfonso de Villegas.]

[Toledo : 1583 ?] Folio. *British Museum.* Imperfect. The last leaf of another and earlier edition, numbered 464 and dated 1578, is placed at the end, but the text is still incomplete.

The standard Spanish edition of the *Flos Sanctorum* is that of Pedro de Ribadeneira,

Flos sanctorum, o Libro de las vidas de los santos.

Madrid. 1599-1610. 2 vols. Folio.

Ribadeneira's most celebrated life is that of the founder of his order, St. Ignatius Loyola, *Vida de S. Ignacio de Loyola.*

Madrid. 1570. 8vo.

The Italian translation is by Timoteo da Bagno: *Nuova Leggendario della vita, e fatti di N. S. Giesu Christo, e di tutti i Santi delli quali celebra la festa la chiesa catholica insieme con le Vite di molti altri Santi, che non sono nel Breviario Raccolto e dato in luce per avanti in lingua Spagnuola, sotto titolo di Flos Sanctorum per A. di V. et tradotto in lingua Italiana, per T. da Bagno. . . . Aggiuntovi in questa editione le vite e fatti d'alcuni Santi e Beati lequali nell' altre si desideravano. (Leggendario delle Vita de' Santi detti Estravaganti.) 2 pts.*

Venetia. 1604, 5. 4to. *British Museum.*

[1615?] *Certaine devout considerations of frequenting the Blessed Sacrament: With sundrie other preceptes. . . . Firste written in Italian and now translated into English [by J. G.].*

[Douay? 1615?] 12mo. *British Museum.*

From the Italian of Fulvio Androzzi.

1616. *A manifestation of the motives, whereupon M. A. de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, Undertooke his depar-*

ture thence. *Englised out of his Latine Copy. (Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Cardinalium ad Iudicem Librorum deputatorum [condemning the work].—The same in English.—A parcell of Observations upon this Decree. A letter to the aforesaid Archbish. by G. Lingelheim, etc. Lat. and Eng.)*

J. Bill: London. 1616. 4to. *British Museum.*

1617. *A Sermon preached the first Sunday in Advent, Anno. 1617. in the Mercers Chappel in London, to the Italians in that city, upon the 12. verse of the XIII Chapter to the Romanes. . . . Translated into English.*

J. Bill: London. 1617. 4to. *British Museum.*

By Marco Antonio de Dominis.

1618. *The rockes of Christian Shipwracke, discovered by the Holy Church of Christ to her beloved Children, that they may keepe aloofe from them. Written in Italian by M. A. De Dominis and thereout translated into English.*

J. Bill: London. 1618. 4to. *British Museum.*

1619. *The life of the Holy Mother Suor Maria Maddalena de Patsi written in Italian by V. [incenzo] P. [uccini] and now translated into English [by G. B.].*

[Cologne?] 1619. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The title of a later and different translation reads,—*The Life of St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi, a Carmelite Nunn. Newly translated [and abridged] out of the Italian by the Reverend Father Lezin de Sainte Scholastique. . . . And now done out of French: with a preface concerning the nature, causes, concomitance, and consequences of ecstasy and rapture, and a brief discourse added about discerning and trying the Spirits, whether they be of God [by T. Smith].*

R. Taylor: London. 1687. 4to. Pp. 134. *British Museum,* (6 copies).

The Italian original is,—

Vita della veneranda Madre Suor Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, etc.

Firenze. 1611. 4to. *British Museum*. Imperfect, containing pp. 546 only.

Cattarina de Geri de' Pazzi, 1566–1607, was of a noble Florentine family and daughter of a governor of Cortona. She entered the order of Carmelites of Santa Maria degli Angeli, May 27, 1584, taking the name in religion of Suora Maria Maddalena. Her life was also written by Father Virgilio Cepari, author of the *Life of St. Louis di Gonzaga*.

1620. *The Historie of the Councel of Trent Containing eight Bookes. In which (besides the ordinarie Actes of the Councell) are declared many notable occurrences, which happened in Christendome during the space of fourtie yeares and more. And particularly, the practices of the Court of Rome, to hinder the Reformation of their errors, and to maintaine their greatnesse. Written in Italian by Pietro Soave Polano and faithfully translated into English by Nathanael Brent [Sir Nathaniel Brent]*.

R. Barker and J. Bill : London. 1620. Folio. Pp. 825. *British Museum*. Also, London, 1629. Folio. *Brit. Mus.* 1640. Folio. *Brit. Mus.* 1676. Folio. (With the *Life of Father Paul*, by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, translated by a 'Person of Quality,' and the *History of the Inquisition*, translated by Robert Gentilis). *British Museum*.

Unto this second edition are added divers . . . Passages and Epistles, concerning the trueth of this historie, etc.

B. Norton and J. Bill : London. 1629. Folio.

Dedicated (1620) both to King James I. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

This work is a translation of Father Paul's,

Historia del Concilio Tridentino, nella quale si scoprono tutti gl' artificii della Corte di Roma, per impedire che né

la verità di dogmi si palesasse, né la riforma del Papato, & della Chiesa si trattasse. Di Pietro Soave Polano. [Edited by Marco Antonio de Dominis, successively Bishop of Segni and Archbishop of Spalatro.]

Appresso G. Billio, Londra, 1619. Folio. Pp. 806. British Museum, (5 copies).

Marco Antonio de Dominis, a Jesuit and Archbishop of Spalatro, was a friend of Father Paul's. Upon going to England, about 1616, it is said that he took with him the manuscript of the *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, which Father Paul had lent him.

Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, says that Father Paul's 'History' was sent, as fast as it was written, "in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and the universal language."

Anthony à Wood furnishes the information that Sir Nathaniel Brent "travelled into several parts of the learned world, in 1613-14, etc., and underwent dangerous adventures in Italy to procure the *Historie of the Council of Trent*, which he translated into English."

At all events, De Dominis professed Protestantism in England, and was made dean of Windsor by King James I., and it was under royal favor, and without the consent of Father Paul, that the work was brought out in London. (See a letter written by Fra Fulgenzio, secretary to Fra Paolo, November 11, 1609, in A. Bianchi-Giovini's *Biografia di Fra Paolo Sarpi*. Zurich, 1836.)

The author's name as given in the English title, Pietro Soave Polano, is an anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto.

A Latin translation of Fra Paolo's *Historia dell' Concilio Tridentino* was made by Adam Newton, dean of Durham, afterwards Sir Adam Newton, and William Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, the first six books being translated by Newton, and the last two by Bedell. The title reads :

*Petri Suavis Polani
Historiae Concilii Tridentini
Libri Octo*

Ex Italicis summa fide et accuratione Latini facti

Veniet qui conditam, et seculi sui malignitate compressam Veritatem, dies publicet. Etiam si omnibus tecum viventibus silentium livor indixerit; venient qui sine offensa, sine gratia judicent. Nihil simulatio proficit, paucis imponit leviter extrinsecus inducta facies; veritas in omnem partem sui semper eadem est. Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. Tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.

Seneca, in fine Epist. LXXIX.

Augustae Trinobantum. [London.]

M. DC. XX.

I find an interesting reference to the composition of the *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* in that most curious book, the autobiography of William Lilly the astrologer,—

“It happened,” says Lilly, “that after I discerned what astrology was, I went weekly into Little-Britain, and bought many books of astrology, not acquainting Evans therewith. [John Evans was an astrologer from whom Lilly was at the time learning the tricks of the trade.] Mr. A. Beddell, minister of Tottenham-High-Cross, near London, who had been many years chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, whilst he was ambassador at Venice, and assisted Pietro Soave Polano, in composing and writing the *Council of Trent*, was lately dead; and his library being sold in Little-Britain, I bought amongst them my choicest books of astrology.”

William Lilly's History of his Life and Times, from the year 1602 to 1681. Written by Himself, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, to his worthy friend, Elias Ashmole, Esq. Published from the original MS. London. 1715.

Lilly's autobiography is also to be found in,—*Autobiography. A Collection of the Most Instructive and Amusing Lives ever Published. Written by the Parties themselves. London. 1829-30. Vol. II. (Containing the lives of Hume, Lilly and Voltaire.)*

Lilly is in error as to the owner of the library sold in Little Britain. He bought books that had belonged to William Bedwell (1561 or 2-1632), father of Arabic studies in England. When he says that Bedwell was chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, he confuses him with William Bedell, 1571-1642, Bishop of Ardagh and Kilmore. Bedell was chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, and remained in Venice for eight years, acquiring great reputation as a scholar and theologian. He was a close friend of Fra Paolo, and made a Latin version of his *Historia dell' Interdetto* (Venice, 1624, 4to.), entitled *Interdicti Veneti Historia*, etc. (Cambridge, 1626, 4to.) He also translated the book of Common Prayer into Italian.

Fra Paolo's point of view is, that the Council of Trent was a political, and not a religious, congress; it is said that Sir Henry Wotton, sending the Father's portrait to England, wrote under it—*Concilii Tridentini eviscerator*. See the papers added to Burnet's *Life of Bedell*. London. 1692.

1620. *A Relation of the Death of the most illustrious Lord, Sig^r Troilo Sauelli, a baron of Rome, who was there beheaded in the castle of Sant Angelo, on the 18 of Aprill, 1592.*

Anonymous, but ascribed to Sir Tobie Matthew by Henry Peacham in *Truth of our Time*, p. 102.

The penitent Bandito, or the Historie of the Conversion and Death of the most illustrious Lord Signior Troilo Savelli a Baron of Rome. [Translated] by Sir T. M. [atthew] Knight.

1663. 12mo. *British Museum*.

This edition contains the author's [translator's] name in full in Anthony à Wood's handwriting.

1620. *Good Newes to Christendome. Sent to a Venetian in Ligorne, from a Merchant in Alexandria. Discovering a wonderfull and strange Apparition seene over the place, where the supposed Tombe of Mahomet is inclosed. . . . Done out of Italian [of Lodovico Cortano].*

Printed for N. Butter: London. 1620. 4to. *British Museum*, (3 copies).

1621. *The Treasure of vowed Chastity in secular Persons. Also the Widdowes Glasse: abridged out of . . . Fulvius Androtius [Fulvio Androzzi] . . . and others. Translated into English by J. W.*

[Douay?] 1621. 24mo. *British Museum.*

1623. *M. A. de Dominis . . . declares the cause of his Returne, out of England. Translated out of the Latin Copy printed at Rome.*

[Douay?] 1623. 12mo. *British Museum.*

A different English translation of this work appeared in 1827, entitled,—

My motives for renouncing the Protestant Religion.

London. 1827. 8vo. *British Museum.*

1624. *The Psalter of Jesus, contayninge very devoute and godlie petitions. Newlie imprinted and amplified with enrichment of figures. (A Mirrour to Confesse well. . . . Abridged out of sundry confessionals, by a certaine devout, and religious man [John Heigham].—Certaine . . . very pious and godly considerations, proper to be exercised, whilst the . . . Sacrifice of the Masse is celebrated By J. Heigham.—Divers Devout considerations for the more worthy receaving of the . . . Sacrament, collected . . . by J. Heigham.—Certaine advertisements teaching men how to lead a Christian life. Written in Italiã by S. Charles Boromeus.—A briefe and profitable exercise of the seaven principall effusions of the . . . blood of . . . Jesus Christ. . . . Translated . . . into English . . . by J. Heigham.) 6 pts.*

Doway, s. Omers. 1624. 12mo. *British Museum.*

This is a revised edition of Richard Whytford's *Psalter*.

1625. *The Free Schoole of Warre, or, a Treatise, whether it be lawfull to beare armes for the service of a Prince that is of a divers religion. [Translated from the Italian by W. B.]*

J. Bill: London. 1625. 4to. *British Museum.*

1626. *The History of the quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice, in seven Books. . . . Faithfully translated out of the Italian, [by C. P. i. e. Christopher Potter, provost of Queen's College, Oxford] and compared with the French Copie.*

J. Bill: London. 1626. 4to. Pp. 435.

The 'French Copie' is the *Histoire du Concile de Trente. Traduite de l'Italien de Pierre Soave Polan. Par Jean Diodate [Giovanni Diodati].* Geneva. 1621. Folio.

A Sermon [on John XXI. 17] preached at the consecration of . . . Barnaby Potter . . . Bishop of Carlisle [15 March, 1628]. . . . Hereunto is added an Advertisement touching the History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul 5 with the Venetian; penned in Italian by F. Paul and done into English by the former Author.

J. Clarke: London. 1629. 8vo. Pp. 127. *British Museum.*

A translation of Fra Paolo's,—

Istoria particolare delle cose passate tra'l Sommo Pontifice Paolo V e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia gli' anni M.DCV, M.DCVI, M.DCVII. [Lione [Venice?]] 1624. 4to. *British Museum.*

At the accession of Pope Paul V., Venice offered the single instance in Italy of a national church. The republic collected the tithes and the clergy acknowledged no chief above their own patriarch. But the policy of the papacy, although varying under different popes, was in general one of encroachment on the civil authority, and the opulent state of Venice proved a shining mark. The Venetians objected strenuously to this encroachment, especially in its affect upon the revenues of the republic. The Roman court, claiming superior authority, exempted so many ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical benefices from taxation, that, at a time when it was computed that the property of the Venetian clergy was worth eleven million ducats, the tithes did not actually yield more than twelve thousand ducats. Again, the regulations of the curia had practically ruined the Venetian press; no books could be

published, except such as were approved in Rome, and, in many instances, except such as were printed in Rome.

A growing ill-feeling between the republic and the papacy came to open breach immediately after the election of Pope Paul V. It was caused by the claim of the Venetians to try ecclesiastical culprits before the civil authorities, and by the renewal of two old laws, the one forbidding the alienation of real property in favor of the clergy, the other making the consent of the government necessary to the building of new churches and to the founding of new monastic orders. Paul V. demanded the surrender of two priests, the Abbot of Nervesa and a canon of Vicenza, held for civil crimes, and the repeal of the two laws, and when the Venetians refused to yield, he placed the whole Venetian territory under interdict, April 17, 1606.

Upon this, the Council of Ten, issued two proclamations, May 6; one, addressed to the citizens, set forth the aggressions of the Pope and called upon them for aid in resisting his demands; the other forbade the Venetian clergy to pay any attention to the papal bull, and banished those who disobeyed. A vehement literary controversy arose, conducted for the pope by the famous Jesuit, Cardinal Bellarmino, and for the Venetians by Fra Paolo of the order of the Servites. Paul V. even meditated war on Venice and applied for aid to France and Spain. Both of these states, however, wished to keep the peace, and through the mediation of Cardinal Joyeuse, a compromise was affected. The Venetians made some nominal concessions, whose solemn details read almost like burlesque.

As to the two offending priests, Ranke relates,—“The secretary of the Venetian Senate conducted the prisoners to the palace of the French ambassador, ‘and delivered them into his hands, out of respect,’ he said, ‘for the most Christian king, and with the previous understanding that the right of the republic to judge her own clergy should not thereby be diminished.’ ‘So I receive them,’ replied the ambassador,

and led them before the cardinal, who was walking up and down in a gallery (loggia). 'These are the prisoners,' said he, 'who are to be given up to the pope;' but he did not allude to the reservation. Then the cardinal, without uttering one word, delivered them to the papal commissary, who received them with the sign of the cross."

The French found the demand for the repeal of the two laws harder to deal with. At first, January, 1607, the Senate positively refused to suspend the laws; later, in March, 1607, without any formal or express repeal, a decision was reached that "the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety."

Paul V. found it wise to accept these terms, and withdrew his censures. The main result of the quarrel was to demonstrate the weakness of the spiritual weapon upon which the Roman curia had so long relied, and to reveal the disrepute into which papal pretensions had fallen even among Catholic nations. This is strikingly shown by the fate of the Jesuits in the struggle. When the Venetians put it sharply to their clergy that they must either obey the republic or leave its dominions, the Jesuits chose the side of the Pope and withdrew into his territory. The Venetians then by a solemn decree, June 14, 1606, excluded the order from the republic, nor would they upon any terms, or for anybody, reconsider this decision. The Jesuits remained permanently banished from the state. How "resolved and careless" the Venetians came out of the struggle is related by Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*. He says, "they made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge, that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault."

Ranke, *History of the Popes*, Book VI, Section 12, pp. 110-130, of E. Foster's translation, London, Bohn, 1856. *Biografia di Fra Paolo Sarpi*. Par A. Bianchi-Giovini, Zurich,

1836.⁷³ *Westminster Review*, Vol. XXXI, p. 146, 1838. *Life of Sir Henry Wotton. Walton's Lives.* Ed. A. H. Bullen.

1626. *The Seaven Trumpets of Brother B. Saluthius of the holie Order of S. Francis . . . exciting a sinner to repentance. . . . Translated out of the Latin into the English tongue, by Br. G. P. of the same order, etc.*

For J. Heigham, S. Omers: 1626. 12mo. *British Museum.* The "Epistle Dedicatorie" is signed "G. P."

Translated from Bartolommeo Cambi; the *British Museum's* copy of the original is dated 1804,—

Delle Sette Trombe, opera utilissima per risvegliare i peccatori a penitenza. . . . In questa nuova impressione corretta, etc. Napoli. 1804. 12mo.

1627. *The Life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga. . . . Written in Latin by the R. Fa[ther] V. [irgilio] Ceparius. . . . And translated into English by R. S.*

Paris. 1627. 8vo. *British Museum.*

From Virgilio Cepari,—

De vita beati Aloysii Gonzagae . . . libri tres, etc. Coloniae Agrippinae. 1608. 8vo. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

An Italian version of earlier date is dedicated to Pope Paul V —

Vita del beato Luigi Gonzaga della Compagnia di Giesu, . . . scritta dal P. V. Cepari, . . . et dal Marchese Francesco dedicata alla santita di N. S. Papa Paolo Quinto. (Meditatione de gl' Angeli santi . . . composta dal beato L. Gonzaga.)

Roma. 1606. 4to. *British Museum.*

Luigi di Gonzaga, Saint Aloysius, 1568–1591, was the son of Ferdinand di Gonzaga, Marquis of Castiglione. He renounced his rights in the marquisate to his brother, in 1585, and entered the Society of Jesus. Six years later he died of a fever contracted in nursing the sick during an epidemic. He was beatified by Pope Gregory XV., in 1621,

and canonized by Pope Benedict XIII., in 1726. Father Virgilio Cepari was a fellow Jesuit who knew him personally.

1628. *A discourse upon the Reasons of the Resolution taken in the Valteline against the tyranny of the Grisons and Heretiques. To the . . . King of Spaine, D. Phillip the Third. Written in Italian by the author of The Councell of Trent [Paolo Servita, i. e. Pietro Sarpi] and faithfully translated into English [by Philo-Britannicos, i. e. Sir Thomas Roe]. With the translators Epistle to the Commons House of Parliament. [With the text of the Reasons.]*

London. Printed for W. Lee. 1628. 8vo. Pp. 101. *British Museum*, (2 copies). Also, 1650, with a new title,—

The cruell Subtility of Ambition discovered in a discourse concerning the King of Spaines surprizing the Valteline. Written in Italian by the author of the Historie of the Councell of Trent [Paolo Servita, i. e. P. Sarpi, in answer to "The Reasons of the Resolution lately taken in the Valteline against the tyrannie of the Grisons and the Heretiques."] Translated by Sir T. Roe, etc.

W. Lee: London. 1650. 4to. *British Museum*.

A translation of,

Discorso sopra le ragioni della resolutione fatta in Val Telina contra la tirannide de' Grisoni, & Heretici, etc. [In the form of a letter addressed to Philip III., King of Spain. With the text of the Ragioni.

[Venice? 1624?] 4to. Pp. 48. *Brit. Mus.*, (2 copies).

The authorship of the *Discorso*, which was published anonymously, appears to be exceedingly doubtful.

The Valtellina, or Valteline, is the valley of the upper Adda in the extreme north of Italy, province of Sondrio; it is sixty-eight miles long, from the Serra di Morignone (separating it from the district of Bormio) to the lake of Como. It belonged during the middle age to Lombardy and to Milan, and came under the rule of the Grisons (the largest and easternmost canton of Switzerland) in 1512.

Strategically, it is a very important pass connecting Lombardy with the Tyrol, and for this reason there were repeated struggles for its possession during the Thirty Years' War, between Austria (the Hapsburgs) and Spain, on the one side, and France (Richelieu), Venice, and the Grisons, on the other. In 1620, the Spanish and Roman Catholic faction, headed by the Planta family, massacred a great number of Protestants in the valley (the "free community" of Poschiavo had become Protestant at the time of the Reformation). For the next twenty years the Valtelline was held by different conquerors, by the Spaniards (1620, 1621-23, 1629-31, 1637-39); by the French (1624-26, 1635-37), who by the treaty of Monçon restored the pass to the canton of the Grisons; and by the Pope (1623, 1627).

In 1639, the Valtelline was finally given back to the Grisons, on condition that it should be Roman Catholic territory.

1632. *Fuga Saeculi: or the Holy Hatred of the World. Conteyning the Lives of 17. Holy Confessours of Christ, selected out of sundry Authors. Written in Italian: . . . and translated into English by H. [enry] H. [awkins].*

Printed at Paris. 1632. 4to. *British Museum.*

From the Italian of the Jesuit father, Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Vite di diciasette Confessori di Cristo scelte da diversi autori e nel volgare Italiano ridotte dal P. G. P. M.* *British Museum*, ed. Bergamo. 1746. 4to.

Among the lives are those of St. Edward the Confessor; St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; and St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.

Henry Hawkins, who was himself a Jesuit, was a brother of Sir Thomas Hawkins, translator of Pierre Matthieu's *Aelius Sejanus Histoire Romaine*, as *Unhappy Prosperitie*. 1632.

See Part I. *Romances in Prose.*

1632. *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier. Devided into VI. Bookes. Written in Latin by Fa. H. Tursellinus*

[Orazio Torsellino]. . . . And translated into English by Thomas F. [itzherbert?].

Paris. 1632. 4to. *British Museum*.

Translated from Orazio Torsellino's *De vita Fr. Xaverii*. Rome. 1594. 8vo.

1638. *The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior T. Valdesso: treating of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian profession. Written in Spanish [by Juan de Valdéz] . . . and now translated out of the Italian copy into English [by Nicholas Ferrar], with notes [by George Herbert]. Whereunto is added an epistle of the authors, or a preface to his divine commentary upon the Romans.*

Oxford. 1638. 8vo. *British Museum*.

An Italian edition of this work was edited by C. S. Curio, *Le cento & dieci divine considerationi del S. G. Valdesso: nelle quali si ragiona delle cose più utili più necessarie e più perfette della Christiana professione.*

Basilea. 1550. 8vo. *British Museum*.

"With Ferrar's translation of Valdezzo's *Hundred and Ten Considerations* were published a letter from Herbert to Ferrar on his work, and 'Briefe Notes [by Herbert] relating to the dubious and offensive places in the following considerations.' The licenser of the press in his imprimatur calls especial attention to Herbert's notes. In the 1646 edition of Ferrar's Valdezzo Herbert's notes are much altered." *Dictionary of National Biography* (under 'George Herbert').

The Hundred and Ten Considerations is a work of ascetic piety.

1644. *St. Paul's Late Progres upon Earth, About a Divorce twixt Christ and the Church of Rome, by reason of her dissoluteness and excesses. Recommended to all tender-conscienced Christians. A fresh Fancy full of various strains and suitable to the Times. Rendered out of Italian into English [by James Howell]. Published by Authority.*

London. Printed by Richard Heron for Matthew Walbanck neare Grayes Inne Gate. 1644. 8vo. Pp. xviii + 148 + iv. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

With two prefatory letters, the one *To Sir Paul Pindar, Kt., upon the Version of an Italian Piece into English, call'd St. Paul's Progress upon Earth; a new and a notable kind of Satire*, dated, *Fleet, 25 Martii 1646*; the other *To Sir Paul Neale, Kt., upon the same Subject*, dated, *Fleet, 25 Martii*.

Howell writes to Sir Paul Pindar,—“Sir, among those that truly honour you, I am one, and have been so since I first knew you; therefore as a small testimony hereof, I send you this fresh Fancy compos'd by a noble Personage in Italian, of which Language you are so great a Master.

“For the first part of the Discourse, which consists of a Dialogue 'twixt the two first Persons of the Holy Trinity, there are examples of that kind in some of the most ancient Fathers, as Apollinarius and Nazianzen; and lately Grotius hath the like in his Tragedy of Christ's Passion: Which may serve to free it from all exceptions.”

To Sir Paul Neale he says,—“If you please to observe the manner of his [St. Paul's] late progress upon earth, which you may do by the guidance of this discourse, you shall discover many things which are not vulgar, by a curious mixture of Church and State-Affairs: You shall feel herein the pulse of Italy, and how it beats at this time since the beginning of these late Wars 'twixt the Pope and the Duke of Parma, with the grounds, procedure, and success of the said War; together with the Interest and Grievances, the Pretences and Quarrels that most Princes there have with Rome.”

The translation was made during Howell's imprisonment in the Fleet by the Long Parliament, a fact which is alluded to near the close of this letter,—“Touching this present Version of Italian into English, I may say, 'tis a thing I did when I had nothing to do: 'Twas to find something whereby to pass away the slow hours of this sad condition of Captivity.”

1651. *The Life of the most Learned Father Paul of the Order of the Servie. Councillour of State to the most Serene Republicke of Venice, and Author of the History of the Counsell of Trent. Translated out of Italian by a Person of Quality.*

London. 1651. 8vo. *British Museum.*

A translation of Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio's *Vita del Padre Paolo dell' Ordine de' Servi*. Leyden. 1646. 12mo. *British Museum.*

Pietro Sarpi was born August 14, 1552, and died January 15, 1623; his father was Francesco Sarpi, a native of Friuli, but established in trade in Venice, and his mother was Isabella Morelli, a Venetian. At the age of thirteen, November 24, 1565, he entered the order of the Servites, assuming the name Paolo by which he is known in history. Fra Paolo studied at Venice, Mantua, and Milan, and his fame as a scholar grew so great that his convent assigned him an annual sum for the purchase of books. He took his doctor's degree at the University of Padua, in 1578, was elected Provincial of his order in 1579, and Procurator, in 1585, an office which required him to live in Rome, where he began to be singled out as a distinguished man in a distinguished circle. Fra Paolo enjoyed the friendship of the most eminent men of his day, of Galileo and Fabrizi, both professors in the University of Padua, of Casaubon and Claude Peiresc, of William Gilbert and Bishop Bedell and Sir Henry Wotton.

But having incurred the enmity of the Jesuits by a treatise on Grace and Free Will, and of the Vatican by several memorials he had prepared on political subjects for the Venetian Senate, he was twice refused a bishopric by Pope Clement VIII. The memorials, however, made known his political ability, and on January 28, 1606, the Venetian Senate chose him to be theologian and canonist to the republic; he held this post for the remainder of his life.

Fra Paolo's mental range was of that encyclopaedic character so common among the great Italians of the Renaissance, *intelligentia per cuncta permeans*. He studied Greek, Hebrew,

and Chaldee, went through the entire circle of the physical and mathematical sciences, extended his researches to anatomy and medicine, and accumulated a vast store of historical knowledge which was afterwards of the greatest service to him. The traces of his researches are everywhere. Foscarini quotes from a small treatise on metaphysics, showing that Fra Paolo had developed a theory of the origin of ideas that is not unlike that of Locke in the *Essay concerning the Human Understanding*. Giovanni Battista della Porta, the author of a book on natural magic, *De Magia Naturali*, refers to Fra Paolo's knowledge of magnetic phenomena in words of extravagant admiration. In optics, Fabrizi, the greatest anatomist of the time, acknowledges his indebtedness to Fra Paolo. Sir Henry Wotton, English ambassador to the republic of Venice, bears witness to his studies in botany and mineralogy. Withal, says Wotton, "He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept, '*Quanto doctior, tanto submissior*.'"

Sir Henry Wotton's chaplain, William Bedell, writing to Dr. Samuel Warde, "St. Stephen's Day," 1607, refers to the attempt to assassinate Fra Paolo in these words,—“I hope this accident will awake him a little more, and put more spirit in him, which is his only want.” Galileo called him his “father and master,” and declared that no one in Europe surpassed him in mathematical knowledge.

In literature, Fra Paolo is chiefly known by his three histories, all of which were translated into English:—*The History of the Council of Trent*, in 1620; *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V with the State of Venice*, in 1626; and *The History of the Inquisition*, in 1639. These histories made Father Paul extremely popular in England, where he seems to have been accepted as at least a good hater of the pope. He was not, however, a protestant; he was simply a great statesman. Gibbon, referring to his histories, calls him the ‘worthy successor of Guicciardini and Machiavelli.’ He was Machiavelli's successor politically.

One of the most interesting facts about Fra Paolo is his relation to the discovery of the circulation of the blood. He himself speaks of the discovery in this way,—

“As to your exhortations, I must tell you that I am no longer in a position to be able, as heretofore, to relieve my hours of silence by making anatomical observations on lambs, kids, calves, or other animals; if I were, I should be now more than ever desirous of repeating some of them, on account of the noble present you have made me of the great and truly useful work of the illustrious Vesale. There is really a great analogy between the things already remarked and noted down by me (*avvertite e registrate*) respecting the motion of the blood in the animal body, and the structure and use of the valves, and what I have, with pleasure, found indicated, though with less clearness, in Book vii, Chapter 9, of this work.”

See fragment of a letter preserved by Francesco Grisellini, in his *Del Genio di Fra Paolo in ogni facoltà scientifica e nelle dottrine ortodosse tendenti alla difesa dell' originario diretto de' Sovrani*. Venice. 1785. 8vo. (Revised edition.)

Fra Paolo's life was written by his secretary and successor in the office of theologian to the republic, Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio. Upon this point Fra Fulgenzio says,—

“There are many eminent and learned physicians still living, who know that it was not Fabricius of Aquapendente but Fra Paolo Sarpi who, considering the weight of the blood, came to the conclusion that it would not continue stationary in the veins without there being some barrier adequate to retain it, and which by opening and shutting should afford the motion necessary to life. Under this opinion he dissected with ever greater care and found the valves. Of these he gave an account to his friends in the medical profession, particularly to l'Aquapendente, who acknowledged it in his public lectures, and it was afterwards admitted in the writings of many illustrious men.”

Fabrizi d'Aquapendente was professor of anatomy and surgery in the University of Padua, where William Harvey

took his degree as doctor of physic, in 1602, after a four years' course. Of Harvey's connection with the original discovery, Pietro Gassendi, in his life of Pieresc, gives this account,—

“William Harvey, an English physician, had lately (1628) published an excellent book on the course of the blood in the body; and among other arguments in favour of his views had appealed to the valves of the veins of which he had heard something from d'Aquapendente, but of which the real discoverer was Sarpi the Servite. On this he, Peiresc, desired to be furnished with the book, and to have an opportunity of examining the valves of the veins, the pores of the septum, denied by Harvey, and various other matters of which I myself will satisfy him.”

Vita viri illustri Claudii de Peiresc. Paris. 1641. 4to.

It would seem from this contemporary testimony that the original idea of the circulation of the blood was one of Sarpi's sublime glimpses into things, and that what Harvey did was to make the discovery available to science by tracing it to its consequences.

Biografia di Fra Paolo Sarpi. Par A. Bianchi-Giovini. 2 vols. Zurich, 1836. *Westminster Review*, Vol. XXXI, p. 146, 1838. *William Harvey. A History of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood.* Robert Willis. London. 1878. Pp. 107-8.

For a curious and interesting story regarding the remains of Fra Paolo, see Count Ugo Balzani, in the *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, noticed in *The Nation*, Vol. 62, No. 1605, April 2, 1896.

1657. *A Dialogue of Polygamy, written originally in Italian: rendered into English by a Person of Quality, etc. (A Dialogue of Divorce, etc.)* 2 pts.

London. 1657. 12mo. *British Museum.*

These two dialogues, with others, were published in Latin, in 1563,—

Bernardini Ochini Dialogi XXX. in duos libros divisi, quorum primus est de Messia [continet dialogos xvij.]. . . Secundus est cum aliis de rebus variis, tum potissimum de Trinitate.

Basileae. Per Petrum Pernam. 1563. 8vo. 2 vols. British Museum, (2 copies).

The two dialogues on marriage of this collection stirred up the most bitter hostility against Ochino. Dialogue twenty-one advocated bigamy at least, and, if its reasoning is sound, there would seem to be no moral bound to the number of a man's wives, except his inclination and means. A French writer states Ochino's reasoning very naïvely,—

“Un homme marié qui a une femme stérile, infirme et d'humeur incompatible, doit d'abord demander à Dieu la continence. Si ce don, demandé avec foi, ne peut s'obtenir, il peut suivre sans péché l'instinct qu'il connaîtra certainement venir de Dieu, et prendre une seconde femme sans rompre avec la première.”

This was astonishing doctrine to be put forth by the most popular preacher of the time, and the stout Swiss burghers would none of it. They promptly expelled Ochino from Switzerland. Théodore de Bèze, who had been his friend, replied to the two dialogues in a formal tract,—

Tractatio de Polygamia et Divortiis, in quâ et Ochini pro polygamia, et Montanistorum ac aliorum adversus repetitas nuptias, refutantur; et pleraque in causis matrimonialibus, quas vocant, incidentes controversiae ex verbo Dei deciduntur. Ex T. Bezae praelectionibus in priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam.

Geneva. 1568. 8vo. British Museum.

For a brief account of Bernardino Ochino, see *Five Sermons*. 1547.

1855. [1548. MS.] *The Benefit of Christ's Death: probably written by A. Paleario: reprinted in facsimile from the Italian edition of 1543; together with a French translation printed in 1551. . . . To which is added an English version made in 1548 by E. Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, now first*

edited from a MS. . . . with an introduction by C. Babington. Ital. Fr. and Eng.

London, Cambridge, printed 1855. 8vo. *British Museum.*

The Benefit of Christ's Death is a translation of an Italian work, entitled *Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Giesu Christo, crocifisso, verso i Christiani*, written about 1543, and attributed to Antonio dalla Paglia, commonly called Aonio Paleario. It was considered to be an apology for the reformed doctrines, and was proscribed in Italy. Courtenay translated it while imprisoned in the Tower, apparently to conciliate Edward VI., his second cousin. He dedicated it to Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset.

The MS. is now in the Library of Cambridge University, to which it was presented in 1840; it contains two autographs of Edward VI.

There is also a later Elizabethan translation of this work, attributed to Arthur Golding. 1573. *The Benefite that Christians receyue by Jesus Christ crucified. [By A. P.] Translated into English, by A. G. [olding?]*

T. East, for L. Harison and G. Bishop. London. 1573. 8vo. *British Museum.* [1575?] 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1580. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*

The only edition of the Italian work that I find in the *British Museum Catalogue* is, *Benefizio della morte di Cristo di Aonio Paleario*. Pisa. 1849. 12mo.

b. SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

1543. *The most excellent workes of chirurgerye, made and set forth by Maister John Vigon, heed Chirurgien of our tyme in Italie, translated into English [by Bartholomew Traheron]. Whereunto is added an exposition of straunge termes and unknowen symples, belongyng to the arte.*

London, E. Whytchurch, 1543. Folio. *British Museum.* Also, [London] 1550. Folio. *British Museum.* 1571. Folio.

The whole worke of that famous chirurgion . . . J. Vigo [Joannes de Vigo]. Newly corrected, by men skilfull in that Arte [namely, George Baker and Robert Norton]. Whereunto are annexed certain works compiled and published by T. Gale, etc. (Certaine Workes of Galens, called Methodus medendi, with 'a briefe declaration of the . . . art of Medicine, the office of a Chirurgion,' and an epitome of the third booke of Galen, of Naturall faculties : . . . all translated by T. Gale.)

London, T. East, 1586. 4to. 3 pts. Black letter. *British Museum.*

The earliest edition of Giovanni da Vigo that I find is, *Practica in arte chirurgica copiosa continens novem libros.*

[Rome, per Stephanum Guillereti et Herculem Bononiensem. . . . 1514] Folio. *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army, Vol. xv, 1894.*

Giovanni da Vigo was physician to Pope Julius II.

George Baker, 1540-1600, was a member of the Barber Surgeons' Company, of which he was elected master, in 1597. Early in life he was attached to the household of the Earl of Oxford, an introduction, which, together with his ability, enabled him to build up a considerable practice in London. He did not believe in close translation, for in the preface of *The Newe Jewell of Health*, 1576, a translation of Conrad Gesner's *Evonymus*, he says, "if it were not permitted to translate but word for word, then I say, away with all translations."

Nor did he approve of telling too much. "As for the names of the simples, I thought it good to write them in Latin as they were, for by the searching of their English names the reader shall very much profit; and another cause is that I would not have every ignorant asse to be made a chirurgian by my book, for they would do more harm with it than good."

1558. *The Secretes of the reverende maister Alexis of Piemount. Containyng excellent remedies against divers diseases, woundes, and other accidentes, with the maner to make dystilla-*

tions, parfumes. . . . Translated out of Frenche into Englishe, by Wyllyam Warde.

J. Kingstone, for N. Inglande, London, 1558. 4to. Black letter. (Pt. I only.) *British Museum*. Also, London, 1562-60-62. 4to. Black letter. (Parts I, II, and III.) *British Museum*.

A verve excellent and profitable Booke containing sixe hundred foure score and odde experienced Medicines, apperteyning unto Phisick and Surgerie, long tyme practysed of the expert Mayster Alexis, which he termeth the fourth and finall booke of his secretes, and which in hys latter dayes hee dyd publishe. . . . Translated out of Italian into Englishe by Richard Androse.

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham. (Parts III and IV.) 1569. 4to. Black letter. (Bound with, *The Secretes of the reverende Maister Alexis of Piemount*. . . . H. Bynneman, for J. Wight, London, 1566-68. 4to. Black letter.) *British Museum*. Also, London, 1580-78. 4to. Black letter. J. Kyngston, for J. Wight. (*The fourth booke*. Part 3 was printed by T. Dawson.) *Brit. Mus.*

The original of this book appeared, in a second edition, in 1557.

De secreti del reverendo donno A. P. prima parte, divisa in sei libri. Seconda edizione.

Venetia. 1557. 4to. *British Museum*.

La seconda Parte de i Secreti di diversi eccellentissimi Huomini, nuovamente raccolti, e stampati. Milano. 1558. 8vo. British Museum.

The French version, from which Ward translated, is,—

Les Secrets de Reverend Seigneur Alexis Piemontois. Contenant excellens remedes contre plusieurs maladies. . . . Traduit d'Italien en François. [Pt. I.]

Anvers. 1557. 4to. *British Museum*. [Printed in Italics.]

The *Secretes of Alexis of Piemount* is a sort of pharmacopœia, or dispensatory, and contains not only medical formulæ, but formulæ for cosmetics, perfumes, and soaps. One prescription was warranted to make old women young again.

Alessio Piemontese has been confounded with the learned Girolamo Ruscelli (d. 1556, aged forty-five), who among his numerous works, wrote *Segreti nuovi*. Venice. 1557. 8vo.

1560. *The Arte of warre, written first in Italiā by N. Machiavell, and set forthe in Englishe by P. [eter] Whitehorne student in Graies Inne: . . . with an addiciō of other like Marcialle feates and experimentes, as in a Table in the ende of the Booke maie appere.* (Certain waies of the order yng of Souldiers in battelray, etc.) Anno M.D.L.X.

J. Kingston for N. Englande: London, 1560-'62. 4to. Black letter. 2 pts. Title-page elegantly cut on wood by W. S. *British Museum*.

The Arte of Warre. Newly imprinted, with other additions. (Certaine wayes for the ordering of souldiours in battelray . . . with other thinges appertayning to the warres. Gathered & set foorth by P. Whitehorne.)

W. Williamson for Jhon Wight: London, 1573-'74. 4to. Black letter. 2 pts. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

The Arte of Warre. Newly imprinted, with other additions. [London.] 1588. 4to. Black letter. 2 pts. *British Museum*.

A translation of *Libro dell' arte della guerra di Niccolò Machiavegli*, etc. [In seven books, dedicated to Lorenzo Strozzi.]

Firenze. 1521. 8vo. *British Museum*.

The *Arte of Warre* is dedicated "To the most high and excellent Princes Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and Ireland, on Earth next under God, the supreme Governour."

In the Dedication Whitehorne explains how he came to make the translation,—

"When therefore, about ten yeares past, in the Emperour's warre's against the Mores and certain Turkes, being in Barbarie: at the siege and winning of Calibbia, Monasterio, and Affrica, I had as well for my further instruction in those

affaires, as also the better to acquaint mee with the Italian tongue, reduced into English, the book called *The arte of Warre*, of the famous and excellent Nicholas Machiavel, which in times past, he being a counsailour, and Secretairie of the noble citie of Florence, not without his great laud and praise did write: and having lately againe, somewhat perused the same, the which in such continuall broyles, and unquietnes, was by me translated, I determined with my selfe, by publishing thereof, to bestow as great a gift (since greater I was not able) amongst my countrie men, not expert in the Italian tongue, as in like works I had seene before mee, the Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Spaniardes, and other forreine nations, most lovingly to have bestowed among theirs."

The *Art of War* is written in the form of a dialogue. Machiavelli supposes that Fabrizio Colonna, a powerful Roman nobleman in the service of the King of Spain, stops in Florence on his way home from the wars in Lombardy. There he is invited by Cosmo di Rucellai to spend a day with him in the celebrated Gardens of the Rucellai family. The three other interlocutors, friends of Cosmo, are Zanobi Buondelmonti, Battista dalla Palla, and Luigi Alamanni, the Florentine poet. The gentlemen discuss with Fabrizio the art of war, comparing the Swiss and Spanish troops, then considered the best soldiers in Europe; the Swiss, armed with pikes, and fighting like the ancients in regiments of six or eight thousand foot drawn up in close order (the Macedonian phalanx), and the Spaniards, armed with sword and buckler. Machiavelli, in the character of Fabrizio, preferred the Spanish soldier, because the Swiss footmen could only cope well with horse, while the Spanish troops knew how to deal with both horse and foot. He ascribes the superiority of the Swiss to their ancient institutions and to the want of cavalry, and that of the Spaniards to necessity, because as they largely carried on their wars in foreign parts, they were compelled either to conquer or to die.

As to the horse and foot of an army, Machiavelli advises

that cavalrymen be recruited out of the towns, and infantry out of the country. He thinks that the main strength of an army consists in the infantry, although he admits that cavalrymen were highly disciplined in his time, that they were, if not superior, at least equal to, the cavalry of the ancients. Cavalry cannot march on all roads, they are slower in their motions, and they cannot rally so quickly as infantry when thrown into confusion. He attaches little importance to the invention of gunpowder which indeed was largely used at that time for charging cannon; he calls attention to the clumsiness of heavy artillery in battle, and says that small cannon and musket-shot do more execution than artillery.

Machiavelli has the strongest admiration for the Roman military system. "It is vain," he says, "to think of ever retrieving the reputation of the Italian arms by any other method than what I have prescribed, and by the coöperation of some powerful Princes in Italy: for then the ancient discipline might be introduced again amongst raw honest men who are their own subjects; but it never can amongst a parcel of corrupted, debauched rascals and foreigners."

"Before our Italian Princes were scourged by the Ultramontanes, they thought it sufficient for a Prince to write a handsome letter, or return a civil answer; to excel in drollery or repartee; to undermine and deceive; to set themselves off with jewels and lace; to eat and sleep in greater magnificence and luxury than their neighbors; to spend their time in wanton pleasures; to keep up a haughty kind of State, and grind the faces of their subjects; to indulge themselves in indolence and inactivity; to dispose of their military honors and preferments to pimps and parasites; to neglect and despise merit of every kind; to browbeat those that endeavored to point out anything that was salutary or praiseworthy; to have their words and sayings looked upon as oracles; not foreseeing (weak and infatuated as they were) that by such conduct they were making a rod for their own backs, and exposing themselves to the mercy of the first invader."

Julius Caesar, Alexander, and other great princes, fought at the head of their own armies, marched with them on foot, and carried their own arms; and if any of them ever lost power, he lost his life with it, and died with reputation and glory.

I add a few ideas and maxims to show the quality of this celebrated book.

On Pensions.—Pensioning is “a very corrupt custom.” “So likewise a Prince, if he would act wisely, should not allow a pension or stipend to any one in time of peace, except by way of reward for some signal piece of service, or in order to avail himself of some able man in time of peace as well as war.”—Book I.

On Oratory.—“It is necessary that a General should be an Orator as well as a Soldier; for if he does not know how to address himself to the whole army, he will sometimes find it no easy task to mould it to his purpose.” Alexander is cited as an example.—Book IV.

On Religion.—“Religion likewise, and the oath which soldiers took when they were enlisted, very much contributed to make them do their duty in former times;” he instances Sulla pretending to converse with an image from the temple of Apollo, and Charles VII. and Joan of Arc.—Book IV.

“Few men are brave by nature; but good discipline and experience make many so.”—Book VII.

“Good order and discipline in an army are more to be depended upon than courage alone.”—Book VII.

“Men, arms, money, and provisions, are the sinews of war; but of these four, the first two are most necessary: for men and arms will always find money and provisions; but money and provisions cannot always raise men and arms.”—Book VII.

Conclusion.

“I will venture to affirm, that the first state in Italy that shall take up this method, and pursue it, will soon become master of the whole Province, and succeed as Philip of Macedon did; who having learnt from Epaminondas the

Theban the right method of forming and disciplining an army, grew so powerful, whilst the other States of Greece were buried in indolence and luxury, and wholly taken up in plays and banquets, that he conquered them all in a few years, and left his Son such a foundation to build upon, that he was able to subdue the whole world."—Book VII.

It will be seen that the *Art of War* is a carefully considered treatise on the military arm of government. Machiavelli believed that the feebleness of Italy as a military power was due to the system of mercenary soldiers which was first introduced by the despots, and then adopted by the commercial republics, and favored by the church. The only way by which the Italians could recover their freedom was through the organization of a national militia, and the particular organization he had in mind was an adaptation of the principles of Roman tactics to modern conditions.

The fine peroration, promising the crown to that Italian state which should arm its citizens and take the lead in the peninsula, sounds like a prophecy of Piedmont, which in our own time has brought about Italian nationality much along the lines laid down by Machiavelli.

[1560?] *A newe booke, containing the arte of ryding, and breakinge greate Horses, together with the shapes and Figures of many and divers kyndes of Byttes, etc.* [Translated from the Italian, of Federico Grisone, by Thomas Blundeville.]

W. Seres. London. [1560?] 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

This is merely a separate, and earlier, issue of the second tract in Blundeville's work, entitled,

The fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horsemanshippe. That is to saye, the office of the Breeder, of the Rider, of the Keper, and of the Ferrer. In the firste part whereof is declared the order of breeding of horses. In the seconde howe to breake them and to make theym horses of seruyce. Conteyning the whole arte of Ridynge lately set forth, and nowe newly corrected and

amended of manye faultes escaped in the fyrste printynge, as well touchyng the bittes as otherwyse. Thirdly, how to dyet them. . . . Fourthly, to what diseases they be subiecte.

No date. 4to. Black letter. Each part has a separate title and signatures. Part III, 'the Order of Dietynge of Horses,' is dated 1565 on the title-page, and Part IV is dated 1566. The general title-page and the title-pages of the first two parts bear no date. Later editions were published in 1580, 1597, and 1609.

The original work by Federico Grisone is,—

Gli ordini di cavalcare. Napoli. 1550. 4to.

Ordini di cavalcare, et modi di conoscere le nature de' cavalli, emendare i vitii loro, & ammaestrargli per l'uso della guerra, & commodità degli huomini. Con le figure di diversi sorti di morsi, secondo le bocche & maneggiamenti de cavalli.

Pesaro. 1556. 4to. Both in the British Museum.

See John Astley's *The Art of Riding. 1584.*

1562. *The Castel of Memorie: wherein is conteyned the restoryng, augmentyng, and conservyng of the Memorye and Remembraunce: with the safest remedies and best preceptes thereunto in any wise apperteyning. Made by Gulielmus Gratarolus Bergomatis, Doctor of Artes and Phisike. Englisshed by Willyam Fulwod. The Contentes whereof appear in the page next folowinge. Post tenebras lux.*

Printed at London by Rouland Hall, dwellynge in Gutter-Lane at the signe of the Half Egle and the Keye. 1562. 12mo. (*Censura Literaria*, VII.) 1563. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.* [1573.] 8vo. (16mo. Lowndes.) Black letter. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

The Dedication, in verse, to "the Lord Robert Dudely," states that the king of Bohemia had approved the book in its Latin form, and the late King Edward VI., in a French translation.

It is a translation from the Latin of Guglielmo Grataroli, *De memoria reparanda, augenda servandaque ac de reminis-*

centia: tutiora omnimodo remedia et praeceptiones optimas continens. Zurich. 1553. 8vo.

Six chapters of the work treat of various medical and philosophical nostrums recommended for "conserving of the Memorye and Remembraunce," while the seventh chapter explains several mnemonic devices for constructing a *memoria technica*.

Memory takes leave of her students with these lines,—

To him that would me gladly gaine,
These three preceptes shal not be vaine:
The fyrst, is wel to understand
The thing that he doth take in hand.
The second is, the same to place
In order good, and formed race.
The thyrde is, often to repeate
The thing that he would not forgeate.

Censura Literaria, Vol. VII, p. 210.

"The book contains many curious receipts for aiding the memory."—*Dictionary of National Biography*.

1562. *The pleasaunt and wittie playe of the Cheasts renewed . . . lately translated out of Italian [of Damiano da Odemira] into French, and now set forth in Englishe, by I. R. [James Rowbothum]*.

R. Hall for J. Rowbothum, London, 1562. 8vo. Black letter. Also, London, 1569. 8vo. Black letter. Both in the *British Museum*.

The Italian original of this book appears to be,

Questo libro e da imparare giocare a scachi et de le partite.
[The description of the chess problems is in Italian and Spanish.]

Rome. 1512. 4to. Without pagination. *British Museum*.
I have not met with the French version mentioned.

1563. *Onosandro Platonico, of the Generall Captaine, and of his office, translated out of Greke into Italian, by Fabio*

Cotta, a Romaine: and out of Italian into Englysh by Peter Whytehorne.

London: Willyam Seres. 1563. 8vo. Black letter.

Dedicated to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

The Italian original of this work is,—

Onosandro Platonico dell' ottimo Capitano generale, e del suo ufficio, tradotto di Greco . . . per F. [abio] C. [otta]. Venice. 1546. 4to. British Museum.

A later Greek and Latin title runs,—

Ὀνοσάνδρου Στρατηγικός. *Onosandri Strategicus, sine de Imperatoris Institutione. Accessit Οὐρβικίου ἐπιτηδεύμα. N. Rigaltius nunc primum . . . Latina interpretatione et notis illustravit. Gr. & Lat.*

Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1598–99. 4to. 2 pts. British Museum, (2 copies). [Heidelberg.] 1600. 4to. British Museum. [Heidelberg.] 1604, 1600–05. 4to. British Museum.

Onosander (Ὀνοσάνδρος) was a Greek writer of the first century after Christ. His Στρατηγικὸς λόγος is dedicated to Q. Veranius, who is probably the same as Q. Veranius Nepos, consul in 49 A. D. It is a popular work on military tactics written in imitation of the style of Xenophon. A Latin edition appeared at Rome, in 1493, at the end of Nicolas Sagundino's *Rei militaris instituta* of Vegetius Flavius Renatus. A French translation, by Jehan Charrier, is dated Paris, 1546, the year of Cotta's Italian version.

1565. *A most excellent and Learned Woorke of Chirurgerie, called Chirurgia parua Lanfranci, Lanfranke of Mylayne his brieft: reduced from dyuers translations to our vulgar or usuall frase, and now first published in the Englyshe prynte by John Halle Chirurgien. Who hath therunto necessarily annexed. A Table, as wel of the names of diseases and simples with their vertues, as also of all other termes of the arte opened. Very profitable for the better understanding of the same, or other like workes. And in the ende a compendious worke of Anatomie, more utile and profitable, then any here tofore in the Englyshe*

tongue publyshed. An Historiall Expostulation also against the beastly abusers, both of Chyrurgerie and Phisieke in our tyme : With a goodly doctrine, and instruction, necessary to be marked and folowed of all true Chirurgiēs. All these faithfully gathered, and diligently set forth, by the sayde Iohn Halle.

Imprinted at London in Flete streate, nyghe unto saint Dunstones church, by Thomas Marshe. An. 1565. Sm. 4to. The *Historiall Expostulation* was edited, for the Percy Society, 1844. 12mo. By T. J. Pettigrew.

On the verso of the title-page there is a wood-cut of the translator marked, "1564. I. H. anno. aetatis suae 35."

Dedicated, "Unto the Worshipful the maisters, Wardens, and consequently to all the whole company and brotherhood of Chirurgiens of London. John Halle, one of the leste of them, sendeth hartie and louynge salutation." In "The Epistle Dedicatorie," Halle gives this account of his work,—

"I therefore, as preparatiue to the reste that shall folowe, dedicate thys my symple laboure, in setting forth this excellent compendious worke, called *Chirurgia parua Lanfranci*, under your ayde, helpe, succor, tuition, and defence: whiche was translated out of Frenche into the olde Saxony englishe, about twoo hundred yeres past: Which I haue nowe not only reduced to our usuall speache, by changyng or newe translating suche wordes, as nowe be inueterate, and growne out of knowledge by processe of tyme, but also conferred my labours in this behalf with other copies, both in Frenche and latin: namely with maister Bacter, for his latine copie, and Symon Hudie for his frēch copie, and other English copies: of the which I had one of John Chāber, & an other of John Yates, both very auncient, with other mo:—"

John Halle paints a vivid picture of the deplorable ignorance of the medical profession of his time; "alas," he says, "where as there is one in Englande, almoste throughout al the realme, that is indede a true minister of this arte, there are tenne abhominable abusers of the same. Where as there is one chirurgien that was apprentice to his arte, or one

physicien that hath travayled in the true studie and excercise of phisique, there are tenne that are presumptious swearers, smatterers, or abusers of the same; yea, smythes, cutlers, carters, coblars, copers, coriars of lether, carpenters, and a great rable of women."

He is outspoken against the quacks and loud in his protests against their combination of magic, divination, and medicine. In one place he says,—“I will not cease while breath is in my body, to lay on with both handes till this battell be wonne, and our adversaries convinced and vanquished; which, although, as I saide afore, they are tenne to one, yet truthe being our weapon, and good science our armoure, with our generall the high author of them, we nede not to doubt but that one shal be good enough for a thousand, not so strongly armed, but naked men, and bare of all knowledge.”

A section of *The Preface to the Reader*, called the “Properties of a Chirurgien,” summarizes Halle’s ideal surgeon,—“all that should be admytted to that arte, should be of cleare and perfect sight, well formed in person, hole of mynde and of members, scelender and tender fingered, havynge a softe and stedfast hande: or as the common sentence is, a chirurgien should have three dyvers properties in his person. That is to saie, a harte as the harte of a lyon, his eyes like the eyes of an hawke, and his handes as the handes of a woman.”

One or two quotations from the *Expostulation* will illustrate at once Halle’s vigorous prose and the sort of quacks he exposed,—

“I will here also omitte to talke of Grigge the Poulter, with divers other, whose endes have made their doinges knowne. And also of a joyner in London, a Frencheman borne, that is of late become a phisitien, who is esteemed at this daye, among dyverse right worshipfull, to be very learned and cunnyng, that knowe not his originall; yea, they call him doctor James; but an honest woman, an olde neighbour of his, (not longe synce), at a man of worshyppes

house in Kente, merveyled to see hym in suche braverie, and lordly apparell; who, when she tooke acquaintance of hym, he wronge hyr harde by the hande, and rounded hyr in the eare, saiyng: if thou be an honest woman, kepe thy tongue in thy headde, and saye nothinge of me."

"One named Kiterell, dwelleth in Kente, at a parysh called Bedersden, that hath been all his lyfe a sawyer of tymber and borde, a man very symple, and altogether unlearned; who at this present is become a phisitien, or rather a detestable deceavyng sorcerer. He wyll geve judgement on urines, and whyles he loketh on the water, he will grope and fele him selfe all about; and otherwhyle, where as he feleth, he will shrynke, as though he were pricked, or felte some great paine. Then he tourneth to the messenger and telleth him where, and in what sorte the partie is greved; whiche maketh the people thynke him very cunning. They seeke to hym farre and neere for remedy for suche as are bewyched or enchanted, and as they commonly terme it, forespoken. What stuffe is this, let the wyse and learned judge. And he hath so prospered with these doynge, that in shorte space he hath been able bothe to purchase and buylde, as I am credibly enformed of divers men that doe knowe and have seen the same. For there are many that reporte, (and they no small fooles,) that he hath cured suche as al the learned phisitiens in England coulde doe no good unto, beleve it who wyll."

Lanfranci of Milan (died 1306?) was a pupil of Gulielmus de Saliceto; after completing his studies, he settled in Lyons, France, whence he was, on account of his great reputation, called to Paris. The MS. of his work, *Ars Chirurgica*, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale; it was first published in Venice and Lyons (a French translation), in 1490, and was republished in Venice in 1519 and 1546. A Lyons imprint is dated 1553, and a German translation, by Otho Brunfels, appeared at Frankfort, in 1566.

John Halle was a surgeon in practice at Maidstone, in Kent, and a "member of the worshipful Company of Chirurgeons."

He was a facile versifier and was the author of two collections of verse,—

Certayne Chapters taken out of the Proverbes of Solomon, with other Chapters of the Holy Scripture, and certayne Psalmes of David, translated into English Metre, by John Hall, 1550 (attributed in a former impression to Thomas Sternhold), and *The Court of Virtue, containing many Holy or Spretual Songs, Sonnettes, Psalmes, Ballets, and Shorte Sentences, as well of Holy Scripture as others, with Music, Notes.* London. 1565. 16mo.

1574. *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Studentes. Namely suche as bee in their consistent Age, or neere thereunto: Drawen as well out of sundry good and commendable Authours, as also upon reason and faithfull experience otherwise certaynely grounded. Written in Latin by Guilielmus Gratarolus, and Englished, by T. N.*

Imprinted at London, in Fleetstreete, by William How, for Abraham Veale. 1574. Oct. xiiij. 12mo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

Dedicated “to the Right Honorable Maister Francis Walsingham, Esquier, one of the principall Secretaries to the Queenes moste excellent Maiestie, and of hir Maiesties moste Honorable Priuie Counsell.”

T. N. is Thomas Newton, of Cheshire, the poet and Latinist, who practised medicine for some time before taking orders.

The directions for preserving health relate chiefly to diet and exercise: of diet Newton says in his Dedication, “diet is the safest, the surest and the pleasantest way that can be used and farre to be preferred before all other kindes of remedies, unlesse the disease be of such vehemence, quality, condition and extremitie that it seeme to requyre some great speciall consideration otherwise, and in time of sicknesse is not onely a special & harmlesse recuratiue, but also in time of health, the best and almost the onely preseruative.”

"Man is subject to very many diseases. Antiquitie reckened up in a beadrolle, and registred in sundry of their monuments left behinde them for our erudition and furtheraunce, three hundred and odde seuerall kindes of maladies, besides casualties. Since when, there hath encreased and sprong up a fresh supply and swarme of many strange and new diseases earst not knowen nor heard of, seemyng as it were to denounce defiance and continual warre to al the cunnyng that phisicians haue."—*British Bibliographer*, Vol. II, p. 414.

This is a translation of Guglielmo Grataroli's work, called *De litteratorum et eorum qui magistratibus funguntur conservanda, praeservandaque valitudine, [illorum praecipue qui in aetate consistentiae, vel non longe ab ea absunt]*. Basle. 1555. 8vo.]. Paris. 1562. 16mo. Black letter. *British Museum*.

[1579.] *A Joyfull Jewell. Contayning . . . orders, preservatives . . . for the Plague . . . written in the Italian tung by . . . L. [leonard] Fioravantie . . . and now . . . translated . . . by T. H. [Thomas Hill. Edited by Hill's friend, John Hester.]*

Imprinted for W. Wright. London. [1579.] 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*.

Translated from the Count Leonardo Fioravanti's, *Il Reggimento della Peste . . . Nuovamente ristampato, corretto ed ampliato, etc.* Venetia. 1594. 8vo. *British Museum*. Other editions were, Venice, 1565, 1571, and 1626, 8vo.

John Hester, distiller, or as he styled himself, 'practitioner in the Spagericall Arte' (spagyrical, that is, chemical), carried on business at Paul's Wharf, from about 1579 until his death in 1593. "Olde John Hester" is mentioned as a distinguished chemist in Gabriel Harvey's "*Pierce's Supererogation*," 1593.

1580. *A short discours . . . uppon chirurgerie . . . wherunto is added a number of notable secretes . . . translated out of Italyan into English by J. [ohn] Hester.*

London. 1580. 4to. Black letter. Few ms. Notes. *British Museum*.

A Discourse upon Chyrurgery. . . . Translated out of Italian by J. [ohn] Hester, . . . and now newly published and augmented, . . . by R. [ichard] Booth.

E. Alde. London. 1626. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*.

Translated from the Count Leonardo Fioravanti,—

La Chirurgia dell' eccelen. Dottore L. F. distinta in tre libri con una gionta de secreti nuovi dell' istesso autore.

Venetia. 1582. 8vo. Venetia. 1630. 8vo. Both in the *British Museum*.

1584. *The Art of Riding, set foorth in a breefe treatise, with a due interpretation of certeine places alledged out of Xenophon, and Gryson, [Federico Grisoni], very expert and excellent Horssemen: Wherein also the true use of the hand by the said Grysons rules and precepts is speciallie touched: and how the Author of this present worke hath put the same in practise, also what profit men maie reape thereby: without the knowledge whereof, all the residu of the order of Riding is but vaine. Lastlie is added a short discourse of the Chaine or Cauезzan, the Trench, and the Martingale: written by [G. B.] a gentleman of great skill and long experience of the said Art.*

Henrie Denham, London, 1584. 4to. *British Museum*.

The translator is John Astley, "Maister of her Majesties Jewell house."

See Thomas Blundeville's *A newe booke, containing the arte of ryding*. [1560?]

1584. *The Art of Riding, conteining diverse necessarie instructions, demonstrations, helps, and corrections apperteining to Horsemanship. Written at large in the Italian Toong by Maister Claudio Corte. Brieflie reduced into certaine English discourses. [By Thomas Bedingfield.]*

H. Denham. London. 1584. 4to. Pp. 112. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to "M. Hen. Machwilliam."

A translation of Claudio Corte's, *Il Cavallerizzo: nel quale si tratta di tutto quello che a' Cavalli et à buon Cavallerizzo s'appartiene.* Venetia. 1573. 4to. *British Museum.*

1586. *A Briefe and pleasaunt Treatise, Intituled: Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions: Written firste by sundry Schollers of the Universitie of Padua at the request of one Bartholmew, a Tuscan; and now Englished by T. Hyll, [Thomas Hill, Londoner] etc.*

E. Alde. London. 1586. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.* Also, London. [October 2.] 1650 [1649]. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.* London. 1670. 8vo. *British Museum.* London. 1684. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

1588. *Most briefe Tables to know redily how manie Rances of Footemen armed with Corsletts, as unarmed, go to the making of a iust Battaile, from an hundred unto twentie thousand, &c. Tourned out of Italian into English, by H. G.*

T. East, for J. Wight: London. 1588. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.* Also, an earlier edition, W. Williamson. London. 1574. 4to. (Lowndes.)

A translation of a work on military tactics by Girolamo Cataneo (Novarese), entitled,—

Tavole brevissime per sapere con prestezza quanto file vanno à formare una giustissima bataglia. Brescia. 1563. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Dedicated by the author to the Earle Aloigi Anogardo.

1588. *Three Bookes of Colloquies concerning the Arte of Shooting in great and small peeces of Artillerie: . . . Written in Italian by N. [iccolò] T. [artaglia] translated into English by C. [yprian] Lucar also a Treatise named Lucar Appendix to shew the office and dutie of a Gunner, etc.*

London, by Thomas Dawson, for John Harrison, 1588. Folio. *British Museum*.

Dedicated, by the publisher, to the Earl of Leicester, and fully illustrated.

Translated from Niccolò Tartaglia's treatise on the theory and practice of gunnery, entitled,

Nuova Scienza, cioe Invenzione nuovamente trovata, utile per ciascuno, speculativo, matematico, bombardiero, ed altri. Venice. 1537. 4to. *Ibid.*, 1550, 1551, 1583. 4to. In French, par Reiffel, Paris, 1845-46. 2 pts. 8vo.

Lucar's *Appendix*, "collected out of divers good authors," "to shew unto the Reader the Properties, Office, and Dutie of a Gunner, and to teach him to make and refine Artificial Saltpeter," is far longer than the translation from Tartaglia.

1588. [*Il Padre di Famiglia.*] [*The Householders*] *Philosophie. Wherein is perfectly and profitably described, the true Oeconomia and Forme of Housekeeping. First written in Italian, by that excellent Orator and Poet, Signior Torquato Tasso, and now translated by T. K. Whereunto is annexed a dairie booke for all good huswives. Dedicated to them by Bartholomew Dowe.*

At London. Printed by J. [ohn] C. [harlewood] for T. Hacket. 1588. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum*.

This work is a translation of Tasso's famous dialogue, *Il Padre di Famiglia*. Venice. 1583. 12mo. 1825. 12mo.

Torquato Tasso, in one of his sudden fits of melancholy and suspicion determined to flee from the court of Urbino and put himself under the protection of the Duke of Savoy. On the road to Vercelli, arriving one evening at the banks of the Sesia, he found the river so swollen that the ferryman refused absolutely to venture over. A storm came on, and Tasso, weary and footsore, would have been in a sad plight had he not met with a young man who kindly offered him the hospitality of his home for the night. It proved to be a neighboring mansion, where the young man introduced the

guest to his father, a venerable man whose appearance was as pleasing as his entertainment was generous and elegant.

Tasso had at first declined revealing his name, but over the wine and fruits, his reserve wore away, and when the conversation turned at last upon the economy of agriculture, he displayed so much learning, and spoke so eloquently of the creation of the world, and of the sun's motions, that his host divined who he was. The disclosure of identity is most delicately expressed by the old man, 'he now knew he was entertaining a more illustrious guest than he had at first supposed, his guest was perhaps the person of whom some rumor had spread in those parts, who, having fallen into misfortunes by some human error, was as much deserving of pardon, from the nature of his offence, as he was in other respects worthy of admiration and renown.'

The simplicity and beauty and repose of the domestic picture in which Tasso has framed the romantic incident are unsurpassed. And the effect is all the more heightened by the setting as an interval of peace between struggles. The poet was taken in at nightfall out of the storm, and the next morning, he tells us, he went on to Turin, moneyless, and compelled to wade on foot through mire and water.

1594. *G. di Grassi his true Arte of Defence, plainlie teaching how a man may safelie handle all sortes of Weapons. . . . With a Treatise of Disceit or Falsinge, and with a Waie or Meane by private Industrie to obtaine Strength, Judgment and Activitie. First written in Italian and Englished by I. G. gentleman. 2 pts.*

For I. I., London. 1594. 4to. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to 'L. Borrow, Lord Gouvernor of the Breil, and Knight of the Garter,' by the editor, Thomas Churchyard.

This book on fencing is a translation of Giacomo di Grassi's, *Ragione di adoprare sicuramente l'Arme si da offesa come da difesa.*

Venetia. 1570. 4to. *British Museum.*

1594. *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Mens Wits . . . In whicch [sic], by discovering the varietie of natures, is shewed for what profession each is apt, and how far he shall profit therein.*—Translated out of the Spanish tongue [of Juan de Dios Huarte Navarro] by M. C. Camilli. Englished out of his Italian, by R. [ichard] C. [arew] Esquire. [and partly by his father, Thomas Carew?]

Adam Islip, for R. Watkins, London, 1594. 4to. *British Museum.* 1596. 4to. 1604. 4to. *Brit. Mus.* 1616. 4to. *Brit. Mus.*

Dedicated to Sir Francis Godolphin.

The originals of this translation, named in the title, are from the Spanish of Huarte Navarro,—

Examen de ingenios para las sciencias, donde se muestra la diferencia de habilidades que ay en los hombres, y el genero de letras que à cada uno responde en particular.

Pamplona: 1578. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Camilli's translation of this is dated four years later,

Essame de gl' ingegni de gli huomini, per apprendere le scienze: . . . nuovamente tradotto dalla lingua Spagnuola da M. C. C. [Edited by Niccola Manassi.]

Venice. 1582. 8vo. *British Museum.* 1586. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.* 1590. 8vo. *Brit. Mus.*

A French translation, by Gabriel Chappuis, is dated, Lyon, 1580, 16mo., and the work was also rendered into Latin and German, reaching altogether numerous editions in the six languages. The *British Museum Catalogue* gives in all twenty-three editions.

The latest English imprint is a new translation, made in 1698, by Edward Bellamy,—

Examen de Ingenios: or, the Tryal of Wits. . . . Published originally in Spanish by Doctor J. Huarte, and made English by Mr. Bellamy.

London. 1698. 8vo. *British Museum.*

Juan de Dios Huarte Navarro was a Spanish physician who flourished in the sixteenth century. His book, the *Examen de*

Ingenios, is a treatise on the corporeal and mental qualities of men and women. Its popularity may be explained, partly by the absurd and curious theories it advances, and partly by the originality and sound sense it shows; the book closes, for example, with some excellent ideas on the rearing of children.

1595. *A most strange and wonderfull prophesie upon this troublesome world. Calculated by . . . I. [Giovanni] Cypriano: Conferred with the judgements of J. [ames] Marchecelsus and Sinnior Guivardo. . . . Whereunto is annexed T. Vandermers seaven yeres study in the Arte of Magick, upon the twelve moneths of the yeare. . . . Translated out of Italian by A. [nthony] Holloway.*

London: 1595. 4to. *British Museum.*

From the Italian of Giovanni Cipriano.

Tarquatus Vandermer published in 1569,

T. Vandermers seaven yeares studie in the arte of Magicke, upon the twelve moneths of the yeare: wherein many secrets are reveald unto the world. [London.] 1569. 4to.

1595. *Vincentio Saviolo his Practise, in two Bookes. The first intreating the use of the Rapier and Dagger. The second, of Honor and honorable Quarrels. Both interlaced with sundrie pleasant Discourses, not unfit for all Gentlemen and Capitaines that professe Armes.*

London. Printed by John Wolfe. 1595. 4to. Woodcuts. *Huth. British Museum*, (2 copies).

Dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and Ewe.

This is conjectured to be 'the book' by which Touchstone professes to regulate his quarrels, and from which he appears to derive his nice distinctions as to the nature of lies. As *You Like It*, v. 4. Touchstone refers to a section of Book II, which is headed,—“Of the manner and diversitie of Lies.” These are 1) Lies certaine, 2) Conditional lies, 3) Lies in general, 4) Lies in particular, 5) Foolish Lies, and 6) The returning back of the Lie.

Vincentio Saviolo was a Paduan fencing-master patronized and employed by the Earl of Essex. I find some account of him in *A Brief Notice of Three Italian Teachers of Offence. The Antiquarian Repertory*. Grose and Astle. Vol. I, pp. 165-169. The extract is taken from George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence*. 1599. 4to.

"There were three Italian Teachers of Offence in my time. The first was Signior Rocko: the second was Jeronimo, that was Signior Rocko his boy, that taught gentlemen in the Blacke-Fryers, as usher for his maister instead of a man: the third was Vincentio. This Signior Rocko came into England about some thirtie yeares past: he taught the noblemen and gentlemen of the court; he caused some of them to weare leaden soales in their shoes, the better to bring them to nimblenesse of feet in their fight. He disbursed a great summe of mony for the lease of a faire house in Warwicke-lane, which he called his colledge, for he thought it great disgrace for him to keepe a fence-schoole, he being then thought to be the only famous maister of the arte of armes in the whole world. He caused to be fairely drawne and set round about his schoole all the noblemen's and gentlemen's armes that were his schollers, and hanging right under their armes their rapiers, daggers, gloves of male and gantlets. Also, he had benches and stooles, the roome being verie large, for gentlemen to sit round about his schoole to behold his teaching. He taught none commonly under twentie, fortie, fifty, or an hundred pounds. And because all things should be verie necessary for the noblemen and gentlemen, he had in his schoole a large square table, with a greene carpet, done round with a verie brode rich fringe of gold, alwaies standing upon it a verie faire standish covered with crimson velvet, with inke, pens, pin-dust, and sealing-waxe, and quiers of verie excellent fine paper gilded, readie for the noblemen and gentlemen (upon occasion) to write their letters, being then desirous to follow their fight, to send their men to dispatch their businesse. And to know how the time

passed, he had in one corner of his schoole a clocke, with a verie faire large diall: he had within that schoole, a roome the which was called his privie schoole, with manie weapons therein, where he did teach his schollers his secret fight, after he had perfectly taught them their rules. He was verie much beloved in the court."

"Then came in Vincentio and Jeronimo; they taught rapier-fight at the court, at London, and in the countrey, by the seaven or eight yeares or thereabouts. These two Italian fencers, especially Vincentio, said that Englishmen were strong men, but had no cunning, and they would go backe too much in their fight, which was great disgrace unto them. Upon these words of disgrace against Englishmen, my brother Toby Silver and myselfe made challenge against them both, to play with them at the single rapier, rapier and dagger, the single dagger, the single sword, the sword and target, the sword and buckler, and two hand-sword, the staffe, battell-axe, and morris-pike, to be played at the Bell Savage upon the scaffold, where he that went in his fight faster backe than he ought, of Englishman or Italian, shold be in danger to breake his necke off the scaffold. We caused to that effect, five or six score bils of challenge to be printed, and set up from Southwarke to the Tower, and from thence through London to Westminster; we were at the place with all these weapons at the time appointed, within a bow-shot of their fence skoole: many gentlemen of good accompt, carried manie of the bils of chalenge unto them, telling them that now the Silvers were at the place appointed, with all their weapons, looking for them, and a multitude of people there to behold the fight, saying unto them, 'Now come and go with us (you shall take no wrong) or else you are shamed for ever.' Do the gentlemen what they could, these gallants would not come to the place of triall. I verily thinke their cowardly feare to answere this chalenge, had utterly shamed them indeed, had not the maisters of defence of London, within two or three daies after, bene drinking of bottell ale hard by Vincentio's

schoole, in a hall where the Italians must of necessitie passe through to go to their schoole: and as they were coming by, the maisters of defence did pray them to drinke with them, but the Italians being very cowardly, were afraide, and presently drew their rapiers: there was a pretie wench standing by, that loved the Italians; she ran with outerie into the street, 'helpe, helpe, the Italians are like to be slaine:' the people with all speede came running into the house, and with their cappes and such things as they could get, parted the fraie, for the English maisters of defence meant nothing lesse than to foile their handes upon these two faint-hearted fellows. The next morning after, all the court was filled, that the Italian teachers of fence had beaten all the maisters of defence in London, who set upon them in a house together. This wan the Italian fencers their credit againe, and thereby got much, still continuing their false teaching to the end of their lives.

"This Vincentio proved himselfe a stout man not long before he died, that it might be seene in his life time he had bene a gallant, and therefore no maruaile he tooke upon so highly to teach Englishmen to fight, and *to set forth bookes of the feates of armes*. Upon a time at Wels in Somersetshire, as he was in great braverie amongst manie gentlemen of good accompt, with great boldnesse he gaye out speeches, that he had bene thus manie yeares in England, and since the time of his first comming, there was not in it one Englishman, that could once touch him at the single rapier, or rapier and dagger. A valiant gentleman being there amongst the rest, his English hart did rise to heare this proud boaster, secretly sent a messenger to one Bartholomew Bramble a friend of his, a verie tall man both of his hands and person, who kept a schoole of defence in towne; the messenger by the way made the maister of defence acquainted with the mind of the gentleman that sent for him, and of all what Vincentio had said; this maister of defence presently came, and amongst all the gentlemen with his cap off, prayed Maister Vincentio that he would be pleased to take a quart of wine of him. Vincentio, very scornefully

looking upon him, said unto him: "Wherefore should you give me a quart of wine?" "Marie, sir, said he, because I heare you are a famous man at your weapon." Then presently said the gentleman that sent for the maister of defence,

"Maister Vincentio, I pray you bid him welcome, he is a man of your profession."

"My profession?" said Vincentio. What is my profession?

Then said the gentleman, "He is a maister of the noble science of defence."

"Why," said Maister Vincentio, "God make him a good man."

But the maister of defence would not thus leave him, but prayed him againe he would be pleased to take a quart of wine of him.

Then said Vincentio, "I have no need of thy wine."

Then said the maister of defence: "Sir, I have a schoole of defence in the towne, will it please you to go thither?"

"Thy schoole!" said maister Vincentio; "what should I do at thy skoole?"

"Play with me (said the maister) at the rapier and dagger, if it please you."

"Play with thee!" said maister Vincentio. "If I play with thee, I will hit thee, 1, 2, 3, 4, thrustes in the eie together."

Then said the maister of defence, "If you can do so, it is the better for you, and the worse for me, but surely I can hardly beleeeve that you can hit me: but yet once againe I hartily pray you, good sir, that you will go to my schoole, and play with me."

"Play with thee!" said maister Vincentio (very scornefully); "by God, me scorne to play with thee!"

With that word 'scorne,' the maister of defence was verie much moved, and up with his great English fist, and stroke maister Vincentio such a boxe on the eare that he fell over and over, his legges just against a butterie hatch, whereon

stood a great blacke jacke; the maister of defence fearing the worst, against Vincentio his rising, catcht the blacke jacke into his hand, being more then halfe full of beere. Vincentio lustily start up, laying his hand on his dagger, and with the other hand pointed with his finger, saying very well,

“I will cause to lie in the gaile for this geare, 1, 2, 3, 4 yeares.”

“And well,” said the maister of defence, “since you will drinke no wine, will you pledge me in beere? I drinke to all the cowardly knaves in England, and I think thee to be the veriest coward of them all:” with that he cast all the beere upon him: notwithstanding Vincentio having nothing but his guilt rapier and dagger about him, and the other for his defence the blacke jacke, would not at that time fight it out: but the next day met with the maister of defence in the streete, and said unto him,

“You remember how misused a me yesterday, you were to blame, me be an excellent man, me teach you how to thrust two foote further than anie Englishman, but first come you with me: then he brought him to a mercer’s shop, and said to the mercer, “Let me see of your best silken pointes;”—the mercer did presently shew him some, of seven groates a dozen; then he payeth fourteen groates for two dozen, and said to the maister of defence,

“There is one dozen for you, and here is another for me.”

“This was one of the valiantest fencers that came from beyond the seas to teach Englishmen to fight, and this was one of the manliest frayes, that I have heard of, that ever he made in England, wherein he shewed himselfe a fare better man in his life, than in his profession he was, for he professed armes, but in his life a better Christian.

“He set forth in print a booke for the use of the rapier and dagger, the which he called his *practice*. I have read it over, and because I finde therein neither true rule for the perfect teaching of true fight, nor true ground for true fight, neither

sence or reason for due prooffe thereof, I have thought it frivolous to recite any part therein contained."

Apart from the interesting description of a fencing-school in the time of Elizabeth, I would call attention to this record of Vincentio's broken English, by an ear-witness who knew him. For myself it is the earliest authentic bit of broken English I know of.

1596. *A Booke of Secrets: Shewing divers waies to make and prepare all sorts of Inke, and Colours . . . also to write with Gold and Silver, or any kind of Mettall out of the Pen: with many other profitable secrets. . . . Translated out of Dutch into English, by W. [illiam] P. [hilip?]. Hereunto is annexed a little Treatise, intituled, Instructions for ordering of Wines. . . . Written first in Italian, and now newly translated into English, by W. P.*

A. Islip for E. White, London, 1596. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

1597. *Ludus Scacchiae: Chesse-play. A Game, both pleasant, wittie, and politicke: with certain briefe instructions thereunto belonging. Translated out of the Italian [of Damiano da Odemira] into the English tongue [by J. Rowbothum]. Containing also therein, A prety and pleasant Poeme of a whole Game played at Chesse [i. e. a translation into English verse, by W. B., of the Ludus Scacchiae of H. Vida]. Written by G. B.*

Printed at London by H. Jackson, dwelling beneath the Conduite in Fleet street. 1597. 4to. 2 pts. 24 leaves. *British Museum*, (2 copies). Part I is without pagination, and is merely an abridgment of Rowbothum's translation, 1562.

In an Address to the Reader the translator, after asserting that "most men are giuen rather to play than to studie or trauell," argues that "this game, or kingly pastime, is not onely void of craft, fraud, and guile, swearing, staring, im-

patience, fretting, and falling out, but also breedeth in the players, a certaine study, wit, pollicie, forecast and memorie, not onely in the play thereof but also in actions of publike gouvernement, both in peace and warre."

Then follows a description of the pieces, a diagram of "the checker or chesse boorde," and an explanation of the game.

The poem, entitled *Scacchia Ludus*, occupies thirty pages and gives an account of the wedding of Oceanus and Tellus. To help entertain the deities who are his guests, Oceanus calls for the board "that hangd upon a wall," and Apollo and Mercury play a game in which Apollo is checkmated. Mercury, travelling afterwards in Italy, falls in love with a Sereian nymph, and

Of her name *Scacchis Scacchia*
 this play at Chesse did call :
 And that this God in memorie
 the Lasse might longer haue,
 A Boxen chesse boord gilded round
 unto the gerle he gaue,
 And taught her cunning in the same,
 to play the game by arte,
 Which after to the countrey swaines
 this Lady did imparte :
 Who taught their late posteritie
 to use this kinde of play,
 A game of great antiquitie
 still used at this day.

British Bibliographer, vol. I, pp. 382-4.

Scacchia is from *scacco*, a square, *scacchi*, chess-men.

1598. *Epulario, or, the Italian Banquet: wherein is shewed the maner how to dresse . . . all kinds of Flesh, Foules or Fishes. . . . Translated out of Italian.*

Printed by A. I. for W. Barley, London, 1598. 4to. Black letter. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of a popular cookery-book,

Epulario quale tratta del modo de cucinare ogni carne ucelli pesci de ogni sorte r fare sapori, torte, r pastellj al modo de tutte le provjncje.

Venetia. 1549. 8vo., and 1562. 8vo.: Messina. 1606. 8vo.: Trevigi. 1649. 8vo., all in the *British Museum*.

1598. *A Tracte containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Caruinge & Buildinge written first in Italian by Jo: Paul Lomatus painter of Milan and englished by R. [ichard] H. [aydocke] student in Physik. . . . [Colophon.]*

Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes for R. H. Anno Domini, M·D·XC·VIII. Folio. *Huth. British Museum*.

Dedicated, "To the Right Worshipfull Thomas Bodley Esquire."

A translation of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's, *Trattato dell' arte de la Pittura di G. P. Lomazzo, Milanese Pittore, diviso in sette libri ne' quali si contiene tutta la Theorica & la Prattica d'essa Pittura*. Milano. 1584. 4to. *British Museum*, (2 copies).

The title-page is engraved, and contains portraits of the author and of the translator. Haydocke's prefatory address, "To the ingenuous reader," contains many curious and interesting notes on painters and painting. Speaking of the restoration of old pictures in his own day, he says: "For my selfe have seene divers goodlie olde workes finely marred, with fresh and beawtifull colours, and vernishes: a singular argument (to say nothing of the Owners) of the bolde and confident ignorance of the workemen."

1602. *The Theoriques of the seven Planets, shewing all their diverse motions, and all other Accidents, called Passions, thereunto belonging. . . . Whereunto is added a breefe Extract of Maginus [Giovanni Antonio Magini] his Theoriques, for the better understanding of the Prutenicall Tables, to calculate thereby the motions of the Seven Planets. There is also added, The making, description and use, of two*

Instruments for Sea-men, to find out . . . the latitude of any place . . . without the helpe of Sunne, Moone, or Starre. First invented by . . . Doctor Gilbert . . . and nowe . . . set downe . . . by Master Blundevile [Thomas Blundeville]. 2 pt.

A. Islip, London, 1602. 4to. *British Museum.*

The 'Extract' from Magini was probably made from his, *Tabulae secundorum mobilium coelestium, ex quibus omnium syderum aequabiles & apparentes motus ad quaevis tempora . . . colliguntur, congruentes cum observationibus Copernici, & canonibus Prutenicis, etc.*

Venetis. 1585. 4to. *British Museum.*

The Prutenicall, that is, Prussian Tables, (from Prutenus, Prutinus, Pruxenus, Prussian) were certain planetary tables making the first application of the Copernican theory of the solar system. They were formulated, in 1551, by Erasmus Reinbold, and were named in honor of his patron, Albrecht, Duke of Prussia.

1611. *The first (—the fift) booke of Architecture, made by S. Serly [Sebastiano Serlio], . . . translated out of Italian into Dutch, and out of Dutch into English. 5 pts.*

S. Stafford: London. 1611. Folio. *British Museum.*

Translated from *Il Libro primo (—quinto) d'Architettura*. 5 pt.

Venetia. 1551. Folio. *British Museum.*

Sebastiano Serlio, called sometimes Bastiano da Bologna, or Sebastiano Bolognese was a painter, an engraver, and an architect. Francis I. invited him to France in 1541 to make some designs for the Louvre, and then employed him as architect of the royal chateau at Fontainebleau. The first six books of his *Regole generali d'architettura* came out between 1537 and 1551; the seventh book was published at Frankfort in 1575. It was translated into Latin and French besides Dutch and English.

1618. *Opiologia, or a Treatise concerning the nature, properties, true preparation, and safe use and administration of Opium.*

By Angelus Sala Vincentenes Venatis, and done into English and something enlarged by Tho. Bretnor, M. M.

N. Okes : London. 1618. 8vo. *British Museum*.

This translation, which is made from the French, is dedicated "to the learned and my worthily respected friends D. Bonham and Maister Nicholas Carter, physitians."

In an address to the reader Bretnor defends the use of laudanum in medicine, promises to prepare for his readers, "the chiefest physicke I use my selfe," and mentions as good druggists his friends 'Herbert Whitfield in Newgate Market' and 'Maister Bromhall.'

Thomas Bretnor was a notorious character in London; he is mentioned in three plays of the time.

By Ben Jonson, in *The Devil is an Ass*. 1616. i. 2.

By Middleton, in *The Fair Quarrel*. 1617. v. i (as the Almanac-maker).

By Fletcher, in *The Bloody Brother, or Rollo Duke of Normandy*, 1640, where he is Norbret.

1622. *The Italian Prophecier. That is, a prognostication made for the yeere 1622. Practised by A. Magino [Giovanni Antonio Magini] translated out of Italian into Dutch, and now into English.*

[? .] 1622. 4to. *British Museum*.

1623. *A Revelation of the secret spirit. Declaring the most concealed secret of Alchymie. Written first in Latine by an unknowne author, but explained in Italian, by John Baptista Lambye [Giovanni Battista Lambi], Venetian. Lately translated into English, by R. N. E. Gentleman [Robert Napier, Esq.? or "of Edinburgh?"]*.

John Haviland for Henrie Skelton. London. 1623. 16mo. Pp. 80. *British Museum*.

1624. *A Strange and Wonderfull Prognostication: or rather, Prenomination of those Accidents which shall, or at*

least are likely to happen, as may be conjectured by the heavenly Influences. . . . Now faithfully translated into English [out of the Italian of Giovanni Antonio Magini].

Printed for N. Butter. London. 1624. 4to. *British Museum.*

1634. *Hygiasticon: or, the right course of preserving Life and Health unto extream old Age. . . . Written in Latin by L. [eonardus] Lessius and now done into English [by T. S.] (Luigi Cornaro's Treatise of Temperance and Sobriety, translated by Master George Herbert.—A Discourse translated out of Italian, That a spare diet is better than a Splendid and Sumptuous.) The second edition. 2 pts.*

Printed by the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge.
1634. 12mo. *British Museum.*

This is a translation of Leonard Lessius's,

Hygiasticon seu vera ratio valetudinis bonae et vitae, una cum sensuum iudicii et memoriae integritate ad extremam senectutem cōservandae.

Antverpiae. 1613. 8vo. British Museum.

Editio secunda subjungitur Tractatus L. Cornari de vitae sobriae [Trattato de la vita sobria] eodem pertinens ab ipso Lessio Translatus.

Antverpiae. 1614. 8vo. British Museum, 2 copies.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that George Herbert contributed, in prose, to his friend Nicholas Ferrar's English translation of Lessius's *Hygiasticon*, a translation from the Latin of Cornaro's discourse, entitled, *A Treatise of Temperance and Sobriety*, and made at the request "of a noble personage." This was first published at the Cambridge University Press in 1634. Whether "T. S." is Nicholas Ferrar, or not, I do not know.

Luigi Cornaro, 1467–1566, was of a noble Venetian family. Delicate by constitution, at the age of forty he found his health much impaired by his indulgences and determined to change his whole manner of life. He restricted himself to

twelve ounces of solid food and fourteen ounces of wine a day, and endeavored to cultivate a gay and amiable disposition, he was said to have been naturally sober and morose. His health was completely restored, and he died at the age of ninety-nine. Between the ages of eighty and ninety-five, he published in four parts, his

Discorsi della vita sobria, ne' quali con l'esempio di se stesso, dimostra con quali mezzi possa l'uomo conservarsi sano fino all'ultima vecchiezza.

Padua. 1558. 8vo. (Three parts only). Venice. 1599. 8vo. and 1620. 8vo. (complete). Venice. 1666. 8vo., done in Italian verse.

Besides the Latin of Leonard Lessius, the work was translated into most of the European languages, and was repeatedly reprinted. An English edition in the British Museum is described in the book-lists as the 'fifty-fifth.'

1638. *A Learned Treatise of Globes, both Coelestiall and Terrestriall. . . . Written first in Latine. . . . Afterward illustrated with notes, by J. J. Pontanus. And now . . . made English. . . . By J. [ohn] Chilmead, etc.*

Printed by the Assignee of T. P. for P. Stephens and C. Meredith, London, 1638. 8vo. *British Museum.*

From the Latin of Robertus Hues,

Tractatus de Globis et eorum Usu, accommodatus iis qui Londini editi sunt anno 1593, etc.

In aedibus Thomae Dawson, Londini, 1594. 8vo. British Museum.

The "*Learned Treatise of Globes* is usually attributed to Edmund Chilmead with apparent correctness." *Dictionary of National Biography.*

1658. *Natural Magick; wherein are set forth all the riches and delights of the Natural Sciences . . . in twenty bookes.*

T. Young and S. Speed: London. 1658. 4to. Pp. 409. With a second title-page engraved. *British Museum.*

A translation of Giovanni Battista della Porta's,
Magiae Naturalis, sine de miraculis rerum naturalium libri
 III. Pp. 163.

M. Cancer: Neapoli. 1558. Folio. *British Museum*.
 Frequently reprinted. The *British Museum* contains editions
 of 1561, 1564, 1589 (Neapoli, libri xx, folio), 1607, 1619,
 1651, and 1664.

c. GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES.

1550. *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a*
Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarca,
and Dante: gathered into this tongue by William Thomas. 2 pts.

Londini. An. M.D.L. [Colophon.] Imprinted at London
 in Fletestrete, in the House of Thomas Berthelet. *Cum*
privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno dñi. 1550. 4to.
 Black letter. *Huth. British Museum. Harvard. 1560.*
 4to. (Lowndes.) 1561. 4to. (Watt and Chalmers.) 1562.
 4to. Black letter. *British Museum. 1567. 4to. Black*
letter. British Museum. Harvard. 1724. 4to. (Watt.)

Dedicated, "from Padoa the thirde of Februarie, 1548,"
 to Sir Thomas Chaloner, the scholarly diplomatist, who was
 the friend of Cheke, Haddon, and other learned men of the
 time.

This is the first Italian grammar and dictionarie printed in
 England; it was written in Italy, and the *Dictionarie* is
 described as "taken out of the two books in Italian, called
Acharisius and *Ricchezze della lingua volgare.*"

Alberto Accarigi da Cento, fl. 1537–1562, was the author
 of two word-books,—

La Grammatica volgare di M. A. de gl' Acharsi da Cento.
Vinegia. 1537. 4to. British Museum, and Vocabolario, gram-
matica et orthographia de la lingua volgare d' A. Acharisio ;
con ispositioni di molti luoghi di Dante, del Petrarca, et del
Boccaccio. Cento. 1543. 4to. British Museum, (2 copies).

Francesco Alunno was the author of, *Le ricchezze della*
lingua volgare.

Figliuoli di Aldo. Venegia. 1543. Folio. British Museum.

A second word-book of Alunno's may also have been suggestive to Thomas; it is entitled,

La fabrica del mondo, nella quale si contengono tutte le voci di Dante, del Petrarca, del Boccaccio & d'altri buoni autori, con la dichiarazione di quella, & con le sue interpretationi Latine, con le quali si ponno scrivendo isprimere tutti i concetti dell' huomo di qualunque cosa creata.

Vinegia. 1548. Folio (colophon dated 1546). British Museum, (also four later editions).

William Thomas was a native of Wales, and was educated at Oxford. In 1544, "constrained by misfortune to habandon the place of my nativity," (beginning of *The Pilgrim*,) he went to Italy, where we hear of him, in 1546, at Bologna, and, from the dedication of the *Principal Rules*, at Padua, in 1548.

In 1549, he was again in London, and on account of his knowledge of modern languages, was made clerk of the Council to King Edward VI. In the autumn of the year 1552, Thomas submitted eighty-five political questions for the young King's consideration. Edward agreed to receive essays from him from time to time on stipulated subjects, and Thomas submitted papers on foreign affairs, on a proposal to reform the debased currency, and on forms of government. The paper on foreign affairs is one of the *Cotton MSS.* (*Vespasian D. Bodleian*), and is entitled,

"My private opinion touching your Majesty's outward affairs at this present." Strype printed it in his *Memorials*, Vol. iv, p. 352.

Subsequently King Edward gave Thomas a prebend of St. Paul's, and the living of Presthend, in South Wales, appointments which Strype goes on to say were procured unfairly, Thomas not being a spiritual person.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, Thomas joined in the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, for which he was executed for high treason, at Tyburn, May 18, 1554. (*Froude, History of*

England, Vol. VI, Ch. 31, and *Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, IV, p. 248.)

Besides the *Principal Rules*, William Thomas also wrote *The Historie of Italie*, an interesting and rare book, which came to four editions between 1549 and 1562, in spite of the fact that it is said to have been "suppressed and publicly burnt" after the execution of the author. Anthony à Wood quotes Bishop Tanner for the statement that Thomas translated from the Italian two works, called, *The Laws of Republics* and *On the Roman Pontiffs*. A veritable translation of his, written for the use of King Edward VI., has been printed by the Hakluyt Society, 1873; it is an account of the two voyages of Giosafat Barbaro into Tana and Persia.

I do not know whether *The Pilgrim* is a translation or an original work. The title of the only English edition of it that I know of reads,—

The Pilgrim: a Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry Eighth: Edited [from the Harleian MSS. British Museum] with Notes from the Archives at Paris and Brussels, by J. A. Froude. 1861. 8vo. British Museum.

The Dialogue is dedicated, "To Mr. Peter Aretyne the right naturall Poete;" Anthony à Wood says it was written at "Bologn la Grassa," and further that it "is about to be translated into Lat. with a design to be remitted in the third tome of *Fasciculus*, collected by Edw. Brown of Christ's College in Cambridge" [1690]. He quotes a letter from Brown, dated August 15, 1690, giving this account of *The Pilgrim*,—

"Mr. Chiswell, I am upon printing a book that I have in my library of which I find the lord Herbert and my lord bishop of Salisbury that now is, have made frequent use in their histories, and which deserves to be better known than now it is. The title is this:

"Il pelegrino Inglese, or a Discourse that passed between Sir William Thomas, an English gentlemen, and some Italians at Bologna, a hundred and forty years ago, concerning Henry

the eighth, King of England, and the affairs of those times. Wherein the said Sir William defends the innocent and sincere life of K. Henry the eighth, from ye lies and slanders of Pope Clement ye seaventh, and other flatterers of the seat of Antichrist. Translated exactly from ye old Italian copy printed in ye year M.D.LII. By E. B. Rector of Sundridge in Kent."

It is more than likely that the work was originally written in English, and that Brown's letter records an early Italian translation.

See *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*. 1873.

1568. *The Enimie of Idlenesse: Teaching the maner and stile howe to endite, compose and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters: as well by answer, or otherwise. Set forth in English by William Fulwood, Marchant.*

London. By Henry Bynneman for Leonard Maylard. 1568. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum*. Also, 1571. 16mo. (Lowndes.) 12mo. (Warton): 1578. 8vo. *British Museum*: 1586. 8vo. *British Museum*: 1593. 8vo. *British Museum*: 1598. 16mo. (Lowndes): 1621. 8vo. *British Museum*.

Dedicated to the "Master, Wardens, and Company of Marchant Tayllors." Fullwood was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

The *Enimie of Idlenesse*, whose seven editions prove it to have been a very popular book, consists of four parts, in prose and verse.

Part I, with much original matter, contains translations from Cicero and the ancients.

Part II contains translations from Politian, Ficino, Merula, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and other Italian scholars.

Angelo Poliziano, 1454–1494, carried on a wide correspondence with the distinguished literary men of his time, and many of the letters were published in *Illustrium virorum epistolae, ab A. Politiano partim scriptae, partim collectae*. Paris. 1519, 1523, 1526. 4to.: Lyons. 1539. 8vo.: Basle. 1542. 8vo.

Marsilio Ficino, 1433-1499, wrote *Epistolarum libri duodecim*. Venice. 1495. Folio.

Giorgio Merula, 1424(?) - 1494, wrote *In Philadelphum Epistolae duae*. Venice. 1480. 4to.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 1463-1494, left some letters which were published after his death, under the title *Aureae ad familiares epistolae*. Paris. 1499. 4to.

Part III. contains practical and personal letters, mostly original.

Part IV. shows 'how to endite' a love-letter by giving examples of six metrical love-letters, besides some prose specimens. Subsequent editions contain seven metrical letters, with other augmentations.

Fullwood's verse is spirited and vigorous.

1575. *An Italian Grammer Written in Latin by Scipio Lentulo a Neapolitaine and turned in Englishe by H. G.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the Blacke frieres. 1575. Oct. 8vo. Pp. 155. *British Museum*, (2 copies). *Bodleian*. 1578. 8vo.

1587. *La Grammatica di M. S. Lentulo . . . da lui in latina lingua Scritta, & hora nella Italiana & Inglese tradotta da H. G. An Italian Grammar . . . turned into Englishe by H. Granthan. MS. Additions.*

T. Vautrollier, London, 1587. 8vo. *British Museum. Bodleian*.

Dedicated "to the right vertuous Mystres Mary, and Mystres Francys Berkeley daughters to the Right honorable Henry Lorde Berkelye," to whom the translator, Henry Granthan, was tutor.

Quaritch records, *S. Lentuli. Italicae Grammatices Institutio*. Venice. 1578. Sm. 4to.

1578. *Florio his first Frutes; which yeelde familiar Speech, merie Prouerbs, wittie Sentences, and golden Sayings. Also a perfect Introduction to the Italian and English Tongues.*

London. [T. Dawson. 1578.] 4to. *British Museum*. 1591. 4to. (Lowndes.)

Dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Florio's *First Frutes* consist mainly of simple dialogues in Italian and English.

1578. *A comfortable ayde for Schollers, full of variety of sentences, gathered out of [the work of] an Italian authour, (intituled in that tongue, Speechio de la lingua Latina,) by D. Rowland.*

T. Marshe. London. 1578. 8vo. *British Museum*.

D. Rowland is David Rowland of Anglesey, who subsequently translated from the Spanish the first part of *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tórmes*, by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. (1554. 8vo. *British Museum*.) This novel, the forerunner of Mateo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache*, Le Sage's *Gil Blas*, and numerous other imitations in the *gusto picaresco*, became extremely popular and was frequently translated into various languages. Ticknor, (*History of Spanish Literature*, 1872, vol. i, p. 552, Note,) states that above twenty editions of Rowland's English translation, *The Pleasant History of Lazarillo de Tórmes*, (1586. Sm. 8vo. 1596. 4to. *British Museum*) are known.

A lively account of *Lazarillo* will be found in the *Retro-spective Review*, vol. ii, p. 133.

1583. *Campo di Fior, or else The Flourie Field of Foore Languages of M. Claudius Desainliens, alias Holiband: For the furtherance of the learners of the Latine, French, English, but chieflie of the Italian Tongue. Dum spiro, spero.*

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the Blacke-Friers by Lud-gate. 1583. Small 8vo. *Huth*. (16mo.) *British Museum*.

Dedicated to Mistress Luce Harington, daughter of John Harington, Esq.

1591. *Florios Second Frutes to be gathered of twelve Trees of diuers but delightsome tastes to the tongues of Italian and English men. To which is annexed his Gardine of Recreation, yeelding six thousand Italian proverbs. Ital. and Eng.*

Printed for T. Woodcock. London. 1591. 4to. *British Museum.*

Dedicated to Nicholas Saunders of Ewell.

The *Second Frutes* is a collection of Italian and English dialogues, with a reprint of Florio's *Giardino di Ricreatione*.

There is an Italian proverb in *Love's Labours Lost*, iv. 2, which Shakspeare may have taken from Florio, where it is given,

*Venetia, chi non ti vede, non ti pretia;
Ma chi ti vede, ben gli costa.*

Shakspeare puts it,

*Venegia, Venegia,
Chi non te vede, ei non te pregia.*

The proverb occurs in Howell's Letters, with a third variation,

*Venetia, Venetia, chi non te vede, non te pregia,
Ma chi t'ha troppo veduto te dispegia.*

See *The Familiar Letters of James Howell. Edited, Annotated, and Indexed, by Joseph Jacobs.*

London. David Nutt, 1892, the letter "To Robert Brown, Esq., at the Middle-Temple. From Venice, 12 Aug., 1621."

One of Pistol's string of proverbs, in *Henry V.*, ii. 2, "Pitch and pay," is also in Florio's collection; there it is, "Pitch and pay, and go your way."

Compare II. *Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances.* Turberville's *Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan.* 1567.

1597. *The Italian Schoole-maister: Contayning Rules for the perfect pronouncing of th' italian tongue: With familiar speeches: . . . And certaine Phrases taken out of the best Italian*

Authors. And a fine Tuscan historie called *Arnalt & Lucenda*. A verie easie way to learne th' italian tongue. Set forth by Clau. Holliband, Gentl. of Bourbonnois.

At London, Printed by Thomas Purfoot. 1597. Sm. 8vo. *Huth. British Museum.*

Dedicated, "To the most vertuous and well giuen Gentleman Maister Jhon Smith."

1608. *The Italian Schoole-maister.* Revised and corrected by F. P. an Italian, professor and teacher of the Italian tongue.

At London, Printed by Thomas Purfoot. 1608. 8vo. *British Museum.* Lowndes gives also 1583, 16mo., and 1591, 16mo.

The editions of 1597 and 1608 contain *Arnalte and Lucenda*. Compare I. *Romances*, Holliband's, *The pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalte and Lucenda*, 1575, and II. *Poetry, Plays, and Metrical Romances*, Leonard Lawrence's poem, *A small Treatise betwixt Arnalte and Lucenda*, 1639.

1598. *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by Iohn Florio.*

Printed at London, by Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount. 1598. 4to. *British Museum* (2 copies).

Dedicated, "To the Right Honorable Patrons of Vertue, Patterns of Honor, Roger Earle of Rutland, Henrie [Wriothesley] Earle of Southampton, Lucie Countesse of Bedford.

It is in this dedication that Florio calls himself, "Resolute John Florio."

1611. *Queen Anna's New World of words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, Collected, and newly much augmented by Iohn Florio, Reader of the Italian vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of Anna, Crowned Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. And one of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Priuie Chamber. Whereunto are added certaine necessarie rules and short obseruations for the Italian tongue.*

London, Printed by Melch. Bradwood for Edw. Blount and William Barret. Anno 1611. Folio. With a portrait of Florio, engraved by W. Hole. *British Museum* (2 copies).

An appendix of seventy-three pages, with a separate title-page, gives,

“Necessary Rules and short observations for the True Pronouncing and Speedie Learning of the Italian, collected for Queen Anne.”

Dedicated to Queen Anne, in Italian and in English,—

All' ECCELSA ET GLORIOSISSIMA Maestà di Anna, Serenissima Regina d'Inghilterra, di Scòtia, di Francia, & d'Irlànda: Giovanni Florio, suo hum.^{me} seruitore brama, & augúra il cólmo & godimento d'ògni vera & compíta felicità. In sù l'altàre dèlla tua Eccèlsa & Seren.^{ma} MAESTA (al quále ògni nòstro ginóccchio douerebbe inchinàrsi), ché le tée innàte & Reàli virtù (Gloriosissima REGINA) s'hànno erétto nél sàcro Tèmpio d'Honóre (chè ògni còure conuerebbe adoràre senza idolatria). Io con ògni humillà & riuerenza dedico & consàcro quèsto humile vòto, & cón le ginóccchia dèlla mènte inchíne ALLA TVA GRANDEZZA DALL' ECCELSE, bàscio le Realissime mani, volendo víuere & moríre. Di túa Gloriosissima & sublime Maestà hum.^{me} ossequen^{mo} & inuiolabile súddito & seruitóre Giovanni Florio.

To the IMPERIAL MAIESTIE of the Highest-borne Princes, Anna of Denmarke, by God's permission, Crowned Qveene of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, &c. Hir humblest seruant I. F. wisheth all the true felicities, that this world may affoord, and the fullest fruition of the blessednesse that heauen can yeeld. This braine-babe (ô pardon me that title most absolute supreme Minerua) brought with it into the world, now thirteen yeers since, a world of words: Since, following the fathers steps in all obseruant seruice of your most sacred Maiestie, yet with a trauellers minde, as erst Colombus at command of glorious Isabella, it hath (at home) discouered neere halfe a new world: and therefore as of olde some called Scotia of Scota, and others lately Virginia, of

Queenes your Maiesties predecessors: so pardon again (ô most Gracious and Glorious) if it dare be entitled Qveen Anna's New world of words, as vnder your protection and patronage sent and set forth. It shall be my guard against the worst, if not grace with the best, if men may see I beare Minerua in my front, or as the Hart on my necke, I am Diana's, so with heart I may say, This is Qveen Anna's, as the Author is, and shall euer be Your Soueraigne Maiesties inuiolably-devoted subiect and most obliged seruant Iohn Florio.

Florio was appointed reader in Italian to Queen Anne, 1603.

1659. *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, A Dictionary Italian & English. Formerly Compiled by John Florio, and since his last Edition, Anno 1611, augmented by himselfe in His life time, with many thousand Words, and Thuscan Phrases. Now most diligently Revised, Corrected, and Compared, with La Crusca, and other approved Dictionaries extant since his Death; and enriched with very considerable Additions. Whereunto is added A Dictionary English & Italian, with severall Proverbs and Instructions for the speedy attaining to the Italian Tongue. Never before Published. By Gio: Torriano An Italian, and Professor of the Italian Tongue in London.*

London, Printed by T. Warren for Jo. Martin, Ja. Allestry, and Tho. Dicas, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Bell in S. Pauls Church-Yard, MDCLIX. Folio. *British Museum.*

Dedicated by the author, "*All' Ill^{mo}. Sig^r. Andrea Riccard, Governatore dell' Honoratissima Compagnia, de' Signori Negotianti di Turchia in Londra, et al Multo Ill^{re}. Sig^r. Gulielmo Williams Sottò-governatore & a' molto Ill^{ri}. Sig^{ri}. Assistenti di detta Compagnia.*"

Dedicated by the publishers, John Martin, James Allestry, and Thomas Dicas, "To Their most Honoured Friend, Mr. James Stanier, Merchant in London," (a member of the Company of Turkey Merchants).

Torriano's English and Italian dictionary has a separate title-page,—

Vocabolario Inglese & Italiano: A Dictionary English and Italian: Compiled for the use of both Nations. As also a brief Introduction Unto the Italian Tongue: and severall Italian Proverbs, With the English Interpretation to them. Never before Published. By Gio: Torriano, An Italian; and Professor of the Italian Tongue in London.

London. Printed by J. Roycroft for Jo: Martin, Ja: Allestrey, and Tho: Dicas, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bell in S. Pauls Church-Yard. 1659.

Dedicated by the author, in Italian, "*All' Ill^{mo}. Sig^r. Carlo Fra^{co} Guadagni Nobile Fiorentino;*" and in English, "To all who desire to learn the Italian Tongue."

[Another edition.] Reprinted, revised, and corrected by J. D. [avis] M. D. London. 1688-7. Folio. *British Museum*. 1690. Folio. (Allibone.)

The English-Italian Dictionary has a distinct title-page and pagination, and is marked 'second edition.'

Dedicated to Maria d'Este, Queen of England.

Florio on the usefulness of his Dictionarie in the explanation of Italian writers.

Yet heere-hence may some good accrewe, not onelie to truantlie-schollers, which euer-and-anon runne to *Venuti*, and *Alunno*; or to new-entred nouices, that hardly can construe their lesson; or to well-forward students, that haue turnd ouer *Guazzo* and *Castiglione*, yea runne through *Guarini*, *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Boccace*, and *Petrarche*: but euen to the most compleate Doctor; yea to him that best can stande *All'erta* for the best Italian, heereof sometimes may rise some vse: since, haue he the memorie of *Themistocles*, of *Seneca*, of *Scaliger*, yet is it not infinite, in so finite a body. And I haue seene the best, yea naturall Italians, not onely stagger, but euen sticke fast in the myre, and at last giue it ouer, or giue their verdict with An *ignoramus*. *Boccace* is prettie hard, yet vnderstood: *Petrarche* harder, but explained: *Dante* hardest, but commented. Some doubt if all aright. *Alunno* for his

foster-children hath framed a worlde of their wordes. *Venuti* taken much paines in some verie fewe authors; and our *William Thomas* hath done prettilie; and if all faile, although we misse or mistake the worde, yet make we vp the sence. Such making is marring. Naie all as good; but not as right. And not right, is flat wrong. One saies of *Petrarche* for all: A thousand strappadas coulde not compell him to confesse what some interpreters will make him saie he ment. And a Iudicious gentleman of this lande will vphold, that none in England vnderstands him thoroughly.

1598, Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, Epistle dedicatorie*, p. [4-5.]

1612. *The Passenger: of Benvenuto Italian, Professour of his Natiue Tongue, for these nine yeeres in London. Diuided into two Parts, containing seauen exquisite Dialogues in Italian and English: The Contents whereof you shall finde in the end of the Booke. . . .*

London: Printed by T. S. for John Stepneth, and are to be solde at his Shop at the West-end of Paules Church. 1612. 4to. *Huth*.

Dedicated to Prince Henry.

The *British Museum* title runs,—

Il Passaggiere di Benvenuto Italiano diviso in due parti, che contengano [sic] sette esquisiti Dialoghi, etc. 2 pts. Ital. and Eng.

Stampato da T. S., per R. Redmer, Londra, 1612. 4to. Pp. 611. British Museum, (3 copies).

The Passenger contains numerous quotations from the chief Italian poets, translated without rhyme, but rhythmically, apparently by Benvenuto himself.

Benvenuto is also the author of a vehement attack upon the temporal power of the papacy, published, in London, in Italian, in 1617.

See *Scala Politica dell' Abominazione e Tirannia Papale*. 1617.


1617. ἩΓΕΜΩΝ Εἰς τὰς Τὰς ΤΑΩΞΞΑΞ.

*id est,**Ductor in Linguas,**The Guide into Tongues.*

Cum illarum harmonia, & Etymologiis, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Derivationibus, in omnibus his undecim Linguis, viz:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Anglica. | 7. Hispanica. |
| 2. Cambro-Britanica. | 8. Lusitanica seu Portugallica. |
| 3. Belgica. | 6. Italica. |
| 4. Germanica. | 10. Graeca. |
| 5. Gallica. | 11. Hebraea, &c. |
| | 9. Latina. |

Quae etiam ita ordine, & sono consentientes, collocatae sunt, ut faciliè & nullo labore, unusquisq; non solum, Quatuor, Quinque, vel plures illarum, quam optime memoria tenere, verum etiam (per earum Etymologias) sub Nomine, Naturam, Proprietatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam, vel finem rerum, rectè nosse que at; Discrepans ab aliis Dictionariis unquam antehac editis.

Item explicatio vocabulorum forensium Juris Anglicani, & Descriptio Magistratum & Titulorum dignitatum, hac nota  *per totum Opus insignita.*

Opus omnibus humanioris literaturae amatoribus valdè necessarium & delectabile, imprimis Nostratibus qui nullo negotio ex Anglicana, caeteras linguas cum earum Etymologiis, ordine Alphabetico, invenire possunt, denig, [denique] Extra-neis, si ex his congestis, Alphabetum unius vel plurium aliarum linguarum, sibi cum numeris Arithmeticis concinnare voluerunt.


Opera, Studio, Industria, Labore & Sumptibus Johannis Minshaei in lucem editum & impressum. Anno 1617.

The Guide into the tongues.

With their agreement and consent one with another, as also their Etymologies, that is, the Reasons and Derivations of all or the most part of wordes, in these eleuen Languages, viz:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>English.</i> | 7. <i>Spanish.</i> |
| 2. <i>British or Welsh.</i> | 8. <i>Portuguez.</i> |
| 3. <i>Low Dutch.</i> | 6. <i>Italian.</i> |
| 4. <i>High Dutch.</i> | 9. <i>Latine.</i> |
| 5. <i>French.</i> | 10. <i>Greeke.</i> |
| | 11. <i>Hebrew, etc.</i> |

Which are so laid together (for the help of memory) that any one with ease and facilitie, may not only remember 4. 5. or more of these Languages so laid together, but also by their Etymologies under the Name know the Nature, Propertie, Condition, Effect, Matter, Forme, Fashion or End of things there-under containd, differing from all other Dictionaries euer heretofore set forth.

Also the Exposition of the Termes of the Lawes of this Land, drawne from their originall the Saxon and Norman tongues, with the description of the Magistracies, Offices, and Officers, and Titles of Dignities, noted with this hand  throughout the whole Booke.

A worke for all Louers of any kinde of Learning, most pleasant and profitable, especially for those of our owne Nation, when by order of the English Alphabet, they may find out 10 other Tongues, with their Etymologies, most helpfull to Memory, to Speake or Write, then to Strangers, if they will draw out of these one or more Languages, and place them in order of Alphabet and Table, and referre them by figures into this Booke, as they shall best like of.

By the Industrie, Studie, Labour, and at the charges of John Minshue Published and Printed. Anno 1617. Folio. British Museum (5 copies).

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis, & vendibiles extant Londini, apud Johannem Browne Bibliopolam in vico vocato little Brittain.

And are to be sold at John Brownes shop a Bookeseller in little Brittain in London.

Dedicated to King James I., as follows,—

Potentissimo clementissimo que, necnon omni scientiarum diuinarum et humanarum eruditione instructissimo, Jacobo

*Magnae Britanniae Monarchae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regi,
ac Fidei Defensori, &c.*

Minshaei


*Emendatio, vel à mendis Expurgatio, seu Augmentatio sui
Ductoris in Linguas,*

The Guide into Tongues.

*Cum illarum Harmonia, & Etymologijs, Originationibus,
Rationibus, & Derivationibus in omnibus his novem Linguis,
viz :*

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Anglica. | 4. Gallica. | 7. Latina. |
| 2. Belgica. | 5. Italica. | 8. Graeca. |
| 3. Germanica. | 6. Hispanica. | 9. Hebraea, etc. |

*Quae etiam ita ordine & sono consentientes, collocatae sunt,
ut facillime & nullo labore, unusquisque non solum, Quatuor,
Quinque, vel plures illarum, quam optime memoria tenere, verum
etiam (per earum Etymologias) sub Nomine, Naturam, Propri-
etatem, Conditionem, Effectum, Materiam, Formam, vel finem
rerum, recte nosse queat; Discrepans ab aliis Dictionariis
unquam antehac editis.*

*Item explicatio vocabulorum forensium Juris Anglicani, &
Descriptio Magistratum, & Titulorum dignitatum, hac nota
 per totum Opus insignita.*

*Item adijciuntur Etymologiae sacrae Scripturae, Adam, Evae,
Cain, Abel, Seth, &c. Cum Etymologijs Regionum, Urbium,
Oppidorum, Montium, Fontium, Fluviorum, Promontiorum,
Portuum, Sinuum, Insularum, Marium, Virorum, Mulierum,
Deorum, Stagnorum, Sylvarum, Solitudinum, Populorum, Vico-
rum, Speluncarum, ac aliarum rerum notatu dignarum quae
insigniuntur hac nota per totum Opus (†).*

*Opus omnibus humanioris literaturae amatoribus valde neces-
sarium & delectabile, imprimis nostratibus, qui nullo negotio
ex Anglicana, caeteras linguas cum earum Etymologijs, ordine
Alphabetico, inuenire possunt; denique Extraneis, si ex his con-
gestis, Alphabetum unius vel plurium aliarum linguarum, sibi
cum numeris Arithmeticis concinnare voluerunt.*

Opera, Studio, Industria, Labore & Sumptibus Johannis Minshaei in lucem editum & impressum, 22^o Julij, Anno 1625.


Secunda Editio.

The Guide into the Tongues.

With their agreement and consent one with another, as also their Etymologies, that is, the Reasons and Deriuations of all or the most part of words, in these nine Languages, viz.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>English.</i> | 4. <i>French.</i> | 7. <i>Latine.</i> |
| 2. <i>Low Dutch.</i> | 5. <i>Italian.</i> | 8. <i>Greeke.</i> |
| 3. <i>High Dutch.</i> | 6. <i>Spanish.</i> | 9. <i>Hebrew, etc.</i> |

Which are so laid together (for the helpe of memorie) that any one with ease and facilitie, may not only remember, foure, fiue, or more of these Languages so laid together, but also by their Etymologies under the Name know the Nature, Propertie, Condition, Effect, Matter, Forme, Fashion, or End of things thereunder contained, differing from all other Dictionaries euer heretofore set forth.

Also the Exposition of the Termes of the Lawes of this Land, drawne from their originall the Saxon and Norman Tongues, with the description of the Magistracies, Offices, Officers, and Titles of Dignities, noted with this  thorowout the whole Booke.

Item, There are added the Etymologies of proper names of the Bible, Adam, Eue, Cain, Abel, Seth, &c. with the Etymologies of Countries, Cities, Townes, Hilles, Riuiers, Flouds, Promontories, Ports, Creekes, Islands, Seas, Men, Women, Gods, People, and other things of note, which are marked with this marke (†) thorow the whole Worke.

By the Industrie, Studie, Labour, and at the Charges of John Minshue Published and Printed. 22^o July, Anno 1625.

The Second Edition.

London.

Printed by John Haviland, and are by him to be sold at his House in the little Old-Baily in Eliots Court. M.DC.XXVII. British Museum (another copy in the British Museum, with a different title-page, bears the date 1626.)

Dedicated, "*Reuerendissimo Presuli, necnon Honoratissimo Domino, Ioanni, diuina Prouidentia, Episcopo Lincolnensi, & Magni Sigilli totius Angliae Custodi.*"

In a time of long titles, the longest title yet!

1640. *The Italian Tutor, or a New and most Compleat Italian grammar to which is annexed A display of the Monasillable Particles of the language, by way of alphabet. As also certaine dialogues made up of Italianismes, or Niceties of the Language, with the English to them.* 2 pts.

T. Paine. London. 1640. 4to. *British Museum.* 1673. 8vo.

By Gio. Torriano, editor of the third edition of Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes.* 1659. *The Catalogue of Early English Books* (to 1640) prints the surname, 'Sorriano,' which is surely an error.

1660. *Lexicon Tetraglotton, an English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary: Whereunto is adjoined A large Nomenclature of the proper Terms (in all the four) belonging to the several Arts and Sciences, to Recreations, to Professions both Liberal and Mechanick, &c. Divided into Fiftie two Sections; With another Volume of the Choicest Proverbs In all the said Towns, (consisting of divers compleat Tomes) and the English translated into the other Three, to take off the reproch which useth to be cast upon Her, That She is but barren in this point, and those Proverbs She hath are but flat and empty. Moreover, there are sundry familiar Letters and Verses running all in Proverbs, with a particular Tome of the British or old Cambrian Sayed Sawes and Adages which the Author thought fit to annex hereunto, and make Intelligible, for their great Antiquity and Weight: Lastly, there are five Centuries of New Sayings, which, in tract of Time, may serve for Proverbs to Posterity. By the Labours and Lucubrations of James Howell, Esq.;*

Senesco, non, segnesco.

London, Printed by J. G. for Samuel Thomson at the Bishops head in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1660. Folio. *British Museum. Peabody.*

Dedicated, "To his Majesty Charles the Second, Third Monarch of Great Britain," etc.

The *Proverbs* were published separately in 1659, as *Proverbs or old Sayed Saws and Adages in English or the Saxon tongue, Italian, French, and Spanish: Whereunto the British [i. e. Welsh] for their great Antiquity and weight are added."*

Among other attractions of this extraordinary compilation are three introductory

Poems by the Author

Touching the Association of the English Tounge with the French, Italian, and Spanish, etc.

I.

France, Italy and Spain, ye sisters three,
Whose Touns are branches of the Latian tree,
To perfect your odd Number, be not shy
To take a Fourth to your society,
That high Teutonick Dialect which bold
Hengistus with his Saxons brought of old
Among the Brittaines, when by Knife and Sword
He first of England did create the word;
Nor is't a small advantage to admitt,
So Male a speech to mix with you, and knitt,
Who by her Consonants and tougher strains
Will bring more Arteries 'mong your soft veins,
For of all touns Dutch hath most nerves and bones,
Except the Pole, who hurles his words like stones.
Some feign that when our Protoplastick sire
Lost Paradis by Heavens provoked ire,
He in Italian tempted was, in French
Fell a begging pardon, but from thence
He was thrust out in the high Teuton Tounge,
Whence English (though much polished since) is sprung.

This Book is then an inlaid peece of art,
 English the knots which strengthen every part,
 Four languages are here together fix'd,
 Our Lemsters Ore with Naples silk is mix'd,
 The Loire, the Po, the Thames, and Tagus glide
 All in one bed, and kisse each others side,
 The Alps and Pyrenean mountains meet,
 The rose and flower-de-luce hang in one street :
 May Spain and Red-capt France a league here strike,
 If 'twixt their Kings and Crowns there were the like,
 Poore Europe should not bleed so fast, and call
 Turbands at last unto her Funerall.

1673. *The Italian reviv'd, or Introduction to the Italian Tongue.* [By Giovanni Torriano.]

London. 1673. 8vo. (Lowndes.) 1689. 8vo. (Allibone.)

d. PROVERBS.

1581. *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie, as the best Common-Weale. . . . Whereunto is added by the same* [Charles Merbury] *a Collection of Italian Proverbes, etc.*

T. Vautrollier, London, 1581. 4to. *British Museum* (2 copies).

The *Proverbes* have a distinct pagination and titlepage, which reads,

Proverbi vulgari, raccolti in diversi luoghi d'Italia, etc.

Prefixed to this work is the note, "Approbation of Mr. T. Norton, counsellor and solicitor of London, appointed by the bishop of London."

[1584?] *The booke of prittie conceites, taken out of Latin, Italian, French, Dutch and Englishe. Good for them that loue alwaies newe conceites.*

Printed for E. White, London [1584?]. 8vo. Black letter. *British Museum.*

1584. *The Welspring of wittie Conceites: containing a Methode, aswel to speake, as to endight (aply and eloquently) of sundrie Matters: as (also) see great varietie .of pilhy Sentences, vertuous sayings and right Moral Instructions: No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be practised, either in familiar speech or by writing, in Epistles and Letters. Out of Italian by W. Phist. Student. Wisdom is like a thing fallen into the water, which no man can finde, except it be searched to the bottome.*

At London. Printed by Richard Jones, dwelling at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere Holburne Bridge. 1584. 4to. Black letter. 51 leaves. *Bodleian*.

Besides the translation, Phist. (Phiston) added other matter, "partly the invention of late writers and partly mine own."

The Welspring is a series of letters containing the merest commonplaces of morals. Collier says there is not a single original remark, nor one allusion of a local or personal character.

1590. *The Quintessence of Wit, being A corrant comfort of conceites, Maximies [sic] and politicke deuises, selected and gathered together by Francisco Sansouino. Wherin is set foorth sundrye excellent and wise sentences, worthie to be regarded and followed. Translated out of the Italian tung, and put into English for the benefit of all those that please to read and understand the works and worth of a worthy writer.*

At London, Printed by Edward Allde, dwelling without Cripplegate at the signe of the gilded Cuppe. Octobris 28. 1590. 4to. Black letter. 108 leaves. *Huth. British Museum*. Also, 1596 and 1599.

The arms of the translator, Captain Robert Hitchcock, of Caversfield, County Bucks, are engraved on sig. E 2, verso. A note at the end of the volume reads,—“This saide Captaine Hichcock seruing in the Lowe Cuntries, Anno. 1586 with two hundreth Souldiours: brought from thence with this Booke, the second booke of Sansouinos politick Conceites, which shall

be put to the Printing so soon as it is translated out of the Italian into English." No second volume, however, is known to have appeared.

The work consists of 803 aphorisms, which form the first book of Sansovino's *Propositioni overo Considerationi in materia di cose di Stato, sotto titolo di Avvertimenti, Avvedimenti Civili, & Concetti Politici di M. F. Guicciardini, G. F. Lottini, F. Sansovino*. [Edited by F. Sansovino.] *Vinegia*. 1583. 4to. *British Museum*.

In a dedicatory Epistle "to the Right Worshipfull Maister Robert Cicell, Esquire, one of the sonnes of the Right Honorable the Lord High Treasurer of England," Captain Hitchcock observes, "this book though it be printed in common paper, yet was it not penned in ordanarye discourses; it spreadeth it self like a tree that hath many braunches, whereon some bowe is greater then another, and yet the fruite of them all are alike in taste, because no soure crabbes were graffed where sweet apples should growe, nor no bitter oranges can be gathered where sweet powngarnets are planted; the excellency of this fruit must be sencibly felt and tasted with a well seasoned minde and iudgement, and the delicatenes therof must be chewed and chawed with a chosen and speciall spirite of understanding, not greedily mumbled up and eaten as a wanton eates peares that neuer were pared. Philosophie and farre fetched knowledge may not be handled and entertained like a Canterbury tale, nor used like a riding rime of Sir Topas."

I quote one maxim as a sample of the rest,—“That commonwealth where iustice is found for the poore, chastisement for those that be insolent & tirants, weight and measure in those things which are solde for the use of man, exercise and discipline amongst yong men, small covetousnes amongst olde persons, can neuer perishe.”

1590. *The Royal Exchange. Contayning sundry Aphorismes of Phylosophie, and golden principles of Morrall and*

natural Quadruplicities. Under pleasant and effectuall sentences, dyscouering such strange definitions, deuisions, and distinctions of vertue and vice, as may please the grauest Cittizens, or youngest Courtiers. Fyrst written in Italian and dedicated to the Signorie of Venice, nowe translated into English, and offered to the Cittie of London. Rob. Greene, in Artibus Magister.

At London, Printed by I. Charlewood for William Wright. Anno Dom. 1590. 4to. *Chetham Library, Manchester*, probably a unique exemplar. *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, M. A.* In 12 volumes. Vol. VII. *The Huth Library. A. B. Grosart. 1881-83.* 8vo. 50 copies only. *Peabody. Yale University.*

Dedicated to the right honourable Sir John Hart, Knight, Lorde Mayor of the Cittie of London: and to the right worshipfull Ma. Richard Gurney, and Ma. Stephen Soame, Sheriffes of the same Cittie.

In his dedicatory epistle to Sir John Hart, Greene says,—
 “Hauing (right Honorable and Worshipful) read ouer an Italian Pamphlet, dedicated to the Signorie of Venice, called *La Burza Reale*, full of many strange & effectuall Aphorismes, ending in short contriued Quadruplicities, translating it into our vulgare English tongue, & keeping the tytle, which signifieth the *Royall Exchange*, I presumed, as the Italian made offer of his worke to the Venetian state, so to present the imitation of his labours to the pyllers of thys honourable Cittie of London, which to counteruaile theyr *Burza Reale*, haue a *Royall Exchange*: flourishing with as honorable Merchants, as theirs with *valorosissimi Mercadori*.”

The dedication, “To the right honourable Cittizens of the Cittie of London,” sets forth some of the wares to be had at this *Royall Exchange*,—

“heere you may buy obedience to God, performed in the carefull mayntenaunce of his true religion, here you shal see curiously sette our reuerence to Magistrates, fayth to freendes, loue to our neyghbours, and charitie to the poore: who couets

to know the duety of a Christian, the offyce of a Ruler, the calling of a Cittizen: to be breefe, the effects Tullie pende down in his Officies, eyther for the embracing of vertue, or shunning of vice, let hym repayre to this *Royall Exchange*, and there he shall find himselfe generally furnished."

The 'Quadruplicities' are arranged in alphabetical order, according to the Italian, and are sometimes doubled, making an octave of aphorisms: after the set, or sets, comes a short comment, usually taken from some classical source. I cite a few 'Quadruplicities,' to illustrate,—

Dottore.

A Teacher.

Four things doe
belong unto a
Teacher.

1. In the day to looke over the Lecture he hath.
2. In the night by meditation to call it to memorie.
3. Priuatly to resolue his schollers in al doubts.
4. To be affable with them.

(This is the first of two Quadruplicities on this theme.)

Pouerta.

Pouertie.

Four Artes doo
impouerish a man.

1. Grammer.
2. Lodgicke.
3. Arithmeticke.
4. And Geometrie.

By this, the Author meaneth as I gesse, that all liberall Artes decay, that deuotion towards learning is colde, and that it is the poorest condition to be a Scholler, all Artes fayling but Diuinitie, Law, and Phisicke, the one profiting the soule, the second the purse, the third the bodie.

The last 'Quadruplicity' but one is this,—

Vita.

Lyfe.

Four things doo
prolong a man's life.

1. To liue soberlie.
2. To dwell with freends.
3. A holesome scituation.
4. A quiet and a merry mind.

Nestor, who as Homer and other Historiographers doo retort, liued three ages, beeing demaunded by Agamemnon what was the causes of his so long life, aunswered, the first or primarie cause, was the decrees of the Gods, the second, frugalitie in dyet, want of care and of melancholie. If you will die olde, (sayth Hermogenes) lyue not in Law-places, eschew delicates, and spend thy idle time in honest and merry companie.

1613. *Amphorismes Civill and Militarie, amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with History, out of the first Quarterne of F. Guicciardine* [by Sir Robert Dallington]. (*A briefe Inference upon Guicciardine's digression, in the fourth part of the first Quarterne of his Historie; forbidden the impression and effaced out of the originall by the Inquisition.*)

Imprinted for E. Blount, London. 1613. Folio. 2 pts. *British Museum*. 1615. Folio. (Lowndes.) 1629. Folio. *British Museum*.

The first edition of this book here noted is the presentation copy to Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I, and there is a portrait of the Prince in his thirteenth year on the verso of the titlepage. The second edition contains a translation of the inhibited digression (sixty-one pages in all); it is a satirical discussion of the authority of the popes.

Guicciardini's history was published in 1561, folio and octavo.

L'istoria d'Italia di F. G. pp. 1299. [Edited by Agnolo Guicciardini.] *L. Torret[ino]: Firenze.* 1561. 8vo. *British Museum* (2 copies). Also, *Fiorenza.* 1561. Folio. *British Museum*.

1633. *Bibliotheca scholastica instructissima. Or, Treasurie of Ancient Adagies and Sententious Proverbs, selected out of the English, Greeke, Latene, French, Italian, and Spanish, etc. Excudebat M. F. Impensis Richardi Whitaker, Londini,* 1633.

8vo. *British Museum*. Also, *Londini*. 1654. 8vo. *British Museum*.

By Thomas Draxe. A posthumous publication whose preface is dated, "Harwich, Julii 30, 1615."

1659. *Proverbs English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish. All Englished and Alphabetically digested. By N. R. Gent.*

London, Printed for Simon Miller at the Star in Pauls Church-yard. 1659. Sm. 8vo.

1660. *Choice Proverbs and Dialogues in Italian and English. Also, delightfull stories and apothegms, taken out of famous Guicciardine. Together with the Warres of Hannibal against the Romans; an history very usefull for all those that would attain to the Italian tongue. Published by P. P., an Italian, and Teacher of the Italian Tongue.*

Printed by E. C. London. 1660. 8vo. Pp. 304. *British Museum*.

Besides Guicciardini's *Avvertimenti Politici*, edited by Sansovino, Lodovico Guicciardini edited from his uncle's writings, *I precetti et sententie piu notabili in materia di stato di M. F. G. [uicciardini]*.

Anversa. 1585. 4to. *British Museum*.

See *Quintessence of Wit*. 1590.

1666. *Piazza Universale di Proverbi Italiani: Or, A Common Place of Italian Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases. Digested in Alphabetical Order by way of Dictionary: Interpreted, and occasionally Illustrated with Notes. Together with a Supplement of Italian Dialogues. Composed by Gio: Torriano, an Italian, and Professor of the Tongue.*

London, Printed by F. and T. W. for the Author. Anno Dom. 1666. Folio. (Lowndes. Allibone.)

INDEX OF TITLES.

a. Religion and Theology.

1547. Five Sermons [by Bernardino Ochino].
 1548. Sermons of the ryght famous Master Bernardine Ochine.
 1549. A Tragedie or Dialoge of the Primacie of the Bishop of Rome.
 [1550?] A discourse or traictise of Peter Martyr Vermill.
 [1550?] Certayne Sermons [by Bernardino Ochino].
 [1550?] Fouretene Sermons [by Bernardino Ochino].
 1550. The Alcaron of the Barefote Friers.
 1550. An Epistle [from Peter Martyr to the Duke of Somerset].
 1550. An Epistle of the famous Doctour Mathewe Gribalde.
 1564. Most fruitfull and learned Commentaries [on the Book of Judges.]
 [1566.] Pasquine in a Traunce.
 1568. The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper.
 1568. Most learned and fruitfull Commentaries [on the Romans.]
 1569. Most Godly Prayers.
 1576. The Droomme of Doomes Day.
 1576. The Mirror of Mans lyfe.
 1576. An Epistle for the godly Bringing up of Children.
 1576. A brief Exposition of the XII Articles of our Fayth.
 [1580?] A brief Treatise concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing.
 1580. Certaine Godly and very profitable Sermons.
 1583. The Common Places of Doctor Peter Martyr.
 1584. The contempte of the world and the vanitie thereof.
 [1600?] How to meditate the Mистерies of the Rosarie.
 1606. A full and satisfactorie answer [to Pope Paul V.].
 1606. A Declaration of the Variance [between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians.]
 1606. Meditations uppon the Passion.
 1608. A true copie of the Sentence of the high Councill of tenne.
 1608. Newes from Italy of a second Moses.
 1608. This History of our B. Lady of Loreto.
 [1609.] *Flos Sanctorum*. The Lives of the Saints.
 [1615?] Certaine devout considerations of frequenting the Blessed Sacrament.
 1616. A manifestation of the motives [of M. A. de Dominis].
 1617. A Sermon preached the first Sunday in Advent [by M. A. de Dominis].
 1618. The rockes of Christian Shipwracke.
 1619. The life of the Holy Mother Suor Maria Maddalena de Patsi.
 1620. The Historie of the Councel of Trent.
 1620. A Relation of the Death of the most illustrious Lord Sig^r Troilo Sauelli.

- 1620. Good News to Christendome.
- 1621. The Treasure of Vowed Chastity.
- 1623. M. A. de Dominis declares the cause of his Returne out of England.
- 1624. The Psalter of Jesus.
- 1625. The Free Schoole of Warre.
- 1626. The History of the quarrels of Pope Paul V. with the State of Venice.
- 1626. The Seaven Trumpets of Brother B. Saluthius [of the Order of St. Francis].
- 1627. The Life of B. Aloysius Gonzaga.
- 1628. A discourse upon the Reasons of the Resolution, etc.
- 1632. *Fuga Saeculi*, or the Holy Hatred of the World.
- 1632. The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier.
- 1638. The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signior J. Valdesso.
- 1644. St. Paul's Late Progres upon Earth.
- 1651. The Life of the most Learned Father Paul.
- 1657. A Dialogue of Polygamy.
- 1855. [1548, ms.] The Benefit of Christ's Death.

b. Science and the Arts.

- 1543. The most excellent workes of chirurgerye [of Giovanni da Vigo].
- 1548. The Secretes of the reverende maister Alexis of Piemount.
- [1560?] The arte of ryding and of breakinge greate Horses.
- 1560. The Arte of Warre.
- 1562. The Castel of Memorie.
- 1562. The pleasaunt and wittie playe of the Cheasts [Chess].
- 1563. Onosandro Platonico, of the Generall Captaine and of his office.
- 1565. *Chirurgia parua Lanfranci*.
- 1574. A Direction for the Health of Magistrates.
- [1579.] A Joyfull Jewell. Containing preservatives for the Plague.
- 1580. A short discours uppon chirurgerie.
- 1584. The Art of Riding ["out of Xenophon and Gryson," i. e., Federico Grisone].
- 1584. The Art of Riding [by Claudio Corte].
- 1586. Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions.
- 1588. Most briefe Tables.
- 1588. Three Bookes of Colloquies concerning the Arte of Shooting.
- 1588. [*Il Padre di Famiglia*.] The Housholders Philosophie.
- 1594. G. di Grassi his true Arte of Defence.
- 1594. *Examen de Ingenios*. The Examination of Mens Wits.
- 1595. A most strange and wonderfull prophesie.
- 1595. Vincentio Saviolo his Practise.
- 1596. A Booke of Secrets.
- 1597. *Ludus Scacchiae*: Chesse-play.

- 1598. *Epulario*, or the Italian Banquet.
- 1598. A Tracte containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Carvinge, & Buildinge.
- 1602. The Theoriques of the seven Planets.
- 1611. The first (—the fift) booke of Architecture.
- 1618. *Opiologia*, or a Treatise concerning the nature and use of Opium.
- 1622. The Italian Prophecier.
- 1623. A Revelation of the secret spirit [alchemy].
- 1624. A Strange and Wonderfull Prognostication.
- 1634. Hygiasticon: or the right course of preserving Life and Health.
- 1638. A Learned Treatise of Globes.
- 1658. Natural Magick.

c. Grammars and Dictionaries.

- 1550. Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer.
- 1568. The Enimie of Idlennesse.
- 1575. An Italian Grammer.
- 1578. Florio his first Frutes.
- 1578. A comfortable ayde for Schollers.
- 1583. *Campo di Fior*, or else The Flourie Field of Foore Languages.
- 1591. Florios Second Frutes.
- 1597. The Italian Schoole-maister.
- 1598. A Worlde of Wordes.
- 1612. The Passenger.
- 1617. 'ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΕΙΞ ΤΑΞ ΤΑΩΞΞΑΞ. The Guide into Tongues.
- 1640. The Italian Tutor.
- 1660. Lexicon Tetraglotton.
- 1673. The Italian reviv'd, or Introduction to the Italian Tongue.

d. Collections of Proverbs.

- 1581. A Collection of Italian Proverbs.
- [1584?] The booke of prittie conceites.
- 1584. The Welspring of wittie Conceites.
- 1590. The Quintessence of Wit.
- 1590. The Royal Exchange.
- 1613. Amphorismes Civill and Militarie.
- 1633. *Bibliotheca scholastica instructissima*, Or, Treasurie of Ancient Adagies.
- 1659. Proverbs English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish.
- 1660. Choice Proverbs and Dialogues in Italian and English.
- 1666. *Piazza Universale di Proverbi Italiani*: Or a Common Place of Italian Proverbs.

INDEX OF ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

Aglionby, Edward.....	1520-1587 (?)
Androse, Richard.....	fl. 1569.
Argentine, alias Sexten, Richard.....	d. 1568.
Astley, John.....	d. 1595.
B. G.....	fl. 1584.
B. G.....	fl. 1597.
B. G.....	fl. 1619.
B. H. (Bullinger, Heinrich).....	1504-1575.
B. W.....	fl. 1625.
Baker, George.....	1540-1600.
Barker, William.....	fl. 1554-1568.
Bedell, William, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.....	1571-1642.
Bedingfield, Thomas.....	d. 1613.
Blundeville, Thomas.....	fl. 1561.
Booth, Richard.....	fl. 1626.
Brent, Sir Nathaniel, Warden of Merton College.....	1573 (?) - 1652.
Bretnor, Thomas.....	fl. 1607-1618.
C. G.....	fl. 1584.
Carew, Richard.....	1555-1620.
Chilmead, John [Edmund?].....	1610-1654.
Cooke, Ann, Lady Bacon.....	1528-1610.
Courtenay, Edward, Earl of Devonshire.....	1526 (?) - 1556.
Crashaw, William.....	1572-1626.
Dallington, Sir Robert.....	1561-1637.
Draxe, Thomas.....	d. 1618.
Ferrar, Nicholas.....	1592-1637.
Fitzherbert, Thomas.....	1552-1640.
Florio, John.....	1553 (?) - 1625.
Fullwood, William.....	fl. 1562-1568.
G. I., gentleman.....	fl. 1594.
G. J. or I.....	fl. [1615 ?].
Gale, Thomas.....	1507-1587.
Gascoigne, George.....	1525 (?) - 1577.
Glemban, Charles.....	fl. 1569.
Golding, Arthur.....	1536 (?) - 1605 (?)
Grantham, Henry.....	fl. 1571-1587.
Greene, Robert.....	1560 (?) - 1592.
H. G.....	fl. 1574-1588.
Hall, or Halle, John.....	1529 (?) - 1566 (?)
Hawkins, Henry.....	1571 (?) - 1646.
Haydocke, Richard.....	fl. 1598-1605.
Heigham, John.....	fl. 1614-1631.
Herbert, George.....	1593-1633.

Hester, John.....	d. 1593.
Hill, Thomas, Londoner.....	f. 1590.
Hitchcock, Robert.....	f. 1590.
Holloway, Anthony.....	f. 1595.
Hollyband, Claudius (Desainliens, Claude).....	f. 1575-1583.
Howell, James.....	1594 (?) - 1666.
K. I. or T.....	f. [1580?].
K. T.....	f. 1588.
Kerton, Henry.....	f. 1576.
Kinsman, Edward.....	f. 1609 (?).
Lucar, Cyprian.....	f. 1588-1590.
Marten, Anthony.....	d. 1597.
Matthew, Sir Toby.....	1577-1655.
Merbury, Charles.....	f. 1581.
Minshew, John.....	f. 1617-1625.
N. R. E. (Napier, Robert, Esq.?).....	f. 1623.
Newton, Sir Adam, Dean of Durham.....	d. 1630.
Newton, Thomas, of Cheshire.....	1542 (?) - 1607.
Norton, Robert.....	f. 1586.
Norton, Thomas.....	1532-1584.
P. G. Br. (of the Order of St. Francis).....	f. 1626.
P. T.....	f. 1576.
P. W. (Philip, William?).....	f. 1596.
P. W. L., of Saint Swithins.....	f. 1576.
Phiston, or Fiston, W.....	f. 1570-1609.
Ponet, Poynet, John, Bishop of Rochester and of Winchester.....	1516 (?) - 1556.
Potter, Christopher, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.....	1591-1646.
Price, Thomas.....	f. 1608.
R. N. Gent.....	f. 1659.
Roe, Sir Thomas.....	1581 (?) - 1644.
Rowbotham, James.....	f. 1562.
Rowland, David, of Anglesey.....	f. 1578-1586.
S. R.....	f. 1627.
S. T. (Nicholas Ferrar?).....	f. 1634.
Thomas, William.....	Executed, May 18, 1554.
Udall, Nicholas.....	1506-1564.
W. I.....	f. 1621.
Warde, William.....	f. 1558.
Whitehorne, Peter.....	f. 1560.

INDEX OF ITALIAN AUTHORS.

Accarigi, Alberto, da Cento.....	f. 1537-1562.
Albizzi, Bartolommeo, da Pisa.....	d. 1401.
Alessio Piemontese.....	f. 1557.

Alunno, Francesco.....	fl. 1543.
Ambrogini, Angelo (Poliziano).....	1454-1494.
Androzzi, Fulvio.....	?
Bagno, Timoteo da.....	fl. 1604.
Balbani, Niccolò.....	fl. 1581-1596.
Benvenuto ———.....	fl. 1612.
Borromeo, S. Carlo.....	1538-1584.
Cambi, Bartolommeo.....	?
Camilli, Camillo.....	fl. 1580-1591.
Cataneo, Girolamo (Novarese).....	fl. 1563-1572.
Cepari, Virgilio.....	1564-1631.
Cipriano, Giovanni.....	?
Conti, Lotario (Pope Innocent III).....	1160 (?) - 1216.
Cornaro, Luigi.....	1467-1566.
Cortano, Ludovico.....	?
Corte, Claudio.....	fl. 1573.
Cotta, Fabio.....	fl. 1546.
Curio, Caelius Secundus.....	1503-1569.
Dominis, Marco Antonio de, Bishop of Segni and Archbishop of Spalatro.....	1566-1624.
<i>Estella, Diego de.</i>	1524-1573.
Ficino, Marsilio.....	1433-1499.
Fioravanti, Leonardo, <i>Count.</i>	d. 1538.
Gelli, Giovanni Battista.....	1498-1563.
Giussani, Giovanni Pietro.....	fl. 1601-1611.
Grassi, Giacomo di.....	fl. 1570.
Grataroli, Guglielmo.....	1516-1568.
Gribaldi, Matteo, called 'Mopha'.....	d. 1564.
Grisone, Federico.....	fl. 1550.
Guicciardini, Francesco.....	1482-1540.
<i>Huarte Navarro, Juan de Dios.</i>	b. 1530-35 (?).
Lambi, Giovanni Battista.....	?
Lanfranci of Milan.....	d. 1306 (?).
Lentulo, Scipio.....	fl. 1568-1592.
<i>Loarte, Gaspare.</i>	d. 1578.
Lomazzo, Giovanni Paolo.....	1538-1600 (?).
Machiavelli, Niccolò.....	1469-1527.
Magini, Giovanni Antonio.....	1555-1617.
Manfredi, Fulgenzio.....	fl. 1610 (?).
Merula, Giorgio.....	1424 (?) - 1494.
Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, <i>Count of Concordia.</i>	1463-1494.
Ochino, Bernardino, of Siena.....	1487-1564.
<i>Odemira, Damiano da.</i>	?
P. F.....	fl. 1608.
P. P.....	fl. 1660.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1898.

VOL. XIII, 2.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, 2.

III.—A VIEW OF THE VIEWS ABOUT *HAMLET*¹

“Verily, given a printing-press upon German soil,” says Dr. Furness, “and lo! an essay on *Hamlet*.” England and the United States, as might be expected, vie with Germany in contributing to the literature of this play. All the sister-nations of Europe, too, have their own essays on *Hamlet*. Numberless are those who confidently take up the task enjoined on Horatio by the dying Prince:—

“Report me and my cause aright.”

It behooves one therefore who would put forth another paper upon *Hamlet* to show cause at the outset why he should not be looked upon as a public enemy.

¹ I wish to acknowledge my constant indebtedness in preparing this paper to the great Variorum edition of *Hamlet* by Dr. H. H. Furness. Each criticism quoted or alluded to in the following pages can be found in that work unless some other specific reference is given.

The important work by Professor Loening of Jena, *Die Hamlet-Tragödie Shakespeares*, was not known to me until after this essay had reached what I supposed to be its completed form. Since reading that most penetrating, thorough, and judicious discussion of the play, I have used the new light thus obtained in revising my own more condensed treatment, but I have not changed in any way my fundamental plan. I first learned the significance of Loening's book from Professor W. H. Hulme's careful review in the *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1896.

Copyright, 1898, by A. H. Tolman.

My apology must be that it is not so much my purpose to write a new essay upon this play, as it is to classify and interpret the essays which have already been written. I desire to lighten the burden for those who study the literature concerning *Hamlet*, and at the same time to help those who are simply readers of the play. I shall confine attention for the most part to the central mystery of the drama, namely, Why does Hamlet delay to revenge the murder of his father, and so fulfil the command of the Ghost? Was his delay real, or only apparent? Was it blame-worthy, or blameless?

Three separate questions will come before us as we discuss the central problem of this drama. First, how many possible lines of explanation can be found for what seems to be the weak and procrastinating conduct of Hamlet? Practically the same as the preceding, so far as we can see, is a second inquiry, What theories of the play have as a matter of fact been put forward by critics? As we proceed, and especially at the close of the paper, a third question will naturally present itself, namely, How far are the various explanations that have been offered; or partial explanations, compatible with one another, or even complementary? and how far are they antagonistic, or even completely irreconcilable? The failure of critics to keep this last question clearly before them has perhaps caused as much confusion as any fact connected with the study of the drama. A commentator has often sought to overthrow the opinion of a predecessor by presenting considerations entirely compatible with those which had been emphasized by his fellow-interpreter.

I. THE COMMAND TO REVENGE.

A threefold command is laid upon Hamlet by the ghost of his father:—

“If thou didst ever thy dear father love—

(1) Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

- (2) But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
 Taint not thy mind, (3) nor let thy soul contrive
 Against thy mother aught." I, v, 23-86.

Let us direct our attention, for a time, exclusively to the first injunction of the Ghost, the solemn adjuration to revenge, leaving the remaining commands to be considered later. The weight of emphasis seems plainly to rest upon this first mandate. The two qualifying commands come at the end of the closing speech of the Ghost; and the first one of them, "Taint not thy mind," is not present at all in the earliest version of the play, the First Quarto.

A difficulty meets us at the beginning of our inquiry which has probably caused more or less trouble to every student of *Hamlet*. What is the moral standing-ground of the play? What are its ethical presuppositions? What standards of right does it take for granted? *Should* Hamlet have accepted revenge,—an immediate, violent, bloody revenge,—as his one, all-inclusive duty? Those students of the play who make especially prominent the first command of the Ghost, say "Yes." *Should* he have accepted the testimony of the Ghost as final and conclusive? In any case, should the conduct of the King when witnessing the play have put an end to all doubt and hesitation, and led to immediate revenge? Those who accent the command to revenge will say "Yes" to one or both of these questions. According to this view, Hamlet is to be conceived as living at a time when the right and duty of blood-revenge are unquestioned. We are to accept on this point the passionate standards of the natural man. Hamlet is driven forward by the command of his father and by his own burning desire for vengeance. His task is, as Taine puts it, "to go quietly, and, with premeditation, plunge a sword into a breast."

If we adopt this view of the situation and of Hamlet's character, what are the possible explanations of his delay in securing vengeance? The following have been more or less clearly put forward by various critics:—

1. An excessive tendency to reflection.
2. Weakness of will.
3. An unhealthy or a disturbed emotional nature. This explanation takes two forms :—
 - a. A deep-seated melancholy is a fundamental characteristic of Hamlet's nature.
 - b. The discovery by Hamlet of the lies, hypocrisies, infidelities of life has brought with it a sickness of heart which paralyses the powers of action. That is, an extreme moral sensitiveness is the important emotional quality.
4. Suspicion of the Ghost, and doubt of the truth of his revelation.
5. An overpowering love for Ophelia.
6. A clear or a lurking consciousness of mental derangement.
7. Interest in playing the rôle of madman.
8. A wish to be a reformer, to set right his time.
9. Certain bodily infirmities.
10. Cowardice.

The first three of the above explanations are closely affiliated; they naturally complement one another. They agree in representing Hamlet's difficulty as personal, subjective: the first suggestion would make the defect in his nature an intellectual one; the second would make it volitional; the third, emotional, temperamental. The attentive reader will note that these three separate suggested causes may fairly be looked upon to some degree as different ways of saying the same thing. By an excessive tendency to reflection we mean excessive in proportion to the activity of the other powers, especially the powers of action; by weakness of will we may mean simply weakness in proportion to the activity of the other powers of the mind under the given circumstances. To

say that a man reflects too much, is practically to say that he decides, acts too little. And accompanying all reflection and volition, but deeper than they, are the great tides of the emotional being and the Gulf-stream of temperament.

It is very natural, therefore, if any one of these first three suggestions is accepted to give some weight to all of them. Students of the play, however, have often championed a single one of these considerations, without recognizing the others.

It is along the lines just indicated that the first great critics of Shakespeare interpreted the character of the Danish Prince. Coleridge pointed out Hamlet's "great, almost enormous, intellectual activity," what Vischer calls the "excess in Hamlet of a reflective, meditative habit of mind." Among the many scholars who have followed the great English interpreter in making prominent the tendency of Hamlet to lose himself in reflection, I will mention Hazlitt, Dowden, and Hermann Grimm. Taine and others, who speak of Hamlet's "too lively imagination," also belong here.

Goethe apparently intended to attribute to Hamlet both weakness of volition and extreme moral sensitiveness, in his famous criticism of the play; but infirmity of will seems to have been most prominent in his thought. To him the tragedy tells the story of "a great deed laid upon a soul unequal to the performance of it." Richard Grant White characterizes Hamlet as "constitutionally irresolute, purposeless, and procrastinating." Lowell and Schlegel also emphasize his lack of will-power.¹

Loening looks upon Hamlet's melancholy temperament as the fundamental fact in his nature. His tendency to lose himself in gloomy reflection and especially in bitter self-condemnation, his unwillingness to make decisions, and his

¹ I have not yet been able to read with care Kuno Fischer's *Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Heidelberg, 1896. F. A. Leo, in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1897, expresses the opinion that the book is on the whole a presentation of the view of Goethe.

inability to set before himself and carry out any consistent, premeditated line of effective action,—these characteristics Loening considers to be but natural manifestations and accompaniments of this melancholy temperament. This interpreter wisely makes Hamlet's emotional nature the primary fact.

“Thought is deeper than all speech,
Feeling deeper than all thought.”

Loening points out that “great intellectual activity” does not necessarily tend to keep one from acting, and calls to mind Caesar's judgment upon Cassius, “He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.” A settled, constitutional aversion toward decision and action seems to be the deeper cause underneath Hamlet's “excessive tendency to reflection.”

A German critic, Sievers, holds that Hamlet is kept from acting by what I have called above extreme moral sensitiveness. Sievers says:—

“Hamlet is indeed a costly vase full of lovely flowers, for he is a pure human being, penetrated by enthusiasm for the Great and the Beautiful, living wholly in the Ideal, and, above all things, full of faith in man; and the vase is shattered into atoms from within,—this and just this Goethe truly felt,—but what causes the ruin of the vase is not that the great deed of avenging a father's murder exceeds its strength, but it is the discovery of the falseness of man, the discovery of the contradiction between the ideal world and the actual, which suddenly confronts him . . . in short, Hamlet perishes because the gloomy background of life is suddenly unrolled before him, because the sight of this robs him of his *faith* in life and in good, and because he now *cannot* act.”

It is an unimportant fact that the present writer agrees with the innumerable company who have accepted some form of that general theory of the play with which we have so far been dealing. Some mediation is necessary, to be sure, between the various views that have been outlined. Moreover, this line of interpretation needs, I think, to be supple-

mented at a number of points; but it should not be given up. And we should be especially careful not to look upon Hamlet's character as defective solely upon the intellectual, the volitional, or the emotional side. This drama, like real life, knows nothing of the sharp lines of division between intellect, feeling, and will, once dear to psychology.

It is well to remind ourselves before we go farther that Hamlet does act with great decision and energy at several points in the play. Those who accept the view of Werder, to be explained later, contend that Hamlet's true character manifests itself unchecked by circumstances in these vigorous measures. Loening's explanation of these outbreaks, and also of the frequent violence of Hamlet's language, is that the Prince has in his nature a passionate strain, "a choleric element." Under sudden provocation, and with an opportunity for action immediately before him, Hamlet can be bold and decisive. He warns Laertes, in the struggle over the body of Ophelia, that there is in him "something dangerous, which let thy wiseness fear."

The fourth possible ground for delay indicated above, Hamlet's fear that the Ghost may have deceived him, is usually accepted as having much weight. Just before the close of Act II the hero says:—

"The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil: and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
As he is very potent with such spirits,
Abuses me to damn me."

II, II, 627-632.

Loening points out, however, that all the remaining portions of the soliloquy in which these words occur take for granted the entire truth of the Ghost's revelation and the guilt of the King. This fact seems to show that Hamlet's suspicion of the Ghost is only a pretence, in which he tries to find both a justification for the two months of inaction that have elapsed

since the revelation of the Ghost was made to him, and an additional reason in favor of the proposed play.

At the beginning of Act II, Ophelia tells Polonius of the meeting "so piteous and profound" which has just taken place between the Prince and herself. This passage, with others, has suggested the opinion that the devotion of the hero to her affects him so deeply, so absorbs his soul, that it furnishes an additional explanation of his dilatoriness. A certain Dr. Woelffel probably stands alone in looking upon "the failure of Ophelia to respond to Hamlet's love in all its depth and ardor" as "the turning-point in the tragedy."

Goethe's evil interpretation of the character of Ophelia seems to me entirely uncalled for; and some other German critics have been eager to outdo their master. It may be that Goethe's explanations prove some impurity of mind—but not in Ophelia. For us, as for Laertes,—

"From her fair and unpolluted flesh"
The "violets spring."

But little space can be given here to what Furness calls "the one great insoluble mystery of Hamlet's sanity." The various opinions range all the way from the conviction of Hudson and others that the Prince is not sane, to the view of Furness "that he is neither mad nor pretends to be." Lowell speaks of Hamlet's "perpetual inclination to irony"; and Weiss would make this the explanation of most things that have seemed to many to indicate a feigning of insanity.

I accept the usual view that Hamlet is not mad and that he does feign madness; lack of sanity is not therefore for me an explanation of his delay. Hamlet's soul is indeed violently agitated by the words of the Ghost; but the pretence that his mind is diseased seems to me a device, taken up at first on the impulse of the moment, by means of which he both avoids decisive action, and makes it possible to give safe though veiled utterance to his tumultuous feelings.

A few students not only accept the mental derangement of the hero as a fact, but consider it to be so serious and deep-seated as to furnish the sole and the sufficient explanation for all the irregularities of his conduct. A recent article by Mr. Oakeshott seems to advocate this opinion.¹

Except for those who take the somewhat extreme position just indicated, the question whether Hamlet's madness is real or pretended is perhaps not of central importance in the interpretation of the drama. Grimm and Lewes have argued very forcibly that it is not possible to make up one's mind on this point, and that Shakespeare did not intend to have us do so. I believe that the debate on this topic concerns largely the use of terms, the definition of madness; and that it often indicates no fundamental difference of opinion between the opposing sides. Hamlet is sane enough to be the responsible hero of a great tragedy. He is not sane enough to be pronounced rational by the experts: few are.

Probably all who think that Hamlet makes a pretence of madness will agree that the interest which he takes in this feigning helps to keep him from positive action. An English writer, Boas, says in a recent book:—

“Hamlet becomes absorbed in the intellectual fascination of his rôle; he revels in the opportunities it gives him of bewildering those about him, of letting fly shafts of mockery, here, there, and everywhere. But these verbal triumphs are Pyrrhic victories, which draw him further and further from his legitimate task.”²

That Hamlet, shocked by the evil about him, desires to open the eyes of his generation to its corruptness and to act as a reformer, is thought by some to be implied in the couplet,—

“The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!” I, v, 188–9.

¹“Hamlet. From a Student's Notebook.” *The Westminster Review*. Reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* for August, 1897.

²*Shakspeare and His Predecessors*, N. Y., 1896, p. 398.

Professor Brandl thinks that this desire has force in keeping the hero back from action.¹ The words seem to me to be a violent expression of Hamlet's antipathy toward the task which the Ghost has laid upon him.

The Queen says of Hamlet at the fencing-bout, "He's fat, and scant of breath" (V, II, 298). There are other expressions in the play which have been taken to indicate that the Prince is not sound of body. Loening thinks that the evidence points to an internal fatness, fatness of the heart; and he believes that this physical infirmity helps to explain the inactivity of the hero.

This word "fat" has been a stone of stumbling. Although there is no authority for any other word, "fat" has been looked upon either as a misprint for "hot" or "faint," or as referring to the physical appearance of Burbage, the first actor to play this rôle.

At least two interpreters, Börne and Rohrbach, have looked upon Hamlet as a plain coward, and have found in this fact alone the decisive reason for his inaction. While other scholars make this consideration less prominent, there are many who find in the Prince some measure of cowardice.

II. "TAINT NOT THY MIND."

If we look now at the second command of the Ghost,—

"But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
Taint not thy mind," I, v, 84-5.

what farther considerations offer themselves as possible explanations of Hamlet's delay? Certainly we must consider the following:—

1. A filial desire and purpose to obey this injunction, "Taint not thy mind."

2. Conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, and an instinctive shrinking from it as barbarous.

¹ *Shakspeare*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 151, 154.

3. An aversion to killing one who, though stained with crime, is the brother of Hamlet's father, the husband of his mother, and his King.

While these facts have been suggested as helping to explain Hamlet's delay, it is most natural to look upon them, especially the last two, as additional incitements to revenge.

4. A sensitive fear of the Prince that the attainment of the crown is his real object, or will seem to be.

5. A clear perception on the part of Hamlet that, if he shall kill the King, he will be unable to justify the act in the eyes of the Danish people.

6. A desire to expose, disgrace, and dethrone the King, and so punish him before the world, and a belief that this is what the Ghost really commands.

All will admit the force of the first motive mentioned, Hamlet's desire to obey this injunction of his father. The difficulty lies solely in interpreting the command.

The second ground just suggested as an explanation of Hamlet's conduct is that he has conscientious scruples against blood-revenge and an instinctive aversion to it. If we accept these motives as conceivable and consistent with the play, then Hamlet finds himself confronted with an intensely tragic dilemma. The long-accepted interpretation of his character put forth by Goethe and Coleridge, taken by itself, seems deficient in dramatic power. Professor Corson well asks: "Where is the dramatic interest to come from, with such an irredeemable do-nothing for the hero of the drama as Coleridge represents Hamlet to be?"¹

The opinion that Hamlet is held back from action by conscientious scruples was forcibly put by a writer in the *Quarterly Review* in 1847. Hamlet accuses himself either of

"Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,"

IV, iv, 40-1.

¹ *Introduction to Shakespeare*, p. 218.

and he seems to reveal his secret questionings of heart when he asks Horatio, even after the King has tried to take his life,—

—“is't not perfect conscience,
To quit him with this arm?” V, II, 67-8.

Loening has shown, I think, that the context forbids us to look upon the line,—

“Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.”
III, I, 83.

as a proof that conscientious scruples keep Hamlet from acting. The line does imply, however, that the Prince is sensitive to moral considerations.

The opinion just outlined was set forth in the *Quarterly Review* as opposed to the explanation “that the thinking part of Hamlet predominates over the active”; but it is not necessary to look upon the two interpretations as antagonistic. Both together may be better than either alone.

A great objection to the view now before us is that it makes the Ghost assign to Hamlet what may fairly be called an impossible task; but is there not a contradiction at this point in the play too deeply fixed to be denied or overlooked? If Hamlet determines at the same time to secure revenge and to keep his mind untainted, has he not adopted contradictory principles of action, if we give to the words “revenge” and “taint not thy mind” their natural meaning? He who sets before him as his chosen task the accomplishment of blood-revenge must fling to the winds all other considerations; he who is determined, howsoever he pursues his course, not to taint his mind, cannot seek that “wild justice,” revenge. Whether or not Hamlet clearly perceives the fact, may not this inherent contradiction, this fixed dilemma, be an important cause for his delay? By this explanation, we have an irresistible force, the passionate desire for vengeance, encountering an immovable obstacle in

Hamlet's conscience, made more firm by the warning command, "Taint not thy mind." Is not this the tragic conflict?

In this view Hamlet is not "the natural man," neither is he the Christian minister of justice. He is "in a strait" betwixt the two, yielding now to one impulse, now to another. It is noticeable that both Christian and natural sentiments appear freely in this play, and almost side by side:—

"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long."

I, I, 158-160.

"Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder." I, v, 25.

I am very glad that Taine has said so bluntly that Hamlet's task is simply "to go quietly, and, with premeditation, plunge a sword into a breast." How many readers believe that all the ethical presuppositions of the play, its entire moral atmosphere, find adequate expression in this doctrine of assassination?

After a most elaborate argument on this point, Loening accepts as his own the following statement of Vischer:—

"That blood-revenge is an unquestioned and sacred duty is absolutely taken for granted in this tragedy; the man who opposes this opinion has no longer any claim to understand the play."

Loening admits, however, that the mediaeval church looked upon private revenge as sinful. The doctrine of Purgatory, too, came from the Church. What wonder that the Ghost, escaping from Purgatorial fires, speaks to Hamlet words of warning as well as words of incitement? The command "Taint not thy mind" is not in the First Quarto; why is it present in the later versions? What *do* these words mean, if Hamlet is free to put an end to the King's life in any way that he may choose?

There can be no doubt, I think, that Shakespeare practically takes for granted in his plays the moral standards of

his own age. Just as we are to explain from the peculiar legal status of certain English cities of Shakespeare's own day Shylock's words,—

“ . . . let the danger light
Upon your charter and your city's freedom.”

Mer. of Venice, IV, 1, 38-9.

so we are to interpret our play, on the whole, by the moral standards of Shakespeare's England. Francis de Belleforest, a French gentleman, probably wrote his version of the story of Hamlet in 1570. This version is believed to be the source from which Shakespeare took the story. The earliest known copy of the English translation of Belleforest bears the date 1608. Elze tells us that the translation “adheres throughout to the original with slavish fidelity, except in two places” that do not concern us. Though Belleforest distinctly states that he is giving an account of an early time when the Danes were “barbarous and uncivil,” the following passage from the English version, one of several that could be cited, will show that the incompatibility between Christianity and the finest morality on the one hand, and the practice of blood-revenge on the other, was clearly felt in Shakespeare's day, and could well be suggested to him by the very work from which he is supposed to have taken this particular story:—

“ . . . he that will follow this course must speak and do all things whatsoever that are pleasing and acceptable to him whom he meaneth to deceive . . . ; for that is rightly to play and counterfeit the fool, when a man is constrained to dissemble and kiss his hand whom in heart he could wish a hundred feet depth under the earth, so he might never see him more, if it were not a thing wholly to be disliked in a Christian, who by no means ought to have a bitter gall or desires infected with revenge.”¹

The beginning of Bacon's essay on Revenge also helps to disprove the opinion that in Shakespeare's time blood-revenge

¹ Furness, II, p. 95.

cannot possibly have been looked upon as an unworthy thing. The essay opens with these words: "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out."

Moreover, the Prince can in no way bring the King to any sort of judicial duel, or judgment of God, but must kill him treacherously, must stab him in the back, if not literally at least practically. This fact would make actual blood-revenge very distasteful to one possessing real fineness of feeling. What wonder if the warning cry rings in Hamlet's ears, "Howsoever thou pursuest this act, taint not thy mind!"

The view that Hamlet is held back from acting by "the secret voice of conscience, and the shrinking of a delicate soul from an assassination in cold blood" is supported by Richardson¹ and Ulrici, by passages in the earlier writings of Hudson, and by the French critics Mézières and Courdaveaux. The last writer says: "Seek, outside of this explanation, one that explains everything, and you will seek in vain."

Some commentators believe that Hamlet's fear that the crown shall seem to be his object is an important reason for his delay; but, though plausible in itself, the position hardly seems to be supported by the language of the play; certainly we cannot give to the cause suggested a prominent place.

The most important theory of this drama that has been put forward in recent years explains Hamlet's conduct entirely from the nature of his task. According to this view, his mission is to depose and disgrace the King, and thus set matters right before the world, not merely to put an end to his life. The adulterer, murderer, and usurper must taste the full bitterness of a felon's death. This theory, suggested by Ziegler in 1803, put with great force by Klein in 1846, and accepted by L. Schipper in 1862, was given full and

¹ The first edition of Richardson's *Essays* appeared in 1775. Furness cites the edition of 1797.

adequate expression by Karl Werder in 1875. Hudson and Professor Corson accept this general position.

I will let Werder present his own case. He says:—

“I deny, first of all, . . . that it is possible for Hamlet to *dare* to do what the critics . . . almost unanimously require of him. . . . The situation of things, the force of circumstances, the nature of his task, directly forbid it. . . . *We* are in the secret, *we* sit, as the public, in the council of the gods. But the Danes do not know that Claudius is the murderer of his brother, and are never to be convinced of it if Hamlet slays the King, and then appeals for his vindication to a private communication which a ghost has made to him. . . .

“But what now has Hamlet in truth to do? What is his real task? A very sharply defined duty. . . . Not to crush the King at once, . . . but to bring him to confession, to unmask, and convict him: this is his first, nearest, inevitable duty. As things stand, truth and justice can be known only from one mouth, the mouth of the crowned criminal, . . . or they remain hidden and buried till the last day. This is the point! Herein lie the terrors of this tragedy,—its enigmatical horror, its inexorable misery! The encoffined secrecy of the *unprovable* crime: this is the subterranean spring, whence flows its power to awaken fear and sympathy. . . .

“Killing the King *before* the proof is adduced would be, not killing the guilty, but killing the *proof*; it would be, not the murder of the criminal, but the murder of Justice! . . .

“Upon the one side, a well-defended fortress, and without, a single man, who is to take it, he alone. So stands Hamlet confronting his task!”

One advantage of Werder's view is that what most students regard as Hamlet's pretence of madness is at once adequately motivated. This device enables him “to give some vent to what is raging within him” without awakening suspicion; and possibly, “should any favorable opportunity offer itself,” “more active operations against the enemy than would be permitted to a sane man” may be tolerated in one supposed to be mad.

This view also exalts and ennobles our conception of Hamlet's character. All the familiar charges against him fall to the ground. The Prince whom we all love and pity now claims also our unqualified admiration. As good and wise as he is ill-fated, he stands forth almost without "spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." The drama becomes almost entirely a tragedy of Fate, not a tragedy of Character.

All must grant, too, that the situation and the progress of the action, as Werder outlines them, are intensely tragic. So deeply do I feel this that I have often wished that Shakespeare might have written this *Hamlet* also. Says Hudson, in presenting this conception of the play:—

"The very plan of the drama, as I understand it, is to crush all the intellectual fragrance out of Hamlet, between a necessity and an impossibility of acting. The tremendous problem, the terrible dilemma which he has to grapple with, is one that Providence alone can solve, as Providence does solve it at the last."¹

But I must renounce Werder and all his works. I cannot think that the natural impression which the drama as we have it makes upon an unprejudiced reader is consistent with this new explanation.

Werder does not give the natural interpretation to the first commission of the Ghost, the demand for revenge. He makes up for this, so to speak, by forcing the meaning of the second command also. To revenge does not naturally mean "to bring to confession, to unmask, and convict"; and the words "Taint not thy mind" are most naturally interpreted as an incitement to Hamlet to obey scrupulously the promptings of his conscience, not as a warning to guard his reputation.

In spite of an amount of soliloquy which is unexampled in dramatic literature, this theory is obliged to assume that Hamlet fails to express the one purpose which fills his mind. After explaining what seems to him to be the real situation

¹ School edition of *Hamlet*, p. 21.

* Could this not be a warning against personal ambition or superseding the task asked of him?

when Hamlet discovers the King at prayer, Werder says: "Hamlet, it is true, does not himself say this,—no! But the state of the case says it instead." This form of speech is significant of Werder's entire method. He is constantly explaining to us his own view of "the state of the case"; he makes little effort to prove that Hamlet holds the same view. The Prince is mistaken, then, when he taunts himself with "unpacking his heart." This he cannot do; at every point "the state of the case" must be called in to speak for him. It must be admitted, though, that the words of the hero when he comes upon the praying King, are looked upon by very few persons as a wholly truthful expression of his mind.

What Hamlet actually says in his soliloquies, also, is decidedly at variance with what "the state of the case" is supposed to be saying for him. Werder's interpretation of the first part of the soliloquy beginning "O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!" (II, II, 576) is, that the hero relieves his agony by "falling out with himself" and uttering unjust reproaches. Concerning Hamlet's sharp arraignment of himself after he learns the destination of the troops of Fortinbras, Professor Corson says with admirable frankness: "It must not be explained on the theory of Hamlet's indisposition to action, much as it may appear to support that theory."

Dramatic soliloquy is largely a conventional device for informing the audience concerning the state of mind of the speaker. In most places where Shakespeare represents his characters as thus thinking aloud they certainly would not naturally do so in real life. If we can explain away a mass of such utterances, and suppose that the solitary speaker is systematically untrue to his real thought, then the interpretation of dramatic soliloquy becomes not merely a fine art, but one so superfine as to be altogether beyond the reach of merely human powers.

The play before the King may, apparently, achieve two results if entirely successful: it may convince Hamlet of the

Ghost's integrity and of the truth of his story; and it may surprise the King into some kind of public confession (II, II, 617-21, 627-8; III, II, 85-7). Those inclined to the Werder view naturally consider that the central purpose of this device is to obtain some sort of confession from the King. This result is not secured, yet Hamlet seems to regard his experiment as highly successful. He has been more concerned in satisfying his own doubts than in inducing the King to confess.

I cannot believe, however, that the Prince has set either of these purposes before him in any genuine, earnest way. Both are pretences. He has never really questioned the honesty of the Ghost, and he has little hope of any open confession from the King. The play is hardly more than a plausible excuse for doing nothing.

Also, if we accept the view of Werder, the Ghost does not seem to have a particle of justification for saying to Hamlet, when he is with his mother,—

“this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.”

III, IV, 110-1.

Loening insists with reason that Shakespeare would not have allowed the King to meet death until after he had been branded before the world, if this were looked upon as the punishment which justice demanded, and if this had been enjoined by supernatural visitations.

There is a strong presumption against a theory which asks us to believe that Goethe and Coleridge misunderstood this play completely, and that they have been followed in their error by the great mass of the students of Shakespeare. Everything which they said about *Hamlet* is to be considered false, and pretty much everything which they did not say is to be accepted as true. Of course, a disputed question cannot be settled by an appeal to authority; but there is a weighty presumption against the new view. Werder himself unwittingly recognizes that a heavy burden of proof rests upon him

when he says: "That this point for a century long should never have been seen, is the most incomprehensible thing that has ever happened in aesthetic criticism from the very beginning of its existence." We have seen, however, that there were Werderites before Werder.

Baumgart says with great cogency:—

"Where does the Ghost or Hamlet speak of punishment merely, and of the necessity of a previous unmasking? It is revenge alone that the Ghost calls for, and swift revenge that Hamlet promises. . . . That the conviction wrought by the play is to lead to any measure looking to the public arraignment of the King, there is not a word to intimate. There is nothing in the whole piece which hints at any plan of Hamlet's, or at any intention to form one."

The popularity of Werder's theory seems to me to be parallel to that of certain Confessions and Creeds. These have often been widely accepted because more logical and self-consistent than the very Scriptures which suggested them, and which they sought to explain.

III. "NOR CONTRIVE AGAINST THY MOTHER AUGHT."

The third command of the Ghost must now be considered:—

"nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught: leave her to heaven
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her."I, v, 85-8.

If we try to make this command prominent in explaining Hamlet's course, the following grounds for his inaction suggest themselves:—

1. A desire and purpose to obey this injunction of his father.
2. Affection for his mother, and a desire to save her from the shame of exposure.

So far as I know, Tschischwitz, the man of many consonants, is the only critic who has given a central place to these

motives as really determining Hamlet's conduct. I quote his comment upon the following passage :—

“O, most wicked speed, to post
With such dexterity to incestuous sheets !
It is not nor it cannot come to good :
But break, my heart; for I must hold my tongue.”

I, II, 156–9.

“Observe well that Hamlet is forced by his piety to maintain this silence in presence of the courtiers *under all circumstances*, even after the appearance of the Ghost. It is not until his heart really breaks that he breaks this silence also, and gives Horatio permission to proclaim what has happened.”

Some other commentators look upon this line of argument as having some force. Weiss has said :—

“The question of revenge becomes more difficult to settle, especially as it involves widowing his mother; and it is noticeable that the father himself, who afterwards deplored Hamlet's irresolution, had previously made suggestions to him [rather, imposed a command upon him] which hampered his action by constraining him to feel how complicated the situation was.”

In point of fact, however, to prove the King guilty of the murder of his brother would not necessarily involve the exposure of the Queen. The Prince is simply forbidden to take vengeance upon his mother. Indeed, in the First Quarto, where the situation is the same as in the later form of the play, Hamlet implores the Queen :—

“Mother, but assist me in revenge,
And in his death your infamy shall die.”

The Queen replies :—

“Hamlet, I vow by that majesty
That knows our thoughts and looks into our hearts,
I will conceal, consent, and do my best,
What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise.”

IV. THE TRACES IN "HAMLET" OF AN OLDER PLAY.

In attempting to interpret *Hamlet* by any explanation or combination of explanations derived from a study of the drama itself, some difficulties and discrepancies remain to trouble the student. In the present division of this paper and in the following one, we shall take up certain considerations that are not drawn from the play itself.

The noble words of King Thoas in Goethe's *Iphigenie* almost make us forget that he sacrifices captive strangers upon the altar. Goethe accepted the old story, but he has refined the character of Thoas; hence, while it is assumed that the King acts barbarously, he speaks nobly.

May there not be some clashing of this sort in our *Hamlet*, since the play is based upon a crude old tale of blood and revenge? Shakespeare was also embarrassed by the fact that the theater-going public had already a definite conception of the story of the Prince and of his character.

As already indicated, an account of the life of Hamlet appeared in a French prose work by one Belleforest, *Histoires Tragiques*, and was written in 1570. The Elizabethan *Hamlet* is believed to be based upon this form of the story. The tale is known to go back as far as the *Historiae Daniacae* of Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote about 1200. Because Hamlet's phrase to Polonius, "old men . . . have a plentiful lack of wit" (II, II, 199, 202), seems to Loening to have been suggested by an expression in Saxo, this critic concludes that Shakespeare was acquainted with that version also. In Belleforest, Hamlet kills his uncle, and then goes to England, whence he returns "with two wives."

Beginning with 1589 we find numerous allusions to an English play upon the story of Hamlet. This work has been lost. It seems to have been a crude tragedy of blood and vengeance. Unlike the story in Belleforest, but like that in Shakespeare, this tragedy had a ghost. The cry of the Ghost in this lost play, "Hamlet, revenge!" is often quoted

by writers of the time. A few students have conjectured that this drama was a youthful production of Shakespeare; a German scholar, Sarrazin, is confident that Thomas Kyd was its author.¹ The importance for us of this vanished play consists in the proof which it furnishes that a distinct conception of the character of Hamlet and of the story of his life had possession of the stage before Shakespeare took up the subject. Dr. Latham goes so far as to say that "long before it came under the cognizance of Shakespeare" the character of Hamlet was "as strongly stamped and stereotyped" as were those of Medea, Orestes, and Achilles upon the Greek stage. As a practical application of this doctrine he argues that "the pretendedness" of Hamlet's madness is as unquestionable "as the reality of that of Orestes."

In 1603 was published the first version of our *Hamlet*, the so-called First Quarto. This is somewhat more than half as long as the later play. The outline of the action is substantially the same as that which we know; but the Queen, as already indicated, repents of her sin, and offers to assist Hamlet in securing revenge. Strangely enough, the First Quarto has been considered by some competent critics to be better fitted for stage-presentation than the later versions.

The text is the same for the most part in the Second Quarto of 1604 and in the First Folio of 1623; these give the play in the form with which we are all familiar.² As compared with the First Quarto, these versions make only slight changes in the story; but the astonishing fulness of thought and poetry which distinguishes this play appears for the first time in the Second Quarto.

That the gradual development of this drama into its present form might easily give rise to contradictions in the final text will be clear if we look for a moment, just by way of illustration, at the question of Hamlet's age.

¹ *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892.

² Viator's parallel edition of the three texts of the play is heartily commended (Marburg, 1891).

There is nothing in the First Quarto which requires us to believe that "young Hamlet" is over nineteen or twenty years of age. The skull of Yorick, who played with him when he was a child, has been in the ground only "this dozen year." In the later text we learn that Hamlet's age is thirty (V, i, 153-177); and that Yorick's skull has "lain in the earth three and twenty years." In spite of this, however, many things remain in the accepted text which seem to make Hamlet a youth of not more than twenty: among these are his wish to return as a student to Wittenberg, the election of Claudius as king without the bestowal of any consideration upon the claim of Hamlet, the probable age of his mother when she yields to guilty passion, and especially the language of Laertes when he speaks to Ophelia concerning the Prince. Mr. Wilson Barrett, the actor, thinks that the age was given as thirty for the convenience of some actor who was "incapable of looking the youthful prince."¹ Many scholars, however, accept on this point the opinion expressed by Dr. Furnivall:²—

"I look on it as certain, that when Shakespeare began the play [and while he was composing the version preserved for us in the First Quarto], he conceivd Hamlet as quite a young man [following the accepted story and the tradition of the stage]. But as the play grew, as greater weight of reflection, of insight into character, of knowledge of life, &c., were wanted, Shakespeare necessarily and naturally made Hamlet a formd man; and, by the time that he got to the Grave-diggers' scene [in writing the version of the Second Quarto], told us the Prince was 30,—the right age for him then. . . . The two parts of the play *are* inconsistent on this main point in Hamlet's state."³

Perhaps it ought to be said here that several other minor discrepancies have been noted in the play. It is impossible,

¹*Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. 45.

²The writer of this article is responsible for the passages in brackets: these bring out more explicitly what I suppose to be the thought of Dr. Furnivall.

³Furness, *Hamlet*, I, p. 391.

for example, that Horatio has been at Elsinore some two months before he meets Hamlet (I, II, 138, 161-176). Again, it is four months after the death of Hamlet's father when the mad Ophelia sports with wild flowers. Did the dead king take a nap in a Danish orchard in mid-winter? and was it his "custom always of the afternoon"? The fact that Hamlet knows at the close of Act III that he is to be sent to England (III, IV, 200) is very puzzling. The King has only just decided upon that course (III, III, 4), and there seems to have been no opportunity for the hero to get this information. Two months after Laertes left home Hamlet says,—“I have of late . . . forgone all custom of exercises” (II, II, 306-8); about ten days or two weeks later, according to Daniel's estimate of the time, the Prince declares to Horatio, while speaking of the proposed fencing-bout,—“Since he [Laertes] went into France, I have been in continual practice” (V, II, 220-1).

The explanation of Dr. Furnivall concerning the age of the hero suggests that some more central difficulties in the play may perhaps be explained in a similar way. Are there in the drama as a whole unconformable strata? Sarrazin and others, among the Germans, Kenny in England, and Professor March and Mr. John Corbin in this country have made use of this method of explanation. Perhaps the last-named writer is the one who goes farthest. He says:—

“Shakspeare's happiest additions to the old tragedy of blood were precisely contradictory to its vital structure as a drama. Wherever Hamlet is in action his character dates back to the lost play: the Shakspearean element has to do almost exclusively with the reflective, imaginative, humane traits of his portraiture.” “When Hamlet is in action he is to be judged by the standards of the tragedy of blood and revenge. It is only in his speech and manner that the Shakspearean conception shines forth. In this fact lies the root of most of the disagreements among the modern critics and actors.”¹

¹ *The Elizabethan Hamlet*. Scribners, 1895, pp. 49, 84.

The fact that the old tragedy delighted its audiences with these horrors may well be the main reason why the six principal characters, together with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, are killed during the play,—five of them, if we include Polonius, meeting death before our eyes. The easy fashion in which the Prince consigns to destruction his former school fellows, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, may come from the old play. Perhaps the difficulty in finding a motive for Hamlet's action in pretending madness admits in part a similar explanation. In the story as given by Belleforest he feigns madness because "perceiving himself to be in danger of his life." Victor Hugo interprets our play in the same way, but where in the text does it appear that this is the motive? May it not be that the feigning of insanity is a feature which Shakespeare accepts from the traditional story and from the older play, but of which he makes little constructive use?

Now for the bearing of all this upon our main topic, the reasons for Hamlet's dilatoriness. The above discussion naturally suggests that Shakespeare, while retaining the crude story of revenge that was fixed in the public mind, gradually deepened and refined the character of Hamlet until it clashed with that story. Conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, I admit, are utterly foreign to the original tale. In spite of changes and additions, it may well be that the dramatist was so hampered by the fixed outlines of the accepted story that he was prevented from motivating the inactivity of the Prince so fully as he could otherwise have done. The energetic Hamlet retained from the old play accords but badly with the reflective, halting hero of a more intellectual age: the new wine bursts the old bottles.

The loss of the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet* makes it impossible to say just how much weight should be given to this line of argument. Because our play departs very freely and very far from the story as given in Belleforest, Loening does

not believe that Shakespeare was really hampered by the old tale and the already existing play.

V. HAMLET AS THE MOUTH-PIECE OF SHAKESPEARE.

All lovers of Shakespeare must admit the force of these words from Kreyssig, a German critic: "From the rich troop of his heroes, Shakespeare has chosen Hamlet as the exponent, to the spectators and to posterity, of all that lay nearest to his own heart." The American poet-critic, Jones Very, speaks of "the tendency of Shakespeare to overact this particular part of Hamlet, and thus give it an obscurity from too close a connection with his own mind."¹

Though Rümelin goes too far in this particular direction, the following words concerning Shakespeare's tendency to make Hamlet his own mouth-piece seem to me to have much force:—

"We must not fail to see that this use of the legend enters into the dramatic subject and into the course of the action as a somewhat foreign and disturbing element; we must perceive that the legend, whose essential features the play still keeps, is in itself little fitted for the interpolation of an element so subjective and so modern."

Let us look at some specific passages in the play that are evidently the personal utterances of Shakespeare. The reference to the child-actors, added in the First Folio, is clearly a "local hit"; it comes from the dramatist, not from Hamlet and Rosencrantz (II, II, 353–379). The character of Osric is undoubtedly a satire on certain affectations of Shakespeare's own day. That Shakespeare himself is speaking when Hamlet instructs the players in the art of acting seems certain. Though Loening defends it ingeniously, the passage has no vital connection with the plot. The real reason why we have the lines is that Shakespeare had some things to say

¹*Poems and Essays*, p. 62.

concerning the proper carriage, gesture, and elocution of an actor; and no man will ever know how much strutting and bellowing the world has escaped because of this simple textbook of histrionics, known and read of all men.

The Sonnets of Shakespeare, in which he "unlocked his heart," echo with striking distinctness some of the complaints of the melancholy Prince of Denmark. The connection is especially marked between the sixty-sixth Sonnet and some portions of the soliloquy beginning "To be or not to be."

In any performance of *Hamlet*, that pearl, the Grave-Diggers' scene is sure to be presented (V, 1, 1-240); but it has no dramatic justification,—that is, the action is in no way advanced. These are the deep musings of Shakespeare's own mind and heart, and we do not estimate them according to their purely dramatic value.

Our love for this play springs largely from the fact that Shakespeare, disregarding strictly dramatic considerations, has given freely to Hamlet the charm, the warmth, and the boundlessness of his own nature.

The bearing of this discussion upon our central inquiry may be stated as follows: our impression of Hamlet's dilatoriness is intensified by his long soliloquies and by his abundant comments upon the various problems of life; but these utterances are in part the personal outpourings of Shakespeare himself, not called for by either the plot of the piece or the characterization: "the hands are the hands of Esau," but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

CONCLUSION.

The Teutonic mind naturally looks upon the portrayal of character as the real purpose of the drama, and as "its own excuse." It is safe to say that Shakespeare has given in *Hamlet* absolutely the ultimate example of character-portrayal in drama. The completeness with which the nature and disposition of the Prince, his entire mental and moral being, are

put before us, is something which we are accustomed to find only in the wide-ranging, loosely constructed novel, not in the intense, concentrated, and sharply limited drama.

Dramatic criticism is inclined to insist that only those characteristics of the hero should be made prominent which really influence the course of the action; and that these characteristics should be unmistakable. According to this standard *Hamlet* is certainly faulty. That the play is marked by an excess of monologue seems to be recognized by the omission from the First Folio of some of the utterances of the hero, including the sermon on drunkenness (I, iv, 17-38), and even the powerful soliloquy upon seeing the army of Fortinbras (IV, iv, 32-66; ll. 9-31 are also omitted). Certain features in the management of the action have also been pronounced by Goethe and others to be "extremely faulty." But it is not especially because of its defects that the world is not likely to see another *Hamlet*: its marvellous excellences are a more conclusive reason. None but himself can bend the bow of Odysseus.

Before the reader decides which one of the possible reasons for Hamlet's inactivity he will adopt in making up his own theory of the play, let me ask him, "Can you not accept a good number of them?" In many cases, I think, they are not exclusive and contradictory, but should be looked upon as complementary and harmonious. The large number of these reasons of itself makes it clear why there are so many opinions concerning the character of the hero. One critic accents one motive; another, another. Superficially their views may seem to themselves and others to be irreconcilable, while at bottom they may be largely at one.

Not only is it hardly possible for two critics to agree upon the same interpretation of the play; one cannot altogether agree with himself for two successive readings. The considerations involved are so numerous that one is hardly able to give due weight to all of them; it is inevitable that one should be somewhat at the mercy of his mood.

At my present stage of development, my own theory as to the reasons for Hamlet's dilatoriness is somewhat as follows :—I accept the first three grounds for Hamlet's delay indicated under the first general division of this paper, namely : an excessive tendency to reflection, weakness of will, and especially a melancholy temperament and extreme sensitiveness. I find myself varying in the degree of emphasis which I give to these different factors, but I am not inclined to look upon the hero's excessive tendency to reflection as something really primary and causative. Under the second general division of the paper, I accent Hamlet's conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, and his natural aversion to killing the King. It seems to me entirely reasonable that all these qualities should be associated in one person. I believe further that Shakespeare was hampered in some measure by the fixed outlines of the accepted version of the old story ; also that the fact that he expresses freely through the mouth of the Prince his own thoughts and feelings intensifies the impression of weakness and dilatoriness which Hamlet makes upon us. I give less prominence to the other considerations that have been mentioned, though I look upon some of them as having a measure of force. I oppose the purely objective explanation of Hamlet's delay advocated by Werder and some others.

The problem of Hamlet ! Who shall altogether solve it ? Even while we cherish the vain hope of doing this, some passage from the play comes to mind which accords but poorly with our elaborate solution. And then a princely form and careworn face rise up before us, and the pale lips say haughtily : “ Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me ! You would play upon me : you would seem to know my stops : you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass : you would pluck out the heart of my mystery ! ”

ALBERT H. TOLMAN.

IV.—THE PROVINCE OF ENGLISH PHILOLOGY.¹

Perhaps no reproach is oftener addressed to those who call themselves philologists than that they are unconcerned with that beauty which has furnished a distinctive epithet for the word 'literature' in the phrase *belles lettres*, that they lack imagination and insight, and that they are quite unfitted to impart to others a sense of the spiritual values which inhere in the productions that form the subject-matter of their studies. An eloquent writer, who is himself a capable investigator, has recently presented this view in an essay which deserves the attention of every teacher of literature, and especially of every teacher of English literature.

I make no apology for quoting a rather long extract from the essay in question, since the arraignment puts into definite form what a good many people have been feeling and intimating, and the philologist is bound to meet the attack either by mending his ways, or by showing that the critic, with the best intentions in the world, has not fully comprehended the purposes of philology, or has perhaps taken a part for the whole. Here, then, is the passage :

"And so very whimsical things sometimes happen, because of this scientific and positivist spirit of the age, when the study of the literature of any language is made part of the curriculum of our colleges. The more delicate and subtle purposes of the study are put quite out of countenance, and literature is commanded to assume the phrases and the methods of science. . . . It is obvious that you cannot have universal education without restricting your teaching to such things as can be universally understood. It is plain that you cannot impart 'university methods' to thousands, or create 'investigators' by the score, unless you confine your uni-

¹Address of the President of the Modern Language Association of America, at its Annual Meeting held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., December, 1897.

versity education to matters which dull men can investigate, your laboratory training to tasks which mere plodding diligence and submissive patience can compass. Yet, if you do so limit and constrain what you teach, you thrust taste and insight and delicacy of perception out of the schools, exalt the obvious and the merely useful above the things which are only imaginatively or spiritually conceived, make education an affair of tasting and handling and smelling. . . .

"You have nowadays, it is believed, only to heed the suggestions of pedagogics in order to know how to impart Burke or Browning, Dryden or Swift. There are certain practical difficulties, indeed; but there are ways of overcoming them. You must have strength if you would handle with real mastery the firm fibre of these men; you must have a heart, moreover, to feel their warmth, an eye to see what they see, an imagination to keep them company, a pulse to experience their delights. But if you have none of these things, you may make shift to do without them. You may count the words they use, instead, note the changes of phrase they make in successive revisions, put their rhythm into a scale of feet, run their allusions—particularly their female allusions—to cover, detect them in their previous reading. Or, if none of these things please you, or you find the big authors difficult or dull, you may drag to light all the minor writers of their time, who are easy to understand. By setting an example in such methods you render great services in certain directions. You make the higher degrees of our universities available for the large number of respectable men who can count, and measure, and search diligently; and that may prove no small matter. You divert attention from thought, which is not always easy to get at, and fix attention upon language, as upon a curious mechanism, which can be perceived with the bodily eye, and which is worthy to be studied for its own sake, quite apart from anything it may mean. You encourage the examination of forms, grammatical and metrical, which can be quite accurately determined and quite exhaustively catalogued. You bring all the visible phenomena of writing to light and into ordered system. You go further, and show how to make careful literal identification of stories somewhere told ill and without art with the same stories told over again by the masters, well and with the transfiguring effect of genius. You thus broaden the area of

science ; for you rescue the concrete phenomena of the expression of thought—the necessary syllabification which accompanies it, the inevitable juxtaposition of words, the constant use of particles, the habitual display of roots, the inveterate repetition of names, the recurrent employment of meanings heard or read—from their confusion with the otherwise unclassifiable manifestations of what had hitherto been accepted, without critical examination, under the lump term ‘literature,’ simply for the pleasure and spiritual edification to be got from it.” (Woodrow Wilson, *Mere Literature, and Other Essays*, 1896, p. 2.)

This is a stern indictment to bring against the philologist—the ‘mere philologist,’ as our author might say—and if it contains the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ; if things are quite as bad as here represented, and the fault is the fault of certain innovators, who usurp the domain of better men with their science falsely so-called ; then it behoves us to be on our guard, lest we also be entangled in the net they have woven for their own feet, and so become involved with them in a common destruction.

Let us first see, however, whether some of these matters are susceptible of being differently stated. And first, is it quite certain that the evils complained of are due to the scientific and positivist spirit of this age, and to the effort after universal education ? It is more than two thousand years since Herodicus described the followers of the critic Aristarchus as ‘buzzing in corners, busy with monosyllables.’ It is more than eighteen hundred years since Seneca thus declaimed against what he understood by the philological study of literature :

“A grammarian occupies himself with the care of speech, or, if he takes a wider view of his art, possibly with history. The most that he can do is to extend the limits so as to include poetry. Which of these openeth a way to virtue ? Doth the unfolding of syllables, the niceties of speech, the memory of fables, or the law and syntax of verses ? Which of these taketh away fear, casteth out covetousness, bridleth

lust? . . . Let us grant unto them that Homer was a philosopher; in that case he must have learnt wisdom before he wrote poetry; wherefore let us learn those things which made Homer a wise man. . . . What supposest thou that it profiteth to inquire into the ages of Patroclus and Achilles? Seekest thou rather Ulysses' errors than seest how thou canst prevent thine own? There is no time for hearing whether Ulysses was shipwrecked between Italy and Sicily, or passed the boundaries of the known world. . . . Tempests of the mind do daily toss us, and vice driveth us into all the evils which Ulysses suffered. Beauty there is to beguile the eyes, and she cometh not in the guise of a foe: hence come cruel monsters, which delight in men's blood; hence come deceitful allurements of the ears; hence shipwrecks, and so many varieties of evil. Teach me this thing, how I may love my country, my wife, and my father; how even, suffering shipwreck, I may steer my ship into so virtuous a haven."

Here, then, is a strong argument against literary scholarship. Observe at once its admirable cogency and its comprehensive sweep. The goal of all education should be to render men wise and virtuous; therefore wisdom and virtue should be taught directly, to the exclusion of all other matters. How obvious and how convincing! The objection to literary scholarship has the same force as applied to other studies. This is apparent from the very title of Seneca's essay, *That the Liberal Arts are not to be Classed among Good Things, and Contribute Nothing to Virtue*. But let us hear his own application of the principle to the study of music and geometry.

"Let us pass," he says, "to geometry and music; nothing shalt thou find in them which forbiddeth fear, or forbiddeth covetousness, of which whosoever is ignorant, in vain knoweth other things. . . . Thou teachest me how there cometh a harmony from sharp and bass sounds, and how a chord may be composed of dissonant strings. Do thou make rather that my mind may be in harmony with itself, and that my counsels be not out of time. . . . Thou knowest what a straight line is; what profiteth it thee if thou art ignorant of what is crooked in life?"

But there is another argument against all learning, or rather against all learning except philosophy. Learning is a positive incumbrance. The mind is limited in its capacity. There is only a given amount of space in the mind to include everything. All the room occupied by learning is so much subtracted from that which might have harbored virtue. Hear once more the incomparable Seneca: "Of whatsoever part of divine and human affairs thou takest hold, thou shalt be wearied with the huge abundance of things to be sought out and to be learned. . . . Virtue will not lodge itself in so narrow a room; a great matter desireth a large space; let all else be driven out, let the whole breast be empty for it."

With Seneca, the conclusion of the whole matter is extremely simple. Philosophy is the science which teaches wisdom and virtue. Therefore neglect everything else, and study philosophy. In his own words: "Philosophy . . . raiseth the whole structure, foundations and all. Mathematics, so to speak, are a superficial art; it buildeth upon another's foundations, it receiveth its principles from others, by the benefit of which it cometh to further conclusions. If, by its own exertions, it could come to truth, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I should be more grateful to it. The mind is made perfect by one thing—namely, by the unchangeable knowledge of good and bad things, for which alone philosophy is competent. But none other art inquireth about good and bad things."

But, unfortunately, the trail of the serpent is over philosophy even. Seneca can not help admitting that his very philosophers are not quite what they should be. "I speak," says he, "of liberal studies; how much of what is useless do philosophers possess, how much of what is unpractical! They also have descended to the distinction of syllables, and to the proprieties of conjunctions and prepositions, and to envy grammarians, to envy geometricians. . . . Thus it is come to pass that, with all their diligence, they know rather to speak than to live."

Now I would not be understood as instituting a parallel in all respects between the able and brilliant writer first quoted, with certain of whose positions I find myself in agreement, and the moralist who thus ruthlessly, like another Caliph Omar, would sweep away all learning from the face of the earth. Yet I cannot help seeing in the essay of the former an implication that taste and insight and delicacy of perception shall be imparted directly by the schools, in a manner not dissimilar, it may be apprehended, to that in which the Senecan wisdom and virtue were to be taught. Perhaps this is possible; I would that it were. Is there one who listens to me who would not gladly devote his whole energies to the direct communication of taste and insight and delicacy of perception, and still more of wisdom and virtue, were that possible without the adventitious aid of learning? If we could train the mind to exact and severe thinking, to endure the toil involved in continuous attention to the same subject, without invoking the processes of mathematical science, or any equivalent discipline, to come to our assistance, how the college curriculum might speedily be relieved of one of its heaviest burdens! But we have already seen that even Seneca's philosophers were not quite equal to his demands; they also "descended to the distinction of syllables, and to the proprieties of conjunctions and prepositions." These philosophers must have felt, at least after Seneca's rebuke, how far they were derogating from the inwardness of their mission. Yet, if they lived a quarter of a century longer, they were surely not a little comforted by the utterances of Quintilian, who in one place says: "Was Cicero the less of an orator because he was most attentive to the study of grammar, and because, as appears from his letters, he was a rigid exactor, on all occasions, of correct language from his son? Did the writings of Julius Cæsar *On Analogy* diminish the vigor of his intellect? Or was Messala less elegant as a writer because he devoted whole books, not merely to single words, but even to single letters? These studies are injurious, not to those

who pass through them, but to those who dwell immoderately on them."

But are modern times barren of such instances as Quintilian has noted? Milton, great poet that he was, did not disdain to write an *Accidence commenced Grammar*, and I have never heard that his poetry was the worse for it. Milton's exemplar, the first poet of Italy, a man eminent for taste and insight and delicacy of perception, as well as for wisdom and virtue, wrote a book *On the Vulgar Tongue*, which he began on this wise: "Since we do not find that any one before us has treated of a science of the Vulgar Tongue, while, in fact, we see that this tongue is highly necessary for all, inasmuch as not only men, but even women and children, strive, in so far as Nature allows them, to acquire it; and since it is our wish to enlighten to some little extent the discernment of those who walk through the streets like blind men, generally fancying that those things which are really in front of them are behind them; we will endeavor, by the aid of the Wisdom which breathes from Heaven, to be of service to the speech of the common people, not only by drawing the water for such a draught from our own understanding, but by taking or compiling from others, mixing the most useful information from each with our own." In this work, he whom the difficulties of language had never prevented from saying just what he desired to say, went on to write chapters whose titles are such as these: "On the Dialect of Romagna, and Some of the Dialects beyond the Po, especially the Venetian;" "Of the Structure of the Lines in Poetry, and their Variation by means of Syllables;" "Of what Lines Stanzas are made, and of the Number of Syllables in the Lines;" "Of the Relation of the Rimes, and in what order they are to be placed in the Stanza;" "Of the Number of Lines and Syllables in the Stanza." Does it not look as though Dante had, in the words of our critic, come perilously near to rescuing from their confusion with literature "the concrete phenomena of the expression of thought—the necessary

syllabification which accompanies it, the inevitable juxtaposition of words?"

Passing over such men as Ben Jonson, who wrote an English grammar, and made an extensive collection of the grammars of various languages, but at the same time set the fashions in English literature for several decades, let us dwell for a moment on the authors cited above as deserving better treatment than they are likely to receive at the hands of the modern expositor? Is it possible that the attitude of Burke and Browning, of Dryden and Swift, toward philological investigation, is in any respect similar to that of Dante and of Milton? I turn to Burke's essay *On the Sublime and Beautiful*, and find such headings as these: "Color considered as Productive of the Sublime;" "Smell and Taste; Bitters and Stenches;" "The Effect of Words;" "How Words influence the Passions." Moreover, I find in this work such passages as the following: "It is hard to repeat certain sets of words, though owned by themselves unoperative, without being in some degree affected, especially if a warm and effecting tone of voice accompanies them; as suppose,

Wise, valiant, generous, good, and great.

These words, by having no application, ought to be unoperative; but when words commonly sacred to great occasions are used, we are affected by them even without the occasions."

I turn to Browning, and, reading *The Grammarian's Funeral*, can not doubt that he was in sympathy with the character he has so vividly and feelingly delineated.

I turn to Dryden, and find him writing in this vein: "Thus it appears necessary that a man should be a nice critic in his mother tongue before he attempts to translate a foreign language. Neither is it sufficient that he be able to judge of words and style, but he must be a master of them too; he must perfectly understand his author's tongue, and absolutely command his own." Again he says: "All the versification and little variety of Claudian is included within the compass

of four or five lines, and then he begins again in the same tenor; perpetually closing his sense at the end of a verse, and that verse commonly what they call golden, or two substantives and two adjectives, with a verb between them to keep the peace." Does not this look like the prefigurement of a modern inquiry into end-stopped and run-on lines?

I turn to Swift, and am reminded by the revival of the proposition to establish an English Academy that he wrote a *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*, involving the creation of a society similar to the French Academy for that purpose.

Even the author who instances Burke and Browning, Dryden and Swift, as writers who should be interpreted in a larger and freer manner, is willing, in a noble oration, to affirm: "What you cannot find a substitute for is the classics as literature; and there can be no first-hand contact with that literature if you will not master the grammar and the syntax which convey its subtle power." From this it would appear that it is proper to master the grammar and syntax of the *ancient* classics; which he who will may harmonize with the objections which were quoted at the beginning of these remarks.

Recalling those objections, we have seen that they were in some measure anticipated centuries ago; that Seneca would have had all ancillary study of literature replaced by the direct inculcation of the essential qualities or virtues that literature embodies; that his criticism held equally true of all liberal studies except philosophy, and that even philosophy was not exempt from his censure; but that, on the other hand, some of the noblest statesmen, orators, and poets, have busied themselves with the very inquiries which we have heard so unsparingly condemned; and that we are thus presented with the singular anomaly that that is forbidden to the humble expounder of classical authors which was practised and recommended by the classical authors themselves; and that is forbidden to the student of our own literature which

is reckoned, by the same authority, as highly laudable in a student of the masterpieces of antiquity.

There must, one would infer, be something inherently attractive and valuable about learning, which enables it to survive such attacks as those of Seneca; there must be something inherently attractive and valuable about the learning which occupies itself with literature, to make it the concern of so many magnanimous spirits, and to extort vindications from the antagonists who come out armed to destroy it. Perhaps the explanation is to be sought in Aristotle's famous sentence, "All men by nature desire to know." Perhaps the justification has been furnished by Seneca himself, who elsewhere asks why we instruct our children in liberal studies, and answers, "Not because they can give virtue, but because they prepare the mind to the receiving of it." Possibly, then, virtue may sometimes be best suggested by indirection; perhaps, too, the same is true of taste and insight; it may be that they come not with observation, or at least not exclusively with observation; it may be that they who devotedly study any aspect of great works receive of their spirit, even as one may approach the one spirit of Nature through the different channels of astronomy, chemistry, and zoology. A lover of literature and of all forms of beauty, too early lost to his University and the world—I refer to the late Professor McLaughlin—in an essay in which he pleaded for the recognition of the spiritual element in literature, was yet fain to admit: "The first steps toward the desired results must be prosaic; people must train themselves, or be trained, to see what is on the surface, to grow conscious of metrical differences, for instance; not to remain quite blind to the real meaning beneath a figurative turn; even to come to recognize that there is a figurative turn."

If we could take this view to heart, perhaps the difficulties which perplex so many earnest seekers after truth, as they consider the subject, would vanish away, or at any rate become less formidable. According to this mode of looking

at the matter, taste and insight and delicacy of perception are by no means common in an era of universal education, nor indeed in any era whatever; the person who possesses them only in a rudimentary degree is as likely to be repelled as attracted by a sudden revelation of their austere charms; in this, as in everything else, the natural progress is by easy stages from the phenomenal to the noumenal, from the things of sense to the things of the spirit; and accordingly the science which undertakes to deal with the forms in which the human spirit has, in various epochs, manifested itself, especially through the medium of literature, must be prepared to take account of the phenomenal no less than the noumenal, and accompany the seeker along the whole scale of ascent from the one to the other.

But is there any such science? There is; its name is Philology; and in no other sense than as designating this science should the term 'philology' be used, unless with some qualifying term which limits its meaning in a specific and unmistakable manner.

The function of the philologist, then, is the endeavor to relive the life of the past; to enter by the imagination into the spiritual experiences of all the historic protagonists of civilization in a given period and area of culture; to think the thoughts, to feel the emotions, to partake the aspirations, recorded in literature; to become one with humanity in the struggles of a given nation or race to perceive and attain the ideal of existence; and then to judge rightly these various disclosures of the human spirit, and to reveal to the world their true significance and relative importance.

In compassing this end, the philologist will have much to do; much that is not only laborious, but that even, in itself considered, might justly be regarded as distasteful, or even repellent. He must examine and compare the records of the human spirit bequeathed us by the past, and, before doing this, must often exhume them, perhaps in a mutilated condition, from the libraries and monasteries where they may

have been moldering for ages ; he must piece them together, where they have been separated and dispersed ; interpret them ; correct their manifest errors, so far as this may safely be done in the light of fuller information ; determine their meaning and their worth ; and then deliver them to the world, freed, as far as may be, from the injuries inflicted by time and evil chance, with their sense duly ascertained, their message clearly set forth, and their contribution to the sum of human attainment justly and sympathetically estimated.

This is the work that has been done, and is still in process of doing, for the Sacred Scriptures ; for Homer, Sophocles, and Pindar among the Greeks ; for Virgil, Lucretius, Tacitus, and Juvenal among the Romans ; for the Italian Dante and Ariosto ; for the French *chansons de geste*, no less than for Ronsard, Molière, and Rousseau ; for the *Nibelungenlied* and Goethe among the Germans ; for Cynewulf, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton among the English ; and for a multitude of others of whom these may stand as types.

The ideal philologist is at once antiquary, palæographer, grammarian, lexicologist, expounder, critic, historian of literature, and, above all, lover of humanity. He should have the accuracy of the scientist, the thirst for discovery of the Arctic explorer, the judgment of the man of affairs, the sensibility of the musician, the taste of the connoisseur, and the soul of the poet. He must shrink from no labor, and despise no detail, by means of which he may be enabled to reach his goal more surely, and laden with richer results. Before traversing unknown seas, he must appropriate every discovery made by his predecessors on similar quests, and avail himself of every improvement upon their methods which his imagination can suggest, and his judgment approve. He will be instant in season and out of season. Whatsoever his hand finds to do he will do with his might. He will choose the task which humanity most needs to have performed, and at the same time that in which his own powers and special equipment can be most fully utilized ; and, when possible, he will give the

preference to such labors as shall afford play and outreach to his nobler faculties, rather than to such as may dwarf and impoverish them.

According to the exigencies which circumstances create, or his own intuition perceives, he will edit dictionaries, like Johnson or Murray; make lexicons to individual authors, like Schmidt; compile concordances, like Bartlett or Ellis; investigate metre, like Sievers or Schipper; edit authors, as Skeat has edited Chaucer, Child the English and Scottish Ballads, and Furness Shakespeare; discourse on the laws of literature, like Sidney, or Ben Jonson, or Lewes, or Walter Pater; write literary biography, like Brandl or Dowden; or outline the features and progress of a national literature, like Ten Brink, or Stopford Brooke, or Taine.

The ideal philologist must, therefore, have gained him "the gains of various men, ransacked the ages, spoiled the climes." Yet withal he must be content, if fortune, or his sense of a potential universe hidden in his apparently insignificant task, will have it so, merely to settle *hoti's* business, properly base *oun*, or give us the doctrine of the enclitic *de*—sure that posterity, while it may ungratefully forget him, will at least have cause to bless his name, as that of one without whose strenuous and self-sacrificing exertions the poets, the orators, the historians, and the philosophers would have less completely yielded up their meaning, or communicated their inspiration, to an expectant and needy world.

That the philologist, as such, is not necessarily a creative literary artist, is no impugment of his mission or its importance. Neither is he who expounds the law, or the doctrines of Christianity, necessarily a creative literary artist. Yet he may be; Erskine was, and Webster; and so were Robert South and Cardinal Newman in their sermons. To be learned is not necessarily to be dull, for Burke was learned, and Chaucer, and Cicero, and Homer. Petrarch was not dull; and all the philology of modern times goes back to Petrarch.

If we seek for philologists who may fairly be ranked among reputable authors, the brothers Grimm wrote fairy stories quite as charmingly as Perrault; Hallam says of Politian that his poem displayed more harmony, spirit, and imagination, than any that had been written since the death of Petrarch; and the same writer calls the *History and Annals* of Grotius a monument of vigorous and impressive language. Professor Lounsbury says of Tyrwhitt, "His literary taste can be described as almost unerring." The style of Erasmus has been called clear, lively, expressive rather than regular, sparkling with sallies and *verve*. Sainte Beuve, who by his profession of critic comes well within the definition of the philologist, is of course one of the literary glories of France. Croiset, the author of *La Poésie de Pindare*, is an author whom one finds it difficult to lay down when his book has once been taken in hand. Sellar's accounts of the Roman poets can be read with the utmost pleasure by any one at all interested in the subject. The charm of Max Müller's writing is well known. One might go on to enumerate Jebb, and Gildersleeve, and Jowett, and Mahaffy—but why extend a list which any one can continue for himself? Enough has been said to show that the pursuit of philology is not incompatible with literary power and grace—as why indeed should it be?

But it has been observed that dull men crowd into the profession, men who can only count and catalogue, or who, to employ the language of Chapman in *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*, are

Of taste so much depraved, that they had rather
Delight, and satisfy themselves to drink
Of the stream troubled, wandering ne'er so far
From the clear fount, than of the fount itself.

Alas, it is but too true! Heaven-sent geniuses are rare, and there is not room for all the dull men in the other professions. Moreover, great poets are sometimes averse to spending their lives in the professor's chair, when they can write *Idylls of*

the King and Men and Women. Also, there is no recipe by which to convert dull men into heaven-sent geniuses, and the preponderance of the former class everywhere is an evil not sufficiently to be deplored. Then, too, some of us must do the intellectual hewing of wood and drawing of water for the rest, and how should this be were no dull men to interest themselves in literature? Finally, we can always fall back upon the reasons assigned by Longinus—if it was indeed he who wrote the immortal *Treatise on the Sublime*—Longinus, a man whom Plotinus allowed to be a philologist, but in no sense a philosopher. Thus he moralizes: “It is a matter of wonder that in the present age, which produces many highly skilled in the arts of popular persuasion, many of keen and active powers, many especially rich in every pleasing gift of language, the growth of highly exalted and wide-reaching genius has, with a few rare exceptions, almost entirely ceased. . . . It is so easy, and so characteristic of human nature, always to find fault with the present. Consider, now, whether the corruption of genius is to be attributed, not to a world-wide peace, but rather to the war within us which knows no limit, which engages all our desires, yes, and still further to the bad passions which lay siege to us to-day, and make utter havoc and spoil of our lives. Are we not enslaved, nay, are not our careers completely shipwrecked, by love of gain, that fever which rages unappeased in us all, and love of pleasure?—one the most debasing, the other the most ignoble, of the mind’s diseases.” If there are no better men forthcoming as expounders of English literature, may it not be that the requisite talents are attracted to more lucrative pursuits rather than that the fault is with the tendency of education to become universal?

It is singular, however, that men whom no one would think of calling dull practise on occasion the arts that we have heard condemned. Thus Professor Dowden, in his very newest book, his volume of selections from Wordsworth, so far from thinking it a sin, in dealing with the poets, to “note

the changes of phrase they make in successive revisions," expressly says, "From no other English poet can lessons in the poetic craft so full, so detailed, and so instructive be obtained as those to be had by one who follows Wordsworth through the successive editions, and puts to himself the repeated question, 'For what reason was this change, for what reason was that, introduced?'" Gaston Paris, too, who is said to be unsurpassed as a lecturer on the felicities of style, is best known to the world by researches which quite surely fall under the condemnation already cited.

Philology is frequently considered to be identical with linguistics. This is an error which can not be sufficiently deprecated. It results in the estrangement of the study of language from that of literature, with which, in the interests of both, it should be most intimately associated. The study of language is apt to seem arid and repellent to those who do not perceive how essential it is to the comprehension of literature. The conception of linguistics as a totally independent branch of learning, and the bestowal upon it of the appellation which properly designates the whole study of the history of culture, especially through the medium of literature, is fraught with incalculable injury to the pursuit of both divisions of the subject. Professor Saintsbury deplores this separation in a recent work. He says too truly: "With some honorable exceptions, we find critics of literature too often divided into linguists who seem neither to think nor to be capable of thinking of the meaning or the melody, of the individual and technical mastery, of an author, a book, or a passage, and into loose aesthetic rhetoricians who will sometimes discourse on Æschylus without knowing a second aorist from an Attic perfect, and pronounce eulogies or depreciations on Virgil without having the faintest idea whether there is or is not any authority for *quamvis* with one mood rather than another." He adds: "It is not wonderful, though it is in the highest degree unhealthy, that the stricter scholars should be more or

less scornfully relinquishing the province of literary criticism altogether, while the looser æsthetics consider themselves entitled to neglect scholarship in any proper sense with a similarly scornful indifference."

I hope we shall all concur with Professor Saintsbury in this opinion. Such mutual distrust, not to say dislike, *is* in the highest degree unhealthy. Why should not all thoughtful students of English call themselves philologists, and thus recognize that they are all virtually aiming at the same thing, notwithstanding that they approach the subject from different points of view, and in practise emphasize different aspects of their common theme?

It may perhaps be objected that this would be equivalent to attributing an arbitrary and novel signification to the word philology. In this presence, I need only advert to the fact that in Germany the meaning I advocate is recognized as the only tenable one by all the recent authorities. More than a hundred years ago, Wolf, acting in part under the inspiration of Goethe, outlined the conception which in more recent times has been developed by Boeckh, and from him has been adopted by all the chief authors or editors of systematic treatises dealing with the philology of the various nations or races. While they differ more or less with respect to the expediency of including certain subdivisions of this department of knowledge in their survey, on the essential point such scholars as Paul, Gröber, Körting, and Elze, all agree. No one who has not reflected long and deeply upon the conception elaborated by Boeckh can realize how fruitful it proves, and how fully it satisfies the demand for a philosophy of our work which shall recognize at once the part played in its advancement by the intuitions of genius and by the humbler labors of the compiler and systematizer.

Many people are misled by forming a wrong notion of the etymology of the term we have been discussing. "Does not λόγος mean 'word?'" say they; "how then can philology

signify anything else than a study of words?"—whereupon they complacently identify philology with etymology. But the initial mistake is a serious one. If one traces the use of *φιλολογία* and *φιλόλογος* in classical Greek and Latin, he will find something quite different. The philologist was originally one who loved the tales of history or old romance, and then one who was fond of all sorts of learning which naturally grew out of this love for dwelling on the records of the past. Thus a philologist was distinctively literary in his tastes; not always philosophical, but always prevailingly literary. Since literature employed speech as its medium, he of course became an investigator of speech, but—and this is a most important consideration—his interest in language grew out of his interest in literature, and his dominant concern with language was in its capacity as the organ of literary communication. Boeckh has pointed out that a compound which would have expressed to the ancients what we often mean by linguistic study would have had to be formed with *γλῶσσα*—like our 'glossonomy'—and not with *λόγος*. It is the use of the expression 'comparative philology' in the sense of 'glossonomy' or 'glossology,' which has wrought the mischief. If one regards *λόγος* as standing for the typical revelation of itself by the human soul, and also of the faculty chiefly instrumental in effecting this revelation—for *oratio* and *ratio*, as the Romans said—the term philology assumes its rightful dignity and breadth, and designates one of the noblest employments to which a human being can dedicate himself. He who cherishes this ideal will not thereby become an ideal philologist, but he will be less likely to strive as one that beateth the air; he will perceive that his ultimate concern is with the human soul, and all his collecting, and comparing, and criticizing, will subserve the one end of enabling the voices of the past, and especially the thrilling and compelling voices, to sound more audibly and tunelessly in the ear of his own and future generations.

We must never forget that the philologist is a lover. As Pythagoras was not willing to be called a wise man, but only a lover of wisdom, and thus coined the word philosophy, so the philologist may well be content to call himself a lover too, a lover of the thrilling and compelling voices of the past. He becomes a philologist, if he is worthy of the name, because they have thrilled and compelled him; and he would fain devise means, however circuitous in appearance, by which to insure that they shall thrill and compel others. His sensibility is the measure of his devotion; and his devotion, while it may not be the measure of his success, is certainly its indispensable condition.

If then, philology, truly considered, enlists the head in the service of the heart; if it demands not only high and manifold discipline, but rich natural endowment; if its object is the revelation to the present of the spiritual attainments of the past; if it aims to win free access for the thoughts of the mightiest thinkers, and the dreams of the most visionary of poets; if it seeks to train the imagination to re-create the form and pressure of a vanished time, in order to stimulate our own age to equal or surpass its predecessors in whatever best illustrates and ennobles humanity; if there are not wanting numerous examples of poets who have been philologists, and philologists who have been essentially poets; and, finally, if philology is the only term which thus fully comprehends these various aspects of a common subject, and we have the most authoritative precedents for employing it in that signification; shall we willingly allow the word to be depreciated, and the largeness and unity of the corresponding conception imperiled, by consenting to employ it for the designation of a single branch of the comprehensive whole, and that the branch which, to the popular apprehension, least exhibits the real import and aim of the science? If not, and we are willing to be known as philologists in the truer and larger sense, can we not do something to make this sense the prevalent one, by consistently adhering to it in our practice, and,

so far as possible, inducing others to accept and adopt it? By thus doing, we shall not only be recognizing a truth which is indisputable, but also be promoting that harmony of opinions and sentiments without which the most strenuous individual efforts are certain to prove in some degree nugatory.

ALBERT S. COOK.

V.—A SONNET ASCRIBED TO CHIARO DAVANZATI AND ITS PLACE IN FABLE LITERATURE.

Of the poems ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati, a Florentine of the thirteenth century, one of the most interesting is the following sonnet :

- Di penne di paone e d'altre assai
Vestita la corniglia a corte andau;
Ma già no lasciava per ciò lo crai
E a riguardo sempre corniglian.
- 5 Gli augelli, che la sguardar, molto splai
Dele lor penne ch'essa li furau;
Lo furto le ritorna scherne e guai,
Che ciascun di sua penna la spogliau.
- 9 Per te lo dico, novo canzonero,
Che t'avesti le penne del Notaro
E vai furando lo detto stranero;
12 Si co' gli augei la corniglia spogliaro,
Spoglierati per falso menzonero
Se fosse vivo Jacopo Notaro.

The text is slightly emended¹ from that of the Cod. Vaticano 3793, as published in the edition of this manuscript: D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Le Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1875-88; Vol. IV (1884), No. 682, p. 379. The sonnet is also in the Cod. Vaticano 3214, from which it was published in 1872 by L. Manzoni, *Rime Inedite*, in *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, I, 87, and recently in the complete edition of this manuscript: *Rime Antiche Italiane . . . pub. per cura del dott. Mario Pelaez*, Bologna, 1895, No. 117, p. 102.² The

¹ MS. readings: 2. *vistita cornilglia andari*. 4. *corinighiau*. 5. *auscielli*. 6. *loro*. 8. *ciaschuno pena spoglau*. 12. *colgli ausgielli la cornilglia spogliaro*. 13. *spoglierati*. 14. *notaio*.

² According to Manzoni, *l. c.*, "la lezione del nostro codice è scorrettissima." The variants in the text as published by Pelaez, which differs slightly from that given by Manzoni, are as follows: 2. *vestiti andava*. 3. *ma non lasciava già però lo trai*. 4. *e cornigliai*. 5. *l'augelli ke la riguardaro*. 6. *k esa gli furai*. 7. *li torno ghuai*. 8. *spogliai*. 9. *non vo*. 10. *ketti vesti*. 11. *va*. 12. *siccome gli uccell la nigla*. 13. *spogliereti*. 14. *iacomin*.

first mentioned manuscript I shall call A, the second B (references to the edition of Pelaez). The sonnet was also published in 1889 by L. Biadene, *Morfologia del Sonetto nei Secoli XIII e XIV*, in *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, IV, 148; and in 1897 by E. Monaci, *Crestomazia Italiana dei primi secoli*, fascicolo secondo, p. 309 (text ostensibly following A, but differing from that given by D'Ancona and Comparetti).

Before entering upon the literary questions which this sonnet suggests, I wish to call attention to some of the words in it. In the first place, *corniglia* (A *cornilglia*) is properly not an Italian word at all; I have found it in no dictionary, but it occurs in two other texts,—a *canzone* by this same poet Chiaro,¹ and a North Italian poem which shows distinct traces of Provençal influence.² The word appears to be a regular descendant from *cornicula* (diminutive of *cornix*), which gives in Provençal *cornelha* and *cornilha*, in French *corneille*, in Spanish *corneja*, in Catalan *cornella*, and in Rhaetoromance *cornaigl*; but the Italian word corresponding to these is *cornacchia*, which points to **cornacula*.³ The latter is not found, but the intermediate form *cornacla* occurs in a Venetian text, probably of the thirteenth century.⁴ Corresponding to *cornigliare* in the sonnet is the verb *cornacchiare*, defined by Petrocchi, *Dizionario*, as a synonym of

¹A 246, in Vol. III of the edition cited. Chiaro compares himself to a *cornilglia*, and Guittone d'Arezzo to an *ausingnuolo*.

²Mussafia, *Una canzone tratta del Cod. Barberino XLV-47*, in *Rivista di Filologia Romanza*, II (1875), 65-70; republished by Monaci, *Crestomazia Italiana*, 494, "Canzone di Auliver." The line: *Ne i val agur de corf ne de cornigla* evidently refers to the use of ravens and crows in sooth-saying; cf. Phaedrus, III, 18, line 12: *Augurium corvo, læva cornici omina*. Mussafia gives *cornacchia* as the equivalent of *cornigla*. On the Barberini MS., cf. Monaci, *Da Bologna a Palermo*, in Morandi, *Antologia della Critica Letteraria*, 9a ediz., 1894, p. 228 ff.

³See Körtling, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *cornicula*.

⁴*Exemplo de la cornacla com' ela se visti*, a version of the same fable that we have in the sonnet. Published by Ulrich, first in *Romania*, XIII, 47, and then in *Trattati Religiosi e Libro de li Ezempli*, Bologna, 1891, second part, No. 36. On this collection of "examples," see *Giornale Storico*, III, 320-2, and xv, 257-72.

gracchiare. The ordinary Italian form is due, then, to a change of suffix, for which analogies are not wanting,—*volpacchio* from *vulpēcula*, and *abbacchio*, a dialect word, from *ovīcula*, which has no regular descendant in Italian.¹ It will be noticed that these words also are the names of animals; and perhaps *gracchia* from *gracula*, the name of a bird belonging to the same family as the *cornacchia*, may have exerted some influence.² In regard to the regular descendants from the Latin, Gröber says: "Nur das Prov. besitzt, neben der *ę*-, eine *i*-Form, die auf *cornīcula* hindeutet."³ *Corniglia*, however, if a popular formation, would naturally point to *-ī-* (cf. *coniglio* from *cunīculus*⁴), though it might also come from *-ī-* (cf. *artiglio*, Prov. *artelh*, Fr. *orteil*, from *artīculus*⁵). More probably it is simply borrowed from the Prov. *cornilha*, of which it reproduces the pronunciation in Italian orthography. This view is strengthened by the occurrence of the word in

¹ See Caix, *Studj di Etimologia italiana e romanza*, Firenze, 1878, No. 127; Gröber in Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, I, 552; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *ovicula*. An explanation for *cornacchia* has been sought in Umbrian *cornaco* (see *Romania*, IV, 509), "doch ohne hinlänglichen Grund" (Meyer-Lübke, *Italienische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 8).

² In regard to such influence in general, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, pp. 273, 289.

³ *Op. cit.*, *Archiv*, I, 552. In classic Latin, *cornīcula* is the diminutive of *cornix*, *cornīculum* of *cornu*; see Georges, *Lat.-Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

⁴ The Ital. *coniglio*, Old Fr. *connil*, Prov. *conilh*, point to *-ī-*, but Span. *conejo*, Port. *coelho*, to *-ī-*; see Gröber, *op. cit.*, *Archiv*, VI, 384.

⁵ See Körting, s. v., and Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 243; on the similar word *vermiglio*, Prov. *vermelh*, from *vermīculus*, see Gröber, *Archiv*, VI, 140. Chiaro uses *artilglio* in A 637. In Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, I, 503, D'Ovidio gives the rule that Lat. *ī* remains "wenn iotaciertes *l* folgt," and mentions as instances *origlia* (from **aurīculat*) and *ventriglio*. An exception to this rule is to be found in *oreglia* from *aurīcula* (cf. Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 246); this may be due to the analogy of *orecchia*, which is regular (cf. D'Ovidio, p. 502); but of the instances of a similar analogy which D'Ovidio mentions (p. 506), *cavicchia* and *lenticchia* lose their significance when we find that the parallel words in Prov., Fr., etc., point to *cavīcula* and *lentīcula*, which would give *-ī-* in Italian (see Körting, s. v., and Gröber, *Archiv*, I, 543, III, 511); and *ventricchio* instead of *ventrecchio* from *ventrīculus* (by analogy of the regular *ventriglio*) is perhaps semi-learned, cf. *ventriculo*, Fr. *ventricule*.

the *Canzone di Auliver*, which shows other evidences of Provençal influence.¹ The author of our sonnet, while he may have found the word in an Italian text, probably adopted it himself from Provençal. The alternative theory is that it really comes directly from the Latin. In either case, the verb *cornigliare* was doubtless derived from the noun on the analogy of *cornacchiare* and *cornacchia*.

Another peculiar word is *splai* (line 5). According to the sense, it points to *displacet*, but the form is anomalous for Italian; the regular forms are *dispiace* and *spiace*, which might appear as *spīace*.² *Plai* from *placet* is regular in Rhaetoromance,³ and *splai* may possibly be an Italian dialect form.⁴ But here also we find the best explanation in Provençal, which has the forms *platz* and *plai* from *placet*, and *desplai* from *displacet*.⁵ Probably our poet, for the sake of the rhyme, adopted the Provençal form, merely using *splai* instead of *desplai* for the negative of *plai*; this he might naturally do, as the Italian has two forms of the verb, *dispiacere* and *spiacere*.

Still another peculiarity is the ending *-au* in the third singular preterite. The regular Tuscan ending for verbs of the first conjugation is *-ò*, coming from *-avit* through *-aut*. The ending *-ao* is found in poets of South Italy, and occasionally in Tuscany. In South Italy *-au* also occurs, but

¹ See notes of Mussafia, *l. c.*

² Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, pp. 116, 312; Mastrofini, *Teoria e Prospetto de' Verbi*, Milano, 1830, pp. 712-14.

³ Gartner, *Rätoromanische Grammatik*, § 154.

⁴ Cf. *fai*, Meyer-Lübke in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 538; and *piailo* beside the more usual *piato* from *placitum*, see Gröber, in *Archiv*, IV, 439; Thomsen, in *Romania*, IV, 262; Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, 59; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *placitum*.

⁵ Crescini, *Manualetto Provenzale*, Padova, 1894, pp. xxxix, cxxxi, and glossary s. v. *plazer*; Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 610. *Desplai* occurs, e. g., in a poem by Calvo, the Genoese Troubadour, Crescini, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 5^e ed., Berlin, 1892, col. 276, cf. 444.

more rarely;¹ and that it was unfamiliar in Tuscany may be inferred from the blundering changes in MS. B (see readings, above). Biadene² thinks that the strange endings of the rhyme-words in the first eight lines were used with the intention of suggesting the caw (*crai*) of the crow. It is to be noted that the two rhymes (*-ai* and *-au*) differ only in the final vowel, and that in the last six lines the rhymes (*-ero* and *-aro*) are in consonance with each other. The purpose of this arrangement and of the use of the verbal termination *-au* must have been to produce an effect on the ear; doubtless *crai*, one of the regular Italian words for "caw," set the key for the rhymes.³

As to the authorship of the sonnet, there is some doubt. In MS. A it is ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati, while in B it has this heading: *Questo mando maestro francesco a ser bonagiunta dallucha*. This implies, though it does not say definitely, that Francesco wrote the sonnet (cf. the headings of Nos. 69, 71, 124, etc., in B). To a Mastro Francesco di Firenze⁴ are ascribed in A a *canzone* (No. 197) and six sonnets (Nos. 496-8, 500-2), the latter closely following the sonnets of Bonagiunta da Lucca. There are no poems in B ascribed to

¹See Caix, *Origini della Lingua Poetica Italiana*, Firenze, 1880, pp. 98-9, 228; Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, p. 227. Chiaro Davanzati uses *-ao* (*inamorao*, A 560, Monaci, *Crest.*, 251), and so do Guittone (Caix, *l. c.*) and Guinizelli (Casini, *Rime di Poeti Bol.*, p. 34). In Brunetto Latini *-ao* was changed to *-oe* or *-ò* by Tuscan copyists (see Wiese, in *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, VII, 286).

²*Morfologia del Sonetto*, p. 148.

³The voice of the crow and other birds of the kind is often mentioned in mediaeval literature; e. g., Rustico Filippi (A 856, Monaci, *Crest.*, 250): *Risembra corbo nel cantare*. There is a proverb which says: *Di crai in crai si pasce la cornacchia* (see Petrocchi, *Dizionario*, s. v. *cra* and *crai*). In Latin the usual word for "caw" is *cras*; cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* [Strassburg, 1473], xvii, cap. lxi: *Corvus avis clamosa nichil aliud sonare novit quam cras cras*. Etienne de Bourbon's *Anecdotes Historiques* [in Latin], ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, p. 19.

⁴This Francesco is hardly likely to be the same as Francesco Smera di Becchennugi di Firenze, B 180 (called Francesco Ismera in the Cod. Chigiano L. VIII. 305, No. 58: *Propugnatore*, x, 1, p. 312).

Chiaro, though one (182, anonymous) is addressed to him. In A our sonnet comes among the *tenzoni*; and the three sonnets preceding it form a *tenzone*, as follows: 679, anon.; 680, the answer by Chiaro; 681, anon., with the same rhymes in the first eight lines of each. The *tenzone* is a discussion of the question whether love is painful. Then comes 682, with an entirely different set of rhymes, and having apparently no connection with the preceding, while over 679 is the heading: *Tenzone IIII*, that is, *tenzone* of four sonnets; but, as Gaspari has pointed out,¹ the heading should be: *Tenzone III*. If, however, 682 were really a part of the *tenzone*, it would naturally be by Chiaro; and accordingly his name might have been inserted if the sonnet, for some reason put in by itself among the *tenzoni*, had previously been left anonymous. Yet these entirely indecisive considerations should have little weight in favor of B against the greater age and authority of A. Furthermore, the peculiar word *corniglia*, used here and in A 246, speaks for Chiaro, for having used it once he might easily have repeated it. This word I have explained as a borrowing from Provençal; and we know that Chiaro was acquainted with this language, for one of his poems (A 250) is an unmistakable imitation of a poem by Sordello.²

Yet if we accept the attribution of A, we lose our authority for believing that the sonnet was sent to Bonagiunta da Lucca, for this is stated only in B. It is not difficult, however, to

¹ *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, x, 590.

² This was pointed out by Gaspari, *Scuola Poetica Siciliana*, trad. Friedmann, Livorno, 1882, pp. 39-43. Cf. C. de Lollis, *Vita e Poesie di Sordello di Goito* (*Romanische Bib.*, xi), Halle, 1896, No. 32, and notes on p. 289 f. Since Chiaro was certainly familiar with this poem by Sordello, it is perhaps significant to find in it the form *plai*, which I have indicated as the source of the word *splai*. The first line reads: *Bel cavalier me plai, qe per amor*. De Lollis emends: *Bels cavaliers*; but if we accept another emendation which has been suggested (*ibid.*), namely: *Del cavalier*, we get exactly the same construction as in our sonnet: *Gli augelli . . . splai Delle lor penne*. In A 250 Chiaro shows that he is capable of using "a crude Provençalism" (cf. Gaspari, *l. c.*).

assume, as some writers¹ do, that Chiaro wrote the sonnet, and that it was sent to Bonagiunta by Francesco, if not by Chiaro himself. At any rate, it is generally agreed that Bonagiunta deserved the accusation of parading in the *penne del Notaro*. The criticism agrees very well with the words that Dante puts into Bonagiunta's mouth:

'O frate, issa veggio,' disse, 'il nodo
Che il Notaro, e Guittone, e me ritenne
Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.
Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,
Che delle nostre certo non avvenne.'²

As in our sonnet, il Notaro, Giacomo da Lentino, is here taken as the foremost representative of the Sicilian school. Of this school Bonagiunta was a distinguished member in the second half of the thirteenth century, and he did not lack admirers.³ Guittone d'Arezzo, a more original and more influential poet of the same period, was looked up to as a master by Guido Guinizelli,⁴ who is in turn called by Dante (*Purg.*, XXVI, 91-135) the father of the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. For his change of style Guinizelli was reproved by Bonagiunta in the sonnet *Voi ch' avete mutata la maniera*, but Guinizelli got the better of the argument with the sonnet which he sent in reply: *Omo ch' è sagio non corre legiero*.⁵ It

¹ Casini in *Rivista Critica d. Lett. Ital.*, I (1884), 71, but cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, Bd. II, Abt. 3 (1896), p. 18; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale d. Lett. Ital.*, I, 42; Torraca (see quotation below). In mentioning the sonnet, the following express no opinion as to its authorship: Gaspary, *op. cit.*, 173; Biadene, *l. c.*; Monaci, in his article *Da Bologna a Palermo* (Morandi's *Antologia*, 233).

² *Purg.*, XXIV, 55-60 (Moore's text, Oxford, 1894). Perhaps Dante introduced the colloquial word *issa* to indicate that Bonagiunta did not use the *volgare illustre*; cf. *Vulg. Eloq.*, I, 13.

³ Cf. the anonymous poems A 783 (Monaci, *Crest.*, 308) and 781.

⁴ See the sonnet *O caro padre mio di vostra laude*, Casini, *Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1881, p. 39.

⁵ These two sonnets, A 785 and 786, have often been printed, e. g., by Monaci, *Crest.*, 303 (with variants of several mss.).

has been suggested¹ that in the line

“Volan per aire ausgiei di strane guise”

he was alluding to the criticism in Chiaro's sonnet.

Now what was Chiaro's relation to these various poets? Monaci declares (*Crest.*, 309) that he was a follower and imitator of the Notary even more than Bonagiunta was, and that, therefore, he could hardly have made the criticism contained in our sonnet. This argument leads Monaci to accept the attribution in ms. B; but if it has any force in the case of Chiaro, it has tenfold more in the case of Maestro Francesco, whose commonplace poems contain nothing but what a score of others had said. It is quite true that at one period of his activity Chiaro decked his verse in plumes borrowed from the Provençal and Sicilian poets and from Guittone d'Arezzo; but there is great variety in his work; we find political poems, realistic poems in popular style, attempts at philosophy, and finally indications of the influence of Guinizelli and the *dolce stil nuovo*. He is at his best in poems of a semi-popular style, when he casts loose from the conventionality and the metrical intricacy of the Sicilians, and appears as a poet of the Florentine people. In his own development he exemplifies the emancipation of Italian poetry from the Sicilian school, and the preparation of the way for Dante and his circle.² The writer of our sonnet must have been a man of considerable originality; this Chiaro incontestably was, and there is cer-

¹ By F. Torraca, *La Scuola Poetica Siciliana*, in *Nuova Antologia*, 3 za ser., vol. 54 (1894), p. 471: “Non è una sanguinosa quantunque ben dissimulata allusione all' accusa di Chiaro Davanzati, che il lucchese fosse una *corniglia*, rivestita delle penne del Notaro?”

² When he says (in the *canzone* beginning *Talento agio di dire*, A 235, Monaci, *Crest.*, 254):

Audit' agio nomare
Che 'n gentil core amore
Fa suo porto, etc.,

he is evidently referring to Guinizelli's famous poem, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* (A 106). Compare also A 243, 259, 749, and especially 253.

tainly no ground for saying that he was not in a position to send to any of his brother poets who still clung to the old traditions the accusation of borrowing plumes. If the sonnet is to be taken away from him, then, it must be by an argument much stronger than that which Monaci advances.

Chiario Davanzati is to be regarded, then, as the probable author. Of his life we unfortunately know nothing except that he was a Florentine, that he fought at Montaperti in 1260, and that he died not later than 1280.¹ He was unusually prolific for a poet of that time. We find in MS. A sixty-one *canzoni* and more than a hundred sonnets ascribed to him. Few of these poems were known before their publication in Vols. III–V of the *Antiche Rime Volgari*, and almost none of them occur in other manuscripts.² To this fact is due the slight attention paid to him until recently; he is now recognized as an interesting and important member of the group of poets in Florence immediately before the time of Dante.³ Not all of his poems, fortunately, would be likely to call forth so much comment as I have devoted to this one;

¹ See Novati in *Giornale Storico*, v, 404.

² A 285 and 769 are also in the Cod. Laur. Red. 9 (Nos. 85 and 354), and were printed by Valeriani, *Poeti del Primo secolo*, Firenze, 1816, II, 44; No. 85 also by Casini, *Testi inediti*, Bologna, 1883. Nannucci, *Manuale*, reprints six sonnets from Massi, *Saggio di Rime*, Roma, 1840. A few other poems were published by Trucchi, *Poesie*, Prato, 1840; D'Ancona in *Propugnatore*, VI, 350 ff; Zabban, *Chiario Davanzati, VI sonetti inediti*, Pisa, 1872. Since the publication of A, a number of the poems have been reprinted by D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 73; by Monaci, *Crest.*, fasc. 2, and by others. Bertacchi, *Le Rime di Dante da Maiano*, Bergamo, 1896, p. 74, publishes from two other MSS. two previously unpublished sonnets attributed to Chiario in correspondence with "Dante." To the reasons which Bertacchi gives, p. 73, for believing that the Dante in question is he of Maiano, may be added the further reason that, as Chiario died not later than 1280, there could not well have been any correspondence between him and Dante Alighieri. The first lines of these sonnets were given in *Propugnatore*, XXIII, 2, p. 396.

³ See Casini in *Rivista Critica*, I, 69–78, and in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 3, p. 22; Gaspary, *Scuola Siciliana*, and in *Zeitschr. f. R. P.*, IX, 571; Witte in Böhmer's *Romanische Studien*, I, 114; D'Ancona e Bacci, *l. c.*; Goldschmidt, *Doktrin der Liebe*, Breslau, 1889; Bertacchi, *op. cit.*, p. liv.

but before taking leave of it I wish to consider it in one more aspect,—namely, in its position and significance in the history of Æsopic fables.

We have here, evidently, a version of the fable of the bird in borrowed feathers; yet it is not mentioned in the monograph on this fable by Fuchs (*Die Fabel von der Krähe die sich mit fremden Federn schmückt*, Berlin, 1886), nor, as far as I am aware, in any other work on fables. Without at present going very deeply into the literary history of this fable, I will merely say sufficient to show clearly the position occupied by Chiaro's version. To begin with, Chiaro shows originality in his choice of a subject as well as in his treatment of it; for no other Italian poet of the time gives us a fable in a version similar to this.¹ Yet from occasional references we may infer that fables, besides being gathered in collections, were then, as now, subjects of common knowledge. The reader will hardly need to be reminded that Dante, for example, speaks of fables of Æsop.² The Florentine poet Monte Andrea, a contemporary of Chiaro, very likely has in mind the fable of borrowed feathers when he says (A 283):

Chi è sì preso, ciascun om li pare orbo,
Men cura il disonore che lo corbo.

Curiously enough, this same fable is referred to by two of the Provençal poets. In the poem, *Un sirventes ou motz no falh*, Bertran de Born says:

Baro, Dieus vos salf e vos guar
E vos ajut e vos valha
Eus do que digatz a'n Richart
So quel paus dis a la gralha.³

¹ Unless the poem, *Quando il consiglio degli aupei si tenne*, mentioned below, belong to this period.

² *Inf.*, xxiii, 4; *Conv.*, iv, 30. The not too intelligent comments on these passages in Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 16, 294, show how little the fable literature of the Middle Ages is understood.

³ Stimming's second edition, Halle, 1892 (*Romanische Bib.*, viii), No. 2, lines 50-3. Edition of Thomas, Toulouse, 1888, p. 8.

Similarly, Guiraut de Borneil :

Com fes de la gralha paus.¹

We may notice in this connection one more version of the same fable, a curious little poem which begins as follows :

Quando il consiglio degli augei si tenne
Di nicistà convenne
Che ciascun comparisse a tal novella,
E la Cornacchia maliziosa e fella
Pensò mutar gonella,
E da molti altri augei accattò penne,
Et adornossi, e nel consiglio venne. . . .

This was first published in 1685 by Francesco Redi, who states that it is in an old manuscript belonging to him, and that it was written by Dante.² This attribution is rejected by Witte and by Fraticelli,³ partly on aesthetic grounds, and partly because they could not find the poem in Redi's manuscript or in any other. It is, nevertheless, in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, with Dante's name; and in another, anonymous.⁴ Carducci defends the authenticity of *questa piccola ma graziosissima pitturina di genere*,⁵ and it has frequently been granted a place among the works of Dante.⁶

¹ Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, Berlin, 1846, I, 197.

² F. Redi, *Bacco in Toscana, con le annotazioni*, Firenze, 1685. The *dittirambo* itself occupies pp. 1-46, followed by the notes, which are paged separately; pp. 99-123 contain a note on *sonetti*, with the poem in question on p. 104. For other editions, see Imbert, *Il Bacco in Toscana di F. Redi*, Città di Castello, 1890, p. 75.

³ Kannegiesser und Witte, *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte*, 2^{te} Aufl., Leipzig, 1842, II, pp. xiii, lxxvii; Fraticelli, *Canzoniere di Dante (Opere Minori, I)*, Firenze, 1873, pp. 274-6.

⁴ See Biadene, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 (note), 55; cf. *Carte di Bilancioni*, in *Propugnatore*, xxii, 1, p. 39.

⁵ *Studi Letterari*, 2^a ed., Livorno, 1880, p. 156 f.

⁶ E. g., *Prose e Rime Liriche di Dante*, Venezia, 1758, IV, 335 (Ballata vii); *Opera di D.*, Venezia, 1772, II, 249; *Opera poetiche di D.*, ed. Buttura, Parigi, 1823, I, 200; *Canzoniere of Dante translated by C. Lyell*, London, 1835, pp. 266-7 (and in later editions); *Raccolta di Favoleggiatori Italiani*, Firenze, 1833, p. 405.

In form it is a *sonetto rinterzato*,¹ but of an irregular variety which is used elsewhere only in a few poems by Antonio Pucci.² The irregularity of form raises suspicions as to the attribution to Dante, but as the *sonetto rinterzato* was not in use after the fourteenth century, the poem would seem to be little later than the time of Dante, if not actually written by him. A later writer, it is true, might have composed the poem in this antique form for the purpose of passing it off more readily as a work of the fourteenth century; but so far as subject-matter and style are concerned, it might have been written then.

To return, where did Chiaro get the subject of his sonnet? It is known that through the Middle Ages the Æsopic fables were current chiefly in versions of the paraphrase of Phaedrus which goes by the name of Romulus.³ In these versions, a bird of some ugly species finds peacock feathers, decks itself in them, and tries to associate with the peacocks; driven away in scorn, it is also repulsed by its own former companions, one

¹ On this form see Biadene, *op. cit.*, 44-61; Casini, *Forme Metriche Ital.*, 2a ed., Firenze, 1890, pp. 41-3; also the older writers, A. da Tempo, *Delle Rime Volgari*, ed. Grion, Bologna, 1869, p. 83 ff.; Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Ritmi Volgari*, ed. Giuliani, Bologna, 1870, p. 17 ff.; F. Redi, *l. c.* According to Biadene, *l. c.*, the MSS do not bear out the distinction between *sonetti doppi* and *rinterzati* made, e. g., in the notes to D'Ancona's edition of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, Pisa, 1872, and in Ercole, *G. Cavalcanti e le sue rime*, Livorno, 1885, p. 337. The second and fourth sonnets of the *Vita Nuova* are *rinterzati* with twenty lines each. *Quando il consiglio* has twenty-four lines thrown by the sense into four equal groups; this grouping, which Biadene classes as degenerate, is of course irregular for any kind of sonnet.

² See Biadene, *op. cit.*, 55. On Pucci, a semi-popular poet of the fourteenth century, see D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 530.

³ See Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, tomes I, II (*Phèdre et ses imitateurs*), 2e éd., Paris, 1893-4; Robert, *Fables Inédites*, Paris, 1825; Oesterley, *Romulus*, Berlin, 1870; Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889; Sudre, *Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, Paris, 1892, pp. 52 ff.; and other works on the history of fables. Fuchs, *op. cit.*, gives an account of this particular fable, but omits to mention some important versions,—those by Stainhöwel and *Uno da Siena*, to speak of only two; what he says, pp. 20-1, on the relation of the version of Phaedrus (I, 3) to the Greek versions is especially worth noticing.

of whom gives it good advice on the subject of false pride. The name of the bird varies; it is the jackdaw (*graculus*) in the Latin versions, but sometimes becomes the raven, the crow, or the jay in other languages. The Troubadours mentioned above follow presumably some Latin version, since in their brief references to the fable they use the word *gralha*; the fragment of a Provençal fable-book published by Pio Rajna has *corp*.¹ This form of the fable is, perhaps, best known in the version of La Fontaine (IV, 9): *Le Geai paré des plumes du Paon*.

Now outside the fable books of the Phaedrus family there are a number of versions distinctly different in character; the *cornicula* which Horace mentions² is not the *graculus* of Phaedrus. These versions are of a type older than Phaedrus, resembling rather the Greek form of the fable. The bird is almost invariably the crow, which makes its display of borrowed feathers before a council or assembly of birds; the peacock, so far from being one of the central figures as in Phaedrus, is usually not even mentioned; the feathers belong to various birds, all of which join to strip the crow when the deceit is discovered. Chiaro's version evidently belongs to this class, for it has elements which are foreign to Phaedrus; the crow (*corniglia* = *cornicula*) is decked in the feathers of the peacock and many other birds, and goes to court. The word *paone* suggests, what is in itself probable, that Chiaro was familiar with one of the Phaedrus versions also. For his purposes of literary satire he did not need to do more than hint at the incidents of the fable, yet he says enough to show distinctly which type he followed, though we are not able to distinguish his immediate source. The poem published by Redi also follows the Greek type; the *crow* comes

¹ *Romania*, III, 291-4.

² *Epist.*, I, iii, 18-20:

Ne, si forte repetitum venerit olim
 Grex avium plumas, moveat Cornicula risum
 Furtivis nudata coloribus.

to the council of birds decked in the feathers of many other birds; and the peacock is not introduced. A number of other mediaeval versions of this type are included by Fuchs in his monograph,—the *Exemplo de la Cornacla* already referred to, the Latin versions of Odo of Cheriton¹ and Nicolaus Pergamenus, two Old French versions first published by Robert² in 1825, one of which is from *Renart le Contrefait*, and a German version in Kirchhof's *Wendunmuth*. Since Fuchs wrote, another Latin version has been made known by the publication of the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry.³ There are, however, several other important versions which Fuchs ought to have known,—in the first place, our two Italian poems; then a very interesting version, somewhat different from the others, in a political speech in the chronicles of Froissart.⁴ From Froissart, if I am not mistaken, the fable was taken by James Howell, who introduces it in his curious work, *Dodona's Grove or the Vocall Forrest*.⁵ I will mention further merely the Hebrew "fables of foxes," *Mishle Shu'alim*, of Rabbi Berachyah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan, whom Jacobs with plausibility locates in England in the twelfth century;⁶ here

¹To Odo or Eudes of Cheriton and his imitators, Hervieux devotes the entire fourth volume of his *Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1896; he previously included them in Vols. I and II of his first edition, 1883-4; cf. P. Meyer in *Romania*, XIV, 381-97. On the fourth volume of Hervieux, and for information on Odo, see especially Hauréau in *Journal des Savants*, Fév., 1896, p. 111 ff.

²*Fables inédites*, I, 248 ff.; P. Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes*, Paris, 1877, p. 355, also gives the anonymous poem which Robert attributes without reason to Marie de France.

³Edited by T. F. Crane, London, 1890; No. 249, p. 105.

⁴*Œuvres de Froissart*, pub. par K. de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, XI, 254.

⁵*Δενδρολογία—Dodona's Grove, or, the Vocall Forrest*. By I. H. Esqr. By T. B. for H. Mosley at the Princes Armes in St Pauls Church-yard, 1640. The fable is on pp. 73-4. Howell's name appears on p. 219. Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII, 109 ff.

⁶See Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop*, I, 168-78. I know two editions of Berachyah; one in Hebrew and Latin: *Parabolæ Vulpium Rabbi Barachiae Nikdani translatae*. . . M. Hanel, Prague, 1661; the other, incomplete, in Hebrew alone (but with title-page also in Russian), Warsaw, 1874. Robert, *op. cit.*,

the fable of borrowed feathers shows no evidence of having been influenced by the Phaedrus type; the raven, ashamed of his blackness, puts off his own feathers, takes a feather from each of the other birds (the peacock not being mentioned), and shows himself at the cross-roads, where the other birds gather around him and strip him. On the other hand, Marie de France, whose fables are related to those of Berachyah, has elements of both the Phaedrus and the Greek type.¹

In anticipation of a more elaborate study of the subject upon which I am engaged, a few words may be said now as to the significance of the facts I have touched upon in the history of fables and of mediaeval literature in general. After the revival of Greek learning in Europe, the Greek versions of our fable of course became familiar. They differ distinctly, as we have seen, from the versions of the fable books which descend from Phaedrus. But even in the Middle Ages as well, when the Greek fables were not directly known, there were current various scattered versions resembling the Greek type. We have, then, indications of two streams of fable literature passing through the Middle Ages; one we may call literary, since it possesses a line of descent which is for the most part clearly distinguishable in one version after another from Phaedrus down; while the other stream is by contrast popular. The versions of our fable here differ considerably, and their mutual relations are hardly to be made out at all; they often occur either by themselves or in collections of "examples" such as were drawn largely from popular sources. We may conclude, then, that they were frequently

mentions another edition, Mantua, 1557. Our fable, *Parabola Corvi & aliarum Avium*, is the twenty-ninth in Hanel's edition, pp. 116-9; in the Warsaw edition it is No. 27.

¹ See Fuchs, *op. cit.*, 32; Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, 165, 169. Marie's bird also is the raven, which, ashamed of its ugliness, puts off its own feathers; but it puts on only peacock feathers, and goes among the peacocks. This is fable 58 in the edition of Roquefort, Paris, 1820; No. 67 in the edition of Warnke, Halle, 1898. Evidently this fable offers no support to Warnke's theory (p. lxxi ff.) that Berachyah copied from Marie.

not copied from one book to another, but written down from oral tradition. It was in this manner that some of the classical fables found their way into the *Roman de Renart*.¹ The fable of borrowed feathers is perhaps the very best illustration of many of these principles, partly because versions occur so frequently, and partly because the form given to it by Phaedrus is so clearly distinguishable from the Greek form.²

While not entirely new, these general deductions will help to show that it is a matter of some importance to find and discuss versions like those by Froissart and Chiaro Davanzati, which, well enough known it is true, have hitherto somehow escaped the attention of writers on fable literature. A newly-found version or reference belonging to what I have called the Greek or popular type means more, too, than an addition to the already long list of those that follow Phaedrus.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

¹ See Reissenberger, *Reinhart Fuchs*, Halle, 1886, pp. 1-14; Sudre, *Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, pp. 1-19, 39-61. Our fable occurs, as mentioned above, in *Renart le Contrefait*; cf. Fuchs, p. 16.

² The fable of the Lion's Share offers interesting points of similarity; it also occurs in two versions, both going back to the Greek, but one through Phaedrus and the other not; see Górski, *Die Fabel vom Löwenantheil*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 5-11, 52 ff. In regard to the Fox and the Raven, a somewhat different conclusion is reached by Ewert,—"Die Fabeln des Phaedrus kamen auf doppeltem Wege zur Kenntniss des Mittelalters, durch schriftliche Aufzeichnungen und durch mündliche Tradition" (*Die Fabel der Rabe und der Fuchs*, Berlin, 1892, p. 19). Fuchs, *op. cit.*, draws from his material only the most obvious conclusions. The existence of two separate types of the fable of borrowed feathers had already been pointed out, e. g., in *Romania*, III, 292-4.

VI.—BEN JONSON AND THE CLASSICAL SCHOOL.

“The words, *classical* and *romantic*, although, like many other critical expressions, sometimes abused by those who have understood them vaguely or too absolutely, yet define two real tendencies in the history of art and literature. * * * The ‘classic’ comes to us out of the cool and quiet of other times, as the measure of what a long experience has shown will at least never displease us. And in the classical literature of Greece and Rome, as in the classics of the last century, the essentially classical element is that quality of order in beauty, which they possess, indeed, to a pre-eminent degree. * * * It is the addition of strangeness to beauty, that constitutes the romantic character in art; and the desire of beauty being a fixed element in every artistic organisation, it is the addition of curiosity to this desire of beauty that constitutes the romantic temper.”¹

These are the words of that rare interpreter of the “House Beautiful,” the late Mr. Walter Pater, and may serve us as a fitting position whence to depart in a search for the origin of some of those elements which combined to produce the many and noteworthy changes that came over English literature during the seventeenth century.

Without entering here into definitions and distinctions which have been much aired and not a little abused, it is well to notice that these terms are not necessarily hostile to each other or even mutually exclusive. Classicism and Romanticism are tendencies rather than opposed methods in art. Literature has always partaken of both, although one may dominate in one age, the other in another. It may be surmised that in the ebb and flow of these elements consists the life of literature, and that in the absolute triumph of either lies its destruction: for death may come to art no less from

¹ Walter Pater, *Appreciations*, “Postscript,” p. 253 f.

freedom run to licence than from the riveted fetters of absolute convention. In a sense every 'classic' has once contained within it the 'romantic,' has once moved by its novelty and appealed to curiosity. If the romantic temper is more concerned with the choice of subject, as has sometimes been affirmed, there may be even a finer art in novelty of treatment; nor may novelty be denied although it consist but in the change from romantic excesses grown common and hence distasteful. Be this as it may, the classic temper studies the past, the romantic temper neglects it. The romantic temper is empirical; in its successful experiments it leads us forward, as did Wordsworth, Shelley and Browning, and creates new precedents on which to found the classics of the future. It is revulsion from the failures of romantic art that brings us trooping back to the classics with Matthew Arnold who felt that he could "find the only sure guidance, the only solid footing among the ancients."¹

The history of English literature since the Renaissance exhibits three periods of unusual interest in the models of the past, three notable returns to the classics as they were understood in each age, with a possible fourth period of interest yet to come and widely presaged in our many retranslations of Greek and Roman authors and in the poetry of Matthew Arnold and the late Mr. William Morris. With this last we have nothing to do; an important name is identified with each of the other three: Sir Philip Sidney, whose classicism was concerned with externals, and soon overwhelmed with the flood of romanticism on which he was himself "the first fair freight;" Ben Jonson, whose classicism came alike by nature and by study; Pope, who long afterwards stands for the culmination of a movement which, losing its aims and substituting too often mere form for living principle, is none the less worthy of a greater respect and consideration than has been usually accorded it at the hands of the critics of our century.

¹ Preface to Arnold's *Poems*, ed. 1854.

That minor contemporaries of Sidney like Ascham, Webbe, and Gabriel Harvey should look to classic example for the salvation of English letters is little to be wondered. Their education demanded it, and contemporary literature offered nothing. Save Chaucer, there was not an English poet that a scholar dared to name with the mighty dead of "insolent Greece or haughty Rome;" and Chaucer was antiquated to the Elizabethan, who might love to archaize in the pastoral lingo of Hobbinol and Cuddy, but who was likely to leave unread what he could not readily conform to his own time and place. The classicism of Sidney is that of his age, and shows itself mainly in two characteristics: the reaffirmation of ancient aesthetic theory, in which the *Defense of Poesy* far outweighs all similar contemporary work, and in metrical experiments in English verse modelled on classical prosody. In the former Sidney was the companion of Gascoigne, James VI, William Webbe, and George Puttenham; in the latter, of Harvey, Stanihurst, Abraham Fraunce, and Spenser himself. If Sidney's sapphics and asclepiads stand as a warning to the temerity of venturesome youth, it must be remembered that our own contemporaries have not ceased from theorizing upon such metres nor indeed from imitating them. Such turning to the classics as Sidney's and Spenser's is purely empirical and due less to any deep seated conviction on the subject than to a contemplation of the dead level of contemporary literary achievement. Sidney's *Defense* was directly called forth by Gosson's attack upon poetry in his *School of Abuse*, and Sidney's own practice of classical metres went hand in hand with experiments in the Italian sonnet, the canzone and the sestina, many specimens of which are to be found in *Astrophel and Stella*, and in the *Arcadia*. Lastly, it would be difficult to find a work farther removed from classical ideals than the famous *Arcadia* itself, the story of which vies with the *Faerie Queene* in rambling involution and elaborated episode, the style of which is ornate and florid, though often very beauti-

ful, the essence of which, in a word, is novelty, the touchstone of romantic art.

Vastly in contrast with this superficial imitation of classical verse is the classicism of Ben Jonson, from his character as a man and a scholar, and in its relation to his environment. Between Sidney, dead in the year 1586, and Jonson beginning his career but a year or two short of the next century, a great literature had sprung up, which up to the end of the reign of Elizabeth and, without the domain of the drama, was dominated by the overwhelming influence of Spenser. It would be difficult to find a contrast more marked than that which exists between Spenser and Jonson. As the qualities of these two poets in their contrasts are at the very root of our subject, they must be considered in some detail.

What may be called the manner of Spenser—*i. e.*, Spenser's way of imitating and interpreting nature artistically by means of poetic expression—may be summarized as consisting of a sensuous love of beauty, involving a power of elaborated pictorial representation, a use of classical imagery for decorative effect, a fondness for melody of sound, a flowing sweetness, naturalness and continuousness of diction, amounting to diffuseness at times, the diffuseness of a fragrant, beautiful, flowering vine. We may say of the poets that employ this manner that they are worshipers of beauty rather than students of beauty's laws; ornate in their expression of the type, dwelling on detail in thought and image lovingly elaborated and sweetly prolonged. To such artists it is no matter if a play have five acts or twenty-five, if an epic ever come to an end, or if consistency of parts exist. Rapt in the joy of gentle onward motion, in the elevation of pure, poetic thought, even the subject seems to be of small import, if it but furnish the channel in which the bright limpid liquid continues musically to flow. Drayton, who, besides pastorals after the manner of his master, Spenserized the enormous *Polyolbion*; the allegorical Fletchers, Giles and Phineas; George Wither and William Browne in their beautiful later

pastorals; Milton himself in his earliest poetry, though somewhat restrained by a chaster taste than was Spenser's and by a spirit in closer touch with the classics: these are some of the multitude of followers and imitators of Spenser.

If now we will turn to the poetry of Ben Jonson, more especially his lyrical verse, the first thing we note is a sense of form, not merely in detail and transition, like the "links bright and even" of *The Faerie Queene*, but a sense of the entire poem in its relation to its parts. This sense involves brevity and condensity of expression, a feeling on the part of the poet that the effect may be spoiled by a word too much—a feeling which no true Spenserian ever knew. It is thus that Jonson writes in courtly compliment to his patroness Lucy, Countess of Bedford:

This morning timely rapt with holy fire,
 I thought to form unto my zealous Muse,
 What kind of creature I should most desire,
 To honor, serve, and love, as poets use.
 I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
 Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great;
 I meant the day-star should not brighter rise,
 Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
 I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
 Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride;
 I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
 Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
 Only a learnèd and a manly soul
 I purposed her; that should, with even powers,
 The rock, the spindle, and the shears control
 Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
 Such when I meant to feign and wished to see,
 My Muse bade Bedford write, and that was she.¹

About such poetry as this there is a sense of finish rather than of elaboration. It is less continuous than complete; more concentrated, less diffuse; chaste rather than florid; controlled, and yet not always less spontaneous; reserved, and yet not always less natural. There are other things

¹*Epigrams*, No. LXXVI, Fol. 1640, i, 22.

in the Jonsonian manner. It retained classical allusion less for the sake of embellishment than as an atmosphere—to borrow a term from the nomenclature of art. Its drafts upon ancient mythology become allusive, and the effects produced by Horace, Catullus or Anacreon are essayed in reproduction under English conditions. Not less eager in the pursuit of beauty than the Spenserian, the manner of Jonson seeks to realize her perfections by means of constructive excellence, not by entranced passion. It concerns itself with choiceness of diction, selectiveness in style, with the repression of wandering ideas and loosely conceived figures, in a word the manner of Jonson involves classicality. Sidney's return to the ancients has been called empirical; the classicism of Jonson may be termed assimilative.

It is a commonplace of the history of literature that Jonson literally dominated the age in which he lived. But it is not so generally understood just why this was true in the face of the unexampled popularity of Shakespeare's plays and the frequent failure of Jonson's own, and with the existence of strong poetical counter-influences which seemed more typical of the spirit of the time than Jonson's own. It is notable that it is the egotists, like Byron and Rousseau, that often most strongly impress themselves upon their own times; they are, in Ben Jonson's well known words, "of an age;" those who have mastered themselves and risen, as did Shakespeare, above his own environment while still sharing it, move in larger circles, and influence the world "for all time." Shakespeare was not literary, Jonson was abundantly so. Despite Shakespeare's popular success, Jonson had with him the weight of the court and the learned. Thus it came about that Shakespeare enjoyed the greatest pecuniary return derived from literature, directly or indirectly, until the days of Sir Walter Scott; whilst Jonson, dependent on patronage, often almost in want, achieved a reputation and an influence in literature altogether unsurpassed up to his time. There was only one poet who shared even in part

this literary supremacy of Jonson, and that poet was John Donne. To Donne, especially to the Marinist in him, must be granted the credit—if credit it be—of delaying for more than a generation the natural revulsion of English literature back to classicism and restraint. This is not the place in which to discuss the interesting relations of Jonson and Donne. Except for a certain rhetorical and dialectical address, which might be referred to a study of the ancients, the poetry of Donne is marked by its disregard of conventions, by its extraordinary originality of thought and expression, by that rare quality of poetic insight that justifies Jonson's enthusiastic claim that "John Donne [was] the first poet in the world in some things."¹ Not less significant on the other hand are Jonson's contrasted remarks to Drummond on the same topic: "That Donne's *Anniversary* [in which true womanhood is idealized if not deified] was profane and full of blasphemies," and "that Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging."² The classicist has always regarded the romanticist thus, nor have the retorts been more courteous, as witness the well known lines of Keats' *Sleep and Poetry* in which the age of classicism is described as "a schism nurtured by foppery and barbarism."³

Thus we find Spenser and Jonson standing as exponents respectively of the expansive or romantic movement and the repressive or classical spirit. In a different line of distinction Donne is equally in contrast with Spenser, as the intensive, or subjective artist. Both of these latter are romanticists in that each seeks to produce the effect demanded of art by means of an appeal to the sense of novelty; but Spenser's romanticism is that of selection, which chooses from the outer world the fitting and the pleasing, and constructs it into a permanent artistic joy. Donne's is the romanticism of insight, which, looking inward, describes the subtle relations of things and transmutes them into poetry with a sudden and unex-

¹ *Jonson's Conversations with Drummond*, Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Poems by John Keats*, ed. Bates, 1896, p. 59.

pected flood of light. Between Jonson and Donne there is the kinship of intellectuality; between Spenser and Donne the kinship of romanticism; between Spenser and Jonson the kinship of the poet's joy in beauty. Spenser is the most objective and therefore allegorical and mystical; Donne is the most subjective and the most spiritual; Jonson, the most artistic and therefore the most logical. 77.

But not only did Jonson dominate his age and stand for the classical ideal in the midst of current Spenserianism, Marinism, and other popular modes, it was this position of Jonson, defended as it was in theory as well as exemplified in his work, that directed the course which English literature was to take for a century and a half after his death. There are few subjects in the history of English literature attended with greater difficulty than the attempt to explain how the lapse of a century in time should have transformed the literature of England from the traits which characterized it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to those which came to prevail under the rule of Queen Anne. The salient characteristics of the two ages are much too well known to call for a word here. Few readers, moreover, are unfamiliar with the more usual theories on this subject: how one critic believes that Edmund Waller invented the new poetry by a spontaneous exercise of his own cleverness;¹ how another demands that this responsibility be fixed upon George Sandys.² How some think that "classicism" was an importation from France, which came into England in the luggage of the fascinating Frenchwoman, who afterwards became the Duchess of Portsmouth; and how still others suppose that the whole thing was really in the

¹ Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Literature*, p. 2.

² Henry Wood, "Beginnings of the 'Classical' Heroic Couplet in England:" "At all events it was Sandys, and not Waller, who at the beginning of the third decade of the century, first of all Englishmen, made a uniform practice of writing in heroic couplets which are, on the whole, in accord with the French rule, and which, for exactness of construction, and for harmonious versification, go far towards satisfying the demands of the later 'classical' school in England."—*American Journal of Philology*, XI, p. 73.

air, to be caught by infection by anyone who did not draw apart and live out of the literary miasma as did Milton.¹ It may not be unnecessary to add that some of these theorists place the beginning and end of "classicism" in the definite and peculiar construction of a certain species of English decasyllabic verse; and that even when they escape this, the "heroic" or "Popean couplet" has always usurped an undue share of consideration.

The conservative reaction which triumphed with the Restoration has been so "hardly entreated" and so bitterly scorned that there is much temptation to attempt a justification. Imaginative literature did lose in the change, and enormously; but if the imagination, and with it the power that produces poetry, became for a time all but extinct, the understanding, or power which arranges, correlates, expounds and explains, went through a course of development which has brought with it in the end nothing but gain to the literature considered as a whole.

If the reader will consider the three great names, Ben Jonson, finishing his work about 1635, John Dryden, at the height of his fame fifty years later, and Alexander Pope, with nearly ten years of literary activity before him a century after Jonson's death, he will notice certain marked differences in a general resemblance in the range, subject-matter and diction of the works of these three. The plays of Jonson, despite the restrictive character of his genius, exemplify nearly the whole spacious field of Elizabethan drama, with an added success in the development of the masque, which is Jonson's own. Jonson is the first poet that gave to occasional verse that variety of subject, that power and finish, which made it, for nearly two centuries, the most important form of poetical expression. The works of Jonson are pervaded with satire, criticism and translation, though all appear less in set form than as applied to original work. Finally Jonson's lyrics

¹ Gosse, *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 19.

maintain the diversity, beauty and originality which distinguishes this species of poetry in his favored age.

If we will turn now to Dryden, we still find a wide range in subject, although limitations are discoverable in the character of his dramas and of his lyrics. If we except his operas and those pseudo-dramatic aberrations in which he adapted the work of Shakespeare and Milton, Dryden writes only two kinds of plays, the Heroic Drama and the Comedy of Manners; whilst his lyrics, excepting the two odes for Saint Cecilia's Day and some perfunctory religious poems, are wholly amatory in the narrow and vitiated sense in which that term was employed in the time of Charles II. The strongest element of Dryden's work is occasional verse; and he makes a new departure, showing the tendency of the time, in the development of what may be called occasional prose: the preface and dedicatory epistle. Satire takes form in the translation of Juvenal and in the author's own brilliant original satires, translation becomes Dryden's most lucrative literary employment, and criticism is the very element in which he lives. Lastly, we turn to Pope. Here are no plays and very few lyrics, scarcely one which is not an applied poem. Occasional verse, satire, criticism, and translation have usurped the whole field. There was no need that Pope should write his criticism in prose, as did Dryden; for verse had become in his hands essentially a medium for the expression of that species of thought which we in this century associate with the prose form. The verse of Pope was a medium more happily fitted for the expression of the thought of Pope, where rhetorical brilliancy and telling antithesis rather than precision of thought was demanded, than any prose that could possibly have been devised.

It has often been affirmed that England has the greater poetry, whilst France possesses the superior prose; and in the confusion or distinction of the two species of literature this difference has been explained.¹ Poetry must be governed

¹ See in general Matthew Arnold's essay on "The Literary Influence of Academies."

by the imagination, it must not only see and imitate nature, it must transform what it sees, converting the actual into the terms of the ideal: if it does much beside, it is less poetry. On the other hand, prose is a matter of the understanding, to call in as helps whatever other faculty you will, but to be ruled and governed by the intelligence alone, to the end that the object may be realized as it actually is. With this distinction before us, when passion, real or simulated, when imagination, genuine or forced, takes the reins from the understanding, the product may become poetry, or enthusiasm, or rhapsody; it certainly ceases to be prose, good, bad or indifferent. So, likewise, when the understanding supplants imagination, we have also a product, which, whatever its form or the wealth of rhetoric bestowed upon it, is alien to poetry. This is to be interpreted into no criticism of the many English literary products, which have the power to run and to fly; we could not spare one of the great pages of Carlyle, or of Mr. Ruskin; and yet it may well be doubted if, on the whole, the French have not been somewhat the gainers from the care with which they have customarily, and until lately, kept their prose and their poetry sundered.

Up to this point it has been our endeavor to establish the simultaneous existence of the restrictive as well as the romantic element in our literature as early as the reign of Elizabeth, to show the relation of the one to the other in the stretch of years that elapsed from her reign to that of Queen Anne, and to exemplify the relation of Jonson (who is claimed to be the exponent of the classical spirit) to his immediate contemporaries and to his two most typical successors. Let us now examine some of the reasons which may be urged for placing Jonson in so prominent a position.

In Ben Jonson we have the earliest example of the interesting series of English literary men who have had definite theories about literature. Dryden, Pope, and Wordsworth were such, each potent in moulding the taste of his own

age, and, with it, the course which literature was to take in times to come. It is notorious that the attitude of Jonson towards the prevalent literary taste of his age was far from conciliatory. He despised the popular judgment with an arrogance unparalleled in the annals of literature, although he constantly professed himself solicitous of the favorable opinion of the judicious. Jonson was a great moralist in his way, and "of all styles he loved most to be named Honest;"¹ but he was likewise an artist, and many of his current criticisms of his contemporaries: his strictures on Shakespeare for his anachronisms, on Sidney for making all the characters of the *Arcadia* speak like gentlemen and gentlewomen, his objection to the obscurity and irregular versification of Donne, are referable to an outraged aesthetic sense.² This position was altogether conscious, the position of the professional man who has a theory to oppose to the amateurishness and eclecticism abundantly exemplified in contemporary work; and Jonson must have felt toward the glittering, multiform literature of Elizabeth much what Matthew Arnold suffered "amid the bewildering confusion of our times" and might well have exclaimed with him, "I seemed to myself to find the only sure guidance, the only solid footing, among the ancients. They, at any rate, knew what they wanted in Art, and we do not. It is this uncertainty which is disheartening."³

The theories which Ben Jonson held about literature were from the first those of the classicist. He believed in the criticism of Horace and in the rhetoric of Quintilian;⁴ in the sanction of classical usage for history, oratory, and poetry. He believed that English Drama should follow the example of the *vetus comoedia*,⁵ and that an English ode should be modelled

¹ Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond*, as above, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 2, and 3.

³ Preface to Matthew Arnold's *Poems*, ed. 1854.

⁴ See the many passages of the *Discoveries* which are no more than translations of the *Institutes*, and the weight given to the theories of Horace in the same book.

⁵ Prologue to *Every Man out of his Humour*, Fol. 1640, i, 74.

faithfully on the structural niceties of Pindar. Despite all this, Jonson's theories about literature were not only, in the main, reasonable and consistent, they were often surprisingly liberal. Thus he could laugh, as he did, in a well known passage of the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*, at the absurdities of contemporary stage realism which,

with three rusty swords,
And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,
Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars;
And in the tiring-house bring wounds to scars;¹

and yet declare, as to that fetish of the supine classicist, the three unities, that "we [English playwrights] should enjoy the same licence or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention as they [the ancients] did; and not be tied to those strict and regular forms which the niceness of a few, who are nothing but form, would thrust upon us."² He could affirm that "Spenser's stanzas pleased him not, nor his matter;"³ and yet tell Drummond that "for a heroic poem there was no such ground as King Arthur's fiction" (i. e. the legends concerning King Arthur).⁴ He censured the pastoralists for their unreality, and yet he had by heart passages of the *Shepherds' Calendar*⁵ and showed how to write a true pastoral drama in the *Sad Shepherd*; he mocked the sonneteers,⁶ especially Daniel,⁷ in his satirical plays, for their sugared sweetness and frivolity, but wrote himself some of the finest lyrics of his age. The catholicity of Jonson's taste in its sympathy included the philosophy and eloquence of Lord Bacon, the divinity of Hooker, the historical and antiquarian enquiries of Camden and Selden, the classical scholarship of Chapman and the poetry of such diverse men as Spenser, Father Southwell, Donne, Sandys, Herrick, Carew, and his lesser "sons."⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, i, 5.² *Ibid.*, i, 74.³ *Conversations*, as above, p. 2.⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.⁷ See especially on this topic *The War of the Theatres* by J. H. Penniman, *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 24-30, 53, 54.⁸ See the *Conversations*, as above, *passim*.

The characteristics of Jonson as the exponent of the conservative spirit in literature in an age conspicuous for its passionate love of novelty are somewhat these: an unusual acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome, a holding of "the prose writers and poets of antiquity," to employ the happy phrase of the late Mr. John Addington Symonds, "in solution in his spacious memory," and a marvelous ability to pour them "plastically forth into the mould of thought;"¹ a keen appreciation of the principles which lie at the root of classical literature, with an intelligent recognition and a liberal interpretation of those principles in their adaptation to the needs of contemporary English conditions. The rhetorician in Jonson was alike his distinction and his greatest limitation. It was this which gave him an ever-present sense of an inspiring design, whether it was in the construction of a complete play or in the selection and ordering of the words of a single clause. These more general characteristics of the classicist will be recognized at once as Jonson's; but even the specific qualities that mark the coming age of English classicism are his. We have already remarked Jonson's fondness for satire and criticism, and his exceeding use of that species of applied poetry called occasional verse. Restriction in the range of subject is always attended by a corresponding restriction in style and form, and we are prepared to find in Jonson's occasional verse a strong tendency to precise and pointed antithetical diction, and a somewhat conventionalized and restricted metrical form. If we will look at Jonson's prose we shall find other "notes" only less marked of the coming classical supremacy, in his slightly Latinized vocabulary and in his occasional preference for abstract over concrete expression.

Take the following from the *Discoveries*: "There is a difference between mooting and pleading; between fencing and fighting. To make arguments in my study and to confute them, is easy; where I answer myself, not an adversary. So I can see whole volumes despatched by the umbractical

¹Ben Jonson, *English Worthies*, p. 52.

doctors on all sides . . . but indeed I would no more choose a rhetorician for reigning in a school, than I would a pilot for rowing in a pond.”¹ And again: “When a virtuous man is raised, it brings gladness to his friends, grief to his enemies and glory to his posterity. Nay, his honors are a great part of the honor of the times; when by this means he is grown to active men an example, to the slothful a spur, to the envious a punishment.”²

Besides Jonson's several strictures on cross rimes, the stanzas of Spenser, the alexandrine of Drayton, English hexameters and sonnets, the very first entry of the *Conversations with Drummond* tells us of a projected epic with the added information “it is all in couplets for he detested all other rimes.”³ A little below Jonson tells of his having written against Campion's and Daniel's well-known treatises on versification to prove “couplets to be the bravest sort of verses, especially when they are broken like hexameters,” i. e., exhibit a regular caesural pause.⁴

The non-dramatic verse of Jonson was grouped by the author under the headings *Epigrams* and *The Forest*, both published in the Folio of 1616, and *Underwoods*, miscellaneous poems of the collected edition of 1640. Aside from his strictly lyrical verse in which Jonson shared the metrical inventiveness and variety of his age, the decasyllabic rimed couplet is all but his constant measure. For epistles, elegies, and epigrams, some two hundred poems, he seldom uses any other verse, and he employs this verse in translation and sometimes even for lyric purposes. In Jonson's hands the decasyllabic couplet became the habitual measure for occasional verse, and, sanctioned by his usage, remained such for a hundred and fifty years. But not only did Jonson's theory and practise coincide in his overwhelming preference

¹*Discoveries*, ed. Schelling, p. 16. Cf. also, “In her *indagations* often times new scents put her by, and she takes in *errors* into her by the same *conducts* she doth truths.”—*Ibid.*, p. 28.

²*Ibid.*, 42.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4, and 1.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 2.

for this particular form of verse, but the decasyllabic couplet as practised by Jonson exemplifies all the characteristics which, in greater emphasis, came in time to distinguish the manner and versification of Waller and Dryden. Moreover, the practice of no other poet exemplifies like characteristics to anything approaching the same extent until we pass beyond the accession of Charles I.

In an examination of the versification of several Elizabethan and later poets¹ for the purpose of establishing the

¹As to versification, the following passages have been considered as typical, one hundred lines in each case:

- 1591, Spenser: (a) *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, lines 1-100, Riv. Ed., p. 99.
 (b) " " " " 977-1077, p. 133.
- 1593, Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad I, lines 1-100, ed. Bohn, p. 157.
- 1598, Drayton, *Rosamond to Henry II, England's Heroical Epistles*, ed. Drayton, 1619, p. 105.
- 1600, Chapman, *Hero and Leander*, Sestiad VI, last 100 lines, as above, p. 226.
- 1603, Jonson: (a) *A Panegyry on the Happy entrance of James our Sovereign to his first high session of Parliment in this Kingdom*. Ed. 1640, i, 87.
- 1612 (b) *To Penshurst*, pr. in Fol. of 1616, ed. Bohn, p. 347.
- 1616 (c) The first XVII *Epigrams* and four lines of XVIII, excepting *Epig.* VIII, which is not in couplets, and *Epig.* XII, which has a peculiar movement, due to its subject, and is hence not a fair example, *ibid.*, pp. 283-88.
- 1623 (d) *An Execration on Vulcan*, p. 461.
- 1631 (e) *Elegy on Lady Winton*, p. 552.
- 1636, Sandys: (a) *Psalm LXXIII. Library of Old Authors, Sandys*, II, p. 204.
- 1638 (b) *Paraphrase upon the Book of Job*, *ibid.*, I, 1.
- 1641 (c) *Deo Optimo Maximo*, *ibid.*, II, 403.
- 1660, Waller: (a) *To the King*, ed. Drury, p. 163.
- 1678-80 (b) *On the Duke of Monmouth's Expedition*, 1678, 48 lines. *On the Earl of Roscommon's Translation of Horace*, 1680, 52 lines, ed. Drury, pp. 212 and 214.
- 1660, Dryden: (a) *Astraea Redux*, Globe ed., p. 8.
- 1687 (b) *Hind and the Panther*, *ib.*, p. 171.
- 1693 (c) *Epistle to Sir Godfrey Kneller*, *ib.*, p. 264.
- 1713, Pope: (a) *Windsor Forest*, Chandos ed., p. 95.
- 1732 (b) *Essay on Man*, *Epistle IV*, lines 19-110, *ibid.*, p. 218.

truth of this proposition, several things are to be noted. Spenser's use of the couplet, despite the early date of his only example (*Mother Hubbard's Tale*) and his conscious imitation in it of Chaucer, was found to stand as a very fair representative of the use of this metre by those who followed Spenser in other particulars of style and versification. Spenser's use of the couplet has therefore been employed as representative here. Thus although a certain rigidity of manner, that caused him all but to give up run-on couplets and lines, distinguishes the couplets of Drayton, and although Chapman shows a greater freedom and variety in the same respects, both these poets, with many others, their contemporaries, may be said to use the couplet in a manner in general resembling that of Spenser, and to group with him in not making a strong medial caesura a characteristic of their use of this verse. As we are not concerned with these poets in this discussion except so far as the determination that Spenser is representative of them, the figures which establish this point may be relegated to the note below.¹

In the case of Jonson a consideration of the length of his career and the variety of his practice demanded a wider range

¹This table may be compared with that of the text below, p. 238. The count is made upon the passages mentioned in the note preceding this, and the averages of Spenser and Sandys are repeated from the other table for convenience of comparison. It will be noted that Sandys corresponds to Drayton in his use of the continuous line, and to Marlowe in the frequency of the medial caesura, whilst his freedom in the run-on line exceeds even that of Chapman.

	SPENSER, 1591.	MARLOWE, 1593.	DRAYTON, 1598.	CHAPMAN, 1600.	SANDYS.
Run-on Couplets.....	5	2	1	12	5
Run-on Lines.....	19.5	11	4	23	22.6
Continuous Lines.....	59	51	46	55	47
Lines showing a Medial Caesura.....	35	40	44	38	40

from which to judge. The passages chosen range from 1603 to 1631, and include almost every species of poetry which Jonson wrote in this verse. Sandys exhibited an unexpected diversity of manner, although within a well defined range. The poem *Deo Optimo Maximo* is the only original poem of any length by Sandys: it has been considered with two translations. Lastly, the passages from Waller, Dryden, and Pope will be seen to take into consideration both the earlier and the later manner of each.

The points considered in this enquiry are (1) the number of the run-on couplets; (2) the number of run-on lines; (3) the character of the line as to internal caesura, especially in the contrast which exists between the continuous line (*i. e.*, one in which there is no internal caesura) and that exhibiting an internal caesura so placed as to produce the effect of splitting the line into two halves. This last results when the rhetorical pause occurs after the second stressed syllable or after either of the syllables following. This tendency to split the decasyllabic line into two is a notorious feature in the versification of the Popean School; as well as of Waller and Dryden. It is scarcely less marked in the verse of Jonson. The following table gives the average of all the passages examined and for each author:

	SPENSER, 1591.	SANDYS, 1636-1641.	JONSON, 1603-1631.	WALLER, 1660-1680.	DRYDEN, 1660-1687.	POPE, 1713-1732.
Run-on Couplets.....	5.	5.	4.4	3.5	.6	0.
Run-on Lines.....	19.5	22.6	21.8	12.5	7.6	5.5
Lines which show no Me- dial Caesura.....	59.	47.	26.	36.	36.3	21.
Lines showing a caesura after the fourth, fifth and sixth syllables.....	35.	40.	55.2	56.	53.	67.5
Lines showing a caesura after the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh sylla- bles.....	35.5	44.6	64.4	58.5	55.	71.

The following features appear :—

1. As to the run-on couplets, Jonson shows, with Sandys and Spenser, the earlier freedom, and shows it to about the same degree. But Waller shows it too, and his proportion in this respect (3.5) is far nearer to Jonson's (4.4) than to Dryden's (which is only .6). Pope gave up the run-on couplet. 2. As to run-on lines, Sandys exhibits a slightly larger proportion than Jonson or Spenser, but their averages (Spenser, 19.5, Sandys, 22.6, Jonson, 21.8) are substantially the same. It may be noted that Jonson's average in run-on couplets and verses falls in his *Epigrams* very nearly to that of Dryden in *The Hind and the Panther*; the former showing eleven run-on lines and the latter nine; both having two run-on couplets. But nearly the same is true of Sandys' *Paraphrase of the Psalm LXXIII*, in which there is but one run-on couplet and eleven run-on lines. On the other hand Sandys' freest verse in these respects, the *Paraphrase of Job*, surpasses the utmost freedom of Jonson. Thus as to run-on couplets and run-on lines, the test places Spenser, Sandys and Jonson in one group, with Waller and Jonson showing averages which dwindle to the stricter manner of Pope in these respects. It may be remarked in passing that it is a mistake to consider that the Elizabethans often practised the couplet with the freedom, not to say licence, that characterizes its nineteenth century use in the hands of such poets as Keats.

Now if these passages be considered with reference to the occurrence of a medial caesura and the contrasted non-occurrence of any caesura within the lines, they fall at once into two groups, (1) that of Spenser and Sandys, whose manner is continuous and whose use of the internal caesura is correspondingly infrequent;¹ and (2) that of Jonson, Waller, Dryden and Pope, whose manner is characterized by shorter clauses, inversions and interpolations, which breaks up continuity and prevailingly places the internal caesura within the range of the fourth and seventh syllables of the verse, posi-

¹See note above, p. 237.

tions which tend to break the verse into two halves. The proportion of lines in which no medial caesura occurs is largest in Spenser, 59 being the average; Sandys' average is 47. Sandys' *Paraphrase of Psalm LXXIII* shows the highest number of continuous lines, 63; Pope's *Essay on Man* the smallest, 17. Jonson's average is but 26, showing a smaller average number of continuous lines than either Waller or Dryden, and approaching Pope's average, which is but 21.

The proportion of lines, which show a rhetorical pause or caesura after the second accent, after the arsis of the third foot, and after the third accent, hence producing the general effect of cutting the verse into two halves, are smallest in Spenser and Sandys, their averages being respectively 35 and 40 to each 100 lines. In Jonson the average of these lines rises to 55.2, which is greater than Dryden's 53; and nearly that of Waller, 56. It is interesting to note that Jonson's fondness for a pause after the arsis of the fourth foot (seventh syllable of the verse), which is shared by Pope, brings the averages of these two, by including that caesura with the count already taken of the caesuras of the three preceding feet, up to 64.4 per cent. for Jonson and 71 per cent. for Pope. In the use of this feminine caesura and the corresponding caesura of the previous foot (that after the third arsis), Jonson's verse is more like that of Pope than is Dryden's, whose preference is for the masculine caesura, *i. e.*, that after an accented syllable. It is not in the least here assumed that the versification of Jonson, Dryden, and Pope is all reducible to a single definition; but it is claimed that the characteristics of the versification of Jonson's couplets are of the type which, developed through Dryden and Waller, led on logically to the culmination of that type in Pope; and that no possible development of the couplet of Sandys and Spenser could have led to a similar result.

Examination has been made into the versification of this group of poets, not because peculiar store is set upon such matters, but because of the mistakes which have arisen in

consequence of the *obiter dicta* of Dryden and of Pope. It was sufficient for the subsequent "historians" of English Literature to know that in the rough draft of an outline of the course of English literature, communicated by Pope to Warburton, and preserved by Ruffhead, the great poet made Sandys in his *Paraphrase of Job* one of the originals of Waller in versification; the thing is copied forever after.¹ More important is the classical manner with its crisp diction, its set figures, its parallel constructions, its contrasted clauses, its inversions. Without pursuing this subject into minute detail, the following passages may be well compared.

In 1660 Dryden wrote thus :

And welcome now, great monarch, to your own,
Behold th' approaching cliffs of Albion:
It is no longer motion cheats your view,
As you meet it, the land approacheth you.
The land returns, and in the white it wears,
The marks of patience and sorrow bears.
But you, whose goodness your descent doth show
Your heavenly parentage, and earthly too,
By that same mildness, which your father's crown
Before did ravish, shall secure your own.²

In obvious further development of the same manner, Pope writes some seventy-five years later :

To thee, the world its present homage pays,
The harvest early, but mature the praise;
Great friend of liberty! In kings a name
Above all Greek, above all Roman fame:
Whose word is truth, as sacred as revered
As heav'n's own oracles from altars heard.
Wonder of kings! like whom to mortal eyes
None e'er has risen, and none e'er shall rise.³

¹ See Ruffhead's *Life of Pope*, 1769, p. 410 *seq.*; also Pope, Amer. ed., 1854, i, clvi.

² *Astraea Redux*, Dryden, Globe ed., p. 14.

³ *First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, To Augustus*, 1737, Pope, Chandos ed., p. 313.

Sandys wrote as follows in 1638, the year after the death of Jonson :

The Muse, who from your influence took her birth,
First wandered through the many-peopled earth ;
Next sung the change of things, disclosed th' unknown,
Then to a nobler shape transformed her own ;
Fetched from Engaddi spice, from Jewry balm,
And bound her brows with Idumæan palm ;
Now old, hath her last voyage made, and brought
To royal harbor this her sacred fraught :
Who to her King bequeaths the wealth of Kings,
And dying, her own epicedium sings.¹

But Jonson had written thus, near the beginning of the reign of James :

Who would not be thy subject James, t' obey
A prince that rules by example more than sway ?
Whose manners draw more than thy powers constrain,
And in this short time of thy happiest reign,
Hast purged thy realms, as we have now no cause
Left us for fear, but first our crimes, then laws.
Like aids 'gainst treason who hath found before ?
And than in them how could we know God more ?
First thou preserv'd wert, our Lord to be,
And since, the whole land was preserv'd in thee.²

These four passages meet on the common ground of royal panegyric, and may be regarded as typical of the manner of each poet, and as abundantly upholding the conclusions already reached with respect to their versification.

If now we consider rhetorical structure and remember how true it is of the style of Pope that it is built upon antithesis and parallel construction, word against word, clause against clause, verse against verse, paragraph against paragraph, and what is more important, thought against thought, we shall find an interesting result. There is nothing antithetical in the prevailing style of Sandys, either in his translation—

¹ Dedication of *A Paraphrase upon Job*. Sandys, ed. *Library of Old Authors*, I, lxxix.

² *Epigram XXXV, To King James*, fol. 1641, I, p. 12.

except so far as Hebrew parallelism may easily account for it—or in his original verse. On the other hand Jonson knew the value of antithetical construction and used it with intelligence and frequency, though not, as did later writers, almost to the exclusion of all other rhetorical devices. In the passages from Dryden and Pope quoted above, this characteristic appears as prevailing in both poets; but the quotation from Jonson also exemplifies antithetical construction in all its subtlety. The *prince* and his *subject* are contrasted; the *prince rules*, the *subject obeys*. The prince rules by *example* more than by *sway*; his *manners draw* more than his *powers constrain*. The subject fears his own *crimes* more than the prince's *laws*; and in the end the prince is preserved to be king, and his subjects are preserved in him; which last antithesis involves "conceit" as it often continued to do in Dryden as witness "the approaching cliffs of Albion" in the passage cited above.

The epigram of Jonson to King James, from which the lines above are taken, was written in 1604. The Panegyric on the same Sovereign's accession, written in the previous year and the earliest extended piece of Jonson's writing in couplets, shows beyond any cavil the beginnings of those qualities which, developed, differentiate the couplet of Dryden and Pope from others' usage of the same measure, and it displays what is more important, a treatment and mode of dealing with material, a diction and style which equally determine its kinship.¹

¹ I add some typical instances of Jonson's use of this structure out of the scores that can be culled from his pages. These will be seen to involve nearly all the mannerisms afterwards carried to so artificial a degree of refinement by Pope himself, and to hinge, all of them, on a pointed, condensed and antithetical way of putting things.

Call'st a book *good* or *bad* as it doth sell. *Epigram* 3.

And I a *poet* here, no *herald* am. *Epig.* 8.

He that dares *damn* himself, dares more than *fight*. *Epig.* 16.

Blaspheme God greatly, or some *poor hind* beat. *Epig.* 28.

Look not upon thy *dangers*, but our *fears*. *Epig.* 51.

An examination of Jonson's use of the couplet through successive years exhibits less advance towards the later regularity than might have been supposed, and it can hardly be affirmed that Jonson was any more rhetorically constructive in his later writings than in those composed when his classical theories were new and strong upon him. We cannot expect the laws which govern organic growth to coincide with those controlling constructive ingenuity; a house is built, a tree grows, and the conscious and self-controlled development of such a man as Jonson is alien to the subtle and harmonious unfolding of a genius like Shakespeare's. What we do find in Jonson's use of the devices of the later classicists is a full recognition of their actual value, and an application of each to the special needs and requirements of the work which he may have in hand. Thus he employed the couplet for epigram and epistle alike, but used it with greater terseness and

At once thou *mak'st* me happy and *unmak'st*. *Epig.* 55.

And hoodwinked for a man, embrace a post. *Epig.* 58.

Active in's brains and *passive in his bones*. *Epig.* 68.

And no less *wise* than *skilfull* in the laws. *Epig.* 74, p. 21.

The *ports of Death* are *sins*, of *Life*, good deeds. *Epig.* 80, p. 23.

In making *thy friends books*, and *thy books friends*. *Epig.* 86, p. 24.

That dares not *write things false*, nor *hide things true*. *Epig.* 95.

And study *conscience* more than thou wouldst *fame*. *Epig.* 98.

Truth might spend all her voice, *fame* all her art. *Epig.* 106.

And first to know *thine own state*, then the *state's*. *Epig.* 109.

He *wrote* with the same spirit that he *fought*. *Epig.* 110.

They *murder* him again that *envy* thee. *Epig.* 111.

Til thou canst find the *best* choose the *least* ill. *Epig.* 119.

And in their error's *maze*, *thine own way* know,
Which is to live to *conscience* not to *show*. *Ibid.*

That strives his *manners* should precede his *wit*. *Epig.* 121, p. 39.

Outdance the *babion*, or outboast the *brave*. *Epig.* 130, p. 41.

Men *love* thee not for this, they *laugh* at thee. *Ibid.*

The *learned* have no more privilege than the *lay*. *Epig.* 132, p. 42.

For *fame* with breath soon *kindled*, soon *blown out*. *Ibid.*

In place of *scutcheons*, that should deck thy *hearse*,
Take better ornaments, my *tears* and *verse*. *Epig.* 27, p. 10.

more in accord with later usage in the former, feeling that fluency and a somewhat negligent manner at times were fitting to epistolary style. The latter can be found in any of the *Epistles*. No better specimen of Jonson's antithetical manner could be found than the fine epigram to Edward Allen:—

If Rome so great, and in her wisest age,
 Fear'd not to boast the glories of her stage,
 As skilful Roscius, and grave Æsop, men,
 Yet crown'd with honors, as with riches, then;
 Who had no less a trumpet of their name,
 Than Cicero, whose every breath was fame:
 How can so great example die in me,
 That, Allen, I should pause to publish thee?
 Who both their graces in thyself hast more
 Out-stript, than they did all that went before:
 And present worth in all dost so contract,
 As others speak, but only thou dost act.
 Wear this renown. 'Tis just, that who did give
 So many poets life, by one should live.¹

The liberality of Jonson's spirit, despite his own strong preferences, caused him likewise to admit into his practice

Believe it, Guilty, if you *lose your shame*,
 I'll *lose my modesty*, and tell your name. *Epig.* 38, p. 13.

That we *thy loss* might know, and thou *our love*,
 Great heav'n did *well*, to give *ill* fame free wing. *Epig.* 51, p. 15.

Nay ask you how the day goes in your ear
 Keep a star-chamber sentence close twelve days
 And *whisper* what a *proclamation* says. *Epig.* 92, p. 26.

It is the *fair acceptance*, Sir, creates
 The *entertainment* perfect, not the *cates*. *Epig.* 101, p. 30.

And did not shame it by our *actions* then
 No more than I dare now do with my *pen*. *Epig.* 108, p. 34.

Thou rather striv'st the matter to possess
 The *elements* of honor than the *dress*. *Epig.* 109, p. 34.

I modestly quit that, and think to write
 Next morn *an ode*; thou mak'st a *song* e'er night. *Epig.* 112, p. 35.

I pity thy ill luck
 That both for *wit* and *sense* so oft doth pluck. *Ibid.*

But *blood* not *minds*, but *minds* did *blood* adorn,
 And to *live great*, was better than *great born*. *Epig.* 116, p. 37.

Who sees a soul in such a body set
 Might love the treasure for the cabinet. *Epig.* 125, p. 39.

¹*Epigram LXXXIX*, fol. 1640, 1, p. 25.

forms which theoretically he disapproved. He had the sanction of Catullus and Tibullus for his lyrics, but he even stooped to write a few sonnets, to bits of pastoral in the prevailing mode like a *Nymph's Passion*, and to *concetti* after the manner of the Marinists, like the dainty trifle, *That Women are but Men's Shadows*. This eclecticism of practice in the great classical theorist combined with the strong influence of Donne's subtle novelty of treatment and the older romantic influence of Spenser, perpetuated in men like Drayton, Drummond and the later Spenserians, delayed the incoming tide of classicism, which setting in, none the less, about the time of the accession of Charles I, became the chief current until after the Restoration, and reached its full when Milton, the last of the Elizabethans, died.

Nothing could more strongly exemplify this eclecticism in the practice of Jonson than the fact that two such diverse men as Robert Herrick and Edmund Waller were alike his poetical "sons." Herrick, the man, has a naïve and engaging personality, which is choice, though not more sterling than the solid worth of Ben Jonson himself; whilst the frank Paganism of Herrick, the poet, and his joy in the fleeting beauties of nature are things apart from Jonson's courtly and prevailingly ethical appraisalment of the world. Notwithstanding, Herrick had his priceless lyrical gift of Jonson, though he surpassed his master in it. Unhappily for his fame, he inherited also Jonson's occasional grossness of thought, his fondness for the obscenities of Martial, and he surpassed his master in this as well. Waller's debt to Jonson is also two-fold: in the lyric, which he impoverished and conventionalized, and in occasional verse, for which he possessed a peculiar talent, and which he freed of the weight of Jonson's learning, his moral earnestness and strenuousness of style, codifying the result into a system which was to give laws to generations of poets to come. Waller was a man, the essence of whose character was time-serving, to whom ideals were nothing, but to whom immediate worldly success, whether in

social life or letters, was much ; a man whose very unoriginality and easy adaptability made him precisely the person to fill what Mr. Gosse deftly calls the post of "Coryphaeus of the long procession of the commonplace." The instinct of his followers was right in singling Waller out for that position of historical eminence, not because, as a boy, he sat down and deliberately resolved on a new species of poetry, but because he chose out with unerring precision just those qualities of thought, form and diction which appealed to the people of his age, and wrote and re-wrote his poetry in conformity therewith. In Carew, Waller found the quintessence of *vers de société*, and "reformed" it of its excessive laces and falling-bands to congruity with the greater formality which governed the costume of the succeeding century. Lastly, in Jonson he found an increasing love of that regularity of rhythm which results from a general correspondence of length of phrase with length of measure, amongst much with which he was in little sympathy, a minute attention to the niceties of expression, a kind of spruce antithetical diction, and a versification of a constructiveness suited to the epigrammatic form in which the thought was often cast. In Sandys, Fairfax, Drummond and some others, he found a smoothness and sweetness of diction, in which these poets departed measurably from their immediate contemporaries and preserved something of the mellifluousness of the Spenserians. With almost feminine tact Waller applied these things to his unoriginal but carefully chosen subject-matter, and in their union wrought his success.

The real value of the following age of repression consisted in its recognition of the place that the understanding must hold—not only in the production of prose—but in the production of every form of enduring art. It endeavored to establish a standard by which to judge, and failed, less because of the inherent weakness of the restrictive ideal, than because the very excess of the imaginative age preceding drove the classicists to a greater recoil and made them

content with the correction of abuse instead of solicitous to found their reaction upon a sure foundation. The essential cause of this great change in the literature of England, above all question of foreign origin, precocious inventiveness of individual poets, artificial and "classical heroic couplets," lies in the gradual increase of the understanding as a regulative force in the newer literature, the consequent rise of a well-ordered prose, and the equally consequent suppression for several decades of that free play of the imagination which is the vitalizing atmosphere of poetry.

Making due allowance for the existence of many concurrent forces, English and foreign, which made for the coming age of repression, but which it is not within the province of this paper to discuss, it has been the endeavor of this enquiry to establish the following points:—

1. That the position of Ben Jonson was such as to give a sanction and authority to his opinions and practise above any man of his age.

2. That Jonson's theories were those of the classicist from the first, though put forward and defended with a liberality of spirit and a sense of the need of the adaptation of ancient canons of art to changed English conditions, that warrant the use of the term, assimilative classicism, as applied to these theories.

3. That the practice of Jonson as exemplified in his works exhibits all the "notes" of this assimilative classicism; amongst them *in subject*, a preference for applied poetry over pure poetry, as exemplified in his liking for satire, epigram, translation and occasional verse; *in treatment*, a sense of design and construction, repressiveness and selectiveness, a feeling for brevity and condensity, a sense of finish, and the allusiveness of the scholar; *in diction*, qualities distinctive of the coming "classical" age, such as care in the choice of words, a slightly Latinized vocabulary, the employment of a spruce, antithetical style, and the use of parallel construction and epigram; *in versification*, a preference for the decasyllabic

couplet and the writing of it in a manner, which is distinguishable from the continuous manner of Spenser, but which contains all the distinctive characteristics which, developed, led on to the later use of this measure by Waller, Dryden and Pope.

4. That these theories and practices of Jonson are traceable in his work from the first, and in their range, consistency, and intensity antedate similar theories and practise in the works of any other English writer.

From all this is derived the conclusion that there is not a trait which came to prevail in the poetry of the new classic school as practised by Waller and Dryden, and later by Pope, which is not directly traceable to the influence or to the example of Ben Jonson. We cannot but view with renewed respect a genius so overmastering that it became not only the arbiter of its own age, but gave laws which afforded sanction and precedent to generations of successors.

FELIX E. SCHELLING.

VII.—THE EARLIEST POEMS OF WILHELM MÜLLER.

In the summer of 1814 a group of young men who had known each other in the campaigns of the War of Liberation formed a literary circle in Berlin. They were Count von Kalckreuth, Count von Blankensee, and Wilhelm Hensel (later the celebrated painter who married Fanny Mendelssohn). They soon drew into their group two kindred spirits, Wilhelm von Studnitz and Wilhelm Müller. Müller was the youngest, but was recognized as having the choicest talents, and he became the leader of the group, which was held together by the strong bonds of personal friendship and a common love of poetry. In 1815 they published a volume of their united poems under the title "*Bundesblüthen*," which contains the first fruits of Müller's gifts.¹ A somewhat extended search through university libraries in Germany failed to disclose the book, and on going to Berlin I was disappointed that it was not entered among Müller's works in the catalogue of the Royal Library. One day while reading the book-titles under the numerous "*Wilhelm Müllers*" who occur in that catalogue, I found a cross-reference to the book among the works of quite a different individual. The volume is dated "Berlin 1816. In der Maurerschen Buchhandlung." I later found another copy (preserving the original cover of blue paper) in the British Museum. Müller's contributions include 20 titles, as follows :

1. *An die Leser*, 173.
2. *Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht*, 174.
3. *Erinnerung und Hoffnung*, 176.
4. *Leichenstein meines Freundes Ludwig Bornemann*, 179.
5. *Dithyramb. Geschrieben in der Neujahrsnacht 1813*, 183.

¹*Gedichte*, ed. Max Müller, I, xviii.

6. *Die zerbrochene Zither. Romanze*, 190.
7. *Der Verbannte. Romanze*, 193.
8. *Der Ritter und die Dirne. Romanze*, 195.
9. *Die Blutbecher. Romanze*, 199.
10. *Das Band. Romanze*, 203.
11. *Ständchen*, 205.
12. *Der Kuss*,¹ 207.
13. *Der Zephyr*,² 207.
14. *Die erste Rose*, 208.
15. *Die letzte Rose*, 208.
16. *Mailiedchen*, 209.
17. *Amors Triumph*, 210.
18. *Weckt sie nicht*, 211.
19. *Ihr Schlummer*,³ 212.
20. Epigramme :
 1. *Weihe*, 213.
 2. *Amor und die Muse*, 213.
 3. *Lenz und Amor*, 213.
 4. *Mars und Amor*, 214.
 5. *Apollo als Schäfer*, 215.
 6. *Gruss des Winters*, 215.
 7. *Auf einen Sternseher*, 217.
 8. *Auf den Dichter Krispin*, 217.
 - 9.-18. *Auf denselben*, 217-220.

An die Leser.

Empfangt im leichten Liederkleide
 Mich wie ich war und wie ich bin !

¹ Reprinted, *Gedichte*, I, 151. *Bundesblüthen*, l. 1 reads: "Ich küsste einst Amandens Mund." In l. 7 occurs "Verschen" for "Verse."

² *Gedichte*, I, 154. *Bundesblüthen*, l. 3: "Ein Rosenblatt mein Hochzeitbett." L. 4: "wenn" for "wann." L. 5: "Frühling" for "Lenze."

³ *Gedichte*, I, 170, under the title, "Die Schlummernde." *Bundesblüthen*, l. 1: "Amanda" for "mein Mädchen." L. 2: "ihrer" for "einer." L. 14: "hingst du da" for "hingest du."

Sich zeigen, ist des Dichters Freude,
Aufrichtig heizt des Deutschen Sinn :
Drum wollt' ich Nichts vor euch verhehlen,
Ihr mögt nun selbst das Beste wählen.

Was ich geirrt im Sang und Leben,
Nehmts nicht zu hoch dem Jüngling auf:
Eu'r Beifall muss ihm Schwingen geben,
Soll er zu bess'rem Ziel hinauf.
Mag sie auch wenig Duft versprechen,
Wollt nicht zu schnell die Knospe brechen !

So wie die Nacht den Tag entzündet,
Blüht Freiheitslust aus Sklavenharm :
Das Herz, das nimmer menschlich sündet,
Schlägt auch für Göttliches nicht warm,
Und wer kein falsches Wort gesungen,
Dem ist auch Schönes nie gelungen.

Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht.

Frisch auf ! Dort steigt der Morgenstern :
Ihr Brüder, zieht das Schwert !
Der erste Kampf ist nicht mehr fern
Für Vaterland und Heerd.

Ein Danklied sey dem Herrn gebracht
Für dieses Tageslicht :
Und folgt ihm auch die lange Nacht,
Nach Morgen bangt uns nicht.

Wer heute lebt, der lebt genug,
Ein Tag wiegt Jahre auf :
Messt nicht nach leerer Stunden Flug
Des Kriegers Lebenslauf !

Seht ! Herrmanns Riesenschatten stieg
 Herab vom Wolkensaal :
 Er trägt die Seele nach dem Sieg
 Zu seinem Heldenmahl.

Aus Franzenschädeln trinken wir
 Dort unsern deutschen Trank
 Und feiern Wilhelms Siegeszier
 Mit altem Bardensang.

Was zeigst du uns dein Sklavenband
 Und den gestürzten Thron ?
 Frei wirst du, liebes Vaterland,
 Frei bist du heute schon.

Mit Kränzen ist dein Haupt geschmückt,
 Mit Eichenlaub dein Thron :
 Denn wer gen Himmel gläubig blickt,
 Siegt vor dem Kampfe schon.

O seht, er braust voll Lust empor
 Der graue Vater Rhein,
 Er streckt nach uns die Arme vor
 Und will entfesselt seyn.

Die Mädchen flechten manchen Kranz
 Und flechten Thränen ein :
 So ziert die Stirn kein goldner Glanz :
 Wer kann da feige seyn ?

Frisch auf zum Streite, Rosz und Mann !
 Die Schlachttrommete klingt.
 Uns führen gute Engel an :
 Drum, Brüder, kämpft und singt !

Gott hat uns seinen Blitz geliehn,
 Wir halten sein Gericht.

Seht, wie die Sünderheerden fliehn,
Vor unsrem Rachelicht !

Gleich Todesengeln folgen wir
Mit flammenrothem Schwerdt,
Bis durch die offne Höllenthür
Die Höllenrotte fährt.

Erinnerung und Hoffnung.

*Nach dem Rückzug über die Elbe
im Mai 1813.*

Wie manche stille Mitternacht,
Wann Freund' und Feinde schlafen,
Hast schon, mein armes Herz, durchwacht !
Will Gott die Sehnsucht strafen ?
Muszt fühllos wie dein Panzer seyn,
Soll dich des Schlummers Trost erfreun.

Nein, Schlummer, nein, um diesen Preis
Will ich dich nicht erkaufen.
Herab, du schweres Panzereis !
Frei soll die Thräne laufen.
Der Flamberg sieht sie heute nicht :
Mein Zelt belauscht nur Mondes Licht.

Erinn'ung, komm, du treue Maid,
Mit deinen welken Rosen :
In bitttrer Lust, in süßem Leid,
Lass uns ein Weilchen kosen !
Wie strahlt so hold dein nasser Blick
Mein Lebensparadies zurück !

Noch einmal will ich mich ergehn
In seinem Sonnenscheine,
Auf seinem stolzen Wolkenhöhn,
In seinem Rosenhaine.

Ihr lieben Herzensblumen dort,
Lebt alle frisch und fröhlich fort!

Ach, werd' ich einst euch wiedersehn
Und euren Dank gewinnen,
Wann rings die Flammenzeichen wehn
Von Deutschlands freien Zinnen?
O sagt da droben mir kein Stern:
Bleibt dieser Tag denn ewig fern?

Auf, auf! Aus der Verzagung Staub,
Mein Herz, empor dich ringe!
Es rauscht, als ob sich frisches Laub
Um meine Locken schlinge:
Die heisze Thräne selber lacht
Und helle wird die Mitternacht.

Willkommen, Hermanns Eichenhain!
Willkommen, Bardenreigen!
O seht, wie sich die Mädchen freun,
Wenn wir die Narben zeigen!
Wem hier das Schwerdt nicht rosig glänzt,
Der wird von keiner Ros' umkränzt.

Und klingen hör' ich deutschen Sang
In reinen Väterweisen
Und Minneglück und Waffenklang
Und Gott und König preisen
An meine Brust auch pocht es an:
Ich bin ja noch ein freier Mann!

Ha, wie bei diesem stolzen Wort
Die bangen Thränen schweigen
Und wie im niedren Lagerort
Die Marmorsäulen steigen:
Zu Seid' und Purpur wird die Streu:
Ich lieg' auf deutscher Erde frei!

Und dieser Trunk vom Wiesenquell,
Er schmeckt wie Wodans Becher.
Lass blinken dort die Flaschen hell!
Es sind doch Slavenzecher.
O trinkt uns keinen deutschen Wein:
Der musz zum Freiheitsfeste seyn!

Die edlen Rosse wiehern schon,
Es steigt die Morgensonne.
Ich küss' dich, treuer Eisensohn,
Du blanke Reuterwonne!
Blast, blast, auf dasz ich schlagen kann,
Mit Kettenbrut ein freier Mann!

Leichenstein meines Freundes Ludwig Bornemann.

Noch einmal heut zu Rosse!
Die Fahrt ist Reitens werth.
Umschling mich, Kampfgenosse,
Du treues Reuterschwerdt!

Ich will nicht mit dir scherzen
In lust'ger Friedenszeit,
Will nicht aus schwerem Herzen
Mir tummeln Minneleid.

Heim muss die Freude bleiben,
Nur Thränen nehm' ich mit:
Doch Ritterschmerzen treiben
Zum ritterlichen Ritt.

Ich will nach einem Hügel,
Wo Freundes Asche ruht:
Drum frisch nun in die Bügel!
Für Deutschland flosz sein Blut.

Budissin, Stadt des Blutes,
 Blickst mich so finster an :
 Du Grab des Brennenmuthes,
 Grab meines Bornemann !

Hier will ich niedersteigen,
 Ein frommer Pilgersmann,
 Und in das Gras mich neigen,
 Wo solch ein Born verrann.

Aus ihm hab' ich genossen
 Des Lebens bestes Gut,
 Aus ihm ist mir geflossen
 Der heil'ge Kriegesmuth.

Er thät mein Herz erwärmen
 Der Lieb' und dem Gesang,
 Er liesz mich Kränze schwärmen,
 Als Wilhelms Ruf erklang.

Da sind wir ausgeritten
 Wohl mit der ersten Schaar
 Und haben froh gestritten,
 Ein brüderliches Paar.

Und haben gern getheilet
 Des Krieges Lust und Leid
 Und Seel' und Leib geheilet
 Mit frischem Liederstreit.

Herr Zebaoth der Schlachten,
 Gelobt dein Name sey !
 Nach Freiheit stand sein Trachten,
 Da machtest du ihn frei.

Doch ach, warum mich lassen
 Im wilden Kampf allein ?

Mit ihm sah ich erblassen
Das beste Leben mein.

Die Blüthe ist gefallen :
Was soll der dürre Zweig ?
Doch so hats Gott gefallen
Und weis' ist Gottes Reich.

Was noch mein Schwerdt geschlagen,
O Freund, nach deinem Tod ?
Woll' mich danach nicht fragen :
Die Frage macht mich roth.

Ich hab' es nur geschwungen
In kalter Kriegespflicht,
Hab' nimmermehr gesungen
Ein frohes Siegsgeidicht.

Und als wir ausgestritten
Der Freiheit letzte Schlacht,
Da hab' ich viel gelitten
Von Satans Uebermacht.

Wohl hab' ich schnell zerbrochen
Sein eisenfestes Band,
Doch hat sich schwer gerochen
An mir die Gotteshand.

Und was ich jetzt noch habe
Des Guten im Gesang,
Ist nur aus deinem Grabe
Ein ferner Wiederklang.

Du hast mich auch gelehret
Diesz Lied so treu und rein,
Drum sey es dir verehret
Zum frommen Leichenstein.

*Dithyramb.**Geschrieben in der Neujahrsnacht 1813.*

Willkommen, willkommen,
 Strahlende Jungfrau,
 Sonne des neuen
 Dämmernden Morgens !
 Lebt wohl, lebt wohl,
 Ihr grauen Freunde,
 Stunden des alten
 Sinkenden Jahrs !
 Beim Becherklang
 Will ich die Hand euch
 Reichen zum Abschied.
 Opfer des Danks,
 Strömende Thränen
 Giesz' ich in eure
 Nächtliche Gruft.
 Lebt wohl, lebt wohl,
 Ihr grauen Häupter !
 Aber mit jungen
 Blühenden Zügen
 Hat die Erinn'ung
 In meine Seele
 Eu'r Bild gemahlt.
 Lebt wohl, lebt wohl !
 Für eure Freuden,
 Für eure Leiden,
 Strömende Thränen
 Opfer des Danks !

Willkommen, willkommen,
 Strahlende Jungfrau,
 Sonne des neuen
 Dämmernden Jahrs !

Du lüftest leise
Den tiefsten Saum
Des dunkeln Mantels,
Der von den Sohlen
Bis zu den Locken
Den Leib ihm deckt.
Aber mit bunten
Blumen und Bändern
Und mit des Lorbeers
Prangendem Grün
Schmückt sich der Sterbliche
Wachend und träumend
Rings das geheime
Heil'ge Gewand.
Und lächelnd streckt er
Die Arme aus,
Nach seinen Blumen
Und seinen Flittern
Voll Sehnsucht aus.
Du wall'st ihm entgegen
Eine herrliche Braut;
Es führt die Hoffnung,
Sein dienend Weib,
Die Schönbekränzte
Ihm in den Arm.
Wehe, da heben sich Stürme auf Stürme,
Morgen und Abend erwachen zum Krieg:
Vom Himmel zucken
Kreuzende Flammen,
Vom Himmel brüllen
Zerrissene Wolken.
Die schöne Braut
Steht ohne Kranz,
Steht ohne Duft,
Vom Sturm entlaubt.
Es bebt zurück

Der Bräutigam,
 Die Hoffnung flieht
 Mit ihrem Schmuck,
 Der Schleier hebt
 Sich seufzend auf
 Und kalt und nackt
 Und dürr und bleich
 Reicht ihm die Hand
 Die Gegenwart.

Willkommen, willkommen,
 Strahlende Jungfrau,
 Sonne des neuen
 Dämmernden Jahrs !

Was du auch spendest,
 Was du auch raubst,
 Mit stummer Ergebung
 Neig' ich mein Haupt
 Und küsse die Hand,
 Die giebt und nimmt.
 Was auch die volle
 Schäumende Schaale
 Der Zukunft birgt,
 Mit bittern Tropfen
 Würz' ich den Honig
 Und dankend schlürf' ich
 Den Lebenstrank.
 Armer Geborner,
 Nichts hast du weiter
 Als diesen Tropfen,
 Nichts Andres nenne
 Dein Eigenthum !
 Er strömt hinüber
 Mit schnellem Sturz
 Aus den Bergen der Zukunft

In deine Tiefen,
Vergangenheit !
O schlürf' ihn gierig,
Den schnellen Tropfen,
Armer Geborner,
Dein Eigenthum !
Hat dir die Zukunft
Etwas verpfändet,
Hast du mit Schwüren
Auf deinen Scheitel
Dir angekettet
Die Spenderinn ?
Und was die andre
Gierige Schwester
In ihre vollen
Glänzenden Kammern
Hinunterschlang,
Das hält sie fest
Mit Adlerklauen
Und giebt es nimmer
Und nimmer wieder.
O schlürf' ihn gierig
Den schnellen Tropfen,
Armer Geborner,
Dein Eigenthum !

Willkommen, willkommen,
Strahlende Jungfrau,
Sonne des neuen
Dämmernden Jahrs !

Dein Auge lacht
Mich freundlich an
Und bunt umschwebt
Dich Festgesang.
Mit diesem Blicke,

Mit diesem Liede,
So gieb mir einst
Den Abschiedskusz !
Mit Unglück schwanger
Geht Erdenglück :
Keinen zu preisen,
Bis er am Grabe steht,
Lehren uns alte
Heilige Sprüche.
Wir schwingen die Becher
Voll Nektarduft,
Die Schläf' umkränzt
Mit frischem Grün :
Doch vor der tobenden Pforte lauscht,
Am hocherhellten Fenster schleicht
Das Unglück umher
Und wetzt sein Schwerdt,
Das blutige,
An unsrer Lust.
Und Arm in Arm
Schreitet der dürre
Schwinger der Sense
Mit ihm daher.
Wenn uns des Mittags
Lichteste Strahlen
Schmeichelnd umglühn,
Siehe, dann thürmen
Drohende Wolken
Schon an des Himmels
Saume sich auf.
So saugt das Verderben
Sich aus der Sonne
Des goldnen Glücks,
Sich aus dem Monde
Der stillen Wonne
Markige Säfte

In seine langen
Eisernen Arme
Zum Meisterstreich.

Willkommen, willkommen,
Strahlende Jungfrau,
Sonne des neuen
Dämmernden Jahrs !

Die zerbrochene Zither.

Romanze.

“Leb wohl, leb wohl, Geliebte mein,
“Und zügle deinen Schmerz !
“Ich darf nicht länger bei dir seyn
“Und bräch’ mir auch das Herz.

“Der König ruft : Wer zieht mit mir ?
“Wie blieb’ ich da zurück !
“Verwahre meine Zither hier :
“Ihr dank’ ich all mein Glück.”

Die Trommel klang, das Jagdhorn rief,
Der Jüngling risz sich los,
Und manche heisse Thräne lief
Herab auf sein Geschosz.

Da zog er hin in bittrem Harm,
Das Herz von Seufzern voll,
Bis in dem wilden Kriegesschwarm
Sein Klagelied verscholl.

Maria ! rief er und sein Speer
Ward roth vom ersten Blut :
Geliebte, sey mir Schild und Wehr
Und stärke meinen Muth !

Und also schlug er manche Schlacht
Für Gott und Vaterland,
Doch manche frohe Siegesnacht
Ihn ohne Jubel fand.

Denn ach, sein Liebchen schreibt ihm nicht
Sechs volle Monde lang
Und dreimal schon im Traumgesicht
Umseufzt ihm Grabgesang.

Bald krönt' uns Gott mit Siegesglück
Und Deutschland wurde frei:
Da sprach der König: Kehrt zurück!
Das Kriegen ist vorbei.

Der Jäger schwang sich auf sein Rosz
Und trabte Tag und Nacht,
Dasz Schweisz von Thier und Reuter flosz,
Bis es ihn heimgebracht.

Schon blickt sein Thurm ihn freundlich an
Und jeder Giebel winkt,
Da spornt er wild den Renner an,
Dass er zu Boden sinkt.

Er läuft zu Fusz zum Thor herein
Und klopft an Liebchens Haus:
Da ist Gesang und Tanz und Wein,
Als wär' ein Freudenschmaus.

“Herab, herab, Geliebte mein!
“Dein Bräutigam ist hier.
“Er kehrt aus Frankreich, dich zu frein:
“Komm, öffne ihm die Thür!”

Auf einmal wird sein Herz so schwer,
Er weisz nicht, was es will,

Und ängstlich blickt er hin und her :
Da wird's im Hause still.

Und nur in Liebchens Kämmerlein
Ist noch ein schwaches Licht :
Den Jüngling stärkt sein trauter Schein
Mit frischer Zuversicht.

Horch, horch, die Sehnsucht ist am Ziel !
Das helle Fenster klingt !
Da fliegt herab sein Saitenspiel
Und fällt und seufzt und springt.

Der Jüngling hört den Todesklang
Und singt der Zither nach :
Da ward er bleich, sein Odem sank
Und seine Seele brach.

Der Verbannte.

Romanze.

Jüngst zog ein Ritter übern Rhein :
Er kam aus wälschen Landen,
Wo lang ein holdes Mädelein
Ihn hielt an Minnebanden.
Doch leicht ist wälsches Weiberblut :
Drum klagt des deutschen Ritters Muth.

“Willkommen, liebes Vaterland !
“Wirst du dem Sohn vergeben,
“Der dich um fremden Liebestand
“Gern hätte hingegeben ?
“Nun liegt ein Andrer ihr im Arm,
“Doch du bist ewig fest und warm !

“Bleib drüben, fremder Minneschmerz,
“An deinem fremden Strande!
“Schlag deutsch und frei, mein armes Herz,
“Im freien deutschen Lande!
“Und willst du gern in Fesseln seyn,
“Hier sind die Mädchen treu und rein.

“Herr Wirth, gebt mir ein Fläschchen Wein
“Von euren besten Reben!
“Es heisst ja hier: der Vater Rhein
“Soll Trost im Kummer geben.
“So schenkt mir nun den Becher voll,
“Denn mir ist heut das Herz nicht wohl.”

Er trinkt den grünen Römer aus,
Doch will er ihm nicht munden:
“Habt ihr nicht bessern Wein zu Haus,
“Herr Wirth, für eure Kunden?”
““Herr, bessern gab's auf Erden nicht,
““So lang' am Rhein man Trauben bricht.””

“O weh, will denn kein deutscher Wein
“Das Herz mir mehr erquicken?
“Kann mich kein Mädchenaug' erfreun
“Mit deutschen Liebesblicken?
“Fremd musz ich seyn im Vaterhaus:
“Ich bannte mich ja selbst hinaus.

“Wohl fällt mir jetzt ein Leidchen ein,
“Das ich dort einst gesungen:
“Es fällt aufs Herz mir schwer wie Stein
“Und brennt auf meiner Zungen:
““Feinliebchen, deine weisse Hand
““Ist Vater mir und Vaterland!””

“Nun irr' ich in der Welt umher,
“Hab's Irren mir erkoren.

“Doch Heimweh drückt mein Herz so schwer:

“Es hat sein Land verloren.

“O zeigt kein Wanderer ihm die Bahn,

“Auf der es Ruhe finden kann?”

Der Ritter und die Dirne.

Romanze.

Ein Ritter klopft um Mitternacht

An Gretchens Fensterlein :

Das Dirnenbild vom Schlaf erwacht

Und läßt ihn zitternd ein.

Der Fremdling tritt ins Kämmerlein,

Als wär' er wohl bekannt :

Alsbald erlischt der Lampe Schein

Von unsichtbarer Hand.

Laszt mich mein Lämpchen zünden an,

Herr Ritter, spricht die Maid :

Ihr seyd ein gar zu wilder Mann

Und grausig ist eu'r Kleid.

“Wozu die Lampe, Dirne fein?”

Der schwarze Ritter spricht :

“Will sanfter als ein Lämmlein seyn :

“Die Minne braucht kein Licht.”

Horcht, Ritter, horcht, die Eulen schrein !

Mir wird das Herz so bang.

Ich bin im weiten Haus allein

Und Nacht ist noch so lang.

“Hast ja im Arm den Buhlen dein,

“Der kürzt dir diese Nacht:

“Bist nicht im weiten Haus allein :

“Die ew'ge Rache wacht.”

Ach, Rittersmann, ihr seyd so kalt
 Wie Wilhelms Grabesnacht!
 Ich schreie Feuer und Gewalt:
 Ihr kommt aus Satans Macht.

“Recht, Dirne, recht! Du trafst das Wort:
 “Ich komm’ aus Satans Macht,
 “Und mit mir musz mein Gretchen fort:
 “Das Brautbett ist gemacht.”

Ach, heilger Christ, errette mich!
 Du böser Geist, lass ab!
 Gern, Wilhelm, gern umarmt’ ich dich,
 Doch fürcht’ ich sehr das Grab.

Warum denn, wilder Rittersmann,
 Hast gleich dich umgebracht?
 Mein Herz ja Zwei wohl minnen kann
 Mit heisser Liebesmacht!

Ach, tief hat mich dein Tod betrübt,
 Viel Thränen weint’ ich dir,
 Und wenn auch du mich einst geliebt,
 So hebe dich von hier.

“Darf dich nicht lassen, schöne Maid,
 “Musz holen Herz und Hand,
 “Die du mir gabst in alter Zeit
 “Mit Schwur und Liebespfand.

“Und an den Schwüren halt’ ich dich
 “Und ziehe dich hinab:
 “Drum, süsze Brant, umarme mich!
 “Die Hähne rufen ab.

“Mit diesem Kusz ich dich verzeih’,
 “Was Mensch verzeihen kann:

“Der Kusz macht meine Seele frei
“Vom schweren Sündenbann.

“Dich richte Gott an jenem Ort
“Mit mildem Vatersinn!
“Ich hab’ gebüsz’t den grimmen Mord
“Im Blut der Mörderinn.”

Die Hähne kräh’n zum dritten Mal,
Der Geist riecht Morgenduft,
Und mit der todten Maid zumal
Hinfliegt er durch die Luft.

Ein Wächter sah’ das Wunder an,
Der hats auch mir erzählt
Und, weil das Märlein frommen kann,
Hab’ ich es nicht verhehlt.

Wohl mancher ferne Wanderer fragt
Noch nach der schönen Maid,
Doch hat kein Herz sie je beklagt
Und Thränen ihr geweiht.

Und in dem Haus, seit jener Nacht,
Da wohnt kein guter Christ,
Denn, ob auch Mancher drüber lacht,
Der Ort nicht heimlich ist.

Die Blutbecher.

Romanze.

“Auf, auf, ihr edlen Frauen,
“Ihr Recken allzumal!
“Der König thut euch laden
“Zu seinem Hochzeitmal.

"Heut ist er heimgekehret
 "Vom fernen Frankenland,
 "Allwo er sich errungen
 "Des reichsten Fräuleins Hand.

"Und mit sich auf dem Schiffe
 "Bracht' er die holde Maid :
 "Der will er morgen schwören
 "Der Ehe heil'gen Eid."

So scholl des Herolds Stimme
 Durch Schottlands Felsengaun :
 Da strömten zu dem Feste
 Die Ritter und die Frau.

Auf seinem goldnen Throne
 Strahlt Edgars Königsmacht,
 Noch heller ihm zur Rechten
 Des Fräuleins Minnepracht.

Und alle Gäste neigen
 Sich vor der fremden Maid :
 Doch nährt wohl mancher Busen
 Ihr heissen Liebesneid.

Denn in den Frauenherzen
 Wie in der Männerschlacht
 Hat Edgar stets gewaltet
 Mit gleicher Herrschermacht.

"Ihr Schenken, füllt die Becher
 "Mit goldnem Frankenwein !
 "Der hohen Frankenfraue
 "Woll'n wir den ersten weihn.

"Gott segne uns den König,
 "Gott uns die Königin

“Und lasse lang sie herrschen
“Nach seinem heil’gen Sinn!”

Da klingen alle Becher,
Das Brautpaar sich verneigt:
Und schnell empor zum Himmel
Der laute Jubel steigt.

Was bebt am Mund der Becher?
Hat sie ein Blitz gerührt?
Voll Grausen jedes Auge
Nur nach dem Throne stiert.

Denn sieh, in Brautpaars Bechern
Rinnt purpurhelles Blut,
Das Fräulein sinkt zu Boden,
Der König hält den Muth.

“Den Streich hat mir gespielt
“Ein arger Zauberer:
“Bringt schnell zwei frische Becher
“Dem Königspaare her!”

Der Schenk mit klarem Golde
Zwei neue Becher füllt:
Der König faszt sie beide
Und Blut in Beiden quillt.

Da rafft aus ihrem Taumel
Die Frankinn sich empor:
“Wohl kenn’ ich diese Tropfen,
“Die ihr mir setzt vor.

“Es sind die Herzenstropfen
“Von zweien Brüdern mein:
“Die senden diese Becher
“Zur Mitgift uns herein.

"Sie senden sie herüber
 "Wohl über's weite Meer :
 "Dort liegen sie am Ufer,
 "Durchbohrt vom Schottenspeer.

"Auf, Edgar, laß uns trinken
 "Den Trank, den sie geschickt !
 "Gar freundlich dieser Becher
 "Zu mir herüberblickt.

"Vergebung und Vergessen
 "In dieser Quelle flieszt,
 "Und ist sie ausgeleeret,
 "Ist auch der Mord gebüszet."

Der König unerschrocken
 Die Schreckensrede hört,
 Doch ernst und stumm zu schauen
 Und tief ins Herz gekehrt.

Und als sie ausgesprochen,
 Umarmt er seine Braut,
 Wie Gatten sich umarmen
 Im letzten Scheidelaut.

Und Arm in Arm sie heben
 Die Becher blutigroth
 Und stürzen sie herunter :
 Da lagen Beide todt.

Flugs liefen aus dem Hause
 Die Gäst' und Diener fort :
 Kein Fusz wollt' mehr betreten
 Den blut'gen Schreckensort.

Und wer das Paar begraben,
 Verschweigt die Kunde mein,

Wohin die Seelen kommen,
Weisz Gottes Gnad' allein.

Das Band.

Romanze.

“Was suchst du, Schäfer, hier so spät
“Im dunkeln Ulmenhain?
“Lass deinen Gram und komm mit mir
“Zum frohen Abendreihn!”

Ich dank' dir, schöne Schäferinn,
Für deine Freundlichkeit:
Doch bleib' ich lieber hier allein
Mit meinem Herzeleid.

Ach, die, mit der ich tanzen will,
Sie wohnt im Dorfe nicht:
Drum musz ich weinen früh und spät,
Bis dasz mein Auge bricht.

Sie trägt ein langes seid'nes Kleid
Und manchen Edelstein,
Ihr Vater soll der reichste Herr
Im ganzen Lande seyn.

Sie kam, das Hirtenfest zu sehn,
Und gab uns Lieder auf:
Da sang ich einen Wettgesang
Und sah zu ihr hinauf.

In ihrem Schoosze lag der Preis
Und Sieger muszt' ich seyn;
Da flocht sie selbst das schönste Band
In meine Locken ein.

Ich aber blickte hin und her
 Und wurde bleich und roth :
 Die groszen Damen sahn mich an
 Und lachten meiner Noth.

Und von demselben Augenblick
 Ist auch mein Herz so schwer
 Und Sang und Tanz und Scherz und Kusz
 Ergötzt mich nimmermehr.

Zerbrochen liegt mein Schäferstab,
 Die Heerde irrt allein
 Und winselnd folgt mein treues Thier
 Mir in den tiefsten Hain.

Dann flecht' ich stolz um meine Stirn
 Das allerschönste Band
 Und, wenn ich's fühle, denk' ich mir,
 Ich fühlte ihre Hand.

Erst war es blau und rosenroth,
 Ich aber küsst' es bleich
 Und meine Krone tausch' ich nicht
 Mit einem Königreich.

Leb wohl nun, schöne Schäferinn,
 Und trockne deinen Blick !
 Dein Herz ist wie dein Auge weich :
 Gott schenk' ihm Minneglück !

Ständchen.

Klinge, mein Leierchen, klinge !
 Rufe mein Mädchen heraus !
 Dringe, mein Liedelchen, dringe
 Munter ins schlummernde Haus !

Schlummre nur, Mütterchen, immer!
Töchterchen, schlummre noch nicht!
Lasz mir vom obersten Zimmer
Winken dein freundliches Licht!

Düfte der blühenden Linden
Buhlen ums Fenster mit mir,
Möchten die Liebliche finden,
Scherzen und kosen mit ihr.

Siehe, es blicken die Sterne
Nieder mit sehnlichem Schein,
Blicken ins Fenster so gerne,
Glückliche Sterne! hinein.

Habt ihr sie droben gesehen?
Sagt mir, ob Liebchen schon liegt!
Winkt mir von hinnen zu gehen,
Hat sie der Schlummer besiegt!

Musen, euch könnt' ich entsagen,
Hätte mein Lied sie geweckt.
Leier, dich musz ich zerschlagen,
Wenn sie dein Ständchen erschreckt.

Klinge, mein Leierchen, klinge,
Klinge mein Mädchen zur Ruh,
Singe, mein Liedelchen, singe
Fröhliche Träume ihr zu!

Die erste Rose.

Dich hat ein früher West geküsst,
Der erste Strahl der Maiensonne
Umarmte dich mit Jünglingsgluth.

Ich breche dich, doch traure nicht,
Dem Räuber strecke dich entgegen :
Ich breche dich für ihre Brust.

Gern neigt' ich dort, du Frühlingskind
Sie sterbend noch mit Düften labend,
Mein welches Haupt an deiner Statt !

Die letzte Rose.

Dich deckten Amors Flügelchen,
Das nicht des Winters Hauch dich träfe,
Mit einem sommerwarmen Dach.

Zur Zierde für Amandens Brust
Bewahrte dich der Gott der Liebe :
Ich pflücke dich auf seinen Wink.

Wie hat der Himmel dir gelacht !
Du stirbst vor Lust an ihrem Busen
Und lebst vielleicht im Liede fort.

Maidiedchen.

Mai kommt gezogen,
Lerche geflogen :
Eilet nicht so !
Habe kein Liebchen noch :
Frühling, du kannst mich doch
Machen nicht froh.

Herzchen, mein armes Kind,
Weht dir Decemberwind
Noch in der Brust ?
Lass nun das enge Haus,
Fleig mit der Lerche aus !
Flattern ist Lust.

Wirst ja zum Mönche hier :
 Suche Gespielin dir
 Drauszen im Hain !
 Maïen erblühen,
 Mädchen erglühen,
 Bist du von Stein ?

Amors Triumph.

Als ich ein Kind war,
 Sah ich den Amor
 Auf bunten Bildern,
 Ein Knäbchen wie ich,
 Wie er mit dünnen
 Rosengewinden
 Bewaffnete Männer
 Und zottige Löwen
 Sich fing und band :
 Und lachen muszt' ich.

Nun bin ich ein Jüngling
 Und trage den Panzer
 Und Helm und Schwerdt
 Und Amor zieht mich,
 Wohin er will,
 Und treibt mit mir
 Sein Kinderspiel,
 Doch statt der Kränze
 Mit Eisenketten :
 Und weinen möcht' ich.

Weckt sie nicht !

Hinweg, hinweg,
 Ihr losen Zephyre !
 Ihr werdet sie wecken
 Mit euren Küssen

Und eurem Spiel.
 Weckt sie mir nicht !
 Oder Cupido
 Soll es erfahren.
 Dann schickt er euch alle,
 Den Frevel zu büßen,
 Hinab in die Kerker
 Der ewigen Nacht,
 Dort um die kalten
 Triefenden Scheitel
 Bleicher Verdammter
 Seufzend zu fächeln
 Und den dreischlündigen
 Hüter der Hölle
 In Schlaf zu lullen.

Epigramme.

1. *Weihe.*

Wie sich mein Busen erhebt, so erhebt der heroische Vers
 sich

Und im fallenden Ach fällt er elegisch herab.

Liebe nur bring' ich der Welt und Liebe nur fodr' ich zurücke:
 Was ihr dem Sänger versagt, werde dem Liede zu Theil.

2. *Amor und die Muse.*

Amor spannte den Bogen und zielte ; da winkte die Muse :
 Pfeil und Leier zugleich sandten die Himmlischen mir.

3. *Lenz und Amor.*

Amors Bruder ist Lenz : er wirbt für den trauten Genossen,
 Schnäbelnd im Rosengebüsch preist er sein liebliches Reich.
 Alle wir folgen dem Schalk und neigen zum Joche den Nacken,
 Selber entblößend die Brust für den gefährlichen Pfeil.

Amors Bruder ist Lenz. O Dreimalseeliger, welchem,
Was ihm der Eine versprach, treulich der Andere gab!

4. *Mars und Amor.*

Amor, nimm mir den Panzer, den lästigen, nimm ihn herunter!
Hebe den drückenden Helm sanft von der glühenden Stirn!
Deine Waffen dafür, die leichten gelenkigen fodr' ich:
Geh' ich mit diesen zum Kampf, spiele mit meinen indes!

5. *Apollo als Schäfer.*

Eine Gemme.

Seht, mit dem Schäfergewand vertauschte den goldenen Mantel
Phöbus Apollo und spielt Lieder der Liebe auf Rohr.
Mächtiger Amor, so machst du unsterbliche Götter zu Menschen
Und zu den Göttern empor hebst du die Kinder des Staubs.

6. *Gruss des Winters.*

Alles erbebt und erbleicht vor dem greisigen Erdentyrannen,
Wann ihm mit Jubelgeschrei tanzen die Stürme voran:
Aber ich heisz' ihn willkommen, ich will ihn mit Liedern
empfangen,
Dasz er wohl selber erstaunt über den seltenen Grusz.
Bringe Amanden den Dank für meine Geschenke: sie hat dir
Tief mit Rosen der Stirn dunkele Furchen verhüllt,
Hat man den Lippen herab dir die hässliche Bläue gestreichelt,
Hat dir in's Auge geblickt und es ihr Lächeln gelehrt.
Jugendlichblühender Greis, dich gleich ich dem Tejischen
Sänger,
Wann er vom Becher verjüngt schwebt in der Grazien
Chor.
Nimmer wohl ruf' ich den Lenz mit schmeichelnder Leier
zurück:
Wenig bedarf ich des Mais, duftet der Winter mir so!

7. *Auf einen Sternseher.*

Warum Mävius immer den Blick zu dem Himmel emporhebt?
Weil er's auf Erden nicht wagt Einem in's Auge zu sehn.

8. *Auf den Dichter Krispin.*

Schlecht sind jene Gedichte, weil du sie geschrieben, Krispinus,
Aber du selber bist schlecht, weil du Gedichte gemacht.

9. *Auf Denselben.*

Selber verfertigte sich Krispin die prahlende Grabschrift:
Suchet ihr Schlummer, so geht nur zu dem Schlummernden
hin!

10. *Auf Denselben.*

Passend hast du dein Buch Erholungsstunden betitelt:
Also haben wir stets stärkenden Schlummer genannt.

11. *Auf Denselben.*

Willst du Unsterblichkeit in Duodez erringen,
So höre meinen Rath, ich stehe für's Gelingen:
Auf jedes Epigramm, das du geschrieben hast,
Sei von dir selber gleich ein Spottgedicht verfasst.

12. *Auf Denselben.*

Staune nicht über den Bauch Krispins: von seinen Gedichten
Musz er sich nähren und hoch bläht ihn die Wassersucht auf.

13. *Auf Denselben.*

Liebchen, merke diesz Haus! Krispin, der Dichter bewohnt es:
Schlage die Augen nicht auf, willst du besungen nicht seyn!

14. *Auf Denselben.*

Deine Tragödie hat die hiesige Bühne betreten :

Ach, zum Kothschuh dient nun uns der hohe Kothurn.

15. *Auf Denselben.*

Wundern musz ich mich selbst, dasz diese Gedichte nicht
schmutzig :

An Krispinen ja doch rieben und reiben sie sich.

16. *Auf Denselben.*

Hülle die goldenen Locken in Asche dir, Phöbus Apollo !

Musen und Grazien, zieht Trauergewänder euch an !

Weine, du silberner Strudes [sic] des Helikon, blutige
Thränen !

Ach, Krispinus, er hat wieder Gedichte gemacht !

17. *Auf Denselben.*

Mögen die Musen, Krispin, und Phöbus Apollo dir lächeln !

Mögen zu Tinte noch heut werden die Flüsse und Seen !

Mögen die Grazien dir die Aehren des Feldes in Federn

Und in weiszes Papier wandeln die Makulatur !

18. *Auf Denselben.*

Ueber die heutigen Tage schimpft wie ein Matrose Krispinus :

O des Thoren ! ihm blüht jetzo die goldene Zeit.

The most interesting light which this material sheds upon Müller's personality is that which has to do with his attitude toward the patriotic poetry of the War of Liberation. The lack of any echo of this war or its spirit in any of Müller's earlier poems has been repeatedly pointed out. These newly-published productions put him definitely into the number of the singers of this epoch, side by side with Arndt and Körner

and Schenkendorf, whom he even surpasses in the vehemence of his expression. It need not surprise us that Müller has omitted all of this class of poems from his published works. The familiar themes had been sufficiently developed and repeated by others.

Our young poet is manifestly trying his hand upon various modes of expression without having as yet developed his own distinctive vein. As regards the initial "Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht," one might repeat Goethe's criticism of "Das heisse Afrika" in the Wunderhorn: "Spukt doch eigentlich nur der Halberstädter Grenadier," for we have simply Father Gleim, dressed in the uniform of a Gardejäger of the War of Liberation.

Much in evidence is also the "Bardismus" of the eighteenth century, which was happily discarded by the maturer Müller. So also the romantic vocabulary and motives of the medieval court and heroic poetry. The Volkslied, which so admirably refreshed and strengthened Müller's later work, shows abundant traces of both general and specific influence.

The five "Romanzen" give us our first view of Müller's attempts in the field of popular poetry. Our strongest impression is that with a vague feeling for his ideal, Müller is still (as was the case with Uhland in his earlier ballads) under the ban of an unwholesome, overwrought romanticism. The influence of popular metrical forms is plainly manifest in the "Romanzen" as well as in other poems of the collection. *Der Verbannte* is practically in the Lenore-strophe. *Der Ritter und die Dirne* in its form, its extravagant over-coloring and its unsavory motive, is a close and unsuccessful imitation of Bürger. Classicism is represented by the elegiac epigrams, by the dithyramb and the Anacreontics. The eighth stanza of the *Morgenlied* closes with the line "Und will entfesselt seyn" which Müller later used in an entirely different connection at the end of the eleventh stanza of *Der Glockenguss zu Breslau*.

The eighteen epigrams show a close relation to Goethe and Schiller, and are (with but one exception) in classical elegiac

verse, a mode which Müller did not retain in his numerous published epigrams. The latter (published 1827) are entirely in the German form of Logau, whom Müller edited for Brockhaus in 1824. The seventh epigram in our collection helps to make clear an obscure allusion in a later one (*Gedichte*, ii, 153), which reads:

Bav und Mav.

Bav oder Mav—
Es schüttle sich wen's traf.
Zeichne sie zum Kennen—
Brauchst sie nicht zu nennen.

This has been variously explained, though an epigram by Meissner in Voss's *Musenalmanach* for 1778 (p. 198) offers the real clue:

Bav.

Nach Swift.

Bav wollte dichten, schlug an seinen Kopf,
Und rief: O Wiz, komm doch heraus!
Er pochte lang umsonst, der arme Tropf!
Er pochte an ein ledig Haus.

"Bav," as a wretched poet, is of course taken from Vergil, *Ecl.*, 3, 90:

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi

and the "Mav" is a humorous assimilation of "Maevius." The seventh epigram in the *Bundesblüthen* contains the name Maevius used contemptuously, and confirms this explanation. This is the only epigram of the collection which Müller preserved, and he did it over into the German rhymed form. As the epigram was not directed against a poet but against a hypocrite, the name was changed (*Gedichte*, ii, 185):

Frommer Aufblick.

Wisst ihr, warum Pius' Blicke stets gen Himmel sich ergehn?
Weil er es nicht wagt auf Erden einem ins Gesicht zu sehn.

The personal, biographical element, always present in lyric poetry, can be discovered in these frank effusions. The intensity of *Die zerbrochene Zither* is too elemental to be altogether imaginary, and, with its numerous photographic touches of the times, is a curious mixture of the medieval romance and the motives of the Prussian campaign. The elegy upon Bornemann's death is also highly personal. The allusion in the fourth stanza from the end remains a complete riddle.

The prevailing note, in marked distinction from the later work of the poet, is pensiveness and overwrought pathos. The development of a sense of humor worked wholesomely in the case of Müller, as it had also done with Uhland.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

VIII.—ON TRANSLATING ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

What verse to use in translating Anglo-Saxon poetry is a question, which, ever since Anglo-Saxon poetry has been thought worth translating, has been discussed over and over again, but unfortunately with as yet no final conclusion. The tendency, however, both among those who have written upon the subject and those who have tried their hand at translating, is decidedly in favor of a more or less close imitation of the original metre. Professor F. B. Gummere, in an article on "The Translation of Beowulf and the Relations of Ancient and Modern English Verse," published in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII (1886), strongly advocates imitating the A.-S. metre. Professor J. M. Garnett, in a paper read before this Association in 1890,¹ sides with him, recanting a previously held belief in the superiority of blank verse. Of the various translations which imitate the A.-S. metre, the most successful, undoubtedly, is the *Beowulf* of Dr. John Leslie Hall, which appeared in 1892. Stopford Brooke, in his *History of Early English Literature*, also declares his belief in imitations of the original metre, though in his translations he does not always carry out his beliefs. He lays down the rule—and a very good rule it is—that translations of poetry "should always endeavour to have the musical movement of poetry, and to obey the laws of the verse they translate."² For translating A.-S. poetry, blank verse, he thinks, is out of the question; "it fails in the elasticity which a translation of Anglo-Saxon poetry requires, and in itself is too stately, even in its feminine dramatic forms, to represent the cantering movement of Old English verse. Moreover, it is weighted with the sound of Shakspeare, Milton, or Tennyson,

¹ See *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America*, Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 95 f.

² Cf. Preface to *E. E. Lit.*

and this association takes the reader away from the atmosphere of Early English poetry."¹

The claims of blank verse, however, have recently been set forth afresh. A writer in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1897, Mr. P. H. Frye, characterizes the measures used by Garnett, Hall, and Stopford Brooke in their translations as "un-English" and as "violations of * * * the first principles of translation." He lays down the rule that "the translation and the original should produce, each upon those to whom it addresses itself, essentially the same impression"²—a rule, like that of Stopford Brooke's mentioned above, heartily to be commended. The use which Mr. Frye makes of his rule, however, does not deserve quite the same commendation. Having carefully laid down his general proposition, he proceeds to argue from it in a way, to say the least, rather loose. The translation, he says, ought to give "essentially the same impression" as the original. *Beowulf*, now, is an epic; "our natural epic expression" in English is blank verse; therefore blank verse is the natural measure to use in translating *Beowulf*.

This seems a very pretty piece of reasoning on the face of it, but unfortunately it will not stand the test of examination. If we look a little more closely, we shall find lurking under its apparent plausibility what ought to be a very obvious fallacy. This fallacy consists in the assumption that one so-called "epic expression" is essentially the same thing as another; that, for instance, the "heroic suggestion" of the verse in *Beowulf* is essentially the same thing as the "heroic suggestion" of the verse in *Paradise Lost*. Such an assumption needs, of course, only to be pointed out to be recognized as not necessarily true; it would amount to pretty much the same thing as saying that because a police squad set to guard property, and a pocket time-piece may both be called a "watch," therefore they are essentially the same thing.

¹ Cf. Preface to *E. E. Lit.*; cf. also notes on pp. 417 and 425.

² *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII, col. 162.

Poetry, when we come to analyze it, is found to have in it two elements, one of which we may describe as the purely intellectual element—that which appeals to the intellect simply, the other as the aesthetic or emotional element—that which appeals to the emotions wholly. In translating poetry from one language to another, now, it is always possible substantially to reproduce the purely intellectual element, that is to say, the bare, bald ideas; and if this were the only, or even the chief thing to be aimed at, simple, unadorned prose would undoubtedly be the medium to use. But as everyone, or nearly everyone, will admit, this is not the chief thing to be aimed at. Since in nearly every case it is the aesthetic or emotional element in poetry that constitutes for us its chief value, that element ought to be, in fact must be reproduced, if possible, in any translation that pretends to give us an adequate rendering of its original. As to the possibility of reproducing this aesthetic element with anything like faithfulness, we all, I suppose, have our doubts. It is an exceedingly difficult thing to do; and most of us are apt to be satisfied with an approximate reproduction.

The point at issue, now, is how to secure that approximation. In the case of the *Beowulf*, as we have seen, it is not to be secured simply by taking the subject-matter of the poem and recasting it in the modern heroic mould of blank verse. Blank verse is undoubtedly the best epic verse we possess, but as Stopford Brooke says, “it takes the reader away from the atmosphere of early English poetry.” There are in the *Paradise Lost*, for example, passages which possess, we might fairly enough say, an air of “simple dignity and unruffled deliberation,” to use Mr. Frye’s characterization of the style of *Beowulf*; but no one in reading them, I fancy, would be in the least likely to think they reminded him of *Beowulf*. No doubt a good poet might produce a very fine poem in blank verse out of the story of the *Beowulf*, but it would not be *Beowulf*. The heroic quality of such a *Beowulf* would be of a totally different kind from that of the original. Between

the two poems, in fact, there would be nothing in common but the story ; and this would no more make them the same poem than the fact that both the Venus of Melos and the Venus de Medici represent the same goddess makes them the same statue.

That "the translation and the original should produce, each upon those to whom it directly addresses itself, essentially the same impression, is true enough. But the question at once arises, What impression did the original make upon those to whom it addressed itself? We must all agree, I think, that no Englishman of the present day in reading *Beowulf* in the original can have the same feelings and emotions as his A.-S. ancestor would have had ; his training, habits of thought, and ideas are too widely divergent from those of his ancestor to permit that. In short, we do not now know how the *Beowulf* affected the Anglo-Saxon ; all that we can do is to imagine how it must have affected him. To do this, we must first of all ask ourselves the question, How does it affect us? And if we ask ourselves this question, we shall find that we have two things to consider, first, the bare ideas or matter of the poem, and second, the concrete form in which those ideas are presented, that is to say, the peculiar phrases, turns of expression, rhythmical movement, etc.—all of which may be summed up under the general term "manner." Moreover, we shall find that the *manner* engages our attention no less than the *matter*. And it is inevitable that this should be so, for it is the manner, rather than the matter, that constitutes what I have termed the aesthetic or emotional element in all poetry—the element which is, after all, of most importance to us, just as it is the external form which gives beauty to a statue, not the marble of which the statue is made. Now, a translation which does not seek to reproduce the manner as well as the matter of its original cannot, of course, give anything like a true and adequate idea of that original. Whatever impression it may make upon those who read it, it certainly will not make essentially, or even approximately, the same impression as the

original made, either on those to whom it directly addressed itself, or on those to whom it may now direct itself. Faithfulness in one respect will not make up for neglect in another. Truth to the whole demands truth to the parts. You can no more be faithful to the *Beowulf* in translating it into English verse, if you neglect its style and rhythm, than you can be faithful to the Venus of Melos, in making a copy of it, if you neglect the pose of the head and the expression of the face.

It follows, therefore, that if we wish to place before modern readers anything like a true representation of the *Beowulf*, we must try to reproduce its imagery and its rhythmical movement. To the objection urged against imitating the A.-S. metre in English, that it is a violation of the laws of the language, we need only reply that the analogy between translating the thought and reproducing the movement of the verse does not hold completely. In the former case, the translator must, of course, conform to the laws of the language from the necessity of being understood; but in the latter case, he is under no such obligation, the only law binding upon him here being the law of harmony, and this is a law governing verse, not in one language only, but in all languages. The assertion, moreover, that four-accent measures resembling the A.-S. line are un-English needs some qualification. They are not so very un-English after all. Schipper, in his *Grundriss der Englischen Metrik*, has conclusively shown that many of the English four-accent measures may be traced directly back to the A.-S. line. For example, lines like the following in what he calls "der vier-taktige jambisch-anapaestische vers :"—

"And he saw the lean dogs beneath the wall
Hold o'er the dead their carnival,
Gorging and growling o'er carcase and limb;
They were too busy to bark at him."—

The Siege of Corinth.

"When the hounds of Spring are on Winter's traces,
The mother of months in meadow or plain
Fills the shadows and windy places
With lisp of leaves and ripple of rain."—

Chorus in *Atalanta in Calydon.*

Some of these lines, now, represent almost exactly the movement of the most common types of A.-S. verse, alliteration, caesura, and all. Compare, for instance, with Swinburne's lines the following from the *Phoenix*:

“Nis þær on þām londe lāðgeniðla,
Nē wōp nē wracu, wēatācen nān,
Yldu nē yrmðu, nē se ęga deað,
Nē lifes lyre, nē lāðes cyme,
Nē synn nē sacu, nē sārwracu,
Nē wædle gewin, nē welan onsȳn.”

The general movement of the verse here is not very greatly different from that in Swinburne's lines. Swinburne's lines, to be sure, are a little more rapid than the A.-S., and also a little more melodious; but then Swinburne is a master of melody—a much greater master of melody than the unknown A.-S. poet. If it be objected that this is not a typical passage, that it does not represent the general movement of A.-S. verse, it may be replied, that neither does Swinburne's lines represent the general movement of English four-accent measures. For other, and less common types of A.-S. lines—lines where two stressed syllables come together, and also lines where more than two un-stressed syllables come together—it is easy to find parallels in modern English verse. Compare, for instance, the following parallels:—

“in þæt trēow innan torhte frætwe,”—

Ph. 200;

“That in trim gardens takes his pleasure,”—

Il Penseroso.

“tō his wīcstōwe, þær hē wundrum fæst,”—

Ph. 468;

“In a bedchamber by a taper's blink,”—

The Statue and the Bust.

“ofett edniwe in ealle tīd,”—

Ph. 77;

“Holding one picture and only one,”—

The Statue and the Bust.

In short, if we except such lines in A.-S. poetry as are made up of combinations like "DB," "DC," "DE," etc., to use Sievers' terminology—lines which number not more than 10 in 100—and also such lines as have three or more unstressed syllables coming together, which number about 15 in 100, we have left about 75 lines in 100 with rhythmical movements for which exact parallels in plenty may be found in modern English verse—an odd state of affairs if the A.-S. line is essentially different from the English, irregular, four-accent line. I do not, of course, wish to be understood for a moment as saying that the rhythmical movement of A.-S. poetry in general is represented by any one modern English poem. That would not be true. All I wish to point out is that the great majority of separate lines in A.-S. poetry may be paralleled by separate lines in modern English verse, taking into account disposition of accent, caesura, alliteration, and everything.

From all this it would follow, now, that if any particular form of modern English verse were to be selected as a fitting medium in which to translate A.-S. poetry, on the score of likeness to the A.-S. metre, that form ought to be the irregular, four-accent line, that is to say, the four-accent line with an iambic-anapestic, varied occasionally by a trochaic-dactylic movement. This is the only English measure that can pretend to offer the same variety of rhythm that the A.-S. verse has, and the only one that can, and often actually does have precisely the same rhythmical movement as the A.-S. line. Its affinities with the A.-S. line, indeed, as Schipper has pointed out, are strong; and what is of particular importance with regard to the matter in hand, it is capable of modification so as to resemble that line still more strongly. And this, I think, gives us the cue to the solution of our problem. What we want, and there seems to be no reason why we should not get it, is an adaptation of the English, irregular, four-accent measure sufficiently like the A.-S. line to suggest it at once and inevitably, yet not so unlike the English line as to sound strange to the modern ear.

Dr. John Leslie Hall, in his admirable translation of the *Beowulf*, has come the nearest, I think, to attaining this adaptation of any who have made the attempt, but his translation, nevertheless, leaves much to be desired. I have myself made a translation of the *Wanderer* in an attempt to find a measure which shall satisfy the conditions just mentioned, and I subjoin my translation to this paper. Whether I have succeeded in my attempt or not, others, of course, must judge. I have only to say that I do not profess to be a poet. What I have done has simply been to give the ideas of the original as faithfully as I could and at the same time as nearly in the manner of the original as seemed likely to be agreeable to modern readers.

THE WANDERER.

The lone one oft wins his reward at last,
The grace of God, though grief-stricken,
Long must he wander the water-ways o'er,
Ruffle with rowing the rime-cold sea,
Fare as an outcast. Fate is relentless !
Speaks now the wand'rer of his sorrows mindful,
The fearful slaughter and the fall of his kinsmen :
"Oft must I lonely in the early dawn
Utter my sorrows ; all are gone now
To whom I should dare my heart-thoughts reveal
Frankly and truly. Of a truth I know
That for an earl 'tis ever a wise way
To keep secure the keys of his heart,
To hide his thoughts, let him think what he may.
A weary soul withstands fate ill,
And a heavy heart little help e'er affords.
Sad hearts, therefore, do seekers of glory
Oft bear in their breast, bound up closely.
My inmost thoughts must I, likewise—
Oh unhappy me, from home exiled,
And far from my kinsmen !—lock fast in my breast,

Since the day long gone when the giver of gold
Was wrapped in earth's darkness, and wretched thence
I have wandered in winters the water-ways o'er,
And heart-weary sought the hall of some lord,
Be it far or near, to find if I might
One who in mead-hall mercy would show me,
Or would to me friendless some favor extend,
Welcome me gladly. Well knows he who tries it
How grim a companion is grief to the wand'rer
Who has nowhere to go and none to protect him.
His the outlaw's path, not the prize of wound gold,
A freezing heart, not the fame of the world.
He recalls his old friends, the favors received,
And how in his youth the gold-giver dear
At the feast gave him welcome. But fled are those joys!
Alas! he knows it who from lord and friend
For a long time has lacked loved words of counsel,
When sorrow and sleep, stealing together,
Oft wrap in their mantle the wretched lone one.
In his dream it seems that he sees his lord,
Gives him kiss and embrace, then bends to his knee
With head placed in hands, as whilom he did
When his lord of yore the gift-stool enjoyed.
Then awakes he again a wanderer friendless,
And before him sees but the fallow waves,
The sea-birds bathing and spreading their wings,
Or the falling snow mixed with frost and hail.
The heavier then his heart-wounds seem,
Sore for his loved one: his sorrows return.
Then o'er his mind flits memory of his kinsmen;
With glee-songs he greets them, and glad looks he round
On all his old friends; but their forms soon vanish;
The shadowy spirits sing there none of
The well-known songs. Sorrow unending
Is the lot of him who, alas! must often
O'er the water-ways bear a weary heart.

'Tis therefore a wonder in the world to me
That my soul is not o'er-shrouded with gloom,
When I long reflect on the lives of earls,
How in an instant their halls they lost,
Those haughty warriors! But the world itself
Is drawing now each day to its ruin.
A man is not wise, then, till many a winter
He has lived in this world. The wise man is patient,
Neither hot-hearted, nor hasty of speech,
Nor recreant in battle, nor rash and unheeding,
Nor o'erfearful, nor glad, nor greedy of riches,
Nor yet eager in boasting ere he's earned him the right.
A brave man should pause, ere he boast utters,
Till, firm-minded, he fairly may know
Whether his courage will waver at last.
The wise man must see how woeful it is
When the wealth of the world lies wasted in ruin,
As far and wide now this fair earth o'er
Wind-beaten stand the walls of the burghs,
And in ruins the dwellings, decked o'er with rime.
Crumbling are the wine-halls, and the warriors lie
Shorn of their pleasure; scattered the retainers
Once proud on the wall: war has seized some,
Led them forth to their death; the fleet ship one
O'er the high sea has borne; the hoar wolf another
Has mangled in death; and dolefully one
In his bed of earth the earl has hidden.
The Ruler of men hath so ravaged the world
That mirth is heard no more midst the burghers,
And silent stand the cities, giant-built.
He who has wisely this waste observed,
And this dark life here deeply considered,
Sage of mind oft remembers the past,
The murderous slaughter, and mourns in these words:
'Where is the steed now? the warrior? and where the giver
of gifts?

Where are the seats at the feast, and the sounds of mirth in
the hall?

Ah me! the bright beaker! the mailed warrior!
The pride of the earl! How that age has fled,
Into night vanished, as ne'er it had been!
Of the loved heroes the last reminder
Is the wondrous high wall with worm-shapes adorned.
The earls have fallen by the ash-shaft's might,
That weapon so fell—a fate most glorious!
Storm-beaten now are the stone-cliffs high,
And fettered the earth by the falling snow,
Winter's terror, when wan there come
Night-shadows creeping, and the North sends forth
The hail-storm fierce to the harm of men.
In the realms of this earth all is hardship;
Fate decrees it that change must rule all:
Wealth here is fleeting, friendships passing,
Mortal is man here, and mortal is kinsman:
Earth's whole foundations are idle become.'"

So quoth the sage in his mind, as he sat him apart in reflection.
Good is he who keeps troth; never hasty the warrior should be
In venting the rage in his breast, ere the remedy first he
contrive,

The earl with courage to act. Fortunate each who seeks mercy,
Solace from God in Heaven, where safety for all may be found.

EDWARD FULTON.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1898.

VOL. XIII, 3.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, 3.

IX.—THE POETRY OF NICHOLAS BRETON.

I. *Breton's Life.*

The chief source of information concerning Nicholas Breton's early life is the will of his father, written in 1557-8, probated in 1558-9. This will,¹ a lengthy document, provides liberally for the wife and the five children, devises generous legacies to a number of household servants, remembers various hospitals, the "poorest creatures" in several parishes, "poorest Skoolers of the university of Cambridge,"² and even sets apart a sum of money for "repayringe the hyghe wayes brydges and other most needful and necessary thinges."³ There are mentions of "jewelles" and plate and valuable furniture and clothes, and the whole tone of the will indicates that its maker was a man who had wealth and was accustomed to use it freely and generously. That he was as liberal in thought as in money-matters, that he had due regard to the preferences of others, may be fairly inferred from a bequest to one Henry Knighte, "so that he continew to study at the Lawe, or use any other honest exercyse of Lyvinge."⁴ That the wife was a woman of

¹ Printed in full in Grosart's *Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, Chertsey Worthies' Library; "Memorial Introduction," pp. xii-xvii.

²*Ibid.*, p. xvi.

³*Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁴Grosart's *Breton*, *Introd.*, p. xvi.

good sense and discernment is clear from the responsibilities thrown upon her in the management of the estate, and from the fact that it was to remain in her hands (provided she did not "happyn to mary or dy") until the sons were twenty-two and twenty-four respectively. If the daughters married without her consent, their legacies were to be forfeited.¹

From all this we may infer that Nicholas Breton entered life endowed at least with a goodly heritage of practical ability and common sense, and that he was brought up "in Larning and vertue,"² in a home of comfort or even of affluence. From the provisions for the older brother Richard's "mayntenance fynding and bringing upp," and from the fact that in 1557-8 he was too young to wear "my gylte Skayne my Corselett and my prevy cote"³ of the father's will, Grosart argues⁴ that he was not more than fifteen; and that, as Nicholas was to come of age at twenty-four and the older brother at twenty-two, there was perhaps a difference of two years in their respective ages. That would assign the birth of Richard to 1542-3, and that of Nicholas to 1544-5.⁵

Some time previous to 1568, the widow married the poet Gascoigne. Legal action was of course taken in regard to the interest of the Breton children in their father's property, but I find no ground on which to base any theory of the necessity for a "restoration of good feeling," as Grosart puts it,⁶ between Gascoigne and any of the family; while there is reason for arguing an especially pleasant companionship between the two poets.⁷

Nicholas Breton took no university degree, and the probability of his ever having been a student at Oxford rests on the following somewhat slender evidence:—

¹ "And that than my foresaid legacies and bequests above made to such of my said daughters as shall so marry w^out tassent of my saied wife shalbe utterlye voyde and of none effecte." Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. xv.

² *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁴ Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. xix.

⁵ Not 1542-3, as Grosart puts it (Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. xix), by either mistake or misprint.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

⁷ See p. 321.

1. He dedicated his *Pilgrimage to Paradise* to "the Gentlemen Students and Scholars at Oxford."

2. The introduction to one of his poems¹ refers to the author as "a yong Gentleman, who . . . had spent some years at Oxford."

3. The diary of Rev. Richard Madox² records a meeting in 1582, apparently at Antwerp, with "Mr. Brytten, once of Oriel Colledge, w^{ch} made wyts will." That the register of Oriel College shows no trace of his name is, unfortunately, a fact of no value from any point of view. His references to college life, though not especially frequent, are easy and natural.³ Grosart says⁴ that his writings show "a notable absence of classical quotation and allusion." To this I can only say that Breton is in no respect an extremist, and that, though he rarely introduces a set quotation from the classics, yet in his mythological allusions, and especially in his occasional use of Latin words, he manifests an everyday familiarity far removed from the almost superstitious reverence of the ignorant man for a dead language.

The only evidence that we have of his possible marriage is the entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London (his family parish), of a marriage between one Nicholas Brytten and Ann Sutton. This is given by Grosart,⁵ as are also other entries referring to the birth of four children to Nicholas Brytten (Brittaine and Britten). From Brinsley Nicholson's ms. notes to Grosart's *Breton*,⁶ it seems possible that in the unique copy of *Old Madcap's New Gallimawfry* in the inaccessible library at Britwell there may be evidence of value on this question. Breton's writings were published between 1577 and 1626. No record of his death has been found, but it may be supposed to have taken place soon after the latter date.

¹ *Toys of an Idle Head*, p. 50/1.

² *Sloane MS. 5008*, British Museum.

³ *Grimello's Fortunes*, p. 6/1; *An Old Man's Lesson*, p. 12/1, 13/1; *Strange News out of Divers Countries*, p. 11/1; *Fantasticks*, p. 15/1; *A Post with a Packet of Mad Letters*, second series, letter 16.

⁴ Grosart's *Breton*, *Introd.*, p. xx.

⁵ Grosart's *Breton*, *Introd.*, p. xxi.

⁶ In the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

II. *Outline of Breton's Literary Activity.*

Breton's life extended over an eventful period. Two religious revolutions, the burning of bishops and archbishops, the execution of Lady Jane Grey and of Mary, Queen of Scots, discoveries of marvelous countries, voyages that read like the *Arabian Nights*, the miracle of the annihilation of the Spanish Armada—and in the very midst of it all sat Nicholas Breton, quietly writing religious poetry! To the literary movements of his day he was most susceptible, though his response was rarely instantaneous; but bare public events produced apparently no effect upon his mind. His first work after the defeat of the Armada (1588) was a pastoral (1591); Elizabeth died (1603), and he wrote *A Packet of Mad Letters* (1603); all England was shaken by the gunpowder plot (1605), and he wrote *The Soul's Immortal Crown* (1605).

Of his score of poetical booklets, nearly half are religious; one is chiefly *vers de société*; but one of his pastorals is of any length; and his writing of satire hardly went beyond a single year. Strictly speaking, then, Breton was a religious poet who made literary departures into *vers de société*, pastoral and satire. His *vers de société* was but the trying of his "prentice hand," and has little significance in his poetical career as a whole. His pastoral was the natural result of the decade during which the pastoral influence was supreme; and his satire followed almost inevitably upon that of Marston and Hall. The study of his literary life, looked at through a perspective of three hundred years, falls naturally, and in some respects chronologically, under the headings:—

- I. Previous criticisms.
- II. Religious poetry.
- III. *Vers de société*.
- IV. Pastoral.
- V. Satire.
- VI. The man as shown in his work.

III. *Chronological Criticism of Breton's Work.*

Twelve years after the publication of Breton's first work, I find the earliest reference to him that is in any degree critical in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which says, "And in her Majesty's time that now is are sprung up another crew of courtly makers, noblemen, and gentlemen of her Majesty's own servants, who have written excellently well." Among them "Britton" is named.

Two years later another pamphlet appeared describing "The Honourable Entertainment gieven to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse at Elvetham in Hampshire by the R. H. the Earle of Hertford."¹ Here, under "The thirde daies entertainment," is the note, "On Wednesday morning about 9 o'clock as her Majestie opened a casement of her gallerie window, ther were three excellent musitians, who being disguised in auncient country attire did greete her with a pleasant song of *Corydon* and *Phillida*, made in three parts of purpose. The song, as well for the worth of the dittie, as the aptnesse of the note thereto applied, it pleased her Highnesse after it had been once sung to command it againe, and highly to grace it with her cheerfull acceptance and commendation."

In 1598 Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* names Breton among those who are "most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of love."

John Bodenham in *Belvedere* (1600), mentions Breton as among those known "from divers essays of their poetry."

Prefaced to *Melancholike Humours* (1600), are the following lines by Ben Jonson :—

"Thou that wouldst finde the habit of true passion,
And see a minde attir'd in perfect straines;
Not wearing moodes, as gallants doe a fashion,
In these pide times, only to shewe their braines.

¹ Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

Looke here on Breton's Worke, the master print:
Where such perfections to the life doe rise;
If they seem wry, to such as looke asquint,
The fault's not in the object but their eyes.

For, as one comming with a laterall view
Unto a cunning piece wrought perspective,
Wants facultie to make a censure true;
So with this author's readers will it thrive:

Which, being eyed directly, I divine
His prooffe their praise, will meet, as in this line."

John Hynd's *Eliosto Libidinoso* (1606), inserts a poem as "a fancy which that learned author Nicholas Breton hath dignified with respect."

In Dekker's *Guls Horn Book* (1609), is the sentence, "I am *Pasquils Mad-Cap* that will doot."

After 1609, allusions to Breton are not infrequent in the dramatic literature of the time, especially in Beaumont and Fletcher's plays; e. g.,

- (1) "Do you read *Madcap* still?"

The Coxcomb, iv, 4 (1610).

- (2)

"Did I for this

Consume my quarters in meditations, vows,
And woo'd her in *Heroical Epistles*?
Did I expound *The Owl*,
And undertook with labor and expense
The re-collection of those thousand pieces,
Consum'd in cellars and tobacco-shops,
Of that our honor'd Englishman, Nich. Breton?"

The Scornful Lady, II, 1 (Between 1609 and 1616).

- (3)

"And your *Pasquil*

Went not below the *Mad-Caps* of that time."

The Nice Valour, v, 2 (1613)

- (4)

"Who look'd on you,

But piping kites that knew you would be prizes,
And 'prentices in Paul's Churchyard that scented
Your want of Breton's books?"

Wit without Money, III, 4 (1614).

Ben Jonson in his *Execration upon Vulcan* (printed 1640, written probably between 1621 and 1625) writes:—

“Had I foreknown of this, thy least desire
 To have held triumph or a feast of fire,
 many a ream
 To redeem mine I had sent in—

 With Nicholas’ *Pasquils*
 Meddle with your match,
 And the strong lines that do the times so catch.”

Sir John Suckling, whose critical acumen deserves respect, joins Breton’s name with Shakespeare’s in *The Goblins*, IV, 1 (1638):—

“The last a well-writ piece, I assure you,
 A Breton I take it, and Shakespeare’s very way.”

Breton is mentioned in Richard Brome’s *A Jovial Crew*, II, 1 (acted 1641):—

“And then fall into courtship, one in a set speech taken out of old Britain’s Works, another in verses out of the *Academy of Compliments*, or some other of the new Poetical Pamphleteers, ambitious only to spoil paper and publish their names in print.” This epithet “old” was almost a term of endearment in an age in which life moved so fast that the work of yesterday was old, and the remembrance of it until to-day was fame.

In Edward Phillips’s *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) is written:—“Nicholas Breton, a writer of pastorals, sonnets, canzons and madrigals, in which kind of writing he keeps company with several other contemporary aemulators of Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney, in a publist collection of selected odes of the chief pastoral sonnetteers, &c., of that age.”

These are the principal references to Breton that I have found in the century following the appearance of his first work, if we except Nash’s stinging allusion to the author of the *Bower of Delights*¹ in his preface to *Astrophel and Stella*,

¹A work by no means certainly Breton’s.

1591, as "Pan sitting in his bower of delights and a number of Midases to admire his miserable horn-pipes." What do these criticisms sum up? He is said by Puttenham to have written "excellently well;" one of his poems has attracted the favorable attention of the queen; by Meres he is named as one of the best lyric and erotic poets; Bodenham and Dekker mention him; Hynd calls him "that learned author;" several dramatists refer to him in their plays; Ben Jonson writes some flattering verses, which do not, however, ring quite so true as do his lines on Shakespeare, and are of less value than his chance mention of *Pasquil*; Suckling compares him to Shakespeare; Phillips calls him one of the emulators of Spenser and Sidney. Regarded as literary criticism, all this is of small value in determining Breton's place among his contemporaries; but regarded as the unofficial expression of an age that enjoyed what it liked, forgot what it did not like, and did little analyzing in either case, the good-natured familiarity and the very briefness of these mentions, especially in the dramas, say much for his popularity and appreciation among a people whose literary instinct was for the best. Saintsbury says¹ that Breton "pamphleted with such copiousness and persistence for nearly half a century, that it is clear there must have been money to be made by the practice."² But when in the same paragraph he speaks of the "mild mediocrity" of Breton, he forgets that "mild mediocrity" is not the stuff that popularity was made of in the Elizabethan days.

For the next hundred years Breton seems to have been completely forgotten, if we except the one ballad printed in *The Muses' Library* by Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper in 1737. This same ballad, *Phillida and Corydon*, together with the *Shepherd's Address to His Muse*, appeared in Percy's *Reliques* in 1765; and from that time Breton has seldom been left out of poetical collections or entirely forgotten by poetical criticism.

¹*Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, Introd., p. xvii f.

²Breton, however, did not really need to write for bread.

Warton's *History of English Poetry*¹ (1774) mentions him as "one of the most prolific penmen of his time," speaks of his *Mad-Cap* as having considerable merit, and deems the literary controversy between Breton, Marston, and the poet-aster Weever (?) worthy of a full account.

Sir S. Egerton Brydges reprinted several of Breton's works at his famous Lee Priory Press,² and from 1800 on he let no opportunity pass to express his admiration for Breton. In his edition of *Theatrum Poetarum* (1800), he says:³—"The ballad of *Phillida and Corydon* is a delicious little poem; and if we are to judge from this specimen, his poetical powers (for surely he had the powers of a poet) were distinguished by a simplicity at once easy and elegant." In the *Censura Literaria*⁴ (1805-1809) he speaks of "that prolific writer, Nicholas Breton, who supplied the press with a rich diversity of ingenious compositions for more than forty years." In his edition of *England's Helicon* (1810-1814), he says:⁵—"By far the first of these (poems) are the compositions of Dr. Thomas Lodge and Nicholas Breton. That the genius of both these writers was not only elegant and highly polished, but pure and unsophisticated . . . may be safely affirmed. . . . As to Breton,⁶ if he possessed less sentiment than Lodge, perhaps his fancy was still more delicate and playful, and his expression no less simple and harmonious." In his *Restituta*⁷ (1814-1816), he praises "the ingenuity, fertility, fluency, metrical ease, and moral force of Breton's commendable pen;" and again he says⁸ that Breton's "copiousness of natural sentiment, and ease and elegance of language are so eminent and so well adapted to popularity that the oblivion which has covered him is a matter of constant surprise to me."

¹ Section 6.

² See Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual*.

³ Page 321.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 183, second edition, 1815.

⁵ *British Bibliographer*, vol. III, Introd. to *England's Helicon*, p. iv, third edition.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁷ Vol. III, p. 174, second edition, 1815.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Drake says¹ (1817): "The chief contributors (to *England's Helicon*) were among the best lyric poets of their age. Amid this galaxy of bards we cannot fail to distinguish for their decided superiority the productions of Breton, Greene, Lodge, Marlowe, Raleigh, which might confer celebrity on any selection." Drake places Breton as one of the "leaders of a great portion of their art during a period of half a century." Although he names him as a lyric poet, he does not mention him in particular as a satirist or as a writer of pastorals.

Thomas Campbell's *Essay on English Poetry* (1819), says of Breton:—"His happiest vein is in little pastoral pieces. . . . The lyrical poetry of Elizabeth's age runs often into pastoral insipidity and fantastic carelessness, though there may be found in some of the pieces of Sir Philip Sidney, Lodge, Marlowe, and Breton, not only a sweet, wild spirit, but an exquisite finish of expression."

Alexander Dyce² (1831) makes casual mention of Breton as "a man of no ordinary genius, writing in his more inspired moments with tenderness and delicacy."

Taking a general view of the references to Breton during the seventy years that followed Percy's reprinting of *Phyllida and Corydon* with the accompanying account of its place in the Elvetham festivities, we see that he is neither forgotten nor does he receive the honor of critical study. He is spoken of less familiarly and more respectfully, but still in the way of casual mention. Percy, Warton, Brydges, Drake, Campbell, Dyce, speak of him, sometimes with almost Elizabethan appreciation, but rarely with even a touch of modern criticism.

The first criticism in any degree comprehensive which he seems to have received is that of Thomas Corser³ (1860):—"Nicholas Breton, a writer of elegant and refined taste. . . . While some of his poetical pieces display the deepest and most fervent feelings of the devout and pious mind, breathing forth

¹*Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. I, p. 721 f.

²Introduction to the *Works of Robert Greene*.

³*Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, vol. II, Part I.

its aspirations to the Almighty, one while in strains of warm and rapturous praise, and another in most profound and humble penitence of soul; and while some of his productions are filled with the richest humor, blended with the purest fancy and clothed in chaste and delicate language, there are others evincing a coarse and vulgar style and tone of expression almost leading the reader to doubt whether such varied writings could all be the productions of the same pen. (This charge of a "coarse and vulgar style" is due to a mistaken ascription to Breton of *Pasquil's Nightcap*, now known to be the work of one "William F."¹). . . . Breton's serious prose is warm and impassioned, pure and pleasing, and his poetical works are written in a graceful and refined spirit, and in simple, artless language, which makes its way irresistibly to the heart. Many of his smaller lyrical pieces are full of tenderness and beauty and are remarkable for their genuine poetry and exquisite taste and simplicity." This bears the mark of that real study of Breton's work as a whole which I have failed to recognize in previous criticisms.

It is only within the last decade that Breton seems on the way to win back again some small share of the popularity that was his three hundred years ago; only then appreciation was instinctive and made its way from the people to the critics, while now it is through the appreciation of the critics that it must make its way to the people. Not that all these later criticisms are just. Often do they bear the marks of a most limited and superficial reading of the author. Generalizations that would apply to some one division of his poems are frequently grossly unfair when applied to all the works of so versatile a writer.

Grosart² (1879) praises him for his rich, pure English, his originality in an imitative period, his melody, brightness, sweetness, purity,—indeed, for most of the good qualities that

¹ *Stationers' Register* for 6 April, 1619.

² Grosart's *Breton*, "Memorial Introduction," *passim*.

a poet of his class could possess—and claims for him an especially high rank as a religious poet.

Saintsbury (1887)¹ treats Breton, "the industrious man of all work," as he calls him, with a superciliousness that arouses instinctive rebellion against the occasional justice of his strictures. He says:²—"His best certain thing is the pretty *Phillida and Corydon* idyll . . . but I own that I can never read this latter without thinking of two lines of Fulke Greville's in the same metre and on not very different theme—

‘O'er enamelled meads they went,
Quiet she, he passion rent,’

which are simply worth all the works of Breton's prose and verse, unless we count the *Lullaby*, put together. . . . His work . . . is . . . very interesting to the literary student, because it shows better perhaps than anything else the style of literature which a man disdaining to condescend to burlesque or bawdry, not gifted with any extraordinary talent . . . but possessed of a certain literary faculty, could then produce with a fair chance of being published and bought. It cannot be said that the result shows great daintiness in Breton's public. The verse with an improvement in sweetness and fluency, is very much in the doggerel style which was prevalent before Spenser; and the prose, though showing considerable faculty, if not of invention, yet of adroit imitation of previously invented styles, is devoid of distinction and point. . . . The pervading characteristics are Breton's invariable modesty, his pious and, if I may be permitted to use the word, gentlemanly spirit, and a fashion of writing which, if not very pointed, picturesque or epigrammatic, is clear, easy, and on the whole rather superior in observance of the laws of grammar and arrangement to the work of men of much greater note in his day." Later,³ he even refuses to admit in any wise Breton's title to the name of poet.

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, Ch. IV, p. 128, edition of 1891.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, p. 239 f.

³ *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, Intro., p. xvii, 1892.

Bullen reads him with far more sympathy, and admits, perhaps a little shamefacedly, that he "found interesting" even Breton's one novel, *The Miseries of Mavillia*, with its unfortunate ending. Bullen says:¹—"Breton wrote always in great haste, and never indulged in the luxury of revision. He frequently allows his rhymes to carry him along and lets the sense shift for itself. We may not be quite sure at times in reading the *Passionate Shepherd* that the grammatical constructions are nicely adjusted, and fastidious critics may complain that the writing is too diffuse, but the poet is in his gayest humor; we are charmed by the easy flow of his verse, and should be churls if we were not warmed by his enthusiasm. . . . Though I have some liking for Breton's devotional poems, I can hardly allow that they are of the first quality. . . . Both Davies and Breton could spin off any quantity of devotional verse (respectable verse, too,) when the feeling seized them, but their fluency was very tiresome. . . . As a satirist Breton had little of the *saeva indignatio*, real or assumed, of Marston or Hall. . . . There was nothing ill-natured or acrimonious about Breton. . . . It is only in his moral and didactic writings that Breton is ever tedious. His prose, which is always quaint and neatly turned, is valuable for the bright, cheerful pictures that it gives of Elizabethan society, and his lyrical poetry at its best is very good indeed."

Gosse's estimate of Breton² is that he was an "Elizabethan primitive who went on publishing fresh volumes until after the death of James I, but without having modified the sixteenth century character of his style. . . . Breton had the root of poetry in him, but he was no scholar,³ inartistic and absolutely devoid of the gift of self-criticism."

There is sensitive appreciation of Breton in a note to *Elizabethan Lyrics*,⁴ unfortunately much too brief, which speaks of

¹*Lyrics from Elizabethan Romances*, Introd., p. xx, 1890.

²*Jacobean Poets*, Ch. I, p. 15 f., 1894.

³Alas for poor John Hynd of 1606! See page 302.

⁴Page 226; by Felix E. Schelling, 1895.

him as "writing incessantly and unequally verse, prose, it mattered little what; frequently in debt and trouble; facile, ready, ever fertile. . . . There is a naturalness, an easy flow and gaiety, a tenderness and purity about Breton that ought to restore him to fame."

These collected criticisms will show that there is plenty of room for a thoughtful, scholarly, conscientious, and comprehensive estimate of Breton that shall avoid flippancy, blind enthusiasm, and sweeping generalization.¹

IV. *Breton's Religious Poetry.*

The highest religious poetry, though universal in its application, must (1) embody a real, or seemingly real, individual experience, and must (2) manifest no consciousness of the audience. Many of our modern hymns show to the initiated marks of having been written not from individual experience, but with a conscious purpose, either to accord with the ideas of some one sect or to intensify some one partisan doctrine. The sense of religious solidarity is lost, in that these hymns are only too plainly addressed to an audience that is either limited or unsympathetic. They have become, to use Mill's distinction,² eloquence rather than poetry. The feeling of individuality was intensified in the sixteenth century by "the fresh vigor given by the doctrines of the Reformation to the sense of personal responsibility and immediate relation to God."³ The feeling of unconsciousness suffered to some extent from the tendency to didacticism aroused by three

¹The death of Henry Morley has lost us the criticism of Breton that he had promised (in vol. x, p. 493) for the eleventh volume of his *English Writers*. W. Hall Griffin, who completed the work, barely mentions Breton as "one of the most prolific writers of the day," and says that his verse "often has the ring of a true poet."

The appendix to *English Writers*, vol. xi, gives a valuable bibliography of Breton.

²*Poetry and its Varieties*, by J. S. Mill.

³George MacDonald's *England's Antiphon*, Chapter v.

religious revolutions within twenty-five years, and by the knowledge that a man might be called on to seal his words with his blood. To the end of the century and far into the next, the mood of the hymnist was somewhat cautiously meditative, only in rarest instances was it spontaneous and cheerful.

In some of Breton's religious poems, the individuality, the personal tone, is so strong as to convince Grosart of their autobiographical character. On the other hand, his allusions to current events are few and indirect; of his family he makes no mention whatever; there is no proof that he either sinned or suffered more than the average man, as one might infer from the tone of some of the hymns, and, in the lack of external evidence, I see no ground for the belief that he has shown as much of self-revelation as of poetic insight. Of the spirit of consciousness he has less than many of the hymnists of his day. He takes a conventional view of most matters, and he can hardly be said to take any view of questions of theological controversy. His creed consists of three articles,—1. Wrong is punished; 2. Right is rewarded; 3. Repentance wins forgiveness. He writes frankly and naturally, neither with politic repression of his belief, nor with expectation of encountering opposition, nor with the elation of a man who finds himself on the winning side.

The possibility that he was a Roman Catholic is hardly worth mentioning, for the idea seems to have been suggested merely by a careless ascription to him of *Mary Magdalen's Love*, a poem utterly unlike his work. Both Grosart¹ and Brinsley Nicholson² have collected a number of proofs from Breton's own words of his approving familiarity with the ritual of the English Church. A still stronger proof of his protestantism is the un-Romish familiarity which he, as well as Gascoigne, shows with the English Bible, not only with its narrative portions and by way of direct quotation, but that

¹ Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. xxix.

² *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, vol. i, pp. 501-2.

closer familiarity which manifests itself in easy allusion and in unconscious adoption of phraseology; e. g.,

"Height, depth, length, breadth are in thy love declared."¹

"Some in their chariots, some in horses trust."²

"Help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."³

Grosart does Breton another bit of justice in printing in parallel columns passages from the *Countess of Pembroke's Passion* and from Watson's *Tears of Fancy*.⁴ This comparison seems to me to prove not only Grosart's charge, that Watson was the borrower, but also that he was unnecessarily superficial in his appropriations; e. g., Breton writes:⁵—

"The hunted hart sometimes doth leave the hound;
My heart, alas, is never out of chase."

This becomes under Watson's treatment a mere alliterative memory. He writes:⁶

"The hunted hare sometimes doth leave the hound,
My heart, alas, is never out of chase."

He quite overlooks the play on "hart" and "heart;" in short, he borrows a pun without leave, and then loses it! In *Tears of Fancy*⁷ Watson uses Breton's peculiar expression, "Woe begone me," which I have noticed in no other author.⁸

¹ *Countess of Pembroke's Love*, 23/1, l. 37; cf. Ephesians, III. 18:—"To comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height," etc.

² *Ibid.*, 27/2, l. 51: cf. Psalms, xx. 7:—"Some trust in chariots, and some in horses."

³ *Dedication of Pilgrimage to Paradise*; cf. Psalms, LI. 18:—"Build thou the walls of Jerusalem."

⁴ Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. lxxi.

⁵ *Countess of Pembroke's Passion*, stanza 13.

⁶ *Tears of Fancy*, sonnet 57.

⁷ Sonnet 38.

⁸ With one exception, the song beginning, "Sweet Love, if thou wilt gain a monarch's glory," which ends, "Alas! poor Love, then thou art woe-begone thee," in John Wilbye's *Madrigals*, 1598.

With such obligations to Breton, Watson's lines,¹

"If poets have done well in times long past
To glose on trifling toys of little price,"

become doubly ungracious, if they refer to Breton's *Toys of an Idle Head*.²

Breton's earliest religious poem, *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*,³ is an attempt at allegory, and as a whole hardly a successful attempt. It shows signs of the influence of the *Faëry Queen*,⁴ but has even less of reality. Spenser's "gentle knight" has at least a dented shield, but Breton's pilgrim discomfits the seven heads of Satan by seven elaborate discourses, carefully adjusted, one to each. The earlier part of the poem is more impersonal than a morality. The characters, if they may be so called, are mere puppets of the most transparently artificial construction, and it is often difficult to determine which one is speaking. In the latter part, however, no one can fail to see sweetness and strength. In his sympathetic description of the

"Fisherman all in his boat alone
With every billow tossed from side to side,"⁵

there is pictorial talent, and his telling of the whole little story makes one regret that his writing of narrative was so nearly limited to his prose. As his religious writings continue, there is less of allegory, and much less of that indefinable air of writing for an audience. Sometimes the inspiration fails; occasionally he is a little labored; his metaphor, rich and fervid as it is, seldom rises to the highly impassioned; yet, through it all, is the irresistible charm of sweetness, tenderness, inexhaustible freshness, musical rhythm and easy flow of language; and even though his religious poems are, as a whole, hardly more cheerful or animated than those of his contemporaries, yet, with his earnest sincerity and his unswerving faith, they can hardly be dreary reading. He is

¹ *Ekatompathia*, poem 17; published 1582.

² 1577.

³ 1592.

⁴ 1590.

⁵ 15/2, l. 32.

never discouraged, never misanthropic. His hopeful, sunny nature gleams through the slight melancholy that was regarded as the proper atmosphere to surround a religious poem. He often cries out of the depths, but he never loses a cheerful confidence in the result of his supplication. Gascoigne's theological pessimism would have been as incomprehensible to him as the ecstasies of Southwell. At the thought of death Southwell gazes with rapturous longing into the heaven that opens before him; Gascoigne, with his overflowing vitality, flinches and fears; Breton leisurely sentimentalizes. Breton knows nothing of the rhapsodies of the mystic, nothing of the spiritual conflicts of Saint Augustine, nothing of the higher selfishness of Thomas à Kempis; but he is a simple, true-hearted, conscientious man, who means to do his best, and is sincerely sorry when he fails.

The verbal style of his religious writings presents little that is especially characteristic, or different from that of other writers of his time. He shows the delight in words that was common to all Elizabethans, the consciousness that they were real things and not abstractions, that they had a substantial existence of their own. With this in mind, I can never feel that their plays on words, their puns, repetitions, turns, and twists are in any way a blemish. They are rather a proof of the Elizabethan appreciation of a form of life so intangible and subtle that we, unhappily, have lost their delicate sensitiveness to its existence. Even Southwell, with all his intensity of spirit and in full view of the martyrdom for which he yearned, did not count it idle play when he wrote:—

“Who lives in love, loves least to live,
And long delays doth rue,
If Him he love by whom he lives,
To whom all love is due.”¹

Breton is always fond of this by-play, but diffuse as he is, he rarely lets the sound supersede the sense; the word may play but it must do his work, must add to his thought; e. g.,

¹*Life's Death, Love's Life.*

"Before there was a light, there was a light
Which saw the world the world could never see."¹

He revels in a kind of concatenate verse ; e. g.,

"Thou leadest the eye unto his heart's delight,
Thou leadest the heart unto his soul's desire,
Thou leadest the soul unto the living light,
Which shows the heavens where hope can go no higher."²

This is especially common in some of his prose works, and it appears on a broader scale in *The Soul's Immortal Crown*, in which the description of each virtue leads up to that of the next.

The simplicity of the means that he employs is worthy of notice. His words are in large proportion monosyllables, and they are seldom to be taken in any unusual sense ; neither are there often unexpected turns of thought. His rimes are the familiar ones of the average hymn book, "pain—again," "king—sing," "prove—love," "choose—refuse," etc., and he is inexcusably careless in his repetition of rimes ; e. g., in the first fifty rimes of the *Countess of Pembroke's Passion*, four are repeated, and the same thing is true of the first fifty rimes of the *Countess of Pembroke's Love*. In the first sixty-three rimes of the *Ravished Soul*, the pair, "story—glory," appears five times. Tracing his religious poems from beginning to end, this simplicity of means is unchanged, but there is developed a resonance of rhythm, an overtone of thought, that have come with the experience of the increasing years in literature and in life. The smooth, peaceful flow of the sentiment is not altered, but the stream has broadened and

¹ *The Ravished Soul*, p. 6/1.

² *Countess of Pembroke's Love*, p. 22, l. 7–10. Cf. Barnabe Googe's,

"The oftener seen, the more I lust,
The more I lust, the more I smart,
The more I smart, the more I trust,
The more I trust, the heavier heart,
The heavy heart breeds mine unrest,
Thy absence, therefore, like I best."

Oculi Augent Dolorem.

deepened. There is reserved force. The quiet, meditative mood rises to outbursts of song. The gentle melody has become abundant harmony. It speaks well for Breton's spiritual and poetic nature that he is at his best in tones of praise. His hymn,

"When the angels all are singing,"¹

seems to me the most perfect of all his religious writings. There is rare earnestness, aspiration, clearness of vision, the faith that is the substance of things hoped for, and withal, exquisiteness of rhythm, condensation and completeness of thought, and a certain freshness and brightness—an eagerness of childlike longing—that would make a *De Profundis* into a pæan of joy. It is the *Sursum Corda* of his religious poetry.

V. Breton's *Vers de Société*.

Those of Breton's poems that are of the nature of *vers de société* will hardly add to his fame. As a whole, they are lacking in airiness, elegance, crispness, and lightness of touch, far more common in his other writings. There is sometimes a graceful turn of thought, but in general the movement is too ponderous, and the wit is too thinly spread. Wyatt's *vers de société* is concise and pithy, and never didactic. Gascoigne had in his lightest vein a sense of construction which Breton's verse often lacks. Gascoigne stops because the thought is expressed. Breton, like Turberville, writes on till the time is up, and with a very apparent expectation of praise that is sometimes a little exasperating; as is also his air of self-satisfied deliberation when contrasted with Sidney's feverish eagerness.

In the *Toys of an Idle Head*² I find little to commend. There are germs of religious sentiment and of sympathetic feeling, but shown in irresponsible fashion, and often with complete loss of Breton's usual power of critical selection; e. g., after describing in some eight hundred lines the various

¹ *The Longing of a Blessed Heart*, p. 15.

² 1577.

objects seen in a dream,¹ he finds no objection to enumerating them a second time, querying after each one what it may mean—a favorite anti-climax of his in setting forth his numerous dreams.² The wonder is that a man who was destined to write so well at fifty should have written so poorly at thirty-five.

In regard to the *Arbor of Amorous Devices*, I find no reason for disagreeing with the statement made by W. Hall Griffin,³ that "*Britton's Divinitie*⁴ alone is undoubtedly by Breton," though several other poems show his favorite expressions and turns of thought. The gem of the book, and the gem of all the books ascribed to Breton, *A Sweet Lullabie*,⁵ is somewhat magisterially claimed for Breton by Grosart,⁶ though he makes no attempt to prove his claim. Saintsbury⁷ believes that this claim "is based on little external and refuted by all internal evidence." I do not find in the poem one trace of the qualities of Breton's thought, or of the usual marks of his style. I claim it for Gascoigne on the following grounds:—

1. Similarity of phrase with lines in Gascoigne's *Epitaph upon Captain Bouchier*.⁸

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| a. "A noble youth of blood and bone;
His glancing looks, if he once smile,
Right honest women may beguile." | <i>Lullabie.</i> |
| a. "He might for birth have boasted noble race,
Yet were his manners meek and always mild.
Who gave a guess by gazing on his face,
And judged thereby might quickly be beguiled." | <i>Epitaph.</i> |
| b. "Although a lion in the field,
A lamb in town thou shalt him find." | <i>Lullabie.</i> |
| b. "In field a lion and in town a child." | <i>Epitaph.</i> |

¹ 39/2 *A Strange Dream*.

² Cf. Charles Lamb's *Vision of Repentance* with its similar—and yet very different treatment.

³ Morley's *English Writers*, vol. XI, Bibliography of Breton.

⁴ P. 9.

⁵ P. 7/1.

⁶ Grosart's *Breton*, Intro., p. xlviii.

⁷ *Elizabethan Literature*, Ch. VI, p. 239.

⁸ Hazlitt's *Gascoigne*, vol. 1, p. 75.

2. The clear-eyed, unconventional view of right, a characteristic of Gascoigne, but directly opposed to the unvarying conventionality of Breton.

3. The impression given by the poem that it is the product of a moment of inspiration, and not of any poetical industry. These moments of inspiration were as characteristic of the work of Gascoigne, as is the impression of industry given by the works of Breton.

VI. *Breton's Pastorals.*

The pastoral idea was in England seed sown in fertile ground. Pastoral was in most perfect accord with three of the leading tendencies of the age of Elizabeth: 1. The inherent English love of nature and simplicity; 2. The healthy liking for the marvelous, fostered by the great events of the age, and 3. The keen interest in human nature that was to find its highest development in the drama. The love of the simple combined with an appreciation of the marvelous led naturally to the allegorical. Sidney found his pastoral inspiration in the romantic combined with love of nature; Breton found his in love of nature combined with close study of human nature.

How far and in what way Breton was influenced by the current literature of his time is a question in which one must move with unusual caution. Pamphleteer as he was, he had nothing of Defoe's instinctive clutch on the sensation of the next moment. Strictly speaking, he was not an originator, but he had a way of watching a literary fashion until its first ardency was past, and then in his adoption of it, adding to the charm of familiarity some special touch of his own; e. g., "The decade, 1580-1590, may be regarded as the period of the supremacy of the pastoral,"¹ but the first certain date of Breton's pastoral is 1591, when his pretty *Phillida and Corydon* was written for the "Honorable Entertainment given to the Queen's Majesty at Elvetham."

¹Schelling's *Book of Elizabethan Lyrics*, Intro., p. xiv.

Just why the queen was so pleased with this simple little poem is worth a thought. It lacked allegory, mythology, flattery, plays upon words, everything in which she especially delighted, and Elizabeth was not often enthusiastic over a mere graceful bit of fancy. Perhaps this is the explanation:—The “Lady of May,” the closing phrase of the poem, is the name of a masque written by Sidney for the Earl of Leicester’s entertainment given to the queen at Wansted in 1578, when she was ostensibly deliberating on the matrimonial proposals of the Duke of Alençon. The poem then brought to her mind the congenial flattery of the masque, the persistence of the royal suitor, the apparent coyness in which she delighted, and the praise of her decision implied in Breton’s venturing to refer to the matter—and all these were allusions of the half hidden kind that were never wasted on Elizabeth. The idea of the countrymen singing under her window was not an uncommon device, but it may have been specially suggested to Breton by Gascoigne’s “savage man,” who appeared before the queen in the “Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth.”¹

The only suggestion of earlier pastoral work comes from his poems in the Cosens MS.,² though the unique copy of Breton’s *Bower of Delights* in the library at Britwell might, if accessible, afford valuable testimony. The date of the Cosens MS. is uncertain. An epitaph on Sidney would make it seem that the poems were collected soon after 1586; but another epitaph, on a death that occurred in 1553, would make the probable date of at least some of the poems much earlier. Now the work that is known to be Breton’s, even up to the last quarter of Elizabeth’s reign, not only manifests no special pastoral tendencies, but is of a quality so markedly inferior to even the poorest of his pastorals that I cannot believe those in the Cosens MS. to have greatly antedated 1591.

Breton shows his familiarity with the pastorals and love-lyrics that preceded him, even though it be often simply in avoiding their faults. That he knew the Italian pastoral

¹ Nichols’s *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

² In the British Museum.

in the original is probable from the diary of Reverend Richard Madox (1582),¹ which says of him, "He speaketh the Italian well;" but he makes no attempt to imitate Sannazaro's grave and stately discourse. He avoids the spiritless satire and the ponderous theology of Barnabe Googe, while adopting his simplicity and purity of thought. He follows Surrey in delicate sincerity, and in an occasional touch of satire, but not in his labored involutions, and, unfortunately, not in his impassioned sentiment. He is as incapable of the lack of taste that permits an occasional disgusting subject or simile to Wyatt as he is of the blind following of fashion that led Turberville to tell so many revolting stories so excellently well. Unhappily, he follows Turberville in presenting the inevitable moral well laid on, but in choice of subject he is far in advance. Turberville writes indiscriminately on the inconstancy of woman and the horrors of Russia; Breton in his great variety of themes has not chosen one that is incapable of poetical treatment. The sensual element of Watson he has replaced by a most exquisite sensibility to beauty and grace, not only of form and feature, but of spirit. His nymphs and shepherdesses are beautiful as a matter of course, but with one exception,² there are no inventoried details of their physical attractions. It is their kindness, wit, purity, sympathy, modesty, truth, sincerity, that appeal to him, charms of the real woman, and not of the somewhat voluptuous nymph. His admiration for Spenser is manifest. He does not attain to the peerless harmony of the Spenserian verse, but he avoids what is to me the one blemish on Spenser's pastorals, the slight air of patronage toward his rustics. Spenser paints simplicity of life, but from the outside, and his "Cuddie" and "Diggon" sometimes talk like the "Cuddie" and "Diggon" of a poet's dream. That Lyly influenced him in his pastoral is probable from the effect apparently produced upon him by *Endymion*,³ for the main thought of *Endymion*, love

¹ Sloane MS. 5008, British Museum.

² *Passionate Shepherd*, 3.

³ Written probably 1581 or 1582; acted February, 1591.

arousing from death or from sleep, is the keynote of so many of his pastorals and love-poems; e. g.,

“By thy comfort have been seen
Dead men brought to life again.”¹

“He pity cried, and pity came,
And pitied so his pain;
As dying would not let him die
But gave him life again.”²

His familiarity with the works of Gascoigne has been noted,³ and it has been suggested⁴ that the title of his *Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers* was perhaps imitated from Gascoigne's *Posies*. Attention has also been called to the fact that Richard Jones, who was Gascoigne's publisher, printed several of Breton's earlier works.⁵ By the marriage of his widowed mother with Gascoigne, Breton was brought into close connection with perhaps the strongest literary personality of the time. To a man who developed as slowly as Breton the nine years, from the age of twenty-four to thirty-three, during which Gascoigne was his stepfather, were formative years. The fact that between the appearance of his first writings, a few months before Gascoigne's death, and the publication of his next volume there was an interval of fifteen years suggests almost inevitably that his pursuit of literary fame had lost by that death its inspiration and encouragement. His poems rival Gascoigne's in sincerity, but while those of the earlier poet have an autobiographical tone, Breton's give the impression of being the work of a close observer. He had nothing of the objective originality that led Gascoigne to attempt new styles and to test new methods; his originality was purely subjective, and consisted in adding something of his own to whatever established fashion he chose to follow. In delicacy

¹ *Phyllis and Corydon*.

² *Astrophell his Song of Phillida and Coridon*. See also *Phyllis in Sorrow, The Nightingale and Phyllis, Love Dead, Love Rejected, Countess of Pembroke's Love*, p. 25/1, l. 6.

³ Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. lxvi.

⁴ Schelling's *Life and Writings of George Gascoigne*, p. 53, note 4. ⁵ *Ibid.*

of imagery he improves greatly upon Gascoigne who swims in sugared love¹ or in seas of joy,² whose sighs boil out of his breast and scald his heart in the process,³ who can find no "good plaister" for his pain,⁴ and finally sinks "in puddles of despight."⁵ Where Gascoigne says,⁶

"Amid my bale I bathe in bliss,"

Breton writes,⁷

"They bide in bliss amid their weary bale."

In love of nature the two poets stood together, but Gascoigne had the wider view and was by far the keener observer.

With Sidney I find Breton in accord, not in externals of style and expression, but, differing only in degree, in "that individual note, that intense and passionate cry of the poet's very heart."⁸ Sidney's humanness is one of his greatest charms; and Breton's most trivial pastorals and love poems give us the human shining through the delicately ideal. Instead of his "Phyllida" and "Aglaia," write the names of real maidens, and these are poems of unaffected love, sadness, courage, or despair. Watson is always insincere.⁹ Wyatt's love poems are his idea of how a lover ought to feel toward a Dulcinea who ought to be all that his fancy ought to paint her; but with both Sidney and Breton there is an air of truth that makes the poems seem the result of real experiences.

¹ "I seem to swim in such a sugared love."

The Lover Determined to Make a Virtue of Necessity.

² "Even she for whom I seemed of yore in seas of joy to swim."

Divorce of a Lover.

³ "And where the sighs which boil out of my breast

May scald my heart, and yet the cause unknown."

Dan Bartholmew.

⁴ "Nor ever can I find good plaister for my pain."—*Complaint of the Green Knight.*

⁵ "When as I sunk in puddles of despight."—*Dan Bartholmew.*

⁶ Hazlitt's edition of Gascoigne, i. 40.

⁷ *Flourish upon Fancy*, 25/1, l. 13.

⁸ Schelling's *Book of Elizabethan Lyrics*, Intro., p. xv.

⁹ Except when he pretends to be insincere; e. g., *Ekatompathia*, 88.

Even in style there are similarities. Sidney has a high-bred courtliness and gentle grace which Breton lacks, but both show the same love of simple and musical words, the same smooth, easy flow of language, suddenly deepened by some apposite richness of thought; the same transparency and simplicity by no means indicative of shallowness; and most of all, that inimitable air of almost childlike trustfulness, differing in that Breton had had to win his friends, to make his life, while Sidney had always been surrounded by love and appreciation.

Breton shows in his pastoral little of the verbal doubling on one's track that is common in some of his other writings. There is little repetition of favorite phrases and devices. Easy spinner of verse though he is, he often shows the definiteness of his thought in that the first few lines of a pastoral are its key, or rather its text, and in that he knows when what he has to say has been said. In poems whose alternate lines are almost of the nature of a refrain (e. g., *Phyllis and Corydon*, *A Sweet Pastoral*), there is nothing of the permissible monotony of a refrain, but a real, though subordinate, addition to the thought. One little "report song," *Shall we go dance the hay? The hay?*¹ deserves an especial word of praise for the merry swing of its metre. His definiteness appears also in the clean-drawn details of his imagery. His birds are named, "the blackbird and the thrush;" his flowers "roses with violets sweet;" but he is most definite of all, perhaps in *Phyllis and Coridon*:—

"On a hill there grows a flower,
Fair befall the dainty sweet;
By that flower there is a bower,
Where the heavenly muses meet.
In that bower there is a chair,
Fringed all about with gold"—

which reminds one irresistibly of William Morris.²

¹ Cf. Herrick's *To Phyllis to Love and Live with Him*, line 30:—"To dance the hey with nimble feet;" also, Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, stanza 53:—"He seems to dance a perfect hay."

² See *Defence of Queen Guenevere*, *Near Avalon*, *Golden Wings*, *Rapunzel*, *passim*.

In love of the country Breton is absolutely sincere. Wyatt rarely even mentions an object of nature. Turberville has an occasional "golden sunne," or "raggie rocks," or "starrie skies." Gooe speaks of hunting, but elsewhere he makes almost no mention of either plant or animal, save the sheep, a reference which the traditions of the pastoral made almost unavoidable; Watson uses nature chiefly for purposes of simile; Breton, Gascoigne, and Surrey love her for herself. Nor is Breton satisfied, even in an eclogue, with nature as cultivated by man; his garden-plot must be nourished by a "quechy spring." His couplet,

"Who can live in heart so glad
As the merry country-lad,"¹

is as real a nature poem as Whittier's *Barefoot Boy*. It is true that his country is usually in all the glow of a "blessed sunny day," but it is no fool's paradise, it is real country, and when he chooses, he can paint it in other moods; e. g.,

"Full of danger is the rock;
Wolves and bears do keep the wood,
Forests full of furze and brakes,
Meadows subject to the floods;
Moors are full of miry lakes."²

His description of the country is purely objective. I hardly think that he would have understood Sidney's thrilling lines:—

"O sweet woods, the delight of solitariness!
O how much I do like your solitariness!"³

He has not the eye of a nineteenth century naturalist for scientific details, and he rarely notes individual characteristics. His lambs "run at base," the snails are slimy, the bee finds honey. The daisy is simply a daisy, whether it is single or double, white or "crimson-tipped," he has never noticed; but he loves it, and it is this childlike love of his that is so refreshing in this age of the laboratory and the microscope. His favorite animals are the gentle, timorous ones, and I can hardly

¹*Passionate Shepherd*, 3.

²*Choridon Unhappy*.

³*Arcadia*, Book 2.

forgive him, even though he is in company with Shakespeare, that he shows a real antipathy to the dog.

His subject is never complex ; it is always a simple incident or a single mood ; and in this simplicity there is something of the once-upon-a-time air of an oft-told tale. The familiar adverbial beginning is one of his favorites ; e. g.,

“On a hill there grows a flower,”¹

“In the merry month of May.”²

“Upon a dainty hill sometime.”³

Not that Breton's pastoral has the *insouciance* of a fairy-tale ! There is sometimes a note of unaffected sadness ; there is satire, kindly but keen of sight ; often in the midst of the lighter touches is there a deeper tone of some universal thought.

VII. *Breton's Satire.*

. A literary man sensitive to the movements of his age could hardly have neglected the writing of satire, indicating as it did the influence of the drama in its nice distinctions of character drawing. In Breton's pastoral, even in his religious poems, there are traces of the keenly critical insight that makes satire possible ; but his earliest strictly satirical work, the *Pasquil* series, belongs to 1600. Early the next year Breton, Jonson, and Marston were attacked by “W. I.” (William Ingram ? John Weever ?) in the *Whipping of the Satyr*, the stinging allusions to Jonson and Breton being rendered even more unmistakable by marginal notes.⁴ The reply made to this was the *No Whipping*, to Breton's authorship of which the internal evidence is almost conclusive. Grosart notes⁵ the similarity of the ending of the introductory epistle to those of *The Murmurer*, *The Good and the Bad*, and *Wit's Private Wealth*. There are Breton's striking expres-

¹ *A Pastoral of Phillis and Coridon.*

² *Philida and Coridon.*

³ *The Nightingale and Phillis.*

⁴ Collier's *Bibliographical Account* under *Whipping of the Satire*.

⁵ Grosart's *Breton*, *Introd.*, p. xxxi.

sions that appear in the *Pasquil* series, his "*Had I wist*," his "Woe begone me;" his favorite contrasts, "will—wit," "king—beggar;" his appreciation of the power of money and his never failing afterthought that goodness is far more desirable. There is the inevitable play on words, but with the moral ending so eminently Bretonesque; e. g.,

"Know you a villain? Let him find his match:
And show not you a match a villain's skill.
.
.
.
Let pass the villain with his villainy,
Make thou thy match with better company."¹

But far less easy of imitation by the satirist is Breton's readiness to acknowledge his own faults, his humanity, his kindly spirit, his alternate raillery and gravity, with the earnestness of aim underlying both; and perhaps most of all, his eager clinging to his friends and his fear to wound even an enemy, combined with his manly independence of spirit.

Satire can hardly fail to be an honest expression of the author's thought. To the student of Breton, then, the author reveals himself more freely here than in any of his other writings. Juvenal's bitter lashings were the models of sixteenth century satire, followed closely by Hall, Marston, Donne, and those lesser writers, that echoed their vituperation though not their genius. There could be no greater contrast with the work of these men than that of Breton. He lacks Hall's obstreperous vigor, as he does his harshness, his obscurity, and his occasional foulness. Marston is fiercely acrimonious, often vilely scurrilous. Saintsbury calls him² "nearly the foulest, if not quite the foulest writer of any English classic." His "fury of demoniac laughter" is even more bitter than his invective. Donne's satire often fairly blazes with almost malignant rage; his sarcasm is too bitter for any touch of humor.

¹ Grosart's *Breton*, Introd., p. xxxiii; xxxi-xxxvii gives long extracts from *No Whipping*.

² *Elizabethan Literature*, Chapter IV, p. 151.

With none of these has Breton anything in common. His satire comes directly from Gascoigne, and shows the same penetrating but friendly insight, the same power to outline briefly and tellingly the good and the bad, the same carefulness to blame wrongs rather than individuals, the same sensitive watchfulness not to wound the innocent. Breton's satire was directed chiefly against wealth *versus* poverty; Gascoigne takes higher ground and satirizes "Such as love to seem but not to be;"¹ but both write like men who knew their world. The *Fool's Cap* is full of sound worldly wisdom in the same key as the advice of *Polonius*:—

"He that doth fill his coffers full of gold,
Yet will not wear good clothes on his back,
But doth a kind of clownish humor hold
To have his garment cut out like a sack,
And thinks red herring have a dainty smack,
Tell him in kindness (that he may not quarrel),
The foolscap will be fit for his apparel."²

Even while he chides the thirst for gold, he admits freely the benefits that gold can procure.

He is in word and suggestion absolutely free from any touch of grossness. His satire is marked by its impersonality, its unselfishness; the injustice that he castigates is not the injustice that has touched him; e. g., he nowhere manifests any longing for academic distinction, but there is acumen and sympathy in his lines:³—

"And grieve to see true learning's worth decrease,
When that a dunce doth take a doctor's charge."

He is often playful, but never flippant. His humor varies with his mood; sometimes it comes from unexpected juxtaposition, but far oftener from a picture brought before the mind by a few telling strokes; e. g.,⁴

¹ *The Steele Glas*, Hazlitt's *Gascoigne*, II, p. 186.

² *Foolscap*, p. 21/2, l. 1.

³ *The Soul's Immortal Crown*, p. 8/2, l. 27.

⁴ *Pasquil's Mad Cap*, p. 9/1, l. 50.

"He like the crane that stalks along the street,
And overlooks the moon and all the stars,
She that doth softly strive to set her feet
As though her joints had lately been at wars."

Sometimes his earnestness overpowers his humor, but generally he sees the ludicrous and the serious at the same glance. *Pasquil's Precession*, for instance, is a litany, in which, within the narrow limits of one stanza, he prays to be delivered,

"From laying plots for to abuse a friend,"¹

and also,

"From surfeiting within a cherry tree."²

Pasquil's Prognostications is in the same line as the closing stanzas of Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*, and is as full of sound morals as Holmes's *Latter-Day Warnings*, only where Holmes can rail and laugh, and leave the reader to find his own lesson, Breton is a little afraid of trusting his moral to stand alone. Just why Lee³ should have said that Breton wrote like a disappointed man, I do not see. It is true that he is sometimes melancholy and that the future that he paints is not always rainbow-tinted, but he never doubts that it has a foundation of good sense and reasonable hope, and that the following out of his prescriptions will have a salutary effect.

After all, the greatest charm of his satires is their kindness, their humanity, their never carrying fire where light will suffice. Marston⁴ almost annihilates the poor lover who worships the picture of his mistress. Breton⁵ in mock seriousness forbids that one should kneel to a dead image while there is one alive for the purpose. Donne's *Will* is a biting sarcasm; Breton's *Farewell*,⁶ like Gascoigne's *Lullaby of a Lover*, has no touch of bitterness. The pun,

"I had no suit there, nor new suit to shew,
Yet went to court."⁷

¹*Pasquil's Precession*, 8/1, l. 22.

²*Ibid.*, l. 27.

³*Dictionary of National Biography*, article Breton.

⁴*Scourge of Villainy*, l. 92.

⁵*Strange News out of Divers Countries*, p. 7/1, l. 16.

⁶*Melancholike Humours*, p. 10.

⁷Donne's *Satire IV*.

which in Donne is stinging sarcasm, would in Breton, even if expressed in the same words, be so pervaded with the general tone of charity and kind-heartedness as to lose its sting.

VIII. *Breton, the Man, in His Work.*

No poet ever manifested himself in his work more clearly than does Breton. The characteristic that comes most to the surface is his good will toward all men. Even before his *Invective on Treason* he speaks of "naming no person offending, and wishing there had never been such an offence." He is on friendly terms not only with the human race, but with the lower animals. It pleases him to see that the "flies be dancing in the sun;"¹ and he likes to watch

"The little black-haired cony,
On a bank for sunny place,
With her fore feet wash her face."²

His manly independence of character, quiet and unobtrusive as it is, is absolutely unbending. Even in those of his dedications and prefaces that are written in the euphuistic vein, so subtle an incentive to flattery, he makes no attempt to curry the favor that removed so many obstacles from the path of the literary man of the sixteenth century. Even Gascoigne makes appeals for patronage, distasteful as they must have been to him; and he does it in a delightfully persistent, business-like fashion, as if he meant to end a disagreeable matter as soon as possible. Breton manifests a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind," asks that his book be read, and evinces a healthy gratitude in advance, but does not hesitate to sign himself "Your friend as I find cause."³ Sometimes he does not even ask for a reading, but says, "You shall read it if it shall please you, and consider of it as it shall like you."⁴ His dedication to King James⁵ is marked by the same quiet dignity and self-

¹ *Passionate Shepherd*, 2.

² *Ibid.*, 3.

³ Preface to *The Soul's Immortal Crown*.

⁴ *Pasquil's Pass and Passeth Not*, epistle to the reader.

⁵ *Soul's Immortal Crown*.

reliance, and a firm though modest conviction that, faulty as it may be, what he has written is yet worth reading. Not even to suit the taste of a prince would he swerve from his course; e. g., James delighted in theological controversy, but of Breton's seventeen booklets that appeared after 1603, not one is in the least controversial, and but two can be called strictly theological.

It was a time of freedom, but also of unbounded servility and worship of titles. Barnabe Googe in his *Epitaph on Lord Sheffield's Death* (1563) is less overpowered by the death than by the thought that "mere crabbed clowns" should have ventured to murder a man who was "lord by birth." In an age that was on its knees before a queen who could demand and assimilate grosser adulation than any other mortal, Breton contented himself with expressing his appreciation of what good she had already done, and encouraging her to do more.

In rare contrast with his independence is his intellectual modesty. He was no ignorant man; besides those authors whose influence he shows, he makes direct reference to Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, Dante, Guarini, Machiavelli, Ovid, Cicero, Virgil, and Homer. He spoke Italian; with Latin he was familiar enough to treat it in easy, colloquial fashion. A pedantic display of erudition would not have been a difficult matter for Breton, but he was no pedant. In a day when "Poets desired to show their learning, their knowledge of the details of mythology, their acquaintance with the more fantastic theories of contemporary science,"¹ Breton's mythological allusions were comparatively few, hardly too many for the taste of the present age. Of the sciences he has little to say. He gives an occasional quizzical word to alchemy; astronomy, or astrology, he mentions more frequently than the others, and usually with good-natured incredulity, the more remarkable at a time when many of the greatest men were firm believers in the fates as foretold by the stars. His knowledge of all kinds he wears lightly, as if he loved it

¹Andrew Lang's introduction to Chapman in Ward's *English Poets*.

rather than set a value upon it. "Facile, ready, ever fertile,"¹ as he was, he had not the officious readiness of the shallow mind. That he is easy reading, that one does not find the resistance of Donne, is not due to lack of thought, but rather to the clearness and simplicity with which his thought is expressed. His reader is called on to think with the words, not between them; and any possible impression of weakness comes rather from diffuseness of style, than from vagueness or feebleness of thought.

Breton was not a great poet, but he was admired by the same audience that admired great poets. Aside from his literary merits, I should attribute this:—

1. To his avoidance of opposition by following the literary line of least resistance; e. g., in his never introducing a new literary fashion, and in never adopting one that had not become an established favorite.

2. To his ability to please an unusually varied audience, resulting from his power to combine in each kind of verse qualities that other and greater writers would have found inharmonious; e. g., his religious poetry is ardent and spiritual enough to please the most devout, and is outspoken enough to win the respect of the most belligerent controversialist; his pastoral would delight the lover of sprightly, graceful verse, and its touch of reality and earnestness would not leave entirely unsatisfied the desires of the deepest student of human nature; his satire was keen enough to hold its own with that of Hall, Donne, and Marston, and kindly enough not to grieve those that would more "gently scan" their fellow-man.

Breton was charitable to his foes, almost pathetically devoted to his friends, and capable of a generous, romantic friendship. He disliked harshness and violence, and for the sake of peace would sacrifice anything but his own sturdy self-respect. In the expression of his religious feelings he leaned toward the sentimental, but his faith was sincere, and had grown up in a bracing atmosphere of practical common sense. His nature

¹Schelling's *Elizabethan Lyrics*, p. 226.

was not profound, neither was it shallow ; it was sunny, contented, almost transparently artless and childlike. He was a poet, and he was more ; he was a kind-hearted, pure-minded, Christian man.

No one can feel more keenly than I the incompleteness of this study of Nicholas Breton. As a political pamphleteer, a writer of "characters," a novelist, a humorist, a philosopher, a letter-writer, his work has not even been mentioned. All that could be attempted was to present this richly endowed nature on its poetical side, leaving to some other pen the many phases of his literary activity that are here untouched.

EVA MARCH TAPPAN.

X.—BOCCACCIO'S DEFENCE OF POETRY; AS CONTAINED IN THE FOURTEENTH BOOK OF THE *DE GENEALOGIA DEORUM*.

The work in which his Defence of Poetry occurs, the *De Genealogia Deorum*, was first suggested to Boccaccio while he was yet a young man, by Hugo, king of Cyprus. Hugo sent to the young poet, asking him to write a work upon the mythology of antiquity, there being no such book then in existence. Boccaccio seems to have been by no means eager for so tremendous a task, but urged on by his royal patron he at last began it, and continued to work on it at intervals, though the king who had originally set him the undertaking did not live to see its completion. Completed, indeed, it never really was, and it was without the author's knowledge and against his wishes that the manuscript passed out of his hands before it had undergone revision. This accounts in part for the desultory character of the work, its diffuseness, its repetitions, its lack of arrangement and subordination; only in part, of course, for something of all this—that, namely, which corresponds with the essentially indiscriminating, non-selective mind of the author himself—could not have been eliminated by any amount of revision.

The work is written in Latin prose, and the main part of it treats of the heathen myths, with special reference to their allegorical significance. In the fourteenth chapter, however, he attempts to defend his work against the accusations which he foresees it must encounter; and, since, as he says, his work is "wholly poetical,"¹ he is naturally involved in a defense of poetry in general.

He opens his defense by describing his accusers—the jurists, the doctors, the theologians—with such satire as his rather

¹Fol. p. 359. The references throughout are to the edition of 1532, Basileae, Io. Hervagius.

placid nature could command. Having thus oratorically disposed of the least worthy of his opponents, he passes to the more formidable of the accusations themselves. "What is this poetry?" its maligners clamor; "it is simply a nullity, not worth the attention of a rational being; it is a collection of lies; it is either mere foolishness, or it is morally baneful, or it is so obscure that no one can understand it; at best, the poets are simply apes of the philosophers. Hence, all good men will follow Jerome and Boethius in condemning poetry, they will follow Plato in banishing poets from the cities."

Such is the line of objections taken, and these objections Boccaccio considers one by one, using any argument that he thinks may avail, from the puerile quibbling of the schoolmen to the sweeping and revolutionary art-theories of the new Humanism. Indeed, it is this union, or rather intermingling, of the old and the new, that gives to the treatise much of its peculiar interest and significance.

Poetry, says Boccaccio, is not a nullity. If it were, he naïvely asks, whence come all these volumes of poems?¹ In reality, it is one of the faculties (in the scholastic sense of the word) coming from God, and this very name "facultas"—here speaks the schoolman—"implies a certain abundance or fullness." Then follows his own definition of poetry:

"Poetry is a certain fervor of exquisite invention, and of exquisite speaking or writing what one has invented. A power which, proceeding out of the bosom of God, is granted at birth, though, I think, to but few. . . . This noble fervor manifests itself, for example, in urging the mind to a longing for expression, in searching out rare and strange inventions, in giving to one's thoughts order and arrangement, in adorning the composition by means of an unusual interweaving of words and thoughts, in concealing the truth under the beauteous veil of the fable."²

¹ P. 360.

² Cap. VII, fol. pp. 360, 361.

There follows a remarkable exposition of the etymology of the word "poetry."¹ Some malignant persons, he says, have derived it from the Greek ποιέω, which they make equivalent to the Latin *finco*, and then, choosing out the worst meaning of this verb *finco*, i. e., to cheat or deceive by made-up stories, they apply this meaning to poetry, and use it as a reproach, calling the poets cheats and deceivers. In reality, Boccaccio assures us, the word comes from an old Greek word, *poëtes*, meaning "carefully chosen expression" ("exquisita locutio") and it was applied to the efforts of the early poets, because they tried to give to their songs a distinctive form and order, by means of rhythm and choice of words.

Thus we see that Boccaccio's theory of poetry emphasizes, on the one hand, the careful ordering and disposition of words; and on the other, the existence of a hidden meaning, an allegorical significance. We are familiar with such a conception, as found, both implicit and explicit, in Dante; it was the conception Petrarch adopted and expounded, and Boccaccio merely gives to it a more elaborate expression.² Note, however, that though he emphasizes the formal side of poetry, the essential thing is in his eyes the content, the allegory; and therefore he can speak of his own ponderous prose treatise on the heathen mythology as being "wholly poetical."

It is possible to read into this notion of poetic allegory a meaning which shall conform to our own art-theories, and such an interpretation has by at least one student of Boccaccio been rather taken for granted.³ But Boccaccio himself had certainly no such meaning in mind, and the sense in which he applied the word "symbolic" to the eclogues of Petrarch and of Virgil is not the sense in which we apply it to Shakespeare's *Lear* or Sophocles' *Œdipus*.

¹ P. 361.

² Cf. *Inferno*, ix; *Convito*, ii, 1; *Lett. Can. Grande della Scala*; Petrarch, *Epist. Her. Fam.*, x.

³ Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy*, Part III, Chap. iv.

In connection with his art-theory, two other passages may be mentioned here, which occur farther on in the book. In one he speaks of the poet as imitating nature, and this expression suggests a possible trace of Greek influence. But, in his poetic system, the word imitation must apply merely to the external part of the poem, not to its real content. Thus he might say that Virgil describes bees, and in so far imitates nature; but he would also say that, for the discerning reader, Virgil is not really talking about bees at all, but about the human soul or the divine essence, or some other metaphysical topic. This "imitation of nature" as Boccaccio meant it, is then only a part of the external trappings of poetry; it is quite distinct from "imitation" as Aristotle meant it, or as Sidney meant it, or as we may mean it.

Again he says, speaking of Plautus and Terence: "Although they intended nothing beyond what the letter implies, yet by their genius they describe the manners and words of various men . . . and if these things have not actually taken place, yet since they are universal[ly valid] they could have taken place."¹

These last phrases are extremely interesting as the only ones giving any hint of the Aristotelian conception of poetic universality—the conception which was two hundred years afterward beautifully restated by Sidney. But it is no more than a hint. Boccaccio seems to have no idea of its value, and one wonders where he got the notion from at all. He was not the man to have arrived at it by himself, and it sounds like an echo, for it is not the sort of idea one can get hold of independently and let go again.

After defining poetry, Boccaccio proceeds to discuss its origin. Assuming that its first appearance was in the religious formularies of the ancients which accompanied their sacrificial rites, he adduces three theories, which ascribe its origin respectively to the Babylonian fire-worshippers, to the

¹ P. 364. The Latin is: "Cum Communia sint."

Greeks, and to the Jews. The first theory he rejects unconditionally, saying, "yet, without more weighty evidence, I shall not easily believe that an art so sublime had its origin among nations so barbarous and savage."¹ But between the Greeks and the Hebrews he hesitates, and at last shrewdly refers the decision to King Hugo himself, suggesting, however, a compromise solution which would make Musaeus and Moses one and the same person. Whether the resultant from this fusion of the two is to be Hebrew or Greek, he does not say.

The manner of its origin among the Greeks he describes in part as follows (the passage is, by the way, closely paralleled in one of Petrarch's letters):²

"At length, since it seemed absurd for the priests to offer the sacrifice to the deity in silence, they desired to have forms of words drawn up, in which the glory and might of the divinity should be set forth, the desire of the people be expressed, and their prayers be offered to God according to their human necessities. And since it seemed unfitting to address the deity in the same way that one would speak to a rustic or a servant or a familiar friend, they laid upon the priests the charge of devising a more excellent and refined manner of speech. Some of these men—few, indeed, amongst whom are to be counted Musaeus and Linus and Orpheus—filled with a kind of inspiration from the divine mind, composed strange songs, regulated by measure and time, and gave praise to God. In these songs, that they might have greater weight, they concealed the divine mysteries beneath a noble disguise, wishing that the venerable majesty of such [mysteries] should not, through too facile comprehension by the vulgar, fall into contempt. The art-product, because it seemed wonderful and even unheard of, was, as we have said, called from its properties [ab effectu] poetry, or *poëtes*, and those who composed were called poets."³

Boccaccio next considers the assertion that the fables of poets are to be condemned. "I grant," he says, "that poets

¹ P. 362.

² *Epist. Rer. Fam.*, x.

³ Cap. VIII, p. 362.

are story-tellers, that is, they invent fables, but this seems to me no more disgraceful than it is for a philosopher to have framed a syllogism."¹ To begin with, he goes on in effect, the word *fabula* comes from the verb *for, faris*, and from the same stem is derived the word *confabulatio*, meaning conversation. Now, in the Gospel of Luke, is it not written that the disciples went toward Emmaus, and Christ came to them as they talked together—"Cum confabularentur." Now, he concludes triumphantly, since *confabulari* is thus used with reference to the disciples themselves, it cannot be wrong, and if *confabulari* is not wrong, neither is *fabulari*.²

After this rather astonishing pun, offered, however, in perfect seriousness, he returns to the argument. There are, he says, three kinds of fables to be considered :³

I. Those in which disguise entirely lacks truth, as in the fables of Æsop, where the animals are made to talk, quite contrary to fact. Aristotle too used this kind of fable.

II. Fables where the true and the false are intermingled. This sort is sometimes abused by the comic poets.

III. Fables which approximate history, and are thus close to the truth, though divergent. Of this sort is epic poetry, and the comedies of Plautus and Terence.

IV. The foolish inventions of old women, not worth considering.

For each of the first three Boccaccio now presses his strongest argument—the argument from Scripture writing. The first sort of fables—like Æsop's—will, he says, be found in the Old Testament, as for instance in Judges, ix, 4–15, where the trees of the forest set out to choose for themselves a King. The second makes up the great bulk of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Isaiah, though these visions of theirs are called by the theologians "figures," not fables. The third sort have no less a warrant than the parables of Christ himself. These three, then, cannot be condemned without condemning the Scriptures also.

¹ P. 363.

² P. 364.

³ Pp. 364, 365.

Passing on to the assertion that poets conceal no meaning beneath their fables, he declares this simply fatuous. It is well known how deep a meaning Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics* contain, and, to come down to modern times, every one must see that Dante was not merely a poet, but a profound philosopher and theologian. Or do they think that "when the poet depicted the double-membered Gryphon dragging the car on the summit of Mount Severus, accompanied by the seven candlesticks and the seven nymphs, with the rest of the triumphal pomp"—do they think that Dante did this merely "to show that he knew how to compose rimes and fables?"¹

Or "who will be so insane as to suppose that that most illustrious and most Christian man, Francisco Petrarca . . . spent so many vigils, so many sacred meditations, so many hours, days, and years . . . simply in depicting Gallus demanding his pipe of the Tyrrhene, or Pamphilus and Mitio contending with one another?" No one would be so insane as to think this, especially none who had read his other writings, "in which whatever of sanctity and penetration can be contained in the breast of moral philosophy is there discerned with so much majesty in the words that nothing can be expressed for men's instruction with more fulness, nothing with more beauty, nothing with more ripeness, nothing, finally, with more sanctity." And he adds, with a humility which I think was genuine: "I might in addition adduce my own bucolic poem, whose meaning I well know, but I think it is better to omit that, because I am not yet of such worth that I ought to mingle with illustrious men, and because, too, one's own productions ought to be left to the judgment of others."²

He concludes the chapter with a picturesque turn worthy of Sidney, and, as Professor Scott has pointed out, recalling one passage of the *Defense*:

¹ P. 366.

² *Ibid.*

"We must believe that it is not only illustrious men . . . who have put into their poems profound meanings, but that there is never an old woman doting on the home hearth in the watches of the winter nights, who, when she tells tales of Orcus or the Fates or of witches—about which they oftenest make up their stories—does not, as she invents and repeats them, conceal beneath the narrative some meaning, according with the measure of her narrow powers—a meaning sometimes by no means to be derided, through which she wishes either to terrify the little boys, or to divert the girls, or to make the old people laugh, or at least to show forth the power of fortune."¹

There follows a defence of the poets' love of solitude,² and then a defence of the alleged obscurity of poets' writings.³ First, as usual, he argues that if they are obscure, so too are the philosophers, and the writers of the Scriptures; and if this concealment of the truth is right in the Bible, which is meant for the multitude, it is much more allowable in poetry, which is meant for but few. Moreover, it is well to conceal precious truths, lest by too easy accessibility they become cheap, while if they are hidden, those who really seek them can always find.

In answering the charge that poets are liars, Boccaccio begins by defining a lie. A lie is an untrue statement closely resembling truth, through which the truth is repressed and the false expressed, and this for the purpose of injuring or assisting some one.⁴ Now, of the various kinds of poetry, only the epic approximates the truth of history, but this form has become sanctioned by common consent. For the rest, and as a general answer, it may be said that the poet does not deceive, he invents, and if his inventions are lies, so too are those of John in the Apocalypse.⁵ The poets did indeed write of many gods, whereas there is but one God, but these were conventional expressions. Virgil, for instance, knew well there was but one God, when he wrote: "Jupiter omnipotens,

¹ *Ibid.*² Cap. XII.³ P. 370.⁴ Cap. XI.⁵ P. 369.

precibus si flecteris ullis," etc. "Omnipotens" is not applied to any other of the gods, and they are really "considered not as gods, but as members of God, or functions of the divinity."¹ They did not of course know God as we know him, but this was not their fault. For there are two kinds of *untruth-tellers*; those who tell an untruth knowingly and advisedly, and those who tell it unwittingly. It is only the first who are properly called liars. Of those who tell an untruth in ignorance, there are again two kinds, those whose ignorance is excusable, and those whose is not. The ignorance of the heathen poets is certainly pardonable, for they had received no such revelation as had been granted to the Hebrews. Or, at least, if they are liars, so too are the philosophers, Aristotle and the rest.

As to the poets being the "apes" of the philosophers,² this is not the case. Rather, they are themselves philosophers, the essential content of their works is wholly consonant with that of philosophy, although their methods are different. The passage here is worth quoting:

"Moreover, a simple imitator in no wise deviates from the footsteps of his model, and this is by no means perceived in the case of poets. For, allowing that they do not deviate from philosophic conclusions, they do not reach them by the same path. The philosopher disproves by syllogisms what he thinks untrue, and by the same method he proves what he maintains, and this openly; whereas the poet, what he has conceived through meditation, he conceals with as much art as he can, beneath the veil of fiction,"³ etc.

"If," he goes on, "they had said they were apes of nature, it might . . . have been endured . . . since, according to his powers the poet tries to describe in lofty song whatever is done by nature herself. . . . If these fellows should choose to look, they will see the movements of the sky and of the stars, the noise and sweep of the winds, and the noisy crackling of flames, the roar of the waves, the height of mountains, the shadows of the woods, the course of the rivers, so clearly

¹P. 370.²Cap. xvii.³P. 376.

described that the things themselves would seem to be in the few letters of the songs. In this [sense] I will admit that poets are apes, and I think it a most honorable endeavor to strive by art after that which nature does by power.”¹

The chapter closes with a quick turn and thrust at his opponents too characteristic to leave out:

“But what further? It would be better for them [*i. e.*, the maligners of the poets] and for us with them to act, if possible, so as to be apes of Jesus Christ, rather than to scoff at the little understood work of poets.”²

In the next chapter³ he deals with the assertion that it is a deadly sin to read poetry. Its accusers, putting on an air of sanctity, cry out: “Oh ye redeemed with divine blood, if there is in you any piety . . . cast away these accursed books of poetry, burn them in the flames, and consign their ashes to the winds. Even to wish to look upon them at all is a deadly crime, they instil into your minds fatal poison, they drag you into Hell, they render you exiles from the heavenly kingdom to all eternity.”⁴

Thus, says Boccaccio, thus cry the poet-haters, calling Jerome to witness, who said that “the songs of the poets are the food of devils.”

He replies as follows:—First, admitting for the sake of argument, that the heathen poems do contain untruth and iniquity—what of that? They did not know Christ and could only speak as they knew. Neither the laws, nor the prophets nor the ordinance of the popes forbid us to read them. What follows is perhaps worth quoting, for its quaintness and its allusions to contemporary manners and contemporary art:

“Yet I confess it would be far better to study the sacred writings than these, even although these are good; I think such students are more acceptable to God, to the Pope, and to the church. But we are not all nor always led by the same passion, and so sometimes some are drawn to poetry. And if we are, . . . where is the crime, what is the evil?

¹ *Ibid.*² *Ibid.*³ Cap. XVIII.⁴ P. 376.

We can without harm listen to the heathen customs, we can, if we like, receive the heathen themselves, show them hospitality, give them justice, if they seek it, cement friendship with them; only to read the writings of their poets, this, please God, we are by these learned men, forbidden. The accursed errors of Manichæus, Arius, and Pelagius, and the rest of the heretics—no one, as we know, forbids us to study these. But to read the poets' verses is horrifying, as these men clamor,—nay, it is a deadly sin. We may gaze at the street jugglers . . . we may listen to the actors singing at the banquets their shameful songs . . . and we are not for this haled to Hell. But to have read the poets, does this render us exiles from the eternal kingdom? It is right for the painter even in sacred buildings to represent the three-headed dog, watching the threshold of Dis, or Charon the boatman of Acheron ploughing the fords, the Erinyes girt with serpents and armed with inflamed countenances, Pluto himself, ruler of the woful realm, imposing torments upon the damned. Yet these same things it is wrong for the poets to write in sounding verse, and an unpardonable sin to read. The painter is permitted to portray in the halls of kings and nobles the loves of the gods of old, the crimes of men, and all sorts of such stories, and no decree of the fathers forbids it, while every one may freely gaze upon them. Yet they will have it that the inventions of poets, encrusted with literary ornament, and read mainly by the learned, corrupt men's minds more than paintings which are gazed at by the ignorant."¹

But all this is argued on the supposition that the poets are really iniquitous in their content. As an actual fact they are not so, except for the single blot of heathendom. For how is poetry an offender more than philosophy? Its essential content is the same, though its manner is different. Why then do men praise Socrates and Plato and Aristotle, and condemn Homer and Hesiod and Virgil?

As for Jerome's words, they have been misunderstood. Jerome himself is steeped in the heathen poets, and when he censured poets he meant only the bad poets. Augustine, too, knew the poets well, and quotes them, while, if yet higher

¹ P. 377.

authority is wanted, did not Paul quote from Menander and from Epimenides? Finally: "Did not our Lord and Savior himself . . . use Terence's words, in addressing the prostrate Paul: 'It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks?' Far be it from me to think that Christ the Lord borrowed the words from Terence, however long the poet lived before the words were spoken. It is enough for me that this suffices to prove my point, that our Savior was willing that some of his words and thoughts should have been spoken from the mouth of Terence, that it might be evident that the songs of the poets are by no means food of the devils."¹

Finally,² his opponents bring in as evidence the decision of Plato that poets ought to be banished from the cities. Plato's authority, he admits, is indeed great, but his words have been misunderstood. He never intended to banish the good poets—Homer, Virgil, Ennius, Petrarch—but only the bad ones, of whom there are some. For, just as all liquors have their dregs, so Philosophy has its Cynics and Epicureans, so Christianity had its Donatists and other heretics, so poetry had its low comic poets. But it is not right to condemn all for the fault of a few. The same argument is elaborated with regard to Boethius's condemnation of poetry, and finally Boccaccio concludes with an exhortation to the accusers of poetry. He bids them study it and try to understand it, and if they condemn, to condemn with discrimination. He concludes: "Since, therefore, you are convinced that poesy and the poets are not to be scorned, nor tossed aside, but cherished, enough has been said. While if you obstinately persist in your madness, one must bear with you, although you are to be scorned, for nothing could be written that would give you satisfaction."³

Such is, in brief, the argument of the treatise. But a brief résumé can give no idea of certain characteristics of the work—its diffuseness, its lack of proportion, of discriminat-

¹ Pp. 378, 379.² Cap. xix.³ P. 384.

ing emphasis, of literary style, its curious intermingling of the superficial and the essential. In all these particulars the work bears the stamp of a second-rate mind, a mind not philosophically creative, a mind sensitive indeed, and aspiring, but without the power to think fundamentally and therefore consistently.

In considering his treatise, two questions at once occur: First, was the opposition to poetry described by Boccaccio an actual fact or a rhetorical fiction? Secondly, how far is his defense original and how far taken from others?

For the first, it is certain that Boccaccio invented nothing. The opposition was real enough, though its bitter aggressiveness had been slowly dying down as the Christian church grew more and more sure of its power. Philosophy had already been freed from the ban, and its position must have been indeed unquestioned for Boccaccio to have used it as we have seen he did, along with the Scriptures, for comparison with poetry, in his reiterated *reductio ad absurdum*: "if the poets are thus or thus, so also are the Scriptures, so also are the philosophers; if you condemn one you condemn all." But poetry was longer in gaining recognition.¹ The pagan poets were, it is true, studied in the schools all through the Middle Ages, but almost exclusively as grammatical exercises. Where here and there a man, such as Augustine, knew and cared for them in another way, it was always somewhat distrustfully, with a half guilty sense that he was yielding to his lower nature.

And if the opposition to poetry was actual, the expression of this opposition also was always such as Boccaccio has represented: it was always asserted that the poets were liars, that their writings were dangerous and subversive of religion and morality; always St. Jerome was cited, and Boethius, and Plato.²

¹ Cf. D. Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*.

² Cf. A. Hortis, *Studii sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 208.

Passing, then, to his defence,—most of his argument appears to have been given before him. The whole system of allegorical interpretation, both of Biblical and of pagan writing, was fully elaborated between the fourth and the sixth centuries,¹ and Boccaccio had this part of his argument ready-made for him. The idea of allegory was a basic principle in the poetic theory of Dante and of Petrarch, while the specific argument: “If you condemn fables, you condemn the Scriptures,” had been explicitly formulated by Petrarch.² The derivation of *poesia* from the Greek *poëtes* is, too, found in Petrarch,³ and there are many more parallels—yet more, doubtless, than I have myself noticed—between Boccaccio and Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch, and Boccaccio and the Church Fathers. To Aristotle and Plato he was, notwithstanding his familiar use of their names, very slightly indebted. He had probably read little, and that little, got at second or third hand, he had not understood, as is sufficiently evident from his misconceptions of Plato.

So much for his relations to others. The point in which, says Hortis,⁴ he was original, in which he was in advance even of Petrarch, was in his firm and consistent support of poetry as an independent art, separate from religion on the one hand, and philosophy on the other. It was not that his love for it was deeper than was others’—we may doubt whether it was as deep or as instinctive—but that it was deliberate and self-approving. He writes, indeed, as if he were in complete agreement with Augustine and Jerome, as if he were their expounder to an audience which had misunderstood them. In reality, it was he who misunderstood, who did not, or for the purposes of his argument would not see, that he and they were a world apart, that the difference between Augustine’s half guilty sympathy with art and his own placid acceptance of art on the one hand, and religion

¹ Cf. Comparetti; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, I, p. 30; Hortis, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

² *Epist. Rer. Fam.*, x.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Pp. 210, 211; 219.

on the other, was the difference between mediaevalism and the renaissance. There is a wide gulf between the ascetic who spoke of the "sweet vanity" of Homer's fictions, who remembered with sorrow the time when "the wooden horse lined with armed men" and "the burning of Troy" and "Creusa's shade and sad similitude" "were the choice spectacle of my vanity,"¹—between such a man and the man who could write thus complacently: "I do not therefore say that the priest or the monk or any other churchman bound to the service of God ought to make his breviary of less account than Virgil; but when he has with devotion and tears said the sacred office, it is not a sin against the Holy Spirit to look at the pure lines of a poet."²

Thus Boccaccio asserted consistently and deliberately the legitimacy of art as a part of life; doing, says Hortis, what Abelard, with all his boldness, had not dared to do,—what even Petrarch had wavered in asserting. Dante, indeed, seems to have held this position, but Boccaccio was certainly the first to give it ordered expression.

It is inevitable that we should compare this treatise with the greatest work of its kind in our own language—Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*. Such a comparison was suggested some time ago by Professor Scott,³ and a number of correspondences were noted between the two works, tending to show that Sidney had read Boccaccio. The antecedent probability that Sidney, about to write his *Defense*, should have examined all the previous treatises of the kind, does indeed seem great, and one or two of the parallels given by Professor Scott are striking. They are, I think, hardly conclusive. For, to establish a proof that a given parallelism indicates conscious or unconscious reminiscence, it is necessary to show that it could probably not have come about in any other way—unless indeed we know that one author had read the

¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, I, XIII.

² Boccaccio, *Comento*, Lez. III.

³ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VI, p. 97 f.

other. Now, in Sidney's case we do not know this, and from what we have seen of Boccaccio's relations to his predecessors and contemporaries, it would seem quite possible that later writers should appear to echo most of his ideas, without having read him. There is not space to consider the parallel passages singly, but in all of them there is, I think, no more reason for assuming Boccaccio as the source than for assuming Dante, or Petrarch, or Richard de Bury, or Horace, or the mediaeval tradition as embodied in the writings of the church fathers who formed a common source for both Sidney and Boccaccio; while there are several reasons against assuming Boccaccio as their source.

After all, however, what gives to Boccaccio's treatise its great interest is not its being a hypothetical source for a few of Sidney's phrases—a spiritual influence it could never have been, even if Sidney had read and reread the volume from his boyhood on, because, in Amiel's phrase, "only like can be affected by like," and Boccaccio and Sidney had spiritually almost nothing in common. Boccaccio's interest for us lies rather in the fact that he comes at a very early point in modern poetic theory—that he is near enough to the Middle Ages to share in their conception of the symbolic nature of art, yet far enough out of them to be free from their narrow view of the relation between art and morality; not modern enough and variously sympathetic enough to have entered into the fulness of Greek thought, yet conscious that it offered great and new things. As we have seen, he held to the mediaeval theory of allegorical symbolism, and he had just a glimpse of the Greek notion of nature-imitation, but there was no attempt to fuse the two—Boccaccio's was not the mind to make such a fusion. Such a mind, however, Sidney's was, and his poetic philosophy, grounded in a knowledge of Greek thought which if not complete was sympathetic, is an Aristotelian modification of Plato and a poet's rendering of Aristotle; his *Defense* is one of the last of a series which begins with Plato.

It is as a member of this series that Boccaccio's treatise is of surpassing interest: as one in the series which includes Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Horace, Lucretius and Quintilian and Longinus, Vida and Scaliger and Boileau and Lessing, Sidney and Milton and Burke and Shelley. And if his is a lesser name, his utterances are none the less worthy of note, as those of a sincere if not a thorough thinker, of one who spoke the thought of an age in many ways germinal, an age without which Sidney's rare nature could not have found the expression it did find.

ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE.

XI.—THE LANGUAGE OF MODERN NORWAY.

Norway regained her political independence in 1814. Since then efforts have been made to establish a language-standard, truly national and Norwegian. The different theories set forth, the arguments advanced, the practical plans submitted, the struggle still going on between the opposing factions, present a linguistic condition, in many ways similar to the one existing in modern Greece, so well described by Prof. Wheeler in a recent issue of the *American Journal of Philology*. In this short paper it is possible only to state, in the briefest way, the facts as I have found them, regarding this question of language in Norway.

To better appreciate the force and character of the different linguistic movements in modern Norway it is of importance to know the history of the country, and to note particularly certain facts.

The Swedish scholar Noreen says in his "History of the Scandinavian Languages" in Paul's *Grundriss* (2nd ed., 1897) that the old Norwegian literature was far behind the contemporaneous Icelandic literature in quantity as well as in quality. While this is true, every Norwegian holds it to be equally true that the language of Norway and that of her colony Iceland, at the time in question (1200 to 1350), were substantially the same, in spite of dialectal differences, carefully and accurately shown in Noreen's scholarly treatise; and that this common tongue was an idiom distinct from the contemporaneous language of either Denmark or Sweden. In other words, the old Icelandic and Norwegian language, called by the common name, Norroent Mál, and the Norroen literature (created by conditions peculiar to Norway and Iceland alone) are the exclusive historical property of Norway and Iceland, while Denmark and Sweden have no share in them.

The use of the old Norwegian tongue for literary purposes ceased about the year 1350. The old language continued to live, but when there was no longer a literary standard it split up into a number of dialects. In the first half of the seventeenth century these dialects had developed essentially the forms they now have.

When the Norwegians again appeared as writers (shortly before 1600), they used the Danish language. The authors born in Norway, in spite of certain peculiarities betraying their origin, learned to write the Danish language as fluently as the Danes themselves. The Norwegian Holberg even became the father of modern Danish literature, and gradually the Danish grew to be, not only the language of polite society in Norway, but of all those who professed to have any knowledge of books, especially in the cities and towns.

Verner Dahlerup has recently published an excellent history of the Danish language. The following facts may be noted:—As early as 1100 began the development of the Danish language which gradually changed it from a language with many case inflections, to its modern form, in which the order of the words, and not the inflections, indicate the syntactical connection. This early period is also marked by the monophthongization of original diphthongs, retained to this day in Norwegian dialects. From 1350 to 1700 the Danish language was greatly influenced by the German. Numerous Low-German words were completely absorbed so that they are not now felt to be of foreign origin.

What were the linguistic conditions in Norway in 1814 when the country again became an independent kingdom? The literary language was Danish. The speech of the cultured classes was based on the literary language. The peasants, or about three-fourths of the population of Norway, spoke various dialects, all developed from the old Norwegian-Icelandic. By far the greater part of the vocabulary of these dialects is that of the old language, although a number of the old words

have been dropped and many words, in later times, have been adopted from the literary or Danish language.

Dr. H. S. Falk, a few days ago appointed professor of Germanic philology at the University of Christiania, has in the preface to his *Oldnorsk Læsebog* given an "Outline of the historical development of the Norwegian language." He gives a full account of the forms of the different dialects of Norway. We note here the following facts.

Comparing, in a general way, the dialects with the parent speech, the Norwegian-Icelandic, we find that the dialects differ from the Old Norwegian in their simpler inflections. Case-endings have almost entirely disappeared in adjectives, and in nouns they are found only to a limited extent; nominative and accusative are identical in form, a particular form for the genitive is very rare, the dative is used almost wholly in the definite form. Different personal endings in the verbs are not found. The old *p* has been changed to *t*, except in pronominal words where the weaker accent has caused the change to *d*; *ð* has been dropped, except in one or two places where the letter has retained its original sound or is spoken like *d*; *h* is silent before *j*; *hv* is spoken as *kv* in the Western dialects, as *v* in the Southern; *n* has been dropped almost universally in final, unaccented syllables; *i* before *r* has changed to *y*, otherwise before a single consonant to *e*.

Comparing, briefly, the Norwegian dialects and the literary Danish language, we find the chief differences to be the following:—

Original diphthongs have been retained: *au* (Danish *ö*), *ei* (D. *e*), *öy* (D. *ö*); original *ja* and *jo* (D. *y*) are retained. In final syllables we often find *a*, sometimes *o* (D. *e*); original *p*, *t*, *k* are retained (except in a Southwestern district), where Danish has *b*, *d*, *g*; *ð* (D. *d*) has been dropped. Strong verbs have umlaut in the present; weak verbs have three conjugations (in the present tense); nouns have three genders; a genitive form is not used, as a rule; but a dative form occurs. Relative adverbs (D. *hvoraf*, *hvortil*, etc.) are not used as a

rule. In respect to the vocabulary the difference is very considerable.

The dialects may conveniently be divided into three groups: Western, Eastern, and Southern. The Western group shows the closest relationship to the mother language and is farthest removed from the Danish. The Eastern (including also the Northern part of Norway) has much in common with the Southern group (the districts around Christiania-fjord), although the latter has distinct peculiarities of its own, which show the transition to the literary Danish language. In the Southern group strong verbs have no umlaut in the present, all verbs have a present ending in *-er*, there is no dative form, etc.

It must be borne in mind that the Norwegian people is a people of peasants, principally. It is not possible here to explain in detail *how* it happened, but the fact remains that the constitution of Norway, adopted the 17th of May, 1814, recognizes this to the extent that it makes the peasantry, the country population, absolute rulers of the country by granting them two-thirds of the representatives of the legislative body, while the cities have only one-third of the members.

Before 1814 the Norwegians called the language and literature of the united kingdoms Danish, but after 1814 the same language, wherein their constitution was written, was called Norwegian, and the literature the two nations had had in common was called Dano-Norwegian. This change of names was the first step taken to meet the demand for a new national language that could answer the requirements of the new-born nation. Everything had to be Norwegian in Norway, and so far all were agreed. But when the consequences of this position became apparent, when practical steps to apply this theory to the actual conditions of the country were taken, then also the division of the people, as made by the previous history of the country, showed itself.

The pioneer in the movement to build up a national language was Henrik Wergeland (died 1845), the famous

writer and chief, whose banner was followed by all the forces that were striving for the growth of what was Norwegian. Wergeland published his *Reformation of the Norwegian Language*, in which he advocated, not only a change in the name, but the building up of a real national language by the adoption of words from the dialects. He also prophesied that a new national language would be created before the expiration of the nineteenth century.

His efforts met with the fiercest opposition, and the coarsest invectives were hurled against him and his followers by the self-styled intelligent party, called by his friends the Danomaniacs. Wergeland was not discouraged by this. Still his attempts did not prove successful, because in his time the dialects were not really known; they had not been investigated.

But soon after the death of Wergeland, two men appeared whose names are inseparably connected with the language movements of modern Norway. These men were Knud Knudsen (1812 to 1895) and Ivar Aasen (1813 to 1896). Outside of the lines laid down by these two leaders, there have been two other movements in Norway, which, however, played a comparatively unimportant part and will be mentioned only in passing. Akin to the political Scandinavism, or movement for a closer political union between the three Scandinavian kingdoms, there was a linguistic Scandinavism. A result of this, in part at least, was the meeting at Stockholm in 1869, where representative scholars from the three countries tried to agree on certain reforms in spelling and orthography in order to bring the languages nearer together. The results of this meeting were of no consequence. Another unimportant movement was the one advocated by the radical Fjörtoft, who wanted every Norwegian writer to use his native dialect.

The two principal movements, however, are those of Knudsen, called the Dano-Norwegian *Maalstræv*, and of Aasen, the New Norwegian or "Landsmaal." There are several points of similarity between the two reformatory movements. Both

the leaders were sprung from the peasant class, the "people." Both agreed that the literary or Danish language put many obstacles in the way of the people, and made it difficult for the masses to advance in knowledge and culture. Both were intensely national. Both devoted their long lives to the one idea that possessed them. Both made more sacrifices than it commonly falls to the lot of a man to make, for the realization of what was dear to their hearts. Both of them, or rather the movements they represented, have conquered the fierce opposition they met at the outset to the extent that the bitterness which made a real discussion impossible has ceased. When the champions closed their eyes in death, a year or two ago, the Norwegophobia of the conservatives had disappeared. All parties and factions acknowledged their great services. No man whose opinion is really important any longer opposes the growth of a national language, in one form or another. The leader of the conservatives, Prof. J. Storm, the well-known scholar, practically accepts the ideas of Knudsen, although he severely criticizes the apparent weaknesses of both systems—he also wants a Norwegian language.

While Knudsen never laid down arms till he died, Aasen early retired from active participation in the struggle, but his cause has been taken up and championed by a number of younger and very active men. Björnson says of the latter: "Ivar Aasen is the name of that treasure-digger who hunted up and repolished all the coins of the old tongue, otherwise left unheeded among the peasantry. On that work he spent his life quietly and faithfully, now and then humming a little song, a patriotic hymn, a mood of nature, a rule of wisdom."

Aasen took his starting-point in the dialects. He studied them; and the result of his study was his *Grammar of the Norwegian Popular Language* (1848) and his *Norwegian Dictionary* (1850). These books have later been revised, and a large supplement to the dictionary (containing about 40,000

words) was published by Hans Ross in 1890 and the following years.

It was in 1853 that Aasen created his "Landsmaal" or norm, founded on what he called "the best dialects." By these he understood those that had best preserved the old Norwegian forms, namely, the Western; and he proposed that this "Landsmaal" be made the language of the country.

This pseudo-language (Lundell in Paul's *Grundriss*) is different from any spoken dialect. It has been severely attacked because it is an artificial language, because it is a language "that does not exist." To this its champions coolly reply that the question of its existence is of minor importance. The present leader, Garborg, says "that the dialects, whose common literary representative the "Landsmaal" is, *do* exist, and the dialects have the not unimportant quality of being Norwegian, in fact, the only thing truly Norwegian that Norway has."

For a detailed account of Aasen's "Landsmaal" we should consult Falk's "Outline"—referred to above—pp. xxxvii *seq.* In the "Landsmaal" certain original consonants, not found in any spoken dialect, have been replaced; for original *ð* Aasen substituted *d*; *t*-has been added in neuters, original *n* added at the end of certain words, *rn* is written for the spoken *nn*, etc. Of the different forms of a word the one closest to the parent speech is always selected. In the declensions of nouns, the dative form is always omitted in the singular and, as a rule, in the plural.

Nouns are declined as follows :

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Indefinite.	Definite.	Indefinite.	Definite.
Strong Masculine,	<i>Stav</i>	<i>Staven</i>	<i>Stavar</i>	<i>Stavarne</i>
Weak Masc.,	<i>Time</i>	<i>Timen</i>	<i>Timar</i>	<i>Timarne</i>
Strong Fem.,	<i>Skaal</i>	<i>Skaali</i>	<i>Skaaler</i>	<i>Skaalerne</i>
Weak Fem.,	<i>Gata</i>	<i>Gata</i>	<i>Gator</i>	<i>Gatorne</i>
Neuter,	<i>Aar</i>	<i>Aaret</i>	<i>Aar</i>	<i>Aari.</i>

Verbs end in the infinitive in *a*; strong verbs have umlaut in the present; weak verbs are conjugated as follows:

Inf.	Pres.	Imp.	Perf. Part.
<i>Kasta</i>	<i>kastar</i>	<i>kasta(de)</i>	<i>kastad</i> (neuter— <i>at</i>)
<i>Döma</i>	<i>dömer</i>	<i>dömde</i>	<i>dömd</i> (“ <i>dömt</i>)
<i>Telja</i>	<i>tel</i>	<i>talde</i>	<i>tald</i> (“ <i>talt</i>)
<i>Spyrja</i>	<i>spyr</i>	<i>spurde</i>	<i>spurd</i> (“ <i>spurt</i>).

It is impossible here to dwell upon the development of this movement; but though it is to many a surprising fact, still it is indisputable that the movement has constantly grown in strength, particularly since 1880 cr., and it is interesting to note its present strength. Let me present a few facts.

The foremost writer in this language now is Garborg, and his voice reaches as many of the people in Norway as that of any other writer. Around this literary leader is a numerous array of older and younger men of talent who write books and work for the cause with enthusiastic zeal. Although they sometimes quarrel among themselves, and although they do not all have exactly the same language-standard, a fact to which their keen critic, Storm, has frequently called attention, they have great faith in their cause; and only a few months ago J. E. Sars, the great historian, declared that their victory is certain.

All the adherents of the “Landsmaal” are closely identified with the ruling political party that last fall elected more than two-thirds of the members of the legislature, and that in a few weeks will have complete possession of the government. To judge by the concessions hitherto granted these reformers, it is fair to assume that their demands for legislative enactments will be acceded to. Since 1866 there has existed in Bergen a society, “Vestmannalaget,” and since 1868 a similar society in Christiania, “Det Norske Samlag,” whose object it is to publish or to assist in publishing books in the

new Norwegian language. These books are sold at a merely nominal price. The societies have a large membership, and many of the members are leading men in all ranks of society. I have seen the statement lately that there are in Norway at present nearly two hundred young people's societies where this language is used almost exclusively. Another society in Christiania is collecting money to establish a gymnasium (college) where this language is to be used exclusively. There is also on foot a movement to build a theatre where Danish will be excluded. An influential journal in this new language was to be published as a daily paper beginning January 1st, 1898. Besides this, there is a number of other papers, among them two monthly magazines. The New Testament has been published, and the Old Testament is being translated. A number of ministers of the gospel have lately appealed to the Bible Society to have the Bible, translated into the "Landsmaal," circulated especially in Western Norway, on the ground that young people there prefer to read books in "Landsmaal." All the books needed in the common schools, and most of those needed in the higher institutions, have been published in this new language. The legislature has annually appropriated a certain sum for this purpose. By legislative enactment it is left to the school district to decide what language is to be used in the district. In the higher schools a certain amount of literature in this language is required. Now the advocates of the "Landsmaal" demand that the higher schools shall require from *all* a grammatical knowledge of it.

But there is strong opposition from the Dano-Norwegian camp. Professor Storm has predicted the death of this new Norwegian movement. The great Björnson, who accepted the theories of Knudsen in 1858, has in his usual vigorous viking-style crossed swords with Garborg on this question, and he also looks for its early collapse. Ibsen ridiculed the movement in *Peer Gynt*; and Knudsen directed his warlike attacks just as much against this new Norwegian as against the conservatives, who, in a great measure, have been won

over to his ideas. The opponents of the "Landsmaal" deplore the literary separation from Denmark, which would take place, if this movement should carry the day. The movement they think is an effort to call to life a dead past. It is true that the advocates of the "Landsmaal" overlook the importance of the historical development of the last four or five hundred years; and Knudsen, particularly, maintained, as an argument that recommended his own language reform, that the adoption of the "Landsmaal" would cause an incurable schism in the country which might result most deplorably.

Knudsen took his stand on what was historically given. He started from the literary (Danish) language, but he maintained that, to suit the conditions of Norway, first, the language spoken by the educated Norwegian should also be the rule for the written form of the language in Norway, and secondly, for the many foreign words, particularly those of German origin, purely Norwegian terms should be substituted. For this end he struggled all his years. His numerous works treat almost exclusively of this; his principal work is *Unorsk og Norsk*. The critics have called attention to the fact that he was inconsistent in carrying out his first principle. He sometimes writes words in a more "Norwegian" form than they are spoken by the cultured people. He has also been criticised for coining many new words to take the place of those borrowed from the hated foreign idioms. In 1892 he founded a society, the "Orthographical Society," whose "aim is to work for a more simple and more phonetic orthography, in keeping with the ever-growing Norwegianism in writing and speaking."

On the whole, his language, the Dano-Norwegian, or as Storm wishes it to be called, the Norwegian, is now used by all the Norwegian writers outside of the "Landsmaal" writers, although in the different authors, according to the subject treated, and the training and the idiosyncrasies of the writer, there are to be found all the shades from a some-

what close proximity to the Danish to a language very much like the "Landsmaal" or the dialects. Of the best known authors Björnson writes a language that pleased the heart of Knudsen, while Ibsen is more conservative, although his Norwegianisms are so numerous that, as Storm says, no Dane would call his language Danish.

In comparing Danish with Dano-Norwegian, or Norwegian, to-day, we find that Norwegian authors use more than seven thousand words not used by the Danes, and that there are very considerable differences in the written form of the same words, in orthography, inflections, pronunciation, and in the syntax.

In presenting a few of the principal characteristics of the Dano-Norwegian, or Norwegian, I shall speak first of the vocabulary.—Words existing only in the written language (not used in speech by anybody in Norway) are "banished"—as *der* (rel. pron.), *hin*, etc. A number of Norwegian words, not found in Danish, are admitted (*hei*, *greier*, *stel*, *stabbur*, etc.). For Danish words are substituted Norwegian words having the same meaning (*fjøs* = D. *kostald*, *granne* = *nabo*, *fosterfar* = *pleiefader*, *erte* = *tirre*). Danish-German words, beginning with *an-*, *be-*, *er-*, and others, ending in *-hed*, *-haftig*, *-en*, etc., are not in good repute.

The Norwegian *forms* of words, when current in polite speech, are substituted for the corresponding Danish (*stakkar* = D. *Stakkel*, *tistel* = *Tidsel*, *næsle* = *Nælde*, *myr* = *Mose*, *sop* = *Svamp*, *naken* = *nögen*, *svepe* = *svöbe*, etc.). Here is where the difference between Norwegian writers, in point of language, is most apparent.

The *orthography* is based on the Norwegian pronunciation. Original *p*, *t*, *k*—in Danish changed to *b*, *d*, *g*—are used by many Norwegian writers. It is only a question of time when all will use them. There are also many minor differences.

Inflections.—In the plural, nouns of the common gender add *-er* (*hester*, *bænker*, *elver*); with the definite (postpositive) article the ending is *-ene* (*hestene*, etc.). In "Landsmaal" neuters

have no plural ending; this is often imitated in Dano-Norwegian. Many authors inflect the verbs in this way: *elske, elsked, elsket—tro, trodde, trod(d)—gi, ga, git* (D. *give, gav, givet*).

Syntax.—The tendency is *not* to use adverbs, composed of pronouns and adverbs (instead of *hvoraf* is used *hvad—af*, etc.). The noun is often used in the definite form where Danish has the indefinite (*den vesle jenten* = D. *den lille Pige, samme dagen* = *samme Dag*). The possessive pronoun is often used after the noun (*staven min* = *min Stav, datter hans* = *hans Datter*).

The difference in pronunciation is very considerable. P. Groth has treated this subject very fully in his *Danish and Dano-Norwegian Grammar* (Heath & Co.). So has Poestion in his *Norwegische Sprache*.

The struggle between the advocates of the two movements has been long and bitter, and nobody can foretell the final outcome. No doubt, both languages will for a long time be used side by side, and a not very distant future will perhaps find a solution satisfactory to both parties. There are even now signs of this. The Dano-Norwegians will maintain the historical connection with the literary language of their immediate ancestors, but at the same time, they encourage the growth of the Norwegian branches engrafted on the Danish stem. The New Norwegians will use that artificial language, the “Landsmaal,” as a compromise for the many dialects of the fjords and valleys, the direct descendants of the old classical Norwegian. The adherents of the “Landsmaal” claim that their language is Norwegian, and although it is as yet not a “Kultursprache,” they declare that they will make it the standard idiom. The Dano-Norwegian is a “Kultursprache,” but hitherto it has not been Norwegian enough. It is probable that it will gradually take a more decided Norwegian coloring. Two brief extracts from “Landsmaal” and (Dano-) Norwegian, chosen at random, with translations into Danish, may prove to be of interest in this connection.

“Landsmaal.”

Fordomar og trongrömde Skilningar kunna stundom finnast hjaa andre en berre Bønder; og vist er det, at dei maa mötast med Grunnar og betre Opplysningar kvar som helst dei finnast.

Men det vilja me tenkja, at der alltid vil finnast Folk, som kunna skyna og samtykja desse Setningarne,

at det rette heimelege Maal i Landet er det, som Landsens Folk hever ervt ifraa Forfedrom, fraa den eine Ætti til den andre, og som nu um Stunder, til Traass fyre all Fortrengsla og Vanvyrding, endaa hever Grunnlag og Emne til eit Bokmaal lika so godt som nokot av Grannfolka-Maali;

at den rette Medferd med detta heimelege Maalet er, at det maa verda uppteket til skriftleg Hævding i si fullkomnaste Form, at det maa verda reinskat fyre dei verste framande Tilsetningar, aukat og rikat (beriget) ved Avleiding av si eigi Rot og etter sine eigne Reglar, og soleides uppreist og adlat ved eit verdigt Bruk;

Danish.

Fordomme og bornerede Forestillinger kan undertiden findes hos andre end bare Bønder; og vist er det, at de maa mødes med Grunde og bedre Oplysninger, hvor-somhelst de findes.

Men det vil vi tænke, at der altid vil findes Mennesker, som kan forstaa og erklære sig enige i disse Sætninger,

at det rette, hjemlige Sprog i Landet er det, som Landets Folk har arvet fra Forfædrene, fra den ene Slægt til den anden, og som nu for Tiden, tiltrods for al Fortrængsel og Ringeagt, endnu har Grundlag og Betingelser for at blive et Skriftsprog ligesaa godt som noget af Nabofolkenes Sprog;

at den rette Behandling af dette hjemlige Sprog er, at det maa blive optaget til skriftlig Dyrkning i sin mest fuldkomne Form, at det maa blive rensat for de værste fremmede Tilsætninger, øget og beriget ved Afledning fra sin egen Rod og efter sine egne Regler og saaledes ophøiet og adlet ved en værdig Benyttelse;

og at denne Hævdingi maa vera baade til Gagn og Æra fyre Landsens Folk, med di at detta er den bedste Maate til at maalgreida (udtrykke) det heimelege Laget i Hugen og Tanken aat Folket, og til at fremja Kunnskap og Vit-hug (elder den einaste rette og sanne Kultur) og med det same til at visa Verdi, at ogsaa detta Folket hever Vit til at vyrda det gode, som det hever fenget til Arv og Heimanfylgja fraa uminnelege Tider.

(Aasen.)

og at denne Dyrkning maa være baade til Gavn og Ære for Landets Folk derved, at dette er den bedste Maade til at udtrykke det nationale i Folkets Sind og Tanke og til at fremme Kundskab og Videlyst (eller den eneste rette og sande Kultur), og med det samme at vise Verden, at ogsaa dette Folk har Forstand til at værdsætte det gode, som det har faaet i Arv og "Medgift" fra umindelige Tider.

Norwegian (Dano-Norwegian).

Her var gild furuskog og stilt; da han mot bakken måtte stoppe med sangen, blev det jo stusle. Jo længer han kom op i skogen, jo tættere blev den også, sneen lå fastere, sten og lyngtuer skottet nysgærrige op av den som dyr; og så small det her og knatt det der, og sommetider skreg det; en skræmt storfugl flöi op med forfærdelige vingebask, gutten søkte svetende efter Oles fotefar for at få følge; rædselen fra igår var straks over ham. Bare

Danish.

Her var en prægtig Fyrreskov og stille; da han mod Bakken maatte slutte med Sangen, blev det jo bedrøveligt. Jo længere han kom op i Skoven, desto tættere blev den ogsaa. Sneen laa fastere, Sten og Lyngtuer skottede nysgjerrige op af den som Dyr; og saa smældte det her og knitrede det der, og sommetider skreg det; en skræmt Tiur (capercailzie) flöi op med forfærdelige Vingeslag. Drengen søgte svedende efter Oles Fodspor for at faa

han turde lægge på sprang, bare skogen vilde slutte! I den uforsvarlige lange stilhed ovenpå storfuglen kænte han tilsist, at kom der yrlitet gran til, så kunde han bli gal. Og den hulveien, han skulde igjennem;—langt fræmme stirret han in under dens høie sorte sider; de så ut til at kunne klappe igæn over ham; nogen forfærdelige trær hang ovenover og kek lurende ner. Dengang han ænnelig gik in i den, var han den fineste lille myre i skogen; bare det stod stille s° længe, eller bare ingen deroppe vilde böje sig ner og ta ham i luggen, eller la sig falle like foran ham, eller bak ham, eller gi sig til at blåse på ham. . . . Han gik med stive öjne som en sövngænger, furu-rötterne drog sig krokete og barkete nerover lejr-væggen, og de var levende; men det lot han, som han ikke ænset.

(Björnson.)

Følge; Rædslen fra igaar var strax over ham. Bare han turde give sig til at løbe, bare Skoven vilde slutte! I den uforsvarlig lange Stilhed efter Tiuren kjendte han tilsidst, at, hvis der kom en bitte liden Smule til, saa kunde han blive gal. Og den Hulvei, han skulde igjennem;—langt fremme stirrede han ind under dens høie sorte Sider; de saa ud til at kunne slaa sig sammen over ham; nogle forfærdelige Træer hang ovenover og kigede lurende ned. Da han endelig gik ind i den, var han den tyndeste lille Myre i Skoven; bare det stod stille saa længe, eller bare ingen deroppe vilde bøje sig ned og gribe ham i Haaret eller lade sig falde lige foran ham, eller bag ham eller give sig til at blåse paa ham. . . . Han gik med stive Øine som en Søvngjænger. Fyrrerödterne drog sig krogede og barkede nedover Lervæggene, og de var levende; men det lod han, som han ikke ændsede.

GISLE BOTHNE.

XII.—DE ORTU WALUUANII: AN ARTHURIAN ROMANCE NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE COTTONIAN MS. FAUSTINA B. VI., OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

The following edition of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* is based on an exact transcript of the Cottonian MS. (only with resolution of the usual contractions) which was made for me by Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum, during the months of August and September, 1897. I have endeavored to print the Latin text as it appears in this transcript with as little change as possible. It has occasionally been necessary, however, to supply words omitted in the MS., yet obviously required by the sense, and wherever this has been done the inserted words will be found enclosed in brackets.¹ In the case of corrupt or simply misspelt forms I have placed the MS. readings at the bottom of the page and incorporated the emended forms (italicized) into the text. Only in the case of the words *sublimis* and *pugna* and their derivatives I have retained the consistent spellings of the MS.—*sullimis*, *pungna*, and the like.

I trust that the real interest of its incidents, not less than their rather singular character, which seems to have struck both Sir Frederic Madden and M. Gaston Paris, will justify the publication of the following romance. Save in the concluding episodes, perhaps, it suffers from a want of vital connection with the great body of Arthurian tradition; but this drawback is partly offset by its freedom from the accumulation of *banal* adventures and the consequent prolixity which

¹ The same means has been adopted for indicating letters and syllables which are omitted in the MS.

is the bane of the Arthurian romances. The writer, despite his barbarous style, has, on the whole, shown no little judgment in the selection of his materials.

In the beginning it had been my purpose to offer a literal translation of the Latin text. It soon became evident, however, that the reproduction in English of every rhetorical extravagance of the original would seriously detract from the interest of the story, and I have accordingly contented myself with a paraphrase which nevertheless adheres closely to the sense of the Latin text. The only part of the original not represented at all in the paraphrase is that which contains the burlesque description of the mode of preparing Greek fire. This I have omitted as having no essential connection with the story.

II.

SOURCES.

The Latin romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii*, which now appears for the first time in printed form, has not entirely escaped the notice of students of Arthurian legend, but the meagre abstracts of Madden and Ward, through which alone a knowledge of the story has been hitherto possible to those who did not have access to the Cottonian MS.,¹ give a very inadequate idea of its contents, as will be recognized, I believe, on reading the full text as published below. Accordingly, apart from the writers just referred to, I have noted amidst all the formidable mass of Arthurian literature only one passage dealing with the *De Ortu Waluuanii*—namely, in the treatise on the Round Table Romances² by M. Gaston Paris, whose comprehensive studies, as will be seen, have contributed something to lighten up the question of the sources of this romance, as of so many other forms of the *matière de Bretagne*.

¹ The Cottonian MS. is believed to be unique. For a description of this MS. see Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London, 1883-93; Vol. I, p. 374.

² *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxx, p. 31, note.

The earliest mention of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* of which I am aware occurs in the Introduction (p. x, note) to Sir Frederic Madden's well-known edition¹ of the English romances relating to Gawain, published for the Bannatyne Club in 1839, where it is referred to as one of "five Latin romances still existing in manuscript." Still further on in the same Introduction (pp. xxxiii f.) we have a more extended notice of the romance, made up, however, for the most part, of an abstract of the story. This abstract, though brief, is fuller than that which was subsequently published in Ward's *Catalogue*. As I shall have occasion later on to refer to this second passage in Madden's Introduction, I will give it here in full with the exception of the abstract now rendered unnecessary by the publication of the text. His words are as follows:

"One more romantic composition relative to Gawayne remains to be noticed, which is the more remarkable from its being quite distinct from the established fictions of the Round Table. This composition may be assigned to the early part of the fourteenth century and is written in *Latin*; but whether derived "from floating Celtic traditions" or from an Anglo-Norman original, must be left to conjecture. It is entitled *De Ortu Waluuanii, nepotis Arturi* and is a strange tissue of romantic fiction, embellished with many rhetorical flourishes. . . . Such is the brief outline of this singular story in which we can clearly trace some few particulars referable to Geoffrey of Monmouth, but worked up in a manner that would bear comparison with the extravagant fictions of a much later era."

The notice in Ward's *Catalogue*, I, 375 f., consists simply of a very meagre abstract of the story with a transcription of the opening and concluding sentences and a reference to the passages in Sir Frederic Madden's Introduction.

¹ *Syr Gawayne: A Collection of Ancient Romance-Poems by Scottish and English Authors Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table, etc.*, by Sir Frederic Madden. London, 1839.

Finally the note in M. Gaston Paris's above-mentioned treatise (p. 31) contains besides a brief outline of the story based on Madden and Ward, to whom he refers, the following statements with regard to this "singulière composition latine:" "Ce roman paraît une simple amplification des données de Gaufrei de Monmouth; il repose sans doute sur un original français: on en retrouve les traits principaux dans le roman en prose de Perceval ou Perlesvaus (pp. 252, 253) et dans une rédaction encore inédite du Merlin en prose, conservée dans le manuscrit français 337."

This note of M. Paris is valuable as offering definite indications of the relation of the Latin romance to other forms of Arthurian legend, but there is an evident *lapsus calami* in its last clause and the view expressed in the first—to say nothing for the moment of the rest—will, I believe, be seriously modified after a perusal of the text as given in full. The ms. 337 of the *Fonds français* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, as is well-known, contains not a *Merlin* but a *Livre d'Artus*, an analysis of which by E. Freymond has appeared in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xvii, 21 ff. I presume, however, that M. Paris had in mind the story concerning the infancy of Mordrec which is found in the Huth *Merlin*,¹ I, 204 ff., and which evidently stands in some relation, more or less close, to the similar story with which our romance opens. If this correction is made, the above note may be accepted as furnishing us with an indication of two undoubted parallels to the story of the birth of Gawain in the Latin romance. Considering the great variety of adventure and incident which the romance as a whole exhibits, it is perhaps too much to say that in these parallel stories are found again "the principal features" of the *De Ortu Walu-*

¹ *Merlin, Roman en Prose du XIII^e siècle* Edited for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, by G. Paris and J. Ulrich. 2 vols. Paris, MDCCCLXXXVI.

In Malory's *Morte Darthur* (Book I, Chap. 27) there is a story concerning Mordred's birth similar to that in the Huth *Merlin*.

uanii, but they certainly contain some of its most interesting features. In order to determine the nature of the relation of these kindred stories to the portion of our romance which narrates the circumstances of the birth of its hero, and, furthermore, to fix, if possible, the source from which all these versions ultimately derive, I shall present in full the passage concerned in the *Perlesvaus*, adding an abstract only of the longer and less important passage in the *Huth Merlin*. The passage in the *Perlesvaus*¹ reads as follows :

“De Perceval se test ici li contes et dist que li rois Artus et misires Gauvains ont pris congié à Perceval et à touz ceus del chastel. Li rois li lest le bon destrier que il consuit avec la corone d’or. Il ont tant chevauchié, antre lui et monseingnor Gauvain, qu’il sont venu an I gaste chastel ancian qui séoit an une forest. Li chastiax fust moult biaux et moult riches s’il fust hantez de janz ; mès il n’i avoit c’un provère ancian et son clerc qui vivoi[en]t là dedanz de lor labor. Li rois et misires Gauvains i herbergièrent la nuit, et l’andemain entrèrent en une moult riche chapele qui là dedanz estoit, pour oïr la messe, et estoit pointe environ de moult riche color d’or et d’azur et d’autres colors. Les images estoient moult beles, qui pointes i estoient et les figures de céus por qui les figures furent festes. Li rois et misires Gauvains les esgardèrent volentiers.” Quant la messe fu dite, li prestres vint à eus et lor dist : “Seingnor, fet-il, ces escritures sont moult beles et cil qui fère les fist est moult loiax et si ama moult la dame et son fill pour qui il le fist fère. Sire, fet li prestres, ce est unes estoires vraies”—“De qui est li estoires, biax Sires ?” fait li rois Artus. “D’un prodome vavator qui cist recez fu, et de monseingnor Gauvain le neveu le roi Artus et de sa mère—“Sire,” fait li prestres, “misires Gauvains fu çà dedanz nez et levez et bautissiez, einsint come vos le povez là veoir escrit : et ot non Gauvain

¹ *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal publié d’après les manuscrits originaux par Ch. Potvin—Première Partie : Le Roman en Prose.* Mons. MDCCCLXVI, pp. 252 f.

pour le seingnor de cest chastel qui tel non avoit. Sa mère, qui l'ot del roi Loth, ne vost mie qu'il fust séu ; ele le mist en I moult bel vessel, si pria au prodome de çà dedanz qu'il le portast là où il fust périz, et, se il ce ne feissoit, ele le feroit fère à autrui. Icil Gauvains, qui loiax estoit et ne vost mie que cil anfes fust périz, fist sééler à son chevez qu'il estoit del réal lignage d'une part et d'autre, et si mist or et argent pour l'anfant norir à grant plenté, et coucha desour l'enfant une moult riche pane. Il l'enporta an I moult lointeingne païs ; puis, vint à un ajornant, an I petit pleisseiz où il avoit I moult prodome manant ; il le bailla à lui [et] à sa moillier et lor dist qu'il le gardassent et norrissent bien, qu'il lor en poroit venir granz biens. Li vavasors s'en retourne arières et cil gardèrent l'anfant et le norirent tant que il fust grant ; puis le menèrent à Rome à l'apostele, si li mostrèrent les lestres séélées. Li aposteles les vit et sot que il estoit fiuz le roi. Il an ot pitié, si le fist garder et li fist antendre qu'il estoit de son lignage ; puis, fu esléuz à estre anperière de Rome. Il ne le voloit estre, por ce que l'an ne le reprochast sa nessance que l'an li avoit célée avant. Il s'an parti, et puis fu il çà dedanz. Or dist l'an qu'il est uns des meillors chevaliers del monde, si n'osse nus cest chastel séoir, pour la doutance de lui, ne ceste grant forest qui ci est environ. Quar, quant li vavasors fu morz de çà dedanz, si leissa à monseingnor Gauvain, son filleull, cest chastel, et moi an fist garde tresqu'à cele hore que il revandroit." Li rois regarde monseingnor Gauvain, et le vit bronchir vers terre de vergongne : "Biax niès, ne soiez pas honteus, quar autretel me povez reprochier ; ce fu grant joie de vostre nessance, et moult doit l'an aimer le leu et anorrer, où si bons chevaliers come vos estes naqui." Quant li prestres entendit que c'estoit misires Gauvains, si an fait moult grant joie et an est touz honteus de ce qu'il li a einsint recordée sa nessance. Mès il li dist : "Sire, moult n'an devez avoir blame, quar vos fustes confermez en la loi que Dex a establie et an loiauté de mariage del roi Loth et de vostre mère. Iceste chosse set

bien li rois Artus et Damedex estoit aourez quant vos estes çà dedanz venuz.”

The story of the Huth *Merlin*, which has been referred to above, runs as follows: In consequence of a prophecy of Merlin's that at a certain time a child would be born who was destined to be the cause of the destruction of the kingdom of Logres, King Arthur commands that all the children born in his realm about this time should be sent to him as soon as possible after their birth, to be shut up in his towers, so that he might take measures to prevent the fulfilment of the fatal prophecy, the parents, however, not being aware of his design. When Mordrec is born, his presumptive father, King Loth, in obedience to Arthur's command, has his son put in a cradle and conveyed to a ship with a great escort of ladies and knights who are to accompany him to King Arthur's court. On the way, however, the vessel suffered shipwreck and all on board perished, except the child, who is borne in his cradle safely to shore by the sea. A fisherman who is out fishing in a little boat discovers the child and carries him home. He infers from his rich apparel that he is of noble extraction, and with his wife's approval decides to take him to his lord, the father of Sagremor *li Derreés*. This lord receives him and has him brought up with his son, calling him Mordrec, since it appeared from a paper found in his cradle that such was his name. King Arthur, soon after imagining that he had got all the children in his power, is about to slay them, but in consequence of a vision decides, instead, to have them put in a ship, which was to be set adrift without crew or pilot. This is done, but the children, to the number of seven hundred and twelve, are miraculously preserved and safely borne ashore, near a castle called Amalvi, in the land of King Oriant.

The rest of the story does not concern us here and need not be recounted.

The changes which have taken place in the case of this last story are certainly considerable, yet I believe that its

connection with the account of Gawain's birth given in the *Perlesvaus* and our Latin romance will be generally conceded. I should say that the original story as applied to Gawain had been here transferred to his brother, Mordrec—a relationship important to recollect when arguing for the identity of the stories—only the new circumstances into which the story had to be fitted naturally necessitated the abandonment of the old motive for the sending forth of the child. Moreover, as in the new application of the story there was no occasion for surrounding the voyage of the royal infant with secrecy, he is furnished with a company befitting his birth. On the other hand, to save the essential features of the original legend, the interest of which had led to its incorporation into the Huth *Merlin*, it was necessary to get rid of this company before the end of the voyage, and the author resorts to the natural and summary method of shipwreck. The version of the Huth *Merlin*, however, in so far as it relates to Mordrec, has this in common with the *Perlesvaus* and the Latin romance as against the more primitive and perhaps more famous stories of a hero committed in his infancy to the sea, that by a rationalizing alteration in the form of the legend the child makes his voyage in the charge of some person or persons, and is not sent forth alone in a boat without crew or pilot, or otherwise. Furthermore, it has in common with the Latin romance that the person who discovers the child, after it has reached the land, is a fisherman. This feature, natural as it may seem, is by no means universal in legends of a similar character.

Having justified, as I hope, my assumption that there is a connection between the story of Mordrec in the Huth *Merlin* and that which is related concerning Gawain's birth in the *Perlesvaus* and *De Ortu Waluuanii*, the task of fixing more nearly the mutual relations of the three versions and their respective claims to originality will be best furthered, I think, by giving at once the legend from which, in my opinion, they are all derived—or rather those features of it with which we

are here concerned. I refer to the legend of Pope Gregory, which in some such form as that in which it appears in the *Gesta Romanorum* must, I think, to say the least, have been present to the mind of the first writer who connected this story with an Arthurian hero.¹ The legend of Gregory in the *Gesta Romanorum* is entitled *De mirabili divina dispensatione et ortu beati Gregorii pape*. It is found in Oesterley's edition (Berlin, 1872), pp. 399 f., and the following are the portions of the legend which seem to me to constitute the source of the story common to the *Perlesvaus* and the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, and which appears in the Huth *Merlin* in so materially altered a form.

As soon as Gregory is born his mother prepares to have him set adrift on the sea, and writes out the circumstances of her son's birth on tablets which she places in the cradle with him. The legend reads (pp. 401 ff.):

"Cum omnia ista erant scripta, tabellas in cunabulo sub latere² pueri ponebat, aurum sub capite, argentum ad pedes; deinde cum pannis sericis ac deauratis cunabulum cooperuit. Hoc facto militi precepit, ut cunabulum infra dolium poneret et in mari projiceret, ut nataret ubicumque deus disponderet. Miles vero omnia adimplevit. Cum dolium projectum in mari fuisset, miles tamdiu juxta mare stetit, quamdiu dolium natare videret; hoc facto ad dominam rediit. . . . Dolium cum puero per multa regna transiit, quousque juxta cenobium monachorum pervenit et hoc feria sexta. Eodem die abbas illius monasterii ad litus maris perrexit et piscatoribus suis ait: Carissimi estote parati ad piscandum! Illi vero rethia sua

¹The actual compilation of the *Gesta Romanorum* is probably later than the *Perlesvaus* or *De Ortu Waluuanii*. The legend of Gregory, however, was, of course, in existence long before this—at least as early as the middle of the twelfth century. See Gröber's *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, 479.

²In the Old French version, *Vie du Pape Grégoire le Grand*, edited by Luzarche (Tours, 1857), they were placed, it seems, by his head, as it was there that they were subsequently found (p. 37). So in the story of Gawain's birth in the *Perlesvaus*.

parabant; dum vero prepararent, dolium cum fluctibus maris ad terram pervenit. Ait abbas servis suis: Ecce dolium! aperiatis et videatis quid ibi lateat! Illi vero dolium aperuerunt et ecce puer parvus pannis preciosis involutus abbatem respexit et risit, abbas vero totaliter de visu contristatus ait: O deus meus, quid est hoc, quod invenimus puerum in cunabulo? Propriis manibus eum levavit, tabellas sub latere ejus invenit, quas mater ibidem posuit; aperuit et legit. . . . Abbas cum hec legisset et cunabulum pannis preciosis ornatum vidisset, intellexit quod puer de nobili sanguine esset, statim eum baptizari fecit et ei proprium nomen imposuit,¹ scilicet Gregorius et puerum ad nutriendum uni piscatori tradidit, dans ei pondus quod invenit; puer vero crescebat et ab omnibus dilectus quousque septem annos in etatem complevisset."

Gregory, like Gawain, becomes in the course of time an excellent warrior. He has many strange and terrible experiences before he is called to the apostolic throne, but these do not concern us here.

Comparing the above with the story of Gawain's birth in the *Perlesvaus* and the Latin romance, it seems evident that the latter offer simply a slightly rationalized form of the legend concerning the birth of Gregory applied to the Arthurian knight,² standing in this respect in the same relation to that legend as the similar story of Perdita's infancy in *The Winter's Tale* to its acknowledged prototype in Greene's *Historie of Dorastus and Fawnia*.³ In Greene's novel, too,

¹ Cp. the *Vie du Pape Grégoire*, p. 40:

*E son non li a enposé,
Gregoire apeleent l'abé,
E s'il fu Gregoire apelé.*

² The Gregory legend seems to have been used also in the romance which M. Gaston Paris calls the *Chevalier à la Manche*. Cp. *Hist. Lit. de la France*, xxx, pp. 122 f. The *Trental of St. Gregory* has been exploited for the Middle English romance, *The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathele*. Cf. Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, pp. 238 f.

³ See Greene's *Works* (ed. Grosart), Vol. iv, especially pp. 253-254, 264-270 (*Huth Library*, 1881-83).

the child is set adrift in a boat without sail or rudder, but it is under Antigonus's charge that Perdita is taken over seas to the "deserts of Bohemia" (*Winter's Tale*, Act III, Sc. 3). Certain slight correspondences especially seem to fix the dependence of the story of Gawain's birth on the legend of Gregory—namely, the fact that in the *Perlesvaus* as in this legend the guardian gives his name to the hero, and, again, that in the Latin romance, just as in the Gregory legend, the person who brings him up is a fisherman. It is to be noted, moreover, that neither in the *Perlesvaus* nor in the Gregory legend is the guardian who gives his name to the child the person who actually rears him.

Accepting the derivation, then, of the story of the birth of Gawain from the legend of Pope Gregory, it will be found on the whole, I think, that the version of the Latin romance stands decidedly closest to the original. The account of the discovery of the child by the sea-shore and of his subsequent bringing up by the fisherman is essentially the same in this version as in the legend, whilst it has practically disappeared from the version of the *Perlesvaus*. On the other hand the *Perlesvaus* retains certain distinctive features enumerated above which do not appear in the *De Ortu Waluuanii*. I refer to the naming of the hero after the person who takes charge of him, and the additional feature that the guardian and the person who brings up the child are not identical. At the same time, the very fact that the *Perlesvaus* version retains these distinctive features of the original story, which do not appear in the Latin romance, makes it evident that it is not dependent on the latter. It only remains to inquire then whether each of the versions was independently derived directly from the Gregory legend or from some intermediate source, itself deriving from that legend. The answer to this question must surely be in favor of the latter assumption. It is incredible that quite independently of one another the author of this romance and the author of the *Perlesvaus* should have each conceived the idea of exploiting the legend

of Gregory for the history of Gawain, and attaching it to the narrative of Gawain's sojourn at Rome which is developed from the passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book IX, Chap. XI). This being the case, and the two versions yet being entirely independent of one another, it is necessary to assume a common source for both—doubtless French. There is nothing surprising in this, as, indeed, we shall see that still other portions of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* were in all probability also worked up from French materials.

It was from this same source, no doubt, that the version of the Huth *Merlin* was likewise derived. The story in that romance agrees more closely with the *De Ortu Waluuanii* than with the *Perlesvaus*, retaining the original feature of the discovery of the child by the fisherman, though, of course, differing from it very much in detail. In view of the serious changes which, under any supposition, the form of the story has undergone in this version, it would be impossible to say whether the author had used the *De Ortu Waluuanii* or its source. As it is in the highest degree unlikely, however, that the author of the Huth *Merlin* should have had knowledge of this obscure Latin romance, and as no use of the romance is observable elsewhere in his work, we may safely assume, I think, that he derived his story of Mordrec's birth from the same source ultimately as the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, and not from that work directly.¹

¹In one respect the application of the legend of Gregory to Mordrec seems more natural than its application to Gawain: Gregory and Mordrec, I mean, were each the offspring of an incestuous union. It is evident, however, that the version of the Huth *Merlin* is very inferior to the versions which connect the legend with Gawain, and the motive of secrecy which is essential to the story and appropriate to the account of Gawain's birth could have had no place in a similar story concerning Mordrec, inasmuch as Loth is nowhere represented as being conscious of his real relation to the latter.

I had written this note as well as the whole of the discussion in the text when I noticed the suggestion of M. G. Paris in the edition of the Huth *Merlin* (p. xli, note 3) that the introduction of the story of Mordred's incestuous birth into the Arthurian romances was due, perhaps, in part to

The union, then, of certain features of the Gregory legend with the story of Gawain's connection with Rome and Pope Sulpicius, which was supplied by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book IX, Chap. XI), will account for everything that is essential in the Latin romance up to the point in the narrative where the news of the war between the Persians and the Christians of Jerusalem is brought to the emperor's court. The fusion of these materials called for some exercise of invention, of course, on the part of the writer who first united them—a demand which has been creditably met—but the essentials of the story are supplied by the sources. The whole of these materials which, as will be observed, have nothing to do with the French metrical or prose Arthurian romances are given a tinge of the coloring of these latter works by making the young knight, like many other Arthurian heroes, pass in the world under a nickname simply,¹ himself even being ignorant of his real name, and still further by introducing the Arthurian commonplace of a *don* by which the emperor binds himself to grant the youthful hero the privilege of undertaking the next adventure which presents itself.²

the influence of the Gregory legend. The influence of that legend on the stories I have been discussing has, of course, nothing to do with the question which M. Paris endeavors to elucidate in his note, as, indeed, it is a different and less essential feature of the Gregory legend with which I have been concerned.

¹So Lancelot du Lac in the prose-romance passes at first under various nicknames simply (see P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, III, 27, *et passim*). He only learns his true name in the cemetery of the Douloureuse Garde (*Ibid.*, pp. 165 f.). Cp. also the French and English romances on Guinglain, the son of Gawain, who is known as Li Beaus Desconneus (*Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, Paris, 1860) or Libeaus Desconus (ed. Kaluza, Leipzig, 1890), just in the same way that his father here figures as *Puer sine nomine*. The nickname, *Miles cum tunica armaturae*, may be compared with *Le Chevalier à la cotte mal taillé* (see Löseth's *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891, p. 74, *et passim*), which has passed into Malory (Book IX, Chap. I).

²This feature is, perhaps, too frequent to call for illustration. An example exactly parallel to that in our text will be found in the *Libeaus Desconus* (ed. Kaluza), p. 9.

The story of Gawain's birth and of his residence in Rome is the only part of the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, as far as I know, for which definite connections can be established with passages in the Arthurian romances that have come down to us. It can hardly be open to doubt, however, I think, that the whole of the concluding portion of the Latin romance which embraces the account of Gawain's night-encounter with King Arthur, his arrival at the latter's court¹ and the adventure of the *Castellum Puellarum* must have been taken with little alteration from some French romance—probably metrical—no longer extant.

In the first place, to say nothing of the general character of the incidents, the manner in which the story is told and the recurrence in it of some of the most distinctive commonplaces of the French Arthurian romances, along with still other features to be noticed, lend strong probability to the theory of its derivation from some one of the many specimens of works of that class which must have been lost. It is hardly likely that a writer whose preferred vehicle of expression was Latin could have reproduced so perfectly the habitual character of those works, if he had not followed some romance in the vernacular. These concluding episodes, indeed, seem to me to represent a more purely popular tradition than any other parts of the Latin romance.

The commonplaces referred to here especially are :

1. The introduction of Kay, the seneschal—who is not more fortunate in his encounter in this episode than in the Arthurian romances generally—and of Gringalet, the famous steed of Gawain, for it is evidently to him that the words refer: "Sonipedi residet cui uigore, ualore decoreue alter equiparari non poterit (p. 424)."

2. The combat at the ford. Such combats between knights at a ford may be numbered among the commonplaces of the

¹In the description of Caerleon and its surroundings the author had in mind Geoffrey's *Historia* (Book IX, Chap. XII), where this city is also described.

Arthurian romances. We have again in the prose *Tristan* (s. Löseth, p. 441) an encounter under these circumstances between Arthur and Gawain which has no connection, however, with the story in our Latin text.

Even more convincing, perhaps, for our present purpose are the following features, inasmuch as they are not common-places, which lend themselves easily to imitation, yet are paralleled elsewhere in Arthurian romance :

1. The opening of the story by a conversation between King Arthur and his consort as they lie in bed together. So the Harleian *Morte Arthur* (ed. Furnivall, London, 1864), which in the earlier part at least, is based on the French prose *Lancelot*.¹

2. The leading in of the steeds into the room where King Arthur is lying. The introduction of horses into halls is found elsewhere in the Arthurian romances, as well as in other branches of medieval literature. See the numerous examples cited in Child's *Ballads*, IV, 510 ; VI, 508. This feature of the romances may have answered to a real custom.

3. A nocturnal encounter between King Arthur and an unknown knight, which is brought on by an assertion² (or taunt) from his queen that she knows of a better knight than he. We find the same motive in the *Crône* of Heinrich von dem Türlin (ed. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852) in the episode (II. 3356 f.) which introduces Gasozein into the story. The resemblance between this episode and that in our romance, notwithstanding the much greater elaboration of the former, is in many points very striking and affords strong grounds for the suspicion that they are ultimately connected with one another. The episode in the *Crône* is as follows :

¹ I am not in a position to say whether the *Lancelot* MSS. contain just this feature of the English poem. At any rate, there can be little doubt of its coming, like everything else in the poem, from a French source.

² This story bears a certain resemblance, as regards *motif*, to that of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* and the group to which it belongs (cp. Child's *Ballads*, II, 274 f.), but the adventures which follow are altogether different in our romance.

Arthur, returning from a hunt, is very cold and draws close to the fire. His queen, observing him, taunts him with his want of endurance and contrasts his powers in this respect unfavorably with those of a knight she knows who, clad simply in a white shirt,

Ritet . . . âne pîne
Den vurt vür Noirespîne (ll. 3424 f.),

singing songs of love all through the winter night. Arthur, vexed at the taunt of his queen, secretly takes counsel with his men and rides out to an encounter with this strange knight, accompanied by Kei, Gâles and Aumagwîn. These latter in separate encounters vainly demand the stranger's name, Kei, moreover, applying to him the opprobrious epithets of robber and the like, but they are all unhorsed and their steeds led away by the victor. Aumagwîn in his fall had even been thrown into a *brunne* that flowed out of the hill, and would have drowned but for his companions' aid; so, like Arthur in our romance, he came away from the combat wet and humiliated. When Arthur's turn comes, he has better success than his knights, inasmuch as he presses the stranger very hard, and the latter on learning that he is King Arthur is willing to confess to him his name. The sequel of the story in the German poem does not concern us.

4. The episode of the *Castellum Puellarum* relates, of course, to the *Chastel aux Pucelles*, familiar to students of Arthurian romance.¹ In accordance with the usual tradition it lies "in aquilonari parte Britannie"² (p. 428). This concluding episode of the Latin romance is based in all probability on the same

¹The tourney at the *Chastel aux Pucelles* plays a considerable part in the prose *Tristan* (s. Löseth, p. 102, *et passim*). Cp. also the *Lancelot du Lac* (P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, v, 114 ff.). In Malory it appears as the *Castel of Maydens* (Book XIII, Chap. xv).

²It was identified with Edinburgh. See the note on *Castellum Puellarum* in San Marte's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, Halle, 1854, p. 215.

source¹ as the episode in *Ider* (s. G. Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de La France*, xxx, 202, 204) where Arthur is summoned to the assistance of the Lady of the *Chateau des Pucelles* when besieged by the *Noir Chevalier*.² We have a kindred though different story of the rescue of this Lady in the English *Sir Perceval* of the Thornton ms. (ed. Halliwell in *The Thornton Romances*, Camden Society, London, 1844; see pp. 37 f.). There she figures as Lufamour, Lady of Maydenelande. Under the influence of the ballad poetry her oppressor has become a "Sowdane," who does not gain, however, even temporary possession of the Lady's person, and King Arthur no longer plays the humiliating rôle which is assigned to him in the *De Ortu Waluuanii*. In this last respect, as in the marriage of the rescuing knight with the Lady, the English romance doubtless represents more accurately the original source from which all the stories concerning the distresses of this heroine were drawn. Yet *Perceval* has probably taken the place of the older hero in a story which, as I think is evident, must at one time have enjoyed an independent existence.

Finally, it is to be remarked, in regard to this concluding portion of the Latin romance, that in the episode of Arthur's encounter with Gawain we have evidently some of the traits which usually characterize the seneschal in the romances here transferred to the king in a way which I am at a loss to parallel from works of this kind. This characterization of Arthur being essential, however, to the story here related, it

¹The only suggestion of parallelism with Geoffrey of Monmouth which I find in this episode is in regard to Gawain's boast that he would accomplish alone what Arthur's whole army had failed in. In the *Historia*, Book III, Chap. xv, nearly the same thing is said of Morvidus: "Plus ipse solus in praeliando proficiebat quam maxima pars exercitus sui principatus." So, also, of Guiderius, Book IV, Chap. xiii. But these resemblances are no doubt accidental.

²It is impossible to say from M. Paris's analysis of *Ider*—the poem is still unpublished—in the place cited above, whether the story of Arthur's expedition in relief of the Lady is told in full or not in that romance.

must have constituted already a part of the original on which this portion of our Latin romance is based. The same is true of the ascription of prophetic powers to the queen. On the other hand, the singular change of the name of King Arthur's consort to Gwendolen,¹ which, as far as I know, does not occur elsewhere, could hardly have been the work of a romance-writer who desired to appeal to the usual audience to whom such works were addressed. It is no doubt due to the author of the Latin romance.

Having presented acceptable reasons, as I hope, for the supposition that to French sources are to be traced not only the account of Gawain's birth and youth, but also the concluding episodes of the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, we will now turn to a consideration of the middle portion of the romance, embracing the narrative of Gawain's expedition to Jerusalem, his adventures on the barbarous isle, his sea-fight and his duel with Gormundus.

It is obvious that the expedition of Gawain as the champion of the Christians at Jerusalem and the ensuing duel are quite independent of the other adventures just referred to. The duel with Gormundus, like the account of Gawain's sojourn at Rome, owes its origin, I believe, to a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth. The name of the Persian champion is adopted from the heathen Gormundus, *rex Africanorum* (Book XI, Chap. VIII) and *infaustus Tyrannus* (*ibid.*, Chap. x) of that writer, but the episode of the duel was, I believe, unquestionably suggested by the similar contest between Arthur and Flollo in the *Historia* (Book IX, Chap. xi), where the conflict of two armies is in the same manner averted by this mode of settlement. In the *De Ortu Waluuanii* the combat is made

¹ In Sir W. Scott's *Bridal of Triermain* (Cantos I and II) there is a story of an amour of Arthur with a fay named Guendolen, but the episode seems to be wholly of Scott's own invention. The name Gwendoloena was most probably taken from the *Vita Merlini*, usually ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is there the name of Merlin's wife. Cp. ll. 170 f. of this poem in San Marte's *Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, p. 278.

to extend over three days, the antagonists fight on foot because there is no horse tall enough to bear the heathen champion,¹ and the accounts are different in most of their other details, yet these details, such as they are in the Latin romance, required no great exercise of invention, and the episode seems to me to be a counterpart to the corresponding episode in Geoffrey. Certain features, after all, show plainly the influence of the earlier narrative on the later—namely, the fact that in each the author allows his hero at one stage of the contest to have the worst of it, and, again, the inclination of the hosts that look on to interfere in the duel.²

I see no reason for supposing that this episode of Gawain's expedition to Jerusalem³ and single combat with Gormundus did not form a part of the French source from which the story of his birth and youth were also drawn. In each we have a suggestion derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth developed with considerable freedom, although the interest of the later narrative is certainly very inferior to that of the earlier. This is, however, in a measure due to the copious rhetoric with which the author of the Latin romance has thought fit to invest his description of the mortal struggle between the champions of the two hosts. I think we may safely assume that the responsibility for all this empty verbiage rests with him and not with his original.

The adventure of the barbarous isle and of the sea-fight which follows opens, it is true, with a passage in which the

¹ So in the *Livre d'Artus*, in the ms. 337 *fonds français* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, no horse could bear the giant from whom Artus rescues the Countess of Orofoise. Cp. Freymond's analysis, *Zs. f. franz. Spr. und Lit.*, xvii, 96. The idea is, of course, known to legend elsewhere. The same thing, for instance, is told of King Hygelac in the tract, *De monstis et bellis liber*, quoted Haupt's *Zs.*, v, 10.

² The Britons in Geoffrey (Book IX, Chap. xi), when they saw Arthur prostrate after the fall of his wounded horse, *vix potuerunt retineri, quin rupto foedere in Gallos unanimiter irruerunt*.

³ The idea of sending Gawain to Jerusalem as a champion of the Christians is due no doubt to a reminiscence of the Christian occupation of that city, which lasted from 1099 to 1187.

influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth is manifest, yet the story as a whole was certainly not suggested by anything in that writer, and I am at a loss to establish connections for it in the general fund of romantic stories.¹ The councils of war, the military operations conducted with concerted method, which enter into the narrative of this adventure—to say nothing of the description of the fight at sea—certainly betray the labor of a learned hand—the same, doubtless, which had already drawn on Geoffrey of Monmouth for such important materials in the construction of the romance. The story of the captive queen, of Gawain's penetrating secretly to the palace, and of the plot which, in conjunction with Nabaor, they contrive there is not founded, however, on anything in the *Historia*. On the other hand, it reads rather like an episode from one of the more romantic tales of the Decameron than a chapter in Arthurian fiction.² But little of this portion of the narrative, however, including the fight at sea, can be set down, I believe, to the account of the author who gave these stories their Latin dress. It is inconceivable that a person who was capable of inserting into the romance the outrageously burlesque receipt for the preparation of Greek fire (pp. 412 f.) could have himself composed this interesting episode, yet there are

¹The proper names of this episode afford us no help in the matter. *Nabor* (usually *Nabaor* in the romance) occurs in the prose *Tristan* as a variant of the name of the giant, *Nabon* (e. g., cp. Löseth, p. 61), and the father of Sagremor in the Huth *Merlin* (I, 206) is *Nabur*, but no such story is connected with these characters. Neither the name of the king, *Milocrates*—a barbarous formation, indeed—nor that of his brother, *Buzafarnan*, do I find elsewhere. Curiously this latter personage is once called *Egesarius* (p. 410), but the origin of this name is as obscure to me as that of the rest. (N. B., also *Odabal*, which occurs nowhere else, as far as I can ascertain.) It is possible that *Buzafarnan* and *Egesarius* are both corrupt forms. How far names in the Arthurian romances have often departed from their original forms, in the course of copying, may be seen from F. Seiffert's *Namenbuch zu den französischen Artusepen*, Greifswald, 1882, pp. 5 ff.

²It will be easy, perhaps, for folk-lorists to point out parallels to the conception of a people who rarely lived beyond fifty or died under ten (p. 398)—also to the conception of the charmed arms (p. 406), on the possession of which depended the possession of the kingdom.

no peculiarities in the Latin of the inserted passage to distinguish its author from that of the episode. The sources of the Latin romance are doubtless not responsible for either this interpolation or the pseudo-learned description of the *rostrate*.

The account of the landing of the Roman expedition on the island, however, and of the hunting of Gawain and his men in the neighboring forest shows plainly the influence, as stated above, of a similar episode in Geoffrey of Monmouth—namely, that in which Brutus lands on the isle of Leogecia (Book I, Chap. XI) and despatches his men into the interior, where they slay wild beasts of various kinds and discover the deserted city with the temple of Diana. It is from the goddess there that Brutus learns his own destiny and that of his posterity. In the narrative of Gawain's encounter with the keepers of the forest we have an example of still further correspondence with the *Historia*. Just as Gawain,¹ having struck down the head-keeper, *apprehenso . . . naso cassidis eum ad socios traxit* (p. 400), so in Geoffrey Eldol *cepit Hengistum per nasale cassidis atque totis utens viribus, ipsum intra cives extraxit* (Book VIII, Chap. VI).

To sum up the results of this discussion of the sources, it has been demonstrated, I believe, that the author of the Latin romance drew his materials for the earlier periods of his hero's career—down to the point where he undertakes the championship of the Christians of Jerusalem—from an earlier French romance relating to Gawain—whether prose or metrical it is impossible to say. The former, I think, is more probable. For what may be termed the second division of the romance—namely, from the point just designated down to the hero's departure from Rome for King Arthur's court—the question of sources is more difficult. It is probable,

¹ Gawain's reply to the keeper: *Nec arma nisi in vestris visceribus recondita deponemus* (p. 399) may be a reminiscence of the phrase in Eldol's speech concerning Vortigern . . . *gladii mei mucronem intra viscera ipsius recondam* (Book VIII, Chap. II).

however, that for this division, too, French materials were employed, and, this being the case, I see no adequate reason for assuming that the incidents of the first and second divisions were drawn from a different source. On the other hand, if the source of this part of the story was indeed a French Arthurian romance, as is certainly the case with the other divisions, and not some tale of a different character, that source, as I think is evident, must have been made up, as regards these episodes, of materials which had nothing to do with Arthurian story. The last division, embracing the adventures of Gawain in Britain, are, we may say, certainly derived from a French Arthurian romance of the familiar pattern—most probably metrical. This last romance, moreover, is different to that which supplied the materials for the first and second divisions. It shows no use of Geoffrey of Monmouth nor of legends outside of the Arthurian cycle, and the incidents seem to me to bear the stamp of popular origin in the same sense as those which fill the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and his followers. This cannot be said of the first division nor of the second. The author has connected this last division with the preceding by retaining the hero's nickname from the latter, and accepting from the first division its characteristic conception in regard to the origin of the hero.

III.

AUTHOR.

The author of the Latin romance was himself a man of some learning—doubtless a member of one of the ecclesiastical orders. The occasional reminiscences in phraseology pointed out further back make it certain that he knew Geoffrey of Monmouth, and his allusions to the Egean sea (p. 398), the Cyclops (p. 421), and the battle of the Lapithae and Centaurs (p. 421) disclose an even more extended knowledge. In the composition of his romance he no doubt used his sources freely, and his work is probably nowhere a mere

translation. He has, moreover, added passages occasionally, it would seem, such as the description of Caerleon on Usk which opens the last division and is the only thing in that division that owes its suggestion to Geoffrey. The burlesque receipt for the preparation of Greek fire,¹ too, certainly does not belong to his sources. Finally the rhetorical flourishes which mark the style of the Latin work—most conspicuous in the account of the duel with Gormundus—are doubtless all the author's own.

In regard to the life or nationality of this author the MS. affords us no information. We find in it just preceding the *De Ortu Waluuanii* another romance relating to King Meriadoc of Wales of even somewhat greater length (Ward's *Catalogue*, I, 374 f.). I have had no opportunity of examining this story, but the self-satisfaction and the phraseology of the brief prologue, which I will now quote in part from Ward, remind one of the conclusion to our romance and lead me to suspect that the two romances are by the same author. The sentences of the prologue in question read as follows :

“Memoratu dignam dignum duxi exarare historiam. . . . Legencium igitur consulens utilitati illam compendioso perstringere stilo statui, sciens quod maioris sit precii brevis cum sensu oratio quam multiflua racione uacans locutio.”

Ward (p. 375) remarks that “the early part of this romance was not improbably founded upon a Mabinogi; but the present version was not written by a Welshman, or he would not have said: *Sedes uero regni Caradoci regis et quo maxime frequentare solebat penes niualem montem qui Kambrice Snavodone resonat exstabat* (f. 2, cols. 1, 2), whereas the genuine Welsh name for the range is *Eryri*, and the word Snowdon is essentially English.”

In default of further evidence there is nothing to be added to the above in regard to the nationality of the author of our romance. He was doubtless an Englishman.

¹ There is mention of Greek fire in the *Historia* (Book I, Chap. VII), but I do not believe that this is a point in which the romance has been influenced by Geoffrey.

IV.

DATE.

With respect to the date of the composition of the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, Sir Frederic Madden has referred it, as seen above (p. 367), to the early part of the fourteenth century. He seems, however, to have had no better reason for this opinion than the fact that the manuscript which contains the romance belongs to that period (see Ward, I, 374). But the copy preserved in the Cottonian MS. is certainly not the original copy. The numerous omissions¹ of words and phrases in that MS. render it incredible that such should be the case. The date of the MS., then, can only serve to fix the downward limit of composition. An indication of the upward limit seems to be furnished by the very nickname of the hero—*Miles cum tunica armaturae*—inasmuch as the tunic worn over the armour (i. e., the surcoat) came into use in the early part of the thirteenth century.² The passage in which is explained the origin of the nickname appears to me to fix the source at least of the first division of the romance as belonging to the early part of the thirteenth century. For it is there (p. 396) said that before the young hero no one had thus worn a tunic over his armour. Such a passage could hardly have been written except when the custom was still quite new, as indeed a nickname so little distinctive could only have been employed by the romance-writer under these conditions. Considering that the incident through which the hero acquires this nickname forms an integral part of the story, it is not likely that the above-mentioned passage was introduced into the romance by the writer who worked up these materials in their Latin form. I think we may accord-

¹ See pp. 397, 409 *et passim*.

² See A. Schultz' *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, 2^{te} Auflage, Leipzig, 1889, II, pp. 40 f.—also p. 58, where it is again stated as introduced “in den ersten Decennien des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts.”

ingly infer from what has just been observed that the source¹ of the first division (and of the second,² too, of course, if that is by the same hand) is to be referred to the early part of the thirteenth century.

In regard to the final division of the romance we can only say that the similarity of its incidents and character to those of the romances of Chrétien and his followers affords reason for referring the source of this division to the chief period of the production of these romances—namely, that which embraces the latter part of the twelfth century and the early part of the thirteenth. As the source of the earlier divisions seems to belong to the early thirteenth century, it is most probable that the romance on which this part of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* is based dated also from that period.

Finally, there is no indication beyond those already mentioned in regard to the time when the materials drawn from these sources were worked up into the form of a Latin romance. It does not seem likely, however, that this should have occurred very long after the original romances themselves came into existence. I should, therefore, be inclined to fix upon the second quarter of the thirteenth century as the period when the *De Ortu Waluuanii* was composed.

¹The connection of this source with the passage in the *Perlesvaus* affords us no indication of date, because the two, as we have seen above (p. 375), are not *directly* connected. They only go back to a common source. *Perlesvaus* (or *Perceval li Gallois*) is assigned by Birch-Hirschfeld (*Sage vom Gral*, p. 143) to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

²If the images of birds attached to the masts, which deceive the Centurion on the approach of Buzafarnan's fleet (p. 410), do indeed answer to anything in the ornamentation of ships during the Middle Ages, a clue to the date of this part of the romance (i. e., its source) might be furnished. But with the means of determining this which are accessible to me, I am unable to say whether such is the case.

V.

TEXT.

De ortu Waluuanii nepotis Arturi.

[Cott. MS. Faustina, B. VI.]

[Fol. 23, col. 2.] Vterpendragon rex, pater Arturi, omnium Britannie confinium prouinciarum sue dicioni reges subegerat, tributariosque efficiens eorum filios partim loco obsidum, partim honestate morum militarique erudiendos disciplina sua in curia detinebat. Inter quos Loth nepos [Si]chelini regis Norgwegie educabatur, adolescens mirandus aspectu, robore corporis animique uirtute peditus, unde et regi Vthero eiusque filio Arturo ceteris suis coetaneis karior habitus ipsius secreta cubiculi continue frequentabat. Erat autem regi filia Anna dicta incomparabilis pulcritudinis, que cum matre regina in thalamo morabatur. Cum qua dum predictus adolescens sepe iuueniliter luderet et iocosa secretius uerba consereret, utrique alterutro capiuntur amore. Alterni tamen affectus diu ab invicem cum timore tum pudore dissimulati sunt. Verum quia ad instar flamme amor quo magis tegitur, eo magis accenditur, indeque capit augmentum unde minui festinatur, magnitudinem tandem amoris in se continere non ualentes, que mente conceperant mutuo patefaciunt. Sui igitur uoti compotes effecti assensum uoluptati adhibent, statimque illa impregnata intumuit.

[Fol. 23b, col. 1.] Pariendi uero appropinquante termino, egritudinem simulans secreto cubat cubiculo, unam tantum pedissequam huius rei habens consciam. Tempus tandem quo fetum expelleret aduenerat, paruulumque eleganti forma enixa est. Conduxerat autem ditissimos e transmarinis finibus commercia sectantes pactaque cum eis sub iureiurando fuerat, ut statim ubi in lucem prodiret, ne a quoquam comperiretur, secum suam in patriam infantem abducerent ac usque adultam etatem diligenter educarent. Natum itaque infantulum, nemine sciente, negociatores suscipiunt, cum quo genitrix eis auri et

argenti preciosarumque uestium innumerabilem copiam contulit. Tradidit quoque ingentis precii pallium insertis gemmis auro undique intextum nec non et anulum lapide smaragdino insignitum, quem a rege custodiendum acceperat, quo ipse dumtaxat festiuis diebus uti solebat. Cartam eciam regis sigillo signatam addidit, cuius textus eum certis insinuabat indiciis ex regis Norwegie nepote sororeque Arturi progenitum Waluuaniumque a genitrice nominatum et propter regis timorem ad extraneas fuisse destinatum prouincias. Hec ideo illa, scilicet pallium anulum et cartam, prouido usa consilio cum eo prebere studuit, ut, si forte quandoque rediens a parentibus ^[Col. 2.] non agnitus refutaretur, signum certitudinis exhiberent et per eorum indicia ad parentum perueniret notitiam.

Negotiatores igitur sue tuicioni commissum paruulum tol-lentes nauem con[s]cendunt, datisque uentis carbasis alta sulcantes equora viij tandem die Gallicanas *allabuntur*¹ ad horas, nactique continentem duobus miliariis a ciuitate Narbonensi appulsi sunt. Quo ubi applicuerunt sale reumateque maris tabentes, ad urbem se spaciatur, linte in portu relicto, omnes properant, unum tantummodo puerum qui suas res lactentemque in cunis iacentem tueretur deserentes, remocius quippe ab urbe sub prerupta rupe appulerant nullumque interim ratem aditurum credebant. Sed, illis egressis, forte quidam piscator e uicino pago, Viamundus uocabulo, rebus quidem pauper sed genere et moribus honestus, ut moris cotidie habebat, cum coniuge per litus gradiebatur, inuestigans si piscem inuenire potuisset freti retractu in continenti destitutum, cuius sibi precio uictum acquireret. Hic carinam appulsam intuitus, ceteris omissis, illuc confestim tetendit, ingressusque neminem excepto puero qui ad eius tutelam relictus fuerat et illum quidem dormientem repperit. Videns autem paruulum prestanti forma nauemque sine custode omnibus refertam diuiciis suamque considerans paupertatem quam ibi, for^[Fol. 24, col. 1.]tuna fauente, releuare poterat—ut in prouerbio

¹ MS. albabuntur.

dicatur, oportunitas loci et temporis reddit latronem—quicquid maioris estimacionis in auro et argento uariaque suppellectili sibi uidebatur diripuit. Infantem quoque et thecam ad caput eius stantem in qua pallium anulus et carta continebantur uxori tradens (*sic*), opibus honesti ad sua cum festinacione, nullo negocium aduertente, abscesserunt. Institores autem post paululum ad naualia regressi dampnum sibi illatum rebus sublati offendunt. Cuius rei euentu inopino dolore perculsi maximoque merore consternati ad gemitus et fletus omnes conuersi sunt, diemque in lamentacionem continuauerunt et maxime ob infantis surrepcionem quem sue fidei constabat creditum. Moxque ad hoc idoneos electos per uicina litora ruraque nuncios mittunt, qui rem diligenter indagarent et qui sibi tantum [dampnum] intulissent discrimine inquirerent. Sed quoniam quod omnium latet noticiam difficile deprehenditur, nichil certitudinis anticipantes, ad nauem qui missi fuerant mesti remearunt.

Viamundus autem subtractam cum infantulo substantiam ad casam deferens occuluit, ipsumque loco filii, quia proprio carebat, adhibita diligencia enutriuit. Verebatur tamen opulenciam qua pollebat in palam proferre—quia et egestas qua hactenus afficiebatur exstabat notissima et furti quod commiserat adhuc fiebat questio—ne opum *ostentacione*¹ perpetrati sceleris infamia notaretur. [Col. 2.] Septem autem annorum transcurso spacio Romam pergere deliberauit, et facti penitudine ductus et quod non dubitabat se illo ut in extranea regione suis facultatibus licite posse uti. Omnibus igitur uie necessariis paratis et compositis, uxore filio adoptiuo familiaque comitantibus, cum uniuersa substantia iter arripuit inque breui sane et prospere Romana menia attigit. Ingressus autem omni die urbem circum quaque circumibat, cunctaque perscrutans, statum loci, mores ciuium et nomina *senatorum*² ac principum callide inquirebat. Roma uero ea tempestate ui barbarorum capta et subacta fuerat et pene usque ad internicionem desolata, muris dirutis, edificiis combustis, ciuibus

¹ MS. ostentacionem.

² MS. sanatorum.

captiuatis et dispersis uariisque suppliciis interemptis. Sed nouus in imperio imperator successerat, qui ruine urbis condolens diruta reedificabat, ciues dispersos congregabat, captos redimebat, summopere dans operam eam ad pristinae felicitatis statum reducere. Quibus Viamundus agnitis et ut erat astuti ingenii, rem sibi intelligens ad uotum succedere, nil moratus, se egregio cultu adornauit, seruos et quam plurima mancipia a uicinis oppidis magnosque apparatus *comparauit*,¹ seruorumque numerosa turba uallatus per mediam urbem ad palacium tendit, omnibus spectaculo factus cum ex splendidis ornamentis tum ex se anticipancium multitudine, veniensque [Fol. 24b, col. 1.] ad imperatorem honorifice suscipitur. Cum quo demum colloquia conserens [narravit] se ex nobilissima Romanorum oriundum familia Gallieque partibus commoratum populi ducatum habuisse, sed, audita urbis clade et infortunio, se conciuuium uires adauctum illo properasse, utque sibi cum suis habitandi in ea locum tribueret suppliciter flagitabat. Imperator autem, eum non parue generositatis cum ex ueneranda canicie cum uariarum decore rerum tum e satellitum numerositate estimans et coniciens, quod ad se uenerit gratias agit, seque eum, si in urbe commoraretur, multiplici donaturum spondet honore. Deditque illi aulam marmoream mire structure stupendisque comptam edificiis pre foribus sui palatii, que Scipionis Affricani testatur fuisse. Municipia quoque uineas et agriculturas extra urbem contulit suis seruituras expensis.

Tanta itaque fortune Viamundus ultra omnem estimacionem nactus beneficia se tam lepide tamque decenter et generose agebat, ut imperatorem senatum populumque in sui admirationem converteret omniumque se amatum traheret affectus celebrisque sermo de sua largitate et munificencia per totam urbem clam palamque ferreretur. Senatorum quippe et nobilium Rome ad eum cotidie conuentus fiebat, nec non et ab aula imperiali pretext[at]ati pueri militumque turba ob gratiam paruuli confluebant [Col. 2.], quos uariis deliciis² * * * * con-

¹ MS. comperauit.

² Word following undecipherable.

uiuiis donisque honorabat largissimis. Crescente interea etate puero, crescebat et animi uirtute et corporis habilitate, suiue genitoris qui credebatur emulator existens, industrie facecie probitatique studebat. Frequentabat et ipse palacium familiarisque cum subditis habebatur principi. Quedam enim in illo ingenite vigeabant uirtutis quibus se uidencium animos ad se amandum extorquebat et alliciebat. Erat siquidem procera decentique statura, lepido gestu, pulcra facie, ingentique predictus fortitudine. Jamque duodecimum eui annum attigerat, cum Viamundus graui tentus egritudine lecto decubuit. Qui, ingrauescente languore, dum sibi uite finem imminere cerneret, per primores ciuitatis imperatorem papamque Sulpicium, per id tempus apostolice sedi presidentem, ut ad se uenire suaue colloquia dignarentur plurimum exorabat. Illi autem tanti uiri preces, quem ob morum liberalitatem non parum dilexerant, minime renuentes, assumptis secum uiris excellencioribus ciuitatis, gratuito affectu ad eum conuenere. Aduenientibus uero Viamundus primum de impertitis sibi ab illis beneficiis debitas grates exsoluit, demum, eos secreto conuocans, uite prioris statum, quo casu tantarum diuiciarum gloriam adeptus fuerit puerumque quem educabat reppererit, totiusque uite ordinem seriatim exposuit. Subiunxitque: "Hoc estuanti" inquit "animo uestre [Fol. 25, col. 1.] celsitudini sepius intimare deliberaui sed semper temporis oportunitatem usque ad presens distuli. Nunc autem ultimo fato incumbente ea fateri compulsus, licet quod postulo homini seruilis condicionis a tocius orbis dominis iuste *negari*¹ possit, tamen amiciecie familiaritatisque memores quibus me dignati estis mee uos petitioni non abnuere estimo. Est quidem quod uos petiturus acciui, hunc puerum quem loco filii enutriui et cum quo hec omnis mihi rerum copia contigit uestre sullimitatis tuicioni committere, ut eum educantes ad militarem ordinem, dum etas affuerit, promoueatis. Nepotem quippe Arturi regis Britannie—iam enim, patre defuncto, [regnum] suscepit—de quo tante probitatis fama ubique uolat, eum esse noueritis,

¹ MS. *regari*.

quem *a parentum*¹ nobilitate non degeneraturum non dubito. Rem tamen ab omnibus et ab ipso laudo haberi secretam, nec etiam nomen ipsius, donec a suis cognoscatur parentibus, patefiat, quia et hoc carte monimenta que eius testantur prosapiam prohibent. Vbi autem in uirilem etatem proruperit, cum uestris litteris et sue propaginis certis indiciis, que satis apud me habentur probabilia, oro remittatur." Puerumque aduocans, qui, quia quo nomine censeretur nesciebatur, usque ad illud tempus Puer sine Nomine uocatus fuerat, imperatoris amplexus uestigia, supplici prece summisque uotis eum commendauit. Loculum quoque quo testamenta a matre contradita continebantur iubens afferri imperatori ostendit. Quibus ^[Col. 2.] uisis, imperator, uiri liberalitatem circa puerum habitam multa laude efferens, puerum iniectis brachiis suscipit, se eius uoluntati per omnia satisfacturum spondens. Sicque Viamundus quod maxime affectauerat pro uoto adeptus, imperatore assidente, letus defungitur, maximaque lamentacione cunctorum [in] monumentis nobilium, constructa desuper ab imperatore miri operis piramide, sepelitur.

Post Viamundi autem obitum Puer sine Nomine ad palacium iussu principis ductus inter regales pueros annumeratur. Trium uero annorum emenso termino, xv scilicet etatis anno, sua probitate exigente, armis ab imperatore instruitur. Cum quo et uiginti alios iuuenes ob gratiam ipsius milicia donauit. Indequc cum ceteris tironibus iuuentuque Romana ad circum, quo cursus equorum fieri solebant progressus, quanta se ea die uirtute egerit, quam strenue gesserit, fauor omnium circo astancium eum prosecutus testimonio fuit. In illo siquidem spectaculo nullus ei resistere, uiribus² equiparari ualuit, quin quemcunque obuium haberet mutuo congressu³ prosterneret. Qua propter, equiriis celebratis, aurea quam rex uictori proposuerat insignitus corona, pompa cum laudibus eum prosequente, in presenciam[m] imperatoris adducitur. Quem

¹ MS. apparentum.

² On the margin is written nullus eius uiribus.

³ MS. congressi. Doubtless the additional stroke at the end omitted by mistake.

imperator de singulari probitate non mediocriter collaudans cuiuscumque [Fol. 25b, col. 1.] muneris a se uoluisse remunerationem poscere concessit. Ille autem "nil aliud" ait "tuam mihi, O imperator, munificenciam opto conferre, nisi ut primam congressionem singularis pugne que tibi contra tuorum aliquem hostium sit agenda concedat." Annuuit imperator eumque in primo equestrium constituit ordine. Prima uero die qua ipse ad miliciam assumptus fuerat tunicam sibi parauerat purpuream, quam, ad pretaxatum¹ equestre certamen processurus, armis superinducens, tunicam armature nuncupauit. Dumque a militibus quereretur cur eam super arma induisset—neque enim antea huiusmodi tunica armis septus aliquis usus fuerat—respondit se tunicam armature ad hornatum adhibuisse. Ad quod responsum ei ab omni acclamatur exercitu: "nouus miles cum tunica armature! nouus miles cum tunica armature!" ac deinceps hoc illi mansit uocabulum, "Miles cum tunica armature." Qui *altiori*² ab imperatore promotus honore semper ad *altiora*³ uirtutis et probitatis tendebat, cui in omni congressu, in omni certamine, celebre nomen singularisque fortitudo ascribebatur.

Dum hec Rome geruntur, bellum inter Persarum regem Christianosque Ierosolimis commorantes oriri contigit. Ventumque erat ad diem prefinitum certamini et tam equestrium quam pedestrium ingentibus copiis conferte circumstantes acies sibi spectaculum incutiebant terroris, distinctisque ordinibus gradatim [Col. 2.] ad prelium appropriaba[n]t.⁴ Jamque tubis clangentibus, tensis neruis, telisque erectis, primipilares dexteris conserere festinabant, dum euo consilioque maturiores utriusque partis, considerantes tante multitudinis tantique roboris conflictum non sine maximo posse fore discrimine, in medium procedentes, primum refrenant impetum ac de pacis condicione locuturos ad inuicem legatos dirigunt. Diutius autem inter eos locutione habita, tandem in hoc uniuersi

¹ Cp. *Ducange* under *praetaxatus* (= *praetactus* = *praedictus*).

² ms. *alteriori*.

³ ms. *alteriora*.

⁴ Cp. *Ducange* under *appropriare* (= *appropinquare*).

dedere consensum, ut hinc et inde unus ad duellum eligeretur et cui cessisset uictoria cederet et rerum unde agebatur dominium. Verumptamen Ierosolomitani, quia hoc sine assensu Cesaris, sub cuius degebant imperio, non audeba[n]t concedere, sibi dari *pacierunt*¹ inducias, donec ad Cesarem super hoc re legacionem mitterent et eius uoluntatem agnoscerent; se uero ad hanc paccionem pronos animo, si ab eo concederetur, iureiurando asserebant. Igitur, concessis induciis, qui hanc legacionem fungerentur eligunt, electosque, postposita dilacione, mittunt, precipientes illos, ut, si Cesarem quod postulabant minime renuere animaduenterent, etiam ad propositum certamen idoneum uirum ab eo flagitarent. Missi itaque iter maturantes ad imperatorem ueniunt inductique [in] senatum uie causam disertissime perorauerant. Imperator autem, super relatis inito consilio, eorum petitioni concedendum deliberauit, sed quem dirigeret dubitabat. Dumque uariis sentenciis sermo intractaretur, res [Fol. 26, col. 1.] Militis cum tunica armature defertur ad aures. Qui, nil moratus, in conspectu imperatoris, sumpta audacia, prorupit atque "O!" ait, "imperator, tue munificencie te opto memorem [esse] quam me ad tyrocinium delectum, me petente, dignanter donasti, ut primum singulare certamen quod tibi tuos contra aduersarios ineundum foret mihi annueres. Ecce non tantum tibi et Romano populo, uerum etiam fidei Christiane a perfidis bellum indicitur. Oro tuam sullimitatem ut mihi quod concessit permittat, quatinus et tue sponsionis effectum assequar et Romani populi dignitatem cultumque religionis ulciscar." Imperator autem, licet tam probum militem et sibi necessarium a se dimittere et tanto destinare discrimini admodum egre ferret, tamen [quia] et sua hoc exigebat promissio et illo ad tale negocium magis nesciebat idoneum—presertim cum ex illius qui mittendus erat fortitudine suorum omnium uires uirtutemque pensandas seque dampnum et dedecus, si uinceretur, lucrum autem et gloriam, si uicisset, manere nouerat—ex senatus consulto fieri adiudicauit.

¹ MS. pacierunt.

Armis itaque bene et decenter instructum et munitum eum imperator cum legatis dirigit, centum ei insuper cum uno centurione adiunctis equitibus, ut et honorifice pergeret et siquid sibi per tanta terrarum marisue spacia aduersi contigisset eorum amminiculo euitaret. Nec mora, uiam ineunt et ad mare Adriaticum deuenientes naues conscendunt. Erant autem rates cum ^[Col. 2.] eis xvi, quarum alias negociantes alias ad loca sancta properantes ob piratarum seuiciam qui per maris latitudinem uagabantur in eorum comitatu coadunaue-
rant. Hiis igitur coniunctis, portum deserentes in altum deferuntur. Quo diebus xxv tumidis iactati fluctibus, dum nec portum petere nec rectum possent cursum dirigere, undique procellis surgentibus, magnisque circumacti anfractibus, ad quandam insulam gentis barbarice appulsi sunt. Cuius incole tante feritatis existebant, ut nulli sexui, nulli paterent etati, quin sotes et insotes ab extranea natione uenientes pari pena multarent. Ideoque a nullo petebantur sectante commercia, sed ab omni gente cui tante infamia nequicie innocuerat uitabantur manebantque in orbem quasi extra orbem positi, ab omnium consorcio segregati. Nam et omnium pecudum ac uolucrum carne uesci inmodiceque dicuntur, uoluptati subditi, ut nec patres filios nec filii a quibus sint geniti prossus agnoscant. Trium cubitorum statura mensuram non excedit etasque ad quinquagesimum annum protenditur. Raro aliquis infra x uita diffungitur nec quinquagesimum superuiuens annum transgreditur. Cultu cibusque diffusi, laboribus assueti, diuiciis affluentes in propagatione sobolis noscuntur fecundi. Jam uero fama per omnes paganorum regiones percerebuerat, militem ab imperatore missum ad initum uenire duellum cuius congressum nemo sufferre ualebat.
[Fol. 26b, col. 1.] Ideoque ad uniuersas sue dicionis insulas in Egeo mari—quod transfretaturus erat—adiacentes clanculo mandauerant, ut portus et lictora iugi excubacione obseruarent, et, si forte appulisset, opprimerent, ne ad statutum diem uenire potuisset. Nec non et piratas diuersis in locis lata equoris statuerant obsidere spacia, ut, si ab hostia obseruantibus min-

ime lesi euasissent, ab hiis qui per fretum usque discurrebant inopinate exciperentur. Regnabat autem ea tempestate in illa insula quidam, dictus Milocrates, inimicus Romani populi, qui, neptem imperatoris quam regi Illirico dederat ui capiens et abducens, illam insulam potencia occupauerat. Huic quoque sicut et ceteris notificatis insidiis, ciuitates et oppida que uel pelago imminebant seu penes quas *aptos*¹ applicantibus portus fore compererat militibus et custodibus munierat, ut et illi² transeuntem infestarent et hec appellentes subito inuaderent. Lictora autem quibus applicuerant per girum erant circumdata nemoribus, minus tamen opima agrestibus animalibus, unde ob eorum raritatem et ab incolis extraneisque superuenientibus artius seduliusque seruabantur, quorum esu, rege excepto ac eius principibus, nulli fas erat perfrui.

Hanc igitur ubi prefatus centurio cum sua classe est nactus insulam, Miles cum tunica armature, paucis comitantibus, puppin egressus siluas uenatum adiit. Jamque vi prostratis, [Col. 2.] discopulatis canibus, vii insequi ceruum ceperat, dum ecce canum latratus tubarumque strepitus in interiorem siluam positus custos percepit nemoris. Accitisque sociis quorum tutele secum silua tuenda a rege commissa fuerat arma iubet capere. Nam xx milites, qui illam tuerentur, disponebantur, quorum absque licencia nulli tutus in eo patebat ingressus. Arma iussi capiunt atque uenantibus iam preda potitis occurrunt. Querunt cuius licencia regia depopulentur nemora, que nec etiam ingressu pacifico subire cuiquam licebat. Jubentur arma deponere atque pro temeritate patrata iudicium subituri regem adire. E contra Miles cum tunica armature respondit: "Cuius huc aduenimus eiusque licencia nobis necessaria inuadimus, nec arma nisi in uestris uisceribus recondita deponemus." Dixerat et ualido *attorquens*³ pila lacerto in tumido rigidum congeffit gutture ferrum, cuius dextra grauis compescuit ora minantis. Custos autem nemoris saucius ingemuit, sed cum ipso dolore magis intumuit atque e plaga extractum toto conamine missile in Militem cum tunica arma-

¹ Ms. aptus.² Ms. ille.³ Ms. et torquens.

ture remisit quod ab eo errore delatum robori infixum est. Nec mora, hinc et inde concurrunt ceteri et nunc cominus, consertis dextris, sibi inuicem uulnera ingruunt nec eminus telorum iactu configunt. Ex parte quidem Militis cum tunica armature plures habebantur sed inermes, cum aduersariis omnium munimen armorum adesset. Ac Miles cum tunica armature, dum suos cedere uideret postibus, stricto gladio [Fol. 27, col. 1.] in eorum ducem irruens humo prostrauit, apprehensoque naso cassidis eum ad socios traxit ac uita cum armis destituit. Quibus ipse indutus, propriam hortatus turmam, inuasit hostilem, ceterisque fugatis xiii solus peremit. Fugientes uero per siluarum abdita turba insequitur militum, omnesque quos assequi possunt ad Tartara dirigunt. Cui cedi unus superstes relinquitur, ut tante cladis existat nuncius. Is inter densa fruticum se o[c]culens delituit, donec manus aduersaria discedens se desisteret persequi. Qua recedente, ocius surrexit, regem adiit atque ei que gesta fuerant retulit. Morabatur autem tunc temporis rex Milocrates in finitima ciuitate, quam tribus milibus a mari amenissimo in loco condiderat. Qui, hostium aduentu suorumque militum interitu cognito, missis continuo nunciis, tocius prouincie principes, cum quanta manu ualerent, quantocius conuenire imperat. Illi autem, ut imperatum erat et loco et tempore, cum collecta multitudine adueniunt. Aduenientes autem per uicinos pagos hospitabantur, quia predicta eos ciuitas capere non poterat. Rex uero Milocrates cum eorum principibus quid agendum foret deliberabat.

Interea Miles cum tunica armature, deuictis hostibus, ad naues regreditur, cuius uictorie adeptis remuneratus spoliis omnis congratulatur exercitus. Die autem tertia inceptum affectabatur iter aggredi, sed, flabris obstantibus, in [Col. 2.] loco coacti sunt remorari. Centurio igitur nimis inde afflictus maiores milicie congregat atque ab eis de patrandis negociis consilium expetit. Affirmabat enim regem illius insule eiusque principes ob suorum perniciem iam se contra moueri

eosque¹ in ulcionem peremptorum se oppressum ire iam conspirasse, ni discessum maturassent. Se autem, sibi aura remittente, inde discendere non ualere, nec tutum fore illuc dicebat manendum, dum nec ad multitudinis repulsionem hostium militum haberetur copia nec suis expensis tam longo in tempore necessaria suppeterent. "Oportet" *inquit*² "igitur *quempiam*³ nostrum uires et consilia inuestigatum ire aduersariorum, ut, cognitis que penes eos factitantur, que nobis agenda sunt utilius prouideamus. Dicta ducis placent atque qui hoc exerceant negocium duo de omnibus eliguntur, quorum unus Miles cum tunica armature, alter, Odabal dictus, centurionis exstabat consanguineus, qui et in dubiis prouidi et cauti et in aduersis probi et strenui pre ceteris noscebantur. Hii armis septi iussum iter arripiunt atque per nemus ad urbem tendunt. In cuius silue aditu aper ille in manus occurrit, colla ad modum hastilium setis obsitus, aduncis dentibus rictus munitus, ab cuius ore fulmine euaporante, spumaque per armos fluente, obliquo in illo impetu ferebatur. Miles cum tunica armature autem, illo uiso, de sonipede desiliit, ac splendidum dextra uibrans uenabulum, antequam se copiam aggrediendi haberet, in illo pedes [Fol. 27b, col. 1.] irruit. Cuius fronti inter supercilia infixum spiculum, cetera percurrentes, sibi per ilia fecit exitum. Nec tamen statim corrui, *sed*⁴ cum accepto uulnere furorem concepisse uidebatur, ut, tametsi deficiente sanguine uires plurime defecissent, quantumuis dabatur eum cum dente impeteret. Op[p]osito uero egide dum ictum Miles cum tunica armature exciperet, euaginato gladio, capud in se furentis abscidit ac eum in suo cruore uolutantem dimisit. Quem *equo*⁵ impositum ipsius armiger sui ex parte ad centurionem detulit atque citato cursu rediens illum ad urbis ualuas mediante die anticipauit. Ciuitatem autem introgressi palacium adire,⁶ mixtique cum aliis inter regales quasi forent ex ipsis conuersabantur. Innumerosa

¹ MS. qui.³ MS. quodpiam.⁵ MS. eco.² MS. inquit.⁴ MS. set.⁶ *Is this intended as the Historical Infinitive?*

namque turba eos qui essent non deprehensi sinebant, dum etiam et hoc ad eorum accidisset tutelam, quod illius patrie lingue *periciam*¹ non ignorabant. Urbem itaque pagosque quoquoersus perlustrantes uirtutem muneraque milicie inuestigabant aut que presens aderat ceu quam fore uenturam audierant; minime quippe adhuc omnis exercitus conuenerat. Pridie namque rex Milocrates classem Romanorum quosdam exploratum miserat, qui repedantes oppido eum terruerant, se tantam astipulantes armatorum repperisse multitudinem, quantam inermium eius insula nunquam continuisset. Exploratores siquidem a centurione capti fuerant, quos ille ibi mortem *minans*² se talia ducturos sacramento spondere coegerat. Insuper et eis, quo eos [Col. 2.] sibi fideliores haberet, plurima dona largitus ad propria eos dimisit, vnde rex Milocrates classem inuasum ire nisi cum forti manu uerebatur. Germanum autem suum, Buzafarnan nomine, confinia regna regentem per legatos acciuerat, ut sibi in tanta necessitate quanta et quam cicius posset conferret presidia. Cuius eo aduentum expectante, belli protelabantur negocia. Eo autem die quo Miles cum tunica armature urbem aduenerat rex forte Milocrates *optimatum*³ conuentum coegerat, ab eis sciscitans quid in rebus instantibus factu opus foret. In *quo*⁴ ab omnibus statutum est, ut, eius fratre, rege Buzarfa[r]nan, aduentante, exercitus duabus distingueretur in partibus, e quibus una nauali, alia terrestri aduersarios aggrediretur prelio, ut nullus fuge locus pateret. Miles uero cum tunica armature, inter alios incognitus residens, singula que dicebantur intenta aure, percepta memori mente notabat.

Jamque Phebus occiderat et rex Milocrates ad prandium festinabat. In cuius comitatu se agens Miles cum tunica armature, sociis se aforis opperientibus, regiam ingreditur, ceterisque discumbentibus, cubiculum quo neptis imperatoris seu regina, quam rex Milocrates, ut pretaxauimus,⁵ legitimo

¹ MS. pmcā.³ MS. oportunatum.² MS. minantem.⁴ MS. que.⁵ Cp. *Ducange* under *praetaxatus* (= *praetactus* = *praedictus*).

*uiro*¹ abstulerat, cum suis dumtaxat residebat puellis, nullo subito sciente. Tardior quippe ora uisus hebetauerat sed nec quid tale posse contingere aliquis *attumabat*.² Cepit autem quid ageret apud se de^[Fol. 28, col. 1.]liberare, et quicquid sinistri sibi obuenire ualeret sedulo mentis oculo prouidere. Si enim, ut proposuerat, in thalamo delitescens regi sopito necem inferret, *uerebatur*³ ne et ipse deprehensus similem penam lueret. Si autem, nulla probitate patrata, repedasset, profecto pro inerte timidoque haberetur. Dum talia secum uolueret, quidam miles, Nab[a]or nuncupatus, unus scilicet ex illis quos nuper rex classem centurionis exploratum miserat, missus a rege ad reginam aduenit. Intuebatur eum Miles cum tunica armature nec ab illo aduertebatur; mos quippe est quod in umbra constituti luci presentes clare aspiciant ipsique ab illis incircumspecti maneant. Hunc igitur Miles cum tunica armature, dum cum aliis exploratoribus a centurione captus teneretur, firma uinxerat amicitia, anulumque ei cum purpurea clamide ob sui tradiderat memoriam. Eo igitur uiso, ex amicicia audaciam sumit, eumque ad se clanculo acciens amplectitur, causam aduentus insinuat, atque quedam quibus eius ergasse experiretur prelocutus, fauorem—ubi eum sibi remota fraude animum aduertit fauere—ad ea que mente perceperat perpetranda sibi subsidio fore supplicatur. Nabaor autem admodum ex eius presencia admiratur et, *cur*⁴ uenerit cognito, eius remunerandi munificenciam locum se inuenisse gaudebat. Secretiori itaque ei inducto thalamo, “O mi” inquit “carissime! tuo posse maius est quod affectas nec tuis solis uiribus appetendum. Triginta namque forcium ^[Col. 2.] regis accubitus peruigiles ambiunt, uti nec etiam familiaribus, usque dum dies luceat, ad eum fiat accessus. Preterea plerisque temporibus industria potius quam uiribus scias utendum, quia etiam ex parte uirium industria multociens quod cupitur prospere efficitur, sine qua ad successum negotii nunquam uiribus uenitur. Hac autem comite, propositum aggredere,

¹ MS. nuro.³ MS. verberabatur.² MS. attumabat.⁴ MS. cum.

me cum te quo ordine agatur docente. Regina tui nimio detinetur amore teque uel alloqui seu per internuncios tua cognicione ardentissime cupit potiri. A me enim ab exploratoris redeunte officio cuius forme statureque sis sepius est percunctata, quem utrisque incomparabilem esse respondens eius animum in tui accendi amorem, ut potius de tui quam de regis occupetur salute. Quamquam nimirum ut huius regina patrie maximo a rege Milocrate honoris et glorie sullimetur fastigio, tamen, quia se a maritali thoro captam iure predonis menti non excidit, semper se captiuitatis remordet obprobrium, malletque alias cum paupere libera quam hic omni rerum pompa suffulta degere captiua. Audiens autem te ob ingentem incomparabilemque probitatem ab imperatore ad pactum destinatum conflictum huc appulisse, toto conamine nititur, omni studio molitur, ut tuum modo adipisci possit alloquium. Sperat namque, si tuam attingat noticiam, se tua uirtute et fortitudine a captiuitatis iugo liberandam et suo marito, cui ab im^[Fol. 23b, col. 1.]peratore dotata noscitur, restituendam. Sciasque procul dubio omni industria et ingenio illam operam adhibituram, omni ab illa sagacitate curandum, ut tibi uires et ualorem augeat et quod uersum regem Milocraten preualere efficiat. Verumptamen, quia mens muliebris leuitatis nota arguitur et ad quoslibet motus inconstancie cicius aura flectitur, prius callide temptandum est quorsum eius uergat affectus. Que, si te adesse comperisset, nec regis timor nec fame pudor eam arceret, quin tecum uerba consereret. Pergam igitur ad eam, regis ei mandata laturus, atque inter cetera de te sollertem mencionem faciens, cui parti eius innitatur inuestigabo uoluntas. Tu uero hic interim rei latenter euentum expecta."

Regina[m] itaque Nabaor adiit; inter quos, dum uaria miscerentur colloquia, de Milite cum tunica armature tandem sermo habitus est. Quem dum Nabaor de miris ab eo patratibus operibus multa laude efferret: "O me felicem!" inquit regina "si apud tam probum uirum mee ualerem miserie querelam deponere profecto! si non ob aliud, saltem ob

imperatoris gratiam, cuius neptis ego sum et cuius miles ipse est, me ab huius eriperet tyrannide! Vellem igitur, si quempiam fidelem inuenirem, ad eum nuncium mittere, si quomodo nos uisendi et colloquendi nobis detur facultas." Erat autem Nabaor, cum quo illa loquebatur, unus ex illis quos una secum rex Milocrates seruitutis uinculo mancipauerat. Ideoque ^[Col. 2.] illi, ut suorum secretorum conscio, sue mentis tucius committebat archana. Cui ille respondit: "Nil tuis, O regina, impedimento fore uotis rearis, si tibi dumtaxat huiusmodi inest affectus, nec nunci[i] opus erit, tantum fraus desit, dictis tantummodo concordet uoluntas, et quem adeo affectas presto pro uoto aderit." Illa autem ad hec iurante, id se uelle optabilius fieri quam audere profiteri, Nabaor Militem cum tunica armature ante eam duxit et rem ei pro qua uenerat pandit. Porro, ut superius ostensum est, ille, statura uirili decorus, exstabat aspectu quo se aspecciancium oculos in se pre decoris admiratione conuerteret. Quem uenientem regina salutans assidere fecit, diuque diligenter eum contemplata tandem lacrimis erumpentibus imo ex pectore suspiria protulit et quibus grauaretur erumpnis aperuit, eum sibi adiciens tantorum malorum posse conferre, si uellet, remedium. Et ille: "Si meum uelle posse comitaretur, nempe nullius in agendo more fieret dilacio. Sed patet regem numero et uirtute nobis prestare milicie et iccirco incertum est quis nos belli maneat exitus. Vnde, si quid calles, quod tuis uotis succedere, quod optatum negotium prospero possit fine terminare, innotesce nec me pigrum desidemue in exequendo aduertes." Ad que dum regina reticens pa[u]lulum que diceret cogitaret, Nabaor ait: "Minime te latet, O regina, regem coadunare exercitum contra hos ^[Fol. 29, col. 1.] dimicaturum, sub cuius frequentia maximam rebus agendis uideo adesse oportunitatem. Poteris enim, si eius tanta cura teneris, et hunc cum sociis ab instanti subtrahere periculo et tuum affectum adoptatum effectum perducere; regis quippe animus belli occupatus negociis minus de ceteris exstabit sollicitus. Manda igitur centurioni per hunc xl armis instructos huc

die postera clanculo per siluarum opaca delegare, ut sequente die, rege contra se ineunte certamen, te eam tradente, illi ciuitatem occupent, que igne incensa regi suisque horrandum spectaculum, illis autem uictorie causam prebeat." Illa uero que dicta sunt eum multis precibus peragere rogitat. Ensem regis preterea ac eius arma ei contulit aurea, de quibus fatatum erat quod ab eo deuictus rex regali spoliaretur apice qui preter ipsum ea primitus induisset. Auri quoque et argenti magnique gemmarum precii copiosa accumulauit munera insuper et amicie coniunxit federa. Quibus gestis, ad socios Miles cum tunica armature festinanter reuertitur, quos ab urbe educens diluculo ad centurionem peruenit; cum, dona sibi collata ostendens, que gesserat, uiderat, audierat, intimauit.

Centurio igitur ultra quam credi potest pro spe exhilaratus uictorie iussit milites qui ad reginam destinarentur eligi. Electis uero Odabal suum prefecit consanguineum, eumque ut caute et prouide sibi commissos duceret hortatus dimisit. Per^[Col. 2.]gentes itaque ad uineam, que regie confinis erat, die secunda iam uesperascente, peruenere, in qua iussu regine a Nabaor intromissi nocte tota latuere.

Mane autem illucescente, rex Milocrates contra centurionem conflicturus cum exercitu ciuitatem egreditur, cuius ante maiorem partem, suo fratre duce, hostes autem tergo inuasuram classe permiserat, ut utrimque bello circumdati cicius sibi cederent. At centurio, percognito eorum consilio, naues in continentem circum castra locauerat, ut etiam, si opus esset, ad se refugientibus forent munimini. Producit et ipse e castris miliciam, que parum ab ponto *tuto*¹ in loco constituerat, militesque turmas in v partitur, quarum medie ipsemet prefecitur. Gradiebaturque distincte ex regis aduerso, quem xv milia armatorum stipabant acies. Sed quamuis numero roboreque precellerat, bellatorum spe tamen minime potiebatur uictorie, armis scilicet ablatiis in quibus sui regnique constare tutelam nouerat. Que dum iturus ad prelia requireret et nequaquam inuenisset, omnis boni successus sibi spes menti

¹ ms. tuo.

excidit, nec ea Militem cum tunica armature habere comperiit, donec ipsum illis indutum in campo pungnaturus aspexit. Ad quorum uisum nimis perteritus infremuit, quia hoc quod postea euenit sibi nimis uere ratus expauescebat. Non tamen ab incepto ualebat desistere, quia uel laudabiliter occumbere uel fortiter uincere sue uidebat glorie expedire.

Clangor igitur utrimque tubarum insonuit, quo et animis audacia et ^[Fol. 29b, col. 1.] hostes aggrediendi signum solet contri-
bui. Manipularesque iam concurrere ceperant, dum ecce fumus de ciuitate in sullime euaporans quid in ea ageretur sui declarabat indicio. Vbi namque rex ad pugnā pro-
perans ab illa egressus est, confestim hii qui in insidiis morabantur surgentes illam sue dicioni mancipauerant ac
eius suburbana, igne inmisso, accenderant. Flamma autem altiora petente, remocius positis iam ciuibus urbis patebat
exit[i]um, ut etiam austro acte per pugnancium ora uoli-
tarent fauille. Cor itaque regis pro imminente expauit dis-
cidio, atque, certamine inchoato postposito, succursum ire urbi
festinabat.

[The following verses are written as prose in the ms.]

Agmina turbari telisque manus uacuari,
Conspiceresque uage et consuluisse fuge.
Mille uias ineunt, non est tamen una duobus;
Sic hostes fugiunt ceu canis ora pecus.
Instat et insequitur contraria pars fugientes,
Et quos assequitur clade dat esse pares.
Cautibus obruitur pars, pars punita recumbit;
Que neutrum patitur, uincula dira luit.

Miles autem cum tunica armature dissipari fugarique subito
hostium cuneos conspiciens, conglobato milite, insequitur,
maximaque in eis strage *grassatur*,¹ quippe quos non solum
flamma urbis conflagrans edificia terruerat, uerum etiam ipsa
quam inierant fuga eos plurimum mente manuque dissolutos
reddiderat. Dispersi itaque per conuexa moncium, per deuia
siluarum, ceu grex lu^[Col. 2.]porum impetitus rabie, ad menia

¹ MS. *crassatur*.

tendebant, sineque intermissione ab insectancium punibantur gladiis. Milites quoque qui exteriorem urbis partem inflammauerat[n]t, fugientibus occurrentes, eos a meniis arcebant et ad campum retorquentes in eorum quos fugiebant manus compellebant incidere. Fiebat utrimque horrenda cedes ipsaque sui impediabantur numerositate, ut nec ad fugam nec ad sui defensionem habiles haberentur. Mouebantur et absque uindice, ut uulgus inerme, nullusque petenti dextram dare dignatus est.

Tandem autem rex Milocrates, ubi se ab hostibus undique circumueniri conspexit, sibi fore duxit infame, si, nullo claro perpetrato facinore, occumberet. Dispersos itaque adunit in cuneum, sibiue insistentes uiriliter inuadens primo congressu aduersariorum refrenat impetum ac sibi compellit cedere. Dextraque quam plures propria puniens, ceteros ad fugam uertebat, donec Miles cum tunica armature, suos ab illo commilitones male tractari aduertens, admisso equo, obuiam fertur. Venientem rex Milocrates audacter excipit, inuicemque congressi uterque ab altero equo prosternitur. Ac Miles cum tunica armature cicius erectus iam surgere conantem, stricto mucrone, in regem irruit letalique affecisset uulnere, ni ictus ab obiecto cassaretur clipeo. Quem licet sit nulla secuta lesio *magna*,¹ tamen hebetacio peruenit cerebro, ut iterum relapsus unius hore spacio sopito iaceret similis. [Fol. 30, col. 1.] Quem secundo mucrone uolenti impetere probus iuuenis regis ei nepos occurrit, ac ore et manu minitans a leuo eques Militem cum tunica armature inuadit. Cuius incursus Miles cum tunica armature pedes a se scuto protectus repulit atque sibi fortuna oblatum amento intorquens iaculum, non umbo, non ferrea lorica obstitit, quin sub stomacho exceptum suis maiora minitantem uiribus cum selle carpella confoderet.

Illo denique prostrato, regem repetit, sed maiori quam existimauerat ab illo audacia exceptus est. Respiranti namque pudor et ira uires ministrauerat[n]t, pristinae dignitatis

¹ MS. *magma*.

et probitatis eius ante mentis oculos reducentes memoriam, eumque ut se de inimicis ultum iret instimulauerant, se minime, ut quempiam plebeium, censentes penas soluendum, presertim dum sibi non ulla de sui erepcione spes suppeteret [quam] operam dare ne suis de se leta hostibus perueniret uictoria. Aduenientem igitur Militem cum tunica armature ipse prior impetit, gladio eiusque qua galea inmunita erat fronti uulnus infixit, nique nasus qui a casside deorsum prominet fuisset presidio, una mortem intulisset cum uulnere. Miles cum tunica armature autem sauciatus mente effrenatur, timensque ne profluente uisus hebetaretur sanguine, sue ab illo penas exacturus iniurie, regem aggreditur, ac ense obliquo ceruici ictu inferens *caput*¹ cum dextro ei prescidit brachio. Quo occumbente, hii cum eo [qui] ^[Col. 2.] restiterant fuga labuntur, in qua sue sola spes constabat salutis. At centurio, multitudini parcere uolens, tuba ne fugientes persequerentur militibus significari imperat, sciens, duce subacto, qui suberant sine prelio cessuros. Exin, hostium collectis spoliis, cum triumphali pompa urbem ingrediuntur fornixque eis exigitur. Quibus regina, neptis imperatoris, occurrens eos in regiam ducit atque bello plurimum fatigatos omni refouet diligencia. Occisis sepulturam, sauciis curam mandat adhiberi medele, omnibusque se munificentissimam exhibuit ac debitis omnes premiis remunerauit.

Centurio autem apud hanc insulam xv perhendingans² diebus patriam exercitui diripiendam permisit, principes et magistratus, quod cum hoste Romani populi consensissent, serratis carpentis transegit, populum graui condicione uectigalium multauit. Parteque milicie ibi ob tutandam insulam relictam, reginaque, nepte imperatoris, cum uiris electis ad uirum legitimum regem Illirie, a quo ui rapta fuerat, remissa, cunctis secum illius prouincie assumptis militibus, classem cum sociis reffectam ascendit, legacionem quam inceperat perfecturus. Cumque iam per undas equoreas iter confecisset diurnum,

¹ MS. capud.

² Cp. *Ducange* *under* perhendingare (= morari).

eccus (*sic*) regis Milocratis germanus, cuius *regnum*¹ obtinuerat, cum classe non minima occurrit. Missus quippe a rege [Fol. 30b, col. 1.] Milocrate, ut prefatum est, antequam bellum ageretur, oppres[s]um classem centurionis fuerat, ut utrimque circumdatus et terra et mari sibi obstrueretur refugium. Sed ad stolum, ad stacionem uidelicet nauium centurionis ueniens nec naues nec eius repererat exercitum. Parum quippe remotius ab equore castra munierat, ea extrinsecus quoquouersus prora (*sic*) ad sui statuentes munimen. Existimans autem rex Egesarius—sic etenim dicebatur frater regis Milocratis—eos fugisse, uerso remige, in alto defertur equore, quo tumidis triduo iactatus fluctibus, dum hostia repetere disponderet, undique procellis surgentibus, ad longius remotas prouincias itinere dierum v appulsus est. *Sed*² iam se aura leuius redibat agente ac medio in pelago centurionis classi habetur obuius.

Fortuitu autem ipse centurio in turre quam loco propugnaculi in puppe erexerat, Milite cum tunica armature assidente, residebat, pelagi late uisu ambiens spacia. Et primitus quidem simulacra contemplatus est que ad galli aut ad alicuius rei speciem composita malis imponuntur, ad experiendum uidelicet quo flabro agatur carina. Cuicumque namque parti mundi climatum flatus uergitur, semper ei aduersa fronte obsunt. Hec igitur malo inuexa, dum nunc ad altiora, nunc ad inferiora aura agente pellerentur, uexilla ceyces ratus, gubernatorem nauis aduocat atque “Heus!” inquit, “ut opinor, nobis tempestas ualida imminet. En namque, ut ille uolucres pennis applaudentes orbiculatim per inania cursus dirigunt, quasi futurorum prescie sua prelibant gaudia, nostra earum ingluuiei predam fore cadauera ferunt, quippe, imminente procella, aues huiusmodi tum gregatim tum separatim circa remigantes crebros girando exercere [solent] uolatus earumque gestus cladem portendere futuram.” Miles autem cum tunica armature tunc ei assistens et rem ut erat intelligens “Tua te” ait, “domine, fallit opinio. Aues namque non sunt quas te credis cernere sed signa summitatibus malorum

¹ MS. regum.² MS. set.

apposita. Sciasque procul dubio classem aduentare hostilem, iam dudum a rege tuis subiugato uiribus nos persecutum missam. Forsitan quippe aliqua tempestate urgente exter-nam coacti sunt petere regionem, quod usque ad presens sibi more causa exstitit. Nunc uero, suis uotis aura fauente, redeunt. Militibus itaque arma capere impera nec nos aduer-sarii inermes repperiant."

Ad imperium igitur centurionis qui in illa naue habeban-tur armantur, ceterisque carinis—nam xxx erant, xv scilicet quas illo adduxit et totidem quas a subacta insula prioribus adiunxit—idem faciendi dant signa tibicines. Ordinantur que a fronte, que a dextra uel leua hostes inuadant, que etiam quasi insidiando circumueniant. Quinque autem quas rostratas habebat, in quarum prima ipse erat, [Fol. 31, col. 1.] in fronte constituit, subito lintres aduenientes aggressuras hos-tiles. Hoc quidem nauium genere piratici maxime nauale exercentes prelium utuntur, cuius uis tam immanis est, ut quamcumque ratem impeterit a summa usque ad inferiorem pro[s]cindat tabulam. Iccirco uero rostrate dicuntur, quod omne spacium inter proram et carinam eminens ferro tegitur, cristam aduncis premunitam ferreis habens in longitudine priori, autem in uertice ferrea gerunt capita ad modum galli cristatis rostris munita. Eriguntur quoque propugnacula quibus uiri imponuntur fortissimi, inpugnancium impetum a summo refrenaturi saxis et iaculis. Onerarie autem puppes retro locantur, ut, si milite instructe cederent, saltem uel ipse manus diripiencium effugerent.

Omnibus itaque, ut expediebat, dispositis, iactatis ancho-ris, aduentum opperiebatur hostium. Jamque inimica classe apparente, dictis Militis cum tunica armature uisus fidem prebebat eumque insinuabat non falsum opinatum fuisse. Cateruatim et *ipsi*¹ classem distinguunt nec minori astucia singula tali discrimini necessaria preuident. Miles autem cum tunica armature, eos ad bella paratos appropinquare intuens,² * * * confestim sublati anchoris solui, uentisque

¹ MS. ipse.

² Word following undecipherable.

uela committens ipsas remis iubet impelli, atque, exercitu per transtra et tabulata disposito, prior in liburnum quo dux hostium uehebatur irruit. Cuius prorum ^[Col. 2.] una cum carina confrigens impetu inmodicum adusque malum ictum perduxit, quod, rostro impingente, fractum undas compulit oppetere uertice. Assunt et alie rates Militi cum tunica armature presidio quassatamque nauem circumdant, et, licet se strenue defensarent, repugnantes opprimunt. E quibus quosdam inuoluunt fluctibus, quosdam securibus obtruncant et gladiis. Reliquam autem partem uinclis edomant, atque, uiriliter pungnante ne uiuus hostium manibus incideret perempto principe, opes et exuias diripiunt phaselumque pelago submergunt.

Post horum autem perniciem Miles cum tunica armature audacius in superstites progreditur. A quibus cum clamore et iunctis uiribus exceptus circumdatur atque a suis secretus quoquouersus ualde impugnatur. Missilium iactu aera obfuscarumque multitudine freti superficiem operiri uideres. Hinc et inde ingens caucium moles uoluebatur, quorum strepitus non minus horroris quam discriminis efficiebat. Omni telorum instant genere, ratem Militis cum tunica armature uiolare intentes, sed singule sibi tabule laminis incastrate ferreis nullius ictibus soluebantur, licetque tantis hostium stiparetur cuneis, non tamen minora patrabat quam paciebatur facinora. Cuius ubi hostes animaduvertere pertinaciam eumque malle mori quam uinci nec uiribus eum posse submitti nec cedere tutum instanti, piram,¹ ignem uidelicet Grecum, eius in lintrem iaculati sunt.

[Fol. 31b, col. 1.] Diuersis autem modis fit ignis huiusmodi. Ac cuius uis ad peragenda quibus adhibetur negocia maior pertinaciorque existit, hoc ordine conficitur. Hii quibus illum conficiendi pericia est uas primitus aptant eneam et quot uoluerint rubetas accipiunt atque in eo carne columbina et melle per iii menses alunt. Quo spacio completo, biduo uel

¹ Obviously an attempt to Latinize Greek *πῦρ*.

triduo ipsos inpastos relictos lacte proleque fete mammis alicuius bestie applicant, cuius lac tam diu sugendo ebibunt donec ultro saturi decidant. Tumentes autem uenenifero liquore, rogo subposito, imponuntur uasculo. Quibus et chelindri serpentes adhibentur aquatici quos denis ante diebus busto inclusos humanum pauerit cadauer. Est et *aspis*¹ *uenenifera*² atque mortifera tria uno in gutture gerens capita, cuius nomen menti excidit, animal uenenosum quicquid attigerit irremediabili peste corrumpens. Tellus namque eius ad tactum herba et segete, unda piscibus, arbores destituuntur fructibus, et unum magis mirandum est: si uel minutissima stilla arborem, cuiuslibet grossitudinis sit, infecerit, more cancri corrodens, quo loco ce[ci]derit per medium consumpto, humi sternit. Nullam huic cladi medelam obesse posse compertum est, quin homines et pecudes, si uel saltim cutis superficiem attigerit, in talia penetrans statim perimat. Vis cuius quanta sit e flamma eius ab ore euaporante maxime [Col. 2.] potest perpendi, qua, dum ipsa maiori estu uritur, sepius quam inhabitat silua inflammatur. E sanie autem eius ab triplici rictu profluente tres herbe gignuntur, scilicet ex singulis singule. Quarum primam, siquis cibo uel potu sumperit, mente mutata, in rabiem vertitur, secunda una cum gustu se necem infert gustanti, terciæ uero succus se potatum aut unctum regis morbo inficit. Hec autem ubi adolenerunt gramina, infamis ipsa, si inuenerit, deposcitur bellua. Capta quoque, antequam prefato adhibeatur negocio, illarum per septimanam impinguatur pabulo. Fel quoque et testiculi lupi non desunt ambigui, qui uento et aura progenitus quicquid attigerit tacte rei in se figuram accipit. Calculus autem ligurius orbe in extremo repertus non minimum inter cetera locum optinet, eadem qua et ipse uirtute peditus, e cuius concreta urina peruenire creditur. Lincis namque nil obstat obtutibus, ut etiam cis consistens materiam quid citra agatur certo contempletur lumine. *Caput*³ etiam cor et iecur cornicis nouena metite secula horum uires adauctum adiciun-

¹ MS. asspis.² MS. venenifa.³ MS. capud.

tur. Sulphur autem pix et resina, oleum cartarum et bitumen minime adimuntur predictis, que quem adhibite flamme cito feruorem corripiunt sero deponunt.

Hec igitur ubi collecta fuerint, quo retuli ordine, cacabo ex ere includuntur purissimo locataque usque ad os¹ uasis *rufi*² hominis draconisque superfunduntur cruore. Sanguini quippe [Fol. 32, col. 1.] *rufi*² ignea natura inesse creditur, quod et color pili et que maxime in huiusmodi uigere solet uiuacitas patenter ostendit ingenii. Iuuentus autem cui barba et cesaries *rufa*³ fuerit, eiusdem coloris impetigines faciem asperserint, pulcro inducitur thalamo omniumque apparatu dapium unius mensis delicate impinguatur spacio. Singulis quoque diebus, foco ante eum accenso, ad auctum sanguinem (*sic*) uino inebriatur sed sedule a femineis seruatur amplexibus. Mense uero expleto, in medio domus hinc et inde ad eius longitudinem igniti sternuntur carbones, inter quos ipse cibo potuque inpurgitatus, depositis indumentis, exponitur ac more ueruum utique in latere ad ignem uersatur. SuffICIENTER autem calefactus, iamque uenis toto turgentibus corpore, flebotomatur, scilicet utriusque brachii fibris ex transuerso incisis. Interim uero dum sanguinem minuit, ad refocillandam mentem offas in uino accipit, ne, illa debilitata uel in extasi rapta, liquor concreatur (*sic*) optatus. Tam diu autem sanguis effluere sinitur, donec eius defeccio mortem inducens animam corpore eiciat. Et primum quidem cruore draconis admixto per se calefit diutissime, dein ceteris superfusus omnia simul confundit.

Si autem queritur quomodo draco prendatur, uiri eliguntur fortissimi qui prius eius qua latitat scrutentur [Col. 2.] cavernam, inuentaque, per girum eius aditus soporifera gramina uariis sternunt aromatibus tincta. Quorum terre hiatum exiens dum draco *fragranciam*⁴ sentit, ea auide consumens, statim sopore opprimitur ac ab insidiantibus tuto in loco non eminus abditis circumuentus obtruncatur. A quibus eius una

¹ MS. hos.² MS. ruffi.³ MS. rufa.⁴ MS. flagranciam.

cum gemma draconcia asportatur, quam eius *eliso*¹ excutiunt cerebro, et hinc multimodis adhibenda [est] negociis.

Vas autem in quo hec considencia sunt triplos est, cuius ansato summitas artis preartatur faucibus, cooperculum ex ere habens. Quo, dum clauditur, ita sibi utrumque incastratur,² ut nec uel modicus uapor inde euaporet fumi. Omnibus uero illi impositis, ignis confestim supponitur, atque, vii continuis diebus totidemque noctibus pice naptaque flamme iniectis, ut magis ferueat, ebullitur. Fit quoque et uirga aerea, cuius curuata summitas ad modum clepsedre coaptatur, qua paruum foramen quod in uasis cooperculi patet uertice vi prioribus obturatur diebus. Septima autem die flamma in cacabo accensa, inmanis strepitus, ac si terre motus fieret, intro auditur, aut si eminus positus feruentis pelagi aure murmura percipias. Succense autem flamme ubi notum minister signum perceperit, clepsedram exterius peracer[r]imo perfundit aceto, cuius soliditatem penetrans iam nitentis erumpere flamme restringit impetum.

Folles autem quante suffecerint quibus [Fol. 32b, col. 1.] ignis abdatur parantur aeneae, quarum incastrature² ita sibi anfracte compaginantur, ut serius hec flamma quam que e ligno et corio fiunt uenti *penetrentur*³ afflatu. Sed et adeo exstant tractabiles ut magis e corio *quam*⁴ aere composita crederes. Flamma itaque iniecto aceto a suo feruore cohibita, clepsedra eximitur atque ductilis calamus in folle preminens foramini uasis apponitur. Cuius attractu aure ignis a cacabo exhauritur. Statim, ne exeat os calami, clepsedra obturatur. Sic et in ceteris ignis seruandus recipitur. Pars uero parua in cacabo relinquitur cui cotidie fomes qua nutriatur adhibenda. Nec non et folium in medio ad modum fenestrule parua habentur foramina, per que ne extinguatur flamma alitur.

¹ MS. *elisio*.

² Cp. *Ducange*, *Incastraturae*: "Incastratura, incavatura, lignorum per quam sibi mutuo copulantur, scilicet in extremitatibus asserum runcinatorum," etc.

³ MS. *penetrantur*.

⁴ MS. *que*.

Hoc ordine ignis Grecus paratur. Quem quid ualere si queris, nulla est tam fortis machina, nulla tam magna carina, ad quas, si iaculetur, quin latus utrumque omnia consumens obstancia penetret. Nec ullo modo ualet extinguī, donec materia quam consumat defecerit. Quodque magis obstupendum est, etiam inter undas ardet, et si igni admisceatur communi, se semper uno in globo continens, eundem *uelut*¹ *ligna*² depopulabitur.

Igitur, ut superius dictum est, ubi hostes Militem cum tunica armature armis inuincibilem experti sunt, vnus eorum follem qua infaustus ignis serua^[Col. 2.]batur arripuit, atque, calamo dempta clepsadra, eius unam e tabulis leua deprensens, alteramque dextra eleuans, eas ab inuicem compressit conamine ignemque eiacularans centurianam eo ratem, iiii remigantibus ustis, per medium penetrat. Nec mora, tota flamma corripitur, unde non paruus ei insidentibus metus incutitur; interius quippe flamma, exterius septi hostibus, quid agerent ignorabant, nec se defensandi nec ulciscendi dabatur copia. Si fuge uellent consulere, nec undis nec aduersariis se tutum erat committere. In naui autem remanentibus mors nihilominus intentabatur. Miles autem cum tunica armature, considerans rem, nisi quantocius succurreretur, sibi ad irremediabile periculum uergere omniaque uirtutis uiriumque pensari examine, resumpto uigore, uni sibi insistencium naui armatus insilit, et quosdam obtruncans, quosdam inuoluens fluctibus, socios triplici ereptos infortunio, scilicet flammaram globis, undarum naufragio, hostiumque furori, illi transponit. Accriorique ira succensus, coadunata classe, protinus se ultum properat, denisque submersis, *myoparonas*³ xxx^{ta} hostium eneruata uirtute abducit.

Nauali tandem non sine maximo discrimine confecto prelio, quod reliquum erat itineris prospere peragunt, Ierosolimam tempore statuto incolumes perueniunt. Qui, incredibili cunctorum fauore suscepti, defatigata membra tum terre marisque operoso itinere cum multiplici periculorum [Fol. 33, col. 1.] et

¹ MS. velud.² MS. lingna.³ MS. myopacontas.

preliorum discrimine quiete et ocio delicatius et indulgencius recrearunt. Ad quos interim ualida bellatorum coadunantur agmina et a finitimis extraneisque principibus militum destinatur copia. Jubent et ipsi per omnem regionem milites eligi, urbes et oppida locis opportunis, firmis muris altisque turribus circumdari, uiris fortissimis, omni telorum apparatu, re frumentaria pabuloque sufficienti in expeditionem pugne muniri. Fiebatque cotidie per diuersas sanctorum memorias communis ab uniuersis ad dominum sedule oracio, oracionique ieiuniorum elemosinarumque *continuabat*¹ deuocio, ut sibi famulantibus optatum conferret triumphum et aduersarios maneret excidium.

Prefixus interea dies duelli illuxerat, armatorumque Christianorum uidelicet et paganorum utrimque innumerabilis exercitus consertis cuneis, duo, ut pactum fuerat, armis septi agoniste certatim in medio prodeunt. Hinc Miles cum tunica armature, cuius animi audacia, uirtus prolata, probitas assueta, uincendi consuetudo et iustior causa socios spe exhilarabat triumphum. Alius autem, partis aduerse, Gormundi uocabulo, procera membra, inmanis statura, truculenta facies, et bellorum frequentia, singularis omnium estimata fortitudo, armorum horror et strepitus sibi cessurum spondere uidebantur tropheum. Pedites uero uterque processerunt, quia ob eius inmoderatam altitudinem nullus equus Gormundum ad^[Col. 2.] mittere sessorem ualebat. Obiectis igitur clipeis collatisque dextris, audaciter adinuicem congregiuntur, et quantum uis suppetit quantasque ira uires administratur alter alterum stricto mucrone impetit. Mille ictus ingeminant, mille modis mutue cedi mutisque insistent uulneribus. Feriunt et feriuntur, pellunt et propelluntur, rotaque fortune uario casu inter eos uersatur. Nil quid (*sic*) uirtutis et fortitudinis sit prossus relinquitur, cunctorumque obtutus in eos infiguntur. Quis promeior ad feriendum, fortiorue ad *paciendum*² ignoratur, inter quos tam crebri ictus tamque graues sine temporis intercapedine diuidebantur colaphi, ut quis

¹ Ms. continuebat.² Ms. paciundum.

daret uel acciperet difficile posset aduerti. Vter uiribus pocior haberetur nescires, dum, quo magis pungne insisterent, eo ualencioribus animis ad certamen inhiarent. Modo lepidis cauillationibus suos ictus interserunt, modo *cinedis*¹ salibus suorum uicissim mentes exasperant, modo *anheli*² se *retrahunt*,³ modo aura concepta recreati acriores concurrunt. Recreatisque uiribus, feruenciori impetu copulantur, et quasi ab eis nichil antea actum sit effere, mentes efferacius debachantur. Videres eos conf[li]ctando aduersum se consistere quemadmodum duos apros ferocissimos in singulari certamine, qui nunc adunco dente se obliquo ictu impetunt, nunc latera collidunt, nunc pedes pedibus p[er]oterunt, quorum rictus interim modo fumida spuma oblinuit, modo ignis erumpens ignescit. [Fol. 33b, col. 1.] Altero siquidem uirilius instante, hic cedens longius propellitur; russus, isto preualente, ille retrogradi cogitur. Hic quasi insidiando uulnus inferre molitur. Ille, si quid ensis pateat acumini, sedule rimatur, sed alter conamen alterius haud impari calliditate deludit et cassat. Armorum quoque fragor longius perstrepat, eorumque soliditas mucronum aciem hebetat et retundit. Ex quorum etiam collisione flamma crebrius prosiluit et ob inmoderatum laborem salsus per omnes artus a uertice usque ad plantas sudor decurrit. Incertumque erat cui uictoria cederet, dum utrorumque uires quisque equales pensaret. Mira igitur uirtute miraque probitate ea die ab *utroque*⁴ pungnatum est, certamineque ab hora diei prima usque ad occiduum protracto, nil actum est quo uel alter preferreretur alteri aut palma ascriberetur alicui. Vesperascente itaque uulnere penitus expertes segregantur, iterum in crastinum pungnaturi, iterumque luctamen ex integro iniciaturi.

Aurora uero oriente, bifaria acie galeate phalanges conueniunt suosque luctatores in harenam producunt. Concurritur, conclamatur, in alterius necem quisque grassatur. Iteratur punгна maiori certamine, quia, quo magis uirtutem fuerat alter expertus alterius, eo se contra caucius agebat et forcius,

¹ MS. cynedis.² MS. haneli.³ MS. retrahuntur.⁴ MS. utque.

pudebatque se uel ad modicum sibi alterutro cedere [Col. 2.] quos equi roboris omnium arbitrio constabat comprobatos fuisse. Quorum si ea die conflictum te contigisset aspicere, eos hesterna iurares lusisse maximeque admiratione obstupesceres quomodo ad tam crebros ictus, ad tam graues *colaphos*,¹ uel mucronum acumen sine obtusione durare uel armorum soliditas inuiolata manere aut certe ipsi infessi insauciique tam diu quiuissent subsistere. Eo quippe uigore eoque ualore gladii galeis infligebantur, clipeis contundebantur, ut ex scintillis prorumpentibus aera choruscarent sibique *collisum*² *chalybs*³ *chalybem*⁴ repelleret dissilentemque in eum a quo uibrabatur retorqueret. Crebris afflatibus aera uexant, pila pilis et ictus ictibus obicientes. Vnanimiter insistunt, pugnam acerrimam ingerunt ardoremque pugnandi prelia protracta conferunt. Pectora pectoribus protendunt omnique nisu inuadere et resistere nituntur. Audaciam unius animositas alterius prouocat et *pertinacia*⁵ illius huius animi tenorem strenuiorem reddebat. Alternis uiribus alterna uirtus fomenta prebebat et utriusque uigor se metitus ex altero proficiebat. Plurimum autem diei pari fortuna inter eos expensum est, donec Miles cum tunica armature, quiddam callide machinatus, dum se Gormundum super leuum genu fingeret uelle percutere et Gormundus eo loco eream peltam opponeret ipse, dextra ad dextram altius [Fol. 34, col. 1.] conuersa, ei ore in medio, quod nudum patebat, ensis cuspidem inopinate ingessit, iiii^{or} que prioribus extusis dentibus, ei leuam confregit maxillam. Leue tamen uulnus erat et quod potius ad irritamentum furoris quam ad doloris stimulos illatum uideretur, ut saucii uires [quam] incolumis ampliori insania feruescerent. Gormundus itaque, furore cum inflixo concepto uulnere et more se dementis agens, nil exclamat ulterius: uiribus parcendum est. Vt fera igitur bellua in Militem cum tunica armature insurgit, brachioque in sullimi erecto, tanta fortitudine scuto macheram inpressit, ut ordo gemmarum insertus frustratim

¹ MS. calaphos.³ MS. calebs.⁵ MS. pertinaciam.² MS. collisam.⁴ MS. calibem.

conquassatus diffunderet, umbonem auelleret summitatemque clipei, usque ad sanguinis effusionemque eius fronti illideret. Senior et Miles cum tunica armature eum excipit seuiciaque duplicata seuius res agitur iamque negotium ad discrimen uergitur. Miles autem cum tunica armature, nactus locum, in inmunitum hostis latus stricto mucrone irruit. Sed Gormundo ictum callente et euitante, dum eius conatus cassatur, ensis ab obiecto egide exceptus scapulo tenus abrumpitur. Nec eris soliditas duriciaue ictus immensitatem ferre potuit, quin erea parma Gormundi contrita per mediumque sub umbone confracta minutas dissiliret in partes. Vniuersi ex hoc confestim exercitus clamor immensus exoritur, hinc merencium, illinc insultantium. Maius quippe discriminis [Col. 2.] Militi cum tunica armature incumbibat, cui uel quo se defensaret aut a se hostem abigeret, ense colliso, nil prossus aderat. Gormundo autem licet clipeum obuenuisset comminui, mucro tamen integer habebatur, cuius *rigida*¹ *incipitique*² acie aduersarii sui *tempora*³ sine intermissione contundebat. Miles uero cum tunica armature aduersus eius impetus clipeum quoquouersus callide protendebat, sed nisi cicius Phebus occidens finem bello posuisset, maxima procul dubio dispendia incurrisset. Meta etenim assignata fuerat, quam mox ubi occidentis solis umbra attigisset, omni occasione dilacioneque postposita, eos segregari debere ratum manebat. Umbra igitur metam attingente, inuitis paganis et se uix a sedicione continentibus, dirimuntur, quodque duelli restabat diem in posterum protelatur.

Noctis opaca solare iubar fugauerat, et, conglomeratis e diuerso agminibus, campigeni se *stagnati*⁴ renouatis armis truculenti ingerunt. Perosum quippe et pene exiciale litigium inter utrumque exercitum exorsum fuerat, utrum Militi cum tunica armature gladius, Gormundo clipeus, aut utrique uel neutri seu certe uni et non alter[i] concederetur. Super qua re dissensione diu habita magnisque altercacionibus uentilata, omnium in hoc tandem conuenit assensus, equum fore,

¹ MS. regida.² MS. incipitique.³ MS. timpora.⁴ MS. stagmati.

ambobus annui, quia nec iste sine ense se defendere nec ille, eliso clipeo, ab hostili erumpcione [Fol. 34b, col. 1.] se ualebat protegere. Ordinatis igitur, ut caraxatum est, utrimque nodis peditum et turmis equitum, ceterorumque armatorum conferta multitudine, duelligeri loriceis crispantes, galeis cristati, uisu horrendi, stadium petunt, aleam belli ineunt, sese ad pungnam lacescunt manumque preualida inuadunt et assiliunt. Nec mora, tonitrus belli intonuit, offensio armorum perstrepuuit, sonitus ictuum efferbuit et ignita collisio terribiliter excaudit. Preduro ludo res agitur, dumque sagacius pungnant, obstinacius perseuerant, tinnitu horribili aer resultat et resonat, aereque percusso montium concaua stridorem multiplicant. Horrenda belli facies, nulla quies fessis [nulla] respiracio dabatur *anhelis*.¹ Omnimodis insistunt, omnimodis operam adhibent, ut eorum alter aut succumbat aut uictoria pociatur. Nec estuantis solis feruor impediuit nec iugis labor uel decertacio obfuit, quin semper procaciores insisterent seque mutuo semper inexcuperabiliores offenderent. Atque sub armis facientes audacia animabantur animositateque recreabantur. Horum si spectaculo assisteres, Laphitarum (*sic*) punгна tibi in mentem occurreret, qui quociens ictus ingeminaba[n]t, tociens Ciclopum incudes malleis contundi crederes. Cumque plurimum diei transisset, cepit Gormundus tum estu tum hostis assidua uexacione [Col. 2.] estuari aggrauataque est punгна in eum uehementer totumque honus prelii ei incubuit. Animo igitur dilitescebat ac segnius et inualidus agebat sensimque se subtrahens inpugnanti cedebat nec ea qua ante uirtute uel se tuebatur *aut*² hostem aggrediebatur. Quod Miles cum tunica armature aduertens instancius instabat anxiumque spiritum illius anxiozem reddebat. Nec destitit, donec extra circuli quo cingebatur limitem eum propelleret. Hic tumultus et gemitus, ululatus et pla[n]ctus incredule gentis ad sidera tollitur cateruaticumque mesti ad eum proclamabant: "Gormunde, regredere! Gormunde, regredere! quid agis? quo refugis, miles egregie? Fugare, non fugere, tibi hactenus

¹ MS. hanelis.² MS. aud.

moris exstitit! Regredere, proh dolor! regredere! nec in ultimo dedecus omnia ante *bene*¹ gesta facinora obnubilet. Fuge hic locus non est! uinci aut uincere hic necessarium est!" Ad quorum uoces Gormundus, pudore consternatus paulumque respirans et animatus, forcius gressum fixit, infestantem aduersarium uiriliter abegit. Vibransque gladium eiusmodi ictum intulit quo complicatis membris eum succumbere ac mole ictus genuflexo terram compelleret petere, verum thorax impenetrabilis mansit. Tunc Miles cum tunica armature, mente nimium efferatus, concitus se erexit, totus infremuit, sese in armis collegit, dextram [Fol. 35, col. 1.] excussit ac "*Hic ictus*"² exclamat "*nostrum ludum dirimet!*" Summitatque eius cassidis ancipitem *romphee*³ aciem imprimens, iam armis calefactis et ob hoc non resistentibus, usque ad imum pectus, omnia comminuens confringens et penetrans, ictum conduxit, non optabile stomacho antidotum. Ac ensem uulneri eximens, duas sectum in partes *caput*⁴ abscidit, cerebroque effluente, uictor pede eminus a se pepulit. Quo superato et crudeliter trucidato, pagani cum interminabili merore ultimum super eo *questum*⁵ et luctum continuarunt, iamque armis correptis ob eius ulcionem in Militem cum tunica armature irruissent, ni *sanctis*⁶ inter se uetarentur legibus.

Per se igitur, suo propugnatore neci dedito, iuxta condictas condiciones federis Romane se dicioni dedere, paceque firmata et obsidibus datis, multa quoque uectigalium imposita, ad propria confusi remearunt. Miles uero cum tunica armature splendide et uictoriosissime adeptus tropheum multisque ab optimatibus Ierosolimitanis honoratus muneribus Romam mature rediit triumphalique pompa ab imperatore et senatu susceptus est. Quem imperator in numero familiarium suorum decernens, quoad primum locum repperisset, eum summo sullimare honore meritaque destinauit dignitate donare.

¹ MS. dare.³ MS. rumphee.⁵ MS. questrum.² MS. hictus.⁴ MS. capud.⁶ MS. sanctitis.

Hiis ita gestis nulloque contra Ro^[Col. 2.]manum imperium arma presumente mouere, Miles cum tunica armature, pacem fastiditus miliciamque qua sua uirtus et probitos exerceretur semper affectans, studiose querere cepit quenam regio belli tumultibus turbaretur. Cui dum famosum nomen Arturi sui auunculi regis Britannie nec tamen sibi noti eiusque insignia rerum gesta, que iam toto orbe diuulgabantur, relata fuissent, paruipendens uniuersa que sibi ab imperatore * * * * sepe sepiusque suppliciter flagitauit. Ac imperator, quamquam eum ad condignum promouere apicem iam proposuerat tantique uiri *discessus*¹ sibi dampno fore non dubitaret, ut tamen a quibus originem ducere (*sic*) scire ualeret, nec non et per eum se regnum Britannie, quod a Romanis diu discederat, adepturum confidens, annuit quod petiuit. Opulenta igitur preclara et preciosa ei donaria largitus est thecamque qua ipsius generis continebantur indicia regi Arturo perferenda tradidit, adiunctis suis apicibus quibus testabatur omnia que carte monumenta dicebant rata et firma constare. Vetuitque ne loculum inspiceret, antequam ad regem Arturum uenisset. Mandauit etiam primatibus Gallie per quos *transiturus*² erat, ut eum honorifice susciperent, seruirent, necessaria ei ministrarent et per fines suos usque oceanum saluum deducerent. Sicque, uale dicto, discessit, rege relicto.

Miles itaque cum tunica armature, omnibus eius [Fol. 35b, col. 1.] discessum grauitur ferentibus, propositum iter arripuit, Alpes transsiit, Galliasque transgressus Britanniam incolumis attigit. Cui quo eo tempore rex Arturus regeret percuntanti responsum est, eum apud Carlegion urbem in Demecia perhendinare, quam pre ceteris ciuitatibus frequentare consueuerat. Illa quippe nemoribus consita, feris fecunda, opibus opulenta, pratorum uiriditate amenaque irrigacione fluminum Osce scilicet et Sabrine decora gratissimum penes se habitandi locum prebeat. Illic metropolis habebatur *Demecie*,³ illic legiones Romanorum hiemare solebant, illic rex Arturus festa

¹ MS. discensus.² MS. transsiturus.³ MS. Dernicie.

celebrabat solempnia, diademate insigniebatur, uniuerse primorum Britannie ad eum conuentus coadunabantur. Quo Arturum manere Miles cum tunica armature cognito illo uiam direxit, illo, nec die nec nocte labori indulgens, properare animo intendit. Dum autem quadam nocte in cuius sequenti die ad urbem Legionum peruenturus erat pergeret, inopina et inmanis procella uisque uentorum cum pluuiâ apud Usce oppidum, quod ab urbe vi miliaris distabat, ei ingruit, cuius nimietate omnes ipsius socii aut deuiarent aut eum prosequi nequirent.

Eadem autem nocte rex Arturus cum sua coniuge regina Gwendoloena thoro recubans, quia ob noctis diurnitatem sibi sompnus erat fastidio, de multis adinuicem [Col. 2.] sermocinabantur. Erat quidem Gwendoloena regina cunctarum feminarum pulcher[r]ima sed ueneficiis imbuta, ut multociens ex suis sortilegiis communicaretur futura. Inter ceteras igitur cum rege confabulaciones "Domine," ait "tu te de tua probitate nimium gloriaris et extollis neminemque tibi uiribus parem existimas?" Arturus "Ita est" ait; "nonne et tui animus idem de me sentit?" Regina: "Nempe hac ipsa noctis hora quidam miles e Roma ueniens per Usce municipium huc cursum tendit, quem uirtute et fortitudine tibi eminere ne dubites. Sonipedi residet cui uigore, ualore decoreue alter equiparari non poterit. Arma ei sunt impetrabilia nec est qui ad ferientis dextram subsistat. Et, ne me friuola arbitreris asserere, signum rei habeto, quod anulum aureum et iii myriadas (*sic*) cum equis duobus eum mihi summo mane missurum tibi prenuncio." Arturus autem, eam se nunquam in huiusmodi presagiis fefellisse recogitans, rem probare, ea tamen ignorante, statuit. Consuetudinis enim habebat, quod, statim ubi aliquem strenuum uirum aduenire audisset, se illi obuium daret, ut mutuus congressus ualidiores ostenderet.

Paulo ergo post regina sopita, surrexit, cornipedem armatus ascendit, abiit, Kaium tantummodo suum dapiferum uie habens comitem. Occurrit Militi cum tunica armature ad quandam

riuulum plu^[Fol. 36, col. 1.]uialibus undis inundatum subsistenti. Iuxta quem uadi querens transitum moram parum uerberat; tetra quippe noctis deceptus caligine profundi fluminis alneum autumarat. Quem Arturus ex armore splendore animaduertens; "Cuias es," exclamat "qui hanc noctis silencio ober[r]as patriam? Exulne es, predo an insidiator?" Cui Miles cum tunica armature: "Erro quidem ut uiarum inscius sed nec exulis me fuga agitat nec predonis rapina instigat nec fraus insidiantis occultat." Arturus: "Loquacitate uiceris; nosco uersuciam tuam; e tribus que predixi te unum calleo. Ni igitur quantocius,¹ depositis armis, te mihi ultro tradideris, me tue absque mora nequicie uindicem sencies." Et ille: "Vecordis et timidi animi est, qui ante bellum fugam inierit aut qui priusquam necessitas *exegerit*² se aduersario submiserit. Si autem meorum armorum adeo teneris cupidus, eorum obtestor uirtutem, te ipsa duris comparaturum colaphis." Hoc autem modo uerbis inter eos ad minas et contumelias prerumpentibus, Arturus furore exasperatus, quasi riuum iam transiturus et in eum irruiturus, equum calcaribus ad cursum coegit. Cui Miles cum tunica armature obuius factus protensa ac demissa lancea in ipso *transitu*³ eum impulit et mediis undis, uersis uestigiis, deiecit sonipedemque ad se cursu delatum per lora corripuit. Successit Kaius dapifer uin^[Col. 2.]dicaturus dominum suum, et, admisso equo, cum Milite cum tunica armature concreditur, sed eodem pacto et ipse super Arturum in una congerie primo ictu prosternitur. Equum autem eius Miles cum tunica armature, inuexa haste cuspide, ad se detraxit; ipsos uero incolumes noctis seruauit obscuritas. Quique equites illuc uenerant domum pedites cum non paruo dedecore redierunt. Arturus uero cubile repetiit. Quem regina Gwendoloena frigore rigidum et totum cum imbre cum riui undis madefactum quo tam diu moratus complutusque fuisset interrogat. Arturus: "Afforis in curia tumultum ac si certancium percepi, ad quos

¹ *Written twice in MS.*² *MS. erigerit.*³ *MS. transsitu.*

egressus in eos pacando moram feci nimboque ingruente me contigit complui." Regina: "Sit ut dicis; verum quo abieris quidne actum sit in crastinum nuncius propalabit."

Miles autem cum tunica armature, flu[u]iolum minime transgressus nec cum quibus habuisset conflictum conscius, ad quendam uicinum pagum diuertit ibique hospitatus est. Summo uero diluculo ad Urbem Legionum tetendit. A qua duobus miliariis quendam nactus puerum cui familiaretur interrogat. Cui puer "Regine" ait "exsto nuncius, cuius archana proferre mandata mihi incumbit officium." Et ille "Faciesne" ait "quod tibi iniunxero?" Puer: "Presto sum quod placuerit." Miles cum tunica armature "Hos" ait "duos sume ^[Fol. 36b, col. 1.] sonipedes et eos mei ex parte deduc regine utque mee probitatis insigne gratanter accipiat in pignore rogita amicitie." Anulum etiam aureum cum iiii aureis eidem deferendum proferens suum nomen edidit seque e uestigio eum prosecuturum intimauit. Nuncius autem que sibi iniuncta sunt exequitur. Aureos accepit cornipedesque secum abduxit.

Gwendoloena autem regina, ut futuri prescia, in arcis prupto stabat culmine, uiam prospectans que ad Usce ducebat oppidum. Que duos equos cum suis adducentem *phaleris*¹ suum eminus contemplata redire nuncium rem intellexit, ilico descendit ac ei iam regiam ingredienti obuiauit. Puer uero negotium lepide peragit, mandata pandit, transmissa tradit, Militemque cum tunica armature iam affore predicit. Ad cuius nomen regina subridens dona suscipit, gracias agit et equos thalamo inductos ante lecticam regis Arturi adhuc quiescentis, utpote qui noctem totam insomniam laborando duxerat, statuit, sompnoque excito, "Domine," ait, "ne me comменти nota arguas, ecce anulus et aurei quos hodie mihi transmittendos nocte promisi. Insuper et hos duos dextrarios mihi destinauit, quos, eorum sessoribus illo fluuiolo obrutis, hac nocte predictus miles se conquisisse mandauit." Rex autem ^[Col. 2.] Arturus suos equos recognoscens pudore consternitur, id uidens propalatum quod haberi autumabat secretam.

¹ ms. falleris.

Egressus est demum Arturus ad nobilium colloquium, quos ad conuentum pro causis instantibus *ascitos*¹ ea die adesse iusserat. Cum quibus dum ante aulam sub umbra fraxini resedisset, ecce Miles cum tunica armature equitans ualuas ingreditur, cominusque in ipsius regis Arturi procedens aspectum eum cum considenti regina miliciaque salutat. Arturus uero non ignarus quis esset ei trucem uultum protendebat indignanciusque respondebat. Interrogat tamen unde ortus, quo tenderet, quidne illis regionibus quereretur. Ille autem se Romanum esse militem, et, quia eum ut Marte pressum audierat indigere milicia, sibi laturum aduenisse presidia simulque imperialia detulisse mandata. Thecam igitur signatam protulit apicesque regi porrexit. Arturus autem, litteris acceptis, seorsum a turba secessit recitarique iussit. Quorum testimoniis cum carte monimentis perceptis indiciorum, quoque pallio scilicet et anulo signis prolatis, ualde obstupefactus est, *quod*² omni desiderio uerum affectabat existere. Hoc ex ingenti leticia—eum uidelicet suum esse nepotem—nequiuit credere. Huiusque rei mansit incredulus, donec, eius utroque connotato parente, Loth rege Norguegie Annaque regina, qui forte cum aliis ducibus iussi aduenerant, rei fidem diligenter [Fol. 37, col. 1.] ab eis discuteret et *indagaret*.³ Quibus id uerum fatentibus, eumque suum filium, [signis] cognitis, adhibito sacramento asserentibus, Arturus incredibili exhilaratur gaudio, uirum tam multimodis imperatoris fultum preconiiis tantarumque probitatum prelatum titulis sibi ex insperato tanta propinquitate coniunctum [esse]. Ex industria tamen nil ei inde propalandum censuit usquequo aliquid preclari penes se patrasset facinoris.

Ad conuentum ergo reuersus eumque ante omnes conuocans “Tuo” ait, “amice, in presenti presidio non egeo, in quo probitas an inercia magis uigeat prossus ignoro. Magna mihi sat militum exstat copia incomparabilis probitatis, robore et uirtute predita, inertemque et timidum probis et bellicosis ingerere eorum est animos a solita audacia et probitate uelle

¹ MS. accitos.² MS. quodque.³ MS. indigaret.

eneruare. Tui similium etiam absque stipendiis mihi permaximus sponte militat numerus, inter quos mea excellencia, nisi prius merueris, te [non ascribendum] nec etiam censendum existimat." Ad hec Miles cum tunica armature eius dictis exasperatus respondit: "Grauem repulsam et inopinatam iniuriam tibi famulari cupientem me a te contigit incurrere, qui quo[n]dam quandoque nec multis exoratus precibus nec magnis conductus opibus te dicioribus dignabar obsequendo assistere. Nec me non reperturum dubito cui seruiam, dum etiam, si tantum animum intendero, imparem leuiter [Col. 2.] inueniam. Verum, quia me huc adduxit affectus experiunde milicie et si hinc discessero timiditati ascribetur et inercie, tali condicione me tue milicie dignum censeas numero, si illud in quo tuus totus defecerit exercitus solus peregero." Arturus "Meum" ait "contestor imperium, si compleueris quod *pacisceris*,¹ te non solum eis ascribam uerum omnium amori proponam." Regi itaque ac ipsius uniuersis optimatibus sententia placuit eumque prelibata condicione penes se retinuit.

Non dies bis seni transierant et causa huiusmodi in expeditionem Arturum proficisci compulit. In aquilonari parte Britannie erat quoddam castellum, Puellarum *nuncupatum*,² cui tam decore quam generositate preclara et famosa iure dominii presidebat puella amicie nexibus Arturo admodum copulata. Huius prestanti forma et pulcritudinis magnitudine quidam rex paganus captus et ab ea despectus ipsam in predicto oppido obsidebat, iamque compositis machinis, comportatis et erectis aggeribus, quasi eam expugnaturus et obtenturus imminebat. Cuius dum iuges incursus et cotidianos assultus illa perferre nequiuisset, misso nuncio, sibi suppecias Arturum aduocat, sese turri inclusam, exteriori uallo occupato, haud mora hostibus dedendam asserens, nisi cicius presidia conferat. Arturus autem eius discrimini³

¹ ms. *pacisseris*.

² ms. *nuncupatum*.

³ *It seems necessary to assume the omission of one or more words after discrimini.*

oppido [Fol. 37b, col. 1.] metuens uirtutem milicie confestim congregat instruit et ordinat, perfeccioneque parata, licet maxima constrictus formidine, quo ascitus fuerat iter arripuit. Multociens enim cum eodem rege commiserat et congressus fuerat, sed semper repulsum et deuictum eum constabat. Illi uero obsidionem petenti alius prepeti cursu occurrit nuncius, qui cum cesarie [super] genas dilaniatas municipium quidem expugnatum, illam autem captam intimat et abductam mandantemque sibi; ut quo amore eam dilexisset in prosperis tunc ostenderet in aduersis. Manubiis igitur honustos Arturus aduersarios insequitur, extrema eorum agmina, que inprouisa autumabat, furibundus aggreditur, sed malo ab illis omine acceptus est; de eius quippe aduentu predocti armati et ordinate incesserant, ualidiores ad munimen tocius exercitus posteriori in turma locauerant, qui subito impetu non facile perturbari poterant.

Ad tumultum igitur extremi agminis priores reuertuntur phalanges Arturumque ex omni circumdantes latere comprimunt impellunt et affligunt. Hic pugna acerrima commissa stragesque cruenta utrimque illata est ac Arturus medio hostium conspectus gremio ualde conterebatur anxiebatur et fatiscebatur, nique uiam gladiis aperiens fugam cicius maturasset, cum omni [Col. 2.] cesus pessumdaretur exercitu. Fuge itaque salutem commisit, sanius ducens saluus fugiendo euadere quam ultro se ingerendo periculum incurrere.

Belli autem exordio Miles cum tunica armature remoto et prerupto loco secesserat, quis prelii exitus commilitones maneret contemplaturus. Quos ubi fuga lapsos comperit, Arturo cum prioribus fugienti obuiauuit, atque ei subridendo insultans "Numquid" ait "O rex, ceruos an lepores agitis, qui sic passim dispersi per auia tenditis?" Cui Arturus indignatus respondit: "Hic tuam satis probitatem expertam habeo, qui, aliis pugnam adeuntibus, te nemoris abdidisti latebris." Nec plura locutus aduersariis instantibus pertranssiit. Miles autem cum tunica armature, in eius singulos militum sibi obuiancium lepide et ridiculose cauillatus, insequentibus hosti-

bus occurrens eorum se cateruis seuiens ingessit. Quorum confertos et constipatos cuneos ad instar hyberne procelle per medium penetrans neminem quidem lesit, nisi qui sibi fortuna resistentem obtulit. Vt autem regalem aciem intuitus est, calcaribus illico subductis cornipedem admisit, et, lancea uibrata, splendidum ferrum sub cauo pectore inopinus regi intorsit. Quo moribundo corridente, puellam per lora corripit ac uia qua uenerat cicius regredi cepit.

Agmina autem que regem circumsteterant, suum dominum sui medio [Fol. 38, col. 1.] peremptum, confusa discedentem cum clamore persecuuntur strictisque gladiis impetunt et inuadunt. Ipse in omnes et omnes in eum irruunt. Eminus alii in eum tela iaculantur, ceteri ancipiti mucronum acie eum sine intermissione contundunt, ut, sicut pluuię inundacio, sic ictuum in eum conflueret multitudo. Ille autem hos super illos *obtruncatos*¹ deserens suum semper iter agebat. Sed multum impediabatur, quia non tantummodo se sed etiam illam oportebat defendere. Non longe autem perampla et profunda distabat fouea, duarum prouinciarum terminos dirimens. Ideoque limes et diuisio illarum dicebatur finium, cuius angustus aditus et transitus non nisi unius admittebat ingressum. Ad hanc igitur Miles cum tunica armature accelerans et deueniens puellam intra fosse municionem tuto inmisit, precipiens se donec rediret in remota ibidem operiri. Iterum aduersariorum se usque insequencium ingerens cuneis repellebat fugabat dispergebat, ac more leonis catulis amissis infremens in eos crudeli strage seniebat. Nullus eius impetum pertulit nec aliquis *quem*² grauis moles eius dextre attigisset indempnis abiuit. Quocumque se conuertebat, ac si a facie tempestatis, ab eo dilabebantur, quos iugiter ad exicium agens sine pietate trucidabat. Nec destitit, donec omnes in fugam conuersos, omnes [Col. 2.] pernicię traderet, dum pars eorum se ex preruptis rupibus precipites darent, pars obstantibus fluctibus se sponte inuoluerent et ipse superstitēs cede dilaniaret.

¹ MS. obtruncatos.

² MS. quam.

Miles igitur cum tunica armature, absque sui detrimento habita uictoria, caput regis diademate insignitum abscidit, ipsius uexillo infixit ac in sullime erigens ad regem Arturum cum sua puella prope remeauit. Ouansque aulam ingressus qua rex Arturus super belli infortunio tristis et merens residebat "Quonam sunt" exclamat "O rex, tui famosi athlete, de quibus adeo iactabas neminem eorum parem uirtuti? Ecce *caput*¹ uiri quem cum omni suorum copia militum solus uici et prostrauit, a quo tot tuorum pugillum milia tociens prohi! pudet fugari et eneruari. Tuumne adhuc me militem dignaris?" Recognoscens autem Arturus regis *caput*² sibi pre omnibus odiosi sibi que dilectam ab inimicorum manibus ereptam, letatus eius in amplexus irruit, atque "Reuera dignandus et optandus es miles" respondit "precipuisque donandus honoribus. Verum quia adhuc pene incertum habemus quis nobis adueneris, enucleacius, rogo, insinua que tibi natalis tellus, a quibus originem trahas, et quo censearis nomine." Et ille: "Rei quidem habet ueritas, me Gallicanis in partibus Romano senatore progenitum, Rome [Fol. 38b, col. 1.] educatum, Miles cum tunica armature sortitum uocabulum." Arturus: "Plane falleris, fideque caret tua existimacio et te hac opinione prossus deceptum noueris." Miles: "Quid ergo?" Arturus: "Ostendam," *inquit*,³ "tibi tue propaginis seriem, cuius rei cognicio tui laboris erit remuneracio."

Vtroque igitur ipsius parente presente, Loth scilicet rege et Anna regina Norwegie, sibi ab imperatore directas litteras iubet afferri allatasque in aure multitudinis recitari. Quibus intelligentibus vniuersis perlectis, cum ingenti stupore incredibilis omnium mentibus innascitur leticia talique sobole beatos clamitabant parentes. Tunc rex Arturus eum hylari uultu intuens "Meum te" ait, "karissime, nepotem, huius mee sororis filium, cognoscito, quem talem edidisse non infamie sed maximo ascribendum est fortune beneficio." Subiunxitque: "In puerili quidem etate Puer sine Nomine, a tirocinio autem usque ad presens Miles es uocatus cum tunica arma-

¹ MS. capud.² MS. capud.³ MS. inquit.

ture, iam a modo Waluuanius proprio censeberis notamine." Hec Arturo dicente, terque quaterque ab omni cetu "Wal-uuanius, nepos Arturi!" ingeminatum et inculcatum est. A patre igitur filio, ab auo nepote agnito, magnitudo gaudii *duplicatur*,¹ cum pro amissi recuperatore pignoris, tum pro ipsius incomparabili uirtute et fortitudine. Cetera que uirtutum Waluuanii secuntur ^[Col. 2.] insignia qui scire desiderat a sciente prece uel precio exigat, sciens quod sicut discriminosius est bellum inire quam bellum referre sic *operosius*² sit composito eloquencie stilo historiam exarare quam uulgari propalare sermone.

VI.

PARAPHRASE.

Uther Pendragon, King of Britain, and father of Arthur, had reduced the kings of all neighboring countries to a state of subjection and retained their sons as hostages at his court, where the young men, however, were given instruction in the discipline of arms and chivalry. Among the princes of subject nations, who were thus brought up at Uther's court, there was a nephew of Sichelinus, King of Norway, namely Loth, a young man of handsome person, equally remarkable for strength of mind and body. As he had succeeded beyond all his companions in winning the attachment of King Uther and his son, Arthur, he was received more familiarly than the rest into the intimacy of the royal household, including Anna, the beautiful daughter of the king. In the course of time Loth and the young princess fell in love with each other, but at first, from motives both of fear and modesty, they made no confession of the passion which they had mutually conceived. In the end, however, there followed a declaration of love and an intrigue which resulted in the pregnancy of the young princess. As the time of her lying-in drew near, she dissembled the true nature of her indisposition and with-

¹ Ms. duplicatur.² Ms. operiosius.

drew to a secret chamber of the palace, admitting only a single servant to her confidence, and there in due time gave birth to a handsome boy. In the meanwhile she had taken the precaution, however, of arranging with certain rich merchants from abroad, that as soon as the child was born they should take it with them into their native country and there bring it up with all due care. Accordingly without the knowledge of any one the merchants received the child from its mother immediately after its birth, and along with it a great quantity of gold and [p. 391.]¹ silver and costly clothing. She gave them also a cloak, which was ornamented with precious stones, and a ring set with an emerald, which her father, the king, had entrusted to the keeping of the princess, being accustomed to wear it himself only on days of ceremony. To complete the means of future identification, she added to these articles a document sealed with the king's seal, which certified that the child was the offspring of the nephew of the king of Norway and of Arthur's sister, that he had been named Gawain by his mother, and that he had been sent into foreign parts on account of their fear of King Uther's wrath.

The merchants in due time embarked in their ship, taking with them their young charge, and, setting sail, on the eighth day they arrived off the shores of Gaul. They landed two miles from the city of Narbonne. Having accomplished this and trusting in the secrecy of the spot where they had come to land, the merchants left their ship in its place of haborage with only a boy to look after their possessions and the child in its cradle, and hurried away to amuse themselves in the city. But, as it happened, soon after their departure a certain fisherman from the country round-about, named Viamundus, a poor man but hitherto of honorable character, was walking along the beach, according to his daily wont, in search of fish cast up by the sea, by selling which he gained his livelihood. On observing the ship, which was drawn up there, the fisher-

¹ These bracketed numbers refer to the corresponding pages of the Latin text.

man at once abandoned his daily employment and hastened to it. He soon discovered that there was no one in charge of the beautiful child and the ship, with all its treasures, save the ship-boy, who had by this time fallen asleep. Again, as our author remarks, the proverb was verified that [p. 392.] it is the convenience of time and place which make the thief. Reflecting on his own poverty and the opportunity which he now saw of bringing it to an end, Viamundus succumbed to temptation and carried off whatever was most valuable among the articles of gold or silver, and other things which he found in the ship. Furthermore, he handed over the child and the case lying by his side (which contained the cloak, the ring, and the above-mentioned document) to his wife, and together, laden with riches, they hastened home without being observed by any one. The merchants soon afterwards returned to their ship, only to discover the misfortune which had befallen them. They were seized with consternation and grief, especially on account of the disappearance of the child who had been committed to their charge, but they finally despatched men throughout the surrounding region to trace out, if possible, the authors of this mischief. But it is hard, says the writer, to discover what no one has been an eye-witness of, so the messengers soon returned to the ship downcast after a vain search.

In the meanwhile Viamundus carried home his stolen wealth and hid it. Being childless himself, he brought up the boy with particular care as an adopted son. It was long, however, before he dared to make any open use of the property he had wrongfully acquired. At the end, however, of seven years, he decided to set out for Rome, to make that city his future home, since he thought that at so great a distance from the scene of his crime he might employ his ill-gotten wealth in any way he desired without fear of detection. Accordingly, in company with his wife and adopted son and all the other members of his household, he set out on his journey and soon reached the city of Rome. On his

arrival he took great pains to familiarize himself with the conditions of life in his new home, its citizens' mode of living, the names of its senators and chief men. At this time Rome was just recovering from the ravages of the barbarians. [p. 393.] A new emperor had succeeded to the throne, who was endeavoring to restore the city to its former prosperity after that period of desolation, bringing together its scattered citizens, redeeming captives and building up what had been destroyed. Viamundus observed these things, and, being of an astute mind, he determined to avail himself of his opportunity without delay. He accordingly fitted himself out with great splendor, obtaining from the neighboring towns as large a train of slaves as possible, and thus accompanied he set out for the palace, passing through the middle of the city and attracting the attention of all spectators by the richness of his display and the multitude of his attendants. When he finally came to the Emperor, he was honorably received. In the conversation which ensued, Viamundus represented himself as sprung from a noble Roman family, and as ruling over a certain part of Gaul. On the other hand, he averred, that hearing of the great disasters which had befallen the city of Rome, he had hastened thither and now begged the emperor to assign him a place of residence in the capital. The emperor, pleased with his venerable appearance, and influenced by his display of wealth, acceded to his request, and presented him with a superb residence, built of marble, which had formerly been in the possession of Scipio Africanus, and was situated at the very gates of the imperial palace. In addition, he made him a present of vineyards and other lands outside of the city, with which to maintain himself in state.

Viamundus, having thus obtained beyond his expectation the benefits of imperial favor, conducted himself so commendably that he soon won the admiration and attachment of all classes, whilst the story of his munificence spread far and wide throughout the city. Senators and nobles of Rome flocked daily to his house, and even youths and knights from

the imperial palace were drawn thither, [P. 394.] especially on account of his adopted son, the hero of the story, who was now growing up and emulating his supposed father in all the forms of excellence. For he was beautiful in appearance and of marvellous strength; and his virtues united with these attributes attracted to him the love of all men. But Viamundus fell gravely ill, whilst his adopted son was as yet only twelve years old, and, feeling his condition growing serious, he sent for the Emperor and Pope Sulpicius, and in anticipation of his death he begged that they would grant him a last interview. They yielded to the prayers of a person whom they so greatly loved, and both came to the dying man, accompanied by a train of nobles. On their arrival Viamundus returned thanks to them for the favors he had received, and, finally, calling them apart in secret, he revealed to them all the circumstances of his life, how he had come by his wealth, and how he had found the boy whom he had adopted as his son. Many times, he affirmed, had he determined in his conscience-stricken mind to disclose the secrets of his life, but to this day had always deferred it. Entreating their pardon that a man of his condition should request so great a favor from the masters of the world, he begged them to receive his son after his death and educate him for the order of knighthood. At the same time, he revealed to them the real descent of the boy, how he was the nephew of the famous King Arthur, who had by this time succeeded his father, Uther Pendragon. [P. 395.] He prayed, moreover, that the story should be kept secret from every one—even the boy himself—that not even his name should be disclosed until he was recognized by his parents, since this was prohibited, according to the terms of the document found with him, and, finally, that he should be sent back to these parents as soon as he had attained the age of manhood. He then summoned before him his adopted son, who had up to this time been called “the Boy without a Name,” and embracing the Emperor’s feet, commended the youth to his protection. He then had

the case brought, which contained the documents delivered to the merchants by Anna, and showed them to the Emperor. The latter received the boy into his arms and promised to carry out the desire of his dying friend. Viamundus, having thus achieved his wish, ended his life, and with the lamentations of every one, was buried in a pyramid of marvelous construction, in the midst of monuments of men of noble rank.

After the death of Viamundus, the Boy without a Name, by the Emperor's order, was brought to the palace and enrolled among the youths especially attached to the sovereign's person. At the end of three years—namely, in the fifteenth year of his age—having proved his capacity, he was fitted out with arms by the Emperor, and, together with twenty other youths, was made a knight. In the trials of strength and skill, which followed in the Roman circus, the adopted son of Viamundus won every prize. When conducted into the presence of the Emperor, ^[p. 396.] and permitted by the latter to demand any reward he might please, he replied that he desired no reward save the privilege of acting as champion on the next occasion of a single combat with any of the Emperor's enemies. The Emperor assented and enrolled him in the first rank of his knights.

On the first day that the young knight was received into the order, on his way to the above-mentioned trial of arms, he wore a purple tunic over his arms, which he called his surcoat. It had not been the custom hitherto for knights to wear surcoats over their armour in this fashion, so he was questioned by the other knights as to the meaning of this. He replied that he had put on this surcoat for the sake of ornament, whereupon the whole host cried out: "The new Knight of the Surcoat! the new Knight of the Surcoat!" and henceforth the name of the "Knight of the Surcoat" stuck to him. From this day on he grew in excellence of every kind, displaying his valor in each contest, and receiving higher and higher promotion at the hands of the Emperor.

Whilst these things were going on at Rome, a war arose between the king of the Persians and the Christians who inhabited Jerusalem. The day on which it was determined to give battle was at hand, and the forces were advancing against one another, when the wiser heads of either army secured an agreement for a temporary cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of delegates to discuss the conditions of peace. After a long debate it was [p. 397.] agreed by the representatives of the two armies that the questions in dispute should be decided by a single combat between chosen champions of the respective hosts. The Christians, however, being subjects of the Emperor, could not accede to this proposal without his consent, and were compelled to request an armistice until they should receive an answer from Rome. Representatives were accordingly despatched to the Emperor, who were also instructed to beg of him a suitable champion, in case he did not object to the above-mentioned terms agreed to with the enemy. The Emperor readily consented, but was still deliberating on the choice of a champion, when the affair came to the ears of the Knight of the Surcoat. Without delay the latter claimed the fulfillment of the promise made him by the Emperor on the day of his becoming knight. Although loth to part with so excellent a warrior, the Emperor yielded to his request—all the more readily, as he was anxious that the champion sent out should uphold the glory of the Roman arms. [p. 398.] He ordered him, then, to be well supplied with equipments of war, and besides had him accompanied by a troop of a hundred horse, commanded by a centurion. The company at once started on their journey, and going down to the Adriatic took ship there. They were joined by sixteen vessels bearing merchants and pilgrims to the Holy Land, who sought the protection of the knight and his company on account of the pirates infesting those seas, and they all set sail together. After having been tossed about at sea for twenty-five days, and finding themselves unable on account of the storms to make a port or to keep a straight course,

they put in at a certain island (in the Egean Sea, as is later said), inhabited by a barbarous people, immoderately addicted to gluttony and lust, and of so cruel a disposition that they spared neither sex nor age. Even merchants avoided the island, so that it remained, as it were, out of the world. The inhabitants of this island did not exceed three cubits in stature and rarely lived beyond fifty years of age. On the other hand, they rarely died under ten. Enjoying abundant food—nay, wealth even—and being accustomed moreover to hardships, the race was also remarkable for its fecundity.

Now, the rumor had gone forth among all pagan nations that an invincible champion had been despatched by the Emperor to defend the cause of the Christians in the impending duel. They accordingly sent word to their brother pagans of the barbarous isles in the Egean Sea, which the imperial expedition had to traverse, to be on their watch to destroy the Roman force, in case it attempted a landing on these islands, and they stationed pirates, moreover, here and there ^[p. 899.] to intercept the passage of this force. At that time the ruler over the island, where the expedition had put in, was an enemy of the Roman people, named Milocrates. He had carried off by force the niece of the Emperor, who was betrothed to the king of Illyria, and had taken possession of this island. On receiving news of the expedition he fortified the ports and towns along the seashore, with a view to harassing the Romans as they passed, or attacking them, if a landing was attempted. The shores, however, about the spot where the Roman ships touched land, were covered with forests, in which there were kept wild animals of certain fine species, reserved exclusively for the king and his nobles.

As soon as the centurion and his fleet reached the island, the hero of our story disembarked, and with a few companions went to hunt in the forest. He had already slain six stags, and had uncoupled his hounds in pursuit of a seventh, when the cry of the dogs and the sound of the horns were heard by a keeper of the forest. This man summoned the

rest of the keepers—for there were twenty of them—and taking their arms with them they all hurried together to discover who were the invaders of the forest. On coming up with these invaders, they asked the strangers by whose permission they were hunting in the royal preserves, where usually no one was even allowed to set foot, and furthermore summoned them to lay down their arms. The Knight of the Surcoat replied: “We have taken here what we need by the same authority that we came hither, and we shall only lay down our arms when we have buried them in your entrails.” At the same time he hurled a dart into the throat of the spokesman of the keepers. [p. 400.] On the Roman side many were without arms, which was not the case with their adversaries. In the general *melée* which ensued, as the Knight of the Surcoat saw his companions yielding, he rushed with drawn sword upon the leader of the keepers, struck him down, and seizing hold of the nose-piece of his helmet, dragged him over to the Romans’ side and there slew him, and stripped him of his armour. Then, himself clad in the armour of the slain keeper, he renewed the attack and alone killed thirteen of the enemy. In the end, only one man escaped to report the disaster. This survivor hid himself in the bushes until the Romans had retired, and then hastened to carry the news to King Milocrates, at that time sojourning in a city which he had founded, in a delightful spot, three miles inland. The king at once despatched messengers to summon the nobles of his country to assemble as soon as possible with all the forces they could bring together. This command they obeyed in such numbers that the city could not contain them all, and they were compelled to camp in the country round about, whilst Milocrates held a council of war.

In the meanwhile the Knight of the Surcoat returned to the ships to receive the congratulations of his comrades. On the third day from this they attempted to proceed on their voyage, but in consequence of unfavorable winds found it necessary to return to the spot they had left. The cen-

turion, in his turn, now held a council of war and set before the chief men of his host the dangers of their situation, how King Milocrates and his nobles were making ready ^[p. 401.] to avenge the death of the keepers, the insufficiency, moreover, of the Roman force to resist so great a multitude of enemies, and the inadequacy of their provisions. He recommended that spies should be sent out to report on what it might seem most advisable to do. As best fitted for this purpose, the Knight of the Surcoat and Odabal, a relative of the centurion, were selected. They armed themselves and set out through the forest to the city. At the very entrance of the woods they encountered a famous boar which our knight only slew after a desperate struggle. Having placed the carcass on his horse, he sent it back to the centurion by his squire, who again joined him before noon at the city gates. They then entered the city and went to the palace, mingling with the royal company there, as if a part of it, ^[p. 402.] and escaping detection through their knowledge of the language of the island. They wandered thus in every direction through the city and country round about and ascertained the strength of the enemy's troops already assembled, and also of those which were still expected. For King Milocrates had been greatly alarmed by false intelligence which his spies had brought him the day before as to the great multitude of the invaders, and had taken his measures accordingly. These men had been captured by the centurion and compelled by threats of death—to say nothing of the influence of bribes—to return to the king and render this report. Milocrates sent then for his brother, Buzafarnan, who ruled over a neighboring kingdom, to come to him as quickly and with as great a force as possible, and postponed action until his arrival. Now, on the very day that the hero of our story came to the city, it chanced that King Milocrates was holding a council of war with his nobles, in which it was agreed that on the arrival of Buzafarnan the army should be divided into two parts, and that the invaders should be attacked both

by sea and by land, so that they might have no room for escape. The Knight of the Surcoat mingled undetected with the rest at the council and took note of all that was said.

By the end of the council the sun had set and Milocrates hastened to his evening meal. The knight, still mingling with the king's followers, entered the palace, leaving his companions outside, and whilst the other inmates of the palace were at the feast, he penetrated, disguised and unsuspected, to the chamber of the king's unwilling consort, ^[p. 403.] where she passed her time exclusively in the company of her damsels. He began now to deliberate as to what he should do, all the time keeping on his guard against any unlucky turn of affairs. He hesitated to carry out his original purpose of slaying the king, for fear lest his own life might be endangered. On the other hand, he could not endure the shame of returning to his host with nothing accomplished. Whilst he was reflecting on what he should do, a soldier named Nab[a]or, one of those whom the king had lately sent as a spy to the Roman fleet, passed by bearing a message to the queen from her lord. As the knight was himself in the dark, he recognized Nabaor without being perceived in turn; for the latter had been one of the spies captured by the centurion, and during his captivity had formed so strong a friendship for the Knight of the Surcoat, that on being set free he had received from him a ring and a purple cloak as tokens of remembrance. Accordingly the knight, on recognizing his friend, called him and embraced him. He then informed him of the reason of his being there, and promised him rewards, if he should keep faith with him and aid him in the execution of his designs. Nabaor wondered at the presence of the knight in that place, but rejoiced at the opportunity afforded him of repaying the generosity of his friend. He took him to a more secret part of the palace and endeavored to dissuade him from his design on the king's life, telling him that thirty guards kept watch over the king whilst he was at the banquet, and prevented all access to him until the

dawn of day. [p. 404.] He explained, on the other hand, that the curiosity of the queen had been greatly aroused in regard to the knight by the reports that he had brought back from his captivity with the centurion, so that the queen was eager to see him and more concerned about his safety than about that of the king—for, although she had been treated by Milocrates with the honor which befitted her station, she could never forget that she had been snatched away by violence from her betrothed lover, and would have preferred freedom as a poor man's wife to the life of captivity, which she now led in the midst of all her splendor. From the time that she had heard of our knight as the champion chosen by the Emperor, on account of his unequalled valor, she had striven in every way to devise means of speaking with him, in the hope that through him she might be restored to her intended husband. He might, therefore, feel assured of her eager support in his attempt to overcome King Milocrates. In view, however, of the inconstancy of women, Nabaor advised, that he should be allowed to sound the queen once more before finally bringing the knight into her presence. He accordingly approached her and artfully introduced his name into their conversation with many praises. The queen soon expressed her regret that she could have no opportunity of putting her cause into the hands of so worthy a champion, feeling sure that, if this were possible, on her [p. 405.] father's account, if no other, he would find means of rescuing her. She spoke thus freely with Nabaor, because he was one of those whom Milocrates had enslaved like herself. Nabaor quickly assured her that, if such were her wish, the knight would be brought before her at once, and on her protesting the sincerity of her desire, introduced our hero into the room and explained to her the cause of his presence in the palace. On his entering the queen bade the handsome knight be seated, and after observing him carefully for a time she disclosed to him with tears and sighs all her troubles, adding that it was in his power to remedy them. The knight

replied that, notwithstanding his willingness to serve her, the superiority of Milocrates' forces could not be overlooked, and invited her to suggest some means by which this superiority might be overcome. As the queen remained silent for a time, Nabaor next ventured to speak. He proposed that they should take advantage of the great assemblage of troops and the occupation of the king to send word to the centurion to despatch secretly forty armed men ^[p. 406.] on the following day through the forest, who should take possession of the city with the queen's assistance. When they had effected this, they were to set fire to the city, so as to fill the king's army with consternation and his enemies at the same time with encouragement. The queen then implored the knight to carry out this plan, and presented him with the sword and arms of Milocrates, on which the charm rested, that whosoever first wore them besides the king would deprive the latter of his royal rank. She made him still other presents of gold and silver, and pledged him her friendship. After this the knight returned in haste to his comrades, who all the while had been awaiting him, and led them in the early dawn back to the centurion, to whom he now related all that had passed.

The centurion, greatly elated, selected the troops which were to be sent to the queen and placed Odabal in command of them. On the evening of the next day this band made its way to a vineyard near the royal palace, and, having been admitted there by Nabaor at the queen's command, they lay hid all that night. At the break of day on the morrow King Milocrates went forth to fight with the army of the centurion, at the same time ordering his brother with the fleet to attack him from behind. But the centurion saw through the plan and drew up his ships on shore round about the camp, so that in case of need they might be used as defences. The camp had been placed in a secure spot not far from the sea. The centurion then led out his forces in five divisions, he himself being at the head of the middle division, and advanced

directly against the king. The latter was accompanied by fifteen thousand men, but he already despaired of victory—for on going forth to battle he had asked for the arms with which not only his own fate, but that of his whole kingdom was linked, and they were nowhere to be found. [p. 407.] The unhappy Milocrates only discovered that they were in the possession of the Knight of the Surcoat when he saw him wearing them on the field of battle. He groaned at the sight of this, but did not turn back, as his good fame required that he should either conquer or die bravely.

The trumpet had already sounded and the troops of the two sides were about to close with one another in battle when a smoke rising up from the city directed attention thither. On the king's leaving the city, Odabal's band, which had lain in concealment, had come forth, taken possession of the city and set fire to its outskirts. As the fire extended, the destruction of the city became evident, and the sparks began to fly across the faces of the very combatants a great distance off. The heart of the king was filled with fear when he saw this disaster imminent, and, postponing the battle which he had begun, he hastened back to the rescue of the city. This was the signal for a mad rout, of which the Romans took advantage, pursuing and slaying their enemies in every direction. [p. 408.] Their comrades, moreover, who had set fire to the town, drove back from its walls the throngs of fugitives who endeavored to take refuge there, so that they were unable to escape their pursuers. King Milocrates' men, without a leader and thrown thus into confusion, suffered terrible slaughter on every side.

The king, however, on seeing himself surrounded by his enemies, made an effort at least to terminate his life in an honorable manner. He arranged his men in the form of a wedge, and, opposing the attack of the Romans, gained a temporary success. When the Knight of the Surcoat came up, Milocrates engaged him in a single combat, which was continued for a time with varying success, [p. 409.] but at

length the king fell by his adversary's sword and the rout of his troops was more complete than ever. The centurion, however, having put an end to all effective resistance, called off his men, and after collecting the spoils of his victory, made his triumphal entrance into the city. The queen came out to meet them and attended to the burial of the dead, whilst she also saw to the wounded and bestowed rewards on all the surviving troops.

The centurion tarried fifteen days in the island. He gave over the country to his soldiers for plunder and inflicted fitting punishment on nobles and people. He then left a part of his forces on the island, sent still another part to conduct the queen to her lawful husband, the King of Illyria, whilst he himself embarked with the rest and proceeded with the fulfilment of his mission. He had only been a day out at sea, however, [p. 410.] when he encountered the fleet commanded by Milocrates' brother,¹ which had been despatched to attack the Romans from behind. They had, indeed, gone to the place where they imagined the Roman ships were stationed, but they had failed to find them there—for the Romans had removed their vessels a little way up within the land to form a part of the fortification of their camp, as described above. Thinking that the Romans had fled, the king's brother put out to sea again, but, a great storm arising, he was tossed about for three days and finally driven off to countries five days distant from his destination. As the wind went down, he was endeavoring to effect his return, when he met the centurion's fleet in mid-sea.

Now it chanced that just at this time the centurion himself, with the Knight of the Surcoat at his side, was on the lookout in a tower in the stern of his vessel, and at first saw only the images of cocks and the like which, as is the custom, were attached to the masts to show which way the wind blew. As he saw these objects driven up and down in the breeze, the centurion, thinking they were storm-birds, called

¹ Here called Egesarius.

the pilot of the ship and warned him that rough weather was coming on, as the appearance of these birds was thought to portend a storm and disasters to seamen. But the Knight of the Surcoat, who was near by, understood that they were really images attached to the masts of vessels of the enemies' fleet and, [p. 411.] explaining the matter thus to the centurion, urged him to get ready their arms and be prepared.

Soon all the men in the centurion's ship were under arms, and the signal for preparation was given to the rest of the ships as well—for there were now thirty in all, since fifteen from the island recently subdued had been added to the original number. They were then arranged in the desired order of battle. The Romans placed in front five very formidable ships furnished with *rostra*, very much used among the pirates. The vessels not manned with soldiers were put behind the others, so that in case of defeat they might have a better chance of escape. When everything was ready and anchors cast, they awaited the approach of the enemy. The latter on their side made also a skilful division of their fleet. But the Knight of the Surcoat, as he saw them advancing prepared for battle, gave orders that his ships should raise their anchors and bear down as swiftly as possible on the enemy—[p. 412.] especially on the vessel which bore the commander of their fleet. This vessel was desperately shattered in the first shock and the commander himself lost his life. A great part of the crew were also slain or drowned, and the rest were made captive, whilst the ship was robbed of its treasures and then sunk.

After the destruction of these men the knight engaged the remaining vessels. Though surrounded and outnumbered, he offered so fierce a resistance that the enemy now resorted to the terrible Greek fire, a long description of which in this place interrupts the story.¹ [p. 416.] The vessel in which the knight and the centurion were, caught fire, but the former

¹ This description, which is omitted in the Paraphrase, will be found, pp. 412–416.

sprang armed into the ship from which the fire had been cast, and succeeded in capturing it and transferring to it his own men. After this, having brought together the whole Roman fleet, he hastened to revenge himself on the remainder of the enemy's vessels, and in the end sank ten of them and carried off thirty.

When the naval battle was over, the Roman expedition proceeded on their journey to Jerusalem and arrived there safely by the appointed time. They were received with great delight by the Christians and were able to [p. 417.] rest after their toil and dangers. In the meanwhile the Christians brought together troops from every side. They, moreover, fortified their towns and supplied them with provisions, nor did they neglect to endeavor to secure the favor of heaven by prayers, fasting and alms.

On the day which had been set for the duel the champions of the Christians and Persians respectively appeared in the field, and the armies of both ranged themselves round about to witness the encounter. A huge warrior, named Gormundus, fierce and of long experience in war, defended the cause of the Persians. The duel took place on foot because there was no steed able to bear the heathen champion on account of his immense height. The antagonists then began the combat, which is described by the author with many rhetorical flourishes, but very little narrative detail. It lasted without result all that day and had to be renewed on the morrow. [p. 418.] The duel when thus renewed was even [p. 419.] fiercer than before and the issue was still doubtful at the close of the second day. So hard pressed was the Knight of the Surcoat, when they were separated, that the heathen host could hardly be restrained from a tumult on seeing their champion deprived of his advantage.

[p. 420.] In the combat of the second day the sword of the knight and the shield of Gormundus respectively had been broken and rendered useless. A violent dispute arose between the two hosts in regard to the third day's encounter, whether

new arms should be allowed to both the champions, or to one and not the other. [P. 421.] But, this matter having been arranged, the struggle was renewed for the third day. Our author compares this combat with that of the Lapithae (and Centaurs), and the strokes of the antagonists to those of the Cyclops on their anvils. After it had raged for a long time, Gormundus, wearied out, was forced by his adversary outside of the circle within which, according to the agreement, the duel was to be fought. Then, in answer to the despairing cries of his countrymen, [P. 422.] Gormundus made a final stand, but was struck down, and a last thrust of his adversary's sword which pierced his breast—*non optabile stomacho antidotum*, as our author remarks—put an end to his life. The knight then cut off the head of the dead champion and spurned it with his foot, whilst the pagan host in their grief could hardly be restrained from throwing themselves upon the victor. As their champion, however, was dead, they were compelled to fulfill the terms of their agreement with the Christians and give pledges of their subjection to the Roman Emperor. The Knight of the Surcoat, on the other hand, received valuable presents from the nobility of Jerusalem, and, bearing with him his trophies, he returned in triumph to Rome and was welcomed there by the Emperor and Senate. The former assigned him a place among his especially chosen attendants and destined him to the highest honors at the first opportunity that presented itself.

[P. 423.] But our hero soon wearied of the peace which then reigned throughout the Roman Empire and looked about for some region where war might be prevailing, in order that he might find new opportunities for the exercise of his valor. Now, about this time the noble exploits of King Arthur—the uncle of our knight, who was, however, still ignorant of the relationship—became noised abroad throughout all the world and our hero accordingly determined to try his fortunes in Britain. The Emperor deeply regretted the departure of so admirable a warrior. He, nevertheless, gave his consent,

in part, because he wished the knight to become acquainted with his real descent, and, in part, because he hoped that through him Britain might some day again become annexed to the Roman Empire. He supplied him, therefore, with valuable presents, which were to be delivered to King Arthur, and among them the case containing the documents which told the story of the knight's birth. To these documents he attached his own seal as a guarantee that all the circumstances which they set forth were indisputable. He forbade the knight to look into the case until he had come to King Arthur. On the other hand, he sent word to the chief men of Gaul, through whose country he was to pass, to aid him and show him every honor.

The young knight took his departure from the court to the regret of all, crossed the Alps, traversed Gaul and arrived safely in Britain. On inquiring where he might find King Arthur, he learned that the latter was then in the city of Caerleon, in Demecia, which he preferred to all other cities—for the country there was covered with groves and abounded in beasts of chase, and was, moreover, rich and delightful on account of its green meadows, which were irrigated by the waters of the Usk and Severn. There, furthermore, was the seat of the Bishop of Demecia, there Arthur [p. 424.] was crowned and celebrated his great festivals, and there also he held the great assemblies of the chiefs of Britain. When he had ascertained where Arthur was to be found, he hastened onward, night and day, but six miles from his destination, near the town of Usk, he was arrested by a great storm of wind and rain, in which his companions either lost their way or were separated from him.

On the same night King Arthur and Gwendolen, his wife, were lying in bed together and talking of various things. The latter was the most beautiful of women, but she was, besides, well-skilled in magical arts, so that she was often able to tell beforehand things which were yet to happen. Amongst other things, whilst they were thus conversing, the

queen foretold to her husband that there was even then on the way to Caerleon a knight who would prove superior to the king himself in valor. He was clad in impenetrable armor, she said, and was riding on a steed which had not its equal for strength and beauty. As a proof of the truth of her clairvoyance she predicted that, early on the morrow this knight would send her a golden ring and three bridle-bits with two horses. Arthur reflected that she was never mistaken in her predictions, but he determined to put the matter to the test without her knowledge. For frequently, as soon as he heard of the approach of some particularly brave knight, he would go out to meet him, in order to try his strength and skill in an encounter.

When the queen fell asleep again, a little later, King Arthur arose, and, having armed himself, mounted his steed and rode off without any companion, except his seneschal, Kay. He came upon the Knight of the Surcoat [p. 425.] standing by a swollen stream, where he had been vainly seeking a ford in the darkness. Arthur observed him by the gleaming of his armor and, calling loudly to him, demanded who he was—whether he was an exile, a robber or a spy. On the knight's replying to this offensive challenge that he was none of the three, expressing himself, however, at some length and in rather florid terms, Arthur taunted him with his loquacity and gave him the lie. He also summoned him to surrender his arms immediately. The knight rejected this proposal scornfully, and they then put spurs to their horses for the attack and encountered in mid-stream. Arthur was unhorsed and fell into the water, whilst the knight seized the reins of the riderless steed and led him away. Kay endeavored to avenge his master, but suffered the same fate, falling at the first blow on top of Arthur and losing his steed likewise. In the obscurity of the night they escaped any further harm—were compelled, however, to walk ignominiously home. When Arthur sought his bed again, Queen Gwendolen, noticing that he was all wet and stiff with cold, asked him where he had

been so long and the reason for his being wet. He replied, that having heard a quarrel in the court he had [p. 426.] gone out to stop it and had got wet in the rain. The queen rejoined: "Be it as you say, but to-morrow a messenger will tell us where you have been and what has really happened."

The knight in the meanwhile was ignorant as to who had been his opponents. He did not cross the stream, but turned aside to a place near by and lodged there for the night. In the early morning he went on to Caerleon. About two miles from the city he met a boy, and, on asking him in whose service he was, received the answer that he was charged with secret errands for the queen. The knight then bade him take the two horses which he had captured the night before and present them to the queen on his behalf as pledges of his friendship. He entrusted to the boy, moreover, as gifts for the queen, a golden ring and three golden bridle-bits, and, finally, giving the name by which he was known, declared that he would follow closely behind him. Queen Gwendolen, foreseeing what was to happen, stood on the top of a high tower looking over the road, which led to the town of Usk. When she saw her messenger come, leading the two horses, she knew what it meant, so she went down and met him as he was entering the palace. The boy executed all that had been enjoined him and announced that the Knight of the Surcoat was at hand. The queen smiled when she heard his name, but she accepted the gifts, returned thanks for them and led the horses into King Arthur's chamber before his couch, where he was still lying, as he had been tired out by his exertions of the preceding night. The queen awakened him and said: "My Lord, that you may not accuse me of falsehood, here are the rings and the bridle-bits which I foretold would be brought me—also, the two steeds which the knight I spoke of has sent, their riders having been unhorsed in the stream." The king recognized the horses and was covered with shame, as he perceived that the affair which he had wished to keep secret was known to the queen.

[p. 427.] After a while Arthur went out to a conference with his nobles which had been set for that day. Whilst he was before the palace, sitting under an ash, the Knight of the Surcoat came riding up to the gates and saluted the king and queen and knights around them. The king, recognizing his adversary of the night before, did not give him a very cordial greeting. Nevertheless, he inquired who he was, where he was going, and what object he had in that country. The newcomer replied that he was a Roman knight and that he had come to aid King Arthur, who he heard was in need of knights—finally, that he also brought messages from the emperor. He presented the case then and the seals to the king, who withdrew from the rest and had the letters read to him. The contents of the documents, together with the evidence of the ring and cloak, filled Arthur with amazement and he could hardly believe what he heard for joy. But it happened that Loth, King of Norway, and Queen Anna, the parents of the young knight, were present, and when questioned by Arthur they confessed that he was, indeed, their son. Arthur was filled with delight, yet he determined not to reveal the young man's origin to him until he had distinguished himself by some great action.

Arthur went back then to the meeting of nobles, and, having called up the young man before the whole assemblage, in slighting language rejected his offer to join the ranks of the royal knights, [p. 428.] on the ground that he had as yet no proof of his valor. The young knight was exasperated by the reply, but he feared lest it might be ascribed to cowardice, if he now turned back, so he again begged to be enrolled among Arthur's knights, this time on the condition that he should perform alone some action which the whole of King Arthur's host should have failed to perform. On this condition the king retained him.

Not twelve days after this Arthur was compelled to set out on an expedition into the North of Britain. There was a castle there, called Maidens' Castle, the mistress of

which was a damsel, famous for her generosity and possessions, who was also a friend of King Arthur's. A heathen king, who was taken with the beauty of this lady, but had been rejected by her, besieged her in her town and was now on the point of attempting to carry the castle by assault. As the damsel felt herself incapable of offering a long resistance, she sent in haste to Arthur for aid, [p. 429.] who at once assembled his forces, and, having got everything ready, set out to her rescue. He did this, however, with much trepidation, for in all previous engagements with the king against whom he was now marching, he had suffered defeat. Whilst he was on the way, still another messenger from the damsel hurried to meet him and informed him that the castle of his mistress had already been captured, and the damsel herself carried off into captivity. She implored Arthur, however, not to forget her in her adversity. Arthur then pursued the rear-guard of the enemy and attacked it, expecting to find it unprepared; but the best troops of the army had been selected to protect the retreat, and the attack was repulsed. In this encounter Arthur and his host came near destruction. He ultimately cut his way through the enemy, however, and took to flight, followed by his men.

In the beginning of the conflict the Knight of the Surcoat had contented himself with looking on from a high point some distance off, awaiting the result of the battle, but in the rout that followed, he met Arthur flying among the foremost, and smiling, the knight asked him insultingly whether he and his men were driving stags or hares, that they were hastening thus scattered through the by-ways. Arthur answered indignantly: "I have now sufficient proof of your valor, when I find you hiding in the forest whilst others are engaged in battle"—and without saying more, as his pursuers were pressing him, he passed on. The knight ridiculed the other fugitives in a similar manner, but [p. 430.] threw himself into the midst of the enemy's host, who were in pursuit. He swept through them like a winter-storm, only wounding,

however, those who opposed him. As soon as the knight came near to the king of the host, he put spurs to his horse, assailed the king violently and thrust his spear through his breast. He then caught the reins of the captive damsel's horse, and began to make his way back. The enemy, in turn, attacked him fiercely, and with all kinds of weapons, as he retreated, but he continued on his way, fighting all the while. Only he was much hampered in his retreat by the necessity of defending his companion, as well as himself. Not far distant, however, was a ditch which marked the limits of two different countries, and the passage left here was so narrow that only one could pass over at a time. When the knight reached this line he placed the damsel in safety beyond the ditch, bidding her wait there, whilst he returned to meet their pursuers. These he routed so utterly that many threw themselves headlong from high rocks, and others drowned themselves in the rivers.

[p. 431.] The knight then cut off the head of the king, which was crowned with a diadem, and fixing it on the end of his banner, which he held aloft, he returned to Arthur, the damsel accompanying him. As he entered the palace where Arthur was seated, in gloomy meditation over his defeat, he presented the head of the heathen king and boasted of his having alone overthrown a man who had put so many of Arthur's warriors to flight. Finally, he asked Arthur whether he was now worthy to be his knight. King Arthur, recognizing the head of the person who was of all men most hateful to him, and at the same time the damsel, whom he loved, delivered from captivity, replied that he was, indeed, a knight to be honored and rewarded. The king next made inquiry of the knight as to his origin, birth and name. When the latter answered that he was the son of a Roman senator in Gaul, that he was brought up at Rome and had always been called the Knight of the Surcoat, Arthur declared that he was mistaken and promised to enlighten him as to the truth in these matters.

He had the parents of the knight summoned—namely, Loth, King of Norway, and Anna, his wife—also, he had the letters brought which the Emperor sent, and they were read before the throng of people. The multitude were filled with joy at the disclosure of the real origin of the knight. King Arthur then made a public acknowledgment of his nephew, and proclaimed that he was [p. 432.] henceforth to be called by his true name, Gawain. When Arthur had said this, the people hailed him repeatedly, with the cry: “Gawain, the nephew of Arthur!”

The author concludes his story by recommending those who desire to know more of Gawain’s valorous deeds to seek some other informant—at the same time, with conscious pride in his own performance, reminding his readers that composing a story in a finished style of eloquence (*i. e.*, in Latin) is a very different matter from setting it forth simply in the vulgar tongue.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
1898.

VOL. XIII, 4.

NEW SERIES, VOL. VI, 4.

XIII.—THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF THE
GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *Origin and Early History of the Gospel.*

The story of the Passion, Resurrection, and Descent of Christ is treated at length in one of the most interesting of the apocryphal gospels. While it is based upon the narrative as given in the canonical books of the New Testament, many additions have been made of a purely fictitious character,—especially that of Christ's descent into Hell and his releasing the souls of the patriarchs and saints who had for centuries been in bondage to Satan. The real origin of this legendary story, which was one of the most productive literary sources in the Middle Ages, is clouded in obscurity. When or how it came into existence has never been definitely determined. In the prologue to both the Greek and the Latin versions of the story we are informed that the Emperor Theodosius found the book among the public records in the Hall of Pilate in Jerusalem (A. D. 380): "In nomine sanctae trinitatis incipiunt gesta salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi, inventa Theodosio Magno imperatore in Ierusalem

in praetorio Pontii Pilati in codicibus publicis" (Tischendorf, p. 312). Moreover, we are told at the conclusion of Cap. XXVII that Pilate himself wrote all the transactions from the relation of Nicodemus and Joseph: "Haec audiens Pilatus tulit exempla dicti Leucii et Carini a Nicodemo et Iosepe tradita et posuit ea in publicis codicibus praetorii sui" (Tischendorf, p. 388). We are further informed by Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, who flourished at the close of the fourth century, that the Quartodecimans, a sect which originated near the close of the third century, appealed to this story to confirm their opinions as to the proper time of keeping Easter. At this time and throughout the early centuries of the Christian era the story was known by the title, *The Acts of Pilate* (*Acta Pilati*). These *Acts of Pilate* appear in fact to have been known much earlier than the fourth century. The ancient Christian apologists, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, both appeal to the *Acts of Pilate* in confirmation of the miracles and crucifixion of Christ (cf. J. Martyr, *Apol.*, pp. 76, 84; Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 21). Epiphanius (*Opera*, pp. 259-275) also gives a version of the story which "agrees in many points with" the *Acts of Pilate* (cf. Kirkland, p. 17). The cause of Christ's Descent is there stated (p. 268) to be, "ut educat eos qui a saeculo vineti sunt."

It is not at all unlikely that the earliest version of the first part of the *Acts*, which treats of Christ's passion and crucifixion, was written to counteract the evil influences of a heathen treatise with the same title. Eusebius tells us that the heathens forged certain Acts of Pilate full of all sorts of blasphemy against Christ, which they (A. D. 303) had dispersed throughout the Roman empire; and that schoolmasters were commanded to put these Acts into the hands of children who were to learn them by heart instead of their lessons. As the christian *Acts of Pilate* are entirely free from anything like blasphemous expressions and sentiments, they cannot therefore be identical with the document described by Eusebius (cf. *Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclo-*

pedia, vol. III, p. 940 f.). From the fact that the *Acts* (Part II) makes frequent mention of the names Leuthius (Leuticus) and Charinus, it was thought by Jeremiah Jones (in his book *On the Canon*) "to have been the work of the celebrated fabricator of gospels, Lucius Charinus, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century." Beausobre also suspected that the latter part of the story (the *descensus ad inferos*) was taken from the *Gospel of Peter*.

"During the persecution under Maximin," says Gieseler (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. I, § 24, note), "the heathens first brought forward certain calumnious Acts of Pilate (Eusebius, ix, 5), to which the christians opposed others (Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 79, § 1), which were afterwards in various ways amended. One of these improved versions was afterwards called the Gospel of Nicodemus." Thilo (*Obdex Apocryphus*) "thinks that it was the work of a Jewish christian, but it is uncertain whether it was originally written in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. The only Greek writer who cites it is the author of the *Synaxarion*, and the first of the Latins who uses it is the celebrated Gregory of Tours" (*Hist. Franc.*, I, xxi, xxiv). The Codex Parisensis contains, according to Thilo, a still more explicit account of how a certain Hebrew scholar, named Emaus, found these *Acts* written down in Hebrew by Nicodemus, and how this same scholar, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Theodosius Flavius and Augustus Valentinian, translated them into Greek. This entire account (as given by Tischendorf, p. 313) is as follows: "Ego Emaus Hebraeus qui eram legis doctor de Hebraeis, in divinis scripturis perscrutans, divinitates legis scripturarum domini nostri Iesu Christi in fide praesumens, dignatus sacri baptismatis atque perquirens quae gesta sunt per illud tempus quod apposuerunt Iudaei sub Pontio praeside Pilato, haec inveniens gesta et litteris hebraeis conscripta a Nicodemo, quae ego interpretatus litteris graecis ad cognitionem omnium nominis domini nostri Iesu Christi, sub imperio Flavii Theodosii, anno decimo octavo, et Velentiniano Augusto. Omnes autem qui

legitis et transfertis in aliis codicibus graecis seu latinis, oro ut dignemini intercedere pro me peccatore ut propitius mihi fiat et dimittat omnia peccata in quibus peccavi. Pax sit ista legentibus, sanitas audientibus."

An interesting, though doubtless untrustworthy, account of the origin of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is found in the preface to a translation made (1767) by Joseph Wilson (cf. *Eccles. Encyclop.*): "It befel in the eighteenth year of the seigniory of Herod who was king of Galilee, the 8th kalend of April, which is the 25th day of March, the fourth year of the son of Vellum, who was counsellor of Rome, and Olympias had been afore two hundred years and two; at this time Joseph and Annas were lords above all justices of peace, mayors, and Jews. Nicodemus, who was a worthy prince, did write this blessed history in Hebrew, and Theodosius the emperor did translate it out of Hebrew into Latin, and bishop Turpin did translate it out of Latin into French, and hereafter did ensue the blessed history called the Gospel of Nicodemus."

The critical examination of all the known sources of the story, together with a careful comparison of the Greek and Latin versions, was not attempted until the middle of the present century. Nevertheless, the legend was extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages, as well as far into the Renaissance period. This fact is attested on the one hand by the important part which the *Gospel of Nicodemus* played in the dramatic and romance literature of the western world from the eleventh to the fifteenth century; on the other hand, by the appearance of printed copies of the Greek and Latin texts early in the sixteenth century. Several of these earlier editions bear no date, but one of them has the imprint, Leipzig, 1516. Then numerous Greek and Latin mss. of the piece have existed since early in the Middle Ages. A more careful edition of the story was published by Johann Albert Fabricius, Hamburg, 1703, and Johann Karl Thilo made use of many mss., "French, German, and Italian," and of several published editions in the preparation of his *Codex*

Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, etc., Leipzig, 1832. In 1850 a Frenchman, Alfred Maury, published his *Nouvelles recherches sur l'époque à laquelle a été composé l'ouvrage connu sous le nom d'Évangile de Nicodème* (Extrait du XX^e volume des *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1850). A final thorough edition of both Greek and Latin texts was made by Constantine Tischendorf in 1853 (*Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus ed.* Constantinus Tischendorf. Lipsiae, 1853; 2nd ed. Lipsiae, 1876). In the *Prolegomena* Tischendorf gives a concise history of all the MSS., Greek and Latin, as well as of the various printed texts, which he used in preparing his own edition. He also attempts to trace the legend of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* back to its origin, to account for the title, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and to determine the exact relation between the Greek and Latin versions. The various theories advanced by Tischendorf relative to the questions of origin, authorship, and name of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* have been carefully considered and for the most part refuted by Richard Adelbert Lipsius in his *Die Pilatus-Akten kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1871; 2te Ausgabe, Kiel, 1886. A convenient resumé of Tischendorf's conclusions and of Lipsius's refutation of the same is given by Wülker in his excellent monograph, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der Abendländischen Literatur*, Paderborn, 1872. A brief statement of the results of more recent criticism on the questions of authorship, text relationship, and name is given by Gaston Paris and Alphonse Bos in the Introduction (p. II f.) to their *Trois Versions Rimées de L'Évangile de Nicodème par Chrétien, André de Coutances et un Anonyme*. Société des Anciens Textes Français. Paris, 1885-6. This summary is somewhat as follows: The Latin work which bears the name *Gospel of Nicodemus* was translated from a Greek version, apparently about the end of the fifth century. The Greek version was formed by the union of two originally independent works, one of which contains

an account of Christ's passion and resurrection, and which, the Jews claimed, supplements and completes the narrative of the canonical gospels. This is properly speaking the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The other work relates the story of Christ's descent into hades, his victory over Hell and Satan, and his deliverance of the captive souls confined by them. The first part, although it contains certain interesting facts for the history of the development of christian thought, is on the whole dull and prosaic. The second part is, however, infused with a spirit of real poetry. According to Lipsius, who refutes entirely the contrary opinion of Tischendorf, the second part is based on a Gnostic treatise of the first half of the third century. The Greek form, however, is not older than the middle of the fourth century. The first part was composed in Greek a little before the same period. In the year 425 a certain Ananias or Aeneas combined the two parts into a whole, but not without changing the conclusion of the first and the beginning of the second part, so as to make the two fit together. The Latin translation of this compilation has the letter of Pilate to Tiberius appended in all the MSS. This letter is not found in the Greek and was undoubtedly originally composed in Latin.

The title, *Gospel of Nicodemus*, is apparently of much later date, and probably originated during the reign of Charlemagne.

2. *The Gospel of Nicodemus in England.*

The early Latin writers of England were apparently familiar with the story of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Bede speaks of it as forming a part of the christian faith. The subject is also alluded to by Aldhelm in his poem, *De laudibus virginum*. "Several poems on the same subject" are found among the writings of Joannes Scotus Erigena, one of which is entitled *Christi descensus ad inferos et resurrectio*, and which, though short, follows in the main the story as given in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

The Old English poem, known as the *Harrowing of Hell* (Grein's *Höllenfahrt Christi*), was undoubtedly based on the second part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, though it differs somewhat from the original in its treatment of the details (cf. Kirkland, p. 19 f.). The description of the Descent is also given in Cynewulf's *Christ* according to the Nicodemus version, and the author of the *Christ and Satan* (MS. Junius, XI) made use of the same legendary story in the composition of his poem.

The first and only Old English prose version of the story, that has come down to us, is preserved in two MSS. of the eleventh century. This version is a rather free translation of the Latin text preserved in the group of MSS. designated by Tischendorf *D^{abc}* (i. e., *D^a* = text of Fabricius; *D^b* = Codex Einsidlensis, written before the 10th century; *D^c* = Codex bibliothecae principis Corsini, cf. Tisch., *Evang. Apoc. Proleg.*, p. 71 ff.). There are, however, many details which the Old English translator could have obtained only from the *editio princeps*, so-called by Tischendorf ("editionem principem quae apud Lud. Hain in Repertor. bibliogr. num. 11749 notatam," *Proleg.*, p. 74). So it is quite probable that the translator had a MS. before him upon which the *editio princeps* as well as the *D^{abc}* texts were based.

Of the two versions of the story as published by Tischendorf (*A* and *B* in Greek; *A* and *B* of the Pars II, Latin) the Old English follows the version *A* throughout. Moreover, the *ABC* MSS., which Tischendorf follows generally in the first part of the Latin text, do not differ substantially from the *D^{abc}* MSS.; though the language and style of the two series show by no means infrequent minor differences. Thus many details of the Old English translation can be explained only by reference to the *D^{abc}* variant readings in the foot-notes to Tischendorf's text.

As compared with the Latin, the Old English has numerous omissions, some important and extensive, others of comparative insignificance. The Old English also makes numerous

additions of individual words, clauses, and even sentences to the original; and now and then lengthy paragraphs of the Latin are compressed into one or two rather short sentences in the Old English (see *Notes* for a word for word comparison of two versions).

3. *The Manuscripts and Editions of the Old English Version.*

As was stated above, there are two MSS. known of the Old English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*: (1) The Cambridge University Library MS. (Ii. II. 11). (2) Ms. Cotton. Vitellius A. 15 in the British Museum. For convenience sake these MSS. may be designated *A* and *B* respectively. A transcript of the Cambr. MS. (*A*) was made by Franciscus Junius, which he also collated and compared with the Cotton MS. (*B*). This transcript of Junius is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford (Jun., 74, 1).

In addition to the above mentioned MSS. a sort of resumé of the contents of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, i. e., of Part II, is found in the Cotton MS. Vespasian D 14 (fol. 87^b–100^a incl.) in the form of a homily by Aelfric, and having the title *De Resurrectioni Domini*.

The Cambr. MS. is excellently preserved in the same Codex with Aelfric's translation of the four gospels and a shorter piece, *The Embassy of Nathan the Jew to Tiberius Caesar*, better known as the *Legend of St. Veronica*. The *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which begins with p. 344, is written in a bold large hand of the eleventh century, twenty-three lines to a page. It is written with extreme care, and there is a uniformity in the use of word forms, such as I have observed in no other Old English MS. The earliest mention of the MS. is in Thwaites edition of it which appeared in 1698: *Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi; Anglo-Saxonice. Historiae Judith Fragmentum; Dano-Saxonice*. Edidit nunc primum ex MSS. Codicibus Edwardus Thwaites. Oxoniae,

1698." Thwaites evidently did not see either of the original MSS. while preparing his edition, but followed exactly the transcript made by Junius. In the preface of his book he says to the Reader: "Evangelium Nicodemi, ad exemplar D. Junii, ex bibliotheca Benedictina apud Cantabrigiensis depromptum; cui ad oram adscripsit el. Junius alterius cujusdam MS. codicis lectiones variantes. Hoc nimirum pseudo-evangelium, primum Græcè conscriptum, postea Latine redditum, a viro quopiam docto ex Latino Anglo-Saxonicum factum, cum a celeberrimo Junio in praelum paratum foret, tibi haud invidendum duximus." Then on the last page, which contains the variant readings of the Cotton MS., Thwaites adds: "Variantes Lectiones Nicodemi, collectae ex margine Apographi Juniani. Hoc nimirum Evangelium ex codice MS. Bibliothecae publicae Cantabrigiensis descripsit, et cum alio codice Bibliothecae Cottonianae contulit magnum illud Linguae Anglo-Saxonicae oraculum Franciscus Junius F. F."

It is evident, therefore, that Thwaites' edition was nothing more than a reprint of the transcript made by Junius; and naturally the mistakes of Junius are given in the reprint with the additional ones of Thwaites himself. No critical edition of this MS. has thus far appeared. Ölrichs' *Angelsächsische Chrestomathie* (1798) reprints Cap. XXXII of Thwaites' text along with a German translation of the same (cf. Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 497), and Part II appears as selection XIX in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (1894); in this instance the text is critically based upon the Cambridge MS., and selected variants are supplied from the Cotton MS.

One other point of Thwaites' preface is worthy of a passing notice, viz.: "Hoc nimirum pseudo-evangelium, primum Graece conscriptum, postea Latine redditum, a viro quopiam docto ex Latino Anglo-Saxonicum factum." This is, so far as I know, the only (very indefinite) statement made anywhere as to the authorship of the Old English version. And Thwaites seems to have had no idea who the *viro quopiam docto* was.

The next reference to the MSS. of Nicodemus is found in Wanley's *Catalogue*, which appeared as vol. III of Hickes' *Thesaurus*, in the year 1705. Here (p. 152) a brief description of the Cambr. Codex, II. II, 11 is given: "Cod. membr. in fol. min. circa tempus Conquisitionis Angliae scriptus." Wanley also gives (p. 344) the full title of the piece, the Old English prologue, and certain data relative to Thwaites' edition: "Gesta Salvatoris nostre, sive Pseudo-Evangelium Nichodemi. . . . Hunc Tractatum ex hoc. Cod. descripsit Cl. Junius, quem deinde cum exemplari Cottoniano contulit. Tandem vero, sc. A. D. 1699, Apographum Junianum Oxoniae Edidit, cum variantibus Cottoniani Cod. Lectionibus, ad calcem Heptateuchi, amicus noster Edwardus Thwaitesius Coll. Reg. Soc."

Wanley speaks at length of the history of the Cambridge MS. in his description of the Bodleian MS., Jun., 74, 1 (*Catal.*, p. 96): "Pseudo-Evangelium Nicodemi, à cl. Junio è Codice MS. Bibliothecae Publicae Cantabrigiensis descriptum, et postea potissima ex parte, collatum cum Cod. Cott. qui inscribitur Vitel. A. 15. Nicodemum saepuisculè Latine editum ex hoc Apographo Saxonico publici juris fecit, una cum Heptateucho, Edwardus Thwaites Oxoniae 1699. Unum autem, ut levioris momenti, lectorem velim monitum, nempe, ut in memorati viri Praefatione libro suo praemissa, loco horum verborum, Evangelium Nicodemi, ad exemplar D. Junii ex bibliotheca Publica, etc. ne quis putet Reverendos et Doctissimos Viros Magistrum et Socios Collegii Corporis Christi, quod vulgo Benedicti audit, librum quenquam eis ab eximio suo Benefactore donatum, è Bibliotheca per incuriam amicisse; aut me, cum ab eis mihi humanissime fuerit facta bibliothecam lustrandi copia, culpabili negligentia ullum codicem Saxonice manuscriptum silentio praeteriisse."

We are told on a fly leaf in the beginning of the Cambr. codex that it was presented to the Cathedral church at Exeter by bishop Leofric, and in the *Cambridge University Library Catalogue of MSS.*, vol. III, p. 384, we are informed that the

codex was presented by archbishop Parker to the University of Cambridge in 1574.

The other MS. of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is preserved in a fragmentary condition (i. e., about two pages have been lost from the beginning of the text) in the well known Codex, Vitellius A, xv, in the Cotton collection of the British Museum. The text of our piece is included in the folios 57^a–83^b (according to more recent pagination, fol. 60^a–86^b). The first three pages of the MS. were considerably injured by the disastrous fire which played such havoc with the Cotton library early in the eighteenth century. It is, therefore, impossible to determine the correct reading in several places on the margins of these three pages. Otherwise the MS. is written in a fine, large, clear hand of the eleventh century, eighteen lines to a page. Both language and hand bear a striking similarity to those of Alfred's version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, which is preserved in the same codex. The hand is quite as old in appearance as that of the Cambridge MS., but the word forms have a very different and much later character. There is nothing like the uniformity in using the same forms of words from beginning to end as in the Cambridge MS. The Cotton MS. also has numerous traces of the leveling tendency of the Old English of the transition period. From these considerations I am inclined to think that *B* is a much later copy of the original than *A*, or even a later copy of *A* itself.

4. *The use of þ and ð in MS. A.*

One of the most interesting features of the uniformity in the use of forms in the Cambridge MS. is the sharp distinction between þ and ð! This is one of the few Old English MSS. which have come down to us, in which þ is used initially, ð medially and finally, throughout. There are only two or three instances of final þ, and four or five of medial þ. And although ð occurs more frequently in the initial position

than þ medially or finally, its more frequent occurrence seems to be due to phonetic causes. In the relative *seðe*, þ appears only once in this ms., and the ð is here doubtless considered a medial. Likewise the capital Ð occurs rather frequently in an introductory Ða, but ð never occurs in this word unless it be preceded by a monosyllable beginning with þ. Moreover, þ appears much more frequently in introductory þa than Ð. Peculiar conditions exist where monosyllables beginning with þ precede words which should (according to the usage of this ms.) begin with þ. þ-monosyllables ending in a vowel are for the most part followed by ð-words. The ms. sign for þæt, viz., þ̅ is always followed by ð-words, whether monosyllabic or not (the only exceptions that I have noted are þ̅ þæs and the combination þurh þ̅ þe ðu þyne). If the preceding þ-word ends in a consonant, we find sometimes þ, sometimes ð in the following word, if the consonant is a liquid or nasal; but always þ, if the final consonant is of a guttural character.

The following tabulated list of words will better illustrate the foregoing statements:

1. þ medially: *eorþan* (once), *Swyþe* (once), *oferswyþed* (once), *wyþersacan* (once). Moreover, þ is always used after the prefixes *be-*, *ge-*, *under-*: *bepohton* (once), *geþanc* (twice), *geþeaht* (twice), *underþeod* (once).
2. þ finally: *soþ* (once), *wyllaþ* (once).
3. þa is followed 36 times by ð-words: ða (18), ðe (7), ðus (5), ðam (2), ðing (2), ðæne (1), ðys (1); and 9 times by þ-words: þone (3), þyng (2), þry (2), þæs (1), þus (1).
4. þe is followed 22 times by ð-words: ðær (7), ðu (6), ðæs (4), ðone (2), ða (1), ðyn (1), ðohton (1); and 3 times by þ-words: þær (1), þone (1), þyder (1).
5. þu is followed 10 times by ðe, 3 times by þe, and once by þyne.
6. þam (mostly *for-þam-ðe*) is followed 13 times by ðe, 7 times by þe, and twice by þa.

7. *þær*, *þar* is followed 3 times by *þær*, twice by *þa*, and once each by *ða* and *ðær*.
8. *þæt* (þ) is followed 36 times by ð-words: *ðu* (25), *ða* (3), *ðær* (2), *ðæt* (2), *ðe* (1), *ðyn* (1), *ðurh* (1), *ðencan* (1); and once by þ-words (the above mentioned case excepted): *þæs* (1).
9. *þurh* is followed 7 times by þ-words: *þyn(ne)* (3), *þa* (1), *þære* (1), *þas* (1), *þæt* (1).
10. *þeah* followed once by *þa*.

Besides these instances, introductory *þa* occurs upwards of 30 times, *Ða* about 12 times. *ða* stands alone (i. e., not preceded by þ-monosyllable) in the sentence 4 times, *ðe* 5 times (this is pron. *ðe*), *ðu* 5 times (four of which are found in the combination *la ðu*), *ðam* twice, *ðone* and *Ðys* once each.

Dissyllables beginning with þ have no influence upon the following word beginning with same sound. The following examples occur: *þone þe* (4), *þonne þu* (1), *þære þe* (1), *þære þeostra* (1), *þynnum þeowum* (1). *þing þe* (2) and *þas þyng þe* (1) really fall under No. 9 above.

From the foregoing data it will be seen that ð occurs initially only in pronominal words (*ðing*, *ðencan*, *ðohton* excepted), and that all these ð-words immediately follow a þ-monosyllable,—except *ða* (4), *ðe* (5), *ðu* (5), *ðam* (2), *ðone* (1), *Ðys* (1), making eighteen altogether. Moreover, vocalic þ-words are followed 68 times by ð-words, and 14 times by þ-words, of which latter 6 are dissyllables and two nouns ending in long consonants. Of the þ-words ending in a consonant, þ is followed by 36 ð-words, and once by a þ-word; other monosyllables ending in a consonant are followed 15 times by ð-words, and 24 times by þ-words. These data almost force the conclusion that the writer of the Cambridge MS. recognized some difference in the sound quality of þ and ð. This same distinction in the use of þ and ð is observed

throughout the Cambridge MS. of the *Embassy of Nathan to Tiberius Caesar*, which piece is found in the same codex with, and immediately following, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Both pieces, as they exist in this MS., were undoubtedly copied by the same scribe.

In the following texts the aim has been to give a diplomatic reprint of the original MSS., in parallel pages, with as little comment as possible, so that anyone who is interested in this important monument of Old English prose may have easy access to both MS. versions.

A word for word comparison of the Latin original from the MSS. *D^{abc}*, *edpr.* (as given in the foot-notes to Tischendorf's text) and the Old English version of MS. A. will be found in the notes following the text.

EVANGELIUM NICODEMI.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- [*P. 1.] On þære halgan þrynnysse naman her ongyn|nað þa gedonan
 þyng þe be urum hælende ge|done wæron. eall swa þeodo-
 sius se mæra casere | hyt funde on hierusalem on þæs pontiscan
 Pilates | domerne. eall swa hyt nychodemus awrat. eall | myd
 5 ebreiscum stafum on manegum bocum þus | awryten.
 Hyt gelamp to soðon on þam nygonteoðan geara | þe tyberius
 se mycla casere hæfde anweald ofer | eall romana rice. ⁊ hym
 wæs undercyning he|rodes þæs galileiscan cyninges sunu. þe
 wæs eac | herodes haten. þa on þam nygonteoðan geara heora |
 10 ealdordomes. on. VIII. kl. aprl. þ̅ ys. se fif ⁊ twen|tugoðan
 dæg þæs monðes martii. þa wæs þ̅ seo un|gesælignys becôm
 on þ̅ iudeisce folc. þ̅ hig þone | hælend gefengon. ⁊ on rode
 ahengon. swa swa | hyne iudas hys agen cnyht belæwde. þa
 yldestan | iudeas. þe ðær æt wæron. wæron þus genemned. |
 15 Annas. ⁊ caiphas. summe. ⁊ daðan. Gamaliel. | ⁊ iudas.
 levi. ⁊ neptalim. alexander. ⁊ syrus. ⁊ swyðe | manege
 oðre eodon to pilate. ⁊ þone hælend wreg|don. ⁊ sædon for
 manegum yfelum dædum. ⁊ he ne | wearð næfre nane wyr-
 [*P. 2.] cende. ⁊ hig þeh þus cwæ|don.* Þysne geongan man we
 20 cuunon. ⁊ we þ̅ wyton | þ̅ he wæs þæs wyrhtan sunu iosepes.
 ⁊ marian. nu | segð he þ̅ he godes sunu sig. ⁊ eac he segð
 þ̅ he sylf cy|ning sig. ⁊ eac ælcne restedæg geweð. ⁊ ure
 fæder|lican. æ. towyrpð. Pilatus hym ⁊swarode ⁊ cwæð.
 hwæt | ys þ̅ he deð þ̅ he mæge ure. æ. towerpan. þa iudeas |
 25 hym ⁊swaredon ⁊ cwædon. hyt ys on ure. æ. forbo|den þ̅
 man ne mot nan þing gehælan on reste dagum. | þeh hyt lama
 beo. nu hælð he þes man ægðer ge healte. | ge blynde. ge
 deafe. ge dumbe. ge gebygede laman. | ⁊ deofolseoce. Swylce
 yfele dæda he deð. ⁊ on þam | ealdre beelzebube. he þa
 30 deofelseocnyssa ut adryfeð. Pilatus heom ⁊swarode ⁊ cwæð.
 ne byð na þ̅ on | unclænum gaste þ̅ he deofelseocnyssa ut
 adry|fe. ac byð on godes mægne. Ða iudeas hym þa to |
 cwædon. La we byddað þe for þynre mærðe. þ̅ þu | hate

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- hyne cuman hyder to foran þynum domsetle. | 7 hlyst hys
worda. Pilatus þa swa dyde. het geclypian | hys ænne rynel.
7 hym to cwæð. myd gewyssum gescêa|de yrn 7 clypa hyder
to me þone þe ys ihs genem|ned. se rynel þa swa dyde. 7
5 myd mycelum ofste wæs | forð yrnende. 7 þone hælend geme-
tende. 7 hyne | geeaðmedende. 7 he þa sona on eorðan
[*P. 3.] astrehte | * þ he on handa bær. þ wæs hrægeles sum dæl. 7
hym | sylf þar wyð feoll on eorðan astreht. 7 cwæð. La |
hlaford. se dema þe het clypian þ þu sceoldest | in to hym
10 gân. Ac se hælend hym þa gyt ne and|swarode. 7 eac þa
iudeas gesawon hu se rynel hæfde | geeadmet to þam hælende.
7 clypodon to pilate. | 7 cwædon. hete þu þynne bydel. 7
þynne rynel. | hym swa ongean cuman. 7 hym sceolde ge-
eað|medan. 7 hig sona þa eall atealdon þ hig be þam | rynele
15 gesawon. Pilatus hym het þa ðæne rynel | to geclypian. 7 hyne
sona acsode for hwig he | swa dyde. Se rynel hym 7swarode 7
cwæð. þa ða þu | asendest me to hierusalem to alexandre cyn-
inge. | þa geseah ic hwær se hælend sæt on uppan anum | assan.
7 þa hebreiscan cnýhtas hæfdon palmtwygu | on heora handum.
20 7 sume heora ref. 7 strehton | þa ref. 7 streowodon þa palm-
twygu on þære eorþan. to foran þam hælende. 7 cwædon
ealle anre | stefne. Osanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine |
domini. þa iudeas þa cwædon to þam rynele. þa cnýhtas |
wæron hebreisce. þa spræcon hig eac on ebreisc. | 7 hwanone
25 sceoldest þu specan on hebreisc. 7 eart | þe sylf grecisc. se
[*P. 4.] rynel heom 7swarode 7 cwæð. Ic acsode | sumne hebreiscne
hwæt hig sædon. 7 he hyt me sona | eall gebycnode. Ða
cwæð pilatus. hu clypedon hig. | 7 hu byð hyt getrahtnod
on hebreisc. Se rynel hym | 7swarode 7 cwæð. hig cwædon.
30 La dryhten beo þu hal. | 7 sig gebletsod se ðe on dryhtnes
naman com. 7 ge|hæl us þu ðe on hehnysse eart. Ða cwæð
pilatus to þam | iudeum. nu ge magon eac beon gewytnysse
hwæt | þa cnýhtas cwædon. hwæt hæfð þes rynel gesingod. |
Hig suwedon 7 ne cuðon nane 7sware syllan. Ða cwæð | se
35 dema eft to þam rynele. Far 7 swa hwar swa þu | hyne

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- [*Fol. 57^a.] hyne * cumeð hyder to foran pinum domsetle. | 7 hlyst hys worda pilatus þa swa dyde het | geclypian hys ænne rinel 7 hym to cwæt | myd gewyssum gesceade yrn 7 clypa hy|der to me þone ðeuwa iessus genemned. ðe | rynel ða swa dyde
- 5 [7] myd micelum ofste wæs | ford yrnende 7 þone helend gemetende | 7 hyne geeaðmedende 7 he þa sona on eor|þa astrehte þ he on handa bær þ wæs hrægles sum dæl 7 him sylf þær wyð feoll on | eorðan astreht 7 cwæð.¹ La hlaford se dema | þe het clypian þ ðu sceoldest in to hym
- 10 gan|. Ac se helend hym þa git ne 7swarode 7 æac | þa iudeas gesawon hu þe rinel hyne hæfot | geeadmed to þam helende. 7 clypedon to | pylate 7 cwedon. Hete þu ðinne bydel | 7 þynne rinel hym swa óngean cuman | 7 hyn sceolde
- [*Fol. 57^b.] geeadmedan. 7 hyg sona þa * | [eall atealdon]² þ hyg
- 15 beo ðam rinele | gesawon. Pilatus hym het þa þæne | . . . þa rinel to geclypian. 7 hine sona [acsode] | for hwig he swa dide. Se rinel hym 7swarode | 7 cwæð. Ða ðu asendest me to hierusalem 7 | to alexandre cyninge ða geseah ic hwer se | helend sæt on uppan anum assan 7 þa
- 20 he|breisca cniht[as] hæfedon palmtwige on | heora handa. 7 sume heora reaf streh|ton ða reaf 7 strewedon þa palm-twigu | on ðare eorðan to foran ðam helende | 7 cwædon ealle anre stefene. Ossannia bene|dictus qui uenit in nomine domini. Ða iu|deas ða cwedon to ðam rinele. Ða cnihtas |
- 25 weron hebreisce ða specon hyg eac ón | ebreisc 7 hwanone seoldest. ðu specan | on hebreisc 7 eart þe³ ðu sylf grecisc. Se⁴ | rinel heom 7swarode 7 cwæð Ic ahsode sumne * | hebreiscene hwæt hyg sedon. 7 he hyt me þ[a] | sona eall gebycnode. Ða cwæt pilatus. | Hu clypedon hyg 7 hu byt hyt getraht|nod on ebreisc. Se rinel hym 7swarede | 7. cwæð. hyg cwedon Drihten beo ðu hâlig | si gebletsod se ðe com on
- [*Fol. 58^a.]

¹ The *cw'* of MS. should probably be resolved into *cwæt*.

² The words in brackets are supplied from Cambr. MS. The MS. is so much damaged that it is often impossible to determine syllables and words.

³ þe above line in MS.

⁴ After *se* a syllable erased in the MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- gemete. gelæde hyne in to me. se rýnel þa | sona swa dyde.
 wæs ut farende. 7 þone hælend ge|metende. 7 dyde þær ða
 eal swa he ærur dyde. wearð | þam hælende geeaðmedende.
 7 hym to cweðende. | Lā leof hlaford. se dema þe het þ̅ ðu
 5 sceoldest beon | ingeclypod. se rýnel hyne wæs swyðe byd-
 dende | þ̅ he sceolde in ofer his hrægel gān. 7 se leofa hæ|lend
 hyne wearð geeaðmedende. Ac onmang þam | þe he wæs
 ingangende. hyne wæron fæla manna | geeaðmedende. 7
 heora heafdo to hym onhyldende. | Ac pilatus þa he þ̅
 10 geseah. wearð swyðe afyriht. | 7 up arysende. 7 utgang-
 ende. ac his wyf hym to | sende. þære nama wæs procula. *
 [*P. 5.] 7 wæs hym þus to | cweðende. ne sig þe 7 þysum ryhtwysan
 men nan þyng | gemæne. for þam ic gehyrde on þyssere
 nyhte fæla | þynga be hym. þa ða iudeiscan þ̅ gehyrdon. þa
 15 cwædon | hig to pilate. nu þu myht þe sylf gehyran. þ̅ he
 ys | ælces yfeles ordfruma. nu he hæfð on slæpe þyn wyf |
 gedreht þ̅ heo dwelað. Pilatus het þa þone hælend | hym to
 clypian. 7 hym to cwæð. ne gehyrst þu hu fæla | þynga þys
 folc ongean þe segð. Se hælend hym 7swa|rode 7 cwæð.
 20 gif hig myhte næfdon. ne spræcon hig nā. | ac manna ge-
 hwile mæg specan myd his muðe. | swa yfel swa god. Ða
 yldestan iudeas þa 7swaredon | 7 cwædon. to þam hælende.
 þ̅ we sylfe gesawon. 7 we þ̅ | wytón. þ̅ ðu ærest of forlygere
 wære acenned. | 7 oðer ys þ̅ ðyn cynn ys on bethlêem swyþe
 25 untreow|fæst. 7 þrydde þ̅ ioseph þyn fæder 7 maria þyn |
 moder flugon of egiptan lande for þan þe hig | næfdon nanne
 truwan to nanum folce. þa cwædon | sume þe ðær neh stodon
 þe wæron bylewyte 7 gode. | of þam iudeiscum. Ne secge we
 nā þ̅ he wære of forligere | acenned. ac we wyton þ̅ maria
 30 wæs iosepe beweddod. | 7 næs na of forligere acenned. Ða
 cwæð pilatus to | þam folce. þa ðe sædon þ̅ he of forligere
 wære acen|ned. þeos spræc nys na soþ. þ̅ ge sprecað for þon
 [*P. 6.] seo | * weddunga wæs beweddod eal swa eowre agene þeoda |
 secgað. þa 7swaredon pilate þa twegen wælhreowan | wyþer-
 35 sacan annas 7 caiphās. 7 cwædon lā leof dema. | eall þeos

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- drihtnes naman | 7 gehæl ðs ðu þe ðn heannisse eart. Ða
 cwæð | pilatus to þam iudeðn. Nu ge magon eac | beon to
 gewytnisse hwæt þa cnihtas cwedon | hwæt hafð þes rinel
 gesingod. hyg suwedon | 7 cuðe nane 7sware sillan. Ða
 5 cwæð se dema¹ | æft to þam rinele. Far 7 swa hwær swâ
 ðu | hyne gemete læt hyne into me. Se rinel | Ða sona swâ
 dyde wæs ut farende 7 þone | helend gemetende 7 dyde þa ðær
 eall swa | he æror dyde wearð Ðam helende geaðmeden | de
 7 hym to cweðonde. Leof hlaford se dema | þe het Ða þu
 sceoldest beon ingeclypod. Se* | rinel hyne wæs swiðe bydende
 þæt he sceolde | inn offer [his] hregel gân 7 se helend hyne |
 wearð geeaðmedende. Ac amang þam ðe wæs | inn gangende
 hyne wæron fala manna | geaðmedende 7 heora hlaford hym
 to an|hildende. Ac pilatus þa he þ̅ geseah wearð | swiðe
 15 afirht. 7 ðp arisende 7 ut gangende. | Ac hys wyf hym to
 sende ðære wæs nama | proculu 7 wæs hym to cweðende. Ne
 sy ðe 7 | ðisum godðn men nan þing gemêne for Ðam | ic
 gehyrde ðn ðissere nihte fala þinga be hym |. Ða Ða iudeis-
 scan. þ̅ gehyrdon. Ða cwædon hyg | to pilate. Nu ðu miht
 20 þe sylf gehyran Ðæt | he ys ælces yfeles ordfruma nu he hæfet
 ðn | swlepe þin wyf gedreht þ̅ heo dwelað. Pilatus | hæf þa
 ðone helend hym to clypian. 7 hym | to cwæð. Ne gehyrstu
 hu fala þinga ðis folc | ongearn þe segð. Se drihten hym cwæt.
 [*Fol. 59a.] Gyf hy myhte næfedan.* ne specon hy na. Ac man | na gehwilec
 25 mæg specan myd hys muðe swâ | swa god. Ða yldestan iudeas
 þa 7swarode 7 cweðdon to Ðam helende. Ðæt we sylfe ge-
 sawon. | 7 we þ̅ wyton ærost of forligere were acenned. |
 7 oðer ys þæt þin cinn ys ðn bethleem swiðe | ûntriwfest. 7
 þridde þ̅ ioseph ðin feder. 7 ma|rie ðin moder flugon of
 30 egyptan lande for | þam þe hyg nafodon nanne triðam to
 nanum | folce. Ða cwædon sume þe ðer neh stodon þe |
 wæron bylewitte 7 gôðe of þam² iudeiscum. Ne secge | we nâ
 þ̅ he weron of forlygere acenned ac we wy|ton þ̅ maria wæs

¹ dem^a MS.

² þam above line in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- mænio clypiað 7 secgað þ he wære of for|ligre acenned. 7 ys
 ælc yfel wyrcente. he ys sylfa |leas 7 hys cnyhtas samod.
 Pilatus hym þa to ge|cigde annan 7 caiphan. 7 hym to cwæð.
 hwæt syndon | þas men þe hym myd specað. hig cwædon.
 5 hyt syn|don hæðenra manna bearn. 7 syndon iudeisce |ge-
 wordene. 7 sēcgað leas myd hym. þ he ne sig | of forligere
 acenned. þa 7swaredon þa iudeas | þe ðær ænig god cuðon.
 þ wæron lazar. 7 asterius. | antonius. 7 iacobus. zeras. 7
 samuel. isâac. 7 finêes. | crispus. 7 agryppa. annes 7 iudas.
 10 7 cwædon ne | syndon we na hæðene geborene. ac we syndon |
 iudeiscra manna bearn. 7 we specað soðfæst | nysse hlyste se
 ðe wylle. Pilatus hym þa to ge|cigde þa twelf cnyhtas þe
 myd þam hælende spæ|con 7 heom to cwæð. ic halsige eow
 for þæs kase|res helda þ ge me secgon hwæðer he of for|ligere
 15 sig acenned. hig cwædon þa to pilate. | hyt nys na on ure.
 â. alyfed to swerigenne. 7 swa | þeh. swa we þæs caseres
 [*P. 7.] helda habban moton * | 7 swa we deaðes scyldige ne wurðon.
 þ nys he na of | forligere acenned. þa cwædon to pilate annas
 7 | caiphas. La full swyðe gelyfað þas men þ he | nære of
 20 forlygere acenned. 7 þ he yfel wyrce|de ne sig. Huru we
 sylfe wyton þ he segð þ he sylf sig | godes sunu 7 cynyng.
 ac we þæs ne gelyfað. Pilatus | þa het eall þ folc utgan
 buton ðam twelf cnyhton. | þe sædon þ he nære of forlygere
 acenned. 7 het | lædan þone hælend on sundrum. 7 ongan
 25 þa cnyh|tas to axienne for hwig þ folc þone hælend | swa yfele
 hæfde. hig 7swaredon pilate 7 cwædon. | buton hig habbað
 andan to hym. for þam þe he | hælð earm folc on reste dagum.
 Pilatus hym | to cwæð. hwæt wyllað hig hyne for godum
 weorce | ofslean. hig 7swaredon 7 cwædon gea leof. Pilat' |
 30 hym þa wearð yrrer geworden. 7 uteode 7 cwæð to | þam
 folce. ic hæbbe nu me sylfne to gewytan. | þ ic ne myhte
 nanne gylt on þysum men fyndan. | þa 7swaredon þa iudeas
 7 cwædon to pilate. gif | he nære yfel wyrcente. ne sealdon
 we hyne | næfre þe. Pilatus heom to cwæð. nymað hyne |
 35 eac 7 demað hym æfter eowre â. Ða cwædon hig | to pilate.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

iosepe beweddet 7 næs nā of | forlygere acennæd. Ða cwæt
pilatus to ðam | folce. Ða ðe sædon þ he of forlygere wære |
acenned þeos spræc nys na soð ðe ge sprecað | for ðam seo
weddung wæs beweddud eall swā eowre | agene ðeoda secgað.

[*Fol. 59^b.]

5

Ða 7swarode pilate þa * | twegen^o wælhreowan wyðersacan.
annas. 7 chaiphas. 7 cwædon. lā leof dema eall ðeos
mænige clypað 7 sægð þ he were of forlygere acen|ned. 7
ys ælc yfel wyrcende. he ys sylfa leas | 7 cnihtas samod.
Pilatus hym þa gecygdæ an|nan. 7 caiphan. 7 hym to cwæt.

10 Hwæt sindon | ðas men ðe hym myd specað. Hy cwædon.
Hit | sindon hæðenra manna bearn. 7 syndon iudei|sce ge-
wurdene. 7 secgað leas myd hym. þ he ne | sy of forlygere
acenned. Ða 7swarode þa iude|as þe ðær enig god cnihten þ
wæron ladzar. 7 aste|rius. antonius. 7 iacobz. zeras. 7

15 samuel. isa|ac. 7 finêes. crispus. 7 agrippa. amnes. 7 iu|das.
7 cwædon ne sindon we na heðene geboron|ne ne lease ge-
wurdene. Ac we sindon iudeisce|ra manna bærn. 7 we specað
soðfastnese hliste | se ðe wylle. Pilatus hym ða wæt to ge-

[*Fol. 60^a.]

20 cygdæ | þa twelf cnihtas ðe myd ðam helende specon. * | 7
hym to cwæt. Ic halsige eow far ðæs cāseres | hælde. þ ge
me secgon hwæðer he of forlygere | sy acenned. Hyg cwædon
ða to pilate. Hit nys | nā on ure. æ. alyfeð to. swærianne
7 swā ðeh swā | we ðæs kāseres hældan habban moton 7 swā
we | ðæs deapes scyldige ne wurðun þ nys he na of | forlygere

25 acenned. Ða cwædon to pilate. anas.¹ | 7 caiphas. La full
swiðe gelyfað þæs men þ he | nāre of forlygere acenned 7 he
þ yfelwyrce|nde ne sy. Hu nu we silfe wyton þ he sægð þ
he | sylf sy godes sunu 7 cynning ac we ðæs ne ge|lyfað.

Pilatus ða het. æall ðæt folc ut gān | buton ðam twælf cnihton
30 þe sædon þ he nāre | of forlygere acenned. 7 het lædan ðone
hē|lend ðn sundrum 7 ðngann ða cnihtas | to axianne for wyg
ðæt folc ðone helend | swa yfele hafodon. Hig 7swāredon

[*Fol. 60^b.]

pila|te 7 cwædon. Buton hyg habbað andan * | to hym for ðam
he hælð earm folc on reste dagum. | Pilatus hym to cwæð.

¹ ana^o MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- [*P. 8.] us nys na alyfed nanne man to * | ofsleanne. Pilatus hym eft
in eode on his do|merne. 7 geclypode þone hælend sylfne
hym to | 7 cwæð. eart þu iudea cyning. Se hælend hym
7swa|rode 7 cwæð. segst þu þ of þe sylfum. hwæðer þe
5 hyt | þe oðre men be me sædon. Pilatus þa 7swarode | þam
hælende 7 cwæð. nast þu þ ealle iudeisce. 7 þyne | agene
þeoda 7 þa yldestan sacerdas þe habbað | me geseald. ac sege
me hwæt hæfst þu gedon. | Se hælend hym 7swarode 7
cwæð. myn ryce nys | na on þysum myddan earde. gif hyt
10 on þysum | myddan earde myn rice wære. þonne wyð | stodon
myne þenas þ ic nære þysum iudeum | geseald. Pilatus
hym to cwæð. eart þu eornostlice | cyning. Se hælend hym
7swarode 7 cwæð. þ ðu segst | þ ic cyning sig. he cwæð eft
se hælend to pilate. | ac ic eom to þam cumen on þysne myd-
15 dan | eard. þ ælc þæra. þa ðe soðfæstnysse lufiað. | myne
stefne gehyrað. Pilatus hym to cwæð. | hwæt ys soðfæst-
nys. Se hælend hym 7swarode | 7 cwæð. soðfæstnys ys of
heofenum. þa cwæð pilatus. | nys nan soðfæstnys on eorðan.
se hælend hym | 7swarode 7 cwæð. begym 7 oncnaw hu
20 ryhte domas | þa demon þe on eorðan syndon. 7 anweald
[*P. 9.] habbað.* | Pilatus het þa þone hælend utgan wyðutan | hys
domern. 7 cwæð to ðam iudeum. ne myhte ic nanne | gylt
on þysum menn fyndan. þa cwædon þa | iudeas to pilate.
gyse gyt he segð mare. þ he mæge | þys tempel towurpan.
25 7 eft hyt aræran bynnan | þreora daga fæce. þa cwæð pilatus
hwylc tempel. | Hig sædon þ tempel þ salomon getymbrode
on | syx 7 hundseofentigum wyntrum. þ he mæg he segð |
towurpan. 7 hyt eft getymbrian bynnan þreora | daga fæce.
þa cwæð pilatus. ic gedo þ ge ealle geseoð | þ ic wylle beon
30 un|scyldig fram þyses mannes blode. | þa cwædon þa iudeas.
sig hys blod ofer us. 7 ofer | ure bearn. Pilatus hym wæs
þa to gecigende þa | ealdras 7 þa mæssepreostas 7 þa diaconas.
7 cwæð | to hym dygollice. ne do ge na swâ. for þan ic
nan | yfel on hym næbbe gemet. ne be hælinge. ne | be reste
35 daga gewemminge. þa cwædon þa ealdras. | 7 þa mæsse-

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

Hwæt wyllað hyg hine¹ | for godum weorcum ofslæan. hyg
 7swarodon 7 | cwædon gæa leof. Pilatus hym wearð þa yrre |
 geweorden. 7 ut eode. 7 cwæt to ðam folce ic habbae nu
 me sylfne to gewytam. þ ic ne myhte | nanne geilt ðn ðissum
 5 mem findan. Ða cwædon | þa iudeas to pilate. Gyf he nære
 yfelwyrccende | ne sealdon we hyne nære þe. Pilatus hym to
 cwæt. | Nimað hyne eac. 7 demað hym æfter eowre. | æ.
 Ða cwædon hyg to pilate. Vs nys na alu|feð nanne man
 to slæanne. Pilatus him æfter | in eode ðn hys domerne 7
 10 geclypode ðone | helend silftne. hym. to 7 cwæt. Eart ðu
 iudea | cyng. Se helend hym cwæt. Segsð þu þ of [þe]
 sylfum hweðer þe hyt ðe oðre men be me | sæden. Pilatus
 cwæt to ðam helende. Nast | ðu þ ge ealle iudeisce syndon.
 [*Fol. 61^a.] 7 ðine agene * | ðeoda. 7 þa yldestam sacerdas þe habbað me
 15 ge|seald. Ac sege hwæt hæfst ðu gedon. Ðe helend | cwæt.
 Min rice nys na ðn ðisne middam earde. | Gyf hyt on ðison
 myddan earde min rice | wære ðone wyðstodon mine þenas.
 þ ic nære | ðisum iudeum geseald. Pilatus hym to cwæt. |
 Eart ðu eornostlice kingnig. Ðe helend hym | cwæt. þ ðu
 20 segst þ ic kinnig sy. He cwæt æft se | helend to pilate. Ac
 ic eom to ðam cumen | ðn ðisne myddan eard. þ ælc ðara þa
 ðe soð | fastnise lufiað mine stemne he gehyrð. | Pilatus hym
 to cwæt. Hwæt hys soðfæstnis. | ðe hym to cwæt. Soð-
 fæstnis ys of heofona. | Ða cwæt pilatus. Nis nan soðfæstnis
 25 ðn eorðan. | Ðe helend hym cwæt to. Begym 7 ðncnaw | hu
 rihte domas Ða demam ðe on eorðan syn | don 7 anweald
 habbað. Pilatus hec Ða ðone | helend ut gån wyðutan hys
 [*Fol. 61^b.] domernn 7 cwæt * | to ðam iudeum. Ne myhte ic nanne gylt
 on | þisum men findan. Ða cwædon Ða iudeas | to pilate.
 30 Gyse gyt he sægð mare þ he meg | þis tempel towærpan. 7
 hyt æft areram | binnan ðreora daga fyrste. Ða cwæt |
 pilatus. hwile tempel. hy sædon. Ðæt tem | pel þe saloman
 getrimbrode. ðn syx 7 | hund seofontigon wyntrum þ he
 meg he sægð | towærpan. 7 hyt æft getrinbrian. bynnan |

¹ hⁱne MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- preostas to pilate. gise. swa hwyle | man swa wyðersacað
 þam casere. he byð deaðes scyldig. | Pilatus eft het þa
 iudeas gan ut of þam domerne. | ⁊ wæs hym to clypigende
 þæne hælend ⁊ cwæð. hwæt | mæg ic þe nu dōn. Ða cwæð
 5 se hælend. to pilate. ge|noh hyt ys. nu genoh hyt ys. þa
 [*P. 10.] cwæð se hælend. | * swa moyses ⁊ manega oðre wytegan bode-
 don | be þysse ylcan þrowunge. ⁊ be mynre æryste. | Ða
 iudeas þa hig þ̅ gehyrdon cwædon to Pilate. | hwæt wylt þu
 mare æt hym habban. oððe hys | wyðersacunge gehyran. þa
 10 cwæð pilatus to þam | iudeum. gif seo spræc wyðersacung ys.
 þe he spycð. | nymað hyne ⁊ lædað hyne to eowre gesom-
 nunge. | ⁊ demað hym æfter eowre. æ. þa cwædon þa iudeas |
 to pilate. we wyllað þ̅ he beo onhangen. þa cwæð | pilatus
 to þam iudeum. hwæt hæfð he gedon þ̅ he | sweltan scyle.
 15 hig sædon. buton for þam ðe he | sæde þ̅ he godes sunu wære.
 ⁊ sylfa cyning. þa | stod þar to foran þam deman an iudeisc
 wer. | þæs nama wæs nychodemus. ⁊ cwæð to þam deman. |
 la leof ic bydde þe for þynre myltse. þ̅ ðu læte | me sprecan
 ane feawa worda. þa cwæð pilatus. | geâ sprec. þa cwæð
 20 nichodemus. ic sege eow ealdron. | ⁊ mæssepreostum. ⁊
 diaconum. ⁊ ealre þyssre | iudeiscan mænigeo. þe her on
 geferscype | syndon. Ic axie eow hwæt ge wyllon æt þyson
 men | habban. Swylce word he þær forðlet. swylce | ær nan
 oðer ne dorste. þa wæs hym þær neh | sum wer standende se
 [*P. 11.] wæs iosep genemned. wæs god * | wer. ⁊ ryhtwys. ⁊ næs
 25 næfre hys wylles þær man | þone hælend wregde on nanum
 gemange. he wæs | of þære ceastre þe ys genemned arimathia.
 ⁊ he | geanbidiende wæs godes ryces oð þ̅ ðe cryst wæs |
 ahangen. ⁊ he æt pilate þa. crystes lichaman abæd. | ⁊
 30 hyne of þære roðe genam. ⁊ on clænre scytan | befeold. ⁊
 hyne on hys nywan þruh alede. on | þære þe nan oðer man
 ær on ne læg. þa ða iudeas þ̅ gehyrdon. þ̅ iosep hæfde þæs
 hælendes lichaman | abeden. þa sohton hig hyne. ⁊ þa twelf
 cnyhtas | þe sædon þ̅ he nære of forligere acenned. ⁊ nicho | -
 35 demus. ⁊ mænige oðre þe ær myd þam hælende spæcon. | ⁊

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

ðreora daga fyrste. Ða cwæt pilatus. | Eall ic do þ̅ ge
geseoð þ̅ ic wylle beon unscildy. | fram þyses mannes blode.
ða cwædon ða iudeas. Sy hys blod offer us 7 offer ure
bearn. | Pilatus hym wes þa tegegende ða ealdras 7 ða |
5 preostas 7 deaconas. 7 cwæt to hym dygolic. Ne | do ge na
swā for ðam ic nan yfel ðn hym næbbe gemet þ̅ ic sy deaðes
scyldig. ' ne be hælynge ne be reste daga gewemmynge. Ða

[*Fol. 62^a.] cwædon * | þa ealdras. to pilate. Gy¹—se swa hwylc man swa |
wyðe sacað ðam casere. He byð deaðes scyldig. | Pilatus

10 eft het ða iudeas gān ut of þam² domerne. | 7 clypode hym
to þone helend. 7 cwæt. hwæt meg | io ðe nu dōn. ða cwæt
se helend to pilate. Genoh | hyt hys. hu genoh hyt ys. ða
cwæt se helend. | Swā moises 7 manega oðre wytega bodedon
be | ðysse ylcan þrowunge. 7 be minre æriste. | Ða iudeas

15 þa hyg þ̅ gehyrdon. cwædon to | pilate. Hwæt wylt ðu
mare æt hym habban | oððon hys wyðersacunge gehyram. |
Ða cwæt pilatus to ðam iudeum. Gyf seo spēc wyðer-
sacung | ys ðe he spicð nime ge hyne 7 ledat hyne to | eowre
gesomnunge. 7 demað hym æter eowre | æ. Ða cwædon ða
20 iudeas to pilate. We wyl | lað þ̅ he beo ðnhangen. Ða cwæt
pilatus to ðam | iudeum. Hwæt he gedon þ̅ he sweltam scile.

[*Fol. 62^b.] Hyg | sedon. Buton for ðam he sede þ̅ he godes sunu * | wære
7 sylfa cinnig. ða stod þer to foran þam | deman an iudeisc
wær ðæs naman wæs nichode | mus. 7 cwæt to deman. La

25 leof ic bydde ðe for þin | re miltse. þ̅ læt me spec a ne feawa
weorda. Ða | cwæt pilatus. Gea spec. ða cwæt nichodemus.
Ic secge | eow ealdron. 7 massepreoston. 7 deaconum 7 eall | re
ðissere iudeiscan manðgum. ðe her ðn ge | ferseype sindon. Ic
axige eow hwæt ge wyllen æt | ðissen men habban. Swylce
30 weord he ðar forð | læt swylce ær nan oðer ne dorste ða wæs
hym | neh sum wær standende. þe wæs ioseph genemned |
wæs god wær 7 rihtwys 7 næs næfre hys wyllæs | ðer man
ðone helend wrengde on nanum ge | mange. He wæs of ðere

¹ Syllable erased in MS.

² þa' above line, MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

his godan weorc geswutelodon. Ealle hig þeh | hig sylfe
bedyglodon. þær ðær hig woldon. buton | nichodemus sylfa.
for þam ðe he wæs an ealdor | on þam iudeiscan folce. þa com
he to hym. þær þær | hig heora gesomnunga hæfdon. 7 cwæð
5 to hym. hu | come ge hyder on þas gesomnunga. þ̅ ic hyt
æror | nyste. þa 7swaredon þa iudeas 7 cwædon. ac | hu
wære þu swa dystig. þ̅ ðu dorstest innon ure ge|somnunge
gañ. þu ðe wære geþwærigende 7 myd. | specende þam hæ-
lende. Ac sig he æfre myd þe her | 7 eac on þære toweardan
[*P. 12.] worulde. þa 7swarode | * he 7 cwæð. AMEN. AMEN. Eall
10 swa gelice iosep æfter þam | hyne ætywde. 7 heom to com. 7
þus cwæð. for hwig syndon | ge swa unrote ongear me. Is
hyt for þam ðe ic abæd | þæs hælendes lichaman æt pilate.
Soð hyt ys þ̅ ic | hyne abæd. 7 on clænre scytan befeold. 7
15 hyne | on mynre byrgene alêde. 7 þær to foran þam scræfe. |
mycelne stan to awylte. 7 ic secge to soðon. þ̅ ge wel | nā
ne dydon ongear þone ryhtwysan. þ̅ ge hyne | ahengon. 7
myd spere sticodon. þa ða iudeas þ̅ ge|hyrdon þa gefengon
hig hyne. 7 heton hyne fæste | on cwearterne beclysan. 7
20 cwædon to hym. oncnaw | nu 7 ongyt þ̅ hyt ðe lyt sceal
fremian. þ̅ ðu topohtest. | we wyton þ̅ ðu næfre ne eart
wyrðe þ̅ ðu bebyrged | beo. Ac we sceolon syllan þyne
flæscu heofenes | fugelum. 7 eorðan wyld deorum. þa iudeas
þa hyne | on þam cwearterne¹ gebrohton. 7 þa duru fæste
25 be|lucon. 7 annas. 7 caiphas. þ̅ loc geinseglodon. 7 þær |
to hyrdas setton. 7 geþeaht worhton myd þam | mæssepreos-
tum. 7 myd þam diaconum. hwylcum deaðe | hig ioseph
ofslean woldon. Ac hyt wæs þa on dæg | reste dæg. 7 hig
geanbydian woldon. oð ofer þæne | dæg 7 hig syððan gesom-
30 nigan. 7 þa hwyle ymbe | þ̅ ðencan. hu hig hyne teonlycost
[*P. 13.] ateon myhton. | * Ac hyt gewearð þa. þ̅ ða ealdras. 7 þa
mæssepreostas | ofer þone reste dæg hig gesomnodon. 7 annas. |
7 caiphas. wæron forðgangende. to þære clusan. | þær þær
hig ioseph beclysed hæfdon. 7 hig uninseglodon | þ̅ loc 7 þa

¹ cweartern², MS.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

eastre ðe ys genemned | arimathia ⁊ he wæs geȝbidigende
godes rices | oð þ̅ ðe crist wæs ðnhangen ⁊ æt pilate ða cri|stes
lychamam abeden. ða sohte hy hyne. | ⁊ ða twælf cnihtas

[*Fol. 63^a.] ðe sedon þ̅ he nære of forlyre * | acenned. ⁊ nichodemus ⁊

5 manege oðre ðe ær | myd ðam helende specon ⁊ hys goda
weorc swu|telodon. Ealle hy þeh hyg sylfe bedigolodon¹ |
þær ðær hyg wolde. buton nychodemus sylfa for | ðam ðe he
an ealder wæs ðn ðam iudeiscan folce | ða com he to hym þær
ðær hyg heora somnun|ga hæfodon. ⁊ cwæt to hym. Hu

10 come ge hyder | ðn þæs gesamnunge. þ̅ ic hyt æror nyste.
Ða ⁊swarodon þa iudeas ⁊ cwædon. Ac hu wære ðu | swā
dyrstig þ̅ ðu dorstest in ðn ure somnunge | gân þu ðe wære
myd specende ðam helende. | Ac sy he æfre myd þe her. ⁊
eac ðn þære towær|dan weorulde. Ða ⁊swarode he ⁊ cwæt

15 AMEN. |²—all swa gelīce ioseph æter ðam hy æowde | ⁊ hym
to com ⁊ ðus cwæt. For hwyg sindon | ge swa unrote ðngean
me. Is hyt for ðam þe ic | ābād þæs helendes lychaman æt
pilāte. Soð | hyt ys. þ̅ ic hyne ābæð ⁊ ðn clenere scytan

[*Fol. 63^b.] be*|feold ⁊ ðn minre byrgene alede. ⁊ ðer to | foran ðam

20 srafe milcel stan to awylte | ⁊ ic secge to ðan soðam þ̅ ge
wæl na ne dydon | ongean ðone rihtwisan ðæt ge hyne on
rode | ahengon ⁊ myd spere sticodon. Ða ða iudeas | þ̅ gehyr-
don ða gefengon hy hine ⁊ hēton hyne fæste on cwerterne
beclysan. ⁊ cwædon to | hym oncnaw nu ⁊ ongyt þ̅ hyt þe līt

25 sceal fre|mian. þ̅ ðæt ðu to ðohtest we wyton þ̅ ðu næfre |
næ eart wyrðe þ̅ ðu beriged beo. Ac we scylon | syllon þine
flæscu heofenas fugelum ⁊ eorðan | wylle deorum. Ða iudeas
þa hy hyne on cwearterne | gebrohton. ⁊ þa duru fæste belu-
con ⁊ annas ⁊ | caiphas þ̅ loc hy in seglodon ⁊ þærto hyrdas
30 setton | ⁊ geþeaht weorton. myd ðam mæssepreosten ⁊ | myd
ðan deaconum. hwylcon deaðe h̅g ioseph of|slean wolden.
Ac hyt wæs þa on dæg restedæg. ⁊ | hy geȝbydian wolde oð

[*Fol. 64^a.] ofer ðone dæg ⁊ hy syððan * | gesomnian ⁊ þa hwile ymbe þ̅
ðencan hu h̅ne teonlicost ateon mydhton. Ac hyt gewearð |

¹ Letter erased in middle of this word in MS.

² Word erased in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

- cægan. 7 þa duru geopenigende. Ac þær næs | na ioseph
inne funden. Ða ƿ folc ƿ gehyrdon. þa | wundredon hig 7
wæron afyrhte. ac amang þam | þe hig ymbe ƿ spræcon. 7
ymbe ƿ wundredon. þa | stod þær sum of þam cempon. þe
5 ƿæs hælendes byrgene | healdan sceoldon. 7 cwæð sona. ƿ ic
wat þa we þæs hælendes byrgene heoldon. þa wearð mycel
eorðstyrung. | 7 we godes engel gesawon. hu he þone stan
fram | þære byrgyne awylte. 7 on uppan þam stane gesæt. 7
ic wat ƿ his ansyn wæs swylce ligræsc. 7 his reaf | wæron
10 swylce snaw. swa ƿ we wæron afyrhte. ƿ we | þær lagon.
swylce we deade wæron. 7 we gehyrdon | þone engel cweðende
to þam wyfum. þe to ƿæs hælendes | byrgene comon. he
cwæð. ne ondræde ge eow nā. | for þam ic wat ƿ ge þone
hælend secað. þone þe on | hangen wæs. ac he nys na her.
15 he ys aysen. eal swa | he ær foresæde. ac cumað 7 geseoð
þa stowe. þe | he on alêd wæs. 7 farað raðe. 7 secgað hys
leorning | cnyhtum. ƿ heora hlaford ys aysen of deaðe. 7
[*P. 14.] ys | * hig fore stæppende on galilean. þær hig hyne magon |
geseon. eall swa he heom ær fore sæde. þa iudeas þa | hig ƿ
20 gehyrdon. wæron heom to geclypigende ealle | þa cempan.
þe ƿæs hælendes byrgene heoldon. 7 heom | to cwædon.
hwæt wæron þa wyf þe se engel wyð | spæc. 7 for hwylcon
þyngon ne geheolde ge hig. | Ða cempan heom 7swaredon 7
cwædon. we nyston | hwæt þa wyf wæron. ne we hyt witan
25 ne myhton. | for þam ðe we wæron¹ swylce we deaðe wæron.
for | þæs engeles ege 7 for þære gesyhðe þe we þær gesawon.
7 for þam we þa wyf gefon ne myhton. þa cwædon þa iudeas.
swa us dryhten lybbe. ne gelyfe | we eow na. þa 7swaredon
þa cempan 7 cwædon to | þam iudeum. Lā swa fæla wundra
30 swa se hælend worhte. | 7 ge ƿ gesawon. 7 gehyrdon. for
hwig noldon ge gelyfan on þone þe ge gelyfan sceoldon. 7
swa þeh | wel ge cwædon ær. her beforan. þa ge sædon.
swa | us dryhten lybbe. þeh ge hyt nyston. hwæt hyt |
beheold. Soð hyt ys ƿ se sylfa dryhten 7 se soð | fæsta leofað.

¹ wæron, MS.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- þa þ̅ ða ealdras ofor ðone ræstedæg hy gesom|noden. 7 annas.
 7 caiphas. wæron forðgāgende | to þære duran þær ðær hy
 ioseph beclýsed hæfe|don 7 hy wæron þ̅ loc 7 þa cegan unin-
 segelede 7 | þa dura ge[o]peniende. Ac þær nys na ioseph |
 5 inne funden. Ða þ̅ folc þæt gehyrdon. Ða wun|dredon hy 7
 weron afyrhte ac amang þam hy | ymbe þ̅ specon. Ða stod
 þær sum of ðam cem|pon þe ðæs helendes byrgene hældan
 sceol|don 7 cwæt sona. Ðæt ic wat þa we ðæs helendes |
 byrigene heoldon. Ða wærð mycil eorðstirung | 7 we godes
 10 engel gesawon hu he ðone stan fram | ðere byriende awylte 7
 uppan ðam stane ge|sæt 7 yc wat þ̅ hys ansin wæs swilce
 lyg|ræsc 7 hys reaf wæron swilce snāw swā þ̅ we wæron
 [*Fol. 64^b.] ā|fyrhte þæt we þær lagon swylce we deade weron * | 7 we
 gehyrdun ðone engel cwæðende to ðam wyfum | þe to þæs
 15 helendes byrigene comon. He cwæt. Ne | ðndræde ge na for
 ðam ic wat þ̅ ge ðone helend | secað þonne he onhangen wæs.
 ac he nys na | her he ȝs arisen eall swa he ær fore sæde
 acumað | 7 geseoð þa stowe hwer he alæd wæs 7 farað raðe |
 7 secgað hys leorningcnihtas þ̅ heora hlaford | ȝs arisen of
 20 deaðe 7 ȝs hyg forestæppende on | galileon þær hyg magon
 hyne geseon. eallswā | he hym foresæde. Ða iudeas þa hy
 ðæt gehyr|don. wæron hym to geclypigende ealle ða cem|pon
 ðe þæs helendes byrigene heoldon 7 hym | to cwædon. Hwæt
 wæron ða wyf þe ðe engel wyð|spæc 7 hwylcon ðingon ne
 25 geheoldon ge hyg. | Ða cēpan hym ȝswaredon 7 cwædon.
 We ny|ste hwæt ða wyf wæron ne hyt wytan ne | mosten nē
 mihton for ðon ðe we¹ wæron geworde|ne swylce we deade
 [*Fol. 65^a.] wæron for ðæs engelas * | ege 7 for ðere gesyhðe ðe we ðær
 gesāwon | 7 for ðon we ða wyf gefon ne myhton. Ða cwædon
 30 ða iudeas. Swā we ūs drihten lybbe | ne gelyfe we eow na.
 Ða ȝswarodon þa cem|pan 7 cwædon to ðam iudeam. La
 swā fala wun|dra swa se helend worhte 7 ge ðæt gesawon 7
 ge|hyrdon swā ūs drihten lybbe far hwyg noldon | ge gelyfan
 ðn ðone ðe ge gelyfan seoldon 7 swā | þeh wel ge cwædon ær

¹ W^e above line in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- se ðe ge on rode ahengon. 7 we ge|hyrdon þ̅ seegan þ̅ ioseph
 þe ðæs hælendes lyc|haman bebyrigde. þ̅ ge hyne on fæstre
 [*P. 15.] clusan | beclysdon. 7 þ̅ loc myd insegle geinseglodon.* | 7 þa
 ge þær to comon. þa ne fundon ge hyne nâ. Ac | on eornost.
 5 syllon ge us ioseph þe ge on þære clus|an beclysdon. 7 we
 syllað eow þone hælend þe we | on þære byrgene healdan
 sceoldon. þa 7swaredon | þa iudeas 7 cwædon. ioseph we
 magon begytan. for | þam ðe ioseph ys on hys ceastre ary-
 mathia. þa cem|pan heom 7swaredon 7 cwædon. gyf ioseph
 10 ys on þære | ceastre arymathia. þonne secge we þ̅ se hælend
 ys | on galileam. eall swa we gehyrdon þ̅ se engel hyt þam |
 wyfum sæde. þa iudeas þa hig eall þys gehyrdon. | þa
 aforhtodon hig 7 cwædon heom betwynan. gif | þeos spæc to
 wyde spryngð. ealles to fæla wyle | on þone hælend gelyfan.
 15 ac ic wat þ̅ ða iudeas | þa mycel feoh gegaderodon. 7 sealdon
 þam cempon | 7 þus cwædon. We byddað eow leofe geferan.
 þ̅ ge | seegan swa þ̅ hys cnyhtas comon on nyht. 7 eow |
 slæpendum þone lichaman forstælon. 7 gif hyt | þam deman
 pilate cuð byð. we beoð for eow. 7 eow | ^{unlorned} orsorge gedoð.
 20 Ða cempan þa wæron þ̅ feoh on|fonde. 7 swa secgende. swa
 hig fram þam ^{heora} iudeum gelærede | wæron. Ac eall heora spræc
 wearð geyppeð. 7 ge|wydmærsod. 7 þa gelamp nywan þ̅
 [*P. 16.] ðær cōmon | of galilean to hierusalem þry mære weras. se * |
 yldesta wæs mæssepreost. 7 his nama wæs finêês. | 7 his
 25 geferan hatton oðer aggeus. 7 oðer preceptor. hig sædon to
 þam ealdrum. 7 to þam mæssepreostum. | 7 to ealre þære
 gesomnunge. þær hig to þæra iudea | synoðe comon. þ̅ hig
 þone onhangena hælend ge|sawon. 7 wyð hys endlufon leorn-
 ing cnyhtas spæc. | 7 tomyddes heom sæt. on oliuetis munte
 30 7 wæs | heom to cweðende. Beoð farende eond ealne myd|dan
 gearð. 7 bodiað eallum þeodum þ̅ hig beon gefullo|de. on
 naman fæderes 7 suna 7 þæs halgan gastes. | 7 swa hwyle
 swa gelyfð. 7 gefullod byð. se byð æfre | on ecnysse hal
 geworden. 7 þa he þys to his leor|ning cnyhtum gespeccen
 35 hæfde. we gesawon hu | he wæs on heofenas astigende. 7 gif

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

her beforan. Ða ge|sædon 7 swa us drihten lybbe. Ðæh ge
hyt | nyston hwæt hyt beheold. Soð hyt ys þæt | þe sylfa
drihten 7 se soðfæsta lufað þe ge on rôde | ahengen 7 we
gehyrdon þ̅ sæcgan þ̅ ioseph þe | þæs helendes lycāman beby-
5 rigde þæt ge hy|ne ðn festre clusan beclys¹don 7 þ̅ loc myd |
insægle macodon 7 þa ge þær tocōmon. Ðane | ne fundon ge
hyne nā. Ac ðn eornost | syllon | ge us ioseph ðe ge on þære

[*Fol. 65^b.]

clusan beclysdon * | 7 we wyllað eow ðone helend þe we on
ðære byri|igene healdan seoldon. Ða 7swarodon ða iude|as 7
10 cwædon. Ioseph we magan begēttan | for ðam ioseph ys on
hys ceastre arimathia. | Ða cwædon þa cempam. Gyf ioseph
ys on ða|re ceastre aramathia. Ðone sâge we þ̅ se he|lend
ys galilean eall swā we gehyrdon. Ða a|forhtedon hyg 7
cwædon. hym betwæonan. | Gyf ðeos spēc to wyde springð
15 ealles to fala | wyle on ðone helend gelyfan. Ac ic wað | þ̅
ða iudeas þ̅ mycel feoh gegaderodon. 7 se|aldon ðam cempon
7 ðus²—cwædon. We | byddað eow leofe geferam þ̅ ge sæc-
gan swā. | þ̅ hys cnihtas cōmon ðn nyht. 7 eow slep|pendum
ðone lycāman forstelon. 7 gyf | hyt ðam dēman pilate cuð
20 byð. we beoð | for eow. 7 eow orsorge gedoð. Ða cempam |

[*Fol. 66^a.]

ða wæron þ̅ feoh onfunde. 7 swā secgende swā * | hyg fram
ðam iudeum gelærede wæron. Ac eall heora spæc wearð
geypped. 7 gewyd|mcersod 7 hyt þa gelamp niwan þ̅ ðer
cōmon | of galyleam³ to hierusalem ðri mæron wêras. Ðe |
25 yldestan wæs mēssepreost 7 hys nāma wæs fine|ēs. 7 hys
geferan hatton oþer aggeus. 7 oðer | perceptor. Hyg sædon
to ðam ealdrum 7 to eal|re þære gesomnunge. Ðær hyg to
þæra iudea | sýnoðe comon þ̅ hyg ðone ðnhangena helend |
gesæwon. 7 wyð hys endleofan leornigcnihtas | spæc. 7
30 tomyddes hym sæt ðn oliuetis munte | 7 wæs hym to cwæð-
ende. Beoð farende eond | ealne myddaneard. 7 bodiað
eallum ðeodum | þ̅ hyg beon gefullode ðn nāma fæderes 7 |
suna. 7 þæs halegan gastes 7 swā hwylc swā | gelyfð 7 ge-
fulloð byð. Se byð æfre on ecnisse | hāl geweordun. 7 þa

¹ s above line in MS.

² Syllable erased.

³ galyleam MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

we þa word | forsuwiað. þe we be þam hælende gesawon. 7
gehyrdon. | we wyton ꝥ we synne habbað. þa ealdras. 7
þa | mæssepreostas þa upastodon. 7 þurh þa ealdan | æ. swyðe
gehalsodon. 7 þus cwædon. we wyllað | byddan eow. 7 feoh
5 syllan. wyð þam ðe ge þa spæca | ealle bedyglion. þe ge be
þam hælend gespecen | habbað. þa þry weras heom þa 7sware-
don. 7 sædon | ꝥ hig swa woldon. 7 þa iudeas heom þa þry
[*P. 17.] geferan | fundon. ꝥ hig sceoldon of þam ryce gebringan.* | ꝥ
hig nane hwyte on hierusalem wunian ne | moston. 7 ealle þa
10 iudeas comon togædere þâ. | 7 gesomnode wæron. 7 ymbe
þe smeadon. 7 | cwædon. hwæt ꝥ tacen beon myhte. ꝥ on
ysrahela lande geworden wæs. anna 7 caiphas þa | cwædon.
nys hyt næfre soð. ꝥ we gelyfan sceolon | þam cempon þe ðæs
hælendes byrgene healdan | sceoldon. ac ys bet wen ꝥ hys
15 cnýhtas comon | 7 heom feoh geafon. 7 þæs hælendes licha-
man | aweg namon. Nichodemus þa upastod 7 þus | cwæð.
wytað ꝥ ge ryht specon be ysrahela bearnum. | wel ge ge-
hyrdon hwæt þa þry weras sædon þe | of galilean comon þa
hig sædon ꝥ hig þone | hælend gesawon. uppan oliuetis
20 munte. | wyð hys leorning cnýhtas specende. 7 hig ge|sawon
hwar he wæs on heofenas astigende. | Ða iudeas þa smeadon.
hwar se wytega wære | helias 7 þus cwædon. hwar ys ure
fæder elias. | Heliseus hym 7swarode 7 cwæð. he ys up
ahafen. | þa cwædon sume þe ðar amang þam folce stodon. |
25 þe wæron wytegena bearn. ac wen ys ꝥ he sig | on gaste up
ahafen. 7 on uppan ysrahela | muntum geset. ac uton us
[*P. 18.] weras geceosan.* | 7 þa muntas eond faran. weald þeah we
hyne | gemetan magon. ꝥ folc bædon þa heliseum 7 þa | ylean
weras þe ðar swa spæcon ꝥ hig swâ dôn | sceoldon. 7 hig
30 sona eond þa muntas foron | preora daga fæc. ac hig hyne
nahwær fyndan | ne myhton. þa cwæð nichodemus. la leof
ge¹ ysrahe|la bearn. hlystað me. 7 uton gyt asendan on |
ysrahela muntas. weald þeah se gast. 7 we hyne | gemetan
moton. 7 hym geeaðmedan. Nychode|mus geþeahht þa lycode

¹ In MS. *g* above line.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

he þis¹ to hys leorningcniht|ton gespeccen hafodon. we gesawon
 [*Fol. 66^b.] hu he wæs * | on heofenas astigende. ⁊ gyf we þa weorð | for-
 suwiað þe we be ðam helende gesawon | ⁊ we hyrdon. we
 wyton ꝥ we synne habbað. Ða | ealdras þa ôpp astodon ⁊
 5 þurh ða ealdam. æ. | swiðe gehalsodon ⁊ þus cwædon. wæ
 wyllað | bydda eow ⁊ feoh syllan wyð ðam þe ge þa | spec-
 ealle bedyglion ðe ge be ðam helende | gespeccen habbað. Ða
 þri weras hym þa cwædon ꝥ hyg swâ woldon. ⁊ þa iudeas
 hym þa | þri geferan fundon ꝥ hy seoldon of ðam | rice ge-
 10 bringan. ꝥ hyg nane hwile on hierusa|lem wunian ne moston.
 ⁊ ealle iudeas þa hyg | gædere comon ⁊ ymbe þæð smâdon ⁊
 cwædon | hwæt ꝥ tacen beon myhte ꝥ ðn yssraella lânda |
 geworðon wæs. Annas. ⁊ caiphas. þa cwædon. | Nis hyt
 nefre soð. ꝥ we lyfan seolon. þam cem|pon þe ðes helendes
 15 byrgene healdam sceol|don. Ac ys bet wên ꝥ hys cnihtas
 [*Fol. 67^a.] cōmon * | ⁊ heom feoh geafan ⁊ þæs helendes lichaman | awæg
 nâmon. Nichodemus þa up âstod. ⁊ þus | cwæð. Wytað ꝥ
 ge riht specon be ysraela | bearnum. Wel ge gehyrdon. hwæt
 þa þri we|ras sedon. þe of galilean comon. þa hyg | sedon
 20 þæt hyg ðone helend gesawon ðn ûp'pan oliuetas gemunte
 wyð hys leorning|cnihtas specende ⁊ hyg gesawon hwær he |
 wæs ðn heofonas astigende. Ða iudeas þa | smâdon hwær se
 wytega wêron elîas. ⁊ þus | cwædon. Hwær ys ure fæder
 elîas. Hely|seus hym ⁊swârode ⁊ cwæð. he ys up onhafen |
 25 ða cwædon sume þe ðer amang þam folce | stodon. ꝥ weron
 wytegena bearn. Ac wen ys | ꝥ he² sy ðn gaste up ðnhafen.
 ⁊ on uppon | ysraella muntum gesett. Ac uton us wæ|ras
 geceosan. ⁊ ða muntas geond faran | weald þeh we hine
 gemetan magon. þæt | folc bædon þa hêlîseum. ⁊ ða ylcam
 30 weras * | ðe ðer specon swâ. ꝥ hyg swâ don sceoldon | ⁊ hy
 [*Fol. 67^b.] sona geond þa muntas foron þreora | dâgena fæc. Ac hÿ hyne
 nâ hwær findan | ne mihton. Ða cwæð nichodemus. La leof
 ysra|ela bearn hlystað me ⁊ uton gyt asen|dan on ysraela
 muntas weald þeh ðe gast | habbe þone helend gelæht. ⁊ we

¹ þis above line in MS.

² he corrected from *hyg* MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. li. ii, 11.]

- eallum þam folce. 7 hig asen|don þa manige weras. 7 þone
 hælend sohton. | 7 hyne secende nahwar ne fundon. 7 hym
 cyr|rende ongean comon. 7 þus cweðende wæron. | us ymb-
 farendum eall ysrahela land. we þone | hælend nahwar ne
 5 gemetton. Ac we gemetton | ioseph on arymathia hys agenre
 ceastre. | þa ða ealdras. 7 þa mæssepreostas. 7 eall þ̅ folc |
 þys gehyrde. þa gefægnodon hig 7 wuldor | sædon ysrahela
 gode. þ̅ se ioseph þe hig on | þære clusan beclysed hæfdon
 wæs funden. | 7 gemett. þ̅ folc worhte þa mycele gesom-
 10 nunga. | 7 heom betweonan cwædon. þa ealdras. 7 þa |
 [*P. 19.] mæssepreostas. la on hwylcere endebyrdnyse * | magon we
 ioseph to us gelaðian. 7 hym wyð | specan. hig þa swa þeah
 beþohton þ̅ hig hym | seofon weras gecuron. þe iosepes frynd |
 wæron. 7 hym to sendon. 7 ane cartan myd hym. | seo wæs
 15 þus awryten. Syb sig myd þe ioseph. | 7 myd eallum þe
 myd þe syndon. We wyton þ̅ we | gesyngod habbað ægðer
 ge on god ge on þe. ac we byddað þe on eornest. þ̅ ðu
 gemedemige þe. þ̅ | þu cume to þynum fæderum. 7 to þynum
 bearnum. | for þon þe ealle wundriað þynre upahafen|nyse
 20 we wyton þ̅ we awyrgedlic geþanc ongean | þe ðohton. ac
 dryhten þe onfeng. 7 þe alysde of | urum awyrgedlicum ge-
 þeahhte. ac syb sig myd þe | ioseph. 7 gearwurðod wurð þu
 fram eallum folce. | þa ærendracan þa foron. 7 to iosepe
 comon. 7 | hyne gesybsumlice gretton. 7 heora gewryt hym |
 25 on hand sealdon. And þa ioseph þ̅ gewryt rædde. | þa cwæð
 he. Sig gebletsod se dryhten god. seðe me | alysde. 7 myn
 blod nolde lætan ageotan. 7 sig | gebletsod seðe me under
 hys fyðerum gescylde. | Ioseph þa upastod. 7 þa weras
 cyste. 7 hig wurðlice underfeng. þa ðam oðrum dæge. þa
 30 wæs ioseph | farende to hierusalem myd þam ærendracon.
 [*P. 20.] ealle * | uppan heora asson. 7 þa iudeas þa hig þ̅ gehyr|don.
 ealle ongean urnon. 7 wæron clypigende. | 7 cweðende. La
 fæder ioseph. Syb sig myd þynum | ingange. Ioseph heom
 7swarode 7 cwæð. Syb sig myd | eallum godes folce. 7 hig
 35 þa hym genealæhton. | 7 hyne cyston. 7 nichodemus hyne

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

hyne ge|metan moton. 7 hym to gebugan. Nichodemus
geðehð þa licode eallum ðam folce. 7 | hyg asendon þa
manega weras 7 þone he|lend sohton 7 hyne secende nawar
ne fu|ndon 7 hym cyrrende on eagan cōmon | 7 þus cwæðende
5 weron. We habbað ðurh | faron eall ysraela land. 7 we ðone
hele|nd nahwar ne gemytton. Ac we gemyt|ton ioseph ðn
arimathiga hys hagenre | ceastre. Ða ða ealdras. 7 eall þ
[*Fol. 68^a.] folc þys * | gehyrdon þa gefagenogde hyg. 7 wuldur sæ|don
ysraela gōde. þ ðe ioseph þe hyg ðn ðe|re clūsan beclýsed
10 hafedon. wæs fundon | 7 gemæt. þ folc geweorhte mycele
gesum|nunge. 7 hym betweonan cwædon. Ða eald|ras 7 þa
prostas.¹ La on hwylcere | endebyrðniſſe magon we ioseph
us to ge|lāpian. 7 hym wyð specon. hyg swā þeh | þa
beþeohton. þ hyg hym seofon wēras | gecuron þe iosepes
15 frind weron. 7 hym | to sendon. 7 ānæ cārtan myd hym
þeo | wæs ðus āwriten. Syb sy ðu myd² ioseph. 7 myd |
eallum þe myd þe syndon. We wyton þ | we syngod habbað.
æðer ge on gōd ge ðn þe. | Ac we byddað þe ðn eornest. þ
ðu geme|demige þe þ ðu cume to þinum fæde|rum. 7 to
20 ðinum bearnum for ðam wē eal|le wundriað þynre ūp ðn
[*Fol. 68^b.] hafeniſſe. we * | wyton þ we awyrgedlic geðanc ðngean þe |
þohton. Ac drihten þe ðnfeng 7 þe alys|de of urum awyr-
gedlican geðeahte. Ac | sy myd þe ioseph 7 gearwurþod wurð
þu | fram ealle folce. Ða erendracan þa foron | 7 to iosepe
25 cōmon 7 hine gesybsumlice gret|ton 7 heora gewrit him ðn
handan sealdon. | Ac þa ioseph þ gewrit redde ða cwæt he.
Sy gebletsod se drihten god se þe me alisde | 7 min blōd
nolde letan ageotan 7 sy geblet|soð se þe me under hys
feðerum gescyl|de. Ioseph þa up astod. 7 þa weras kiste 7 |
30 hy wurðlice underfeng. Ða þam oðrum | dæge þa wæs ioseph
farende to ierusalem | myd þam erendracan ealle on ūppan |
heora assum. 7 þa iodeas þa hyg þæt | gehyrdon. hyg ealle
[*Fol. 69^a.] ongearn on | 7 weron cwæðende. La feder ioseph.* | Syb
sy myd þe ioseph myd þinum ingange. | Ioseph hym 7swarode

¹A word erased before *prostas* in MS.

²*myd* above line in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- þa myd wurð|scype. ham to hys huse afeng. þam oðrum
 dæge ða. | annas. ⁊ caiphas. ⁊ nichodemus. cwædon to
 iosepe. | Lā we byddað þe. ꝥ ðu sylle andetnysse þam
 soðan | gode. ⁊ geswutela us ealle þa þyng þe ðu fram us |
 5 acsod byst. ⁊ sege us ærest. þu ðe þæs hælendes lyc|haman
 byrigdest. hu þu of þære clusan come. þe | we on beclysed
 hæfdon. for þam we þæs swa swyðe | wundrigende wæron.
 ⁊ us fyrhto gegrâp. þa ða | we þe habban woldon. ꝥ we þe
 næfdon. ⁊ geswutela us eall hu hyt be ðe geworden ys.
 10 Ioseph hym | ⁊swarode ⁊ cwæð. efne ic swa wylle. hyt wæs
 on dæg | þa ge me beclysdon. æt þam gewordenan æfne. | ic
 on myne gebedu feng. ⁊ hig georne sang. oð | hyt to þære
 myddere nyhte com. þa wæs ꝥ hus | be þam feower hyrnum
 up ahafen. ⁊ ic þa þone hælend geseah eall swylce hyt lig-
 15 ræsc wære. ⁊ ic | for þam ege nyðer on þa eorðan afeoll. ⁊
 [*P. 21.] he * | me be þære handan heold ⁊ up ahof ⁊ me cyste. | ⁊ cwæð
 to me. ne ondræd þu ðe na ioseph beseoh | on me. ⁊ ongit ꝥ
 ic hyt eom. þa beseah ic ⁊ cwæð. | eart þu la lareow helias.
 þa cwæð he to me. ac ic | eom se hælend. þe ðu his lycha-
 20 man byrigdest. | Ða cwæð ic to hym. ætyw me þa byrgene
 hwær ic | þe lede. Se hælend þa be þære ryht handa me |
 genam. ⁊ me ut lædde to arimathia. on myn | agen hus. ⁊
 cwæð to me. Syb sig myd þe ioseph. ⁊ ne | far þu of þynum
 huse ær on þon feowertugeðan | dæg. ic wylle gan to mynum
 25 leorning cnýhtum. | þa ða iudeas eall þys gehyrdon. þa
 aforhto|don hig. ⁊ sume adun feollon. ⁊ heom betwynan |
 cwædon. Hwæt mæg þys tacen beon þe on ysra|hela lande
 geworden ys. We cunnon þæs hælendes ægðer ge fæder ge
 moder. Ioseph þa up|astod. ⁊ cwæð to annam. ⁊ to caiphan.
 30 to soðon | wel hyt ys to wundrianne. ꝥ ge be þam hælende |
 gehyred habbað. ꝥ he of deaðe aras. ⁊ lyfigende | on heofenas
 astah. ⁊ na ꝥ he ana of deaðe | aryse. ac he fæla manna of
 deaðe awehte. | ⁊ hig of heora byrgene arærde. ⁊ hlýstað
 [*P. 22.] me | nu ða. ealle we cuðon þone eadegan symeon.* | ⁊ þone
 35 mæran mæssepreost þe ðone hælend | ærost on hys earmum

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- 7 cwæt. Syb sy myd | ealles godes folce. And hy þa hym
 gene|alehton. 7 hyne kiston 7 nichodemus | hyne þa myd
 wurðscipe hām to hys huse | afeng. Ðam oðrum dæge þa
 annas. 7 caiphas. 7 nichodemus. cwædon to iosepe. we |
 5 byddað þe þæt þu sille andetnissc. þam | soðan gode. 7
 geswutela us eallę þa ðing | þe ðu fram us geahxod byst 7
 sege us ærest | þu þe ðæs helendes lychaman bebiridest | hu þu
 of ðere clusan cōme þe we þe ân | beclysde. hafodon for ðam
 we þæs swā | swiðe wundriende weron. 7 ūs fyrhto | gegrāp
 10 þa þa we þe habban weoldon þæt | we þe nafoden 7 geswutela
 us eall hu | hyt be þe geworðon ys. Ioseph cwæt. | Efene ic
 [*Fol. 69^b.] swa wylle. Hyt wæs ðn dæg þa * | ge me beclysdon. æt þam
 gewordenan æfe|ne. Ic ðn mine gebedu feng. 7 hyg georne |
 sang oð hyt to ðere myddere nyhte com. | þa wæs þ̅ hus be
 15 ðam feower hyrnum up ðn|hafen. 7 ic þa ðone helend gesēh
 eall swy|lc hyt¹ lygræsc wære. 7 ic for ðam | æge niðer on
 ða eorðan afeoll. 7 he me be | handan heold 7 up anhōf 7
 me kiste. 7 | cwæt to me. Ne āndret þu þe na ioseph. |
 beseoh ðn me. 7 ongyt þæt ic hyt eom. | Ða beseah ic 7
 20 cwæt. Earð þu lā larðewa elī|as. Ða cwæt he to me. Ne
 eom ic na elīas. | Ac ic eom de helend þe ðe þu hys lychama |
 bebyridest. Ða cwæt ic hym. Opyþ me þa | byrgene hwær ic
 þe onlede. Se helend þa | be ðere riht handa me genam. 7
 me ut | alædde to arimathia ðn min agen ūs 7 | cwæt to me.
 25 Syb sy myd ioseph. 7 ne fār * | ðu of ðinum hūse ne ær ðn
 [*Fol. 70^a.] ðone fēwertegē|ðam dæg. ic wille gān to minum leornigcniht-
 on. | Ða þa iudeas eall ðis gehyrdon. Ða geafor|htodon hyg
 7 sume adun feollon. 7 him be|twænan cwædon. Hwæt mæg
 ðis taen beon | ðe ðn israēla lande geweorðon ys. We cunnun |
 30 þæs helend ægðer ge feder ge moder. Ioseph | þa upastod.
 7 cwæt to annan. 7 caiphan. to soð|ðan wel hyt ys to
 wundrienne þ̅ ge be ðam | helende gehyred habbað þ̅ he of
 deaðe ā|ras 7 lifigende on heofenas astah 7 nā þ̅ he | āna
 of deaðe arise ac fala manna of dea|ðe awehte. 7 hyg ðn

¹Two words erased after *hyt* in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

into þam halgan temple | bær. ⁊ ealle we wyton ꝥ he twegen
 suna hæfde. | þa wæron hatene. se oðer carinus. ⁊ se oðer
 leu|ticus. ⁊ ealle we ꝥ wyton ꝥ hig deade wæron. ⁊ we | to
 heora byrgyne comon. uton eac nu gân. ⁊ we | magon heora
 5 byrgena opene fyndan. ⁊ hig synd | on þære ceastre ary-
 mathia. samod gebyddende | ⁊ wyð nanne man sprecende.
 ⁊ swylce swigean | healdende. swa ꝥ hig wyð nanne man ne
 sprecað. | Ac uton we gân ⁊ cuman to heom myd eallum
 wurð|mynte. ⁊ gelædan hig to us. ⁊ hig georne halsian. |
 10 ꝥ hig wyð us sprecon. ⁊ us atellon ealle þa gerýnu | þe be
 heora æryste gewordene syndon. þa ða ioseph | eall þys þus
 gesprecen hæfde. ꝥ folc hym wæs geblissi|gende. ⁊ to ari-
 mathia þære ceastre farende. ⁊ þær | gewytan woldon hwæðer
 hit soþ wære ꝥ ioseph gesprecen hæfde. ac þa ða hig þyder
 15 comon. þa eodon | to þære byrgene. annas. ⁊ caiphas. ⁊
 Nichodemus. | ⁊ ioseph. ⁊ gamaliel. Ac hig þær nænne
 man on ne | fundon. Hig wæron þa innor on þa ceastre
 gangende. | ⁊ hig hig gemetton on gebede licgan myd gebi-
 gedum | cneowum. | ⁊ hig hig sona cyston. ⁊ myd ealre
 20 arwurðunge.* | ⁊ myd godes ege hig to heora gesomnunge
 [*P. 23.] to hierusalem | gelæddon. ⁊ þær in belocenum gatum. hig
 wæron ny|mende þa boc þe seo drihtenlice. æ wæs on awryten |
 ⁊ hym on hand setton ⁊ þus cwædon. We halsiað | eow þurh
 þæne uplican god ⁊ þurh þas dryhten|lican. æ. þe ge on
 25 handan habbað. ꝥ gif ge gelyfon | on þone ylcan þe eow of
 deaðe awehte. secgað us | hu ge of deaðe arysene wurden.
 karinus. ⁊ leuticus. | heom ⁊swaredon ⁊ þus cwædon. we
 wyllaþ eac. syllað | us eac þa cartan ꝥ we hyt magon on
 awrytan. ꝥ ðæt we | gehyrdon. ⁊ eac gesawon. þa ealdras
 30 þa ⁊ þa mæsse|preostas heom cartan fundon. ⁊ eall ꝥ ðær to
 gebyrede. | karinus. ⁊ leuticus. heom wæron þa. ða cartan
 onfonde. | heora ægðer âne. ⁊ þus cwædon. La dryhten
 hælenda | cryst. þu eart lif ⁊ ærest ealra deadra. we byd-
 dað | þe ꝥ ðu us gefafige ꝥ we magon þa godcundan ge|rynu
 35 geswutelian þe gewordene syndon þurh þynne | deað. ⁊ þurh

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- heora byrgene arer|de. And hlystað me nu ða. ealle we
 cupon | þone eadian symeom 7 þone mæran | massepreost¹ þe
 ðone helend erost on his | earmun into þam halgan temple
 [*Fol. 70^b.] bær | 7 ealle we witon þæt he twegen suna hâ*|fodon. þa
 5 wæron hatene. þe oðer karinus. | *7 se oðer leuticus. 7 ealle
 we þ wyton þ | hyg deade wéron. 7 we to heora byрге|ne
 comon. uton eac nu gân 7 magon heolra byrgene opene
 findan 7 hyg sindon | on þære castre arimathia sâmod ge|byd-
 dende 7 wið nanne man specen|de 7 swilce swigan healdende
 10 swâ þ hyg | wið nanne man ne specað. Ac uton we | gân 7
 cuman to him myd eallum wurð|mintе 7 gelêdan hyg to ûs
 7 hyg eor|ne halsian þæt hyg wið ûs specon 7 us | atellan ealle
 gerînu þe be heora æriste | gewordone sindon. Ða þa ioseph
 eall | þis ðus gespecon hæfede þ folc hym wes | geblyssigende
 15 7 to arimathia þære | cæastre farende 7 þær witan weolden |
 [*Fol. 71^a.] hweðer hyt soð wære. þ ioseph gespec*|en hæfedon. Ac þa
 ða hyg ðider comon. | ða eode to þære byrgenne. Annas | 7
 caiphās. Nichodemus. 7 ioseph. 7 | Gamaliel. ac hyg ðer
 nanne man on ne | fundun. Hyg eode þa innor on þa ceastre. |
 20 7 hy hyg gemetton on gebede licgân myd | gebygede cnæ-
 awum. 7 hy hig sona kiston. | 7 myd ealre arwurðunge 7
 myd godes æge | hyg to heora gesomnunga to hierusalem
 ge|læddon. 7 þær in belocenum gatum hyg wæ|ron nimende
 ða boc þe seo drihtenlice. æ | wæs on writen. 7 hym on
 25 hand setton. 7 | þus cwædon. Wæ halsigað eow þurð ðone
 up|plican gôð 7 þurð þas drihtenlican. æ. | þe ge on handan
 habbað þ gyf ge gelyfon | on þane ylcan þe eow of deaðe
 awehte. | secgað ûs hu ge of deaðe arissene wurdon. | Kari-
 [*Fol. 71^b.] nus. 7 Leuticus. hym 7swaredon. 7 þûs * | cwædon. We
 30 willað eac. Syllað ûs ða cartan | þ we hyt magon on awritan.
 þ þæt | we gehyrdon 7 eac gesawon. Ðâ | ealdras ða him
 kartan fundun. 7 eall | þ ðær to gebyrede. Carinus. 7
 Leuticus. | hym wæron þa ða kartan on fundon he|ora ægðer
 âna. 7 þus cwædon. La drihten | helend crist. Ðu earð

¹ *massepreost* MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- þyne æryste. la ðu myldosta hlaford. | þu ðe forbude þynum
 þeowum ꝥ hig þa godcundan mærdæ | þynes diglan mægen-
 þrymmes geswutelian ne moston. | we byddað þe alyf hyt
 us. heom com þa stefen of heofenum. | 7 wæs þus cweðende.
- 5 wrytað 7 geswutelidað hyt. hig þa | swa dydon. Karinus. 7
 [*P. 24.] leuticus. þus hyt awryton * | 7 þus cwædon. Efnæ þa we
 wæron myd eallum urum | fæderum. on þære hellican deop-
 nysse. þær becom seo | beorhtnys on þære þeostra dymnysse
 ꝥ we ealle eondlyhte 7 geblyssigende wæron. þær wæs
- 10 færinga ge|worden on ansyne swylce þær gylden sunna
 onæled | wære. 7 ofer us ealle eondlyhte. 7 satanas þa 7 eall
 ꝥ | reðe werod wæron afyrhte. 7 þus cwædon. hwæt ys |
 þys leoht ꝥ her ofer us swa færllice scyneð. þa wæs | sona
 eall ꝥ mennisce cynn geblyssigende. ure fæder | adam myd
- 15 eallum heah fæderum. 7 myd eallum wytegum. | for þære
 myclan beorhtnysse. 7 hig þus cwædon. | þys leoht ys ealdor
 þæs ecan leohtes. eall swa us | dryhten behet. ꝥ he us ꝥ ece
 leoht onsendan wolde. | þa clypode ysaias se wytega 7 cwæð.
 þys ys ꝥ fæderlice | leoht. 7 hyt ys godes sunu. eall swa ic
- 20 foresæde | þa ic on eorðan wæs. þa ic cwæð 7 forewitegode.
 ꝥ ðæt | land zabulon. 7 ꝥ land neptalim. wyð þa eā iorda-
 nen. 7 ꝥ fole ꝥ on þam þystrum sæt sceoldon mære | leoht
 geseon. 7 þa ðe on dymmum rýce wunedon | ic witegode ꝥ
 hig leoht sceoldon onfon. 7 nu hyt | ys tocumen. 7 us onlyht
- 25 þa ðe gefyrn on deaðes | dymnysse sæton. ac uton ealle
 geblyssian þæs leohtes. | Se wytega þa symeon heom eallum
 [*P. 25.] geblyssigendum.* | heom to cwæð. wuldriað þone dryhten
 cryst godes sunu. | þone þe ic bær on mynum earmum into
 þam temple. | 7 ic þa ðus cwæð. þu eart leoht 7 frofer eal-
- 30 lum þeodum. 7 þu eart wuldor 7 wurðmynt eallum ysrahela
 folce. | Symeone þa ðus gesprecenum. eall ꝥ werod þæra |
 halgena. þa wearð swyðe geblyssigende. and æfter þam |
 þær com swylce þunres slege. 7 ealle þa halgan ongean |
 clypodon 7 cwædon hwæt eart þu. Seo stefen heom | 7 swa-
 35 rode 7 cwæð. ic eom iohannes þæs hehstan witega. | 7 ic

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- lyf. 7 ærist ealra | deadra. We byddað þe þ þu us geðafige |
 þ we magon þa godcundan gerinu geswu|telian þe gewordenene
 syndon. þurð ðinne | deað 7 þurh ðine æriste. La þu
 mildesta | hlaford þu ðe forbude þinum ðeowum þ hy | ða
 5 godcundan mæra þines digelam | nagenðrimmes geswutelian
 ne moston we | byddað þe alyf hyt us. Him com þa ha |
 stefen of heofenum. 7 wæs þus cweðende. | Writað 7 ge-
 [*Fol. 72^a.] swutelias hyt. hyg þa swā * | didon. Karinus 7 leuticus ðus
 hyt awriton | 7 cwædon. Soðlice ða we weron myd eallum |
 10 urum federum on ðære hællican deopnisse | þær becom þeo
 beorhtnisse on ðære þi|stra dymnesse þæt we æalle geondlihte |
 7 geblissigende weron. Ða wæs feringa ge|weordon on ansine
 swilce þær gylden sun|na onæled wære 7 ofer us ealle geond-
 lihte. 7 satanas þa 7 eall þ reðe werod wæ|ron afirhte 7
 15 þus cwædon. Hwæt ys þis | leoht þ her ofer us swā fêrlice
 seyneð. | Ða wæs sona eall þ mennisce cynn. ge|blissigende
 ure fæder ādām myd eallum | heahfederum. 7 myd eallum
 witegum for ðære micelan beorhtnisse 7 hyg þus cwæ|don.
 Ðis leoht ys ealdor þæs æcan leoh|tes eall swa us drihten
 20 bæhet. þæt he us | þæt æce leoht asendan wolde. Ða clypode * |
 [*Fol. 72^b.] isaias se witega 7 cwæt. Ðis ys þæt fæderlice leoht | 7 hit ys
 godes sunu eall swā ic foresede þa | þa ic on eorðan wæs þa ic
 cwæt 7 forwitego|de þ þ land Zabulon. 7 þæt land neptalim. |
 wyð þa ea iordanen 7 þ folc þ on ðam ðis|trum sæt seoldon
 25 mære leoht geseon | 7 þa þe on dimmum rice wunedon ic
 wite|gode þ hyg leoht sceolden onfon. 7 nu hyt | ys tocumen.
 7 us onlyht þa ðe gefyrn on | deaðes dimnisse sæton. Ac uton
 ealle blissi|an þæs leohtes. Se witega þa simeon hym | eallum
 geblissigendum hym to cwæt. Wuldriað | þone drihten godes
 30 sunu ðone þe ic bær on | minum earmum into þam temple. 7
 ic þa | þus cwæt. Ðu earð leoht 7 frofor eallum | ðeodum.
 7 ðu earð wuldor 7 wurðmint | eallum israela folce. Symeone
 ða ðus ge|specenum eall þæt werod ðære halgena þa | wearð
 [*Fol. 73^a.] swiðe geblissigende. And æfter ðam þær * | com swilce þunres
 slêge 7 ealle þa halgan on | egan clypoden 7 cwædon. Hwæt

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- eom cumen toforan hym. ꝥ ic his wegas gegearwian sceal.
 7 geican þa hæle hys folces. Adam þa | wæs þys gehyrende.
 7 to his suna cweðende. se wæs | genemned seth. he cwæð
 gerece þinum bearnum. 7 | þysum heahfæderum ealle þa
 5 ðing þe ðu fram | mychaele þam heahengle gehyrdest.
 þa ða ic þe | asende to neorxna wanges geate. ꝥ ðu sceoldest |
 dryhten byddan. ꝥ he myd þe his engel asende. | ꝥ he þe
 ðone ele syllan sceolde. of þam treowe þære | myldheortnyse.
 ꝥ ðu myhtest mynne lichaman | myd gesmyrian. þa ða ic
 10 myd eallum untrum wæs. | Seth adames sunu wæs þa to
 genealæcende. þam | halgum heahfæderum 7 þam wytegun.
 7 wæs cweðende. Efnæ | þa ic wæs dryhten byddende æt
 [*P. 26.] neorxnawanges* | geate. þa ætywde me michael se heah engel.
 7 me | to cwæð. Ic eom asend fram dryhtne to ðe. 7 ic eom
 15 gesett | ofer ealle mennisce lichaman. Nu secge ic þe seth |
 ne þearft þu swincan byddende ne þyne tearas | ageotende. ꝥ
 ðu þurfe biddan þone ele of þam | treowe þære myldheort-
 nyse. ꝥ ðu adam þynne | fæder myd smyrian mote. for
 his lichaman sare. | for þam ðe gyt ne syndon gefyllede
 20 þa fif þusend | wyntra. 7 þa fif hund wyntra. þe sceolon
 beon | agane ær he gehæled wurðe. ac þonne cymð | se myld
 heortesta cryst godes sunu. 7 gelæt þynne | fæder adam on
 neorxna wang to þam treowe þære | myldheortnyse. þa ðys
 wæron eall gehyrende | ealle þa heah fæderas. 7 þa wytegan.
 25 7 ealle þa | halgan þe þær on þam cwicsusle wæron. hig
 wæron | swyðe geblyssigende. 7 god wuldrigende. Hyt wæs
 swyðe angrislic. þa ða satanas þære helle ealdor. | 7 þæs
 deaðes heretoga cwæð to þære helle ge|gearwa þe sylfe ꝥ ðu
 mæge cryst onfon. se hyne | sylfne gewuldrod hæfð. 7 ys
 30 godes sunu | 7 eac man. 7 eac se deað ys hyne ondrædende. |
 7 myn sawl ys swa unrot ꝥ me þincð ꝥ ic alybban | ne mæg.
 for þig he ys mycel wyðerwynna 7 yfel | wyrcende ongean
 [*P. 27.] me. 7 eac ongean þe 7 fæla* | þe ic hæfde to me gewyld. 7
 to atogen blynde. 7 | healte. gebygede 7 hreoflan ealle he
 fram þe atyhð. | Seo hell þa swiðe grymme. 7 swyðe ege-

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- earð þu. Seo | stefen hym ȝswārode ȝ cwæt. Ic eom iohannes |
 þæs hehstan witega ȝ ic eom comen to foron | hym ꝥ ic hys
 wegas gegearrian sceal ȝ geycan | þa hēle hys folcis. Adam
 þa wæs þis gehe|rende ȝ to hys suna cwæðende þe wes ge|nem-
 5 net seth. He cwæt rece þinum bæarnum | ȝ þisum heahfederum
 ealle þa ðing þe þu | fram michael þam heahengle gehyrdest. |
 Ða þa ic þe asende to neorxene wanges geate | ꝥ ðu sceoldest
 drihten byddam þæt he myd | ðe hys engel asende þæt he
 þane ele sillan | sceoldon of ðam trewe ðære mildheornisse |
 10 þæt mihtest minne licāman myd gesmi|rian. Ða þa ic myd
 eallum untrumme wæs. | Seth adames sunu wæs ða to
 [*Fol. 73^b.] genealæcende* | þam halgum heahfæderum ȝ þam witegum | ȝ
 wæs cwæðende. Efene þa ic wæs drihten | byddende æt
 neorxenawanges geate. Ða | ætywde michael se heahengel.
 15 ȝ me to cwæt. | Ic eom asend fram drihtene to ðe ic eom |
 gesêt ofor ealle menissce lichaman. Nu sæ|cge ic þe sethne
 ðearðft þu swincan byd|dende ne win tearas ageotende þæt þu
 þu|rfe byddan þone ēle of ðam trewe ðære mil|heordnisse ꝥ
 ðu adam ðinne fæder myd | smirian mote. For his lichaman
 20 sære for | ðam we gyt ne sindon gefyllode þa fif ðu|sænd
 wintra ȝ þa fyf hund wintra ðe sceolde beon agam ær he ge-
 heled wurðe. Ac | ðanne cymð seo milheordnist crist godes |
 sunu. ȝ gelæt ðinne fæder adam ðn neor|xenawanga to ðam
 treowe | þære mildheor|nisse. Ða þis wæron hyrende ealle
 [*Fol. 74^a.] 25 heah*|fæderas ȝ þa witegan ȝ ealle halgan þe ðer | on ðam
 cwicsusle wæron. Hyg wæron swiðe ge|blissigende ȝ god
 wuldrigende. Hyt wæs þa | swiðe angrislic þa þa satanas
 ðære helle eal|dor. ȝ þæs deaðes hēretogan cwæt to ðære |
 helle. Gegearwa þe sylfe þæt ðu mage crist | afon se hyne
 30 silfne gewuldrod hæfð ȝ ys godes | sunu ȝ æac man ȝ eac se
 deað ys hine ondre|dende ȝ min sawel ys swā unrot. þæt
 me | þingð þæt ic libban ne mæg. for ðig he ys mic|cel
 wiðerwinna ȝ ifelwyrcende ongean me. | ȝ eac ongean þe. ȝ
 fæla ðe ic hæfede to me | willd. ȝ toatogon blinde ȝ hālte
 35 gebigede | ȝ hreflan ealle he fram þe atihþ. Ðeo hell | ða

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

- slice 7swaro|de þa satanase þam ealdan deofle 7 cwæð. hwæt
ys | se þe ys swa strang 7 swa myhtig gif he man ys. | ꝥ
he ne sig þone deað ondrædende þe wyt gefyrn | beclýsed
hæfdon. for þam ealle þa ðe on eorðan | anweald hæfdon.
5 þu hig myd þynre myhte to me | getuge. 7 ic hig fæste
geheold. 7 gif þu swa myhtig | eart swa þu ær wære. hwæt
ys se man. 7 se hælend | þe ne sig þone deað 7 þyne myhte
ondrædende. | ac to soðon ic wat. gif he on mennyscnýsse
swa | myhtig ys. ꝥ he naðer ne unc ne ðone deað ne | ondræt.
10 ꝥ ic wat ꝥ swa myhtig he ys on godcund|nysse. ꝥ hym ne
mæg nan þyng wyðstandan. | 7 ic wat gif se deað hyne
ondræt. þonne gefohð he | þe. 7 þe byð æfre wa to ecere
worulde. Satanas | þa þæs cwýcsusles ealdor. þære helle
7swarode | 7 þus cwæð. hwæt twynað þe. oððe hwæt
15 ondrætst | þu ðe þone hælend to onfonne. mynne wyðer-
wynnan. 7 eac þynne. for þon ic .hys costnode. | 7 ic
[*P. 28.] gedyde hym ꝥ eal ꝥ iudeisce folc ꝥ hig wæron* | ongean hyne
myd yrre. 7 myd andan awehte. 7 ic gedyde ꝥ he wæs myd
spere gesticod. 7 ic gedyde ꝥ hym man drincan mengde
20 myd eallan 7 myd | ecede. 7 ic gedyde ꝥ man hym treowene
rode ge|gearwode. 7 hyne þær on aheng. 7 hyne myd
næglum | gefæstnode. 7 nu æt nextan ic wylle hys deað to
ðe | gelædan. 7 he sceal beon underþeod ægðer ge me | ge
þe. Seo hell þa swyðe angrysenlice þus cwæð. wyte | ꝥ ðu
25 swa do. ꝥ he ða deadan fram me ne ateo. for þam | þe her¹
fæla syndon geornfulle fram me. | ꝥ hig on me wunian
noldon. ac ic wat ꝥ hig | fram me ne gewytað þurh heora
agene myhte. | buton hig se ælmyhtyga god fram me ateo.
se ðe | lazarus of me genam. þone þe ic heold deadne | feower
30 nyht fæste gebunden. 7 ic hyne eft cwýcne | ageaf þurh hys
bebodu. þa 7swarode satanas | 7 cwæð. Se ylca hyt ys se
ðe lazarus of unc bam genam. | Seo hell hym þa ðus to
cwæð. Eala ic halsige þe | þurh þyne mægenu. 7 eac þurh
myne. ꝥ ðu næfre | ne geþafige ꝥ he in on me cume. for

¹After *her* one or more words have been erased in MS.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

swiðe grimme. ⁊ swiðe egeslice ⁊ swarode | ðam satanāse ðam
ealdan deofle. ⁊ cwæt. | hwæt ys þe þe sy swa strang ⁊ swā
[*Fol. 74^b.] mihtig gyf | he man ys þ̅ he ne sy þone deað ondredende* | þe
wyt gefirn beclýsed hæfedon for ðam ealle | ðe anweald ðn

5 eorðan hafedon þu hyg. mid ðinre | mihte to me getogon ⁊
ic fæste heold ⁊ gyf ðu | swā mihtig earð swā ðu ær wære.
hwæt ys se | man ⁊ þe helend þe ne sy ðone deað ⁊ þine |
mihte ðndredende. Ac to soðan ic wat gyf he | ðn menisc-
nisse swa mihtig ys. þ̅ he naðer ne | unc ne ðone deað ne
10 ðndret þ̅ ic wat þ̅ swā mihtig he ys ðn godcundnisse þ̅ him
ne mæg nan | ðing wiðstandan. ⁊ ic wat gyf þe deað ame
ðndret. ðone gefohð he ðe. ⁊ þe byð æfre wā | to êcere
wurulde. Satanan þa ðæs cwic|susles ealdor. ðære helle
⁊ swarode. ⁊ þus cwæt | hwæt twinost ðu oððe hwæt ðndredst
15 þu ðe | ðone helend to onfonne. minne wiðerwinna | ⁊ eac
ðinne forðan ic hys costnode ⁊ ic gedi|de him þ̅ eall þ̅ iudeisce

[*Fol. 75^a.] folc þ̅ hyg wæron* | ongean hine myd yrre ⁊ myd andan.
a|wehte ⁊ ic gedyde þæt wes myd spêre gesticod. | ⁊ ic gedyde
þ̅ man can mengde myd geallan | ⁊ myd ecede. ⁊ ic gedyde þ̅
20 man him treowe|ne rôde gegearwode. ⁊ hine ðær ðn anheng. |
⁊ hine mid næglum gefæstnode. ⁊ nu æt nehs|tan ic wille
hys deað to ðe gelædan. ⁊ he sceal | beon underpeodd ægðer
ge me ge þe. Seo hell | ða angrislice ðus cwæt. wyte þ̅ ðu
swā do þ̅ | he þa deadan fram me ne ateo. for ðam þe her |

25 fala sindon geornfulle fram me þ̅ hyg on | me wunian nolden.
Ac ic wāt þ̅ hig fram me | ne gewitað þurh heora agene mihte.
buton | hyg ðe ælmihtiga gôd fram me ateo. Se þe | Ladza-
rum of me genam. þone ðe ic heold de|adne feower niht
fæste gebunden. ⁊ ic hine | eft cwicne ageaf ðurh hys bebodu.

30 Ða ⁊ swā | rode satanas ⁊ cwæt. Se ylca hit ys þe þe | ladzarum
[*Fol. 75^b.] of unc bam genam. Se hell him* | þa ðus to cwæt. Eala ic
halsige þe þurð þine | mægenu. ⁊ eac þurð mine þ̅ ðu næfre
ne | geþafige þ̅ he in ne on¹ me come. for ðam þa ic | gehyrde

¹ on above line in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- þam þa ic | gehyrde þ̅ word hys bebodes. ic wæs myd
 myclum | ege afyriht 7 ealle myne arleasan þenas wæron |
 [*P. 29.] samod myd me gedrehte 7 gedrefede swa þ̅ we ne* | myhton
 lazarus gehealdan. ac he wæs hyne asceacen | de eal swa earn
 5 þonne he myd hrædum flyhte wyle | forð afleon. 7 he swa
 wæs fram us ræsende. 7 seo | eorðe þe lazarus deadan lic-
 haman heold. heo | hyne cwycne ageaf. And þ̅ ic nu wat þ̅
 se man þe eall þ̅ gedyde þ̅ he ys on gode strang 7 myhtig. 7
 gif | þu hyne to me lædest ealle þa ðe her syndon on | þysum
 10 wælhreowan cwearterne beclýsede. 7 on þysum | bendum myd
 synnum gewryðene. ealle he myd hys | godcundnysse fram
 me atyhð 7 to lyfe gelæt. ac | amang þam þe hig þus spræcon
 þær wæs stefen | 7 gastlic hream swa hlud swa þunres slege
 7 wæs | þus cweðende. *Tollite portas principes uestras. & |*
 15 *eleuamini porte eternales & introibit rex | glorie.* þ̅ byð on
 englisc. ge ealdras to nymað | þa gatu. 7 up ahebbað þa
 ecan gatu. þ̅ mæge in | gan se cyng þæs ecan wuldres. Ac
 þa seo hell þ̅ | gehyrde. þa cwæð heo to þam ealdre satane.
 gewyt | raðe fram me. 7 far ut of mynre onwununge.¹ 7 gif |
 20 þu swa myhtig eart swa þu ær ymbe spræce. þonne wyn þu
 nu ongean þone wuldres cyning. 7 gewurðe | þe 7 hym. and
 seo hell þa satan of hys setlum ut | adraf. 7 cwæð to þam
 [*P. 30.] arleasum þenum belucað þa wæl* | hreowan 7 þa ærenan gatu.
 7 to foran on sceotað | þa ysenan scyttelsas. 7 heom stranglice
 25 wiðstandað | 7 þa hæftinga gehealdað. þ̅ we ne beon ge-
 hæfte. | þa þ̅ gehyrde seo mænigeo þæra halgena þe ðær |
 ynnre wæron. hig clypedon ealle anre stefne 7 | cwædon to
 þære helle. Geopena þyne gatu. þ̅ | mæge ingan se cyning
 þæs ecan wuldres. þa cwæð | dauid þa gyt. ne forewitegode
 30 ic eow þa ða ic | on eorðan lyfigende wæs. Andettað dryhtne
 hys | myldheortnysse. for þam ðe he hys wundra wyle |
 manna bearnum gecyðan. 7 þa ærenan gatu 7 þa | ysenan
 scyttelas tobrecon. 7 he wyle genyman | hig of þam wege
 heora onryhtwysnysse. Æfter þam | þa cwæð se wytega isaias

¹ on above line in MS.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

þæt word hys bebodes. ic wæs myd | micclum ege afirht. 7
ealle mine ārleasan | þenas weron samôð myd me gedrehte.
7 ge|drefede swâ þ̅ we ne mihton ladzarum gehe|aldan. Ac
he wæs hyne asceacende eall swa | earn þone he myd hreðum
5 flihte wille forð | afleon. 7 he wæs swâ fram us ræsende. 7
seo eor|ðe þe ladzarus deadan lichaman heold heo | hyne
cwicne ageaf. 7 þ̅ ic nu wat þ̅ ðe man þe | eall þ̅ gedyde
þ̅ he ys ðn gode strang. 7 mihtig | 7 gyf ðu hine to me ge-
lædest. ealle þe her | sindon ðn ðisum wælhrewan cwearterne
10 be|clisde. 7 on ðisum bendum myd sinnum ge|wriðene. ealle
he myd hys godcunnisse fram | me atiht. 7 to lyfe gelæt. Ac

[*Fol. 76^a.] āmang þam * | þe hyg ðus specon. þær wæs stefen. 7 gastlic |
hream swa hlud swilce ðunres slege. 7 wæs | ðus cweðende.
Tollite portas principes uestras | & eleuamini porte eternas
15 & introibit rex | glorie. Ðæt byð on englisc. Ge ealdras to
nimað | þa gatu 7 up ðn hebbað. þa ecan gatu. þ̅ mæ|ge
ingân ðe cyning ðæs æcan wuldræs. Ac | þa ða me raðe seo
helle þ̅ gehyrde. þa cwæt | to þam ealdre satane. Gewit
fram me ræðe | 7 far út of minre ðnwununge. 7 gyf ðu swâ |
20 mihtig earð. swa ðu ær imbe specon. þone | winn ðu nu
ðngean ðone wuldres cining 7 | gewurðe þe 7 him. And seo
helle þa satanas | of hys setlum ut adraf. 7 cwæt to ðam
arleasum¹ | þenum. Belucað þa wælhriwan. 7 þa ærenan |
gatu. 7 to foran ðn sceotað þa ysenan scyt|telsas. 7 him
25 stranglice wyðstandað 7 þa hæf|tinge gehealdað. þ̅ we ne

[*Fol. 76^b.] beon gehæfte. Ða * | þ̅ gehirde ðeo menigu ðæra halgena þe
ðær inne wæron. Hyg clypodon ealle anre stefene 7 cwædon
to ðære helle. Geopena þine ga|tu þ̅ mæge inngân þe cining
ðæs æcan wuldres. | Ða cwæt dauid þa gyt. Ne forewite-
30 gode ic eow ða | þa ic ðn eorðan wæs lyfigende þa ða ic
sæde. | Andettað drihtene hys mildheornissa for ðam | þe he
hys wundra wile manna bearnum gecið|ðan 7 þa ærenan gatu.
7 ða ysenan scittelsas | to brecan. 7 he wile hyg geniman of
ðam weg|ge heora unrihtwisnyse. æfter ðam þa cwæt se |

¹ MS. *arle^asu^m*.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

- to eallum þam halgum þe ðær | wæron. 7 ne foresæde ic
 eow þa ða ic on eorðan | lyfigende wæs. þ̅ deade men
 aysan sceoldon. | 7 mænige byrgena geopenod weorðan. 7
 þa sceol|don geblyssian þe on eorðan wæron. for þam ðe |
 5 hym fram dryhtne hæl sceolde cuman. þa ealle | þa halgan
 þys wæron gehyrende fram þam witegan | esaiam. hig wæron
 cweðende to þære helle. Ge|opena þyne gatu. nu þu scealt
 beon untrum 7 un|myhtig. 7 myd eallum oferswyþed. heom
 [*P. 31.] þa ðus ge*|spreccenum þær wæs geworden seo mycele stefen |
 10 swylce þunres slege 7 þus cwæð. Ge ealdras to nimað |
 eowre gatu 7 up ahebbað þa ecan gatu. þ̅ mæge | ingan se
 cyning þæs ecan wuldres. ac seo hell | þa þ̅ gehyrde þ̅ hyt
 wæs tuwa swa geclipod. | þa clypode heo ongean 7 þus cwæð.
 hwæt ys se | cyning þe sig wuldres cyning. Dauíd hyre |
 15 7swarode þa 7 cwæð. þas word ic oncnawe. 7 eac | ic þas
 word gegyddode þa ða ic on eorðan wæs. | 7 ic hyt gecwæð.
 þ̅ se sylfa drihten wolde of heofen|num on eorðan beseon. 7
 þær gehyran þa geom|runge his gebundenra þeowa. ac nu þu
 fuluste | 7 þu ful stincendiste hell. Geopena þyne gatu | þ̅
 20 mæge ingan þæs ecan wuldres cyning. Dauide | þa þus ge-
 spreccenum. þær to becom se wuldorfulla | cyning on mannes
 gelycnysse. þ̅ wæs ure heofen|lica dryhten. 7 þar þa ecan
 þystro ealle | geondlyhte. 7 þar þa synbendas he ealle to
 bræc. | 7 he ure ealdfæderas ealle geneosode. þær þær | hig
 25 on þam þystrum ær lange wunigende wæron. Ac | seo hell
 7 se deað. 7 heora arleasan þenunga þa ða | hig þ̅ gesawon 7
 gehyrdon. wæron aforhtode myd | heora wælhreowum þenum
 [*P. 32.] for þam ðe hig on heora* | agenum rice swa mycele beorhtnysse
 þæs leohtes | gesawon 7 hig færinga ^{elmu}cryst gesawon on þam
 30 setle | syttan þe he him sylfum geahnod hæfde. 7 hig wæron |
 clypigende. 7 þus cweðende. We syndon fram þe | ofer-
 swyðde. Ac we acsiað þe hwæt eart þu. þu ðe | butan ælcon
 geflyte. 7 butan ælcere gewemminge | myd þynum mægen
 þrymme hæfst ure myhte ge|nyðerod. Oððe hwæt eart þu
 35 swa mycel. 7 eac | swa lytel. 7 swa nyðerlic. 7 eft up swa

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

witega isaias to eallum þam halgum ðe þær wæ | wæron. And
ne foresæde ic eow þa ða ic ðn eorðan lyfigende wæs. þ
deade men arisan sceol | den 7 manega byrgena geopenode
wurðan | 7 þa sceoldon geblissigan ðe ðn eorðan wæron |

5 forðam þe him fram drihtene hæl sceolde | cuman. Ða ealle
[*Fol. 77^a.] þa halgan þis wæron ge* | hirende fram ðam witegan isaiam
hig wæron | cweðende to ðære helle. Geopena ðine gatu | nu
þu scealt beon untrum. 7 unmihtig 7 | myd eallum ofor-

swiðed. Him ða ðus gespe | cenum þær wæs geworden seo
10 micele stefen | swilce ðunres slege. 7 ðus cwæt. Ge ealdras |
tonimað eowre gatu. 7 upahebbað þa æcan | gatu. þ mage
inngân þe cinning ðæs æcan | wuldres. Ac þa seo hell þ
gehyrde þ hyt | wæs tûwa swâ geclypod þa clypode heo
ongêan | 7 þus cwæt. hwæt hys se cyning þe sy wuldres |

15 cinnig. Dauid hyre 7swarode þa 7 cwæt. | Ðas word ic
ðncnawe. 7 eac ic þas word gegid | dode þa ða ic on eorðan
wæs. 7 ic hyt gecwæt þ | þe sylfa drihten wolde of heofenum
ðn eorðan | beseon. 7 þær gehyran þa geomrunge hys | ge-

bundenra ðeowa. Ac nu þu fuluste. 7 þu | ful stincendiste
20 hell. Geopena þine gatu* | þ mæge inngân ðæs æcan wuldres
[*Fol. 77^b.] cynning. | Dauide ða þus gespecenum. þarto becom þe |
wuldorfulla cynning on mannes gelicnesse. | þ wæs ure
heofelica drihten. 7 þær ða æcan ðis | tru ealle geondlihte 7
þær ða sinnbendas he | ealle tobræc 7 he ure heald fæderas

25 ealle ge | neosode þær ðær hyg wæron ðn ðam þistum | ær
lange wunigende. Ac seo hell 7 se deað 7 | heora arleasan
þenunga þa þa hyg þ gesâwon | 7 gehyrdon. wæron aforhtode
myd heora wæl | hriwan ðenum for ðam ðe hyg ðn heora
agenum | rice swâ micele byornisse þæs leohtes gesâwan | 7

30 feringa crist gesawon on ðam setle sittan þe | he hym sylfum
geahnôd hæfede. 7 hyg wæron | clypigende. 7 ðus cwæð-
ende. We sindon fram | þe oferswiðde. Ac we halsiað þe
hwæt eart ðu | ðu þe buton ælcon geflite. 7 butan ælcere |
gewemminge myd þinum mægen | primme | hæfst ure mihte

[*Fol. 78^a.] geniðorod. And hwæt eart* | þu swâ mucel 7 eac swâ litel. 7

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

- heah. 7 swa wunderlic on anes mannes hywe us to ofer-
dry|fenne. Hwæt ne eart þu se ðe lage dead on byrgene. |
7 eart lyfigende hyder to us cumen 7 on þynum | deaðe ealle
eorðan gesceafta 7 ealle tungla syndon | astyrode. 7 þu eart
5 freoh geworden betwynan | eallum oðrum deadum. 7 ealle
ure eoredu þu hæfst | swiðe gedrefed. 7 hwæt eart þu þe
hæfst þ leoht | hyder eond send. 7 myd þynre godcundan
myhte | 7 beorhtnysse hæfst ablend þa synfullan þystro | 7
gelyce ealle þas eoredu þyssa deofla syndon | swyðe afyrhte.
10 7 hig wæron þa ealle þa deoflu | clypigende anre stefne.
hwanon eart þu la hælend | swa strang man. 7 swa beorht
on mægenþrymne | butan ælcon womme. 7 swa clæne fram
[*P. 33.] ælcon* | leahltre. eall eorðan myddan eard us wæs symble |
underþeod oð nu. And eornostlice we ahsiað þe | hwæt eart
15 þu. þu ðe swa unforht us to eart cumen. | 7 þar to eacan us
wylt fram ateon ealle þa ðe we | gefyrn on bendum heoldon.
Hwæðer hyt wen sig. | þ ðu sig se ylca hælend þe satan ure
ealdor ymbe | spæc. 7 sæde þ ðurh þynne deað he wolde
geweald | habban ealles myddan eardes. Ac se wuldor | fæsta
20 cyning. 7 ure heofenlica hlaford þa nolde | þæra deofla ge-
maðeles mare habban. ac he þone | deoffican deað feor nyðer
atræd. 7 he satan | gegrap. 7 hyne fæste geband. 7 hyne
þære helle | sealde. on angeweald. Ac heo hyne þa under-
feng | eall swa hyre fram ure heofenlican hlaforde | gehaten
25 wæs. þa cwæð seo hell to satane la ðu ealdor | ealre for-
spyllednysse. and la ðu ordfruma | ealra yfela. 7 la ðu
fæder ealra flymena. 7 la ðu | þe ealdor wære ealles deaðes.
7 la ordfruma | ealre modignysse. for hwig gedyrstlæhtest
þu | þe þ ðu þ gepanc on þ iudeisce folc asendest þ hig | þysne
30 hælend ahengon. 7 þu hym nænne gylt on | ne oncneowe. 7
þu nu þurh þ tryw. 7 þurh þa rode | hæfst. ealle þyne blysse
[*P. 34.] forspylled. 7 þurh þ þe ðu* | þysne wuldres cyning ahenge.
þu dydest wyðerwerd | lice ongean þe. 7 eac ongean me. 7
oncnaw nu hu | fæla ece tyntrega. 7 þa ungeendodan suslo
35 þu | byst þrowigende on mynre ecan gehealtsum | nysse. Ac

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- swā nyðorlic | 7 eft swā up heah. 7 swā wunderlic on ānes |
mannes hywe us to oferwinnanne. Ðu lāge | dead ðn byrgene.
7 ear lyfigende hider to us ge|faren 7 ðn þinum deaðe ealle
eorðan gesceafta. | 7 ealle tungla sindon astyrede. 7 þu eart
5 freoh | gewordon betwīnan eallum oðrum deadum 7 eal|lum
ure eoredu ðu hæfst swiðe gedrefed. 7 hwæt | eart ðu þu ðe
hæfst þ̅ leohte hyder geondsend 7 | myd þinre gocundan
beorhtnysse hæfst a|blend þa sinfullan ðistru. 7 eac gelice
ealle | þās eoredu ðissa deofla sindon swiðe afirhte 7 | wæron
10 þa ealle þa deoflu clypigende anre stefene. Hwanon eart þu
helend swā strang mǎn | 7 swā beorht ðn mægenþrimme buton
ælcon | womme. 7 swā clene fram ælcon leahtr eall | eorðan
[*Fol. 78^b.] myddaneard us wæs simile under*|ðeod oð nu. 7 eornostlice
we ahsyað þe hwæt eart | ðu þu ðe swa ūnforht ūs to eart
15 cumen. 7 þær | to eacan us wilt fram ateon ealle þa ðe we
firn | on bendum heoldon. Hwæðer hyt wen sit ðu sy | þe
ylca helend ðe satanas ure ealdor ymbe | spec 7 sede þ̅ þurh
þinne deað he weolde gewe|ald habban. ealles myddan eardes.
Ac þe | wuldorfæsta cinnig 7 ure heofonlican hlaford | þa nolde
20 ðera deofla ge maðeles na mare | habban. Ac he þone deoffi-
can deað feorr | niþer atræd 7 he satanas gegrâp 7 hyne | fæste
gebant. 7 hyne þære helle sealde on | ānweald. Ac heo hine
ða ūnderfeng eall | swā heo fram ure heofonlican hlaforde
ge|haten wæs. Ða cwæt seo hell to satane. La ðu eal|dor
25 ealre forspillednysse 7 La ðu ordfruma | ealra yfela. 7 ðu
fæder ealra flymena. 7 ðu | ðe æaldor wære ealles deaðes 7
[*Fol. 79^a.] ordfruma eal*|re modignisse for hwig gedyrstlehtest ðu | ðe þ̅
ðu þ̅ geðanc on þ̅ iudeisce folc āsendest. | þ̅ hy þisne helend
ahēngon. 7 þu him | nænne gylt on ne oncweowe. 7 þu nu |
30 þurh þ̅ treow 7 þurh ða rode hæfst ealle | þine blisse forspilled.
7 þurh þ̅ ðu þisne wuldres | cining ahēngon. Ðu wiðerwærd-
lice gedydest æg|ðer ongean þe. 7 eac ongean me. 7 oncnāw
nu hu | fala ece tyntregan. 7 þa ungeendodan suslo ðu |
byst. ðrowiende ðn minre ecan haltsumnysse. Ac | ða þa ðe
35 wuldres cynyng þæt gehyrde hu | seo hell wyð þone reðan

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

þa ða se wuldres cyning þ̅ gehyrde hu | seo hell wyð þone
 reðan satan spræc. he cwæð to þære | helle. beo satan on
 þynum anwealde. ⁊ gyt butu on | ecum forwyrd. ⁊ þ̅ beo
 æfre to ecere worulde. | On þære stowe þe ge adam ⁊ þæra
 5 witegena bearn | ær lange on geheoldon. And se wuldor-
 fulla | dryhten þa his swyðran hand aðenede ⁊ cwæð. Ealle |
 ge myne halgan ge þe myne gelycnysses habbað. | cumað to
 me. ⁊ ge þe þurh þæs treowes bleða ge|nyðerude wæron. ge
 seoð nū. þ̅ ge sceolon þurh þ̅ | treow mynre rôde þe ic on
 10 ahangen wæs ofer|swyðan þone deað. ⁊ eac þone deofol.
 Hyt wæs þa | swyðe raðe þ̅ ealle þa halgan wæron genea-
 cende | to þæs hælendes handa. and se hælend þa adam be |
 þære riht hand genam ⁊ hym to cwæð. Syb sig myd þe |
 adam. ⁊ myd eallum þynum bearnum. Adam wæs þa | nyðer
 15 afeallende. ⁊ þæs hælendes cneow cyssende. | ⁊ myd teargeot-
 endre halsunge ⁊ myd mycelre stefne | þus cwæð. Ic herige
 [*P. 35.] þe heofena hlaforð þ̅ ðu me* | of þysse cwyc susle onfon
 woldest. And se hælend | þa his hand aðenede ⁊ rôde tacen
 ofer adam ge|worhte. ⁊ ofer ealle his halgan. ⁊ he adam be
 20 þære | swyðran handa fram helle geteh. ⁊ ealle þa halgan |
 heom æfter fyligdon. Ac se halga dauid þa ðus clypode | myd
 stranglicre stefne ⁊ cwæð. Singað dryhtne nywne | lofsang.
 for þam ðe dryhten hæfð wundra eallum | þeodum geswutelod.
 ⁊ he hæfð hys hæle cuðe gedon. | toforan ealre þeode
 25 gesyhðe. ⁊ his ryhtwysnysses | onwrigen. Ealle þa halgan
 hym þa ⁊swaredon ⁊ | cwædon. þæs sig dryhtne mærd.
 ⁊ eallum hys halgum | wuldor. amen. ALLELUIA. Se
 halga dryhten wæs þa | adames hand healdende. ⁊ hig
 michaele þam heah | engle syllende. ⁊ hym sylf wæs on
 30 heofenas farende. | ealle þa halgan wæron þa mychaele þam
 heah | engle æfterfyligende. ⁊ he hig ealle ingelædde on |
 neorxena wang myd wuldorfulre blysse. ac þa | hig inweard
 foron. þa gemytton hig twegen ealde | weras. ⁊ ealle þa
 halgan hig sona acsedon. ⁊ heom | þus to cwædon. Hwæt
 35 syndon ge þe on helle myd | us næron. ⁊ ge nu gyt deaðe

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

satân spæc. he cwæð | to ðære hælle. Beo satân ðn þinum
anweal|de 7 gyt butu ðn ecum forwyrde. 7 þ beo æfre | to
æcere worulde. ðn ðære stôwe þe ge adam 7 | þæra witegena
barn ær lange ðn geheolden. | And se wuldorfulla drihten.

5 ða hys swiðran | hand aþenede 7 cwæt. Ealle ge mine halgan

[*Fol. 79^b.] ge þe | mine gelicnysse habbað cumað to me 7 * | ge þe ðurh
þæs treowes blæda genyðerude | wæron geseoð nu. þ ge
seolon ðurh þ treow | minre rode ðe ic ðn âhangen wæs.
ofor|swiðan þone deað. 7 eac þone deofol. Hyt | wæs þa

10 swiðe raðe þ ealle þa halgan wæron genea|lecende. to þæs
helendes handan. 7 se helend þa | adâm be þære riht handa
genâm. 7 hym to cwæt. Syb sy myd þe adâm. 7 myd
eallum | þinum bearnum. Adam wæs ða nyðer afeallen|de 7
þæs helendes cneow cyssende. 7 myd | tearum geotendre

15 halsunge. 7 myd milcelre stefene ðus cwæt. Ic hyrige¹ þe
heofona hlaford | þ ðu me of ðisse cwicsûsle onfon weoldest.
And | se helend ða hys hand âðenede 7 rodetacn of|fær adâm
geworhte. 7 ofer ealle hys halgan. 7 | he adâm be þære

[*Fol. 80^a.] 20 æfter fylygdon.* | Ac halga dauid þa ðus clypode myd |
stranglicre stefene. 7 cwæt. Syngað drih|tene nywne lof-
sang forðamðe drihten | hæfð hys wundra eallum ðeodum
geswutelode.² 7 he æfð hys hele cuðe gedon toforan ealra |
ðeoda gesyhðe. 7 hys rihtwysnysse awrigen. Ealle | þa

25 halgan hym þa 7swarædon. 7 cwædon. Ðæs sy | drihtene
mærð. 7 eallum hys halgum wuldor. AMEN | ALELUIA.

Ðe halega drihten wæs ða adames | hand healdende 7 hyg
mychaele þam he|ahengle syllende 7 hym sylf wæs | to heofon-
nan farende 7 ealle ða | halgan wæron þa mychaele þam
30 heahengle æfter | fyligende. 7 he hig ealle inne gelædde ðn
neoxenawâng | myd wuldorfulre blysse. Ac þa hyg inweard
fo|ron þa gemytton hyg twegen ealde wasas. 7 eal|le þa
halgan hig sona ahsedon. 7 hym þus to cwæ|don. hwæt

¹ hyrige MS.

² ge swu^lode MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

næron. 7 eower lyc|haman swa þeah on neorxnawange
 togædere|syndon. Se oðer hym þa 7swarode 7 cwæð. ic
 [*P. 36.] eom *|enoch. 7 ic þurh dryhtnes word wæs hyder alædd. |
 7 þys ys helias thesbyten þe myd me ys. Se wæs|on fyrenum
 5 cræte hyder geferod. 7 wyt gyt deaðes¹|ne onbyrigdon.
 Ac wyt sceolon myd godecundum|tacnum 7 myd forebeacnum
 antecrystes gean|bydian. 7 ongean hyne wynnian. 7 wyt
 sceolon|on hierusalem fram hym beon ofslagene 7 he eac |
 fram us. Ac wyt sceolon bynnan feorðan healfes|dæges fæce
 10 beon eft geedcwycode. 7 þurh ge|nypu up onhafene. Ac
 onmang þam ðe Enoch |7 eliás þus spræcon. heom þær to
 becom sum|wer þe wæs earmlices hywes. 7 wæs berende
 anre|rode tacen on uppan hys exlum. Ac þa halgan|hyne
 þa sona gesawon. 7 hym to cwædon. hwæt|eart þu þe ðyn
 15 ansyn ys swylce anes sceaðan. |7 hwæt ys þ̅ tacen þe ðu on
 uppan þinum exlum|byrst. he hym 7swarode 7 cwæð. Soð
 ge secgað |þ̅ ic sceaða wæs. 7 ealle yfelu on eorðan wyr-
 cen|de. Ac þa iudeas me wyð þone hælend ahengon. |7 ic
 þa geseah ealle þa ðing þe be þam hælende|on þære rôde
 20 gedone wæron. 7 ic þa sona ge|lyfde þ̅ he wæs ealra gesceafta
 [*P. 37.] scyppend. 7 se|ælmyhtiga cyning. 7 ic hyne georne bæd.* |
 7 þus cwæð. Eala dryhten gemun þu myn þonne þu|on þyn
 ryce cymest. And he wæs myne bene sona|onfonde 7 he me
 to cwæð. To soðon ic þe secge. to dæg|þu byst myd me on
 25 neorxnawange. 7 he me þysse|rode tacen sealde 7 cwæð.
 Gå on neorxna wang myd|þysum tacne. 7 gif se engel þe ys
 hyrde to neorxna|wanges geate ðe inganges forwyrne. ætyw
 hym|þysse rode tacen. 7 sege to hym. þ̅ se hælenda cryst |
 godes sunu þe nu wæs anhangen þe þyder asende. |And ic þa
 30 ðam engle þe ðær hyrde wæs eall hym|swa asæde 7 he me
 sona ingelædde on þa swyðran|healf neorxna wanges geates.
 7 he me ge|anbydian het 7 me to cwæð. Geanbyda her. |oð
 þ̅ ingâ eall mennisc cynn. þe se fæder adam|myd eallum his
 bearnum 7 myd eallum halgum þe|myd hym wæron on þære

¹ MS. *deaðes*.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- [*Fol. 80^b.] syndon ge ge þe¹ ðn helle myd ðs næron * | 7 eower lichaman swa þeh ðn neorxena|wangæ togædere syndon. Ðe oðer hym ða | 7 swarode 7 cwæt. Ic eom enoch 7 ic ðurh drihnes | word wæs hyder alædd 7 þis hys elías thesbitem | þe myd me
 5 ys. Ðe wæs ðn ferenum cræte hyder ge|ferod. 7 wit gyt deaðes ne abyridon. Ac wyt sce|olon myd godecundum tacnum. 7 myd forebeac|num ante cristes gearbidian. 7 ongean hine win|nan. 7 wyt sceolon on hierusalem fram hym | beon ofsleagene. 7 he eac fram ðs. Ac wit | sceolon biinnan feorðan
 10 healfes | dægges fæce beon eft geedwicode | 7 þurh genypu up ðn hefene. Ac amang þam | enoch 7 elías ðus specon. hym þær to becom | sum wer þæ wæs earmlices hîwes. 7 wæs beren|de anre rodetacen ðn ðppan hys exlum. Ac þa | halgan hine ða sona gesâwon 7 him to cwædon. | Hwæt eart þu þe
 [*Fol. 81^a.]
 15 ðin ansin ys swilce ânes sceaðan * | 7 hwæt ys þ̅ tacen ðe þu ðn uppan þinum | exlum byrst. He hym 7 swarode 7 cwæt. | Soð ge secgað þ̅ ic sceaða wæs. 7 ealle yfulu on | eorðan wyrcende. Ac þa iudeas me wyð þone he|lend ahengon. 7 ic þa gesah ealle þa ðing þe be | þam helende on ðære rode
 20 gedone wæron. 7 ic ða | sona gelyfde þ̅ he wæs ealra gesceapa scyppent | 7 þe elmihtiga cynîg. 7 ic hine ða georne bæd | 7 þus cwæt. Eala drihten gemun ðu mÿn þon|ne ðu ðn þin rice cymest. 7 wæs he mine bene | sona ðnfonde. 7 he me to cwæt. To soðan ic sec|ge to dæg þu byst myd me ðn
 25 neoxenawange. | 7 he me ða þisse rodetacen sealde 7 cwæt. Ga | ðn neorxenawange myd þisum tacne. 7 gyf | ðe engel þe ys hyrde to neorxenawanges ge|âte þe innganges forwirde ætyw him þisse ro|detacen. 7 sage to hym þ̅ se helend crist |
 [*Fol. 81^b.]
 30 þa þam engle þe ðer hyr|de wæs eall hym swâ asæde. 7 he me sona | ingelædde ðn þa swiðeran healfne neorxenawa|nges geates. Ac he me ge|bidian hêt 7 me | to cwæt. Ge|bida her oð þæt inga eall men|nisc cynn. þe fæder adam myd eallum hys | bearnum 7 myd eallum halgum ðe myd him | on

¹ þe above line in MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ii. ii, 11.]

helle. Ac ða ealle | heah fæderas 7 þa wytegan þa hig gehyr-
don | ealle þæs sceaðan word. þa cwædon hig ealle | aure
stefne. Sig geblotsod se ælmyhtiga drihten. | 7 se eca fæder
se ðe swylce forgifenysses þinum | synnum sealde. 7 myd
5 swylcere gife þe to neorxna | wange gelædde. he 7swarode 7
cwæð. Amen. |

[*P. 38.] Dys syndon þa godecundan 7 þa halgan gerynu * | þe ða
twegen wytegan carinus. 7 leuticus to soðon | gesawon 7
gehyrdon. eall swa ic ær her beforan | sæde. ꝥ hig on þysne
10 dæg myd þam hælende of deaðe | aryson. eall swa hig se
hælend of deaðe awehte. | 7 þa hig eall þys gewryten 7
gefylled hæfdon. Hig | up aryson 7 þa cartan þe hig ge-
wryten hæfdon. | þam ealdrum ageafon. carinus. his cartan
ageaf | annan. 7 caiphan. 7 gamaliele. And gelice leuticus |
15 his cartan ageaf nychodeme. 7 iosepe 7 heom þus | to cwædon.
Sybb sig myd eow eallum fram þam sylfan | dryhtne hælendum
cryste. 7 fram ure ealra hælende. | And carinus. 7 leuticus.
wæron þa færinga swa | fægernes hywes swa seo sunne. þonne
he beorhtost | scyneð. 7 on þære beortnysse hyg of þam folce
20 ge|wyton. swa ꝥ þæs folces nawyht nyston hwæder hig |
foron. Ac þa ealdras þa 7 þa mæssepreostas þa | gewrytu¹
ræddon. þe carinus 7 leuticus | gewryten | hæfdon. þa wæs
ægðer gelice gewryten | ꝥ naðer næs ne læsse ne mare þonne
oðer be anum | stafe. ne furðon be anum prican. And ða þa
25 gewrytu gerædde wæron. eall ꝥ iudeisce þa heom betwynan |
cwædon. Soðe syndon ealle þas þyng þe her ge|wordene syn-
don. 7 æfre sig dryhten geblotsod * | aworuld aworuld. Amen.

[*P. 39.] And ælc þæra iudea | wæs þa ham to his agenum farende myd
mycelre | ymbhydignysse. 7 myd mycelum ege. 7 myd |
30 mycelre fyrhto. 7 heora breost beatende. ꝥ hig | myd þam
betan woldon ꝥ hig wyð god agylt hæfdon. | And ioseph.
7 nychodemus wæron þa farende | to pilate þam deman. 7
hym eall atealdon be þam | twam wytegum. CARINE. 7
LEUTICE. 7 be þam gewriton. | 7 be ealre þære fare þe hym

¹A word has been erased after *gewrytu*.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

ðere helle weron. Ac þa ealle þa heah|fæderas. ⁊ witegan
þa hyg gehyrdon. ealle | þas sceðan word. ða cwædon hyg
ealle anre | stefene. Sy geblesod se ælmihtiga drihten. | ⁊ se
æca fæder. se ðe swilce forgyfenisse þi|num synnum gesealde
5 ⁊ myd swilcere gyfe | ðe to neorænawange gelædde. he
⁊swarode | ⁊ cwæt. AMEN.

Ðys sindon þa godcundan. ⁊ þa halgan ge|rīnu þe ða
twægen witegan carīnus ⁊ leuticus. | to soðan gesawon ⁊
[*Fol. 82^a.] gehyrdon eall swa ic ær* | beforan sede. þæt hyg on pissene
10 dæg myd | ðam helende of deaðe arison. eall swa hyg ðe |
helend of deaðe awehte. ⁊ þa hyg eall þis gewriten ⁊ ge-
filled hæfedon. hyg ūp arison ⁊ þa | cartan ðe hyg¹ gewriten
hæfdon. þam ealdrum | agefon. Carīnus hys cartan ageaf.
annan. | ⁊ caiphan. Gamaliele.² ⁊ gelyce leuti|cus hys kartan
15 ageaf. ⁊ on hand sealde. nyc|hodeme. ⁊ iosepe ⁊ him ðus to
cwædon. Syb | sy myd eow eallum fram þam sylfa drihtene |
hælende criste ⁊ fram ure ealra helende. | And karīnus. ⁊
leūticus wæron ða feringa | swā fægeres hȳwes swā seo sunne
þone heo | beorhtost scyneð. ⁊ ðn þære beorhnysse hyg | of
20 þam folce gewiton swā þæt þæs folces na | wiht nyston. hwæt
hyg geforon. Ac þa eal|dras ða ⁊ þa prostas. ða gewritu
[*Fol. 82^b.] reddon. | þe karīnus. ⁊ leuticus gewritene hæfdon.* | ða wæs
ægðer gelice gewriten þ̅ naðer næs | ne læsse ne mære þone
oðer be anum stafe ne | furðon be anum prican. And þa ða
25 gewriten | geredde wæron eall þ̅ iudeisce folc þa hym be|twenan
cwædon. Soðe sindon ealle þas ðing | þe her gewordene sindon
⁊ æfre sy drihten | gebletsoð aword a woruld. AMEN. |

And ælc ðæra iudea wæs ða ham to hys agenum | farende
myd micelre ymbhīdignyse ⁊ myd | micclum ege. ⁊ myd
30 micelre fyrhto.³ ⁊ heo|ra breost beatende þ̅ hyg myd þam
betan | wolden þ̅ hyg wið god agylt hæfdon. And | ioseph ⁊
nichodemus wæron ða farende to | pilâte. þam dēman. ⁊

¹ ðe^hyg MS.

² ⁊ lice has been erased after *Gamaliele* in MS.

³ fyrhto MS.

[Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. II. ii, 11.]

- æror bedyglod wæs. | Ac pilatus þa on hys domerne hym
 sylf awrat | ealle þa þyng þe be þam hælende gedon wæron. |
 7 he syððan an ærendgewryt awrat. 7 to rome | asende. to
 þam cyninge claudio. 7 hyt wæs þus awryten. | Se pontisca
 5 pilatus gret hys cyne hlaford | claudium. 7 ic cyððe þe þæt hyt
 nu nywan gelamp. | þæt ða iudeas þurh hyra andan 7 þurh
 hyra agene | genyðerunga. þæt hig þone hælend genamon. 7
 eac | hyne me sealdon. 7 hyne swyðe wregdon. 7 hym | fæla
 10 ongean lugon. 7 sædon þæt he dry wære. 7 eac | þæt he ælne
 reste dæg gewemde. for þan ðe hig | gesawon þæt he on reste
 dagum blynde men gelyhte. | 7 hreoflan geclænsode. 7 deo-
 folseocnyssa fram mannum aflymde. 7 deade awehte. 7 fæla
 [*P. 40.] oðra * | wundra he worhte 7 ic heom gelyfde swa swa ic | na ne
 sceolde. 7 ic hyne swingan het. 7 hyne heom | syððan to
 15 heora agenum dome ageaf. 7 hig hyne | syððan on treowerne
 rode ahengon. 7 he þær on | deað wæs. 7 eft syððan he
 bebyrged wæs. hig þær to | his byrgene gesetton. iiii 7
 feowertig cempena. | þe þone lichaman healdan sceoldon.
 Ac he on þam | þryddan dæge of deaðe aras. 7 þa hyrdas hyt
 20 eall | asædon. 7 hyt forhelan ne myhton. Ac þa iudeas | þa
 hig þæt gehyrdon. hig þam hyrdon feoh geafon. | 7 hig þæt
 secgan sceoldon þæt his cnýhtas comon. 7 | þone lichaman
 forstælon. And þa hyrdas | þa þæt feoh fengon. 7 hig swa
 þeah þa soðfæstnysse. | þe ðær geworden wæs forsuwian ne
 25 myhton. | Nu leof cyning ic þe eac lære for þig þæt ðu næfre |
 þæra iudea leasunga ne gelyfe. Sig dryhtne lof. | 7 deoflum
 sorh a to worulde. amen.

[Cotton MS. Vitellius A. 15.]

- hym eall atealdon be | ðam twam witegum. karine. ⁊ leutice.
 ⁊ | be ðam gewriton þe hyg awriton. ⁊ be ealre | þære fare
 þe æror bediglod wæs. Ac pilatus | ða ðn hys domerne hym
 [*Fol. 83^a.] sylf awrað ealle þa * | ðing þe be ðam helende gedone wæron ⁊
 5 he | syððan an ærendgewrit awrât ⁊ to rōme asen | de to þam
 cynnigne claudio. ⁊ hyt wæs ðus awri | ten. Se pontisca
 pilatus gret wel hys kine hlaford | cludium. ⁊ ic cyðe þe þæt
 hyt nu niwan gelamp. | þ̅ ða iudeas þurh heora andan. ⁊
 þurh¹ heora age | ne genyðerunge. þ̅ hyg þone helend gena-
 10 mon. | ⁊ eac hyg hine me sealdon. ⁊ hyne wregdon. ⁊ |
 hym fala ðngean lugon. ⁊ sædon þ̅ he dri wære. | ⁊ æac þ̅
 he ælcne restne dæg gewæmde forðon | þe hyg gesawon þ̅ he
 ðn reste dægum blinde men | gelyhte. ⁊ hreoflan aclænsode.
 ⁊ deofolseocnissa | fram mannum aflymde. ⁊ deade awehte.
 15 ⁊ fala | oðra wundra he worhte. ⁊ ic him gelyfde swâ | swâ
 ic na ne seolden. ⁊ hine swingan het. ⁊ | hine hym syððan to
 heora âgenum dome âgeaf. | ⁊ hig hine syððan ðn treowenre
 [*Fol. 83^b.] rode ahen | gon. ⁊ þær ðn² dead wæs ⁊ æft syððan he bebyr | *ged
 wæs. hyg þær to hys byrgene gesetton feo | wær ⁊ feowertig
 20 cempena þe ðone lichaman | healdan seoldon. Ac he ðn ðam
 þridan dæge | of deaðe arâs. ⁊ þa hyrdas hyt eall asædon
 ⁊. | hyt forhelan ne mihton. Ac þa iudeas þa | hyg þ̅ ge-
 hyrdon. hyg ðam hyrdon feoh gea | fon. ⁊ hyg þ̅ secgan
 seoldon. þ̅ hys cnihtas co | mon. ⁊ þone lichaman farstelon.
 25 ⁊ þa hyr | das þa þ̅ feoh ðnfengon ⁊ hyg swâ þeh þa soð | fæst-
 nysse þe ðer gewordon wæs forsuwian | ne mihton. Nu leof
 cyning ic þe eac lære for | ðig. þ̅ ðu næfre ðæra iudea leasunga
 ne ge | lyfe. Sy drihten lof ⁊ deoflum seorh â to worulde.
 AMEN.

¹ þurh MS.

² ðn above line in MS.

NOTES.

A. Comparison of the Old English and Latin Texts.

The Old English follows, as Wülker (p. 13 *et seq.*) has shown conclusively, the Latin texts designated by Tischendorf as D^{abc}. This is however strictly true only of that portion of the Old English which corresponds to Part I of the Latin. There are so few differences between the group D^{abc} and the text *A* in Part II (*Descensus ad inferos*) that it is difficult to say which the Old English has followed. The translation in Part II is much freer than in Part I,—being for the most part rather a paraphrase than a translation.

1. The following are the omissions in the Old English version, according to the Cambr. MS.:

P. 471, l. 11. *Consulatu Rufini et Rubellionis sub principatu sacerdotum Iudaeorum Ioseph et Caiphae* (Tisch.,¹ p. 312).—L. 27. *Claudos et surdos, gibberosos*.—L. 28. *de malis actibus after deofolseoce*. Also entire sentence *Dicit eis (ei) Pilatus Quarum malarum actionum? Dicunt ei* (Tisch. 316).—L. 30. *et omnia illi subjecta sunt after adryfeð* (Tisch. 316).

P. 472, l. 30. *Dicit eis Pilatus Osanna in excelsis quomodo interpretatur? Dicunt ei Salva nos qui es in excelsis* (Tisch. 319).

P. 474, l. 5. *se rynel hyne, etc.* The Old English translator has here compressed two long paragraphs of the Latin (Tisch. 320–322) into two short sentences, not even following the order or sense of the original. The entire episode of the standard-bearers and their standards doing obeisance to Christ as he entered the judgment hall (Tisch. 320), and Pilate's discussion with the chiefs of the synagogue as to the cause of this miraculous event (Tisch. 321) is compressed into the sentence beginning *Ac onmang þam* (l. 7).—L. 11. *Cogitante autem eo exsurgere de sede sua* (Tisch. 322).

¹ Tischendorf's first edition (Leipzig, 1853) has served as text.

P. 478, l. 1. Dicit Pilatus Iudaeis Vobis dixit dominus non occideris, sed mihi dixit ut occidam? after ofsleanne (Tisch. 327).

P. 480, l. 2. Si quis Caesarem blasphemaverit, dignus est morte ane? Responderunt ei Iudaei Quanto magis hic qui deum blasphemavit dignus est mori (Tisch. 329).—L. 13. Dicit eis Pilatus Non est dignus crucifigi. Intuitus vero praeses in populum circumstantem Iudaeorum vidit plurimos lacrimantes Iudaeorum et dixit Non omnis multitudo vult eum mori. Dicunt seniores ad Pilatum Ideoque venimus universa multitudo ut moriatur (Tisch. 330).—L. 24. After the words oðer ne dorste, the Old English omits the Latin from the beginning of Cap. v (Tisch. 331: Homo iste multa mirabilia facit et signa quae nullus hominum fecit nec facere potest) to the last paragraph of Cap. xi (Tisch., p. 343: Stabant autem et noti eius a longe et mulieres, etc.). The omitted chapters repeat to a considerable extent the subject-matter of preceding chapters. It is possible, therefore, that the Old English translator omitted this long passage from the original in order to avoid repetition. The Chapters v–x are concerned with Nicodemus's defense of Christ, the testimony of various Jews in the presence of Pilate to the wonderful healing powers of the Saviour, and the final steps in his trial. Chapters x–xi relate the passion and crucifixion of Christ and the wonders which followed upon the crucifixion, just about as they are told in the gospel narration.

P. 482, l. 19. ante diem sabbati usque ad unum diem sabbatorum, et dixerunt ei (Tisch. 345).—L. 23. Dicit eis Ioseph Iste sermo superbi Goliae est, qui improperavit deo vivo adversus sanctum David. Dixit autem deus Mihi vindictam, ego retribuam, dicit dominus. Et obstructus corde Pilatus accepit aquam et lavit manus suas ante solem dicens Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius: vos videritis. Et respondentes Pilato dixistis Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros. Et nunc timeo ne quando veniat ira dei

super vos et super filios vestros, sicut dixistis. Audientes autem Iudaei sermones istos exacerbati sunt animo nimis, et apprehendentes Joseph (Tisch. 346) after *wylde*deorum. This passage is a repetition in part of what has preceded.

P. 486, l. 35. Et haec audientes principes sacerdotum . . . et quod vidimus eum ascendentem in coelum tacemus (Tisch. 351-2).

P. 490, l. 8. et non invenerunt after *hæfdon* (Tisch. 355).—L. 29. ascendens after *dæge* (Tisch. 357).—L. 35. omnes (Et osculati sunt eum omnes).

P. 492, l. 2. *parasceve* after *dæge* (Tisch. 358).—L. 4. Israel.—L. 9. Coram deo (Tisch. 359).—L. 22. deduxit me in locum ubi sepelivi eum, et ostendit mihi sindonem et fasciæ in quo caput eius involvi. Tunc cognovi quia Iesus est, et adoravi eum et dixi Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini (Tisch. 361).—L. 29. From about middle of § 1, Cap. xvi (Tisch. 361: et exclamantes ad se dixerunt Quid est hoc signum, etc.), to the end of the chapter (Tisch. 367). The contents of the omitted paragraphs are the testimony of Simeon on behalf of Christ, the account of Simeon's bearing the child Jesus in his arms into the temple, and the sending of messengers into Galilee to interrogate Addas, Finees and Egia about Christ's teaching on Mt. Mambre, and his ascent from this mountain into heaven.

P. 494, l. 9. et moderatione after *wurðmynte*.—L. 27. Hanc adiurationem audientes before Karinus and Leucius (Tisch. 369).

P. 496, l. 3. quæ in inferis fecisti (Tisch. 370).—L. 20. vivus in clause *þa ic on eorðan wæs* (Tisch. 371).—L. 26. quod superlucit nobis.—L. 28. infantem natum after *þone þe*.—L. 29. et compulsus spiritu sancto.—L. 35. vox et before *witega*.

P. 498, l. 2. After *folces* the Old English omits the latter part of Cap. III (Tisch. 372), beginning with *in remissionem peccatorum illorum*, and ending with *sedentibus nobis in tenebris et umbra mortis*.—L. 20. *gehæled wurðe*. Old Eng-

lish omits immediately following sentence (Tisch. 373), *tunc veniet super terram . . . et spiritu sancto in vitam aeternam.*—L. 21. After *cymð*, in *terras*.—L. 24. After *gehyrende*, a *Seth*.—L. 31. Before *myn sawl*, *dicens*.

P. 500, l. 28. *fram me ateo*, the following *Quis est iste Iesus, qui per verbum suum mortuos a me traxit sine precibus?*—L. 29. Old English omits *foetentem et dissolutum* and transfers *quatruiduanum* to following clause (Tisch. 375).—L. 31. After *Satanas*, *princeps mortis*.—L. 32. *Seo hell*, *Haec audiens* omitted.

P. 502, l. 12. After *gelæt*, in *aeternum*.—L. 34. After *þam*, *similiter*.

P. 504, l. 5. After *sceolde cuman*, *Et iterum dixi Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, infere, victoria tua?*—L. 13. After *clypode heo*, *quasi ignorans*.—L. 15. After *þas word*, *clamoris*.—L. 16. After *on eorðan wæs*, *per spiritum eius*; also *dicō tibi Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in praelio, ipse est rex gloriae*.—L. 18. *et ut solveret filios interemptorum*.—L. 21. After *gesprecenum*, *ad inferum* (Tisch. 377).—L. 32. *Quis es tu qui ad dominum dirigis confusionem nostram?*

P. 506, l. 1. After *heah*, *miles et imperator*; also *et rex gloriae mortuus et vivus quem crux portavit occisum*.—L. 5. *Quis es tu qui illos qui originali peccato adstricti tenentur absolvis Captivos et in libertatem pristinam revocas?*—L. 12. Before *Butan*, *tam praeclarus*.—L. 14. After *oð nu*, *qui nostris usibus tributa persolvebat, nunquam nobis talem mortuum hominem transmisit, nunquam talia munera inferis destinavit*.—L. 18. After *deað*, *crucis*.—L. 22. After *Satan*, *principem*.—L. 23. After *angeweald*, *et attraxit Adam ad suam claritatem*; also *cum nimia increpatione* after *underfeng*.—L. 35. After *gehealtsumnysse*, *O princeps Satan, auctor mortis et origo omnis superbiae, debueras primum istius Iesu causam malam requirere: in quem nullam culpam cognovisti, quare sine ratione iniuste eum crucifigere ausus fuisti, et ad nostram*

regionem innocentem et iustum perduxisti, et totius mundi noxios impios et iniustos perdidisti? (Tisch. 381).

P. 508, l. 14. After bearnum, iustis meis.—L. 23. After geswutelod, Salvavit sibi dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius (Tisch. 382).—L. 27. After Alleluia, the entire last paragraph of Cap. VIII (Tisch. 383): Et post haec exclamavit Habacuc propheta dicens Existi. . . . Sic et omnes prophetae de suis laudibus sacra referentes et omnes sancti Amen Alleluia clamantes sequebantur dominum.

P. 510, l. 19. After geseah, creaturarum mirabilia.—L. 29. Before And ic, cum hoc fecissem.—L. 30. And he me sona, etc., the preceding Qui cum haec a me audivit.—L. 31. After ingelædde, et collocavit; also aperiens preceding the same.

P. 512, l. 3. After eca fæder, et pater misericordiarum.—L. 5. After gelædde, et in tua pingua pascua: quia haec est spiritualis vita certissima.—L. 12. After gewryten, in singulos tomos chartae (Tisch. 387).—L. 14. After ageaf, in manus.

2. Passages and phrases in which the Old English follows the Latin only in part:

P. 471, l. 7. imperii Tiberii Caesaris imperatoris Romanorum et Herodis filii Herodis regis Galilaeae.—L. 11. quanta post crucem ipse Nicodemus litteris hebraicis employed partly in lines 4–5, partly in lines 11–13.—L. 16. For swyðe manege oðre Lat. has reliqui Iudaeorum (Tisch. 314).—L. 19. and hig þeh þus cwædon corresponds to Lat. dicentes (Tisch. 315).—L. 19. þysne geongan, man: Lat. Istum.—L. 23. â towyrpð: Lat. legem vult dissolvere (Tisch. 316). The sentence beginning Pilatus hym andswarode follows the Lat. of Tischendorf's text instead of the D^{abc}.—L. 25. hyt ys on ure â forboden þæt man ne mot nan þing gehælan on restedagum: Lat. In lege praeceptum habemus in sabbato non curare aliquem.—L. 29. Swylce yfele dæda he deð: Lat. Maleficus est. on þam ealdre Beelzebube: Lat. in Beelzebub principe daemoniorum.

P. 472, l. 1. hlýst hys worda: Lat. audire eum.—L. 2. Het geclypian hys ænne rýnel: Lat. Advocans autem cur-

sorem (Tisch. 317).—L. 3. Myd gewyssum gesceade yrn and clypa to me þone þe ys Iesus genemned : Lat. Cum moderatione modo adducatur Iesus.—L. 5. and myd mycelum ofste wæs forð yrnende : Lat. Exiens vero cursor.—L. 9. Se dema, etc. : Lat. Domine, super hoc ambulans ingredere, quia praeses vocat te.—L. 11. þa Iudeas gesawon, etc. : Lat. Videntes autem Iudaei quod fecit cursor.—L. 12–15. Hete . . . gesawon : Lat. Cur eum sub praeconis voce non ingredi fecisti, sed per cursorem? nam et cursor videns eum adoravit illum, et faciale quod tenebat in manu expandit ante eum in terra et dixit ei Domine, vocat te praeses (Tisch. 318).—L. 18. þa geseah ic hwær, etc. : Lat. vidi Iesum sedentem super, etc.—L. 19–23. The Old English does not follow closely any one of the Latin texts noted by Tischendorf. The D^{abc} group has a different word-order : et pueri Hebraeorum clamabant Osanna ramos (D^e adds palmarum) tenentes in manibus suis ; alii autem sternerbant vestimenta sua in via dicentes Salva nos qui es in Coelis : benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.—L. 27. hwæt hig sædon : Lat. quod clamabant hebraice? (Tisch. 319).—L. 28. The question Quomodo autem clamabant hebraice is addressed by Pilate to the Hebrews, and in the original the Hebrews answer : Dixerunt Iudaei Osanna in excelsis, while in the Old English the rynel answers Pilate's question.—L. 30. The Lat. texts, D^a excepted, here introduce another question by Pilate which is not found in the Old English ; although in the Old English the answer to the question is given in part. After the answer of the Jews (Osanna in excelsis) there follows another question by Pilate : Dicit eis Pilatus Osanna in excelsis quomodo interpretatur? Dicunt ei Salva nos qui es in excelsis.

P. 474, l. 4–5. Lat. et dicit ad eum Domine ingredere, quia praeses te vocat (Tisch. 321).—L. 10. Lat. timor apprehendit eum et coepit exsurgere de sede sua.—L. 13. For þam ic gehyrde, etc. : Lat. Multa enim passa sum propter eum in hac nocte.—L. 15–17. Lat. Numquid non diximus tibi quia maleficus est? ecce somnium immisit ad uxorem

tuam (Tisch. 323).—L. 18. hu fæla þynga þys folc, etc.: Lat. quod isti.—L. 23. þæt we sylfe, etc.: Lat. Nos vidimus, et testamur quod vidimus.—L. 25. ðyn cynn ys . . . untrewfest: Lat. generatio tua est . . . et infantum interfectio propter te facta est (Tisch. 324).—L. 28. bylewYTE and gode: Lat. benigni.—L. 31. to þam folce: Lat. ad Iudaeos.—L. 34. þa twegen, etc. Old English follows text C here.

P. 476, l. 1. clypiað and seegað: Lat. Omnis multitudo clamat.—L. 2. ælc yfel wyrrende: Lat. maleficus. he ys sylfa, etc.: Lat. isti autem proselyti sunt et discipuli eius.—L. 7. þa Iudeas: Lat. hi (Tisch. 325). þe ðær ænig god cuðon: Lat. qui testificati sunt.—L. 13. þe myd þam hælend, etc.: Lat. qui haec dixerunt.—L. 14. hwæðer he, etc.: quoniam non est natus ex, etc.—L. 16–18. and swa-þeh-swa . . . forligere acenned: Lat. Sed ipsi iurent per salutem Caesaris quoniam non est sicut diximus, et rei sumus mortis.—L. 19–20. þas men: Lat. duodecim isti (Tisch. 326).—L. 24. ongan . . . to axienne: Lat. dixit Pilatus ad illos XII viros iustos.—L. 27. forþamþe, etc.: Lat. quoniam sabbato curat.—L. 30. and ut eode: Lat. exiit foras praetorium.—L. 31. þam folce: Lat. eis.—L. 31–32. ic hæbbe, etc.: Lat. Testem habeo solem quia nec unam culpam invenio in homine isto (Tisch. 327).

P. 478, l. 6–7. Lat. gens tua et principes sacerdotum tradiderunt te mihi.—L. 11. After geseald Lat. has nunc autem regnum meum non est hinc.—L. 13. andswarode and cwæð: Lat. respondit.—L. 15. þæt ælc þæra, etc.: Lat. ut testimonium perhibeam veritati, et omnis qui est ex veritate audit meam vocem (Tisch. 328).—L. 19–21. Begym, etc.: Lat. Intende, veritatem dicentes quomodo iudicantur ab his qui potestatem habent in terris.—L. 21–22. Lat. Relinquens ergo Pilatus Iesum intus praetorium, exivit ad Iudaeos, etc.—L. 29. Ic gedo þæt ge ealle geseoð þæt: Lat. vos videritis (Tisch. 329).—L. 34. yfel: Lat. nihil . . . dignum morte.

P. 480, l. 1. gise: Lat. Dic nobis.—L. 5. genoh hyt ys, etc.: Lat. sicut datum est.—L. 6. swa Moyses and manega

oðre wytegan : Lat. Moyses et prophetae.—L. 17. þæs nama, etc. : Lat. Nicodemus autem quidam vir, etc.—L. 18. La leof, etc. : Lat. Rogo, misericors.—L. 21. þe her on geferscepe syndon : Lat. in synagoga.—L. 23. Swylce word, etc. : Lat. Homo iste multa signa faciebat et gloriosa quae nullus hominum fecit nec facere potest.—L. 24. þa wæs hym þær neh, etc. : Lat. Et ecce vir quidam nomine Ioseph, agens curiam, vir bonus et iustus, iste non fuit consentiens consiliis nec actibus eorum, ab Arimathia civitate Iudaeorum, expectans et ipse regnum dei, iste abiit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Iesu.—L. 32. Lat. in quo nullus fuerat positus.

P. 482, l. 1. Ealle hig Nichodemus sylfa : Lat. Omnibus autem se occultantibus solus Nicodemus apparuit (Tisch. 344).—L. 6–7. Lat. Quomodo ausus es ingredi synagogam.—L. 8. þu ðe wære þam hælende : Lat. Quia consentiens Christo eras.—L. 9. Ac sig, etc. : Lat. Pars illius fiat tecum in futuro seculo.—L. 10. he : Lat. Nicodemus.—L. 11. hyne ætywde and heom to com : Lat. subexiens.—L. 12–16. Is hyt for þam to awylte : Lat. quia petii a Pilato corpus Iesu? Ecce in monumento meo posui eum et involvi in sindone munda, et apposui lapidem magnum ad ostium speluncae.—L. 17. þæt ge hyne ahengon, etc. : Lat. quoniam non estis recordati crucifigentes et, etc. (Tisch. 345).—L. 19. hig hyne : Lat. Ioseph. fæste on cwearterne beclysas : Lat. eum custodiri.—L. 20. Oncnaw nu, etc. : Lat. Agnosce quia hac hora incompetit aliquid agere adversum te.—L. 21. þæt ðu toþohtest : Lat. quia sabbatum illucescit.—L. 22. þæt ðu bebyrged beo : Lat. sepultura.—L. 24–28. þa Iudeas þa hyne ofslean woldon : Lat. incluserunt eum in cubiculo et custodes posuerunt ad ianuas, et signaverunt ianuam ubi erat inclusus Ioseph, et consilium fecerunt cum sacerdotibus et Levitis ut congregarentur omnes post diem sabbati, et cogitaverunt quali morte occiderent Ioseph (Tisch. 346).—L. 31–32. Ac hyt gewearð, etc. : Lat. Hoc facto congregati iusserunt principes Annas et Caiphas praesentari Ioseph.—L. 32. And Annas and Caiphas

na Ioseph inne funden : Lat. Et apportantes clavem, signato autem ostio, non invenerunt Ioseph.

P. 484, l. 3. spræcon and wundredon : Lat. admirantibus (Tisch. 347).—L. 5. healdan sceoldon : Lat. custodiebant.—L. 8. uppan þam stane gesæt : Lat. super eum.—L. 10. swa þæt we, etc., is an independent sentence in Lat. : Et prae timore effecti sumus velut mortui.—L. 18. ys hig : Lat. praecedet vos (Tisch. 348).—L. 22. hwæt wæron : Lat. Quae sunt.—L. 25. forþam ðe : Lat. et.—L. 27. and for þam myhton : Lat. et quomodo potuissemus apprehendere mulieres illas?—L. 32. swa þeh wel ge, etc. : Bene quidem dixistis Vivit dominus : et vere vivit ipse dominus, quem crucifixistis.

P. 486, l. 4-5. and þa ge þær to comon : Lat. et aperiētes.—L. 7-8. Ioseph we magon begytan : Lat. Ioseph nos dabimus, date nobis Iesum.—L. 8. forþam ðe : Lat. autem.—L. 13. gif þeos spæc, etc. : Lat. Ne quando audientes sermones istos omnes credent in Iesum (Tisch. 349).—L. 16. We byddað eow leofe geferan þæt ge secgan swa þæt : Lat. has simply Dicite quia.—L. 31. þæt hig beon gefullode : Lat. baptizantes eos (Tisch. 351).

P. 488, l. 2-6. þa ealdras gespecen habbað : Lat. Statim exsurgentes principes sacerdotum tenentes legem domini coniuraverunt eos dicentes Iam nemini amplius adnuntietis verba quae nobis locuti estis de Iesu. Et dederunt eis pecuniam multam (Tisch. 352).—L. 7. And þa Iudeas, etc. : Lat. et miserunt cum eis tres (alios D^{ae}) viros ut deducerent eos in regiones suas ut nullo modo starent in Ierusalem.—L. 9-11. And ealle þa and cwædon : Lat. Congregati ergo sunt omnes Iudaei et fecerunt inter se magnam lamentationem dicentes.—L. 12-16. In this passage the Old English gives merely an outline of the long Latin passage beginning Annas autem et Caiphas consolantes eos, etc. (Tisch. 353), and ending with the words Aut nobis habent tenere fidem aut discipulis Iesu.—L. 17. be Ysrahela bearnum : Lat. filii Israel.—L. 17-21. Wel ge astigende : Lat. Vos audistis omnia quae locuti sunt tres illi viri iurantes in lege domini,

qui dixerunt Vidimus Iesum loquentem cum discipulis suis super montem oliveti, et vidimus eum ascendentem in coelum.—L. 21–24. Ða Iudeas . . . ahafen, a very free translation of the Lat.: Et docet nos scriptura quod beatus Elias propheta assumptus est. Et interrogatus Helisaeus a filiis prophetarum Ubi est pater noster Elias? dixit eis quia assumptus est (Tisch. 354).—L. 24–25. For þa cwædon sume þe ðar . . . wytegena bearn the Lat. has simply Et dixerunt filii prophetarum.—L. 30–31. Ac hig . . . ne myhton: Lat. et non invenerunt eum.—L. 33. After Weald þeah se gast the Cambr. ms. omits the necessary habbe þone hælend gelæht, which is however in the Cotton ms.

P. 490, l. 1–2. and þone hælend . . . ne fundon: Lat. quaerentes non invenerunt Iesum (Tisch. 355).—L. 2–3. and hym cyrrende . . . wæron: Lat. Et reversi dixerunt circumeuntibus, etc.—L. 6. For ða ealdras and mæssepreostas the Lat. has only principes.—L. 10. þa ealdras and mæssēpreostas: Lat. principes sacerdotum.—L. 12–15. Instead of following the Lat. here (Et tollentes tomum chartae scripserunt ad Ioseph dicentes) the Old English inserts the beginning of the succeeding paragraph of the Lat. (Et elegerunt septem viros amicos Ioseph et dixerunt ad eos).—L. 23. After eallum folce the hig hym seofon weras gecuron should follow according to the Lat.—L. 23. For þa ærendracan þa foron and to Ioseph comon the Lat. has Et pervenientes viri ad Ioseph salutantes, etc. (Tisch. 357).—L. 26. seðe me alysde: Lat. qui liberasti me ab Israel ut non effunderet sanguinem meum.—L. 29. For wurðlice the Lat. has in domum suam.—L. 30–31. wæs Ioseph farende, etc.: Lat. Ioseph asinum suum ambulavit cum illis et perrexerunt in Ierusalem.

P. 492, l. 1. myd wurðsype: Lat. faciens magnam suspensionem (Tisch. 358).—L. 3–4. La we . . . soðan gode: Lat. Da confessionem deo.—L. 17. and me cyste, etc.: Lat. Et extergens faciem meam osculatus est me et dixit mihi, etc. (Tisch. 360).—L. 18. Eart þu la lareow Helias?—Lat. Rabboni Helias.—L. 19. After þa cwæð he to me the Cambr. ms.

omits the Lat. *Non sum Elias ego*, but it is in the Cotton MS.—L. 19. *se hælend*: Lat. *Iesus Nazarenus*.—L. 25. *þa ða Iudeas*, etc.: Lat. *Cum . . . principes sacerdotum et ceteri sacerdotes et Levitae*, etc.—L. 26. *and sume adun feollon*: Lat. *et veluti mortui ceciderunt super facies suas in terram*.—L. 30. *to soðon wel*: Lat. *Vere et bene* (Tisch. 368).—L. 30–33. *hyt is to . . . byrgene arærde*: Lat. *admiramini quoniam audistis quod visus est Iesus de morte vivus ascendisse in coelum. Vero plus admirandum est quia non solum resurrexit a mortuis, sed etiam mortuos de monumentis resuscitavit, et a multis visi sunt in Ierusalem*.

P. 494, l. 3–4. *And ealle we . . . comon*: Lat. *et nos omnes in dormitione et in sepultura eorum fuimus*.—L. 4–8. *and we magon . . . sprecan*: Lat. *et videte monumenta eorum: aperta enim sunt, quia surrexerunt, et ecce sunt in civitate Arimathia, simul viventes in orationibus. Et quidem audiuntur clamantes cum nemine autem loquentes, sed sunt ut mortui silentes* (Tisch. 369).—L. 9–11. *and hig georne . . . geworden syndon*: Lat. *Et coniurantes eos, forsitan loquentur nobis de resurrectionis eorum mysterio*.—L. 12. *þæt folc hym wæs*, etc.: Lat. *Haec audientes omnes gavisi sunt*.—L. 12. *and to Arimathia*, etc. The Old English has changed the order of the Latin words: *Et euntes Annas et Caiphas, Nicodemus et Ioseph et Gamaliel non invenerunt eos in sepulcro eorum; sed ambulantes in civitatem Arimathiam ibi eos invenerunt*, etc.—L. 22. *þa boc þe seo drihtenlice*, etc.: Lat. *legem domini*.—L. 23. *and þus cwædon*: *We*, etc.: Lat. *Coniurantes eos per deum Adonai et deum Israel qui per legem et prophetas locutus est patribus nostris, dicentes Si Iesum esse creditis qui vos a mortuis resuscitavit? dicite nobis quomodo resurrexistis a mortuis*.—L. 27. *heom andswædon and þus cwædon*: Lat. *Karinus et Leucius contremuerunt corpore et conturbati corde gemuerunt. Et simul respicientes in coelum fecerunt signaculum crucis digitis suis in linguas suas, et statim simul locuti sunt dicentes* (Tisch. 370).—L. 28. *þa cartan*: Lat. *singulos tomos*. *þæt we . . .*

awrytan, etc. : Lat. et scribamus quod.—L. 29–31. þa ealdrasgebyrede : Lat. has simply Et dederunt eis. Et sedentes singuli scripserunt dicentes.—L. 33. lif and ærest : Lat. resurrectio et vita.—L. 34. þa godcundan gerynu geswutel-
lian : Lat. loqui mysteria.—L. 35. þurh þynne deað : Lat. per mortem crucis tuæ.

P. 496, l. 2. þa godcundan mærdæ : Lat. secreta.—L. 3. geswutelian ne moston : Lat. iussisti nemini referre.—L. 7. hellican deopnysse : Lat. in profundo in caligine tenebrarum.—L. 13–16. þa wæs sona hig þus cwædon : Lat. Statimque omnis generis humani pater cum omnibus patriarchis et prophetis exultaverunt dicentes (Tisch. 371).—L. 17. eall swa : Lat. quæ.—L. 21–22. þæt ðæt land Zabulon leoht geseon : Lat. Terra Zabulon et terra Nephthalim trans Iordanem, Galilææ gentium.—L. 22. Sceoldon geseon : Lat. vidit. Mære leoht : lucem magnam.—L. 23. dymmum ryce wunedon : Lat. sunt in regione umbræ mortis.—L. 23–24. Ic witegode þæt hig leoht sceoldon onfon : Lat. lux fulgebat inter eos.—L. 26. heom eallum geblyssigendum : Lat. supervenit nobis. Se wytega þa Symeon : Lat. genitor noster Simeon.—L. 29–31. And ic þa þus cwæð Ysrahela folce : Lat. dixi ad eum confessus quia nunc videntur oculi mei salutare tuum, quod præparasti in conspectu omnium populorum, lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuæ Israel.—L. 31. Symeone þa ðus gesprecenum : Lat. Haec audiens.—L. 33–34. And ealle þa and cwædon : Lat. et interrogatur ab omnibus.

P. 498, l. 2. and geican þa hæle hys folces : Lat. ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius (Tisch. 372).—L. 2. Adam þa, etc. The Old English changes a dependent (cum) clause of the original into an independent sentence.—L. 4. and þysum heahfæderum : Lat. filiis tuis patriarchis et prophetis.—L. 10. myd eallum untrum wæs : Lat. cum essem infirmus.—L. 13. se heahengel : Lat. angelus domini (Tisch. 373).—L. 16–20. ne þearft þu swincan gehæled wurðe : Lat. noli laborare lacrimis ovando et deprecando propter oleum ligni

misericordiae, ut perunguas patrem tuum Adam pro dolore corporis sui, quia nullo modo poteris ex eo accipere nisi in novissimis diebus et temporibus, nisi quando completi fuerint quinque millia et quingenti anni.—L. 22. þynne: Lat. nostrum.—L. 26. Hyt wæs swyðe angrislic: Lat. corresponding (Tisch. 373, Cap. iv) seems to be Et cum exultarent sancti omnes.—L. 27. þære helle ealdor: Lat. princeps.—L. 29. se hyne sylfne gewuldrod hæfð and ys godes sunu: Lat. qui se gloriatur filium dei esse (Tisch. 374).—L. 31. ys swa unrot þæt me þincð þæt ic abybban ne mæg: Lat. Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.—L. 32. for þig: Lat. Et.—L. 33–35. and fæla þe ic hæfde . . . he fram þe atyhð: Lat. et multos quos ego coecos claudos surdos leprosos et vexatos feci, ipse verbo sanavit; et quos ad te mortuos perduxī, hos ipse a te abstraxit.

P. 500, l. 1. þam ealdan deofle: Lat. ad Satan principem.—L. 2. swa strang and swa myhtig: Lat. tam potens.—L. 2–4. gif he man ys beclýsed hæfdon: Lat. cum sit homo timens mortem?—L. 4–6. for þam ealle þa ðe hig fæste geheold: Lat. omnes enim potentes terrae mea potestate subiecti tenentur, quos tu subiectos perduxistis tua potentia.—L. 7. se man and se hælend: Lat. homo ille Iesus.—L. 7. þe ne sig, etc.: Lat. uses positive form of discourse instead of negative, qui timens mortem potentiae tuae adversatur?—L. 8. ac to soðon ic wat: Lat. vere dico tibi.—L. 10. hym: Lat. potentiae eius.—L. 11. and ic wat gif se deað hyne ondræt: Lat. Et cum dicit se timere mortem.—L. 12. þonne gefohð he þe: Lat. capere te vult.—L. 14. oððe: Lat. et.—L. 16. mynne wyðerwynnan and eac þynne: Lat. adversarium tuum et meum.—L. 17. eal þæt Iudeisce folc: Lat. populum meum antiquum Iudaicum.—L. 17–18. and ic gedyde myd yrre and myd andan awehte: Lat. excitavi zelo et ira.—L. 18. and ic gedyde þæt he wæs myd spere gesticod: Lat. lanceam exacui ad percussionem eius.—L. 19. ic gedyde þæt man mengde: Lat. miscui.—L. 20. ic gedyde þæt man gegearwode: Lat. praeparavi.—L. 22. ic wylle

hys deað to ðe gelædan : Lat. est eius mors, ut perducam eum ad te (Tisch. 375).—L. 23. he sceal beon underþeod : Lat. subiectum.—L. 24–25. Wyte þæt ðu me ne ateo : Lat. Tu mihi dixisti quia ipse est qui mortuos a me abstraxit.—L. 26–28. geornfulle fram me fram me ateo : Lat. qui a me hic detenti sunt, qui dum vixerunt in terris a me mortuos tulerunt, non suis potentiis sed divinis precibus, et omnipotens deus eorum abstraxit eos a me.—L. 29. se ðe : Lat. Forsitan ipse est qui.—L. 34. þæt ðu næfre on me cume : Lat. ne perducas eum ad me.

P. 502, l. 3. gedrehte and gedrefede : Lat. conturbata sunt.—L. 3. swa þæt we, etc. : Lat. has an independent sentence.—L. 5–6. þonne he myd hrædum flyhte fram us ræsende : Lat. per omnen agilitatem et celeritatem salivit exiens a nobis.—L. 8. eall þæt : Lat. haec (Tisch. 376, 1). gedyde : Lat. potuit facere. þæt he ys on gode strang and myhtig : Lat. deus fortis est in imperio, potens in humanitate, et salvator est generis humani.—L. 12–14. Ac amang þus cweðende : Lat. Et cum haec ad invicem loquerentur Satan princeps et inferus, subito facta est vox ut tonitruum et spiritualis clamor.—L. 14–15. Tollite rex gloriae, this Lat. sentence is just as it appears in Tisch.'s text (376, Cap. v, l. 3).—L. 21. and gewurðe þe and hym : Lat. Sed quid tibi cum illo?—L. 22. and cwæð : Lat. Et dixit inferus.—L. 26. seo mænigeo : Lat. omnis multitudo.—L. 27. ealle anre stefne : Lat. cum voce increpationis.—L. 32. and þa ærenan gatu and þa ysenan scyttelsas tobrecon : Lat. quia contrivit portas aereas et vectes ferreos confregit.—L. 33. wyle genyman : Lat. suscepit.

P. 504, l. 3. and mænige byrgena geopenod weorðan : Lat. et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt.—L. 5. hæl sceolde cuman : Lat. ros qui est a domino sanitas est illis.—L. 8. and myd eallum oferswyðed : Lat. victus.—L. 12. gehyrde : Lat. videns.—L. 14. hyre : Lat. ad inferum.—L. 16. and ic hyt gecwæð þæt : Lat. Et nunc quae supra dixi.—L. 17. wolde beeson : Lat. prospexit.—L. 20. ecan wuldres : Lat.

gloriae.—L. 23. synbendas: Lat. indissolubilia vincula (Tisch. 378).—L. 24–25, and he ure ealdfæderas wunigende wæron: Lat. et invictae virtutis auxilium visitavit nos sedentes in profundis tenebris delictorum et in umbra mortis peccatorum.—L. 29–30. on þam setle geahnod hæfde: Lat. in suis sedibus.

P. 506, l. 1. anes mannes hywe: Lat. in forma servi.—L. 5. freoh is for freo.—L. 9. syndon swyðe afyrhte: Lat. simili perterritae pavore expavida subvertatione (Tisch. 379).—L. 12. and swa clæne fram ælcon leahre: Lat. et mundus a crimine.—L. 15. us to eart cumen: Lat. nostros fines ingressus es.—L. 15–16. and þar to eacan on bendum heoldon: Lat. et non solum nostra supplicia non vereris, sed insuper de nostris vinculis omnes auferre conaris?—L. 19. Ac: Lat. Tunc.—L. 23. heo hyne: Lat. inferus Satan principem.—L. 25. ealre forspyllednyse: Lat. perditionis.—L. 26–28. and la ðu ord and fruma ealra modignyse: Lat. et dux exterminationis Beelzebub, derisio angelorum, sputio iustorum (Tisch. 380).—L. 28–33. for hwig gedyrstlæhtest þu ongean þe and eac ongean me: Lat. quid haec facere voluisti? regem gloriae crucifigere voluisti, in cuius exitu mortis tanta spolia nobis promisisti? Ignorasti ut insipiens quod egisti. Ecce iam iste Iesus suae divinitatis fulgore fugat omnes tenebras mortis, et firma ima carcerum confregit, et eiecit captivos et solvit vinctos. Et omnes qui sub nostris solebant suspirare tormentis insultant nobis, et deprecationibus eorum expugnantur imperia nostra et regna nostra vincuntur, et nullum iam nos reveretur genus hominum. Insuper et fortiter nobis comminantur qui nunquam nobis superbi fuerunt mortui nec aliquando potuerunt laeti esse captivi. O princeps Satan, omnium malorum impiorum et refugarum pater, quid haec facere voluisti? Qui a principio usque nunc fuerunt desperati salutem et vitam, modo nullus eorum hic iam solito mugitus auditur nec ullus eorum personat gemitus, nec in alicuius eorum facie lacrimarum vestigium invenitur. O princeps Satan, possessor clavium inferorum, illas tuas divitias quas

acquisieras per lignum praevaricationis et paradisi amissionem, nunc per lignum crucis perdidisti; et periit omnis laetitia tua. Dum istum Christum Iesum regem gloriae suspendisti, adversum te et adversum me egisti (Tisch. 380-381).

P. 508, l. 4. þe ge Adam on geheoldon: Lat. Adae et filiorum eius, iustorum meorum.—L. 5-6. se wuldorfulla dryhten: Lat. dominus.—L. 7. myne gelycnysse: Lat. imaginem et similitudinem meam.—L. 8. þæs treowes bleða: Lat. per lignum et diabolum et mortem.—L. 9-10. geseoð nu þæt and eac þone deofol: Lat. modo videte per lignum damnatum diabolum et mortem.—L. 17. heofena hlaford: Lat. domine (Tisch. 382).—L. 17. The short sentence þæt ðu me of þysse cwycsusle onfon woldest corresponds to the Lat. passage beginning quoniam suscepisti me, and ending with the words ne mors dominetur amplius (Tisch. 382).—L. 22. myd stranglicre stefne: Lat. fortiter.—L. 23. for þam ðe dryhten þeodum geswutelod: Lat. quia mirabilia fecit.—L. 33-34. and ealle þa halgan heom þus to cwædon: Lat. Interrogati autem a sanctis Qui, etc. (Tisch. 384).—L. 35. Hwæt syndon and ge nu gyt deade, etc.: Lat. Qui estis vos qui nobiscum in inferis mortui nondum fuistis et, etc.

P. 510, l. 2. se oðer: Lat. unus ex eis.—L. 4. Thesbyten: Lat. Thesbites.—L. 5. cræte: Lat. curru.—L. 5. and wyt: Lat. Hic et usque nunc non gustavimus, etc.—L. 9. bynnan feorðan healfes dæges: Lat. post triduum et dimidium diei.—L. 13. þa halgan: Lat. omnes sancti.—L. 15. anes sceaðan: Lat. latronis.—L. 27. neorxna wanges geate: Lat. custos paradisi (Tisch. 385).—L. 27. ðe inganges forwyrne: Lat. si non dimiserit te ingredi.—L. 31. on þa swyðran healfne neorna wanges geates: Lat. ad dexteram paradisi.—L. 32. and he me geanbydian het and me to cwæð: Geanbyda her: Lat. has simply dicens Ecce modicum sustine.—L. 32. oð þæt: Lat. et.—L. 33. þe se fæder Adam wæron on þære helle: Lat. pater Adam cum omnibus filiis suis sanctis et iustis post triumpham et gloriam ascensionis Christi domini crucifixi.

P. 512, l. 8. For *ða twegen wytegan*, etc., the Lat. has *quae vidimus et audivimus, ego Karinus et Leucius*.—L. 9–11. *eall swa ic ær her of deaðe awehte*. The Old English has compressed into these few lines the long Lat. passage beginning *Amplius non sumus permissa enarrare* (Tisch. 385), and ending with the words *Pax vobis ab ipso domino Iesu Christo et salvatore omnium nostrorum. Amen* (Tisch. 387).—L. 13. *his cartan*: Lat. *quod scripsit*.—L. 15. *Sibb sig*, etc., corresponds to the last part of the preceding paragraph in the original: *Pax vobis*, etc.—L. 17. And *Carinus and Leuticus nyston hwæder hig foron*: Lat. *Et subito transfigurati sunt candidati nimis, et non sunt visi amplius*.—L. 21. *Ac þa ealdras þa and ne furðon be anum prican*: Lat. *Scripta autem eorum inventa sunt aequalia nihil maius aut minus littera una*.—L. 24–27. And *ða þa gewyrtu gebletsod aworuld aworuld. Amen*: Lat. *Ista omnia admiranda Karini et Leucii dicta audiens omnis synagoga Iudaeorum, ad invicem dixerunt Vere ista omnia a domino sunt facta, et benedictus dominus in secula seculorum. Amen*.—L. 33–34. *eall atealdon be þam twam wytegun and be ealre þære fare þe hym æror bedyglod wæs*: Lat. *Haec omnia quae dicta sunt a Iudaeis in synagoga eorum* (Tisch. 388).

P. 514, l. 1. On *hys domerne*. The Old English translator has here connected the last paragraph of Cap. XI (Tisch. 388) with the beginning of Cap. XIII (Tisch. 392), thus omitting the entire Cap. XII. The following is a brief outline of the contents of Cap. XII: Pilate assembles the leaders of the Jews in the temple at Jerusalem and demands that they find out by a careful examination of their secret sacred writings whether Jesus is to come into the world for the salvation of man; and in how many years he may be expected to come. Annas and Caiphas then dismiss the multitude from the assembly, and in secret conference with Pilate they inform him that they have already examined their MSS. and have discovered that they have unwittingly crucified the true Saviour, the

Son of God. They beseech Pilate, however, not to make this known in Jerusalem. After hearing their communication Pilate records it in the public records in his Judgment hall, and sends a letter to the Emperor Claudius at Rome, in which he describes at length the actions of the Jews.

This letter of Pilate has been so compressed and abbreviated in the Old English translation that I give the original in its entirety according to Tisch. (392-395) for convenient comparison :

Pontius Pilatus Claudio regi suo salutem. Nuper accidit, quod et ipse probavi, Iudaeos per invidiam se suosque posteros crudeli condemnatione punisse. Denique cum promissum haberent patres eorum quod illis deus eorum mitteret de coelo sanctum suum, qui eorum merito rex diceretur, et hunc se promiserit per virginem missurum ad terras : iste itaque me praeside in Iudeam cum venisset, et vidissent eum caecos illuminasse, leprosos mundasse, paralyticos curasse, daemones ab hominibus fugasse, mortuos etiam suscitasse, imperasse ventis, ambulasse siccis pedibus super undas maris, et multa alia signa miraculorum fecisse : et cum omnis populus Iudaeorum filium dei illum esse diceret, invidiam contra eum passi sunt principes sacerdotum et tenerunt eum et mihi tradiderunt, et alia pro aliis mihi mentientes dixerunt istum magnum esse et contra legem eorum agere.

Ego autem credidi ita esse, et flagellatum tradidi illum arbitrio eorum. Illi autem crucifixerunt eum, et sepulto custodes adhibuerunt. Ille autem militibus meis custodientibus die tertio resurrexit. In tantum autem exarsit iniquitas Iudaeorum ut darent pecunias militibus meis dicentes Dicite quia discipuli eius corpus ipsius rapuerunt. Sed cum accepissent pecunias, quod factum fuerat tacere non potuerunt : nam et illum resurrexisse testati sunt se vidisse et se a Iudaeis pecuniam accepisse.

Haec ideo ingressi ne quis aliter mentiatur, et existimes credendum mendaciis Iudaeorum.

3. Old English words, phrases, etc., which have no equivalent in the Latin :

P. 471, l. 14. þa yldestan Iudeas þe ðær æt wæron, wæron þus genemned.—L. 18. and he ne wearð næfre nane wyr-cende.—L. 20. and we þæt wyton þæt.—L. 21. and eac he segð þæt he sylf.—L. 25. Andswaredon.—L. 26. þeh hyt lama beo.—L. 27. þes man.

P. 472, l. 4. Se rynel þa swa dyde.—L. 8. hym sylf þar wyð feoll on eorðan astreht and cwæð.—L. 10. Ac se hælend . . . ne andswarode.—L. 17. cyninge.—L. 27. sona.—L. 34. and ne cuðon nane andsware syllan.

P. 474, l. 2. and þone hælend gemetende.—L. 34. þa twegen wælhreowan wyðersacan. la leof dema.

P. 476, l. 6. And secgað leas myd hym.—L. 11. hlyste seðe wylle.—L. 20. Huru we sylfe wyton þæt.

P. 478, l. 7. Nast þu þæt ealle Iudeisce.—L. 8. Ac sege me.—L. 24. gyse gyt he segð mare.

P. 480, l. 11. þe he spycð.—L. 16. sylfa.—L. 22. Ic axie eow.

P. 482, l. 3. þa com . . . gesomnunga hæfdon.—L. 5. þæt ic hyt æror nyste.—L. 16. And ic secge to soðon.—L. 28-31. Ac hyt wæs . . . ateon myhton.

P. 484, l. 4. þa stod.—L. 5-6. þæt ic wat þa we þæs hælendes byrgene heoldon.—L. 9. and ic wat þæt.—L. 18. þær hig hyne magon geseon.—L. 19. þa hig þæt gehyrdon.—L. 24. ne we hyt witan ne myhton.—L. 31. on þone þe ge gelyfan sceoldon.

P. 486, l. 1. þæt seggan.—L. 10. þonne secge we þæt.—L. 15. Ac ic wat þæt.—L. 22. And þa gelamp nywan þæt.—L. 33. æfre on ecnysse.

P. 488, l. 6-7. þa þry weras heom þa andswaredon and sædon þæt hig swa woldon.—L. 12. landa.—L. 17. Wytað þæt.—L. 28. and þa ylcan weras . . . swa don sceoldon.—L. 31. þa cwæð Nichodemus.

P. 490, l. 1. manige.—L. 4. eall Ysrahela land.—L. 9. þæt folc.—L. 15. Seo wæs þus awryten.—L. 17. Ac we

byddað þe on eornest þæt.—L. 25. on hand.—L. 35. And hig þa hym genealæhton.

P. 492, l. 12, and hig georne sang.—L. 21. ryht.—L. 23. Ioseph.—L. 27. lande.—L. 34. and.—L. 35. ærost.

P. 494, l. 1. halgan.—L. 2. þa wæron hatene: Se oðer Carinus and se oðer Leuticus.—L. 11. þa ða Ioseph eall þys þus gesprečen hæfde.—L. 13. and þær gewytan woldon hwæðer hit soð wære þæt Ioseph gesprečen hæfde.—L. 28. We wyllað eac.—L. 29. eac.—L. 31. Karinus and Leuticus heom wæron þa ða cartan onfonde, heora ægðer ane.

P. 496, l. 1. and þurh þyne æryste, la ðu myldosta hlaford.—L. 3-6. We byddað þe alyf hyt us. Heom com . . . and þus cwædon.—L. 8. on þære þeostra . . . and geblyssigende wæron.—L. 11. And Satanas þa . . . and þus cwædon.—L. 12-13. Hwæt ys þys leoht . . . færlice scyneð.—L. 14. Adam.—L. 16. for þære myclan beorhtnysse.—L. 17. dryhten.—L. 19. and hyt ys.—L. 20. þa ic cwæð and forewitegode.—L. 34. seo stefen.

P. 498, l. 3. se wæs genemned; he cwæð.—L. 10. Adames sunu.—L. 21. þe sceolon beon agane ær he gehæled wurðe.—L. 25. and ealle þa halgan þe þær on þam cwicsusle wæron.—L. 26. and god wuldrigende.—L. 33. and eac ongean þe.—L. 35. swiðe grymme and swyðe egeslice.

P. 500, l. 6. swa þu ær wære.—L. 9-10. þæt he naðer . . . þæt ic wat þæt.—L. 13. þære helle.—L. 24. swyðe angrysenlice.—L. 32. seðe Lazarum of unc bam genam.

P. 502, l. 12. fram me atyhð.—L. 19. raðe . . . and (gif).—L. 26. þe ðær ynne wæron.—L. 29. ecan; . . . þa gyt.—L. 34. wytega.

P. 504, l. 1. to eallum þam halgum þe ðær wæron.—L. 6. witegan.—L. 9-10. heom þa ðus gesprečenun.—L. 10. Ge ealdras.—L. 12. ecan.—L. 16. þa ða ic on eorðan wæs.—L. 22. þæt wæs ure heofenlica dryhten; . . . þar.—L. 23. ealle (geondlyhte).—L. 27. gehyrdon.—L. 32. Ac we acsiað þe.

P. 506, l. 4. eorðan.—L. 5. ealle.—L. 13. eall.—L. 14. And eornostlice we ahsiað þe.—L. 20. and ure heofenlica

hlaford þa nolde þæra deofla gemaðeles mare habban.—L. 22. and hyne fæste geband.—L. 24. eall swa hyre fram ure heofenlican hlaforde gehaten wæs.

P. 508, l. 1. Ac þa ða se wuldres cyning þæt gehyrde hu.—L. 3. and gyt butu on ecum forwyrde.—L. 6. swyðran.—L. 14. Adam (and myd).—L. 15. cyssende.—L. 26. þæs sig dryhtne mærd.—L. 29. and hym sylf wæs on heofenas far-ende.—L. 32. Ac þa hig inweard foron.

P. 510, l. 20. sona.—L. 23. And.

P. 512, l. 5. He andswarode and cwæð.—L. 8. to soðon. ða twegen wytegan.—L. 12–13. and þa cartan þe hig gewryten hæfdon þam ealdrum ageafon.—L. 15. and heom þus to cwædon.—L. 30. þæt hig myd þam betan woldon þæt hig wyð god agylt hæfdon.

B. The Language Differences between the Cambridge and Cotton MSS.

In this comparison of the MSS. A (= Cambr.) and B (= Cotton) no account has been taken of different forms of the same words in both texts, and only occasionally of the incorrect or superfluous words of MS. B. The aim has been to furnish a convenient list of the differences in language and style. Text A is used as the standard of comparison.

P. 472, l. 4. B has ðeuwa for þe ys.—L. 11. hæfde geeadmet (A); hyne hæfot geeadmed (B).—L. 15. þa is repeated after þæne in B. Ms. B almost illegible here.—L. 17. B has Ða ðu for þa ða þu; also has and to Alexandre.—L. 20. B omits and before strehton.—L. 25. B has þe ðu sylf.—L. 27. B has þ sona.—L. 30. on dryhtnes naman Com (A); Com on drihtnes naman (B). B omits La.—L. 32. gewytnysse (A); to gewytnisse (B).—L. 34. B omits ne before cuðon.

P. 474, l. 2. þær ða (A); þa ðær (B).—L. 4. het þæt (A); het ða (B). B omits La.—L. 6. B omits leofa.—L. 7. B omits he after þe.—L. 9. to hym (A); hym to (B). heafdo (A); hlaford (B).—L. 11. nama wæs (A); wæs nama (B).—

L. 12. ryhtwysan (A); godon (B). B omits þus.—L. 19. Se hælend hym andswarode and cwæð (A); Se drihten hym cwæt (B).—L. 21. B omits yfel.—L. 23. B omits þæt ðu.—L. 27. truwan (A); triðam (B).—L. 32. þæt ge sprecað (A); ðe ge sprecað (B).

P. 476, l. 2. B omits hys.—L. 3. B omits to before gecigde.—L. 10. A omits ne lease gewurdene after geborene.—L. 12. B has superfluous wæt between þa and to.—L. 17. A omits þæs before deaðes.—L. 20. and þæt he (A); and he þæt (B). Huru (A); Hu nu (B).—L. 27. B omits þe (for þam-þe).—L. 29. weorce (A); weorcum (B).—L. 30. þa wearð (A); wearð þa (B).—L. 32. B omits þa andswaredon and.

P. 478, l. 1. eft (A); æfter (B).—L. 4. B omits andswarode and.—L. 5. B omits andswarode . . . and.—L. 6. A omits ge . . . syndon.—L. 8. B omits me; also, hym andswarode and.—L. 13. B omits andswarode and.—L. 16. A omits he before gehyrað.—L. 17. B omits hælend . . . andswarode and.—L. 19. B omits andswarode and, and has cwæt to.—L. 25. and eft hyt (A); and hyt æft (B). fæce (A); fyrste (B).—L. 26. þæt tempel þæt (A); þæt tempel þe (B).—L. 28. fæce (A); fyrste (B).—L. 29. Ic gedo þæt ge ealle (A); Eall ic do þæt ge (B).—L. 32. B omits þa before diaconas.—L. 34. A omits þæt ic (he) sy deaðes scyldig after gemet.—L. 35. B omits and þa mæssepreostas.

P. 480, l. 3. and wæs hym to clypigende (A); and clypode hym to (B).—L. 5. nu (A); hu (B).—L. 11. B has nime ge.—L. 14. B omits hæfð.—L. 15. B omits ðe after þam.—L. 17. B omits þam before deman.—L. 18. B omits ðu.—L. 28. geanbidiende wæs (A); wæs geandbidigende (B).—L. 29. B omits he.—L. 29–31. B omits and hyne of þære rode genam and on clænre scytan befeold and hyne on hys nywan þruh alede, on þære þe nan oðer man ær on ne læg. þa ða Iudeas þæt gehyrdon þæt Iosep hæfde þæs hælendes lychaman abeden.

P. 482, l. 3. wæs an ealdor (A); an ealder wæs (B).—L. 8. B omits geþwærigende and.—L. 15. B omits hyne.—L. 17.

A omits on rode before ahengon.—L. 21. B has þæt ðæt ðu.—L. 24. B has þa hy hyne, and omits þam before cwearterne.—L. 25. B has þæt loc hy, etc.—L. 30. B omits hig after hu.—L. 32. B omits and þa mæssepreostas.—L. 33. to þære clusan (A); to þære duran (B).—L. 34. hig uninseglodon (A); hy wæron uninsegelede (B).

P. 484, l. 1. næs (A); nys (B).—L. 3. B omits þe.—L. 4. B omits and ymbe þæt wundredon.—L. 8. B omits on.—L. 13. B omits eow.—L. 14. B has þonne he for þone þe.—L. 15. B omits ac before cumað.—L. 16. þe he on alæd wæs (A); hwer he alæd wæs (B).—L. 18. hyne magon (A); magon hyne (B).—L. 19. B omits ær.—L. 22. B omits for.—L. 24. B omits we before hyt.—L. 25. A omits ne moston before ne myhton; A also omits gewordene before swylce.—L. 28. B has swa we us drihten.—L. 30. A omits swa us dryhten lybbe before for hwig.

P. 486, l. 1. B omits se.—L. 3. geinseglodon (A); macodon (B).—L. 4. B has ðane ne fundon.—L. 8. B omits þe.—L. 9. þa cempa heom andswaredon and cwædon (A); Ða cwædon þa cempam (B).—L. 11. B omits on; also, þæt se engel hyt þam wyfum sæde. þa Iudeas þa hig eall þys gehyrdon after gehyrdon.—L. 15. þa mycel (A); þæt mycel (B).—L. 22. B has and hyt þa gelamp.—L. 26. B omits and to þam mæssepreostum.

P. 488, l. 2. B has we hyrdon.—L. 3. B omits and þa mæssepreostas.—L. 6. þa þry weras heom þa andswaredon and sædon (A); hym þa cwædon (B).—L. 9. þa Iudeas (A); Iudeas þa (B).—L. 10. comon togædere þa (A); þa gædere comon (B). B omits gesomnode wæron.—L. 19. B has on uppan.—L. 29. swa spæcon (A); specon swa (B).—L. 32. B omits ge.—L. 33. A omits habbe þone helend gelæht after se gast.—L. 34. and hym geeaðmedan (A); to gebugan (B).

P. 490, l. 3–4. us ymbfarendum (A); we habbað ðurhfaron (B).—L. 6. B omits and þa mæssepreostas.—L. 12. þa swa peah (A); swa þeh þa (B).—L. 15. B has sy ðu myd.—L. 19. B has for ðam we.—L. 22. B omits syb.—L. 25. And þa

(A); Ac þa (B).—L. 31. B has on uppan.—L. 32. B has hyg ealle ongean. B omits clypigende and.—L. 33. B has Syb sy myd þe Ioseph myd, etc.

P. 492, l. 3. B omits La.—L. 10. B omits hym andswarode and.—L. 16. B omits þære.—L. 19. A omits Ne eom ic na Elias. B has þe ðe þu.—L. 20. B omits to before hym.—L. 23. B omits þe.—L. 24. B has huse ne.—L. 29. B omits to before Caiphan.—L. 32. B omits he before fala.—L. 33. of heora byrgene (A); on heora byrgene (B).

P. 494, l. 4. B omits we before magon.—L. 15. B omits and before Nichodemus.—L. 17. Hig wæron gangende (A); Hyg eode (B).—L. 28. B omits eac.—L. 30. B omits and þa mæssepreostas.

P. 496, l. 4. B has þa ha stefen.—L. 6. Efne þa (A); Soðlice ða (B). B omits þus before cwædon.—L. 9. þær wæs (A); Ða wæs (B).—L. 28. B omits cryst.

P. 498, l. 7. B has þæt he þane ele, omitting þe.—L. 9. B omits ðu before mihtest.—L. 13 B omits me after ætywde.—L. 14. B omits and before ic eom gesett.—L. 16. B has win tearas.—L. 19. B has for ðam we.—L. 20. sceolon beon (A); sceolde beon (B).—L. 24. B omits eall before hyrende; also, þa before heahfæderas.—L. 25. B omits þa before halgan.—L. 27. B has þa swiðe angrislic.

P. 500, l. 1. B has ðam Satanase.—L. 2. B has sy swa strang.—L. 4. B omits þa (þa ðe ealle). On eorðan anweald (A); anweald on eorðan (B).—L. 5. B omits hig before fæste.—L. 11. B has ame for hyne.—L. 18. B omits he (wæs myd spere).—L. 19. B, þæt man can mengde.—L. 24. B omits swyðe before angrislice.—L. 34. B has in ne on.

P. 502, l. 5. swa wæs (A); wæs swa (B).—L. 9. B omits þa after ealle.—L. 13. B has hlud swilce.—L. 18. B has Ac þa ðe me raðe seo hell þæt gehyrde. B omits heo after cwæt.—L. 19. raðe fram me (A); fram me ræðe (B).—L. 30. lyfigende wæs (A); wæs lyfigende (B). A omits þa ða ic sæde before andettað.

P. 504, l. 12. seo hell þa (A); þa seo hell (B).—L. 24–25. þær þær hig on þam . . . wæron (A); þær ðær hyg wæron on ðam, etc. (B).—L. 34. Oððe hwæt (A); And hwæt (B).—L. 35. eft up swa (A); eft swa up (B).

P. 506, l. 1. oferdryfenne (A); oferwinnan (B).—L. 2. B omits Hwæt ne eart . . . se ðe.—L. 3. cumen (A); gefaren (B).—L. 8. B omits myhte and.—L. 9. B has and eac gelice.—L. 10. B omits hig.—L. 11. B omits la.—L. 17. B omits þæt (ðu sig).—L. 21. B has na mare.—L. 24. hyre . . . gehaten wæs (A); heo . . . gehaten wæs (B).—L. 26. B omits and after ord; also, la (la ðu fæder).—L. 27. B omits la (ðu þe ealdor).—L. 28. B omits la before ord fruma.—L. 32. B omits þe before ðu.—L. 33. dydest wyðerwerdlice (A); wiðerwærdlice gedydest (B). B has ægðer (ongean þe).

P. 508, l. 23. B has hys wundra.—L. 30. on heofenas (A); to heofonan (B).—L. 35. B has ge ge þe; also, omits and ge nu gyt deade næron.

P. 510, l. 11. B omits ðe before Enoch.—L. 20. gesceafta (A); gesceapa (B).—L. 21. B has ða georne.—L. 23. he wæs (A); wæs he (B).—L. 24. B omits þe before secge.—L. 25. B has ða pisse.—L. 27. forwyrne (A); forwirde (B).

P. 512, l. 1. B has þa ealle þa; omits þa before witegan.—L. 9. B omits her.—L. 14. B omits and before Gamaliele.—L. 15. A omits and on hand sealde after ageaf.—L. 19. B has the correct form, heo.—L. 20. B has hwæt for hwæder.—L. 34. B has þe hyg awriton after gewriton; also, omits hym before æror.

P. 514, l. 5. B has gret wel.—L. 8. B has eac hyg hine; and omits swyðe before wregdon.—L. 16. B omits he (þær on).

The above comparison of the two MSS. proves one thing beyond a doubt, namely, that B cannot be considered a copy of A, as I surmised, *Introd.*, p. 467. This is shown by the fact that A has omitted several short clauses from the original which are necessary in order to make sense, and which

are to be found in B. Among these omissions the following may be noted: P. 478, l. 34. þæt ic (he) sy deaðes scyldig. P. 484, l. 25. ne moston; l. 30. Swa us dryhten lybbe. P. 488, l. 33. habbe þone hælend gelæht, after se gast. P. 492, l. 19. Ne eom ic na Elias. P. 502, l. 30. þa ða ic sæde. Moreover, there are too many differences between the MSS. in word-forms, language and style to justify the supposition that A is a copy of B. The more plausible supposition is that both are copies of an older MS. which has been lost.

In the Introduction I have tried to give sufficiently clear references to authorities quoted. If, however, the same authority is quoted more than once, the reference is not repeated.

In the *Notes* I have tried to be as brief as possible. The comparison of the Old English with the Latin was undertaken for the purpose of showing to what extent the translation is exact; to what extent it is merely a paraphrase, and in addition to this to determine more definitely than Wülker has done which of the many Latin texts was the basis of the Old English translation. Moreover, a careful study of the methods of translation employed in this case will assist in determining the author of the Old English work.

It remains for me in closing to acknowledge my indebtedness and gratitude to those who have been especially helpful to me in the preparation and publication of these texts.

My hearty thanks are due the custodians of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and of the Cambridge University Library for permission to use the MSS. I am especially grateful to Dr. W. De Gray Birch of the British Museum, and Francis Jenkinson, Esq., Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, for repeated instances of personal help and kindness during my sojourn in London and Cambridge. I am indebted above all to the kindness of Professor James W. Bright, the efficient editor of these *Publications*, for valuable suggestions and advice during the course of printing.

WM. H. HULME.

CORRECTIONS.

In accordance with the note on p. 473 read *cwæt* for *cwæð* p. 473 ll. 8, 17, 27, 30; p. 475 ll. 2, 5, 22.—P. 473, l. 1, read *þinum* for *pinum*.—P. 487, l. 1, erroneously repeated from p. 485.—P. 487, l. 26, read *preceptor* for *perceptor*.—P. 493, l. 21, read *ðe* for *de*.—P. 495, l. 20, read *cnæaw-um*.—P. 496, l. 14, read *geblyssigende* for *gebbyssigende*.—P. 502, l. 34, read *unryhtwysnyse*.

W. H. H.

XIV.—EIN BEITRAG ZUR KRITIK DER ROMANTISCHEN SAGAS.¹

Ich habe für den inhalt der folgenden seiten eine allgemeine überschrift gewählt, obwohl es sich nur um die beschreibung einer einzelnen hs., Cod. Holm. membr. 6, 4°, handelt, weil nicht nur für mehrere romantische sagas neues textkritisches material beigebracht werden soll, sondern auch die grundsätze mehrfach berührt werden, die für die herstellung kritischer ausgaben dieser prosaversionen romantischer stoffe massgebend sein müssen.

Für den gesamtinhalt dieser hs. dürfte ich mich vielleicht mit einer verweisung auf meine *Riddarasögur*, Strassburg 1872, p. I f., sowie auf Cederschiöld's *Fornsögur Suðrlanda*, Lund 1884, p. LVIII f. begnügen: indessen sind doch so mancherlei bibliographische notizen nachzutragen, dass ich lieber, ehe ich auf genauere besprechung einzelner stücke eingehe, denselben hier nochmals kurz vorführen will. Dies Ms. enthält folgende stücke: (1) *Amicus ok Amilius saga*, fol. 1–3^{a25}. Die erste seite ist fast ganz abgerieben und unlesbar. Von mir edirt *Germania*, XIX, p. 184–189: vgl. dazu meine ausgabe der *Elis saga*, Heilbr. 1881, p. IX. (2) *Bevens saga*, fol. 3^{a26}–6^b und 7^a–23^b; dazwischen fehlt ein blatt; nach dieser hs., für die lücke ergänzt durch cod. Holm. Membr. 7 fol., ist die saga gedruckt in Cederschiöld's *Fornsögur Suðrlanda*, p. 209–267. (3) *Ívents saga Artúskappa*, fol. 23^b (enthaltend die rothe überschrift)—26^b, 27^a–35^b, 36^a–39^a; dazwischen fehlt je ein blatt. Unter zugrundelegung dieser hs., für die erste lücke ergänzt durch cod. A. M. chart. 588 A, 4°, habe ich die *Ívents saga* edirt in meinen *Riddarasögur*, p. 73–136; besserungen dazu auf grund einer nach-

¹Professor D. K. Dodge, of the University of Illinois, has been kind enough to prepare for the compositor's use a type-written copy of this article, and to assist in the reading of the proofs.—J. W. B.

collation der. hs. lieferte Cederschiöld, *Germania*, xx, p. 306 ff. Eine neue ausgabe dieser saga für die Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek. Hinter dem schluss der *Ívents saga* folgt ein satz in der schrift des 17. jahrhunderts, den Cederschiöld, *FSS*, p. LVIII f. abgedruckt hat. An einigen stellen lese ich anders, p. LIX, 10 v. u. *Mjrmannz* für *Mirmanz*: 9 v. u. heisst es; & eru þar sög² (= ur) allz ir: ich lese *alls 12*, und in der that hat der schreiber vorher 12 sagas namentlich genannt; 8 v. u. *Liota*] 1. *hliota*. (4) *Parcevals saga*, fol. 39^b–45^b, 46^a–56^a; dazwischen ist ein blatt verloren; von mir edirt *Ridd.*, p. 1–53; vgl. dazu Cederschiöld, *Germ.*, a. a. o. (5) *Valvers þátr*, fol. 56^b–61^a, gedruckt *Ridd.*, p. 55–71; s. auch Cederschiöld, *Germania*, a. a. o. (6) *Mírmans saga*, fol. 62^a–69^b: ungefähr die erste hälfte des textes, während der rest verloren ist; herausgeg. in *Ridd.*, p. 137–165¹⁵; vgl. Ced., *Germ.* a. a. o. (7) *Flóvents saga*, fol. 70^a–85^b: ein genauer abdruck findet sich in Cederschiöld's *FSS*, p. 168–208. (8) *Elis saga ok Rósamundu*, fol. 86^a–93^b, 94^a–104^b, 105^a–106^b; dazwischen wird je ein blatt vermisst, auch am schluss fehlen einige zeilen ('vantar 1 bl.' steht unten auf der seite); vgl. auch *Elis saga* s. IX. Alle sachlichen varianten dieses textes sind in meiner ausgabe der *Elis saga* aufgeführt. (9) *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, fol. 107^a–119^{b14}. Aus dieser hs. hat Cederschiöld *FSS*, p. CLVIII ff. eine grössere anzahl varianten, nach gesichtspunkten geordnet, angeführt. Ausserdem ist aber die ganze saga u. d. t.: *Konráðs saga keisarasonar, er fór til Ormalands*, von G. Þórðarson, Kop. 1859 nach cod. A. M. 179 fol., einer ziemlich genauen abschrift des Stockholmer codex, edirt worden, mit beifügung einiger weniger varianten aus anderen hss., jedoch ohne den anspruch strengerer kritischer verwerthung des apparatus (vgl. Cederschiöld's *FSS*, p. CLVI). (10) *Þjalar-Jóns saga*, fol. 119^{b15}–126^b; der schluss fehlt. Eine abschrift davon, enthalten in Cod. A. M. 181L, ist von G. Þórðarson in seiner ausgabe dieser saga, Reykjavík 1857, mit verwerthet worden. (11) *Mottuls saga*, fol. 127^a–128^{a20}, abgedruckt in *Versions nordi-*

ques du fabliau français Le Mantel mautailé. Textes et notes par G. Cederschiöld et F. A. Wulf, Lund 1877. Der anfang fehlt und ein blatt ist aus der hs. entfernt und jetzt in A. M. 598, 4°, mit eingheftet, entsprechend p. 13⁵–17²¹ der eben erwähnten ausgabe. (12) Der anfang eines liebesliedes, fol. 128^{a21–27}, abgedruckt bei Stephens, *Herr Ivan lejon-riddaren*, Stockholm 1849, p. CXXXVII f. (13) *Clarus saga keisarasonar*, f. 128^b–132^b, 133^a–136^b, 137; zwischen f. 132 und 133 fehlen zwei blätter, und ein weiteres nach fol. 136; von fol. 137 sind nur zwei kleine stücke erhalten, deren rückseite fast unleserlich ist. Cederschiöld hat in seiner ausgabe der *Clarus saga*, Lund 1879, den anfang, p. 1–2²⁵ nach dieser hs. edirt und von da ab einen theil der sachlichen varianten im apparate vermerkt.

In seinem oben angeführten aufsatze, *Germania*, XX, p. 306, bemerkt Cederschiöld bezüglich seiner collation, es seien gewiss viele dinge seiner aufmerksamkeit entgangen und vollständigkeit könne nicht erreicht sein. So glaubte ich seinen bemühungen um meinen text keine bessere anerkennung spenden zu können, als wenn ich jetzt, da durch die liberalität der Stockholmer bibliotheksverwaltung mir die möglichkeit geboten war, die ganze hs. in ruhe hier zu benützen, meinen abdruck von *Ívents saga*, *Parcevals saga*, *Valvers páttir* und *Mírmans saga* in den *Riddarasögur* nochmals mit dem Ms. vergleiche. Die resultate lege ich zunächst hier vor.

1. *Ívents saga*.

p. 77, 1 *hesliskóg*] 1. *heslisskóg*. p. 78, 5 *sogðumst*] *sögðuzst* Ms. p. 80, 15 *þegar*] om. Ms. 26 *smaragðu*] 1. *smaragðo*. p. 86, 3 *sína*] 1. *smá*. p. 92, 21 *gékk*] 1. *gékk þá*. p. 95, 6 *þú dæmir nú*] 1. *þá dæmir nú*: nach *dæmir* findet sich ein nachtragszeichen, dem aber am rande kein solcher entspricht; jedenfalls sollte *þú* ergänzt werden. 13 *sjálfrar*] *sjálfar* Ms. 13 *nauðsynjar*] 1. *nauðsyn*. 18 Dass die hs. *fyrirlátit* für *fyrirlátir* bietet, ist in meiner note p. 95 f. ausdrücklich

bemerkt: vgl. Cederschiöld, p. 310. 19 þín] þíñ þíñ (!) Ms. p. 102, 8 hin] hñ hin (!) Ms. 13 ráðgjafa] ræðgiafa (!) Ms. p. 104, 2 hafði] 1. hefði. p. 105, 3 þá] 1. þar. p. 107, 12 líkams] die hs. bietet z für s, das sowol als r wie als s gelesen werden kann; doch wird líkamr vorzuziehen sein. 17 haldi] 1. heldi. p. 115, 2 várr] corr. aus vorrar Ms. p. 116, 17 sína] 1. smá. p. 117, 8 þá] 1. þar. p. 120, 6 þær] þæt (!) Ms. p. 121, 24 En] 1. Einn. p. 124, 14 tæki] 1. taki. p. 126, 1 ja] om. Ms. p. 129, 8 kítit] 1. kítíl. p. 131, 23 scælast] 1. scættast. 29 millum] 1. í millum. p. 134, 34 öðrum] 1. öðru.

2. *Parcevals saga*.

p. 6, 10 sómdu] sómdi (!) Ms. 14 þessara] þessa Ms. p. 7, 8 býst] bydz Ms. p. 11, 20 vápnhesti] 1. vápnhest. p. 12 yfirmiklum] 1. með miklum (vgl. Cederschiöld, p. 312, 7, 10 v. u. ff.). p. 13, 21 tók] 1. festi (uns.). p. 14, 8 kunnasta] 1. kunnusta. p. 18, 11 mál] 1. máli. p. 19, 25 hann] 1. at hann. 28 Unnasta] 1. Unnusta (geschr. unnósta; ebenso p. 20, 20, p. 24, 24, p. 33, 4, 8, p. 43, 21, 33, p. 48, 21, p. 50, 10, p. 53, 1). p. 20, 7 sem] 1. er. p. 26, 37 hvern] huer (!) Ms. p. 28, 7 á] 1. ok á. 14 ok] 1. ok eigi. p. 29, 11 aclade] 1. ciclade.¹ 36 allt] all Ms. p. 32, 27 Hai] sicher nicht so, aber ich kann das wort nicht entziffern. p. 33, 12 Hef] 1. Haf. 17 Loc] 1. Loth? p. 34, 9 við] 1. um. p. 35, 4 úsynju] o synnu (!) Ms. p. 37, 15 unnustu] 1. unnastu; ebenso 38, 18. 27 at] 1. svá at. p. 41, 21 fríðastu] 1. fríðustu. p. 43, 15 hin] hinu Ms. 35 hinn] 1. hin. p. 44, 10 Riddarar] 1. Riddararnir. p. 48, 22 af] 1. ok af. p. 49, 29 bið] byð Ms. p. 50, 31 reið þá] reið þa reið þa (!) Ms. p. 53, 1 feginn] 1. fegin.

¹ Dieser stoff wird auch Clarus s. p. 7, 25 erwähnt; er ist mit siglaton, vorüber A. Schultz, *Höfisches leben*² I, p. 347 zu vergleichen, identisch. Damit erledigt sich meine conjectur [purpur] aklæði, *Archiv*, Bd. 93, p. 114.²

3. *Valvers þáttir*.

p. 57, 25 *nú*] 1. *inn*. p. 58, 19 *aptr*] 1. *af*; das darauf folgende wort ist unlesbar. p. 61, 14 *hina*] *hinu* Ms. 20 *ströndum*] 1. *ströndinni* (?). p. 62, 36 *bið*] *byð* Ms. p. 63, 31 *at*] fehlt am anfang von f. 58^b. p. 65, 9 *á*] 1. *í*.

4. *Mirmans saga*.

p. 142, 14 *þat*] 1. *því*. p. 143, 27 *ok*] 1. *ek*. p. 147, 25 *er*] 1. *en*. p. 148, 18 *er*] 1. *sem*. p. 149, 3 *Í*] von späterer hand am rande nachgetragen. p. 149, 14 *einvígum*] *eiñ vigium* Ms. p. 152, 4 *var*] 1. *var í*. 32 und note *ok hann*] *hann* Ms. p. 153, 2 *var*] *váru* Ms.? p. 154, 4 *man*] 1. *mun*. p. 157, 8 *gjörði guð*] nach einem zeichen in der hs. umzustellen. p. 159, ² *ek er*] mit umstellungszeichen versehen. p. 161, 14 *heyri* (!) *matti* Ms. p. 164, 5 *herklæddist*] *herklæðist* Ms. 6 *hánun*] 1. *M*. 10 *alhugat*] *alogat* (!) Ms.

Im anschluss hieran handle ich nun noch über einige andre der in dieser hs. enthaltenen texte.

5. *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*.

Ich sagte oben, dass Cederschiöld von den varianten dieser hs. in der einleitung zu seiner ausgabe nur eine auswahl, und zwar nicht dem gange der erzählung folgend, mitgetheilt hat. Ich glaube darum diejenigen welche in zukunft der *Konráðs saga* ein eingehenderes studium zuwenden werden, einen dienst zu leisten, wenn ich die resultate meiner collation von *Þórðarsons* text mit Cod. Holm. 6, 4^o, hier mittheile und demselben dadurch den werth einer zwar nicht orthographisch, aber doch wörtlich genauen reproduction dieser fassung verleihe.¹

¹ Zur vervollständigung des handschriftlichen materials würde dann vor allem noch ein verzeichniss derjenigen varianten von Cod. Holm. 7 fol. anzufertigen sein, welche Cederschiöld nicht mitgetheilt hat (vgl. P. und B. *Beiträge*, XIX, p. 6).

p. 3 Ueberschrift : *Hér byrjar upp sögu hin (!) kurteisa Konráðs keisara sonar. capitulum primum.* 10 var] hinn add. E. 21 *ekkert*] 1. *ekki.* p. 4, 1 *heiti*] 1. *heit.* 2 *er*] om. (!) E. 6 *hirðinni*] 1. *hirð sinni.* 21 *þessarri*] *þessi.* 24 *hygginda væri*] *hyggindi var.* *málsnildar*] *málsnilda.* 27 *þyrfti*] *þurfti.* p. 5, 6 *hann*] á add. E. 8 *var*] *hans* add. E. 9 *hleypti*] *sínum* (!) add. E. *stakk*] *ok kastaði* (vgl. ¹). 13 *íþróttir eigi minni*] *eigi minni íþróttir.* 14 *temja*] *fyrir* add. E. 18 *jafningja*] *jafninga.* 21 *flestalla*] *flesta alla.* *vel*] *því báðir.* 29 *einkum at hann sé*] *at hann sé einkum.* 30 *sinn*] om. (!) E. 30 f. *vera Konráði*] *Konráði vera.* 31 *fylgisamr*] *fylgjusamr.* *þetta*] *þat.* p. 6, 2 *manna*] om. (!) E. 15 *vel*] *honum allvel.* 15 f. *Konr.—mér*] *já herra faðir, segir hann.* 17 *mér*] *þér* add. (!) E. 26 *svikarinn*] *svikari.* p. 7, 3 *þo*] *at* add. E. 7 *Keisarinn*] *Konungr.* 9 *þat*] *er* add. E. 12 *skuli*] *skulu.* 14 *þá*] om. E. 20 *Keisarinn*] *Konungr.* 22 *hafit*] *hafir* (!). 24 *líkn*] *líkna.* 26 *upp*] om. E. 27 *Keis.*] *Konungr.* p. 8, 1 *svarar*] *segir.* 3 *þat*] *er* add. E. 4 *mik*] *pik.* 5 *slíkr*] *þvílíkr.* 8 *spyr*] *segir.* 11 f. *ok—þangat*] *ok kvaz meir fyrir Konráðs hluta sjá þá er hann fór þanneg.* 14 *er*] om. E. 16 *landi*] *þá* add. E. 19 *stólkonungrinn*] *stólkonungr.* 24 *grænum*] *blám.* 24 f. *ok gulum*] *glunum* (!) *ok grænum.* 28 *hverir*] *hverr.* p. 9, 5 *alúð*] *ölúð.*¹ 10 *helgidóma*] *helgadóma.* 11 *hirð sína*] *sína hirð.* *þessarir*] *þessi.* 16 *sé*] *sjá.* 21 *settist*] *setz.* Ms. 28 *sjáum*] *sjá.* 29 *konungr*] *segir hann* add. E. 32 *okkar*] *okkra.* p. 10, 2 *framari*] *framarr.* 16 *at segja*] om (!) E. 22 *öðrum*] om. E. 29 *var*] om. E. 30 *hafði hann*] *þvíat konungr hafði.* 31 f. *veröldinni*] *veröldu.* p. 11, 6 *hjá*] *hér* (!). 11 *kurteiss*] *at* add. E. 21 *því*] *at* add. E. 22 *mann*] om. E. 26 *faðir*] *minn* add. E. 28 *haf*] *hefði.* 29 *þat*] *þá.* 32 *eðr*] *eða.* p. 12, 9 *þar*] *er* add. E. 19 *fyrir sik*] *at framan.* 24 f. *at—mér*] *at—menn* (s. note ²). 25 *höll*] *hall.* *mína yfirlitu*] *minn yfirlit*² 28 *sín*] *sinni* (!). 29 *vísdom*]

¹ Dies ist der zweite beleg für *ölúð* neben *alúð* in unsern lexicis: Fritzner² III s. 1086 kennt diese form nur aus Flat. 1, 99¹³.

² Von sicheren belegen für *yfirlitr* als masc. kennt Fritzner,² III, p. 993, nur Strengl. 40⁴ (Die bei Vigf., p. 725, angeführten stellen lassen sich sämtlich auch vom neutr. *yfirlit* ableiten).

vísðómi. 30 þat] om. E. p. 13, 1 maðr] hon svarar add. E.
 5 birtu] om. E. 6 skarsl] skærsl¹ 23 munu] muni. p. 14, 5
 Roðbert] Konráðr. 9 er] hvert add. E. 11 værum] værim. 12
 vera] Konungr mælti: Svá mun reynaz, segir hann, þess heldr
 er þú veizt gjörr add. E. 13 farit] verit. 15 sjást] segir Kon-
 ráðr add. E. 16 kvað] segir. 24 þinnar] yðvarrar. 31 því]
 hví. p. 15, 1 f. nokkurstaðar] nökkur. 4 sik] þat add. E. 9 at]
 om. E. 12 mér] ok add. E. 14 ok] ek. 15 virða ek] virðag (!).
 16 við] ok (!). p. 16, 3 nú herra] herra nú. 11 eigi] ekki. 16
 tveim] tveimr. 17 f. Ek hefi] En ek hafða. 23 rýfst] Konráðr
 svarar add. E. 29 liðs míns] liðsins. 32 færur] færir. lei-
 tuðum] leitaðim. p. 17, 1 þessara] þessa. 9 öll rúm í höllinni]
 rúm öll í hallinni. 15 pái] fáí.² 20 höllina] hallina. 21 desgl.
 29 laut] om. (!) E. p. 18, 2 náttúra] náttúru. 14 lizt] litiz. 15
 þegar] þar. 19 sagt] Nu add. E. 20 þeir] menn. 22 snýst] snýr.
 23 höllinni] hallinni. 24 hugði] at add. E. mundu] mundi.
 32 mælti] Nú er vænna um tala, segir hon, er vér megum
 orðum koma við þenna mann, eða add. E. p. 19, 3 þar fleiri
 menn] þeir menn fleiri. 12 sagði] segir. 14 hafir því ei] hefir
 því ekki. 17 hafa] hér add. E. 21 ei] om. E. orðum] eigi add. E.
 25 f. segir honum] sagði. 28 komum] komim. 30 fóstbróðir at
 þú] at þú fóstbróðir. p. 20, 4 setr] setti. 11 engi] engin. 19
 hann] leikit add. E. p. 21, 3 bragðvisi] braðvísi (!). 4 man]
 mun. 10 stólbrúðurnar] stólsbrúðurnar. 11 þat] upp add. E.
 15 tvennu] tveimr. 25 atgjörvismaðr] atgjörfimaðr. 26 kann]
 ok add. E. vera] at add. E. 27 ok] om. E. p. 22, 4 sjálfan]
 sjálfa. skal] skylda. 9 sem] er. varðveitir] gætir. 12 at] om.
 E. 18 Um] Nú um. 27 sumar] snúnar. 32 lét sér] sér lét.
 veita] þann add. E. p. 23, 1 mætti] mátti. kjapta] kjöpta.
 4 dróttins] dróttin (!). 9 dýrit á viðj.] viðjarnar á dýrinu :
 vgl. ²) 10 hnakkann] ok add. E. 11 eyrun] ok add. E. 13
 höfuðhlutann] höfuðhlutinn. 15 borgina] hann berr þá fram
 höfuðhlut dýrsins add. E. 21 hann] upp add. E. borð] borðit.

¹ Vielleicht nur ein schreibfehler für *skarsl*, welches die wörterbücher alle kennen.

² *fái* = 'bild' kennen die lexica nur in der zusammensetzung *mannfái*.

26 ófrýniligr] ófrýnligr. 31 sinni] sinna. Ófrýniligr] Ófrýn-
ligr. p. 24, 1 f. á—þrautir] okkr þessa þrauta. 9 ráðs] om.
E. 10 meir] om. E. þá hann átti] þóat hann cetti; vgl. ²). 13
svarar] segir. 30 lengi] lengr. 31 síðan] síþ. p. 25, 4 f. þeicína]
þeicína. 8 grenjan] skrenjan: vgl. ²). 16 á] ok add. E. 17 fór
þetta] fóru þessi. 17 ok] en. 18 leónsins] leónem. 22 þær] ok
add. E. 24 klærnar] klærnarnar (!). 26 mælti] þá add. E. 28
mál] máli (!). 31 fór] ferr. p. 26, 2 mikit] nökkut. 2 f. sét áðr]
áðr sét. 5 hefir með sér] með sér hefir. til] er add. E. 9 sundr
grundina] í sundr grindina. 29 maðr] mátt add. (!) E. p. 27,
6 snemma] om. E. 15 Ríkarðs] Ríkarðar. 21 einhverja] eina
hverja. 22 sögu] sögn. 23 svarar] segir. 23 f. ókunnugum] ókunn-
igum. 32 gripr sá] sá gripr. 33 yðar] yðr (= yður). p. 28, 21 f.
sem skjótast skipin] skipin sem skjótast. 28 því] om. E. 28
eyðiland] eyðilönd. 28 f. skal—þú] en liðit skal þín bíða. 30
skalt] ok add. E. p. 29, 5 f. leiðarsteini] leiðarstein, danach
a, verlöscht. 6 f. hvítasunnudag] hvítasunnudag. 7 Babilónem]
Babilónar. 9 steinbogann] skalt þú eptir láta herklæði þín, hest
ok dýr. þá er þú kemr á miðjan steinbogann add. E.¹ 11
eru] váru. 14 hallardyrum] hallar durum. 17 f. höllina] hall-
ina. 22 f. þú skalt] þess skalt þú. 23 lítir] lít. 27 hætta] hætt. 31
ríðr] býðz. 32 á] þá add. E. p. 30, 2 sínu] sína (!). 14 spjót-
ina] spjótinu. 15 út af] af út. 25 hallazt] hallar (!). 31, 1 hann—
fyr] fyrr annat sét. var] bar. 5 niðr] niðri. 10 ok dýr]
dýr ok. 14 áðr] enn add. E. búizt] róaz (vgl. ¹). 18 brott]
í brott. 25 út af] af út. 28 hans ok skinn] ok skinn hans.
30 ekki] nú. hans] ekki add. E. p. 32, 1 Hvítasunnudag]
Hvítasunnudag. 5 geyma] geymi (!). 8 sá hann] hann sá. 17
þat] allt add. E. 19 hætti] yfir þá add. (!) E. 21 ormstrjónur]
orms trjóna. 23 þar] ok add. E. 25 ágætum] ágætlígunum. 30
höllinni] hallinni. 31 hann] öngvan (!). p. 33, 1 þrúnat] þrát-
nat. 12 rauða] rauðu. 13 váru] var (!). 16 er] sem. 17
veggina] refina (vgl. ³). 21 höllinni] hallinni. 22 í] om. E. 22
hentu] hendu. 22 f. snjálðrunum] snáldinum (vgl. ⁴). p. 34,

¹ Der schreiber von A. M. 179, resp. der herausgeber ist hier mit dem
auge von dem ersten steinbogann auf das zweite abgeirrt.

1 *hleypti*] *hlypti* (!). 1 *snérist*] *smoriz* (!). 2 *þá*] om. E. 4 *snjó*] *snjó*r. 8 *byrstist*] *bystist*. *niðr*] om. E. 16 *byrsutst*] *bystust*. 17 *ætlaði hann eigi*] *ekki ætlaði hann*. 18 *hröktust*] *þeir* add. E. 20 und 22 *höllinni*] *hallinni*. 24 *ókyrrleiki*] *ókyrrleikr*. 25 *skrykkjum*] *skykkum* (vgl.³). 30 *þar nú*] *nú þar*. p. 35, 13 *sinna*] om. E. 15 *þaðan bjóst hann*] *Hann bjóst*. 17 *öll*] *hans* add. E. 18 *ok*] om. E. *hættir*] *léttir*. 29 *látill*] *segir hon* add. E. p. 36, 1 *glöggskyggn*] *glöggskygn*. 4 *þá*] *er* add. E. 5 *hann því*] *þar*. 10 *himnaríkis*] *himinríkis*. 12 *þann*] *hinn*. 19 *jacinctus*] *jacingtus*. 20 *verði sjóðauðr*] *hann verði sjáðauðr*. 22 *henni*. *Konungsdóttir mælti*] *hann konungsdóttur*; *hon mælti þá*. 26 *hann*] *er* add. E. 27 *upp í*] *uppi í*. 30 *þessarri*] *þessi*. p. 37, 4 *þó*] *at þó*. 10 *at*] om. E. 11 *riddararnir*] *riddarar*. 18 *þetta*] *þitt*. 22 *afburðarmaðr*] *áburðarmaðr*. 26 *hafir*] *hefir*. 28 *guð þín*] *þín guð*. p. 38, 7 *konungi*] *En konungr mælti* add. E. 8 *sendiferðin*] *sendiferð*. *leyst*] *laust*. 21 *í borginni*] *um borg*. 23 f. *vegligustu*] *vegligstu*. 25 *mót*] *móti*. 32 f. *ágætr gripr*] *ágætisgripr*. 33 *við*] *með*. p. 39, 3 *en kall. Konr.*] *er Konráðr kallaðist*. 4 *í burt*] om. E. 6 *yfir*] *fyrir*. 9 *tjáði*] *tjóaði*. 15 *riðu*] *riðust*. 27 *er í*] *í*. 40, 10 *taka*] *staka* (!). 13 *efla til*] *efna* (!). 21 *kom í*] *hann kom við*. 25 *til*] om. E. 32 *ferð þeirra*] *þeirra ferð*. p. 41, 1 *miklum*] *mikillum*. 10 f. *processía*] *processio*.¹ 11 *keisarinn*] *keisari*. 15 *daga*] *ok* add. E. *tal*] *tala*. 21 *gígju*] *gǫa* (!). 21 f. *simphonía*] *simphoníam*.² 23 *Hinn*] *En hinn*. 23 *eru*] *váru*. 29 *skína*] *skinu*. *þat þá*] *þá þat*. 31 *klaret*] *klare*. p. 42, 5 *veita*] *vinna*. 14 *kvennskari*] *kvennaskari*.³ 16 *þessarri*] *þessi*. 19 *kappi*] *kappa* (!). 28 *Konr.*] *konungr*. add. E. p. 43², *í Mikl.*] *Mikl*. 5 *fyrir*] *sem*. 6 *hallardyrum*] *hallardurum*. 8 *með*] *mik* (!). 9 *svo þessarri*] *þar þessi*. 10 *sögu*] *en—jafnan* add. E. (vgl.²).

¹ Die lat. form *processio* neben dem öfters begegnenden *processia* finde ich in keinem wörterbuche.

² Die wörterbücher kennen nur *simfon*.

³ *kvennaskari* führen weder Vigf. noch Fritzner unter den zusammensetzungen mit *kvenna* auf.

6. *Þjalar Jóns saga.*

G. Þórðarson hat die oben erwähnte abschrift der Stockholmer hs. nur sehr sporadisch zur vergleichung herangezogen. In der that sind ihre abweichungen von dem Ms., welches der herausgeber zu grunde gelegt hat, so bedeutend, dass es unthunlich sei würde, dieselben nachträglich in form von varianten seinem texte beizufügen. Wer sich in zukunft einmal der aufgabe unterzieht, diese saga kritisch zu ediren, wird also vor allen unsere hs. mit zu berücksichtigen haben. Ich drucke hier nur ein kurzes stück, den anfang von cap. II enthaltend, nach beiden fassungen ab, um daran zu zeigen, wie weit dieselben auseinander gehen.

Þórðarsons text, p. 6 f.

Nu sitr Vilhjálmr konungr í Rúðuborg í Vallandi: var þat í þann tíma mikil borg ok fjölmenn. Svá var háttat, at í austr ok suðr frá borginni var fjall eitt mikit, hátt ok af hömr-um um gyrt, svá eigi komst upp á þat, nema fljúgandi fuglar, ok engi maðr vissi, hversu þar var umhorfs uppi á; en undir fjallinu váru vellir sléttir ok mjök fagrir. Konungr henti mikit gaman at knattleikum. Þat er sagt einn blíðan veðrdag, at konungr boðar út sína riddara á áðr nefnda völlu til burtreiðar. Konungr sjálfr fór ok með, ok var settr undir

Cod. Holm. f. 120* ff.

Sitr nú Vilhjálmr konungr eptir í Vallandi í Rúðuborg; hon var í þann tíma mikil borg ok fjölmenn. Svá var háttat, at í austr en(?) suðr fra borg var fjall hátt, svá mikit, vítt ok langt, at þat var stórr meintregi, at engum atflutningum náði nema um langa vegu. Fjallit var allt lúkt með hömrum ok björgum, svá at ekki komst upp á nema fljúgandi fuglar. Þar var eigi hjörtr né hreinkolla ok ekki ferfoett kvikendi. Engi maðr hafði þar ok upp á komit, ok engi vissi, hversu þar var háttat uppi á. En fram ok ofán undan fjallinu

hann stóll. Ok er hann hafði nökkura stund setit, tók hann at horfa upp í fjallit, ok hafði þar aldri augu af. Ráðgjafir konungs, Ammón ok Abinón bræðr, spyrja konung, hví hann sé svá starsýnn í fjallit, at hann gæti eigi leika fyrir því. Konungr mælti: Ek sé nýbreytni nökkura á fjallinu, líka sem jóreyk af reið mannafjölða: munda ek ætla umbrot nökkur, en þat er því ólíkligt, at ek veit þar engri skepnu vist vera.”

váru vellir sléttir ok víðir, fagarar grundir með fríðum bekkjum. Konungr henti mikit gaman af knattleikum ok burðreiðum. Þat er sagt, at einn góðan veðrdag bodar út af borginni riddurum sínum til burtreiðar á þá hina sléttu völlu, er fyrir váru nefndir. Konungr sjálfr fór út af borg ok er settr undir hann stóll. Ok er hann hefir nökkura stund setit, hefir hann háttabrigði nökkut um daginn á sér frá því er hann á vanda til. Hann horfir upp á fjallit ok hefir aldri auga af. Konungr átti ráðgjafa tvá: hét annarr Amón, en annarr Abmón; þeir váru bræðr ok höfðu verit með konungi langan tíma. Amón gengr at konungi ok mælti: Herra, hvat veldr, at þér erut svá starsýnnir á fjallit, at þér gáit eigi leika fyrir? Konungr svarar: Ek se nýbreytni nökkura upp á fjallit því líka sem þá er jóreyk leggr upp, þá er fjölði manns ríðr. Munda ek ætla, at umbrot nökkur mundi vera á fjallinu þau er með miklu kappi væri at gengit. Er þetta af því ólíkligt, at ek veit þar engra kreatýra vist vera.

7. *Das liebeslied.*

I v. 5 *segi*] 1. *segi af*.

8. *Clarus saga keisarasonar.*

Cederschiöld hat seiner ausgabe dieser saga Cod. A. M. 657 B zu grunde gelegt, daneben aber auch die hss. der zweiten klasse verglichen und aus dem Stockholmer codex “*eas lectiones, quae lectionibus codicis A praeferendae visae sunt, in contextum*” aufgenommen, “*eas autem, quae etiamsi non sine controversia meliores dici possint, tamen, quae cognoscantur, digna videantur, in annotationibus sub contextum*” angeführt. Wenn Cederschiöld in dieser weise nach eigenem ermessens eine auswahl unter den varianten unserer hs. getroffen hat, so mache ich ihm daraus keinesweges einen vorwurf; denn wenn ich vielmehr der ansicht bin, dass in einer kritischen ausgabe alle sachlichen varianten unabhängiger hss. verzeichnet werden sollten, so handelt es sich um eine principielle differenz; dass auch Cederschiöld mit seinem verfahren durchaus nicht allein steht, lehrt z. b. eine anzeige seiner ausgabe durch O. Brenner (*Literaturbl.*, II, 1881, sp. 233 ff.), wo es heisst, der herausgeber biete “einen kritischen commentar unter dem texte, der sich natürlich auf das wesentliche beschränkt: die einzig richtige methode, wo es sich um eine grössere zahl jüngerer hss. handelt.” Ich für mein theil glaube freilich, dass feinere untersuchungen über syntax und wortschatz der *Clarus saga*—und zu solchen ladet ihr vielfach recht origineller stil unzweifelhaft ein—erst dann möglich sein werden, wenn der variantenapparat vollständig vorliegt. Zur erreichung dieses ziele liefere ich hier einen beitrage, indem ich all die sachlichen varianten unserer hs., welche bei Cederschiöld vermisst werden, nachtrage.¹

¹ Das kleine schriftchen: *Sagan af Klarusi keisarasoni*. Útgefandi: Bjarni Bjarnarson. Reykjavík 1884, stellt nur eine gekürzte und modernisirte fassung unserer saga dar, die für die kritik des alten textes völlig werthlos ist: das ergibt sich gleich aus cap. I, welches ich als probe ausschreibe.

p. 2, 37, *sjálfum kongi*] *kongi sjálfum*. 38 *Hon*] om. B. 44 *þjónustusveina*] *þjónustumenn*. 46 *þeim svölum*] *svölum þeim*. 47 *eru*] om. B. 48 *við*] með. 48 f. *hersk.—ál.*] *áhlaupum ok herskap*. 59 *tal*] *mál*. 60 *borðs*] *borða*. 64 *Clarus—Perus*] om. B. 64 *spyr*] *meistari* add. B. 65 *sé*] *eru*. 65 f. *Keis. s.*] *En Clarus*. 68 *þessari*] *þessi*. 69 *man*] *mun*. p. 3, 4 *segir*] *svarar*. 6 *at*] *er*. 7 *þér*] *yðr*. 11 *dýran*] *góðan*. 12 *sínu kukli ok*] *sínum*. 13 *talit*] *at telja*. *þann*] *þá*. *fór ok*] *fara sem*. 14 *fara*] om. B. 15 *burt*] *í burt*. 17 *kyndugskap*] *klókskap*. 19 *aldri*] *fyr* add. B. 20 *fyr*] om. B. 22 *af munu*] *munu af*. 23 *hann*] *munu* add. B. *munu*] om. B. 24 *nái at sjá*] *sjái*. 25 *Fám*] *Fá* (!). 26 *hēðan lið-num*] *síðarr. keis. s.*] om. B. 27 *ok segir*] *segjandi*. *viðtal*] *viðrtal*. 29 *ljái honum sinn*] *fái honum*. 31 *at*] *ok*. 37 *kongr.*] *keisarinn*. 41 *upp*] om. B. 42 *ferð*] *fer* (!). 43 *mannfólk*] *fólk*. 47 *kongs*] *keisara*. 48 *sinn*] *þenna*. 50 *sín*] om. B. 53 note ²³) *Alex.*] *konungr* add. B. 54 *ok—líta*] *sér*. 55 *þeim*] *honum*. 56 *þeirra*] *þessara*. 59 *veit*] *at* add. B. 60 *dýrðl.—hafa*] *dýrligr maðr hefir hann*. 61 *kongs*] *keisara*. 63 *með þökk*] *meðr þakk*.¹ 68 *vegsemd*] *sæmd*. 69 *Hér er*] *Er hér*. p. 4, 1 *dýrum*] *dýrligum*. 3 *ákastl.*] om. B. 4 f. *list—sunar*] *þessa manns*. 5 *af—rómr*] *skjótt af rómr mikill*. 7 *mani*] *muni*. 8 *þótt—veröld*] *í veröldinni*. 8 *er*] om. B. 9 *kongs*] *keisara*. 13 *hinn*] om. B. 18 *ganga niðr*] *ofan*. 19 *dag*] *ok* add. B. 20 *allri*] om. B. 21 *öllu*] om. B. 22 f. *kongs sonar*] *manns*. 24 *þann kvitt*] *kvitt þann*. 26 *má*] *megi*. 27 *eðr eigi*] om. B. 29 *oss*] *mér*. 32 *nú—stund*] *í stað*. 33 *við*] *viðr*. *fyr* *létt.*] *léttandi fyr*. 34 *sinni ferð*] om. B. 36 *heiðrlega*] om. B. 37 *kongs*] *keisara*. 38 *Jungfrú*] *Frú*.² 40 *heiðrlegri*] *heiðarlegri*.

Fyrir Saxlandi rjeði einu sinni keisari nokkur, og er nafn hans eigi skráð í sögu þessari. Hann hjelt helgri trú innan endimarka sinna ríkja. Hann var bæði völdugur og vitur. Drottning hans var af göfugustu ættum, Hún fæðði honum fagurt sveinbarn, er var vatni ausinn og nefndur Klarus. Hann ólst upp heima, og unnu honum allir hugástum. Honum til uppfræðingar var settur lærimeistari sá, er Pýrus hjet. Hann kunni menntir og þpróttir langt fram yfir alla aðra menn í landinu. Klarus nam skjótt allar þpróttir Pýrusar, og setti keisarinn honum hina vitrustu menn til þjónustu.

¹ Ich finde diese unumgelautete form nirgends aufgeführt.

² So wird Tecla, die früher (p. 2³⁹ f.) als *ríkborin mæ*r bezeichnet worden war, in dieser hs. stets genannt: vgl. Fritzner, I, p. 494.

42 *legit*] *verit.* 44 *tok henni harðl.*] *tekr meyjunni.* 45 *er*] *sem.*
 47 *frammi*] *om. B.* 52 *nærri því*] *þannveg.* 53 *þikkiz fullgjört*] *þóttiz gjört.* 54 *þeim*] *ok. gefr*] *þeim add. B.* 55 *ok*] *om. B.* 56
í] *á.* 59 *þessi kongs*] *keisara.* 61 *sun Tib. keis.*] *keisara sonar.*
 64 *bjartar ok*] *om. B.* 65 *munu*] *eru.* 69 *engan m. m.*] *eigi mun.* 70 *vænna*] *mann add. B.* p. 5, 1 f. *þér—sé*] *vel mun vera, enda hefir þér mikit um fundiz.* 2 *manum*] *munu.* 6 *í sínum landt.*] *í landtjöldum sínum.* 13 *með þökk*] *meðr þakk.* 14 *þar*] *hér.* 16 *sjálfr—sannandi*] *kongrinn sjálfr.* 17 *at—hann*] *þikkjaz eigi öngva þegit hafa.* 18 *allra*] *om. B.* *mektugra*] *mektugar.* 19 *manna*] *om. B.* 22 *meðr*] *með.* 23 *xii*] *om. B.* 25 *í dag*] *om. B.* 26 *honum líkar*] *hann vill.* 29 *yðr*] *nú um add. B.* 29 f. *heiðrlega*] *heiðarlega.* 31 *líki*] *líkar.* 35 *eingi*] *eingin. út*] *om. B.* 38 *eptir*] *om B.* *kongs*] *keisara. sonar*] *gengr frú T. n. af t.* *add. B.* 40 *gengr—turn*] *om. B.* 42 *sinni ferð áðr*] *fyr enn.* 42, 43 *Klari kongs*] *keisara.* 44 *hæversku*] *om. B.* 45 *ok heilsar*] *om. B. hæv.] En add. B.* 47 *sitt—kju.*] *hver hon er.* 48 *kongs sunar*] *hans.* 49 *Serene*] *Serena.* 52 f. *yðr—vera*] *þér vilit.* 53 *kongs*] *keisara.* 54 *meyj.*] *hennar B.* 55 *segir*] *svarar.* 56 *jungfrú*] *om. B.* 56 *oss*] *mér.* 57 f. *þat—landi*] *Arabíalands gull.* 60 *þat*] *om. B.* 61 *einskis*] *eingis.* 66 *vera*] *om. B.* 68 *herra*] *manni.* 69 *þiggít*] *skulut þiggja.* 70 *hon*] *honum add. B.* 71 *keis. s.*] *om. B.* 72 *skara*] *ok add. B.* *nú*] *om. B.* *turn*] *til Serenam konungs dóttur add. B.* p. 6, 1 *kongs d.*] *henni. keis. s. h.] hann hefði.* 11 *Klarus*] *om. B.* 13 *ok*] *om. B.* *jungfrú*] *frú.* 13 *leiðandi*] *ok leiddi.* 16 *höll sem*] *hall er.* 17 *sem*] *om. B.* 19 *gjörfum*] *om. B.* 22 *gulli*] *ok add. B.* 23 *meðr*] *með.* 25 *dýrustum*] *bestum.* 29 *ferska*] *feska.* 30 *hugðuz*] *vera add. B.* 31 *vera*] *om. B.* 33 *eigi ats.*] *om. B.* 35 f. *langpallinn*] *langbekk.* 36 *þar leenam*] *leena.* 38 *annan*] *om. B.* 40 f. *eins hverjum*] *om. B.* 42 *heiðrlega*] *heiðarliga.* 43 f. *dró—andliti*] *om. B.* 45 *berr*] *kemr.* 45 f. *stendr jungfr.*] *ríss hon.* 47 *sína boðs*] *hans.* 48 *mjök*] *om. B.* *Eru*] *nú add. B.* 50 *bæði samt*] *om. B.* 50 f. *Clare—ridd.*] *menn keisara sonar.* 52 *sitja*] *eru.* 56 *dýrðligsta*] *dýrligsta.* 59 *harðla*] *geysi.* 60 *boðs*] *om. B.* 63 *sagðiz ok*] *kvez.* 64 *fyr leita*] *leita heldr.* 65 *sann*]

om. B. 66 f. *ok ráð*] om. B. 67 f. *segiz—vilja*] *segir ok at hann vildi.* p. 7, 2 *orðum*] *hér um* add. B. 2 *hennar*] om. B. 4 *sína um l.*] *um liðna sína.* 5 *þeim—gleði*] *þeir gleði ok fagnaði.* 6 *með höndum*] om. B. 7 *viðtali*] *viðrtali.* 9 *nú*] om. B. 9 *alla*] om. B. 10 *í þessari*] *í þessi.* 14 *blaut soðit*] om. B. 15 *manni*] *mönnum.* 15 *sinn*] om. B. 16 *eitt*] om. B. 16 f. *ok—segjandi*] om. B. 19 f. *ok—lut*] om. B. 20 *jungfrú, segir hann*] *mín frú, segir Clarus.* 22 *kongs*] *keisara.* 24 *myrkbr.*] *einn myrkvan.* 29 *svá*] om. B. 34 *bringuna ok*] om. B. 37 *kæmi m. blíðu*] *komi móti góðu.* 38 *siglanda áðr*] *áðr siglandi.* 39 *má mátti. kallaz*] *heita.* 40 f. *skírl.—þviat*] om. B. 43 *með svá f.*] *í.* 45 *ok—drótt*] *þviat ósynju drótt þú.* 46 *ósynju*] om. B. 48 *þér*] om. B. *laust*] *bera* add. B. 49 *bera*] om. B. 58 *Sitr*] *En.* 59 *nú*] *sitr.* 60 *hafa gengit*] *gengit hafa.* 65 *skömm*] *skamm.*¹ 70—p. 8, 2 *kyrtíl—ok*] om. B. 6 *sem ván var*] *ok þeir.* 8 *Clarus*] *hann. um*] *ok* add. B. 9 *fyrst*] *því.* 9 *hljóði*] *fyrst* add. B. (Ced.'s note⁵ setzt das wort an falsche stelle). 11 *er*] *sem.* 13 *segði frá*] *frá segði.* 18 *feðr sínum*] om. B. 19 *nú*] om. B. 24 *vera*] om. B. 25 *vilja*] *vildu.* 26 f. *svívirðu*] *svívirðingar.* 28 *gjörðar*] *gjörða.* 30 *vili*] *vil.* 33 *slíkan*] *þvílíkan. lengr*] om. B. 35 *þan*] *þeir.* 38 *klerkdómi*] *klerkdóm.* 39 *eigi*] *æ.* 48 *einn*] om. B. 49 *hvárt*] *tveggja.* 53 *minnar*] *þessarar* 54 f. *fremd ok heiðr*] *heiðr ok fremd.* 62 *skömm*] *skamm.* 66 *þetta*] om. B. 68 *kongs*] *konungsins.* p. 9, 6 *sem*] *er.* 8 *þetta lætr hann*] *lætr hann þetta.* 11 *lit fögrum*] *fögrum lit.* p. 13, 2 *nú*] om. B. 6 *fær jungfrúnni*] *færir frúnni.* 7 *eptir spyri.*] om. B. 9 *biðr*] *bað. fyrri*] *fyrst.* 13 *sofinn aptr*] *aptr sofinn.* 14 *stendr*] *reis.* 17 *kómu*] *koma.* 19 *drenginn—liggr*] *dreng sem hér liggr í sænginni.* 21 *vel*] om. B. 34 *vera*] om. B. 38 *slíkan*] *þvílíkan.* 39 *var*] *er.* 44 *var*] *er.* 47 note²⁴ *annars tjalds B.*] *annat tjald B.*² 50 *einn*] *sinn.* 54—56 *at—fengit*] *sem aldri*

¹ Man beachte *skamm* für *skömm*, das Vigf., p. 536, nur aus Skáld H. 7, 63 belegt, Fritzner garnicht angeführt hat.

² So B ganz deutlich, ebenso wie *jungfrúdom*, p. 14, note 19. Aber selbst als etwaige conjectur war die änderung nicht geboten, da auch sonst *missa aliquid* begegnet: vgl. Vigf. s. v. *missa*, II.

sá hon slíkt fyrri, ok nú þíkkir henni hit fyrri eigi. 62 enn] om. B. 63 umgöngu] Tecele add. B. 63 Tecele] om. B. 66 veröldu] veröldunni. muni] sé. p. 14, 1 slíka] þvílíka. 4 höfuðit] höfuð. 6 man] mun. 11 til—meyjum] með sínum meyjum til landtjalds-ins. 12 inngöngu] til add. B. 12 sem fyrr] ok. nú] om. B. 16 hon] hann (!). 20 sagði] kvað. 21 landtj. ok sigla] tjaldit. 23 hit] at hit er. 23 f. enn enn] om. B. 27 bíðr ok] om. B. 29 herrann hefir enn] hann hefir. 30 vel] om. B. 31 orða lengðar] orðlengðar.¹ 32 Kongs] Keisara. 35 slægum] slæggjum. 36 enn hér] hér enn. 37 ok] at. 36 gleðz] tekr at gleðjaz. 40 var ok] en. hann] sá. 41 Eskelvarð] konungs son. 42 ok] om. B. 44 ok] sem. 44 landtjaldit] tjaldit. 48 millem] millum. kongs] keisara. 51 f. en—af] om. B. 54 í móti] í mót. 54 kongs] keisara. 55 hefði] hefir. 63 enn] om. B. 64 kongs] keisara. 65 note¹⁹ jungfrudo (ms) B.] jungfrudóm B. 68 atburða eðr æventýra] æventýra eðr atburða. 69 eyri eðr] om. B. p. 15, 5 vyrði] yrði. 13 fengit] om. B. 19 f. séz—enn] gjörir sér. 24 ok mælti svá] om. B. 27 f. ok—þessi] gersemum. 30 mann] om. B. 33 f. ugga- anda] unganda (!). 34 komi—hefnd] mikil hefmd (!) komi yðr at. 35 síðarstu] síðustu. 37 fara] ganga. 40 brott] om. B. 41 lengr] om. B. 44 langt] om. B. 46 jungfrú] frú. 49 ok gjörðiz] om. B. 50 berr] bar. 52 því stóra] om. B. 53 dýrum þess] dýrum þessa. 55 eðr] eða. 55 hvert] ok add. B. 56 þetta] sama add. B. 56 kongs] keisara. 56 er] sem. 58 segir hann] om. B. 61 yðr] om. B. 62 eigi] ekki. 62 vanda öllum] vanda (!). 66 hand] hönd. 67 öllu samt] um. 67 f. undir höndinni] om. B. 69 berr] berz. 70 af einni k.] om. B. 71 sama] om. B. 72 Heit] Heitit. p. 16, 1 í þessari] í þessi. 2 vera] verða. 5 landtjaldit] stað. 8 er] sem. 9 dyrunum] durunum. 11 sem] om. B. 11 f. um þresk.] om. B. 13 í hug henni] í huginn. 15 kongs] keisara. 16 hennar hönd] hönd hennar. 17 mælir við hana] mælti til hennar. 17 sem] er. 18 f. hann—áhyggju] sagt. En mærin svarar. 19 fyrir] undir. 23 nú ekki] eigi. 25 f. man—trún.] om. B. 28 leggr] tekr. 32 nú]

¹ orðlengð fehlt bei Fritzner, II, p. 902, dagegen vgl. Fritzner, I p. 490. Der verfasser hat unrecht gethan, das wort zu gunsten vor orðalengð zu beseitigen: er hätte beide formen anführen sollen.

om. B. 34 *man*] *mun*. 35 *þit*] *þér*. 39 *Gjör*] *nú* add. B. 40 *kongs*] *keisara*. 41 *Hon segir*] om. B. 42 *fyrir mitt líf*] *segir hon*. 43 f. *ef—er*] om. B. 45 *enn*] om. B. 46 *til T.*] *svá*. 46 *linazta*] *besta*. 49 *sem*] *er*. 49 *man*] *mun*. 50 *eptir nátt.*] om. B. 53 *sama*] om. B. 57 *fyrir hv. sk.*] *hví*. 60 *í síðaztu*] om. B. 65 *enn þat*] *þat enn*. 66 *þökk*] *þakk. frúin*] *konungs dóttir*. 68 *kongs*] *keisara*. 69 *þiggr*] *þá*. 70–72 *hvern—telja*] *fríðmæli ok fagrgali verðr sein* (!) *til tölu*. p. 17, 1 *inn leiddr*] om. B. 2 f. *en—reikna*] *gengr svá út at*. 4 *ok*] om. B. 7 *var*] *verðr. jafnþungr*] *jafn*. 9 *ok—stirðr*] om. B. 10 *þó*] *þá*. 11 *vitja*] *leita*. 12 *allt til morgins*] *til dags*. 13 *sól skínn, gengr*] *upp kemr sól, gengr frú*. 14 *man*] *er*. 15 *landtjaldit*] *tjaldit*. 18 *mikil gleði ok*] om. B. 20 *kongs*] *keisara*. 23 *þessu*] *því*. 25 *nú*] om. B. 27 *kongr*] *konungrinn*. 28 *gæzku*] *gózi*. 28 *gulli ok*] om. B. 29–31 *var—borinn*] om. B. 31 *kongs*] *keisara*. 34 *sem*] *er*. 34 *hjónin*] *hjón hin*. 35 *ok—nú*] *en herrinn allr liggr*. 36 *síðarstu*] *síðustu*. 37 *inn*] om. B. 42 *augum*] *í* add. B. 42 *ok henni*] om. B. 45 *brottu eru*] *í brottu eru nú*. 51 *at búaz um*] *um at búaz*. 56 *upp í lopt*] *í lopt upp*. 57 *af*] *or*. 58 *ok—munnninn*] om. B. p. 20, 18 *at*] om. B. *þegar*] *síðan*. 19 *með gráti*] om. B. 21 *ok reiði*] *segir*. 21 *ok—illt*] om. B. 23 *fyrri*] *fýrr*. 24 *sæti minn*] om. B. 26 *þá borgnara*] *þar betra*. 28 *mér*] om. B. 26 *má*] *mun ek*. 27 *eðr*] *eða*. 28 *mér*] om. B. 28 *til lífs*] om. B. *at*] *ek skal* add. B. 29 f. *minn sæti*] om. B. 32 *segir hann*] om. B. 33 *sama*] om. B. 35 f. *langa—meinliga*] om. B. 40 *at*] *ok*. 45 *undir*] *í. ok at portinu*] om. B. 46 *henni*] om. B. 47 *sem*] *er*. 48 *mælti hann*] *ok mælti*. 50 *vildir*] *vildi*. 51 *alþingis*] om. B. 52 *hegat*] *hingat*. 54 *sem*] *er*. p. 23, 2 f. *forráðs stórt*] om. B. 10 f. *milli—mekt*] *í milli*. 11 *undir*] *fyrir*. 12 *má*] *skal*. 14 *hennar*] *augu ok* add. B. 19 *er þær koma*] *sem hon kemr*. 22 *inni*] om. B. 25 *móti*] *í mót*. 26 *hæverskl.*] *sæmiliga*. 30 *Serena*] om. B. 31 *haf*] *þér*] *hafir*. 31 *fáheyrt*] *mikit*. 32 *ok vandr.*] om. B. 36 *eðr*] *eða*. 38 *handina höndina*. 40 *óróat*] *ónáðat*. 43 f. *staðfestu ok*] om. B.

APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
DECEMBER 27, 28,
29, 1897.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

At the invitation of Dr. Charles C. Harrison, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA held its fifteenth annual meeting at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., December 27, 28, 29, 1897.

All the sessions of the meeting were held in Houston Hall.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 27.

The first session of the meeting was begun at 2 o'clock p. m. The President of the Association, Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, presided.

The Secretary of the Association, James W. Bright, submitted the following report, which was approved :

The Secretary reports the publication and distribution, during the closing year, of the twelfth volume of the *Publications* of the Association. The fourth instalment of this volume contains the Proceedings of the last annual meeting of the Association, which was held at the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and the Proceedings of the last annual meeting of the Central Division of the Association, which was held at Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo.

As a joint-editor of the Whitney Memorial Volume, the Secretary also reports the completion of that volume, which has been distributed as a joint-publication of the American Oriental Society, the American Philological Association, and the Modern Language Association of America.

The Treasurer of the Association, Herbert E. Greene, submitted the following report :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 26, 1896,						\$ 881 48
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:						
For the year 1893,				\$	3 00	
" " " 1894,					15 00	
" " " 1895,					45 00	
" " " 1896,					109 80	
" " " 1897,					1,282 55	
" " " 1898,					71 25	
					<hr/>	\$1,526 60
Sale of <i>Publications</i> ,						155 84
For partial cost of publication of articles and for reprints of the same:						
F. J. Mather,					125 00	
F. H. Wilkens,					10 00	
R. E. Neil Dodge,					15 00	
F. A. Blackburn,					3 50	
Homer Smith,					76 90	
B. D. Woodward,					3 50	
					<hr/>	\$ 233 90
Advertisements,					200 00	
Interest,					11 28	
					<hr/>	\$ 211 28
					<hr/>	
Total receipts for the year,						<u>\$3,009 10</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XII, 1, and Reprints,	\$ 503 42	
" " " " 2, " "	319 97	
" " " " 3, " "	376 85	
" " " " 4, " "	212 03	
	<hr/>	\$1,412 27
The Whitney Memorial Volume:		
Share ($\frac{2}{3}$) of cost of printing,	100 31	
Binding,	51 77	
Shipping,	55 60	
	<hr/>	\$ 207 68
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, postage, mailing <i>Publications</i> , etc.,	98 31	
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, postage, etc.,	22 55	
The Secretary,	200 00	
Job printing,	31 10	
Expenses of the Committee of Twelve,	74 35	

The Central Division,	42 00	
Services of R. R. Agent, two days,	17 00	
	<hr/>	\$ 485 31
Total expenditures for the year,		\$2,105 26
Balance on hand December 24, 1897,		903 84
		<hr/>
		\$3,009 10
		<hr/>
Balance on hand December 24, 1897,	\$903 84	

The President appointed the following Committees:

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Professor C. H. Grandgent and Dr. C. G. Child.
- (2) To nominate officers: Professors Felix E. Schelling, G. A. Hench, Bliss Perry, J. M. Garnett, and L. E. Menger.
- (3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors J. B. Henneman, W. T. Hewett, H. A. Todd, B. L. Bowen, F. N. Scott.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The new requirements in entrance English." By Professor T. W. Hunt, of Princeton University. [Printed in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1898.]

This paper was discussed by Professors F. N. Scott, Albert S. Cook, and E. H. Magill.

2. "The close of Goethe's *Tasso*, as a literary problem." By Professor Henry Wood, of the Johns Hopkins University. [An abstract of this paper is given in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1898, p. 65.]

Professor Calvin Thomas offered comments on the subject of the paper.

3. "The phraseology of Molière's *Précieuses ridicules*." By Dr. Thérèse F. Colin, of Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Read by title.]

In this paper an attempt is made to determine whether Molière was open to the charge, brought against him by his contemporaries, of having grossly satirized the *Précieuses* and having attributed to the characters of his play absurd conceits coined out of his own imagination.

From a study of the writers of the time, the author has endeavoured to note the sources of those expressions peculiar to the "société des Precieux" and the extravagant abuse into which its imitators fell. Almost identical parallel passages, antedating the first appearance of the *Précieuses ridicules* (1659) and quoted from those writers, are offered in the playwright's justification. According to Charles Sorel: "Jamais il n'y eut une telle licence, comme celle qu' on a prise depuis quelques années; les mots ne se font plus insensiblement, mais tout exprès et par profession—." Many of these new terms and their definitions have each in turn been carefully gathered and are here examined. They are metaphors, periphrases, conceits, proverbial sayings, woven into substitutes for the simplest language, some of which even now survive. Italy, Spain, and England had earlier experienced the same malady known under the name of *cultismo*, *secentismo*, *marinismo*, *gongorismo*, and *euphuism*. Even so late as 1672 Madame de Sévigné, in a letter to her daughter, styles the phraseology of aristocratic circles "si sophistiqué qu' on aurait eu besoin d' un truchement."

4. "The question of free and checked vowels in Gallic Popular Latin." By Professor John E. Matzke, of Leland Stanford Junior University. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 1 f.]

This paper was presented in abstract and with comments by Professor L. E. Menger; further discussion was contributed by Dr. E. C. Armstrong and Professor H. A. Todd.

Dr. Menger said:

I shall devote the few moments at my command to giving the members of the Association a general idea of my original paper on this subject, then a summary of Dr. Matzke's results, and, finally, shall venture to offer a few new ideas of my own.

First, then, as to the solution proposed by myself several years ago: When I read in my Old French grammars that the vowel *a*, for example, was free in *talem* > *tel*, *manum* > *main*, *jacet* > *git*, although the result for the French derivative of *a* was different in each case, and when I noted that *ē* was designated as free in *pedem* > *pied* but checked in *melius* > *mielz*, where the result (*ie*) was the same in each case, I asked myself: "Do the terms 'free' and 'checked' mean anything?" It seemed that they indicated different phenomena at different times; I thought they should denote the same thing at all times. Consequently I studied the history of Popular Latin vowels as a whole, classed their Old French representatives under

three comprehensive headings, called the first division, in which the vowels developed (as *talem* > *tel*), "free;" the second, in which the vowels remained (as *partem* > *part*), "checked;" the third I considered as comprising secondary developments (that is, the development of diphthongs and not that of the original vowels as such), for example, *factum* > *fait*; the last division was therefore to be eliminated from the discussion. "Free," with me, meant development, "checked," non-development, and the terms had these meanings, in my scheme, in all cases. I should, perhaps, have laid more stress on the principle of the divisions rather than on the names to be applied to them. The matter of terminology is, for the most part, a pedagogical question, and I would be fully satisfied should all scholars agree to call the first division A, the second B and the third C.

My new meaning applied to the time-honored terms constituted, evidently, a radical change; in order to escape extended criticism I should not have insisted on such an application of the terms, but should have offered my paper as a suggestion for a method of clear presentation of the history of the vowels. Meyer-Luebke, in his review¹ of my article, said that my exposition of the vowel changes appeared more readily comprehensible and more convenient for the student than the traditional method but that my definition of the terms under discussion did not respond as accurately as the usually accepted one to the known principles of speech development.² Dr. Todd, too, saw in the paper the possibilities for a lucid presentation of the history of the vowels and communicated to me certain alterations calculated to enhance the value of the monograph as illustrating this presentation. Behrens, in his review³ of my work, resented my attack on the traditional acceptance of the terms while recognising that a decisive definition is yet to be formulated. This definition, he said in effect, must proceed from a satisfactory understanding of the deviations in Old French vowel developments and must be based on the laws of syllabification of the Popular Latin.

Dr. Matzke apparently derived the key-note of his investigations from Behrens' expression just quoted; on p. 5 of Dr. Matzke's paper we read: "It becomes evident, therefore, that the true definition of free and checked vowels is dependent upon Popular Latin syllabification." His method of procedure is then as follows: We start from the law for the development of Popular Latin vowels as formulated by ten Brink; that is, vowels in open syllables were lengthened, vowels in closed syllables were shortened. Vowels in the former were free, in the latter checked. Consequently the essential point to establish is the open or close nature of the syllable at the time of the operation of ten Brink's law. This time has been fixed by Pogatscher and Mackel as in the sixth century, and the terms "free" and "checked" can be applied only to the vowels as they existed at this period;

¹ *Literaturblatt*, xvii, col. 340.

² Cf. *Romania*, xxvi, 597.

³ *Zeitschrift*, xxi, 304.

so we have to determine the phonetic processes which had been accomplished by the sixth century. These processes are then cited, the different vowel developments studied in detail, the whole leading, finally, to the formation of categories of free and checked vowels.

With regard to this plan, I may be allowed, in the first place, one general remark: The starting point of the argument—the status of the vowels in Popular Latin times—is undoubtedly correct and to be preferred to my plan (of beginning with the French end of the line of development) in so far as the theory of free and checked vowels is concerned; but, just as my work was criticized because of my attempt to apply the terms to developments covering several hundred years, which developments I had reduced within the limits of a simple scheme, so I fear Dr. Matzke may be criticized for specifying one of these centuries in which developments were taking place and for basing his definition on forms of Popular Latin of the sixth century alone. These forms often changed to a marked degree in subsequent years before becoming what we now designate as the etyma of their French derivatives. The only vowels that were changing in the sixth century were ϵ and φ . The rest did not begin to develop until the eighth century; are we not then interested in knowing the consonantal conditions (as determining free or checked position) of the latter date rather than, or else in addition to those of the sixth century? To illustrate my meaning let us look at proparoxytones, for example. According to Dr. Matzke the tonic vowel is free here when the penult begins with a single consonant (p. 39). Undoubtedly e was free in netidum in the sixth century; however, after this date and before the alteration of $e > ei$, the atonic penult fell, leaving netdum, from which *net* (with the characteristic of checked e) developed. Of what use is it, even theoretically, to know that e of netidum was free? *Net* does not derive from the sixth century form but from a later one. To posit a Popular Latin word of the sixth century which preceded an eighth or a ninth century form that was really the background of a given French derivative is only one step removed from proposing Classic Latin forms as etyma.

If, as Dr. Matzke remarks, "the later fate of vowels may and often does depend upon causes quite foreign to their original surroundings" (p. 5), it would seem that the knowledge to be desired is that of the causes that do determine their fate. Similarly, if "the consonants which follow the vowel must invariably determine the free or checked nature of the vowel" (p. 9) the limitation of consonantal influence to the sixth century will exclude the participation of palatal consonants which, for the most part, did not begin to develop until the seventh or eighth century; yet the alteration and influence of palatal consonants constitute one of the chief characteristics of the Romance languages and are no where so marked as in French. When we consider that the palatals had not developed in the sixth century and that α , ϵ and φ had probably not even begun to change their values at that date, does it not seem too easy to say that so many vowels were free at that time; and, allowing that conditions changed after

this period, is it not somewhat useless to say: "It was thus and so in the sixth century, anyway," merely to uphold the precarious frame-work of a definition we are trying to construct?

Have we any justification for limiting the action of ten Brink's law to the sixth century and thus basing our definition of free and checked vowels on the forms of words as they existed at that time alone? Dr. Matzke says (p. 10): "If a combination of consonants closing a syllable in early Popular Latin" (that is, previous to the sixth century) "had become simplified, so that a single consonant now occupied the place formerly filled by two consonants, or vice versa, the nature of the syllable would be changed."—Does not this statement apply equally well to the alteration of the nature of syllables in the seventh, eighth or ninth centuries, and does not ten Brink's law refer rather to a general tendency in Romance for vowels in open syllables to become lengthened and in closed syllables to become shortened? Although the law may have begun its activity in the sixth century we are not assured that it affected all the vowels at the same time and in the same way. In the case of *a*, *e* and *o*, for example, the lengthening did not manifest itself to the extent of altering the nature of the vowel until the eighth century; is it not reasonable to suppose that in the eighth century the lengthening, or the contrary, took place according as the vowels stood in open or closed syllables as determined by consonantal conditions of the eighth century without regard to those existing in the sixth?

My study of the question since writing my paper and especially my examination of Dr. Matzke's effort have led me to believe that it is impossible, for the present at least, to formulate a general definition of free and checked vowels that will cover all cases of vowel change in French. The nearest approach possible seems to me to be that of Schwan-Behrens; Dr. Matzke's categories will serve for the sixth century; but if we want a statement that will cover all cases at all times we shall have to vary the statement according to the cases and the times. In other words, the question is a chronological one and must go hand in hand with the first indications of change on the part of each vowel. In controlling the dates of such changes the most important aid will be found in comparing the same with alterations of the palatals,¹ and until the exact stages and times of the development of the latter are known, any marked advance in our knowledge of Old French vowel history is hardly to be hoped for.

5. "Ben Jonson, and the origin of the Classical School."
By Professor Felix E. Schelling, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 221 f.]

¹This idea is not mine but is derived from an expression of M. Gaston Paris in a letter he wrote to me concerning my paper.

Discussion of the paper was opened by Professor Herbert E. Greene, and closed by Professor E. E. Hale, Jr.

6. "The sources of Goethe's printed text." By Professor W. T. Hewett, of Cornell University. [To be printed in *Publications*, XIV.]

Professors Calvin Thomas, M. D. Learned, A. Gudeman, H. Collitz, and H. A. Todd shared in the discussion.

7. "Parallel treatment of the vowel *e* in Old French and Provençal." By Dr. A. Jodocius, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Comment upon the paper was offered by Professor H. A. Todd.

EXTRA SESSION.

The Association convened in an extra session, December 27, at 8 p. m., to hear the annual address of the President of the Association. Dr. Charles C. Harrison, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, presided, and in a brief address welcomed the Association to Philadelphia. He then introduced Professor Albert S. Cook, President of the Association, who delivered an address entitled: "The province of English Philology." [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 185 f.]

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 28.

The President called the second regular session of the convention to order at 10 o'clock, a. m.

8. "The morphology of the Guernsey dialect." By Professor Edwin S. Lewis, of Princeton University. For an abstract of this paper see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1898, p. 69 f.

This paper elicited comments by Professors A. Rambeau and James W. Bright.

9. "The poetry of Nicholas Breton." By Dr. Eva March Tappan, of the Worcester High School. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 297 f.]

The President asked Professor Calvin Thomas to preside.

10. "Luther's 'Teufel' and Goethe's 'Mephistopheles.'" By Professor Richard Hochdörfer, of Wittenberg College.

This paper was discussed by Professors Calvin Thomas and W. T. Hewett.

11. "Notes on some Elizabethan poems." By Professor J. B. Henneman, of the University of Tennessee. For an abstract of this paper see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1898, p. 71.

Professor Felix E. Schelling discussed this paper.

12. "The relation of the Drama to Literature." By Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University. [Published in *The Forum*, January, 1898.]

This paper was discussed by Professors E. E. Hale, Jr., E. H. Magill, A. Cohn, Albert S. Cook, Bliss Perry, James W. Bright, and Leo Wiener.

13. "The influence of Lawrence Sterne on German literature." By Dr. T. S. Baker, of the Johns Hopkins University. [Read by title.]

THIRD SESSION.

The third regular session of the convention was begun at 2.30 o'clock, p. m.

Professor George Hempl, Secretary of the Phonetic Section of the Association, submitted the following report :

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE PHONETIC SECTION, 1897.

At the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held in the winter of 1894-5, I was elected Secretary of the Phonetic Section. My efforts to find out what would be expected of me were hampered by the fact that nothing definite as to the matter has been published. (See *Proceedings for 1887*, pp. ix, xlv, and *Modern Language Notes*, iv, 484.) I was, however, assured by my predecessor, Professor Grandgent, and other members of the Association that the Secretary of the Phonetic Section was expected to follow out his own conception of the duties of his office. I at first planned

an occasional phonetic periodical, but was dissuaded from this idea by some of the officers of the Association—and wisely so, as I now believe. I had, some time before, begun the issue of a set of test questions intended to bring in data from which to construct maps showing the outlines of the chief dialect districts of this country, and on the suggestion of Professor Grandgent I finally decided to make this investigation the basis of my labors as Secretary of the Phonetic Section.

The fees of the members of the Section for the year 1895 amounted to \$25; from my predecessor I received a balance of \$25. This money has been spent partly for stationery and record books, but for the most part has been used for postage, where it was but a drop in the bucket. Not infrequently a single report costs me five cents in postage. For reasons to be specified later, I did not ask for fees for the years 1896 and 1897. Consequently this brief statement covers the financial matter of my office for the three years that I have occupied it.

I have sent to the members of the Phonetic Section—

(1) Copies of an abstract of a paper read by me at the Classical Conference held in Ann Arbor in April, 1895, on "Vowel-Shifts in Relation to Time and Stress" (Cf. *The School Review* for June, 1895, p. 375). The complete paper will be sent as soon as published.

(2) Copies of an article that appeared in *The Chautauquan* for January, 1896, in which I gave a sketch of my plan of work and a brief statement of such results as I had then obtained.

(3) A table of Sound Articulations prepared by Marcus Hitch of Chicago.

(4) Advance sheets of the chapter on phonetics in my *German Orthography and Phonology*.

(5) Reprints of a paper on the pronunciation of *s* in "to grease" and "greasy," which I had published in *Dialect Notes*, part IX.

(6) A paper on the loss or retention of *e* in the English ending *-ed*, reprinted from the *Publications of the Association*, vol. XII, No. 3.

By the end of the first year, I saw that the progress of the accumulation of material for the speech maps was such that it would not be easy or wise to make reports until I should have in my hands practically all the material I expected to collect. For this reason the published material that I could put into the hands of the members was limited, and I therefore refrained from asking for fees for the second and third years. Reports of the results of my investigations will be sent to the members of the Section as often as made. Anything further that I might say as Secretary of the Phonetic Section, will be involved in an account of the progress of the speech maps, and I shall, therefore, report briefly on that matter.

As in all such matters, had I known at the outset what I learned in the process of the investigation, I should have done it better. Perfect test questions imply in the maker the possession of a large part of the very knowledge that he is seeking to obtain through them. Lacking such knowledge, one must make up his list largely on the basis of more or less

well grounded supposition—on guess-work, if you wish. I gathered my questions partly from books, partly from students and others, partly from my own observation. Before printing the list, I subjected it to various preliminary trials with my students, and then weeded out some questions and added others. The first list appeared in April, 1894. The reports it brought in soon showed me that some of the questions were useless, or not well put. It is interesting and sometimes laughable to see how easily a question may be misunderstood, though the greatest pains have been taken to make it clear and to the point. For example, I asked the question: "Do you use the term *fryingpan*, *skillet*, or *spider*?" and then added: "If more than one, how do you differentiate?" In reply to this latter question, several very intelligent persons have answered: "By the addition of the usual plural sign *-es*." To the questions "How would you call a horse when at some distance?" "How would you call a cow?" I have received severally the answers: "A horse" and "A cow." The answers also suggested the insertion of new questions. Thus, from the start, each issue of the list has incorporated changes and increased its length. This is an almost irresistible temptation, but the yielding to it had, in time, serious consequences. The list became so long that it appeared to most persons too formidable. This is a mistake against which I would particularly warn future investigators. I was ultimately forced to issue a smaller list containing only the most important questions. The last question in this is: "Do you wish to answer a longer list of such questions?"; in this way I am enabled to send the long list almost exclusively to those who I know will answer it.

Of the various issues of the long list, I have printed and sent out nearly 10,000; of the short list, I have printed 8,000, and have sent out about one half of them. As it takes but a few minutes to fill out the latter, a much larger percent are returned. The long list has also been reprinted in half a dozen periodicals. I have now 3000 sets of answers to the long list and nearly as many to the short list. They are arranged according to towns in a county, and counties in a state, and are kept in manilla portfolios in long flat pigeon holes in a cabinet specially prepared for them. It is thus possible to get at any report at a moment's notice. But the amount of time originally required to arrange the material and to incorporate the daily accessions to the collection is much greater than one would at first suppose. Every report must first be gone over, that it may be seen whether it is trustworthy and whether it is free from influences of districts other than the one represented. The reports that are thus found to be imperfect are either discarded or crossed with a heavy blue mark of warning. The names of the county and town must then be marked prominently in color at the head of the list. Nor can a correspondent be trusted to have given all these items correctly. It is surprising to see how many intelligent people do not know in what county they live, or think they live in a county adjoining the one in which their town is situated. I also keep for ready reference copies of the United States and Canada Postal Guides, in which are duly checked all the towns heard from.

In the accumulation of the collection I have been aided by more people than I can ever mention. Strangers have been fully as kind as friends and acquaintances. At first my colleagues disappointed me; but when I devised two or three schemes whereby they might aid me, they did so in the most generous fashion. One of these was the assignment of the answering of the questions as a task in English, the students handing in the report in place of an essay. This scheme brought me much very valuable material, but it soon began to bring in unnecessary duplications. Later I had blanks prepared which I send to instructors, no matter what they teach, and which they pass about their classes for their students to write upon them their names and the town, county, and state in which they lived during the period of the establishment of their usage. These sheets are returned to me, and I take from them the names of those students who report places not yet heard from, and then send these students copies of the brief list.

The original purpose of the investigation, was, as I have frequently stated, the outlining of the chief dialect districts. I already know about where the boundary lines run (cf. *Dialect Notes*, part ix, p. 438) and have begun to make concentrated study of sections of each line. Thus, I have assigned northern Indiana by counties to the members of a class in the history of the English language, and each one is to get—through the local principal of schools—a report from every town of 1000 inhabitants, and to make maps of the county for three or four of the questions. I shall then revise and combine these county maps and thus determine of the line dividing the North from the Midland, that section that runs through northern Indiana. I now intend to publish first such sections of the lines and only later a map of the country as a whole.

As hinted above, the answers bring in much information that was not looked for. In fact, I doubt whether the original purpose of the investigation, namely, the determination of dialect boundaries, will turn out to be the most valuable result of the undertaking. The collection is rich in material that throws a flood of light on general linguistic questions, especially on speech mixture and dialect formation and on the survival, the spread, and the mutual modification of rival forms. I personally shall, in all probability, exploit but a small part of this treasure. I intend to deposit it in time in some public library, where, after those of this generation have obtained from it what they find valuable, it may form the basis of the studies of others, to whom much of what is to us matter of fact in our speech would otherwise be unknown or known only with uncertainty. In the light of the importance of the collection, I would, therefore, again appeal to all to aid in making it as complete as can be. Additions will always be welcome, even years from now; but the sooner a report comes in, the greater the use that can be made of it. I would especially urge those of my colleagues that have not yet passed about in their classes the blanks I have prepared for gathering names, to let me know of their willingness to do so.

GEORGE HEMPL.

The Chairman of the Committee of Twelve, Professor Calvin Thomas, gave an oral account of the work of the Committee during the past year, and outlined the further plans of the Committee. He also asked for the appropriation of three hundred dollars (in addition to the unexpended balance of the appropriation granted for the past year), for the continuance (and probably the conclusion) of the work of the Committee. This request was granted by a vote of the Association.

The Committee on Place of Meeting recommended the acceptance of the invitation of the officers of the University of Virginia to hold the next annual meeting of the Association in Charlottesville, Va. This recommendation was accepted by a vote of the Association.

In accordance with the nominations made by the Committee on Officers, the following officers of the Association for the year 1898 were elected :

President : Alcée Fortier, Tulane University.

Secretary : James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.

Treasurer : Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University.

Bliss Perry, Princeton University.

Albert S. Cook, Yale University.

Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana.

Richard Hochdörfer, Wittenberg College.

Charles M. Gayley, University of California.

James A. Harrison, University of Virginia.

W. S. Currell, Washington and Lee University.

A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University.

Phonetic Section.

President : A. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.

Secretary : George Hempl, University of Michigan.

Pedagogical Section.

President: F. N. Scott, University of Michigan.

Secretary: W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Editorial Committee.

H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.

The committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported that the accounts were found to be correct.

On motion of Professor A. Gudeman the Secretary of the Association was instructed to communicate with the officers of the American Oriental Society and of the American Philological Association with reference to the consideration of plans for a joint-meeting of the Association with these two organizations.

The Secretary of the Association presented a request to address the Committee on Interstate Commerce, in the U. S. Senate, on the subject of the "Anti-Ticket Scalping Bill." On motion of Professor A. Cohn, the Secretary was instructed to reply that the statutes of the Association precluded the consideration of questions not related to the work and purpose of the Association.

The reading of papers was resumed.

14. "Color in Old English poetry." By Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University. [To be issued in *Publications*, XIV.]

This paper was discussed by Professors W. H. Hulme, A. Gudeman, Herbert E. Greene, C. S. Baldwin, and James W. Bright.

Professor A. Marshall Elliott was asked to preside.

15. "Professor Schultz-Gora, and the *Testament de Rousseau*." By Professor Adolphe Cohn, of Columbia University. [An abstract is printed in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1898, p. 73.]

16. "Recent work in Celtic." By Dr. F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University.

17. "The relation of the Old English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* to the Latin original." By Professor William H. Hulme, of Adelbert College. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 457 f.]

18. "The French literature of Louisiana from 1894 to 1897." By Professor Alcée Fortier, of Tulane University. [Read by title.]

19. "The rhythm of proper names in Old English verse." By Professor James W. Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University. [Read by title.]

[The American Dialect Society held its Annual Meeting at 5 o'clock.]

Provost and Mrs. Charles C. Harrison received the ladies and gentlemen of the Association at their home, 1618 Locust Street, Tuesday evening, December 28th, at 8.30 o'clock.

FOURTH SESSION, DECEMBER 29.

President Cook opened the fourth and closing regular session of the convention at 9.30 o'clock, a. m., Wednesday, December 29.

20. "Early influence of German literature in America." By Dr. Frederick H. Wilkens, of Baltimore, Md.

This paper was discussed by Professors W. T. Hewett and M. D. Learned.

21. "On translating Anglo-Saxon poetry." By Professor Edward Fulton, of Wells College. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 286 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Albert S. Cook, James M. Garnett, E. H. Magill, Felix E. Schelling, W. H. Hulme, F. N. Scott, A. Gudeman, and James W. Bright.

22. "Boccaccio's Defense of Poetry, as contained in the fourteenth book of the *De Genealogia Deorum*." By Miss Elizabeth Woodbridge, of Yale University. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 333 f.]

Comments upon this paper were offered by Professor F. N. Scott.

23. "A sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati, and its place in fable literature." By Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, of Union College. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 205 f.]

No time could be allowed for the discussion of this and of the following papers.

24. "Seventeenth Century conceits." By Dr. Clarence G. Child, of the University of Pennsylvania.

25. "Verbal taboos, their nature and origin." By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

26. "Prepositions in the works of Hans Sachs." By Dr. C. R. Miller, of Lehigh University. [Read by title.]

Professor E. E. Hale, Jr., offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by a vote of the Association:

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, now convened for its fifteenth annual meeting, hereby expresses hearty appreciation of the cordial words in which the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Charles C. Harrison, has welcomed the Association to Phila-

delphia; and also records grateful thanks to the Officers of the University of Pennsylvania, and to the members of the Local Committee, for the generous and efficient entertainment of this Convention; and

Resolved, That the Association expresses to Provost and Mrs. Charles C. Harrison appreciative acknowledgment for their hospitable reception of the members of the Association.

The Association adjourned at 1 o'clock p. m.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1898.

President,

ALCÉE FORTIER,

*Tulane University, New Orleans, La.**Secretary,*

JAMES W. BRIGHT,

*Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.**Treasurer,*

HERBERT E. GREENE,

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

C. T. WINCHESTER,

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

ALBERT S. COOK,

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

GUSTAV E. KARSTEN,

University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

J. A. HARRISON,

University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

BLISS PERRY,

Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

RICHARD HOCHDÖRFER,

Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

CHARLES M. GAYLEY,

University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

W. S. CURRELL,

Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

A. R. HOHLFELD,

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

PHONETIC SECTION.

President,

A. MELVILLE BELL,

*Washington, D. C.**Secretary,*

GEORGE HEMPL,

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION.

President,

F. N. SCOTT,

*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.**Secretary,*

W. E. MEAD,

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

C. T. WINCHESTER,

First Vice-President.

JAMES A. HARRISON,

Second Vice-President.

RICHARD HOCHDÖRFER,

Third Vice-President.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

C. H. GRANDGENT,

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,

University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

(INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE
ASSOCIATION).¹

- Abernethy, Mr. J. W., 231 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Adams, Dr. W. A., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [2 Phelps Hall.]
 Adler, Dr. Cyrus, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.
 Akers, Prof. J. T., Central College, Richmond, Ky.
 Alden, Mr. R. M., 3737 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Allen, Prof. Edward A., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 Allen, Dr. Philip S., 612 Maple St., Station O, Chicago, Ill.
 Almstedt, Mr. Hermann B., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Armstrong, Dr. E. C., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Armstrong, Prof. J. L., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.
 Augustin, Prof. Marie J., Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, New Orleans,
 La.
 Aviragnet, Prof. E., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
 Babbitt, Prof. E. H., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Bader, Prof. John H., City Schools, Staunton, Va.
 Baillot, Prof. E. P., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Baker, Dr. T. S., 1202 Mt. Royal Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
 Baldwin, Dr. C. S., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Bartlett, Mr. D. L., 16 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.
 Bartlett, Prof. G. A., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Baskervill, Prof. W. M., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Becker, Dr. E. J., 2131 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
 Belden, Dr. H. M., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 Bell, Prof. A. Melville, 1525 35th St., W., Washington, D. C.
 Benton, Prof. Chas. W., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Bernays, Miss Thekla, 3623 Laclede Avenue., St. Louis, Mo.
 Bevier, Prof. Louis, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
 Bierwirth, Dr. H. C. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

¹ Members are earnestly requested to notify promptly both the Secretary and the Treasurer of change of address.

- Bignell, Mr. Wm., High School, Allegheny, Pa.
 Blackburn, Prof. F. A., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Blackwell, Prof. R. E., Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
 Blake, Prof. Estelle, Arkadelphia, Ark.
 Blau, Dr. Max F., Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Bloomberg, Prof. A. A., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
 Blume, Mr. Julius, 1119 Bolton St., Baltimore, Md.
 Boatwright, President F. W., Richmond College, Richmond, Va.
 Both-Hendricksen, Miss L., 166 Macon St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Bothne, Prof. Gisle, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.
 Boughton, Prof. Willis, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.
 Bowen, Prof. B. L., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
 Bowen, Dr. E. W., Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
 Boyd, Prof. John C., University of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
 Bradshaw, Prof. S. E., Bethel College, Russellville, Ky.
 Brandt, Prof. H. C. G., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
 Brédé, Prof. C. F., Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. [Box 242.]
 Bright, Prof. James W., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Brinton, Dr. D. G., Media, Pa.
 Bristol, Mr. E. N., 29 W. 23d St., New York, N. Y.
 Broatch, Mr. J. W., 596 Pierson Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Bronson, Prof. T. B., Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville N. J.
 Brown, Prof. A. N., Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
 Brown, Prof. Calvin S., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Brown, Prof. E. M., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Brownell, Dr. George G., University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
 Bruce, Prof. J. D., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Brumbaugh, Prof. M. G., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Bruner, Prof. James D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Brush, Dr. Murray P., University of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio.
 Brusie, Prof. C. F., Mt. Pleasant Academy, Sing Sing, N. Y.
 Bryan, Ensign Henry F., Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
 Buck, Miss Gertrude, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Buehler, Rev. Huber Gray, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.
 Butler, Prof. F. R., Boston University, Boston, Mass. [168 Lafayette Street.
 Salem, Mass.].
 Butler, Pierce, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Cabeen, Prof. Chas. W., 403 University Place, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Callaway, Jr., Prof. M., University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
 Cameron, Prof. A. Guyot, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [10 Bayard
 Ave.]
 Campbell, Dr. Killis, Culver Milit. Academy, Culver, Ind.
 Canfield, Prof. A. G., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
 Carpenter, Dr. F. I., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

- Carpenter, Prof. G. R., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Carruth, Prof. W. H., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
 Carson, Miss Luella Clay, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
 Chapman, Prof. Henry Leland, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.
 Chase, Dr. Frank H., 2 University Place, New Haven, Conn.
 Chase, President G. C., Bates College, Lewiston, Maine.
 Cheek, Prof. S. R., Centre College, Danville, Ky.
 Child, Dr. Clarence G., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [2118
 DeLancey Pl.]
 Clapp, Prof. John M., Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
 Clark, Prof. J. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Clary, Mr. S. W., 110 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
 Clerc, Miss Mélina, 1634 I Street, Washington, D. C.
 Cohn, Prof. Adolphe, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Cohn, Prof. H., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Coggeshall, Miss Louise K., 102 E. 57th St., New York, N. Y.
 Colin, Dr. Thérèse F., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Collins, Prof. George S., Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Collitz, Prof. H., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Colville, Mr. W. T., Carbondale, Pa.
 Colvin, Dr. Mary Noyes, College for Women, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Conant, Prof. C. Everett, Lincoln University, Lincoln, Ill.
 Conklin, Prof. Clara, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
 Cook, Prof. Albert S., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Cooper, Prof. W. A., Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.
 Corwin, Dr. Robert N., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Crabb, Dr. Wilson D., Greenville Seminary, Greenville, Ky.
 Crane, Prof. T. F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Crawshaw, Prof. W. H., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
 Crow, Dr. Chas. L., Weatherford College, Weatherford, Texas.
 Crow, Prof. M. Foote, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Crowell, Mr. A. C., German Seminar, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
 Curdy, Prof. A. E., Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake, Mich.
 Curme, Prof. G. O., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Currell, Prof. W. S., Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
 Cutler, Miss S. R., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Cutting, Prof. Starr W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

 van Daell, Prof. A. N., Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass.
 Davidson, Prof. Charles, Albany, N. Y. [1 Sprague Place.]
 Davidson, Prof. F. J. A., Stanford University, Cal.
 Davies, Prof. W. W., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
 Dawson, Prof. Arthur C., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
 De Haan, Prof. Fonger, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Deering, Prof. R. W., Woman's College, Cleveland, Ohio. [80 Cornell St.]

- Dehust, Miss Mary, Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Ill.
Deutsch, Prof. W., High School, St. Louis, Mo.
Diekhoff, Mr. T. J. C., 38 Packard St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Divine, Miss Mary L., 85 Spring St., Portland, Maine.
Dixon, Prof. J. M., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Dodge, Prof. D. K., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Dodge, Prof. R. E. Neil, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [138
West Gorham St.]
Douay, Prof. Gaston, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Drake, Dr. Allison, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Dunlap, Prof. C. G., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.
- Easton, Prof. M. W., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Eaton, Mrs. Abbie Fiske, 338 57th St., Chicago, Ill.
Edgar, Prof. Pelham, Victoria University, Toronto, Canada. [113 Bloor
St., W.]
Effinger, Dr. John R., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1430
Hill Street.]
Egge, Prof. Albert E., Washington Agricultural College, Pullman, Wash-
ington.
Eggers, Prof. E. A., State Univ. of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio.
Eliel, Mrs. Mathilde, Hyde Park High School, Chicago, Ill.
Elliott, Prof. A. Marshall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Emerson, Prof. O. F., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
Epes, Prof. John D., State Normal School, Warrensburg, Mo.
- Faber, Miss Emily, 227 East 58th St., New York, N. Y.
Fairchild, Mr. J. R., American Book Co., New York, N. Y.
Farrand, Prof. Wilson, Newark Academy, 544 High St., Newark, N. J.
Faust, Dr. A. B., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Fay, Prof. C. E., Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.
Ferrell, Prof. C. C., University of Mississippi, University P. O., Miss.
Ferren, Dr. H. M., 157 Lowrie St., Allegheny, Pa.
Files, Prof. George T., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.
von Fingerlin, Prof. Edgar, Furman University, Greenville, S. C.
Fitz-Gerald, Mr. John D., 57 Liberty St., Newark, N. J.
Fitz-Hugh, Prof. Thomas, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. [2008
Whitis Ave.]
Fluegel, Prof. Ewald, Stanford University, Cal.
Fontaine, Prof. J. A., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Ford, Prof. Joseph S., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
Fortier, Prof. Alc  e, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
Fossler, Prof. L., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Foster, Prof. Irving L., State College, Pa.
Francke, Prof. K., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Fraser, Dr. Emma, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.
 Freeman, Prof. C. C., Kentucky University, Lexington, Ky.
 Freeman, Miss Mary L., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Froelicher, Prof. H., Woman's College, Baltimore, Md.
 Fruit, Prof. John P., William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.
 Fuller, Prof. Paul, P. O. Box 2559, New York, N. Y.
 Fulton, Prof. Edward, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.

Garner, Prof. S., Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
 Garnett, Prof. J. M., Baltimore, Md. [1316 Bolton St.]
 Garrett, Dr. Alfred C., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Gaw, Mrs. Ralph H., 1321 Fillmore St., Topeka, Kansas.
 Gayley, Prof. Charles M., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Geddes, Jr., Prof. James, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
 Gerber, Prof. A., Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
 Glen, Prof. Irving M., University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
 Gloss, Miss Janet C., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. [2828 Wash-
 ington Ave.]

Goebel, Prof. Julius, Stanford University, Cal.
 Gorrell, Dr. J. H., Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.
 Graeser, Prof. C. A., Supt. Public Schools, Darlington, S. C.
 Grandgent, Prof. C. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [107
 Walker St.]

Greene, Prof. Herbert E., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Gregor, Prof. Leigh R., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
 Grossman, Prof. Edward A., 1 W. 81st St., New York, N. Y.
 Griffin, Prof. James O., Stanford University, Cal.
 Griffin, Mr. N. E., 1027 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md.
 Gruener, Prof. Gustav, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Gudeman, Prof. A., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Gummere, Prof. F. B. Haverford College, Pa.
 Gutknecht, Miss L. L., 6340 Butler St., Chicago, Ill.
 Gwinn, Dr. Mary M., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Hale, Jr., Prof. E. E., Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
 Hall, Prof. J. Leslie, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
 Hamburger, Prof. Felix, Pawtucket, R. I.
 Hanscom, Dr. Elizabeth D., 17 Henshaw Ave., Northampton, Mass.
 Harper, Prof. G. M., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Harris, Prof. Chas., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Harris, Miss M. A., Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.
 Harrison, Prof. J. A., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
 Harrison, Prof. T. P., Davidson College, N. C.
 Hart, Prof. C. E. Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [33 Livingston
 Avenue.]

- Hart, Prof. J. M., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Hatfield, Prof. James T., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Haupt, Prof. Paul, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Hausknecht, Prof. Emil, Thaer Str. 21, Berlin, N. W., Germany.
 Hausmann, Dr. W. A., 157 Lowrie St., Allegheny, Pa.
 Hay, Prof. Henry H., Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Heller, Prof. Otto, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
 Hempl, Prof. George, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1033 E. University Ave.]
 Hench, Prof. G. A. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Henckels, Prof. Theodore, Middlebury, Vt.
 Henneman, Prof. J. B., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
 Hervey, Mr. William A., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Heuermann, Miss Louise M., 85 Hancock St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Hewitt, Prof. W. T., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Higgins, Miss Alice, 401 Macon St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Hinckley, Mr. Henry Barrett, 54 Prospect St., Northampton, Mass.
 Hobigand, Mr. J. A., Boston School of Languages, 88 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
 Hochdörfer, Prof. R., Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.
 Hoffman, Prof. B. F., University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
 Hohlfield, Prof. A. R., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Holzwarth, Prof. F. J., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Horning, Prof. L. E., Victoria University, Toronto, Ont.
 Hospes, Mrs. Cecilia, 3001 Lafayette Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
 Howe, Miss M. A., Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Conn.
 Howell, Miss Bertha, State Normal School, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Hubbard, Rev. Chas. F., 289 Highland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
 Hubbard, Prof. F. G., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Huguenin, Mr. Julian, Asheville, N. C.
 Hulme, Prof. Wm. H., Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio. [56 Mayfield St.]
 Hunt, Prof. T. W., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Huss, Prof. H. C. O., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
 Hutchinson, Miss Sarah D., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
 Ingraham, Prof. A., The Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
 Isaacs, Prof. A. S., New York University, New York, N. Y.
 von Jagemann, Prof. H. C. G., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [113 Walker St.]
 James, Dr. A. W., Miami College, Oxford, Ohio.
 James, Dr. N. C., Western University, London, Ont.
 Jack, Prof. Albert E., Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
 Jayne, Miss V. D., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.

- Jenkins, Dr. Thomas A., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [19 Garland Ave.]
- Jessen, Mr. Karl D., 25 Kremperweg, Itzehoe, Germany.
- Jodocius, Dr. A., The De Lancey School, Cor. 17th St. and De Lancey Place, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Johnson, Prof. H., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.
- Jonas, Mr. J. B. E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Jones, Dr. H. P., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Jordan, Miss M. A., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Joynes, Prof. E. S., South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.
- Kammann, Mr. Chas. H., Peoria High School, Peoria, Ill.
- Karsten, Prof. Gustaf E., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
- Kaufman, Mrs. J. J., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. [3117 Lucas Ave.]
- Keidel, Dr. George C., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Kent, Prof. Charles W., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Kern, Dr. Paul O., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Kerr, Jr., Mr. John E., 41 Beaver St., New York, N. Y.
- Key, Mr. W. H., Central College, Fayette, Mo.
- Kinard, Prof. James P., Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, Rock Hill, S. C.
- King, Prof. R. A., Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Kinney, Mr. Samuel Wardwell, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
- Kittredge, Prof. G. L., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Klaeber, Dr. Frederick, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- von Klenze, Dr. C., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Knox, Prof. Charles S., St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
- Koenig, Dr. Walther F., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Koren, Prof. William, Mount Pleasant, Iowa.
- Krapp, Mr. George P., Teachers College, Morningside Heights, 120th Street, W., New York, N. Y.
- Kroeh, Prof. C. F., Stevens Inst. of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.
- Krug, Mr. Joseph, 51 Fourth Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
- Kuersteiner, Prof. A. F., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
- Kuhns, Prof. L. Oscar, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Ladd, Prof. Wm. C., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- de Lagneau, Miss L. R., Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Lang, Prof. H. R., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Lange, Prof. Alexis F., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Lange, Mr. F. J., High School, Elgin, Ill.
- Learned, Prof. M. D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [234 South 38th St.]
- Leavens, Miss Julia Pauline, 21 E. 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Lewis, Miss Mary Elizabeth, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D.
Lewis, Prof. E. H., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Lewis, Prof. E. S., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Lodeman, Prof. A., Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Lodeman, Dr. F. E., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Loiseaux, Mr. Louis A., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Longden, Prof. Henry B., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
Loomis, Prof. Freeman, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
Lorenz, Mr. Theodore, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Luquiens, Prof. J., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Lutz, Prof. F., Albion College, Albion, Mich.
Lyman, Dr. A. B., Lyman, Md.

Macine, Prof. John, University of North Dakota, University, N. D.
MacLean, Chancellor G. E., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
MacMechan, Prof. Archibald, Dalhousie College, Halifax, N. S. [72 Victoria Road.]
Magill, Prof. Edward H., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Manly, Prof. John M., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Manning, Prof. E. W., Delaware College, Newark, Del.
March, Prof. Francis A., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
March, Jr., Prof. Francis A., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Marcou, Dr. P. B., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [42 Garden St.]
Marden, Dr. C. C., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Marsh, Prof. A. R., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Mather, Jr., Prof. Frank Jewett, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Matthews, Prof. Brander, Columbia College, New York, N. Y. [681 West End Ave.]
Matzke, Prof. J. E., Stanford University, Cal.
McBryde, Jr., Prof. J. M., Hollins Institute, Hollins, Virginia.
McCabe, Prof. W. Gordon, University School, Richmond, Va.
McClintock, Prof. W. D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
McClumpha, Prof. C. F., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
McIlwaine, Prof. H. R., Hampden Sydney College, Prince Edward Co., Virginia.
McKenzie, Prof. Kenneth, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
McKibben, Prof. G. F., Denison University, Granville, Ohio.
McKnight, Dr. George H., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
McLouth, Prof. L. A., New York University, New York, N. Y.
Mead, Prof. W. E., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [165 Broad St.]
Menger, Prof. L. E., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Mensel, Prof. E. H., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Merrill, Prof. Katherine, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Meyer, Dr. Edward, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. [844 Logan Avenue.]

Meyer, Prof. George H., Lake Forest Academy, Lake Forest, Ill.

Miller, Dr. Chas. R., Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

Miller, Prof. Daniel T., Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah.

Mills, Miss Mary W., Webster Groves, Mo.

Molenaer, Mr. Samuel P., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Montague, Prof. W. L., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Moore, Mr. A. A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Moore, Prof. R. W., Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

Morris, Prof. G. D., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

Morton, Prof. A. H., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

Morton, Mr. E. P., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

Mott, Prof. L. F., College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [17 Lexington Avenue.]

Mulfinger, Mr. George A., 381 Marshfield Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Muzzarelli, Prof. A., 56 Liberty St., Savannah, Ga.

Nash, Prof. B. H., 252 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

Neff, Dr. Th. L., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Nelson, Prof. Clara A., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

Newcomer, Prof. A. G., Stanford University, Cal.

Nichols, Prof. Alfred B., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [20 Holyworthy Hall.]

Nitze, Mr. William A., Roland Park, Baltimore, Md.

Noble, Prof. Charles, Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.

Nollen, Prof. John S., Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.

Nordby, Mr. Conrad H., College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [17 Lexington Ave.]

Northup, Mr. C. S., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Ogden, Dr. Philip, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Olson, Prof. Julius E., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Osthaus, Prof. Carl, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

Ott, Prof. J. H., Watertown, Wisconsin.

Owen, Prof. Edward T., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Pace, Miss Ida, Arkansas University, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Page, Prof. F. M., Haverford, Pa.

Page, Dr. Curtis Hidden, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Palmer, Prof. A. H., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Pancoast, Prof. Henry S., Germantown, Pa.

Pearce, Dr. J. W., 723 Camp St., New Orleans, La.

Pearson, Prof. C. W., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

Pendleton, Miss A. C., Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va.

- Penn, Mr. H. C., Columbia, Missouri.
Penniman, Dr. Josiah H., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Perrin, Prof. M. L., Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Perry, Prof. Bliss, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Peters, Prof. Robert J., Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo.
Piatt, Prof. Hermann S., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Pietsch, Dr. K., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Pinkham, Prof. G. R., Swanton, Vermont.
Piutti, Prof. Elise, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
Plimpton, Mr. George A., New York, N. Y. [Ginn & Co.]
Poll, Dr. Max, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Pollard, Prof. J., Richmond College, Richmond, Va.
Porter, Prof. S., Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C.
Potwin, Prof. L. S., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.
de Poyen-Bellisle, Dr. René, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Prettyman, Mr. C. W., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Price, Prof. Thomas R., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [263 W. 45th St.]
Primer, Prof. Sylvester, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Prince, Prof. J. D., New York University, New York, N. Y. [31 W. 38th St.]
Pusey, Prof. Edwin D., St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.
Putzker, Prof. Albin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Rambeau, Prof. A., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Ramsay, Prof. M. M., Columbian University, Washington, D. C.
Reeves, Prof. Chas. F., University of Washington, Seattle. [Columbia City, Washington.]
Reeves, Dr. W. P., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
Rennert, Prof. H. A., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4232 Chestnut St.]
Rhoades, Prof. Lewis A., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
Rice, Prof. H. M., English and Classical School, 63 Snow St., Providence, R. I.
Richardson, Prof. H. B., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Ringer, Prof. S., Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.
Robertson, Miss Luanna, Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.
Robinson, Dr. F. N., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Rocfort, Prof. R., 179 South Broad St., Trenton, N. J.
Roessler, Prof. J. E., Valparaiso, Ind.
Ross, Prof. Charles H., Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.
de Rougemont, Prof. A.
Rowland, Miss Amy F., 43 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y.
Roy, Prof. James, Niagara Falls, Station A, N. Y.

Rumsey, Miss Olive, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

Runtz-Rees, Miss Caroline R., Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Conn.

Sampson, Prof. M. W., University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.

Saunders, Mrs. M. J. T., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

Saunderson, Prof. G. W., Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin.

Scharff, Mr. Paul A., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Scharff, Miss Violette Eugénie, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Schelling, Prof. F. E., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4435 Spruce St.]

Schilling, Prof. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Schmidt, Prof. F. G. G., University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

Schmidt-Wartenberg, Prof. H., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Schofield, Dr. W. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Schrakamp, Miss Josepha, 67 W. 38th St., New York, N. Y.

Scott, Dr. C. P. G., 708 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Scott, Prof. F. N., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich

Scott, Dr. Mary Augusta, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [25 Kensington Ave.]

Sechrist, Prof. F. K., Central State Normal School, Lock Haven, Pa.

Segall, Mr. Jacob, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Semple, Prof. L. B., Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

Severy, Prof. E. E., Dixon Academy, Shelbyville, Tenn.

Seward, Mr. O. P., 477 56th St., Chicago, Ill.

Seybold, Prof. C. F., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Sharp, Prof. R., Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

Shefoe, Prof. Joseph S., Woman's College, Baltimore, Md.

Sheldon, Prof. E. S., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [27 Hulburt St.]

Shepard, Dr. W. P., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

Sherman, Prof. L. A., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

Shipley, Dr. George, Baltimore, Md.

Shumway, Prof. D. B., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sicard, Mr. Ernest, 578 La Salle Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Simonds, Prof. W. E., Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

Simonton, Prof. J. S., Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.

Smith, Prof. C. Alphonso, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La.

Smith, Dr. Herbert A., 4 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn.

Smith, Dr. Homer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Smith, Mr. Hugh A., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Smith, Mr. Justin H., (Ginn & Co.), 7-13 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.

Smith, Prof. Kirby F., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Smyth, Prof. A. H., Philadelphia High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Snoddy, Prof. J. S., Woodson Institute, Richmond, Missouri.

Snow, Prof. Wm. B., English High School, Montgomery St., Boston, Mass.

- Spaeth, Dr. J. D., 1128 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Spanhoofd, Prof. E., St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
Spencer, Prof. Frederic, University of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. [Menai-Bridge.]
Speranza, Prof. C. L., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Spieker, Prof. E. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Spofford, Hon. A. R., Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.
van Steenderen, Prof. F. C. L., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
Sterling, Miss Susan A., 811 State St., Madison, Wis.
Stoddard, Prof. F. H., New York University, N. Y. [22 W. 68th St.]
Stratton, Dr. A. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Straub, Prof. John, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
Stearns, Miss Clara M., 2187 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Sweet, Miss Marguerite, Stephentown, N. Y. [Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.]
Swiggett, Prof. Glen L., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.
Sykes, Dr. Fred. H., Philadelphia, Pa. [111 S. 15th St.]
Symington, Prof. W. Stuart, Jr., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Tappan, Dr. Eva March, 32 Chatham St., Worcester, Mass.
Taylor, Miss Elizabeth R., 85 Spring St., Portland, Maine.
Taylor, Mr. Robert L., 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn.
Thomas, Prof. Calvin, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Thomas, President M. Carey, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Thurber, Mr. Edward A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Thurber, Prof. S., 13 Westminster Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.
Todd, Prof. H. A., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [720 West End Avenue.]
Tolman, Prof. A. H., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5750 Woodlawn Ave.]
Tombo, Mr. Rudolph, Jr., 2 Ridge Place, Mott Haven, New York, N. Y.
Toy, Prof. W. D., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Triggs, Dr. Oscar L., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Tufts, Prof. J. A., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
Tupper, Jr., Prof. Fred., University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
Tupper, Prof. Jas. W., Western University, London, Ont., Canada.
Turk, Prof. Milton H., Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
Tweedie, Prof. W. M., Mt. Allison College, Sackville, N. B.
- Vance, Prof. H. A., University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn.
Viles, Mr. George B., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Villavaso, Mr. Ernest J., Ball High School, Galveston, Texas.
Vogel, Prof. Frank, Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [120 Pembroke St.]
Vos, Dr. Bert John, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Voss, Prof. Ernst, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. [1039 University Ave.]

- Wager, Prof. C. H. A., Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
 Wahl, Prof. G. M., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
 Wallis, Mrs. S., Jefferson High School, Chicago, Ill.
 Warren, Prof. F. M., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Wauchope, Prof. Geo. A., University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
 Weaver, Prof. G. E. H., 203 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Weber, Prof. W. L., Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.
 Weeks, Mr. L. T., Southwestern Kansas College, Winfield, Kansas.
 Weeks, Prof. Raymond, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 Wells, Prof. B. W., University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
 Wenckebach, Miss Carla, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
 Werner, Prof. A., College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
 Wernicke, Prof. P., State College, Lexington, Ky.
 Wesselhoeft, Mr. Edward, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 West, Mr. H. S., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 West, Prof. Henry T., Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
 White, Prof. H. S., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 White, Miss Janet Hutchins, High School, Evanston, Ill.
 Whiteford, Dr. Robert N., High School, Peoria, Ill.
 Whitelock, Mr. George, Room 708, Fidelity Building, Baltimore, Md.
 Wickham, Miss Margaret M., Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [7 Clifton Pl.]
 Wiener, Dr. Leo, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [15 Hilliard St.]
 Wightman, Prof. J. R., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
 Wilkens, Dr. Fr. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Wilkin, Prof. (Mrs.) M. J. C., University of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Willis, Prof. R. H., Chatham, Va.
 Willner, Rev. W., Meridian, Miss.
 Wilson, Prof. Charles Bundy, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
 Wilson, Dr. R. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Winchester, Prof. C. T., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
 Winkler, Dr. Max, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Woldmann, Prof. Hermann, Supervisor of German, Public Schools, 89 Outhwaite Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Wood, Prof. Francis A., Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
 Wood, Prof. Henry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Woodbridge, Miss Elizabeth, 132 College St., New Haven, Conn.
 Woodward, Dr. B. D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Wright, Prof. Arthur S., Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Wright, Prof. C. B., Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
 Wright, Mr. C. H. C., 16 Gay St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Wylie, Miss Laura J., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Zimmermann, Dr. G. A., 683 Sedgwick St., Chicago, Ill.

LIBRARIES

SUBSCRIBING FOR THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ASSOCIATION.

Albany, N. Y.: New York State Library.
Aurora, N. Y.: Wells College Library.
Austin, Texas: University of Texas Library.
Baltimore, Md.: Enoch Pratt Free Library.
Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Library.
Baltimore, Md.: Library of the Peabody Institute.
Baltimore, Md.: Woman's College Library.
Berkeley, Cal.: Library of the University of California.
Boston, Mass.: Public Library of the City of Boston.
Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College Library.
Buffalo, N. Y.: The Buffalo Library.
Burlington, Vt.: Library of the University of Vermont.
Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Library.
Charlottesville, Va.: Library of the University of Virginia.
Chicago, Ill.: The Newberry Library.
Chicago, Ill.: The General Library of the University of Chicago.
Cleveland, Ohio: Adelbert College Library.
Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Library.
Detroit, Mich.: The Public Library.
Easton, Pa.: Lafayette College Library.
Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Library.
Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library.
Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Library.
Lincoln, Neb.: State University of Nebraska Library.
Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Library.
Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Library.
Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Library.
Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Library.
Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Library.

- New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Library.
New Orleans, La.: Library of the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College.
[1220 Washington Ave.]
New York, N. Y.: The New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox, and Tilden
Foundations). [40 Lafayette Place.]
New York, N. Y.: Columbia University Library.
Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College Library.
Paris, France: Bibliothèque de l'Université à la Sorbonne.
Peoria, Ill.: Peoria Public Library.
Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Library.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College Library.
Princeton, N. J.: Library of Princeton University. [Prof. James O.
Murray.]
Providence, R. I.: Providence Public Library. [32 Snow St.]
Rochester, N. Y.: Library of the University of Rochester. [Prince St.]
Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Library.
South Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Library.
Springfield, Ohio: Wittenberg College Library.
Wake Forest, N. C.: Wake Forest College Library.
Washington, D. C.: Library of Supreme Council of 33d Degree. [433
Third Street, N. W.]
Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Reading Room Library.
West Point, N. Y.: Library of the U. S. Military Academy.
Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College Library.
Worcester, Mass.: Free Public Library.
-

HONORARY MEMBERS.

GRAZIADO I. ASCOLI, Milan, Italy.
K. VON BAHDER, University of Leipsic.
ALOIS L. BRANDL, University of Berlin.
HENRY BRADLEY, Oxford, England.
W. BRAUNE, University of Heidelberg.
SOPHUS BUGGE, University of Christiania.
KONRAD BURDACH, University of Halle.
WENDELIN FÖRSTER, University of Bonn.
GUSTAV GRÖBER, University of Strassburg.
B. P. HASDEU, University of Bucharest.
RICHARD HEINZEL, University of Vienna.
FR. KLUGE, University of Freiburg.
EUGENE KÖLBING, University of Breslau.
PAUL MEYER, Collège de France.
W. MEYER-LÜBKE, University of Vienna.
JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Oxford, England.
ARTHUR NAPIER, University of Oxford.
FRITZ NEUMANN, University of Heidelberg.
ADOLF NOREEN, University of Upsala.
GASTON PARIS, Collège de France.
H. PAUL, University of Munich.
F. YORK POWELL, University of Oxford.
PIO RAJNA, Florence, Italy.
J. SCHIPPER, University of Vienna.
H. SCHUCHART, University of Graz.
ERICH SCHMIDT, University of Berlin.
EDUARD SIEVERS, University of Leipsic.
W. W. SKEAT, University of Cambridge.
JOHANN STORM, University of Christiania.
H. SUCHIER, University of Halle.
HENRY SWEET, Oxford, England.
ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin.
KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin.
RICH. PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipsic.

ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEASED.

- T. WHITING BANCROFT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890.]
WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888.]
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892.]
F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893.]
J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass.
JULES LOISEAU, New York, N. Y.
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891.]
THOMAS MCCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891.]
JOHN G. R. MCELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1891.]
EDWARD T. MCLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893.]
C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md.
W. M. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa.
C. P. OTIS, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894.]
M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y.
F. R. STENGEL, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas.
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
MISS HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889.]
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany. [1895.]
-

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 THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT EVANSTON, ILL., DE-
CEMBER 30, 31, 1897, AND
JANUARY 1, 1898.

XL 1

THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSO- CIATION OF AMERICA.

The third annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., December 30, 31, 1897, and January 1, 1898.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 30.

On Thursday evening, December 30, the convention was called to order in the Assembly Hall of the Orrington Lunt Library by Professor E. P. Baillot, of the Northwestern University. The speaker regretted the absence of President Henry Wade Rogers, who was unexpectedly detained in the East, and introduced, as the representative of the University Authorities and the Faculty, Professor G. A. Coe. After words of welcome, Professor Coe invited the Association to inspect the collection of German books which had recently been added to the library of the Northwestern University through the munificence of a number of Germans of the city of Chicago.

The Hon. William Andrew Dyche, Mayor of Evanston, then addressed the audience, welcoming them on behalf of the citizens. Professor W. H. Carruth, President of the Central Division, returned the thanks of the members for the words spoken.

The first paper of the convention was then presented.

1. "Methods of studying English masterpieces." By Professor J. Scott Clark, of the Northwestern University.

Assuming the practical value of studying masterpieces as an aid in acquiring the art of English Composition, we ask first, what methods of study are or have been in use, and what are their fruits? The objection to the method that has been most widely used lies in the fact that it is not really a study of the masterpiece but merely a study of what some one has written *about* the masterpiece. It consists in cramming the pupil's mind with minute biographical data and the abstractions of criticism—often quite meaningless to the pupil in the absence of illustrative quotations. This method was formerly followed in studying the physical sciences. The student did not study oxygen, or electricity, or protoplasm. He studied what some one had written about the elements, and, if fortunate, saw the instructor manipulate the elements at a safe distance. This method, though utterly fruitless, is still widely followed in teaching English Literature. The second method, and the one now prevalent in most of our leading schools and colleges may be defined as the use of annotated editions. It is what Prof. Genung calls "disciplinary reading," and it is supposed to aid the pupil to invent. But it may fairly be doubted whether what the rhetoricians call "invention" ever is or can be taught in the class-room. The influences that develop invention are too subtle and universal ever to be catalogued or made available on demand. During the last twenty years this country has been flooded with these annotated editions. The fact that hundreds of newly-fledged Doctors of Philosophy have found in the preparation of such editions a convenient means of exhibiting to the educational world evidences of their newly-found learning, has caused the supply to be excessive. Moreover, the temptation to lug in all sorts of irrelevant matter into the "notes" has been irresistible. The universe has been ransacked by these industrious young editors to find anything having even the remotest reference to the subject matter. These "notes" consist mainly of the exposition of historical, geographical, or literary references, the definition of words used in the text, and the quotation of parallel passages from other eminent authors. To these are added ingenious surmises as to the probable reason of the author under consideration for using the existing verbal forms or as to the way in which the author's thought was probably suggested,—ingenious and often interesting surmises; but one may fairly ask, what has all this to do with that development of the pupil's vocabulary and style that he ought to obtain from the study of a masterpiece? At least two-thirds of these notes are really crutches, doing for the pupil what he ought early to have acquired the habit of doing for himself. So, while we admit that the use of annotated editions has some value, we must reject it as almost entirely fruitless in the direction most desired.

Before suggesting a more fruitful method, let us ask what results a student ought fairly to expect and to obtain from the study of a masterpiece. First, he should enlarge his own vocabulary. The number of words used even by "educated" men is astonishingly small. Second, he should gain by his study increased accuracy and delicacy in the use of words. Third, he should gain, by direct observation, a conception of the value of an Anglo-Saxon diction stronger than he can ever obtain from mere statistics. He should observe the effect of Latinizing the diction of a fine passage. Fourth, the young writer should obtain from his study of a masterpiece an enlarged conception of the value of idiomatic diction, observing the effect of substituting more formal expressions for idioms. Fifth, he should gain, by direct observation, a keen appreciation of the value of rhetorical imagery when wisely used. He must note the flavor given to a masterpiece by the prevalence, the sparsity or the peculiar use of rhetorical figures, testing by reducing figurative to bald expression and the reverse. Sixth, he should learn, by direct observation, the relative values of loose and periodic structure. Seventh, he should discover the peculiar value of epigram, balance, and point, noting carefully the dangers and the limitations of this quality of style. Eighth, the student should learn from his use of a masterpiece the value of smoothness—unity, that essential element of any good style, which the young writer is always so very slow to acquire. Ninth, he must learn, by direct observation, the value of simplicity in both diction and construction. Tenth, he must discover something of the nature of that subtle, almost indefinable quality that we call rhythm—that element that forms so large a part in all true eloquence. Finally, above and beyond these, which may be called the mechanics of style, the pupil must discover the soul of the master-writer in his pages. It is doubtful whether the teacher of criticism has ever been furnished with a better text for his work than the one given by that prince of critics, Leslie Stephen, when he says: "The whole art of criticism consists in learning to know the human being who is partially revealed to us in his written and spoken words." A consensus of the best critical opinion assigns at least twenty-six prose writers and at least twenty poets to the first rank in English and American literature. If the student have studied the works of these writers after a wise method, he should be able to determine any one of them by the style alone. That such a test is not impossible, the writer of this paper has proved with his own classes for years. Taking from the authors studied during a given term several paragraphs so selected as to give no hint of their authorship through the subject matter, seventy-five per cent. of an ordinary class of college Juniors will recognize every author, and will give clear reasons for the recognition in every case. The method proposed for attaining the results already named is, in briefest outline, as follows:

Let every member of a class be provided with a syllabus carefully defining the ten general points, *i. e.*, rare words, accurate use, Anglo-Saxon diction, idiom, imagery, suspense, point, unity, simplicity, and rhythm, and

defining also the distinguishing characteristics of every author to be studied. Let the pupil be provided also with at least forty pages of some work of the author under consideration, varying the sections assigned to the several members of a class so far as possible. This, which is really laboratory material, may be obtained in fairly satisfactory shape in the various very cheap editions of standard authors such as those of Cassell, Maynard, and others. A more satisfactory plan of providing laboratory material is to buy the works of all authors to be studied in sufficient quantity to allow at least forty pages to every pupil, and then to cut these books into sections and rebind the sections in groups containing one section from every author. The pupil prepares a written report for the class-room according to the following directions:—

Read your section carefully and note every word not in common conversational use. Copy on your report at least ten of these rare words, selecting such as do not already belong to your own vocabulary. Note also all cases of especial accuracy or delicacy in the use of words, and copy in your report the best five cases. Determine, approximately, the percentage of Anglo-Saxon words used by the author by counting the entire number of words on any full page, then counting on the same page the number of obviously non-classical words, taking the first sum for a numerator and the second for a denominator, and reducing the fraction thus obtained to decimal form. Note every clear case of idiom, and copy in your report the best five cases. Note every case of point, suspense, unity, simplicity, chaste imagery, and rhythm, and index, in your class report, the pages and lines containing the best five cases of each. Now review your section, and discover the best illustrations of each of the author's distinguishing characteristics, and index in your class report the pages and lines where such illustrations are found. Every one of the illustrations of both general and particular points is to be recorded or indexed after a consecutive number. Finally, observe and copy in your class report the best short quotable passages or expressions to be found in your section. This amount of work will be found equal to a requirement of two or three recitations by an ordinary college class. Of course, the number of illustrations called for is arbitrary and the amount of time devoted to a given author may be widely varied according to circumstances. Ten years of continuous use of the method in the writer's class-room have proved that it does secure in a fair degree the results named above as desirable, while it accomplishes a still more valuable result in that it develops an appetite for the best literature and the habit of reading intelligently and critically in the best sense of the term *critical*.

The discussion of this paper was contributed by Professors J. D. Bruner, A. H. Tolman, S. W. Cutting, J. S. Nollen.

Before adjourning the Secretary made some announcements concerning the sessions of the following day. The members

then attended an informal reception tendered them by the University Guild.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 31.

The Second Session was called to order by President W. H. Carruth, in the Assembly Hall of the Library Building, at 9.15 a. m.

The Secretary presented his annual report:

The Secretary of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, begs to submit as the main part of his annual report the printed Proceedings of the last Annual Meeting, contained in Vol. XII of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, pp. XLV-LXIV. Special attention is called again to the statements made therein concerning membership in the Central Division.

The following members have been added to the list of membership during the past year :

Professor C. W. Benton, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Miss Thekla Bernays, 3623 Laclede Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Miss Clara Conklin, Professor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Professor J. Scott Clark, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Miss Marie Dehnst, Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Ill.
Mrs. Abbie F. Eaton, 338 57th St., Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. M. Eliel, Hyde Park High School, Chicago, Ill.
Professor B. F. Hoffman, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Miss Sarah D. Hutchinson, Iowa City, Ia.
Professor Albert E. Jack, Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
Mr. C. H. Kamman, Peoria High School, Peoria, Ill.
Mr. F. J. Lange, Elgin High School, Elgin, Ill.
Professor Alexis F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Miss Mary W. Mills, Webster Groves, Mo.
Mr. E. P. Morton, Instructor, Univ. of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
Mr. J. S. Snoddy, Instructor, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Mr. E. Villavoso, Ball High School, Galveston, Tex.
Mrs. S. Wallis, Jefferson High School, Chicago, Ill.
Professor G. A. Wauchope, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
Mrs. M. J. C. Wilkin, Ass't Professor, Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.

It is gratifying to see that from five of the leading Institutions of the West and the South, invitations have been extended to the Central Division for the meeting of the coming year, viz. : Vanderbilt University, Leland

Stanford Jr. University, Tulane University, and the State Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois.

The Secretary wishes to make public acknowledgment of the friendly coöperation of the officers of the Modern Language Association, whose services have contributed much to promote a healthy growth of the Central Division, and to reduce the burden of official correspondence.

The following report for the year 1897 was submitted by the Treasurer of the Central Division :

Report of the Treasurer of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association for the year 1897 :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, transferred by Prof. J. P. Fruit, . . .	\$27 90
Twenty-six membership fees,	78 00
From the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	42 00
Total receipts for the year,	<u>\$147 90</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Printing of Programmes,	\$33 00
Stationery, telegrams,	5 90
Stamps,	16 00
Paid to the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	
March 4,	63 85
" 10,	5 15
June 3,	15 00
Dec. 6,	9 00
Total expenditures for the year,	<u>\$147 90</u>

Respectfully submitted,

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,
Treasurer.

The report was accepted. The President appointed Dr. P. O. Kern and Mr. F. J. Lange as a committee to audit the above report.

Professor S. W. Cutting, chairman of the Committee on Entrance Requirements in Modern Languages, reported progress of the work undertaken by the Modern Language Asso-

ciation. The Secretary of the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association, Professor G. Hempl, read his annual report which was presented also at the Eastern Meeting. Both these reports were accepted.

Dr. de Poyen-Bellisle discussed some questions pertaining to the management of the Central Division. At the suggestion of the presiding officer the speaker formulated his request in the following two recommendations: (1) that the Executive Committee be chosen from the three departments, viz., the English, the Romanic, and the Germanic; and (2) that the secretaryship rotate among these departments. As the discussion following, in which Professors A. H. Tolman, Henry Cohn, C. W. Pearson (Beloit College), J. D. Bruner, G. Hempl, W. H. Carruth and the Secretary participated, showed the probability of a negative vote, no motion was made.

The President requested the Association to appoint the Committee to nominate officers. Professor L. A. Rhoades made the motion that the following constitute such a Committee: Professors J. D. Bruner, G. Hempl, and W. H. Carruth; this motion was carried.

It was moved that the chair appoint a Committee on Place of Meeting. The Chairman invited the second Vice-President, Professor C. W. Benton, to occupy the chair. Professor W. H. Carruth then expressed himself as to the desirability of joint action with other societies in the West, in order to secure reduced railroad rates. The Secretary commented on the very small number of such associations, one of them being strictly local. Professor W. H. Carruth moved that the Committee on Place of Meeting constitute part of a general committee to be made up of different societies of similar character. Professor F. A. Blackburn moved that the question of place and time be referred to the Executive Committee; this motion was adopted. On motion of Professor W. H. Carruth the Secretary was directed to notify the Associations of our desire to co-operate with them.

Professor J. D. Bruner then spoke advising a joint meeting with the Modern Language Association, in the near future. Professor S. W. Cutting and Professor J. S. Nollen also expressed themselves in favor of it. No action was taken.

The reading of papers was then taken up.

2. "Thomas Murner's prose writings of the year 1520." By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin.

The paper, which was discussed by Professor S. W. Cutting, will be printed in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*.

3. "The autobiographical elements in William Langland's *Piers the Plowman*." By Professor Albert E. Jack, of Lake Forest University.

Remarks were offered by Professors F. A. Blackburn, and C. W. Pearson (Northwestern University).

That the poem is autobiographical has been the unanimous opinion of English scholars, only two, Wright and Morley, have dissented on two or three minor details. However, there are many plausible reasons for thinking that the traditional view of the poem on this point is quite incorrect. The dreams cannot certainly be thought of as real, and very probably also the wanderings are but a part of the conventional framework of the poem. Nor must we think of the poet as an idle fellow, sometimes begging and sometimes singing masses for hire, as he makes his William do; for in that case he practised those very things against which he uttered his severest denunciation. Nor can we be certain of his wife's name, his residence, occupation, age, and other minor personal details. The poem probably gives the spiritual life of its author, but not his outer life.

4. "On the development of Roots and their meanings." By Professor F. A. Wood, of Cornell College. [Printed in *The American Journal of Philology*, XIX, 40 f.]

THIRD SESSION.

The President called the meeting to order at 2.30 p. m.

5. "One phase of Keats's treatment of nature." By Mr. Edward P. Morton, of the University of Indiana.

When I speak of Keats's treatment of nature, I do not mean by "nature" what Pope or Dante or Aristotle meant, but use the word always in its

modern application to the external phenomena of nature, without reference to their causes; in short, to what we see of sky, of stream, of hill and plain, of woods and flowers, and of animal and insect life.

A good many of Keats's habits of mind and expression group themselves naturally under well known heads. But there are in Keats's poems a large number of cases which do not come under any established classification. For example, although I found in 10,000 lines of Keats (all but the dramas) 188 personifications, I also found 357 cases where sentiency only was ascribed to insentient objects. My purpose in this paper is to show that we can and do ascribe sentiency to insentient objects without personifying, and that such cases are numerous enough to justify their separate classification.

When we say that the wind howls, or shrieks, or whistles, or moans, or that the brook babbles or murmurs, we speak of winds and brooks in terms that imply sentiency, but we have not thus far personified them. We think of shrieking winds and babbling brooks as winds and brooks, and not as persons.

We may go a step beyond mere imitation of sounds and motions, however, for we find that certain physical aspects of nature are like certain human moods, and that these resemblances are expressed in human terms. For example, hard rock is often called stubborn; but we think of the rock as stubborn rock and not as a stubborn person; in short, even if we grant that the idea of personality is inseparably involved in such words as stubborn, modest, and proud, we lay the emphasis upon the trait and not upon the personality.

We are so used to personifying nature, that perhaps an illustration, not from poetry, but from burlesque, will make my point more clear. An American comic writer tells us that he once smoked "the ablest tobacco he could find." Surely there is not a trace of personification in this grotesqueness, and yet the man has applied to his tobacco a word commonly used of people; that is, he has ascribed sentiency to an insentient object without personifying it.

It is quite possible, therefore, to describe nature in terms of man without distinctly personifying nature; it is possible in some cases to predicate sentiency only, and in others to lay the stress upon the trait and leave the idea of person unobtrusive.

This ascription of sentiency, which is really only a matter of rhetoric, of technique, has already been noticed and named by at least two men, Ruskin, in his "Pathetic Fallacy," and E. A. Abbott, in his *Shakespearian Grammar*, under the caption "Personal Metaphor."

Mr. Ruskin's term, "pathetic fallacy," is unsatisfactory, because he pretty clearly limits it to the subjective treatment of nature, whereas the ascription of sentiency may be used to express at least two other attitudes of mind. Mr. Abbott's term, "personal metaphor," is unsatisfactory, because, if my contention holds, the idea of person is either unobtrusive or wholly absent.

In default of a better term, I have named this ascription of sentiency to insentient nature—which is a rhetorical device, essentially a metaphor; is based on the fact that resemblances readily attract attention; and is used, like metaphor, for added vividness—*vivification*.

In 10,000 lines of Keats, I found 357 cases of vivification. Keats, in his treatment of nature, used vivification oftener than he did any other device, and used it so often that we must take account of it in any detailed statement of his attitude toward nature.

Professor C. von Klenze, Professor A. H. Tolman, and Mr. K. D. Jessen discussed this paper.

By vote of the Association it was decided that the session be closed at 5.00 p. m., and that each discussion be limited to five minutes.

6. "The inflectional types of the qualifying adjective in German." By Professor G. O. Curme, of the Northwestern University.

The paper was discussed by Professors H. Schmidt-Wartenberg and S. W. Cutting, and Dr. P. O. Kern.

7. "The component elements of *Aliscans*." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri.

The author being prevented from attending the meeting, his paper was read by title.

8. "The gender of English loanwords in Danish." By Professor Daniel Kilham Dodge, of the University of Illinois. [Printed in *Americana Germanica*, II.]

Owing to the absence of the author the paper was presented by Professor L. A. Rhoades.

9. "On the Scandinavian element in English." By Professor Albert E. Egge, of The Washington Agricultural College.

This paper was read by Professor A. H. Tolman; and discussed by Professors G. Hempl, S. W. Cutting, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Dr. P. O. Kern, and Mr. F. J. Lange.

Except the few Greek and Latin words brought in with Christianity, the English language down to the Norman Conquest was almost entirely free from foreign elements. The main influence to which English was subject

before this event was that of the closely allied Norse. During the ninth century the British Isles were attacked on every side by Norse Pirates, who came in such numbers and managed affairs with such vigor that for a time the British Isles seemed to be on the verge of becoming Scandinavian. In Ireland the Vikings established kingdoms at Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, but were in course of time absorbed by the natives. In Scotland also, the western part of which, with the Islands, was long in their power, the Norse by and by lost their identity. But in England their influence was greater. By the Treaty of Wedmore (878), the Danes got possession of the north-east half of England, or the part settled by the Angles, and Norwegians at a later time occupied the north-west counties. In some shires the Scandinavians, were very numerous, perhaps in the majority; and although here also they were eventually absorbed by the people among whom they settled, northern England was strongly Scandinavian in character until after the Norman Conquest, and the English language of that part received a Scandinavian impress which it has retained to this day.

The districts settled by the Danes and Norwegians are still marked by geographical names ending in *by*, *beck*, *garth*, *gate*, *toft*, *thwaite*, and perhaps also those in *ey*, *ness*, and *thorpe*. Many personal names are also Scandinavian in origin, as well as the fashion of forming patronymics by the suffix *son*. The pronunciation of northern English remained more nearly like the Scandinavian than did that of southern English, as in Scotch, *bane*, *hame*, *stane*. In imitation of the corresponding Scandinavian forms, *n* was inserted in the numerals *seventh*, *ninth*, *tenth*, and the rest; *are* took the place of *bēoth* or *sind*; and several hundred nouns and idioms supplanted the original English. In the north inflections early disappeared, doubtless due in a measure to the presence of Norse, whereas in the south the rich inflection of the old English continued much longer, examples being in the *Ormulum* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*.

Many of these changes are clearly observable already in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the time of King Alfred, and in the Midland and Northern monuments of the Middle English period the borrowed element is very considerable, as well as in the spoken English of northern England and of Scotland to this day. In Burns's poems in Scotch dialect, for example, are found such Norse words as *big* (build), *gar* (make), *gleg* (sharp), *graipe*, (dung-fork), *heeze* (raise), *lift* (sky), *nowte* (cattle), *roose* (praise), *rowte* (to low), *toom* (empty), and many others. In modern literary English, which dates from the fourteenth century and is based on the dialect of London and the neighboring district on the north, the Scandinavian element is small, because in this part of England the Scandinavian settlers were few. Yet Prof. Skeat mentions nearly seven hundred Scandinavian words in modern English, and most of these are in common use.

The Scandinavian influence on English is a fruitful field of study, which as yet has been only partly explored. The list of Norse loan-words made out by Professor Skeat could be considerably enlarged.

FOURTH SESSION, JANUARY 1.

The fourth session was convened at 9.40 a. m. Professor W. H. Carruth presided.

The Auditing Committee presented the following report :

As Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts we beg leave to report that we have examined the same and found them correct.

Paul O. Kern.

F. J. Lange.

The report of the Committee was accepted.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers presented the following names for election :

President, C. Alphonso Smith.

Secretary and Treasurer, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

First Vice-President, Ewald Fluegel.

Second Vice-President, G. E. Karsten.

Third Vice-President, Raymond Weeks.

Members of the Council, J. T. Hatfield, J. D. Bruner, Albert E. Jack, Charles Bundy Wilson.

By vote of the members these candidates were elected officers for the ensuing year.

Professor J. D. Bruner recommended the organization of a Phonetic and a Pedagogical Section. Professor A. H. Tolman wished to see that work recognized by assigning to it a part of the programme. Professor J. T. Hatfield argued that such an arrangement might tend to divide the interest of the members attending. Upon motion of Professor A. H. Tolman the Secretary was requested to group the phonetical and pedagogical papers.

The following resolution, offered by Professor J. S. Nollen was adopted by a rising vote :

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America recognize with sincere gratitude the

hearty and generous hospitality extended to it by the Mayor and the citizens of Evanston, by the Country and Evanston Clubs, by the University Guild, by the President and Faculty of Northwestern University, and particularly by the members of the Modern Language departments of the University.

10. "Heine's relation to Wolfgang Menzel." By Professor Julius Goebel, of Leland Stanford University.

In the absence of Professor Goebel the paper was read by Dr. P. O. Kern. It was discussed by Professor J. T. Hatfield.

11. "The *Metamorphosis* of Greene and of Lyly." By Professor C. F. McClumpha, of the University of Minnesota.

In this paper the attempt has been made to present the resemblances and differences existing between Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* and Greene's *Alcida*, or, as the second title reads, Greene's *Metamorphosis*, and at the same time to determine the possible interdependence of the two works. Lyly's work is a drama, Greene's a novel.

Lyly's *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit*, appeared in 1579, and Greene hastened to imitate this popular success by the publication of *Mamillia, a Looking-Glass for the ladies of England*, in 1583. In 1587 Greene openly borrowed the title of Lyly's works, and again in 1589. In these two productions he showed himself to be wholly under the influence of Lyly's euphuism. He had borrowed the balanced style, the alliteration, the similing imagery, in a word, the euphuistic prose style of Lyly. To all this he added his own scholarship which was by no means inferior.

The chronological order of Lyly's plays has never been satisfactorily determined. Collier (*Hist. Dram. Lit.*, III, 176) writes, "Before 1589, Lily wrote nine dramatic pieces—seven in prose, one in rhyme, and one in blank verse." Of these two were published soon after they were acted, the others in or after 1591.

The history of the publication of Lyly's plays is as follows: In 1632 Edward Blount, the bookseller and publisher, brought out an edition of six plays, omitting the three plays entitled: *The Woman in the Moone*, *The Maides Metamorphosis*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*. In 1858, F. W. Fairholt brought out his edition of Lyly's plays in two volumes, embracing the six plays of Blount's edition and the two plays entitled, *The Woman in the Moone*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*, but omitting the ninth play, *The Maides Metamorphosis*.

We do not know when *Love's Metamorphosis* was written. It was printed in 1601. Lyly's burial is recorded in 1606, therefore this play was the last printed in his lifetime, and not *The Woman in the Moone*, as Mr. Saintsbury states in his *History of Eliz. Lit.*

Blount's rejection of this play, *Love's Metamorphosis*, has never caused Lyly's authorship of the same to be questioned. Collier did waver for a time, not knowing whether to classify it as a poor production or as the work of another. But Ward, Morley, Symonds, Saintsbury, Courthope, and others, have ascribed it unhesitatingly to Lyly, choosing to explain its inferiority by calling it a late production of the author.

We have next to determine the time of Greene's *Alcida*. This novel was finished in 1588 and was entered at the Stationers' Hall on the ninth of December. We may expect that it was published soon after, some time in 1589, yet the earliest and only known edition of it is that of 1617. Dr. Grosart (Greene's Works, vol. I, 87, note) states that "R. B.," the author of *Greene's Funerals*, London, 1594, included *Alcida* among the most celebrated of Greene's literary achievements. This is almost conclusive evidence that the edition of 1617 is not the first printed edition.

(Then followed an outline of the two stories.)

The stories are similar, even in the details of reported conversations and descriptive terminology. Lyly's play, *Love's Metamorphosis*, contains many defects which various critics have ascribed to the lack of vivacity and to the old age of the author at the time of composition. If Lyly was born in 1553 or 1554 and died in 1606, at the age of fifty-two or fifty-three, we should hardly regard him as an old man. Significant is it also, that his two earliest plays were printed towards the close of his life. What prevents our placing the last play printed during his lifetime at the earliest date of composition? The internal evidence of *Love's Metamorphosis* enables us to do this. The forced connection between the main story and the secondary story, the far-fetched plot, the slavish following of the classic myth, the absence of such comic incidents as are found in his other plays, the lack of movement or interest in any part of the action, and the close resemblance of this play to his so-called first play, *The Woman in the Moone*, all these point to early production. We therefore would fix the date of *Love's Metamorphosis* some time after 1584.

Having done this we believe that Greene's *Alcida* is another borrowed tale, and that it is taken directly from Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*. We assume, then, that Lyly's drama appeared in 1585 or '86; and in the following year Greene is busied transforming it into a novel which is completed and entered at the Stationers' Hall in 1588. For some unknown reason our first edition of this novel dates from 1617.

We present a striking case of similarity or borrowing to establish our claim and to illustrate our mode of proof: Lyly presents Niobe defending herself against Silvestris's charge of having too many lovers—

Sil. The whole heaven hath but one sunne.

Niobe. But starres infinite.

Sil. The rainebow is ever in one compasse.

N. But of sundrie colours.

Sil. A woman hath but one heart.

N. But a thousand thoughts.

Sil. My lute, though it hath many strings, maketh a sweete consent; and a ladie's heart, though it harbour many fancies, should embrace but one love.

N. The strings of my heart are tuned in a contrarie keye to your lute, and make as sweete harmonie in discords as yours in concord."

Greene in like manner presents a scene where Meribates and Eriphila are having a tiff over the same trouble. Eriphila says, "What, lord Meribates, thinke you to have a womans whole heart? no, unless you can procure Venus to make her blind, or some other deity deafe; for if she see beauty or gold, or heare promises or passions, I thinke shee will keepe a corner for a friend, and so will I. But, Madam, the glorious frame of the world, consists in unitie, for wee see that in the firmament there is but one sunne: yea, quoth Eriphila, but there be many stars. The Iris or Rainbow Madam (qd. he) hath but one quality. Truth answered my daughter, but it hath many colours: but to come to a familiar example, replied Meribates: the heart hath but one string; yea, but, quoth Eriphila, it hath many thoughts, and from these thoughts spring passions, and from passions, not love but loves:"

Many other similar quotations might be cited, many euphuistic modes of expression, many correspondences in argument, not to speak of the great argument, the story itself; but they would add length, not proof, to the paper.

In conclusion, then, we would claim the interdependence of the two stories, which is self-evident, yet has remained unnoticed up to this time, we believe. We are also inclined to place Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* among his earlier works, for its date of publication proves nothing as to its age, while its inferior workmanship expresses youthful inexperience rather than senile lack of vivacity. We would then advance a point farther and make Greene's *Alcida* an offspring of Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*.

Professor Martha Foote Crow offered comments on the paper.

12. "The unity of place in the *Cid*." By Professor J. E. Matzke, of Leland Stanford University. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, XIII, 197.]

The author being absent, the paper was read by Professor C. W. Benton. Remarks were offered by Dr. T. L. Neff, Professor E. P. Baillot, Dr. de Poyen-Bellisle, and Professor J. S. Nollen.

13. "The language of Modern Norway." By Professor Gisle Bothne, of Luther College. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 350 f.]

Professor S. W. Cutting discussed the paper.

FIFTH SESSION.

The President called the meeting to order at 2.45 p. m.

The Secretary read a communication from Mr. W. W. Bishop, Assistant Librarian of the Garrett Biblical Institute, stating that the Library would be open to the members of the Association for inspection.

Professor G. E. Karsten inquired concerning the proposed joint meeting with the Modern Language Association. The Secretary in his reply stated that the question had been discussed among the officers, but that inasmuch as no official action had been taken at the last meeting the matter had not progressed farther than a mere exchange of opinion. An invitation had been received, signed by members of the University of Indiana and Purdue University, to hold the first joint meeting at Indianapolis. Professor C. von Klenze made a motion to meet every third year in joint session. After some discussion Professor F. A. Blackburn's amendment was adopted, viz.: that it was the sense of the Central Division to hold a joint meeting of the Modern Language Association *in toto* every fourth year.

14. "Notes on Romanic Syntax." By Dr. Karl Pietsch, of the University of Chicago.

15. "The relation of the *Knights Tale* to *Palamon and Arcite*." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

The discussion of this paper was by Professor F. A. Blackburn. During the discussion President W. H. Carruth invited Professor C. W. Benton to preside.

16. "The earliest poems of Wilhelm Müller." By Professor J. T. Hatfield, of the Northwestern University. [Printed in *Publications*, XIII, 250 f.]

The discussion of this paper was by Dr. P. S. Allen, and Professor C. von Klenze.

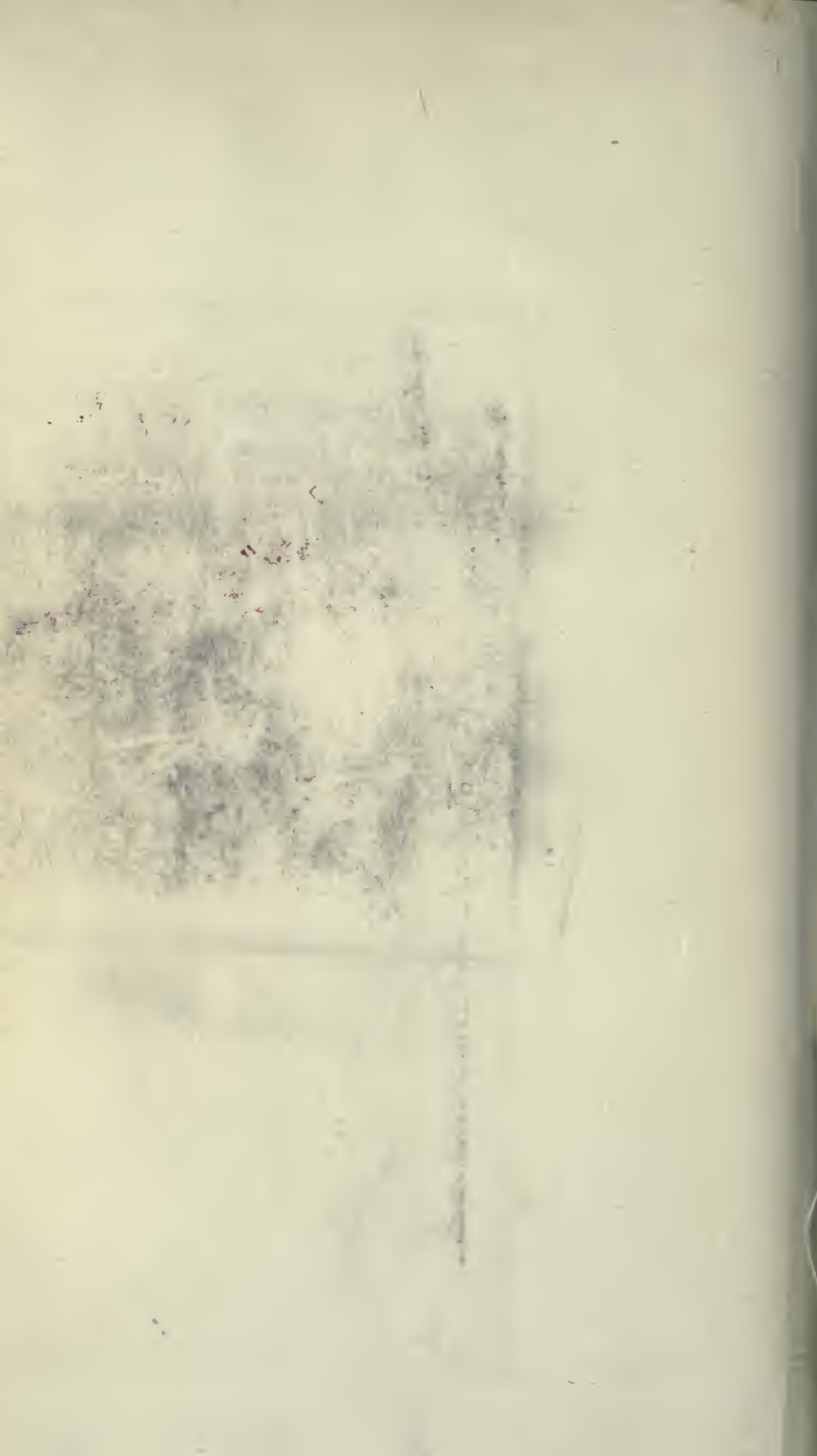
17. "Bacon's *Historia Literaria*." By Professor Ewald Fluegel, of Leland Stanford University.

The paper having arrived too late to be properly presented was read by title.

The meeting adjourned at 5 o'clock p. m.

O





BINDING DEPT. MAY 27 1957

PB
6
M6
v.13

Modern Language Association
America
Publications

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY**

