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JAMES W. BRIGHT

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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

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VOL. XV, 1. NEW SERIES, VOL. VIII, 1.

I.—THE LAMBETH VERSION OF *HAVELOK*.[1]

Of the several abridgments of the Havelok story in the chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that which is interpolated in the Lambeth MS. of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's translation of Peter de Langtoft, is the longest and in many respects the most noteworthy.[2] It has, however, not received the attention it merits. Madden attributes it to the scribe, who, he says, has made other changes in the MS. He describes it as "an abridged outline of the story itself, copied apparently from the French chronicle of Gaimar," but presents no arguments to support his contention. Skeat simply

[1] The present paper has grown out of a report made by the writer to the course on Early English Metrical Romances, given at Harvard University in the spring of 1899 by Professor George Lyman Kittredge, to whom thanks are due for valuable suggestions and advice.

[2] The Lambeth version, frequently referred to as the Interpolation, is printed by Madden in his edition of *Havelok* for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1828, pp. xvii–xix, and again by Skeat in his reprint for the Early English Text Society, London, 1868, pp. xi–xiii. In neither case are the lines numbered, but the passage is so short that the references to lines need cause no trouble. A description of the rather interesting variations in the allusions to Havelok contained in Langtoft and Mannyng will be found in Madden, pp. xi–xix, and in Skeat, pp. v, ix–xiii. See also H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. I, London, 1883, pp. 442–443.

copies Madden. Kupferschmidt,[1] in his extremely valuable discussion of the relations of the various versions of Havelok one to another, accepts without investigation Madden's statement that the Interpolation is based on Gaimar. In view of the great interest attaching to the romance of Havelok a more careful investigation of this Interpolation may be of some service.

The Interpolation consists of 82 lines in rimed pairs. The meter is generally of six feet, but is not very regular. The language is such as might have been written at the end of the fourteenth century. The style is marked by extreme condensation, an entire incident often being told in a single line. As a result the story appears in a surprisingly complete form, as will be seen from the following analysis:

Gounter (the Danish king who has been fighting with Alfred and who has been baptized) goes with all his folk to Denmark (1). He has a war with a Breton king who came "out of Ingeland" to demand from Denmark the tribute "that Arthur whylom nam" (2–4). The Danes say they would rather fight (5–6). They are defeated and Gounter is killed (7–8). When he is dead the victors plan to bring his blood to shame (9). Gounter's wife was Eleyne, daughter of King Gatfere (10–11). With difficulty she escapes to the sea with her child Havelok (11–13). At the haven she meets Grym, "a wel god marinere," who knows her and promises to take her out of the land that night (14–16). On the sea they are attacked by outlaws and the queen is killed, but Grym, Havelok and five others escape (17–21). They arrive at the haven of Grymesby (22). Havelok is brought up by Grym and his wife as their own child; men do not know otherwise (23–24). He becomes large and strong and

[1] Max Kupferschmidt: "Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhältniss zum Lai d'Havelok," in Böhmer's *Romanische Studien*, Vol. IV, pp. 411–430 (1880). On page 430, he says: "Dass die Interpolation in der Lambeth copy der Uebersetzung von Peter von Langtofts Chronik durch Robert of Brunne aus Gaimars Darstellung der Haveloksage geschöpft ist, hat schon Sir Fr. Madden gezeigt."

a "man of mykel cost," so that "for his grete sustinaunce, nedly serve he most" (25–26). He takes leave of Grym and Seburc "as of his sire & dame" (27–28). He goes northward to the court of King Edelsy, who holds the kingdom of Lyndeseye from the Humber to Rotland (29–30). Edelsy, who is "of Breton kynde," has married his sister Orewayn to Egelbright, a Dane, king of Northfolk, who holds the land from Colchestre to Holland. They have a daughter Argill (31–36). Egelbright and Orewayn die and therefore Edelsy is joyful. He takes "in hande" Argill and the kingdom "al at his owene will" (37–40). Havelok serves there as "quistron" and is called Coraunt (41). He is large, strong as a giant, bold, courteous, free, fair, and "god of manere." All the folk love him (42–44). The king, from a desire to disinherite Argill and because of a "chere" which he has seen her make to Coraunt, arrays them simply and weds them, although many are wroth (45–48). For a while they dwell at court in poor degree. Argill has shame and sorrow. She asks her master about his father, kin and friends. She says she would rather lead a poor life without shame than be a queen with shame (49–54). They go to Grymesby "al by his wyves red" (55). They find Grym and his wife dead (56). They find Aunger, Grym's cousin, whom Grym and his wife had told about Havelok (57–59). They[1] tell Havelok who he is and advise him to go to his own country to see what grace he may find among his friends. They will arrange for the shipping (60–62). Aunger ships them and they sail for Denmark (63–64). He finds there "sire Sykar," who had been high steward of his father's property (65–66) Sykar is glad of his coming and promises to help him recover his heritage from King Edulf (67–68). They assemble great folk of his relatives and friends (69). King Edulf gathers his power, but he and his army are

[1] There is a slight confusion here, there being no antecedent for the pronoun "they." A comparison with the other versions shows that Aunger and his wife are probably meant.

overcome in the battle (70–71). Havelok conquers his heritage (72). He prepares great power to go to England to win his wife's kingdom (73–74). The king of Lyndeseye hears that he has come on the coast and gathers a great host (75–76). Edelsy is beaten in the battle and by treaty gives Argill (here called Argentille) her heritage (77–78). As she is next of blood he gives her Lyndeseye after his day and makes her his heir (79–80). At the last both Northfolk and Lyndeseye fall into the hands of Havelok (81–82).

It is obvious that both the names and the incidents in the Lambeth Interpolation are closer to the French versions of the romance than to the English. Grim and Havelok are the only names common to this and to both the English and the French versions. The names in the Interpolation, however, agree very well with those in Gaimar. Thus Gounter corresponds with Gunter, Gatfere with Gaifer, Seburc with Saburc, Edelsy with Edelsi, Orewayn with Orwain, Edelbright with Adelbrict, Aunger with Alger, Sykar with Sigar, and Edulf with Edulf. Argill appears once as Argentille, the form used by Gaimar. It will be seen too that when the names in the French versions vary, the Interpolation is closer to Gaimar than to the Lay, which has the forms Alsi, Ekenbright and Hodulf, while Gaifer and Alger are not found in the Lay. The names therefore show that the Interpolation cannot be derived from the English romance and that it is closer to Gaimar than to the Lay.

The most noteworthy thing discovered by a comparison of incidents is the omission in the Interpolation of everything supernatural or extravagantly fictitious. There is no flame from Havelok's mouth, no dream, no throwing of stones from the church tower, no magic horn, no setting up of bodies on stakes to represent living men, all of which incidents are found in the French versions and the flame also in the English. Otherwise the incidents in the Interpolation agree fairly well with those which are common to Gaimar and the Lay as opposed to the English romance. Thus there is an

invasion of Denmark on account of a tribute dating back to the time of Arthur. Gunter is killed, and the queen, who does not appear in the English romance, flees with Havelok. There is an attack by pirates in which the queen is killed. Instead of a king over all England and a usurping earl, as in the English version, there are two kings, one ruling over Lincoln and the other over Norfolk. Havelok is called Coraunt (Cuaran), a name which does not occur in the English romance. Havelok returns to Grimsby by his wife's advice. He does not know who he is, until told by Grim's relative. Edelsi submits after fighting and gives Argentille her heritage. In addition to the omissions noted above, the Interpolation says nothing about Grim's being a fisherman and salt merchant in Grimsby, about Cuaran's being a juggler or fool at the court, about the attack on Havelok and his bride by the six youths, nor about Havelok's fear when led into the hall before Sigar. None of these omissions need cause any surprise. It was almost inevitable that the more extraordinary incidents should be cut down by a matter-of-fact writer, such as this interpolator seems to have been, while the other omissions resulted naturally from the attempt to condense. When these allowances are made, it is evident that the general outline of the story is the same in Gaimar, the Lay and the Interpolation.

A more detailed examination reveals the following points in which the Interpolation is closer to Gaimar than to the Lay: (1) The invasion of Denmark is for tribute which had been withheld (Lamb. 2–4, Gaimar 410–411).[1] In the Lay it is to demand tribute (lines 27–30). (2) Grim in both appears as a mariner, whereas in the Lay he is a baron (Lamb. 14, Gaimar 423, Lay 57). (3) Edulf is defeated in a general battle and not as in the Lay in a single combat (Lamb. 70–72, Gaimar 739–742, Lay 940–970). In all three cases the agreement between Gaimar and the Interpola-

[1] References to the French versions of *Havelok* are to the edition of Gaimar in the Rolls Series, London, 1888.

tion seems to point to an earlier form of the story than that contained in the Lay. Grim certainly has no right to be a baron. That this is a modification made by the rather late writer of the Lay is almost self-evident, but is made certain by the slip in line 135 of the Lay where we are told that Grim, when he reached Grimsby, went fishing "as he was accustomed to do."[1] The writer forgot that he had transformed the fisherman or sailor into a baron. The change is due to the fact that the Lay has throughout a more courtly and knightly tone, approaching the form of fiction in vogue during the thirteenth century. The Interpolation, on the other hand, is simpler, and in this respect resembles Gaïmar, both these versions preserving what must have been the spirit of the original.

Additional evidence for the close relationship between Gaimar and the Interpolation is furnished by the agreement in geographical details. In both, for instance, Edelsi's kingdom extends from the Humber to Rutland,[2] and Adelbrict's from Colchester to Holland.[3] For the first of these pairs the Lay has Rutland and Stanford, while the second is replaced by "vers les Surois," Surrey being probably intended.[4]

So far nothing has been presented to disprove Madden's assertion that the Lambeth Interpolation was derived from Gaimar. In fact the evidence has all pointed that way. But there are differences between the two which must not be overlooked or ignored. Most prominent perhaps is the fact that the order in which the events are related is not the same. Gaimar's narrative opens in England. There is no direct relation of the early events in Denmark and at Grimsby, these being recapitulated very briefly by Kelloc and others.[5] The allusions to the early part of the story are so scattered and incoherent that they give the impres-

[1] "Pescher aloit si com il soloit."—Lay, 135.

[2] Lamb. 30, Gaimar 51.

[3] Lamb. 34, Gaimar 75.

[4] Lay 198, 201.

[5] Gaimar 359–454, 575–628. Lines 505–528 are related by the author, but merely as an incidental explanation.

sion that they are echoes of a more complete original which Gaimar modified for the sake of condensation or, perhaps, to secure a sort of epic unity by plunging *in medias res.* The Interpolation, on the other hand, opens in Denmark and the early parts of the story are related in consecutive order. This order might be made up from the allusions in Gaimar, but that would require more skill and pains than could be expected in a scribe, even though he were clever enough to be an interpolator. The natural thing for a man of his capacity to do is to follow the order of events in his original. This alone would not prove that the Interpolation had a different original from Gaimar, but it raises a question which must be met. The matter is made the more noteworthy from the fact that the order of events is exactly the same in the Interpolation and in the Lay. For this to be accidental is possible but not very likely. Other matters being left out of consideration, it would be reasonable in such a case to suppose some sort of relation between the Interpolation and the Lay independent of Gaimar.

This relationship between the Interpolation and the Lay is made the more evident by certain details which the two have in common, but which are not found in Gaimar, such as the following: (1) Gunter's enemies plan shame for his relatives (Lamb. 9, Lay 79–82). (2) Edelsi, instead of being called merely "Breton," as in Gaimar (line 61), is said to be "of Breton kynde" (Lamb. 31) or "Bret par lignage" (Lay 200). (3) In Gaimar Edelsi forces Cuaran and Argentille to lie together without a formal marriage (lines 167–176), while in the other versions there is a marriage (Lamb. 47, Lay 377–380). (4) The Interpolation says that he brings about the marriage, though many are wroth, which seems to correspond with the account given in the Lay of the anger of the barons at the king's violation of his oath (Lamb. 48, Lay 279–376). (5) In Gaimar there is no description whatever of Havelok's departure from Grimsby for Lincoln and the only allusion to it is the statement of Havelok to Kelloc that

he departed from Grimsby when Grim was dead (line 371). In both the Interpolation and the Lay Grim is alive when Havelok departs, and dead when he returns with his bride (Lamb. 27, 56; Lay 157–192, 565). (6) Gaimar introduces the fight rather abruptly after Havelok's return to England (line 767). The Interpolation and the Lay mention the gathering of a host by Edelsi (Lamb. 75–76, Lay 1007–1026). It is difficult to imagine that all these resemblances are accidental. The first two and the last might be so, but the others seem to point to details in a source common to both the Interpolation and the Lay. This common source cannot be Gaimar, because in these points Gaimar differs. Moreover, in all three points Gaimar, rather than the other versions, seems to show a change from what must have been the original form of the story. It seems reasonable to suppose that there was a marriage, that Argentille's friends should become angry at her disgrace and the seizing of the kingdom by a usurper, and that there should be some more definite statement about Havelok's departure from Grimsby. The number of important details common to the Interpolation and the Lay and the exact agreement in the order of the narrative establish a close relationship between the two and a common source independent of Gaimar. It becomes evident, therefore, that the traditional view, hitherto held without question, that the Interpolation is "copied" from Gaimar, must from now on be rejected.

In looking for the source of the Lambeth Interpolation it may be well to set aside at the outset any notion that it may be derived from a combination of two or more versions. Such a combination would of course explain anything except itself. An interpolating scribe, for the sake of inserting into a chronicle an episode of less than a hundred lines, is not likely to take the trouble to compare varying versions of a romance, perhaps in more than one language, and to make out of them a consistent whole. It was hard enough in those days for the most skilful writer of chronicles or romances to

make such a combination without revealing the artifice by a botch or confusion.[1] The Lambeth Interpolation tells a straightforward, consistent story, and any lack of clearness is due to nothing more than the extreme condensation. There is every reason to believe that it had a single source.

It has already been shown that this source of the Interpolation could not have been either Gaimar or the Lay. The source, however, must have been closely related to both Gaimar and the Lay, and the probabilities are all in favor of its having been in French. There is evidence for this in the fact that Havelok is called "quistron" instead of scullion. Though it is now lost there must have existed at some time a French version of the romance distinct from Gaimar and the Lay. That such a version did exist and was the common source of both Gaimar and the Lay has been effectively proved by Kupferschmidt.[2] As the Lambeth Interpolation

[1]An example of such confusion occurs in the abridgment of *Havelok* in Thomas Gray's *Scala Cronica*, the passage being reprinted in Madden, pp. xxxiv–xxxv. Gray failed to recognize that Havelok and Cuaran were the same person.

[2] Kupferschmidt's investigation, already referred to, must be regarded as settling the fact that Gaimar and the Lay had a common source written in French octosyllabic rimed couplets. Ward appears not to have read Kupferschmidt. His attempt to derive the Lay directly from Gaimar cannot be accepted. Every one of his six arguments can be used with equal force in favor of a common source for Gaimar and the Lay. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. I, 437–440. With the exception of Madden, who thought Gaimar had merely abridged the Lay, and of Ward, practically every investigator has concluded that the two extant French versions had a common source. The early writers assumed this to have been a "Breton lay;" but the later ones have realized that this source must have been a lost French version.

It would be very hard to defend the possibility that the lost French version was derived from Gaimar, and became in turn the source of both the Lay and the Interpolation. There are too many points in which the Lay and the Interpolation, one or both, point back to a form of the story earlier than Gaimar. Kupferschmidt has mentioned some of these and might have added the narration of the early events in Denmark and Grimsby, the marriage of Cuaran and Argentille, and the opposition thereto, and Havelok's finding Grim and his wife dead when he returns

cannot be derived directly or indirectly from Gaimar or the Lay, about the only possible arrangement that remains is to derive it from this lost French version. This explains all the points which the Interpolation has in common with both Gaimar and the Lay. It accounts for those points in which the Interpolation agrees with one of the French versions in opposition to the other, in which case an agreement with either Gaimar or the Lay would establish the form of the romance taken in any incident by the lost French original. This arrangement further makes possible the preservation in the Interpolation of elements lacking in both Gaimar and the Lay, but which may have existed in the lost French version, or even in still earlier forms of the romance. Inasmuch as this arrangement clears up old difficulties and presents no

with his bride. Gaimar constantly gives the impression of having been condensed from an original, and in one instance at least this seems to have resulted in confusion. Sigar, in reassuring Havelok the morning after the attack by the six youths, says:

> Kore vus aim plus ke ne fis hier
> Quant vus asis a mon manger.
>
> Gaimar, 669–670.

"I love you now more than I did yesterday when I placed you at my table." But Gaimar makes no mention whatever of Sigar's placing Havelok at his table the preceding day and the allusion cannot well be explained unless it is assumed that Gaimar had an original in which there was some such mention. The Lay (lines 675–694) does tell about the entertainment of Havelok at dinner on the preceding day, an incident also found in the English romance (lines 1660–1745). This is additional evidence for the lost original of Gaimar and the Lay, and for a relationship between this lost version and the English romance.

Dr. W. H. Schofield suggests that the probable date of this lost version seems to be established by the references to Arthur in Gaimar, the Lay and the Interpolation. In each case the reference stands in connection with an invasion of Denmark to demand or collect tribute. This must have been in the lost version, which therefore could not have been written before Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, and which must have been written before Gaimar. This leaves 1136 and 1150 as the outside dates, with the probabilities in favor of a middle point, somewhere between 1140 and 1145. This mention of Arthur furnishes new evidence for the immediate popularity of Geoffrey.

new ones, it may be regarded as settled that the Interpolation goes back to the lost French version which was also the source of Gaimar and the Lay.

So far the Lambeth Interpolation has been examined in its relation with the French versions of Havelok. It has, however, one or more incidents in common with the English romance, while in other details it differs from all other extant forms of the story. The most striking point in common with the English romance in opposition to the French is the reason assigned for Havelok's leaving Grimsby and going to Lincoln. It will be remembered that Gaimar passes over this portion of the story and merely makes Havelok say that he left home when Grim was dead (line 371). In the Lay, Grim, believing that the boy would still regain his heritage, tells Havelok to go to the court in order to hear instruction and learn sense (lines 157–187). This sounds very much like the custom common in the romances of chivalry of sending a youth to court to learn knightly accomplishments. The Lambeth Interpolation, however, gives a different reason. It says that Havelok was brought up by Grim and his wife as their own child

> Til he was mykel & mighti, and man of mykel cost,
> That for his grete sustinaunce, nedly serue he most.
>
> Lambeth, 25–26.

The next line says he took his leave and went to the court. The passage is not in itself very clear, but it certainly seems to mean that he became large and strong, that it required so much to sustain him that he must work for his living and that on this account he left Grim. The interpolator did not find any suggestion of this in Gaimar or the Lay. The incident, however, corresponds remarkably with the English version. The English writer makes constant reference to Havelok's great appetite. The boy thinks he eats too much and determines to go to work (lines 788–810). When the famine arises so that Grim does not have enough to eat for

himself and his family, he advises Havelok to go to Lincoln and find work (824–852). As it is extremely improbable that the interpolator had more than one source, and as it is likewise improbable that this agreement with the English romance is accidental, it seems to be clear that this must have been an element of the story in an early form, and its preservation in the Interpolation shows that it was also found in the lost French version. Gaimar omitted it in his condensation, the Lay changed it in giving the romance its courtly tone, while the English version and the Interpolation have preserved the original.[1] It is also to be noted that in several details in which the Interpolation agrees with one of the French versions in opposition to the other, it agrees also with the English romance. Such are the humble position of Grim and the defeat of the Danish usurper in general battle, common to Gaimar, the English romance and Lambeth; and the marriage of Havelok, the finding of Grim dead, and the calling out of the host, common to the Lay, the English romance and Lambeth. This agreement with the English makes all the more positive the derivation of the Lambeth Interpolation from the common source of Gaimar and the Lay which was evident from a comparison of the French versions. Incidentally it shows the difficulties in the way of any attempt to derive the English romance from either of the extant French versions.

There are several details in which the Lambeth Interpolation is unique. (1) Gunter, Havelok's father, is identified with the Guthrun or Gormo who fought against Alfred in

[1] There are also two minor points in which the Interpolation agrees with the English romance. (1) It is said in the Interpolation that while Havelok is at the court all the folk love him (line 44). The English writer says that knights, children, young and old, all love him (lines 955–958). (2) According to the Lambeth version Edelsi hears that Havelok has come to the coast (line 75). In the English, Godrich hears that Havelok has come into England (lines 2531–2547). In the French versions nothing is said about the usurper's hearing of the return of Havelok before he sends his defiance.

the ninth century, the only allusion to Arthur being the statement that the invasion of Denmark was to collect tribute which he had formerly taken. It is not safe to make much of this for the story is interpolated at this point in the chronicle merely because Langtoft, by confusion of names perhaps, called Gunter the father of Havelok. An interesting question is involved as to the historical basis of the Havelok legend, which, however, need not be discussed here. (2) When the Danish king is killed, his queen escapes to the sea with Havelok and meets Grim on the shore (lines 12–16). There is reason for believing this to be a feature going back to the original form of the story. There is nothing in Gaimar's condensed account of the early Danish events to contradict the assumption. The Lay makes an unquestionable modification here in that it calls Grim a baron, and has the queen and child entrusted to him in a castle (lines 53–68). The English version, too, shows an entire modification of the early Danish events in order to carry out an extended duplication of the English part of the story.[1] Thus in both England and Denmark the king knows he is going to die, he summons his barons, and he entrusts his kingdom and infant heir to an earl who takes an oath and afterwards usurps the kingdom. Of the two series of events that in England must have been the original because it is also found in the French Lay. There is, therefore, little or nothing in the English romance to show what its original had to say about the early Danish part of the story. (3) The Lambeth Interpolation states definitely that Havelok was brought up by Grim and his wife as their own child and regarded himself as such (lines 23–24). This is implied in both Gaimar and the Lay, in both of which Havelok does not know who he is until told by Grim's relatives. In the English romance Havelok is apparently at all times conscious of his

[1] This duplication of events was suggested by G. Wittenbrinck, in a dissertation, *Zur Kritik und Rhythmik des altenglischen Lais von Havelok dem Dänem*, Burgsteinfurt, 1891, p. 5.

position, though it may be hard to reconcile this with his inaction and indifference. In this the Lambeth version seems to represent best the original form of the story. (4) The king is influenced in marrying Argentille by a "chere" which he has seen her make to Coraunt (line 46). This touch is probably an addition on the part of the scribe. (5) Edelsi, after his defeat, voluntarily makes Argentille heir to Lyndeseye (lines 79–80). These details, some of them significant, add to the importance of the Lambeth version in the discussion of *Havelok*, for it must be borne in mind that it is possible for this brief analysis of the story, interpolated in a late manuscript of a chronicle, to preserve elements belonging to the original legend.

This agreement with the English romance in certain details and the preservation in others of traces of a lost original make all the more conclusive the observation that the Lambeth Interpolation is derived from a form of the story earlier than Gaimar or the Lay, for in no other way could these incidents have come down to the interpolating scribe. That this early form of the story was identical with the lost source of Gaimar and the Lay has already been shown. The present investigation, therefore, may be regarded as giving the Lambeth Interpolation, for the first time, its proper place in the development of the romance.

Of the more general results obtained by the investigation the most noteworthy is the additional light thrown on the lost French version in octosyllabic rimed couplets,—the common source of Gaimar and the Lay. With merely Gaimar and the Lay to work with,[1] it is not always possible to determine accurately what form of any particular incident was taken by this lost version. It is frequently evident, where the two differ, that one of the extant French versions represents the

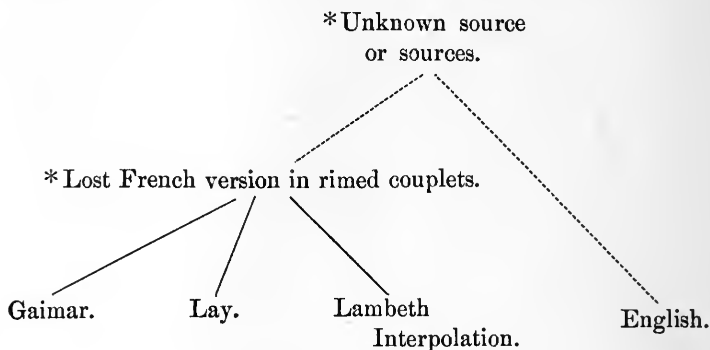
[1]As Kupferschmidt has suggested, additional light may be thrown on the lost version, by the Havelok episode in the *Brute*, but in view of the possible contamination with the English version, indicated by the name Birkabeyn, it is not here considered.

original better than the other, but to a certain extent this is inference and not proof. A third version, however, such as the Lambeth Interpolation has been shown to be, furnishes an invaluable check. Any incident common to any two of the three versions, Gaimar, the Lay and the Interpolation, may now be regarded with almost certainty as belonging to the lost French romance. It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct with considerable accuracy the form of the story that served as a source for these three writers.

With the existence established of this lost French form of the romance, the question may be asked, Was it not also the source of the English Havelok? It was certainly more likely to be so than either Gaimar or the Lay, and its existence is a strong opposing argument to any attempt to derive the English romance in whole or in part from the extant French versions.[1] But it seems extremely improbable that this lost French version could have been the source of the English. For this there are numerous and significant reasons, among which may be mentioned the complete dissimilarity of names, the fact that the English has no mention whatever of Arthur, the great variation in even the more important incidents, the difference in tone, the fact that the English appears to be closer to tradition, and the lack of convincing evidence to show that the English is a translation from the French. Against these arguments can be alleged

[1] The tradition that the English version is derived from the Lay goes back to Madden, but even Madden seems to admit the possibility that an earlier form of the story was used as a source by both the Lay and the English romance.—Madden, p. viii. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 440) says the English romance represents a popular development of the legend, but that its writer must have been acquainted with the Lay. This last statement is made neeessary by Ward's unsatisfactory attempt to prove that the Lay is nothing but an expansion of Gaimar. See also ten Brink, *History of English Literature, to Wyclif*, translated by Kennedy, New York, 1883, pp. 150, 181, 232–234; Kupferschmidt, *Romanische Studien*, Vol. IV, 430; Gaston Paris, *Romania*, IX, 480; Körting, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Eng. Lit.*, 2nd edition, pp. 98–99; Wohlfeil, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, a dissertation, Leipsic, 1890, p. 12.

the general presumption that every Middle English romance was translated from the French, a presumption which does not hold for *Horn*[1] and which lacks proof in the case of *Havelok.* It seems likely, therefore, that the lost French version and the English romance both go back to an earlier source or sources. Into the question, however, of the original form of the story, it is not the function of the present investigation to go. Before plunging into theory it is well to make sure of what firm ground is within reach. In confirming the existence of the lost French version of *Havelok* and in determining the probable form of its story, one step, at least, seems to have been taken in the direction of explaining the development of the romance. Toward this step the hitherto neglected Lambeth Interpolation has rendered material aid.



EDWARD KIRBY PUTNAM.

[1] Child, *Ballads*, Vol. I, 187; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. I, pp. 447–467.

II.—LA VIE DE SAINTE CATHERINE D'ALEXANDRIE,

As Contained in the Paris Manuscript *La Clayette.*

The literary history of the legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria, although it has already been more or less elaborately studied in various quarters, notably in the *Geschichte der heiligen Katharina von Alexandrien* of the late Hermann Knust (Halle, 1890), still awaits the accurate and thoroughgoing treatment it deserves. My attention was called to the hitherto unpublished version which follows, by the account given of it by M. Paul Meyer, in the *Notices et Extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, tome 33, 1re partie (Paris, 1888), in his study *Sur deux anciens manuscrits français ayant appartenu au marquis de la Clayette* (*tirage à part*, pp. 61–64). Several years ago I made a copy of this unique version in the National Library at Paris. Having since been unable to control the widely scattered material essential to a proper discussion of the problems involved in the St. Catherine legend, I have decided to publish, without further delay, the text of the Clayette version, offering it to scholars for further utilization, as a not uninteresting literary and linguistic document.

LA VIE SAINTE CATHERINE.[1]

Pour l'amitié de Jhesu Crist
Doivent estre en nostre escrit
Li servise de ses amis.
Encor ne s'est nus entremis
5 D'onorer les sainz en ce monde

[1] Note.—Insertions by the editor are enclosed in brackets; suppressions are enclosed in marks of parenthesis.

Manuscript Readings.—3 Li] Le

Qu'an la fin bien ne l'en reponde.
Il sont la delitable pleigne
Par ou l'en vet en la monteigne.
Qui tot le mont a seurmontez
10 C'est cil a qui toutes bontez,
Toute douceur, toz biens abonde,
Qui de noient fist tot le monde.
Por l'amitié de ce bon mestre
Voill je la vie et la saint' estre
15 D'une seue amie retraire
Et de latin en romanz traire,
Que plus delite a escouter
A cels qui l'oent raconter.
Un clerc translatee l'avoit,
20 Mes, por ce que normant estoit
La rime qui fut faite ençois,
Si ne pleisoit mie au[s] François.
Por ce l'a mes amis tramise
Qu'elle sera en françois mise,
25 Se Dex me donne la puissance,
Car en nelui n'ai ge fiance
Fors de s'aïde seulement.
Or li pri au commencement
Que son saint Esperit m'envoit
30 Que mon sens a bien fere avoit,
Et ce que j'ai empris a feire
A mon talent puisse a chief traire.
Aprés requier a la pucelle
Qu'elle deprist comme s'encelle
35 Qu'il meite em pardurable gloire
Ceus qui orront ceste memoire.

Encienement ot a Rome
Un emperiere moult preudome
Qui ert apelez Constantins,

23 l'a] lai a

40 Preuz et hardiz et de cuer fins.
Filz fu l'empereeur Coutant
Qui sainte Yglise ama tant
C'onques, tant comme il tint la terre,
Ne sort a Cretienté guerre.
45 Mes il l'estut venir en France
Qui lors estoit de sa poissance
Por encerchier et demander
S'il i avoit que amander,
Qu'i l'amendast moult volentiers.
50 Mes cil qui les mauvés sentiers
Preinent et guerpissent la voie
Qui bien les conduit et avoie,
Ce sont li chevalier de Rome.
L'emperieres iert moult preudome,
55 Si amoi[t] Dieu et saint Yglise.
L'eneur de l'empire ont asise
Seur un Sarrazin mescreant,
Por ce qu'il estoit malcreant,
Qui haoit Dieu et ses amis.
60 Tent iert crueuls et Ent(r)ecris
Et tant haoit les Cretiens
Qu'il les metoit en ses liens,
Si les feisoit en chartre meitre,
Puis leur feisoit asez prameitre.
65 A sa mesniee et a sa gent
Donnoit assez or et argent
Por aorer ses diex de fust;
Et se nus hom si hardiz fust
Que il osast ce contredire,
70 Soufrir li esteut le martire.
Por fere les Cretiens prendre
S'en est tornez en Alexandre;
Ses mesagiers partout envoie;
Cil se midrent tost a la voie

62 il] i

75 Et noncent ce que li rois mande,
Ce que Marcus li rois commande
A tretouz cels communement
Qui sont en son commendement,
Riches, povres, granz et petiz,
80 Si com(me) chascuns est aatiz
A la seue volenté fere,
Que chascun[s] lest le sien afere
Et viegne son talent oïr.
Qui ne li voldra obeïr
85 Et ara ses diex en despit,
Mort recevra sanz nul respit.
Son commendement ont oï
Cil qui po s'en sont esjoï
Ce sont cil qui a Dieu entendent
90 Mes li mauvés qui a ce tendent,
Qui estoient ami le roi,
Ont grant joie de leur desroi,
Et toz cels sont a cort venu
Grant et petit, jeune et chanu,
95 Et por amor et por menace.
Es pleitoires fu grant la place,
Et li rois s'asist ou mileu.
Le prevost a guerpi son leu,
Si est levez a sont estant:
100 "Or sus," fet il, "venez avant!
Que je vos ai ci amenez
De par l'empereür; venez
Tretuit au temple por orer.
La vos convendra ahorer
105 Nos diex et sacrefice fere
A chascun selonc son afere.
Cil qui feront les greigueurs dons
Aront les gregneurs guerredons.
Ceste parole oïrent tuit
110 Parmi la sale ou a grant bruit;

A l'un dessiet, a l'autre plest.
Li rois se lieve sanz arrest,
Tuit se lievent grant et menor;
Et il qui la gregneur honor
115 A ses Diex commencier voloit,
Tors et moutons comme il souloit
A fet ocirre a grant planté.
Et cil qui a sa volenté
Veullent fere, que qui leur coust,
120 De leur despense et de leur coust
Ne se sont pas trop esmaié;
Riche present ont envoié
A Ostiex li prince et li conte,
Que du petit eüssent honte;
125 Chascun de bien fere s'avence.
Li povres, selonc sa poissance,
Offrent agniax et oisiax vis.
A cels qui l'oent est avis,
Que du mu[e]ment des toriaus,
130 Des cris des genz et des oisiaus,
Q'a force soit la cité prise,
Ou qu'elle soit de feu esprise.
En la cité ot qui feisoit
Ce que a Diex point ne pleisoit,
[188, 1] 135 Avoit une jeune pucelle,
Fille de roi et gente et belle
Estoit icelle creature,
Qu'en li avoit mise nature
Tel entencion et tel paine
140 Qu' aprés li poïst feire a paine
Autre qui ceste resemblast,
Se ceste meïsmes n'emblast
La façon et la portraiture
Dont feïst autretel figure.
145 Et avocques ceste bonté
Ot en son qeur une clarté

Dont ses qeurs iert si esbaudiz
Qu'i n'estoit clers, tant fust hardiz
D'autors ne de dialetique,
150 De lays ne de la rectorique,
Qui devent lui osast mot dire.
Toutes avoit oïes lire
Les ars, et toutes les savoit;
Touz les mestres passez avoit
155 Qui estoient en la cité
De sens et de soutiueté.
Tent ot cerchee l'Escriture,
Tout mist son qeur et sa nature
. . . .
160 Qu'en lui ert un oilz avuglez,
Et li Rois du saint Esperiz.
Jupin et Tarot et Bariz
Ot son qeur guerpi et lessié;
Vers Jhesucrist estoit plessié,
165 Qui est commencement et fins.
Vers Dieu estoit son qeur si fins
Qu'il ne li pleisoit autre chose.
Eh Diex! si glorieuse rose
Qui des espines de ce monde
170 Estoit issue neite et monde.
[188, 2] Si fu fille d'un paien Roi
Qui despisoit Dieu et sa loi,
Et el l'amoit seur toute rien.
Por ce, di ge encore bien,
175 Que ceste rose issi d'espine
Qui apelee ert Katherine;
Grant avoir orent amassé
Mes quant il furent trespassé,
Piece avoit, son pere et sa mere,
180 Et el n'avoit sereur ne frere,

160 *MS. seems to have* un roil'; 160, 161 *are apparently corrupt*—168 Et—173 el] elle—173 toutes—180 Et el] elle

Tout despendoit, selonc l'escrit,
Au[s] povres genz por Jhesucrist.
Et neporquant son heritage
Ne vendi mie, comme sage,
185 Einz en maintint la grant mesnie
Que son pere li ot lessie;
Moult estoit porveant et preuz.
Ice meïsmes iert ses preuz
Que el iert monde entre les genz:
190 Tout autresi com li argenz,
Quant on le velt o le plum meitre,
Ne peut empirier ne malmeitre,
Mes toz jors fins et neiz il dure;
Tout autresinc est en l'ordure
195 Du monde la pucelle neite,
N'onques ne vit ne cist ne ceste
De lui issir toute sa vie
Orgueill ne nule vilenie.
Tant l'amoient grant et menor
200 Elle portoit a touz honour.
La pucelle est toute esbahie
De la noise qu'elle a oïe
Par l'entree d'une fenestre,
Et demande que ce peut estre;
205 Et l'en li dit toute l'enfere.
[189, 1] Elle se lieve sanz plus feire
Contre lui et de ses serjanz.
Courant vet la ou li tiranz
Feisoit les ydres aorer,
210 Si a ileuc veü plorer
Les Cretiens qui, a grant tort,
Voloient por peor de mort
Guerpir Jhesucrist et sa loi,
Et aorer, par leur desroi,
215 Les Diex de coivre tresgetez.

190 comme—203 fenestre] festre—205 li dit] li a dit

Et celui qui est veritez
Avoient por peor lessié.
La pucele a le front bessié
Comme correciee et dolente,
220 De Dieu prier ne fu pas lente
En bas, mes en haut vet la voiz,
Puis fet le signe de la croiz,
Si saut avent hardie et fiere,
Si apelle en tel maniere:
225 " Empereres," dist la pucele
" T'eneur me semont et apelle
Et la dignité de ton non.
Je te salu, ou voille ou non,
Com(me) l'en doit feire Empere[e]ur,
230 Se tu le servise et l'oneur
Que tu fes ci a ces ymages,
Se tu vels fere, comme sages,
A celui Roi, a celui mestre,
A celui Dieu qui te fist nestre,
235 A celui Roi par qui tu regnes,
A celui qui depar les regnes,
Celui por cui li element
Orent premier commencement.
Il n'a cure de sens de beste,
240 Mes quant il voit le qeur honeste,
[189, 2] Qui le sert d'euvre et de bouche,
Celui aime, si s'en aprouche.
C'est l'amor ou il se delite,
C'est li vessiax ou il habite.
245 L'en ne peut Dieu plus messervir
Que lui lessier et ce tenir.
N'a de tel servise que fere,
Trop est cil de tres mal afere
Et cruelment se desnature
250 Qui por servir la creature

243 C'est] Lest—245 Diex

Guerpist celui qui tot a fet:
Ci a trop dolereus mesfet.
Il n'est c'uns Diex, de voir le saches,
Se plus en est, ce est outrages."
255 Que que la pucelle parolle
Li rois escoute sa parolle
Que si bien commenciee avoit,
Et de son vis la clarté voit,
Onques mes tele n'ot veüe;
260 Son vis, son cors et sa veüe
A mise en lui a garder,
Mes il n'i sot si bien garder
Que de riens que il ot veü
Ne l'a espris ne deceü
265 Si estoit elle tretant belle.
Il li repont, "Gentis pucelle,
Je ne sé mie de ton non,
Ne se tu es jeune ou non,
Et tu es plus blanche que nois;
270 Ne ton pere je ne quenois
N'a quel mestre tu as esté,
Mes il pert bien a ta bonté
Que tu [n']es [pas] de mal parage,
Et ta langue qui tant est sage
275 Demontre bien que bons clers furent
Cil qui en cure te reçurent.
Mes il i ot de tant mespris,
Que de fauseté as apris
Noz Diex qui sont de grant puissance;
280 Ice tien ge a grant enfance."
La damoisele li respont,
Ce qu'il demande li espont:
"Rois, l'en m'apelle Katherine,
Fille de roi et de roïne.
285 Costentins li rois fu mon pere.

253 saches] sachiez—254 ce] se—275 Demontrent—282 il] i

Se tu demandes, Empereres,
Qui furent et con orent non,
Il furent de moult grant renon,
Tant comme a ce mont apartient;
290 Mes por ce qu'a mon cors ne tient
De lui nus riens fors vene gloire,
Tiex est de mon non le memoire
Des que je reçui la clarté
De Jhesucrist, et la bonté,
295 M'a tout enluminé le cors
Et jeté les frivoles hors
Que j'avoie apris en m'enfance,
Et la voie de sapience.
Lors tornai mon qeur a l'escrit
300 Parcoi je quenois Jhesucrit
J'ai oï parler l'Evengile
Qui dit sanz barat et sanz guile,
'Ire destruist a la reonde
La sapience de ce monde.'
305 David redist, nostre bon mestres,
Diex est u ciel, la est ses estres,
D'ileuc fet sa volenté toute;
Mescreanz est qui de ce doute.
Mes li Dieu q'aorent la gent
[190, 2] 310 Sont fet au[s] mains d'or et d'argent,
Ne sont pas Dieu, ainz sont deable
Qui sont en enfer convenable.
Que tu aoeures simplement.
Rois, tu fes trop ton dempnement.
315 Et se tu vels, por ta menace,
Que je ore honeur leur face,
Tu me monterras leur poissance.
Puis que il ont d'ome semblance,
Dont covient il que leur oeull voient,
320 Leur orilles sentent et oient,

291 nus] nous—318 quil

Et leur bouches doivent parler,
Les mains baillier, les piez aler.
Se ce n'est voirs, bien peuz savoir
Que tuit cil ont po de savoir
325 Qui a ces Diex portent honeur,
Qu'il ont pooir asez meneur
Que n'ont cil qui honeur leur font.
Biau sire Diex, tant vos meffont
Ceuls qui vos lessent et enneurent
330 Cels qui n'oient ne se seqeurent,
Qui n'ont poissance ne valor,
Ne sentent ne froit ne chalor.
Rois, itiex Diex aoeures tu
Qui n'ont ne force ne vertu."
335 L'Emperere si s'emervelle
Et s'esbahist de la mervelle
Que il ot la pucele dire.
"Or nul voill pas fere despire
Riens que tu aies aconté,
340 Mes je sui bien atalenté
De ton sens et de ta loquence;
Que se tu fusses des t'anfance
De noz buens mestres bien aprise,
Tu ne fusses ja entreprise
345 De mestre que l'en poïst querre
[191,1] N'en ce païs n'en autre terre,
Se tant fust que enneur portasses
Au[s] diex que tu blames et quasses.
Or ne puis mes a toi entendre
350 Mes tant me convendra atendre
Que ce soit fet que j'ai empris.
Aprés sera li termes pris,
Aprés vendras en mon palés.
Se tu vels lors que je te les
355 Et te dongne dons honorables,

340 je] se—343 De noz mestres fusse aprise (*text reading conjectural*)

Guerpir t'esteut totes tes fables
Et crier a nos Diex merci.
Otez la moi," fet il, "de ci,
Tant la gardez que la demant.
360 A grant honeur la vos commant."
En garde est prise la pucele.
Et l'Emperiere un clerc apele,
Unes letres fere commande.
Es lestres a que li rois mande
365 Au[s] filosofes de sa terre,
Au[s] melleurs que l'en poïst querre,
Qu'il viegnent tuit en Alixandre,
Que d'eus voudra un consoil prendre
D'une cause qu'il a a fere ;
370 S'il la li peuent a chief traire
Tel en sera le guerredon :
Qu'a grant honeur et riche don
Les en renvoiera arriere.
Tiex fu des lestres la maniere.
375 Quant furent fetes bien et bel
De la pierre de son anel
Les fet sagement seëler.
Li messagier[s] pensse d'errer,
Qu'il ne fu fox ne esbahiz.
380 Tan a esté par le païs,
[191, 2] Tent a erré et mer et terre,
Qu'il a trové ce qu'il va querre.
Les sages homes en amaine,
Les melleurs clers de tout le regne,
385 De toute escience savoient.
Devent le roi les amenoient
Qui moult bien les a receüz.
Quant il les a aperceüz
A la cort sont tenu(z) moult chier.
390 Li rois les prist a encerchier

370 Quil—375 et bien et

De leur dotrine, a la foiee,
Et cil ne l'ont pas desvoiee,
Ainz montrent bien par leur parolle
Qu'il ont esté a bone escolle.
395 Moult li respondent par grant sen.
Quant li rois l'ot, merveille(s) s'en.
"Li Empereres, que t'en semble?"
Issi lui ont dit tuit ensemble.
"Por coi nos as a tel besoing
400 Ci fet venir, et de si loing,
Se tu as grant besogne a fere
Bien te saurons de grant afere
Conseiller, se tu nos en quiers.
. . . .
405 Nus ne nos porroit pas confondre,
Bien tenrons partout [a] repondre."
Li rois repont, qui pas ne tarde,
"Je ai une pucele en garde,
Bele a le cors, jeune d'aage,
410 Mes tant par est parfete et sage
Que les bons clers tretouz seurmonte
Et les a conclus et fet honte,
Que sa prouvance n'atent nus,
Que il ne semblent toz confus.
415 Bien parolle sens et reison
[192, 1] Mes tant y a de mesprison
Que toz noz Diex het et atise
Et leur commandement refuse,
Et encore dit elle pis;
420 Porce que j'ai son Dieu despis,
Apele toz nos Diex deables;
Ici n'est pas ses sens metables,
Bien la poïsse a force traire
Por sacrefice a noz Diex fere
425 Ou li ocirre par torment.

392 li ont—414 ne] me

Mes plus sera fet sagement
Se par vos sens avoie fet
Qu'el requeneüst son meffet,
Et qu'el sacrefiast nos Diex
430 Qu'el tient por fax et por mortiex.
S'el se mentient en sa folie
Que de noient les contralie
Je li feré sanz refuser
A grant doleur sa vie user.
435 Mes je vos di tot de rechief
Que s'en pouez traire a un chief,
Si que confuse la rendez,
Tel guerredon en atendez:
Que riens ne me sarois requerre
440 Que maintenant ne face querre,
Ou se vos commenciez mon estre
De mon cousoill seroiz tuit mestre.
Li uns repondi par grant ire:
"Segneur, [car] oez, nostre sire
445 Nos a fet en vain traveillier,
Matin lever, la nuit veillier,
Si est toute la sapience
Por un enfent qui par enfance
Ne fet fors la gent escharnir.
450 Or nos a fet li rois garnir
[192, 2] De questions et de sofimes;
Puisque nos son mesage oïmes
Nos i(l) fumes a grant besoing,
Et si somes venuz de loing.
455 Rois, la pucele que tu diz,
Por ce que ne soions desdiz,
Nos volons que elle i soit.
Fei la venir, quelqu'elle soit,
Por qu'elle sache, sanz doutence,
460 Qu'el n'oï onques sapience

455 i soit] issoit

Issir d'ome, s'el ne l'ot hui.
Rois, c'iert por toi, non pas por lui;
Bien peüst a lui desconfire
Un seul de vos sergenz soufire."
465 Ceste ventance et ce desroi
A oï un sergent le roi;
A la pucele a tout conté
N'a pas son qeur espeonté
N'avoit point trouble[e] sa pense
470 Celle qui a dame Dieu pense.
Dieu seulement honeure et prise,
Por qui amor elle a emprise
Ceste bataille; riens ne doute,
A Dieu s'est commendee toute.
475 "Dieu," fet elle, "verai savoir,
Verai vertu, verai avoir,
Vraie vertu qui toz soutiens,
Qui toz gardes, qui toz maintiens,
Qui tot formas, qui tot feïs,
480 Qui a tes chiers amis deïs
Quant devent les princes vendroient
Ne pensassent que il diroient;
Tu leur donnoies habundance
De parolle, de sapience,
485 Por leur aversaire confondre,
[193, 1] Qu'il ne savoient que repondre;
Tu qui espons qu'est bien a fere,
Done moi sens a ceste afere.
Donne moi douceur et parolle
490 Que il ne me tiegnent a folle;
Cil qui vuellent quasser ton non
Veincuz les fes, vueulent ou non,
Et confus de leur mescreance
Ou il aient reconnoissance
495 Par le tesmoing de ton escrit

464 sergent—466 A a li un

Que tu aies non Jhesucrist.
Diex toz poissanz, verais et vis,
Einssi soit il comme devis."
A peines ot s'oroison feite
500 Quant Dex qui les dehez rehete
Et toz les desvoiez ravoie
Un ange du ciel li envoie
Qui la conforte et dit, "Amie,
Ta parolle, n'en doute mie,
505 A Dieu oïe et entendue,
Cil a qui tu es atendue
Donra toi a ta volenté
Douce parolle a grant plenté
Parcoi vaincras tes anemis.
510 Quant les aras au desoz mis
Il leront leur iniquité
Et connoistront la verité,
Puis souferront por Dieu la peine,
Lassus el pardurable regne
515 Seront por t'amor alevé;
Et se tu as Jhesu loé,
Encore l'aime et loe et prise,
Par tens seras du monde prise,
Si [te] tendras el Ciel la sus.
520 Qant seras venue au desus
[193, 2] De touz tes anemis mortiex,
Espous aras, ainz ne fu tiex,
A qui tu t'ies toz jors donnee;
Reïne seras coronee,
525 Que cil est Rois qui te velt prandre;
A tel segneur doit l'en entendre,
Gardes por autres ne le changes.
Je sui Michiel, prince des anges
Que Diex ton bon espous t'envoie
530 Por toi conduire a droite voie."

A tent li anges s'en despart:
La pucelle, de l'autre part,
Qui a eü le bon confort,
Vers Dieu a torné son acort,
535 De tenir son proposement
Ileuc atent son jugement.
A l'endemain, ce dist l'estoire,
Se sist li rois en son pretoire,
Delez lui les cinquante sages.
540 A la dame vint un mesages
De par le roi qui li a dit
Qu'el viegne a lui, sanz contredit.
La pucele est venue a cort,
Tretouz li peuples i acort
545 Por oïr la desputoison.
Li rois leur demande reison
Porqoi ne commence l'asaut.
La pucele en estant saut
Si a parlé hardiement:
550 "Rois, tu as fet commandement
Que ces cinquante sages soient
Encontre moi, et si m'essaient.
Tu les as toz a ta partie,
Si n'est pas bien l'euvre partie,
Bien t'i garde, a ceste bataille;
[194, 1] 555 Je sui jeune fame, sanz faille,
Et sanz aïde et sanz deffensse;
Se Jesucrist de moi ne pensse
Ne porroi pas vers euls durer;
Mes ce me fet aseürer,
560 Que sa deffensse m'a permise
Diex en qui j'ai m'entente mise;
Mes de ce me doit ennuier
Que tu leur as pramis loier
S'il me pevent au desouz meitre;

538 son] le

565 Et tu me doiz un don prameitre.
Or ce revoill dire et conter,
Que se je les puis seurmonter
Par bon tesmoing de saint escrit,
Que tu creras en Jhesucrist;
570 C'est ma pramesse, c'est mes dons,
Itex sera mes guerredons.
Li rois repont, tot maintenent:
"Bel' amie, tel convenent
Ne me peuz tu, ne ne doiz, fere:
575 Je ne sui pas de ton afere,
Mes ja verrons bien au parler
Se tes Diex te porras garder."
La pucelle plus ne sejorne,
Vers ses anemis se retorne
580 Porce q'an sa cause se fie;
En tel maniere les defie:
"Segneur, ceenz sont tuit venu,
Petit, jeune, grant et chanu,
Por noz parolles escouter.
585 Or ne doit nus de vous douter;
S'il a riens em penssé de dire,
Tens est d'entrer en la matire;
Por toz parolt le mielz parlent
Et tretot die son talent."
[194, 2] 590 Li uns repont, qui fu ainnez
Et mielz vaillant, et mielz senez:
"Belle amie, einssi n'est il pas;
Por toi avons marchié meint pas
Et por toi somes assemblé;
595 Je nel dirai pas en emblé,
Tout en apert parler voudrai:
Commenciez, et je repondrai."
La virge ne s'est pas teüe,
Ainz dist tote desporveüe:

589 tretot die] tretoz dient

600 "Puis que de votre foloience
Otai mon qeur et ma leance,
Et je connu la fausseté
Ou j'avoie lonc tens esté,
Et j'oi en Dieu (tout) mon penser mis,
605 En Dieu qui est li miens amis,
Et je oi receü la foi
De Jhesucrist en qui je croi,
Desi ce jor me fu amer
Et entre totes et amer;
610 Des lors en haï ge(s) leur livres
Dont mes cuers ot esté si yvres
Qu'il ne pooit estre repris.
Si volentiers avoie apris
Que j'avoie mis au desouz
615 Les clers de ceste terre touz.
Touz mes mestres passé avoie
Par les livres que je savoie,
Mes por ce que je sé de voir
Que la nul jor por nul savoir
620 N'auroie pardurable vie,
[195, 1] Einssi com(me) j'oi primes envie
De l'aprendre et du retenir,
Issi ne me po ge tenir
Que tot ne meïsse en obli
625 Qu'en mon qeur avoie establi,
Que ce n'estoit se fable non.
En Dieu, que Jhesucrist a non,
Tornai mon qeur et m'esperance,
Si n'i sai autre sapience
630 Fors celui Dieu qui degna nestre
Home por home, et por lui estre,
De virge sanz corruption.
Souffri et mort et passion
San ce que mestier n'en avoit,

609 *sic*

635 Mes de fine verté savoit,
Se li mors de la fause pome
Parcoi deable deçut home
Ne fust par mort d'ome reçuz
Hom fust aussi comme veüz;
640 Por ce il prist notre nature
En semblance de creature.
Bien parut a s'umilité
Qu'il estoit Diex, par verité
Il estoit Diex et hom ensemble.
645 Issi est il, issi me semble,
C'est cil en qui mon qeur se fie,
C'est la moie filosofie.
En son non et en son memoire,
C'est ma joie, c'est ma vitoire,
650 Qui veincra toz mes anemis,
Car einssi le m'a il pramis."
A poine avoit elle ce dit
Quant li uns d'eus dit ce mesdit
Et cria comme forsenez:
655 "Sire," fet il; "qui maintenez
[195, 2] L'oneur et l'empire de Rome,
Qui estes sage(s) et vaillant home,
Quant faudra iceste folor,
Ce grant barat, ceste dolor,
660 Dont cist Crestien desleal
Sont si du tot torné a mal
Qu'il ont noz Diex si en despit?
Oez com(me) ceste les despit;
Nos cuidions a la parclose
665 Oïr de lui aucune chose
Dont nos fusions esbaudi.
Nos somes voirement traï,
Qu'el mont n'a plus de sages homes;
Bien voi qu'en vain nos travellomes

643 Qui

670 Por iceste meschine fole
Qui a commencié sa parolle
Por ce Jhesu que il tant aiment.
Ce est leur Dieu qui, ce tesmoignent,
De son deciple fu venduz
675 Et par les mains en croiz penduz,
Mes ne pot eschaper de mort
Cil qu'i[l] essaucent a tel tort.
Au tierz jor aprés s'asemblerent
Si deciple, si l'emporterent.
680 Puis noncierent por les citez
Qu'il ert de mort resucitez,
Et por acroire leur faintise
Dient qu'il a sa manentise
U ciel amont ou il monta
685 Quant il de mort resucita."
La pucelle repont briément:
"J'ai fait a droit commencement
De celui Dieu dont pas ne dout,
Qui est commencement de tout.
690 Il est droit Rois et Empereres
[196, 1] Par qui Diex li souverains peres,
En qui tote(s) bontez habunde,
A fait de noient tot le monde.
Et qu'i t'iroie je fablant?
695 Je te dirai tot mon semblant:
De lui, par lui, en lui peuz querre
Quanque tu peuz veoir en terre,
Le sens et la vive fontaine
Dont toz biens sort par large veine."
700 Lors repont li rectoriens:
"Se cil qui croient Cretiens
Fust li filz Dieu ou verai Diex,
Comment pot il estre mortiex?
Comment poïst mort deconfire

692 Et—693 Et fist—699 Donc

705 Celui qui de la mort est sire?
Et s'il fust hom, ne poïst mie
De mort resuciter en vie.
La demoiselle li respont:
"Frere, tu as lessié le pont
710 Por passer parmi le perill;
Se croiz le pere sanz le fill
Tu as mespris trop leidement.
Tu m'as dit au commencement
Que s'il fust hom, ne poïst nestre,
715 Et s'il fust Diex, hom ne pot estre,
Et s'il fust Dex, mort nel veinquist,
Et s'il fust hom, ne revesquist.
Dont ne croiz tu qu'eust poesté
Diex de fere sa volenté?
720 Et se tu croiz qu'il le peut fere
Porcoi ne croiz tu cest afere,
Que cil qui toutes choses fist
Preïst mort d'ome, s'il volsist;
Et cil qui senne les enfers
725 Et fet les clos et droiz et fers,
[196, 2] Et cil qui ne pevent veoir
Enlumine par son pooir,
Seur lui segnorie n'eüst
Et soi resuciter peüst?
730 Ce doiz tu croire finement.
Et cil qui sofri le torment
Est hom verais, sanz fausseté.
La mort ocist l'umanité,
El n'ocist mie Jhesucrist,
735 Mes Jhesucrist la mort ocist.
Gardes que deceüz ne soies,
Droiz est que tu meïmes voies
De la notre sainte escriture.
Mes se je di par aventure,

715, 716, 717 Et si fust—718 qu'eust] quant

740 N'en croire pas la verité
Se je le te di par verté.
Por ce te donrai sanz delai
Le tesmoing de la teue loi;
Espoir me sauras mielz repondre.
745 L'en ne peut home mielz confondre
Que ferir de son dart meïmes.
De ton Platon te dirai primes
Qui dist que Dex se monterroit
A cels qui montrez ne s'estoit.
750 Et qu'aroit quatre reonz signes,
C'est la vraie croiz, qui fu dignes
De soutenir le digne mestre
Qui tot le mont a a sa destre.
"Sebile parla, a son tens,
755 Que Jhesucrist nestroit, li buens,
Qui seroit nez d'une pucele;
Et si redist autre novelle,
Et si dist que beneoist fust
Cil qui seroit penduz en fust;
760 Por ce beneüré le dist,
[197, 1] Qu'il revivroit, si comme il fist.
Tel sont li tesmoing de Sebile.
Ja te deïsse de Virgile,
Mes bien t'en peuz a itant fere.
765 Se tu n'em peuz ton qeur atrere,
Dont est il droiz q'arrieres aies
Le deable q'avoir soloies."
A tant est la virge teüe.
La parolle a cil esmeüe,
770 Et dist: "Pucele, or me respon;
Ce que demanderai m'espon:
Se Jhesu, qui ta bouche nome,
Estoit Diex en semblence d'ome
Et fist tant miracles en terre,

743 lai—751 vroie—773 Dieu

775 Comment l'osa la mort requerre?
Se par lui resordent li mort,
Comment soufri perill de mort
Cil qui n'a mestier de morir
Et peut la gent de mort guerir?
780 Elle repont, cil s'est teüz
(Cil ne peut estre deceüz):
"Que tu cuides que Diex soit mort,
Quant tu ce croiz, tu as grant tort;
Ainz ne morut ne ne morra,
785 Que toz jors fu [il] et sera.
Mes ce ne tieng mie a eschar
Que l'enfermeté de la char.
Qui poïst home soufrir mort
Fors Dieu, qui sucite home mort?
790 Hom qui avoit le pechié fet
Soufri la mort por son forfet;
Des qu'il avoit pechié, en fust
Droiz est que tormentez il fust.
La char morut naturelment,
795 Diex fust tot quites du torment,
[197, 2] Ce sachiez, si le vousist fere;
Que bien poïst homme soutraire
Par un seul engin de deable;
Mes sa joutise est reisonable,
800 Que sanz reison il ne fist rien.
Ceste chose establit il bien,
Que il volt que celui vainquist
Qui home vainqui et conquist.
Et por ce prist seur lui le fes,
805 Que plus fust humbles et confés
Hom vers lui qui sauvé l'avoit;
Issi fu comme estre devoit."
Par tiex diz et par tiex prouvences
Leur a faillies leur doutances,

776 De—795 Deu fu—802 Quil—805 plus fu

810 Si qu'il ne sevent mes que dire
Ne ne li peuent contredire.
A ces diz n'ont riens respondu,
Tuit sont maté et confondu
Si com Diex l'avoit devisé.
815 Puis a li uns l'autre avisé;
Si ont perdu leur sens tretot
Que honiz sont du tot en tot.
Quant l'Emperieres a veü
Que il se sont tretuit teü,
820 Et qu'il sont tretuit esbahi,
Par mautalent a dit: "Ahi!
Com je voi ci grant mauvestié.
Moult estiés ore heitié
Et aprestez de desputer;
825 Moult vos voi ore toz douter,
Que perdu avez la parolle
Por une meschinette folle."
Li plus sages d'euls toz se lieve,
De ce que il forment le grieve,
830 Si li respont irieement:
[198, 1] "Rois, ce sachiez veraiement,
Que avions tesmoinz assez;
De science avions passez
Tretoz les clers qui soient né;
835 Onques mes ne fumes mené
A ce que nus fust tant osez
C'onques par nous fust oposez
Li uns de nos, por voir le saches;
Et s'en lui fust si grant outrages
840 Que contre nos osast parler,
(Tout) confus le convenroit aler.
Autre chose est de la meichine
Qui de sapience devine,

814 comme Dieu—820 Et qui—822 Comme—836 ose—837 opose—843 devine] devise

Que repondre ne li savons ;
845 Si grant peor de li avons
Nos n'osons dire une parolle
Por iceste pucelle fole.
Si te disons tretuit ensemble
Que ver(i)tez est, et bien nos semble
850 Ce que la damoiselle dit ;
Ja n'i metromes contredit,
Einz recevromes sa creance
Se nos n'avons melleur(s) prouvence
Et bon tesmoing de l'escriture.
855 Diex ! Diex ! ou as mise ta cure ?
Se ne montre leal escrit
Nos croiromes en Jhesucrit,
Qui eschive les mauves vices
Et done toz les benefices ;
860 Il est poissanz des bien[s] donner
Et moult set bien guerredonner
Tout le travaill et tot l'ennui
Que si sergent soufrent por lui."
Quant li tiranz a entendu
[198, 2] 865 Qu'a Jhesucrist se sont rendu,
Et qu'il ont guerpie leur loy,
Enmi la cité sanz delai
A commendé que l'en li face
Un feu arden en mi la place ;
870 Si commande li anemis
Que tuit li sage i soient mis,
Les mains liees et les piez ;
Issi soient par leur pechiez.
A tent s'en torna uns mesages
875 Et uns des clers qui estoit sages
Se fu levez en son estant ;
Touz les autres vet confortant,

858 eschives—863 soufre—864 tirant—871 i] il—874 un mesage—875 un . . . . sage

Et dist: "Segneur, paor n'aiez

. . . .

880 Les deables, la Dieu merci,
Que servi avons jusques ci.
Veez Jhesucrist qui nos apele;
Alons tuit prier la pucele,
Ançois qu'an nos ait enserré,
885 Que nos soions regeneré
Par baptesme si com est droiz,
Car autrement pas ne vaudroit
A la celestial coronne
Que dame Diex a martirs done.
890 Tretuit le sivent, ce me semble;
A la pucelle vont ensemble,
Si li prient tot em plorant
Qu'el ne vaut mie demorant,
Recevoir leur face baptesme
895 Et la sainte oncion du cresme.
"Segneur," ce dit la Dieu amie,
"Por Dieu, ne vos esmaiez mie,
Mes hardiz chevaliers soiez.
Dame Diex vos a essaiez
900 Par moi que vos ici veez.
A son talent vos a trovez;
[199, 1] Vos estes ore et bon et fin,
Mes meilleur seroiz en la fin;
De baptesme n'aiez peor,
905 Que li douz sans du sauveor
Qu'il espandi por nos pechiez
Dont touz li monz est entechiez,
Vos ert baptesme de saluz,
Et moult vos avra hui valuz
910 La bone foi et la creance;
De ce n'aiez nule doutance,
Que li feus ou vous enterrez

886 comme—893 Quelle vaut—899 Dieu

Et li tormenz que souferrez
Vos tendra toz sains et heitiez.
915 Ne plorez pas, soiez toz liez,
Ne doutez pas cels qui le cors
Peuent ocirre par dehors;
Celui creez qui cors et ame
Peut ocirre d'infernal flame."
920 A tant sont li serjant venu,
Et li cinquante tretuit nu,
Les mains liees et les piez,
Les ont enmi le feu sachiez.
Cil crioient a haute voiz,
925 Jhesu reclaiment et sa croiz,
Illeuc ont le torment soufert
Par coi il ont a Dieu ofert
Le sacrifice de leur cors.
U ciel ou est li grant tresors,
930 La grant richeice, la grant joie,
Li droiz chemin, la droite voie,
S'en sont a dame Dieu monté
[199, 2] Qui les reçut par sa bonté
Et les mist en son paradis.
935 Mort soufrirent, ce m'est avis,
Si com(me) la leitre le remenbre,
Le treziesme jor de novembre.
De ce avint une mervelle
A qui nulle ne s'aparelle,
940 Onques ne leur malmist li feus
Ne leur robes ne leur cheveus,
N'onques leur char plus ne broï.
Aussi com fussent endormi
Se gisoient en mi la place,
945 Et si avoit chascuns la face
Aussi vermelle comme rose.
Por la mervelle de la chose

913 le torment—925 reclaime—929 ou] en—943 comme

A Dame Dieu se convertirent
Pluseurs Sarrazins qui ce virent.
950 Li Cretien ont les cors pris
De nuit, qu'il ne fussent malmis,
Et si les ont enseveliz;
En cele oevre ert toz leur deliz.
L'Emperere vit la meschine
955 Vers dame Dieu plus enterine
Qu'elle n'avoit devant esté,
Et li feus que voit aprestė
Ne la peut pas espeonter.
Or la velt de rechief tenter,
960 Ou por laidir ou por malmeitre,
Por savoir si la porroit meitre
A ce qu'el volsist aorer
Ses ymages, por honorer.
Vers lui se torne, si l'apelle:
965 "Haï! haï, gentis pucelle,
Car pran consoill a toi meïmes.
Des l'eure que je te vi primes
[200, 1] Oi je pitié de ta jovente;
Toz jors i ai mise m'entente
970 A delivrer ton cors de peine.
Jentis pucelle, car t'en peine,
Croi en noz Diex, sel sacrefie;
Il est moult fox qui ne s'i fie.
Se tu fes ce que t'ai prié,
975 Quant tu aras sacrefié,
Tretout aussi te tendrai chiere,
Autel semblant et autel chiere
Te feré com a la reïne.
Tote sera vers toi encline
980 Ma gent; ma terre, ma mesnie,
Toute sera par toi partie."

951 nuiz—957 voiz—973 quil—980 mesniee

La pucele a un ris jeté,
Si repondi la verité:
"Empereres, les ce ester,
985 Ne me doiz pas amonester
A fere si grant felonie.
Jhesucrist, qui je sui amie,
M'a por voir a espouse prise;
C'est cil qui mes cuers aime et prise,
990 C'est mes deliz, ce est ma joie,
N'est riens nule dont j'aie joie
Fors seulement de s'amitié.
Por li ai ge de moi pitié,
Por li gart ge mon pucelage.
995 Je ne te crieng por nul domage
Que tu puisses a mon cors fere.
Torment ne me porroient trere
De Dieu servir, de Dieu amer,
[200, 2] De lui prier et reclamer."
1000 Li tiranz est tot forsenez,
Ses menitres a apelez
Et commendé q'an la despoille;
Toute nue, voille ou ne voille,
Que l'en la bate d'esglentiers;
1005 Et cil le font moult volentiers.
Toute li tranchent la char tendre,
Qu'el ne fu pas digne d'atendre
Le petit cop d'une vergeite.
Puis a commandé q'an la meite
1010 En une chartre sanz clarté
Ou avoit sovent grant nerté,
Que il n'i ait nule lumiere;
Einssi soit leenz en teniebre,
Ne n'en isse de douze jors;
1015 Itiex i soit mes ses sejors.

991, 992 *transposed in MS.*—1000 tirant—1006 Tretoute—1015 issoit

Li sergent ont la virge prise,
En oscure prison l'ont mise.
Illeuc lessent la Dieu amie,
Mes Diex ne l'oblia lors mie.
1020 Son ange en la chartre envoie
Por ce qu'il velt qu'elle le voie;
Jhesu envoia de sa gloire
Por lui tenir en son memoire,
Et la clarté esperital
1025 Mist Diex dedenz la chartre aval
Por l'ange qui la reconforte,
Et si grant clarté li aporte,
Toute la chartre en enlumine.
Cil qui gardoient la meschine
[201, 1] 1030 Ont tuit si grant peor eü
De la clarté qu'il ont veü,
Qu'il ne peuent un mot sonner,
N'il ne sevent quel part aler.
A tant par aventure avint
1035 Que l'Emperere aler convint
Hors du païs por une afere
Qui li estut a force fere.
Entre ces choses la Roïne
Oï parler de la meschine,
1040 Comment li rois l'avoit traïe,
Comme elle iert sage et afeitie,
Que elle avoit vaincuz les sages,
Comme li rois par ses mesages
L'avoit fete d'esglentiers batre,
1045 Et comment il la fist embatre
En la chartre qui est oscure,
Et comme li rois n'avoit cure
Qu'elle mengast ne ne beüst,
Qu'elle par fain mort receüst.

1025 Dieu—1033 sevent] peuent—1037 Emperes—1044 Comme lavoit fet—1048 beüst] seust

1050 Quant ot oï la cruel paine,
Ja soit ce qu'elle fust peaine,
Moult est engoisseuse et hative
De veoir la, tant comme est vive,
Mes moult se doute en son corage
1055 Que l'Emperere ne le sache.
Que qu'el aloit en tel maniere
Par la sale avant et arriere,
Pensant et repenssant encontre,
Un prince li vint a l'encontre
1060 Qui Porphires avoit a non,
Qui estoit de moult grant renon
Et bien savoit, sanz nul mesdit,
Celer ce q'an li avoit dit.
L'Empereriz l'a apelé:
[201, 2] 1065 "Or soit," fet elle, "bien celé,
Biaus amis, ce que t'en voil dire.
A la pucele que mes sire
Tient en sa chartre parleroie
Moult volentiers, se je pooie.
1070 Or vos en convient entremeitre,
Ou par doner ou par prameitre,
Que ne vos encusent les guetes.
Se vos m'amez, issi le feites,
Por Dieu, amis, ne vos ennuit.
1075 Oez ce que je vi ennuit:
En mon dorment m'estoit avis
De la virge que je devis,
Qu'elle ert en une chambre assise,
De grant clarté partot esprise,
1080 Et entor lui furent assis
Homes blans, ne sai sept ou six,
Je ne m'i soi pas bien garder
. . . . . .
El m'apela et dist aprés

1050 Quant elle ot—1067 mes] mon

1085 Que j'alasse de lui plus pres.
U chief a un des homes blans
A ses mains mises par devant,
Une corone d'or li prist,
U chief la corone me mist.
1090 Aprés me dist, 'Gentis roïne,
Ne doiz avoir nule haïne
Vers le Segneur qui tel corone
Par moi te presente et [te] done;
C'est Jhesucrist, notre bon pere,
1095 Devant qui nus n'est Emperere.'
Por ceste avision, biau sire,
Seufre mes cuers issi grant ire
Que je ne puis durer par nuit.
Comment cuidiez vos qui m'ennuit?
1100 Je ne puis boivre ne mengier;
[202, 1] Je ne souferrai plus dengier,
Ne ce penssé dont je me deull:
La damoiselle veoir vuoill."
A tant li repondi Porfire:
1105 "Dame, voirs est que notre Sire
Est moult cruels a itel gent;
Por ce ne seroit il pas gent,
Que nos faillisse a cest afere.
Commendez, je sui prest de fere
1110 Tretot votre commendement.
Or ne vous faut que seulement
Tant que vos peüssiez porvoir
Le consoill des guetes avoir."
A tent s'en est tornez au[s] guetes,
1115 Par pramesse les a atraites
Si qu'il li ont acreanté
Que il feront sa volenté.
Quant il furent el premier some

1088 li] il—1097 mon ceur—1099 cuidiex—1104 Porfile—1116 quil i

La roïne prant le preudome,
1120 Si sont alez en la prison.
Si comme el vit en avison,
La roïne a clarté veüe.
De la peor qu'il ot eüe
Orent endui que il chaïrent,
1125 Tant durement s'en esbahirent;
Mes un ordre s'est espandue
Qui la clarté leur a rendue
Et toz asoagiez les a.
Maintenent que les adesa,
1130 "Levez sus," ce dist la pucele,
"Veez Jhesucrist qui vos apele
Por demorer avocques lui.
A tent se sont levez endui
Si ont la virge regardee
1135 . . . . . .
D'anges qui avoc lui estoient
[202, 2] Qui ses plaies li afeitoient
Et onguoient d'un onguement
Par qoi la char si doucement
1140 Estoit tornee a tel clarté,
Onques n'avoit si clere esté;
Et si revirent les veillarz
Les lui seoir de toutes parz,
Qui avoient si cler les vis
1145 Que ne peuent par nul devis
Leur clarté estre devisé,
Qu'il ne peuent estre avisé
Du prince ne de la reïne.
Puis a assise la meschine
1150 U chief a l'ome une corone;
El chief l'Empereriz la donne,
Et dit: "Segneur, vez ci la dame,
La saintisme de cors et d'ame;

1121 vit] lit

Si deprions notre Segneur
1155 Q'autresi grant part ou gregneur
Aiez en son regne con gié;
Et il m'a doné le congié.
Et de ce prince qui est ci
Aura notre Sire merci,
1160 Que li dons li en est donnez
Q'aprés martire(s) ert coronez."
Aprés, li ont li veillart dit:
"Kateline, sanz contredit
A Dieu oïe ta priere
1165 Lequel amor tu as si chiere
Que por lui es ci enchartree
Et en tenebres es entree.
Por la clarté du ciel avoir
Or te disomes nos por voir
1170 Que Diex t'a octroié le don
Que ceus aront verai pardon
[203, 1] Por qui tu degneras proier.
Ne se doivent pas esmoier
Cil qui por toi sont venu ci,
1175 Que Dex ara d'eus tel merci
Qu' au monde vaincront le deable
Et aront vie pardurable."
Issi ont parlé li veillart;
La pucele, de l'autre part,
1180 S'a si confortee la Dame:
"N'aiez tu mie qeur de fame,
Mes bon et enterin et fors,
Et Diex t'envoiera confort.
Jusqu' au tierz jor iras o lui;
1185 Travaill ne peine ne anui
De leur angoisse ne menace,
Ne doiz douter que l'en te face;
Que les engoisses de ce monde
Sont fin neant a la reonde,

1190 Aprés la joie et la leesce
Que cil aront pour leur destreice;
De leur martire et de leur poine
Gaagneront Dieu et son regne."
A tant a repondu Porfire,
1195 Et dit: "Pucele, li tiens Sire,
Di moi, quel guerredon peut rendre
A cels qui voldroient despendre
Por s'amor la temporel vie?
Que de l'oïr ai grant envie."
1200 "Porfire," ce dist Katerine,
"Se tu as bone et enterine
La volenté de l'escouter,
Bien me porras oïr conter;
Que cil siecles n'est c'uns trepas,
1205 Bien sai, et si n'en douter pas,
Et aussi vit l'en an ce monde
[203, 2] Come en une chartre parfonde
Ou il n'a se teneibres non.
Ja ne iert de si grant renon
1210 Nus hom, ne de si grant savoir,
Qu'il ne muire, par estovoir:
Issi est de chose mondeine.
Doleur, engoisse, mal et paine
Covoitise, barat, envie,
1215 Sont les deliz de ceste vie.
Ce païs claime je tot quite,
Mes li païs ou Dex habite
Est biax et nez, sanz nul ordure;
Toz jors il vit, toz jors il dure,
1220 Que il peut fere son estage.
Ce païs n'est pas heritage
Cil qui le mont vellent despire;
La n'enveillist nus, ne n'enpire,
La n'estaint ne char ne couleur

1212 merdeine—1213 De leur

1225 Enfermetez, mal ne doleur;
La est, sanz ordure, biautez,
Sanz trecherie, leautez,
Joie sanz ire, jor[s] sanz nuit
Ileuc n'a riens qui li ennuit;
1230 Ileuc ne crient aversité
Li estagiers de la cité.
N'en diré mal, que je ne puis,
Mes bien assez, que je il truis
Qui seroit sanz fons et sans rive.
1235 Ne porroie por riens que vive
Ce que tu verras aconter,
Se peuz en la cité monter.
Se tu gardes ta leauté
Jusq'a la fin sanz fauseté,
1240 Bien i iras, ce te pramet.
Mes de bien fere t'entremet."
[204, 1] Issi parolle la meichine.
Le chevalier et la reïne
S'em partirent tot maintenent.
1245 Grant joie vont endui feisant
Des homes blans qu'il ont veü
Et des conforz qu'il ont eü
De la glorieuse pucele.
Li chevalier ont fet querele
1250 Et demandent par leur deduit
Ou Porfire toute la nuit
Ot avec la reïne esté.
Porfire n'a point redouté,
Il leur a dit, sanz plus atendre,
1255 "Segneurs, se voliez entendre
A ce que diré orendroit,
Sachiez que bien nos en vendroit.
Ne demandez ou j'ai esté
Mes fetes a ma volenté
1260 Et gaagniez la votre joie

Soit pardurable avoc la moie.
Sachiez que cil n'est mie sages
Qui fet honeur a ces ymages
Que avez servi jusques ci.
1265 Criez a dame Dieu merci
Qui fist tretoutes creatures,
Et despisiez itiex feitures
Qui ne si peuent conseillier.
Nus ne se peut plus avillier
1270 Que servir mains vaillent que l[u]i.
Servez et honorez celui
Qui est Sires de tout le monde,
Qui tot peut fere a la reonde."
Deux cent en i avoit par conte
1275 Des chevaliers qui, par le conte,
Ont les ymages en despit
Et sont tornez a Jhesucrit.
La damoiselle endementiers
Par quinze jors tretouz entiers
1280 En l'oscure chartre s'estut,
Ou ainz ne menja ne ne but
Par home qui en terre vive,
Et si est elle encore vive,
Car Diex la cui protecions
1285 Reput en la fosse au[s] larrons
Dam Daniel, le bon profeite,
A ceste peüe et refete
Par un coulon blanc comme cine;
De tel mesage est elle digne.
1290 Quant acompli furent li jor
De la demeure et du sejor
Qu'ele dut en la chartre fere,
Diex Jhesucrist, li debonaire,
Qui a sa gent n'est mie estranges,
1295 O une compagnie d'anges
Est descenduz en la prison

1286 Dam] Que

Por conforter le sien prison.
Puis a parlé en tel maniere:
"Esgarde, bele amie chiere,
1300 Conois le pere qui t'a feite,
Conois por coi tu es destroite
Devant les rois, devent les contes,
Por qui tu seufres les granz hontes,
Les grans doleurs et les grans peines,
1305 Por qui de bien fere te peines;
Parfés ce que tu as empris,
Si te metré em paradis.
Tes amis sui, et tu m'amie,
Saches, je ne te leiré mie,
1310 Que moult me plest ta grant bonté."
A tent s'en est el ciel monté.
[205, 1] L'Emperere[s] aprés repaire,
Quant il ot parfet son afere;
En Alixandre est retornez
1315 O il ot les plez ajornez
De son afere et de sa terre.
Puis commenda qu'en li aut querre
La damoisele isnellement,
Por ce qu'a fere l'ot covent;
1320 Et quant el fu devant le roi
Qui avoit [dit] par son desroi,
Qu'el ne menjast de quinze jors,
Por ce que lons ert li sejors
Et la grant soufrance de pain
1325 La contrainsist, et la grant fain,
Il la regarde en mi le vis;
Plus estoit bele, a son avis,
Qu'il ne l'avoit devant veüe.
Lors cuida qu'elle fust peüe
1330 En repost, si l'en pesa moult
Qu'il parust moult bien a son volt.
Tantost a commandé a prandre

Toz les chartriers et fere pendre,
S'il ne dient par quel congié
1335 La damoiselle avoit mangié,
Et qui repeüe l'avoit.
La damoiselle qui ce voit
Ne volt pas que por lui reçoivent
Cil mal qui recevoir nel doivent.
1340 Mielz velt que l'en sache le voir,
Qu'elle les veïst mal avoir.
"Roi," fet la virge, "entent a moi,
Ne soies pas en tel desroi,
Que ci sergent m'aient peüe,
1345 Ne que j'aie viande eüe
D'ome qui en ce siecle soit.
[205, 2] Diex li miens peres me pessoit,
Qu'il ne velt pas cels oblier
Qui se veulent en lui fier,
1350 Par son bon gre me confortoit
Qui la viande m'aportoit
Tant con ge fui en la prison."
Li tiranz, qui sa traïson
Velt celer dedenz son corage,
1355 Qu'elle nel tiegne a outrage
(Mes ne li valt riens que il face,
Ne blandissement ne menace),
"Certes," fet il, "bien peus savoir,
Je te vossisse mielz avoir
1360 Que ocirre hui par torment;
Mes or me di premierement,
Puis que si l'avons ore empris,
Quel consoill as tu de toi pris
Puisque tu fus mise em prison?
1365 Or si respon, sanz mesprison
Au mains, si peulz le meilleur prendre;
Ou faces tost, sanz plus atendre,
Sacrefices a noz ymages

1367 tot

Qui sont poissanz, saintes et sages,
1370 Ou cuit fere ta char, la tendre,
Par grant torment rompre et estendre."
"Rois," fet elle, "je voill bien vivre,
Mes se je part de ci delivre,
Ce n'est pas vie, ainz est mort;
1375 Mes se mes cors est por Dieu mort
Et derompu par ton torment,
Je sai et croi veraiement
Que m'ame, se mon cors devie,
Ira en pardurable vie."
1380 Li rois, aussi comme gagnons
Qui rechigne ses compangnons,
[206, 1] Reoulle, et si estraint les danz,
Si est iriez el cuer dedenz
Qu'il ne set que il doie dire.
1385 A ses sergenz dit, par grant ire,
"Delivrez moi de ce maufé;
Si durement m'a eschaufé
Que ennuit ne seré a aise.
Si fetes chose qui me plaise,
1390 A honte la feroiz morir,
Que riens ne l'en puisse garir."
Que que l'Emperere devise
Par quel torment et en quel guise
La damoiselle seroit morte,
1395 Cursates s'en entre en sa porte
Qui ert prevost de la cité.
Cruiex et plains de crualté,
Il voit le roi si hors du sens
Qu'il met s'entente et tot son sens
1400 A torment trover et eslire.
"Or ne doutez," fet il, "biau sire,
Por ces parolles decevables.
Empereres," fet li deables,

1370 Ou] Je

"Dont n'as tu honte et desdaing
1405 D'une fame que je ne daing
Neïs veoir en mi le vis,
Qui or te tient, ce m'est avis,
Et deloie si longuement?
Escoute, et je dirai comment
1410 L'en la peut fere tormenter.
Ne t'esteut plus a dementer,
Car encore ne voi ge mie
Torment que ceste anemie
[206, 2] Se puisse en tel guise doloir,
1415 Que face tretot ton voloir.
"Rois, commandes tot sanz sejor,
Soient fetes jusqu'au tierz jor
Quatre roes par ma devise.
Oez commeut, et en quel guise.
1420 Les deux seront jointes ensemble,
Et les autres deux, ce me semble,
Seront aussi ensemble jointes
De clos menuement porpointes.
Et si vos il vosdrai pramaitre,
1425 Par les rains je i ferai meitre
Broches de fer, par tel esgart,
Passeront par chascune part
Des roes plain pié et demi.
Li cercles qui seront parmi,
1430 Et les gentes que li rois tienent
Qui au torner vont et revienent,
Seront broches de tout entor.
D'une façon et d'un ator
Seront les roes toute[s] quatre.
1435 Aprés si les feré enbatre
En un grant fossé ou seront.
Que que les roes torneront
Contreval, tout a une hie

1406 Nes—1415 son

Que les autres tormenz la fuie
1440 Contremont et en tel maniere,
Tout l'une avent et l'autre arriere,
Entre les broches de mileu
Aura la pucelle son leu.
La sera mise toute nue,
1445 Et quant l'eure sera venue
[207, 1] Que les roes de[v]ront torner
Et par engin fere atorner,
Et l'une contre l'autre ira,
Onques si tost ne descira
1450 Li leus sa proie de sa poe,
Com les denz de chascune roe
Li derompront sa char, la tendre.
A ce porront essample prandre
Li Cretien qui i(s) seront.
1455 Por ce tui[t] se repentiront;
Mes il est droit que l'en l'essoit,
Et que devent le torment soit
La damoiselle vue assise.
Aprés a son voloir eslise
1460 Ou son domage ou son profit,
Que el muire, ou Dieu sacrefit."
A tant mandent les charpentiers.
Tant i ot mis de jors entiers
Que li tormenz est aprestez.
1465 Enmi la sale est arestez,
Plains de broches de fer agües.
Li pueples et les genz menues
Se sont assemblez tot entor,
Et n'i a nul qui de l'estor
1470 Et de la noise que il maine
De la peor et de la paine
Ne tranble tot en son corage.
Li rois s'estut en son estage
Et commande que tote nue

1475 Soit la pucele detenue.
La damoiselle est despoilliee,
Toute preste et apareilliee
[207, 2] De mort soufrir moult volentiers
Por Jhesucrist, s'il est mestiers;
1480 Que nul torment que elle voie
Ne nul travaill ne la desvoie,
Ne point n'en est ses cuers grevez.
Vers le ciel a ses eulz levez
Et dit soëf, entre ses denz,
1485 Et prie Dieu du ciel(ir) dedenz:
"Diex en qui est toute poissence,
La cui pitié garde et avence
Celui qui de bon cuer l'apele,
Entent le cri de la pucele
1490 Qui a son besoing te reclaime,
Qui de son cuer te doute et aime;
Et fai que cist engignement
Qui de mort est aprestement,
Qui por moi est ci embuchiez,
1495 Par ta foudre soit trebuchiez
Et froissiez par pieces menues,
Que ces genz qui sont [ci] venues
Et qui en ton non ne se fient
De leur pooir te glorefient.
1500 Sire, tu sez certenement
Que por la peor du torment
Ne faz je pas ceste requeste,
Que de morir sui tote preste
Et de soufrir si grant martire
1505 Com tu me degneras eslire.
Mes jel di por cels qui ci sont
Qui en ton non por moi creront,
Qu'en toi aient gregneur fiance
Quant il verront ceste vengence.

1475 detenue] nutenue—1507 Que

[208, 1] 1510 A paine ot fete sa priere
Qant Jhesu qui l'avoit tant ch[i]ere
Li envoia son vengement:
Du ciel descent isnellement
Un ange a tot une foudre
1515 Plaine de vent et o grant poudre,
Qui fiert l'enging en tel maniere
Que piece n'i remest entiere,
Et les pieces (q)an sont saillies,
Si ont les genz si esbahies,
1520 Si con les venz les a ruees;
Quatre mile en a ruees,
Si feri si l'estorbillons
Que du fust ne des aguillons
Ne remest broche ne astelle,
1525 Que por l'amor de la pucele
Ne se vengast de ceus de lez,
Si qu'il i ot d'escervelez
Quatre mile paiens par conte;
Issi li venga Diex sa honte.
1530 A ce miracle iert la reïnne
Qui atendoit de Kateline
La passion couvertement.
Elle a veü le vengement
Que Dex a fet tot en apert,
1535 Lors se porpensse que elle pert
Son tens s'el se cele forment.
Lors se lieve isnelement
Devent le roi qui s'en enrage,
Ne ne tient pas. Fet elle a sage:
1540 "Ha! chetis rois, que pensses tu?
Tu voiz com Diex a grant vertu,
[208, 2] Tu le cuides vaincre par force;
Cesses tu, dolent, ne t'esforce
De hater ton grant dempnement
1545 Que tu aras hastivement.

Sachiez que ci te peut dempner
Ce Diex, qui ci pot amener
La foudre, dont quatre mile home
Sont ci ocis a une some."
1550 A ce que la reïgne a dit
Se leverent, sanz contredit,
Maint Sarrazin qui tot ce virent.
Maintenant si se convertirent
Devant le roi apertement
1555 Et crierent moult hautement:
"Li Diex au[s] Cretiens est granz;
Nos nos tenons a ses sergenz
Et tendron desi qu'en la fin,
Que si verai Dieu ne si fin
1560 N'avons nos encore trové.
Rois, nos avons bien esprové
Que tes Diex sont veines ydoles
Que tu forges au[s] mains, et doles.
Ne peuent nul aïde fere.
1565 Rois, cil Dieu sont de put afere."
Quant li tirant a ce oï
Sachiez, point ne s'en esjoï,
Ainz a eü moult grant haïne,
Et plus assez a la reïgne;
1570 Lors l'apele par itiex diz:
"Qu'est ce, reïgne, que tu diz?
Por coi t'es tu de ce ventee?
Li Crestien t'ont enchantee,
[209, 1] Mes je te jur par mes granz Diex
1575 Que se tu es longuement tiex,
Et tu ne lesses ta foleur,
Je te ferai a grant doleur
La teste du cors desevrer;
Et si ferai ton cors livrer
1580 Et au[s] bestes et aus oisiax
Qui en feront toz leur aviaux."

Lors commende que l'en la praigne
Et que l'en li perce et destraigne
Les mamelles de son costé
1585 A clos de fer, a grant viuté,
Et quant seront bien atachiees
Hors du cors li seront sachiees.
Tentost l'ont li sergent ravie
Qui li vellent tolir la vie.
1590 En dementres qu'i[l] la menoient
Et si laidement demenoient,
Elle regarde la pucele,
Et dit, "Amie, car apele
Notre Segneur par ta priere,
1595 Por qui amor j'ai si po chiere
Ma vie que je voill morir.
Priez cil qui tot peut merir
Les granz travals as ses amis,
Du bon cuer qu'il a en vos mis
1600 Me gart et tiegne fermement,
Que por la poor du torment
Ma foible char ne se repente,
Que ne perde ma bone entente
Et le reaume et la corone
1605 Que Diex a ses chevaliers donne."
A tant li respont Katheline:
. . . . . .
[209, 2] "Moult joieusement te demaine.
Por ceste transsistoire painne
1610 Avras hui vie pardurable;
Tu n'as mesgarde du deable."
La reïgne, por ce confort,
A le corage ferm et fort
Et prest de soufrir le martire.
1615 Lors commence au sergent a dire
Que il parface isnelement
L'emperial commandement.

Li sergenz plains d'iniquité
La mainne hors de la cité,
1620 Si li derompe(nt) les mamelles.
A bien tranchantes les lemailles
Li embatent enmi le piz,
De ce soiez vos tretoz fi(l)z;
A tenailles li sachent hors
1625 Les tendres mamelles du cors,
Puis li ont parmi le costé
Un moult tres grant coutel bouté
Si que l'ame s'en est partie;
U ciel a la destre partie
1630 Mist la reïgne nostre Sire.
Par nuit i est venuz Porfire
Ou li cors avoit esté mis,
Entre lui et de ses amis,
Si l'a doucement enbasmee
1635 Qui moult l'avoit toz jors amee.
Puis l'enseveli gentement
Et li fist son enterrement.
A l'andemain ont demandé
[210, 1] Cil qui li rois a commandé,
1640 Qui avoit ainssi atorné
Et enbasmé et enterré
Le cors ainssinc a la reïgne;
Et si en ont maint por haïne
Li menistre par leur desroi
1645 Pris et mené devent le roi,
Et les commande toz ocirre.
Mes Porfire, qui ne desirre
Fors por Dieu martyre soufrir,
Se va donner et poroffrir
1650 Tot de son gre au fereor,
Et va devent l'empereor.
"Empereres," ce dist li quens,
"Tel jugement n'est mie buens,

Que fez ocirre sanz meffet
1655 Cels qui ne t'ont de neant mefet.
Tu t'en porras bien repentir,
Mes je ne voill pas consentir
Que nus en muire sanz deserte;
Ci aroit trop desleal perte.
1660 Mes se cil a mort deservie
Qui la reïgne a ten servie
Que la reïgne enseveli,
Por ce que Diex iert bien de li,
Je ne dout riens itel meffet.
1665 Bien saches tu que je l'é fet;
Je croi en Dieu, nel quier celer,
Que tout le mont doit apeler."
Li tiranz, comme forsenez
Qui laidement s'est demenez,
1670 Car il a el cors le deable,
[210, 2] Giete un cri si espeontable
Que tretoute en tentist la sale,
Et dist, "Chetis, l'eure fu male
Que je onques cheï sus terre.
1675 Male mort, car vien, si m'aterre,
Quant je pert tout a la reonde
Ce que j'amoie en tot le monde."
Tantost commande qu'en li face
Venir tretouz enmi la place
1680 Les chevaliers de qui Porfire
Estoit esconestable et Sire.
Tuit sont devent le roi venu,
Mes il li est si avenu
Que tuit ensemble li ont dit
1685 Qu'il creoient en Jhesucrist;
Mes por travaill ne por menace
Ne por poine que l'en leur face
La creance ne guerpiront,

1678 en li] elle

A leur Segneur obeïront.
1690 A po que li tiranz n'enrage,
Si commande par son outrage
Que l'en les face tormenter.
A ce les cuide espeonter
Que por la peor du torment
1695 Guerpissent leur proposement.
A tant Porfire s'est dreciez
Et saut avant tot correciez,
Que sanz lui les en vit aler.
Lors les commance a apeler:
1700 "Qu'est ce?" fet il, "droiz empereres,
Que moi qui sui sires et peres
Icés chevaliers lesse vivre,
[211, 1] Et les lesse a leur delivre.
Saches que tu n'aras rien fet,
1705 Que je sui chief de ce meffet."
"Se tu es," fet li rois, "li sires,
Ne soies pas por ce li pires,
Mes de tent comme a toi apent
Les la folor, si te repant.
1710 De tant leur doinge bone essample;
Fai maintenant, et si t'essemple,
Et se tu vels avant venir
Je te ferai avant ferir."
Tantost commande qu'en le praigne
1715 Et avoc les chevaliers maigne
Loing au dehors de la cité.
Iluec sont li cors [fors] geté
Et les testes a une part,
Que li lyon (a un) et li liepart
1720 Et les chiens et les autres bestes
Les cors mangassent et les testes.
A l'endemain se fu assis
Tot correciez et toz penssis

1692 le

Li rois, en la sale marbrine,
1725 Et commande que Katherine
Li soit devant lui presentee,
Si l'a par itelx diz tentee:
"Pucele, entent ce que je di,
Se tu vels, si le contredi.
1730 Tu es coupable de la mort,
Car touz cels qui sont ici mort
Tu les avoies enchantez,
Par toi les ai ge tormentez.
Mes se repentir te voloies
[211, 2] 1735 De la creance ou tu foloies
Et tu voloies ahorer
Mes Diex puissanz, sanz demorer,
Je te feroie ja reïgne;
Toz le corroz et la haïne
1740 Que j'ai vers toi, te pardonroie
Et mon reaumè te donroie.
Or fai moult tost, ne me delaie,
L'un de ces deux pren, si me croie:
Ou tu les sacrefices faces,
1745 Ou ton chief, sanz autres menaces,
Te ferai ja du cors sevrer,
Si le feré au[s] chiens livrer,
La hors en cele large voie,
Si que tretoz le mont le voie."
1750 "Emperere," dit la pucele,
"Iceste mort m'est bone et bele:
Ce n'est pas mort, einçois est vie,
D'autre chose je n'ai envie
Fors de morir por mon seigneur.
1755 Je n'oi onques joie gregneur,
Car por ce pleur avroi leesce,
Repos avrai por ma tristesce,
Vie sanz fin, joie sanz ire,
Je ne te puis la disme dire

1760 Comment je me doi esjoïr;
Toute sui preste d'obeïr
A ce que tu commenderas;
Ja tel torment ne troveras
Que je ne seufre de grant joie,
1765 Que moult m'est tart que mon roi voie
Et l'agnel que les virges sivent
[212, 1] Par qui li ange du ciel vivent;
Itel segneur doit l'en requerre
Qui fist et ciel et mer et terre."
1770 Quant ot parlé la damoiselle
Li tiranz ses homes apelle,
Dont il avoit devant li maint,
Et commande c'on li amaint
Hors de la cité d'Alixandre;
1775 La facent le sien sanc espandre,
Ileuc li soit li chief copez,
Si en sera ses cuers vengiez.
Tantost la mesnent li sergent,
Moult en ont grant pitié la gent
1780 Et crient aprés la meschine:
"Ha! douce amie, Katheline,
Aiez pitié de ta jovente,
De ta biauté qu'issi est gente
Plus que rose ne fleur de lis.
1785 Belle, esgarde que tu eslis;
Tu lesses joie por tristesce,
Tu prenz povreté por richeice,
Tu vels por mort changier ta vie;
Ainz mes pucele n'ot envie
1790 De morir, fors toi seulement.
Or te vels livrer a torment;
Jentil pucele, si delivre
Ton cors, qui est dignes de vivre."
"Haï! Segneurs," dist la pucelle,
1795 "Lessiez ester ceste querelle,

Ceste plainte, que riens ne valt,
Ja nus de vos ne se travalt;
Se la douceur de la nature
[212, 2] Qui seurvaint toute creature
1800 Eslit mon cuer por sa daintié,
Bien en devez avoir pitié.
De ce ne vos merveilliez pas,
Que cist siecles n'est c'uns trepas;
Ainçois aiez tretuit grant joie
1805 Qu'apareilliee m'est la voie
Jhesucrist en son paradis.
Jel voi el ciel, ce m'est avis,
Ou il m'apelle et semont
Que je m'en voise la amont.
1810 C'est mes espous, c'est mes amis,
C'est cil en qui j'ai mon cuer mis,
C'est mes espous, c'est ma corone,
Je n'en ai riens, s'il nel me donne,
Que je sui du tout en sa garde.
1815 De vos penssez et prenez garde,
Que mort qui tot le mont desdaigne
En cest erreur ne vos seurpraigne,
Que por le servise du deable
Ne perdoiz vie pardurable."
1820 Issi est venue en la place
Li menistre qui les menace
De la teste fere voler.
El demande congié d'orer
Et il li done volentiers.
1825 Son cuer qui est vers Dieu entiers,
Et ses oeulz vers le ciel adreice
Et prie Dieu par grant destraice;
"Biau Sire Diex, biau sire peres,
Mes amis et mes enpereres,
1830 Amis por tes amis en terre,
[213, 1] Rois, por les tuens en voi ge fere
Enneur de ceus qui en toi croient,

Gloire des Virges qui te croient,
Li bons Jhesus graces te rent
1835 De ce que jehui je me sent
Abiter entre les anceles
En (la) compangnie des puceles
Qui en ceste fraginité
Gardoient leur virginité.
1840 Sire, par ta miséricorde
A ce que je requier t'acorde,
Que cil qui aront en memoire
Ma passion et ma victoire,
Et en l'oneur de toi, biau Sire,
1845 Otroie le sanz contredire,
Que tu entendes leur requeste
Et que t'aïde leur soit preste
En quelconque(s) necessité,
Ou de mal ou d'aversité.
1850 Se besoing ont de toi proier
Ce dont leur vuoilles otroier,
A l'eure qu'il m'apeleront
Et par besoing me requerront,
De leur complainte aiez pitié,
1855 Por m'amor et por m'amitié.
Sire, j'ai ta volenté feite;
Se de noient me sui meffaite,
Par ta pitié me fai pardon;
Por toi me(s)t mon cors a bandon
1860 Au glaive que je voi ci preste.
Sire, mon cors te doing et preste
Por toi avoir en ce martyre.
[213, 2] M'ame reçoif, Jhesu, biau sire,
Plus ne dement, de voir le saches;
1865 Et par les mains a ces mesages
La me(s)t en repos pardurable,
Que ne chiee es mains au deable."

1835 jehui je] je dis ne

A tant li est seur lui venue
Une columbe tote nue
1870 Qui de parler ne se tint mue:
"Vien, bele seur, vien, douce amie,
Vien u ciel quierre ta deserte;
Veez la porte qui est overte,
La porte de beneürté;
1875 Alez en bone seürté,
Que tes leus est en paradis,
Apareilliez par grant devis.
La atendent presentement
Les anges ton commandement,
1880 Qui contre toi vellent venir
Et tu leur peuz veoir tenir
Une corone de fin' or
Que je ai prise en mon tresor,
Dont tu seras ja coronee.
1885 Vien t'en, que bone fus tu nee;
N'aies peor, amie chiere,
J'ai bien oïe ta priere;
Que tretuit cil qui ton torment
De bon corage et humblement
1890 Reclameront, ma douce amie,
Leur priere sera oïe."
El ciel s'en est la voiz alee
Et la pucele a avalee
La teste aval, en la poudriere,
[214, 1] 1895 Si a parlé en tel maniere:
"Amis, or fier, il est bien eure,
Il me targe trop et demeure
L'emperial commandement;
Delivre toi isnellement.
1900 Dieu m'apelle, bien l'as oï."
Li sergent li ot benoï,
Fiert de l'espee et le chief vole
A terre sanz plus de parolle.
La avindrent de ce martire

1905 Deux choses qui bien font a dire:
L'une fu que en leu de sanc
Virent cheoir let tretot blanc
Parmi la plaie a grant foison;
Et or bien savez, c'est raison,
1910 Car li laiz fu, par verité,
Tesmoing de sa virginité.
L'autre des choses qui avindrent
Fu que li ange a son cors vindrent
Nel mitrent pas en nou chaloir,
1915 Ençois l'emporterent por voir
El mont Sinaÿ, sanz delai,
Ou dame Diex dona la loy
A Moÿses le bon profeite.
Du leu ou elle fu deffaite
1920 Jusqu' au mont de sa sepolture
A moult jornees d'erreüre.
Des enfers qui i sont venu
La sont maint miracle avenu,
Mes une mervelle i avint
1925 Q'a maintes gent veoir covint,
Que de son sepucre decourt
Huile qui les enfers secourt;
[214, 2] Neïs des oiseleiz menuz
I est maint miracle avenuz;
1930 Partot les leus ou l'en le porte
En decort huile qui conforte
Toz les enfers qui en sont oint,
Que les maus puis ne grevent point.
Ceste pucelle, bien m'en membre,
1935 Soufri mort el mois de novembre,
Le jor sai ge bien et connois,
El vint e cincquiesme du mois,
Soufri mort a un vendredi
A tierce, un po devant midi.

1928 Nes

1940 Gui en romanz si se desc[u]evre
Qui a a chief menee s'euvre
Et rent graces a Jhesucrist
De sa peine et de son escrit
Qu'il i a si bien achevé;
1945 Et si ne li a riens grevé.
Il ne l'a pas fet por le monde
Ja tex vices ne le confonde
Qu'il face riens por vaine gloire!
Ençois l'a fet en la memoire
1950 De la glorieuse pucele
Por qui amor il renovelle
La passion qu'el a souferte
A son gaang, a sa deserte;
Et por s'amor a maintenue
1955 Qu'el ne doit pas estre teüe.
Or li prieré en la fin
Qu'elle me face un don sanz fin:
Quant l'ame s'en voldra partir
Que malfez nel puissent partir
1960 Et que ne l'ait deable en garde.
[215, 1] En sa deffansse et en sa garde
A del tot s'ame et son cors mis
A la virge, ce m'est avis;
Et cels qui orront le torment
1965 Facent don et otroiement
Du sen qu'il i voldront requerre.
Cil qui fist ciel et mer et terre,
Ce q'en peut veoir et tenir,
Nos face a bone fin venir,
1970 Qui regne pardurablement,
Sanz fin et sanz commencement.

HENRY ALFRED TODD.

1940 Cui—1947 ter

III.—PHILOLOGY AND PURISM.[1]

Whatever our definition of philology may be, whether we limit the term in accordance with the prevailing English acceptation of the word to the study of language, or regard, with Boeckh, as its proper object the study of the whole range of human culture, of all the products of the human mind, we probably all agree that the chief task of philology is to record and to explain, not to prophesy or to legislate. In this sense the function of the philologist is distinct from that of the grammarian, the rhetorician, and the literary critic. It must indeed be admitted that these different functions have often been confused, that they have often been exercised by the same person and that in fact the work of the philologist has to some extent been the outgrowth of that of the practical teacher of language. The work of Jacob Grimm was preceded by that of a long line of men whose primary aim was to purify, regulate, and in general improve the German language, though incidentally they became interested in its history and began to investigate the origin of its living forms. The history of our science differs not in this respect from that of other sciences; mathematics and astronomy are distinct from surveying and navigation, and botany from horticulture, though the first astronomer was probably a sailor and the first botanist a gardener.

I need not, in addressing this assembly, argue at length that the recording and explaining of the products of the human reason and imagination is a dignified object and a task of sufficient scope and importance for a science. Much has been said and written on this subject by men better qualified for such a task than I am. We certainly need not, in defence of our science, fall back on the principle that

[1] Address of the President of the Modern Language Association of America, at its Annual Meeting held at Columbia University, December, 1899.

the pursuit of all knowledge for its own sake is useful, a principle which, though often asserted, has rarely, I fear, convinced anybody of the usefulness of a particular study who was not already convinced of it before. We may rather claim that whatever contributes to a fuller and clearer understanding of the thought of the past, also aids us to understand the thought of the present; that by learning to understand our ancestors, we learn to understand ourselves. The mental training that results from the careful study, analysis, and comparison of the works of the great poets and thinkers of former times, as well as of the humbler manifestations of the reasoning and imaginative faculties of mankind, the insight into human nature which is afforded by the study of the thought and modes of express on of different ages, the enjoyment which is derived from the ability to appreciate understandingly, not superficially, what has interested and moved men at any time, these are matters of as great utility as any with which we might concern ourselves and none are of greater importance for the understanding and advancement of our civilization.

We need not fear, therefore, that by exercising only the functions of recorder and interpreter, philology will not perform a sufficiently useful service to mankind, and we may sympathize with the individual scholar who, conscious of the difficulty of the task he has set himself and in a modest sense of the limitations of his powers, shrinks from additional responsibilities. Nevertheless, we may well ask, if anybody is to act as guide or arbiter in matters of the language or literature of our day, who is better qualified to do so than the man who is most familiar with the foundations on which both rest? Who is better able to say what literary tendencies are most in harmony with the general trend of the times, what productions are most likely to survive and exercise a permanent influence for good or evil, along what lines literature should move to accomplish its purpose, than the man who has studied the history of literary tendencies in the past,

has noted their relations to life in general, has observed their causes and effects? Surely, as far as guidance and arbitrament in such matters are possible at all—and we shall not fail to recognize that their scope is limited—the philologist, other things being equal, is better equipped for this work than anybody else. Does it not then become a useful and thankful task for philology to apply the knowledge it has gained from the past to the questions of the present and the future? Or shall these be left to less competent persons, while the philologist with the superior smile of an unconcerned observer stands aside or returns to his cell to pore again over the dusty volumes of the past?

I propose to confine myself in the present paper to a discussion of the relations of philology to purism. This word I use in no derogatory sense; I mean by it all conscious efforts to purify, regulate, and generally improve a language. The philologist in his capacity as recorder and interpreter inquires only as to what *was*, what *is*, and how it came about; the purist inquires what *ought to be*. It would seem natural enough that philologist and purist should be one and the same person, that he who knows the history of the language and can explain how the various modern forms have come to be, should also be the proper authority to decide which of several contesting forms should have the preference, in what manner certain defects in the language can be best remedied and certain wants supplied. The fact, however, is that especially in modern times advanced philological thought has concerned itself but little with the living problems in language. The initiative has almost always been left to the amateur; the philologist has rarely taken active part in the work except, when the clamor of the reformers became too loud, to pour cold water on their efforts, or to castigate some particularly ignorant zealot. As a striking instance might be mentioned the fact that in a period when great efforts are made in Germany to rid the German language of unnecessary and undesirable foreign words, the best syste-

matic attempt to find for them suitable words of German extraction has been made not by a philologist, but by an architect in the Prussian ministry of public works.[1] Similarly a little volume, published in Germany about eight years ago that attacked somewhat fiercely and without displaying much philological knowledge or acumen certain prevailing tendencies in the written language, met with a perfect shower of philological criticism of the details of the author's assertions, though the justice and timeliness of the attack in general could hardly be questioned;[2] and the principal German society for the promotion of purity and correctness in speech,[3] while counting among its members some philologists of rank, owes much of its success to the initiative of persons without philological training. It is, of course, well known how within the domain of English also the most useful contributions of philologists to the discussion of living problems of speech[4] have been generally called forth only by the well meaning but injudicious activity of less competent persons.

This attitude of reserve and even indifference which philology is inclined to assume toward such questions of the speech of our day is not difficult to understand. The reasons for it are manifold. Excessive devotion to what happens to interest the individual worker most, coupled with corresponding neglect of other things, is not peculiar to the pursuit of our science or of any science; in all fields of human endeavor it is the cause of much of what men have accomplished. It

[1] *Verdeutschungswörterbuch* von Otto Sarrazin, Regierungs- und Baurath im Königl. Preussischen Ministerium der öffentlichen Arbeiten. 2. Auflage. Berlin: 1888.—Attention deserve also the *Fremd- und Verdeutschungswörterbuch* von G. A. Saalfeld. Berlin, 1899, and the *Verdeutschungswörterbücher des allgemeinen deutschen Sprachvereins* dealing with special topics under the sub-titles of *Speisekarte, Häusliches und geselliges Leben, Handel, Namenbüchlein, Amtssprache, Berg- und Hüttenwesen, Schule, Heilkunde.* Leipzig and Braunschweig: 1890–98.

[2] *Allerhand Sprachdummheiten* von Gustav Wustmann. Leipzig: 1892. For the literature on the subject cf. *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 82 ff.

[3] *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein.*

[4] For instance, most of the writings of Dr. Fitzedward Hall.

is only legitimate specialization, if to the scholar that devotes his attention primarily to the investigation of the older stages of a language, or even to that of the origin of living speech-forms, questions of purity and propriety of speech are comparatively uninteresting. To him all actually occurring forms of speech, good or bad, correct or incorrect, old or new, may present equally interesting problems; indeed, a form recorded but once or twice, but representative of a class that has otherwise disappeared, embodying a peculiar phonetic change or owing its origin to a particular kind of analogy, may seem more worthy of attention than a living form used every day by millions, but paralleled by many analogous forms. In this connection, however, it should not be overlooked that if we would obtain an adequate conception of the history of a language or of its actual state at any period, questions of fitness and propriety of speech cannot be wholly disregarded. In all historic stages of language-development certain forms have for one reason or another been preferred to others, and the question of the survival or extinction of a form as well as the degree of its influence on other forms has always depended on its natural fitness and on the frequency and the kind of use that it enjoyed. If, then, the philologist must pay due attention to these matters in dealing with the language of a former period, how can he escape this responsibility in respect to the language of to-day if he pretends to know it equally well? The question is really merely whether or not it is his duty to speak up and by the weight of his authoritative opinion try to influence the course of language in what seems to him the right direction.

There are a considerable number of scholars that honestly doubt the wisdom of interfering at all with the natural unhampered development of language. If they had the power to stop at once every incorrect usage, free the language from every cumbersome or in any way objectionable form and in general remedy its defects by their decree, they would not exercise this power. They would argue that language is

the most democratic of human institutions; that it owes its very origin to free mutual agreement; that only by its free adaptation by every individual to his own purposes can its needs be discovered and its real wants supplied; that even if an absolutely uniform and perfect language could be devised, the natural conditions for change and differentiation of usage would still be present and in a short time the old defects would make themselves felt again. How far this line of reasoning may be carried may be seen from the opposition that philologists have made to a recent attempt to regulate the pronunciation of the German stage. It seems as though it would be apparent to every one that marked differences in the pronunciation of the actors must seriously interfere with the artistic effect produced by a play, except, of course, when these differences are really intended for some legitimate purpose. Imagine a Faust speaking his native Swabian and Mephistopheles replying say in the dialect of Berlin. This has of course long been recognized, and the German stage-pronunciation is comparatively uniform, but slight differences still exist. That these might be removed, a commission was appointed to agree upon a standard stage-pronunciation, and as the stage has already had considerable influence upon the pronunciation of the cultivated classes and the schools, it was hoped that in this way further progress toward uniformity of pronunciation would be made. While a number of philologists supported the movement, it must be confessed that those whose names carry the greatest weight, are not thoroughly in sympathy with it, and as far as the intended influence upon the schools is concerned, the movement has met with strong opposition.[1]

[1] *Deutsche Bühnensprache.* Ergebnisse der Beratungen zur ausgleichenden Regelung der deutschen Bühnensprache, die vom 14. bis 16. April 1898 im Apollosaale des Kgl. Schauspielhauses zu Berlin stattgefunden haben. Im Auftrage der Kommission herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Th. Siebs in Greifswald. Berlin, Köln, Leipzig: 1898.—Cf. also the opinions expressed by Professors Brenner, Erbe, Kluge, Paul, and Seemüller, and published in the *Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins*, No. 16. Berlin: 1899.

It seems to me, however, that the opposition, on general principles, to all efforts to regulate and improve language is very much like fighting wind-mills. Reasonable reformers do not propose to do violence to the natural development of language any more than the reasonable horticulturist does violence to the natural development of a plant. If, for instance, it is apparent that in the struggle for existence form *A* deserves to carry the day over form *B* and in the natural course of things will do so, why should not Reform step in and shorten the struggle? The differences in German pronunciation to-day are trifling compared with what has already been accomplished in the matter of the unification of the language, and it does not seem as though the natural course of development could be greatly interfered with by a decision in favor of one or the other usage. Of course, much depends on the time and the circumstances, but it can, for instance, hardly be denied that the conscious efforts to regulate and improve the German language that were made in the 17th century by societies and individual grammarians and lexicographers have, in spite of many extravagancies and futile attempts, been on the whole beneficial.

Of course, if our efforts to influence usage are not to interfere with natural development, but are merely, so to speak, to anticipate it, then our course must in each case depend on the question, What is the natural development? Here we come upon what seems to be the strongest reason for the reluctance of philologists to take part in systematic efforts to influence usage. There is some excuse for that kind of philological agnosticism which doubts whether in spite of what philology may teach us in regard to the past and the present, it can act as a prophet or a guide for the future. It may be argued that the phenomena into which the working of the human mind enters as a factor, are too complex to admit of complete analysis, and that we can never be sure that under apparently similar conditions similar results will follow. Thus it is now well recognized that the term *law*, as

applied to linguistic processes, cannot be used in the same sense as in speaking of purely physical phenomena. Every linguistic process is immensely more complicated than any purely physical one, or, to speak more accurately, in the latter we get down much sooner to certain universal truths, however inexplicable these may be in themselves. In the light of our present knowledge, the term *law*, in speaking, for instance, of phonetic change, can imply only that in a certain community, at a certain time, sufficiently similar phonetic conditions—for the conditions are never precisely identical—must have produced similar results, but it cannot imply, as in the case of physical phenomena, that under like conditions the same thing must always happen again.

It must be admitted that the course of language is apparently very devious. We do not exaggerate in saying that there is no conceivable kind of violation of the laws of formal logic or of grammar that has not in one or the other language in the course of time been sanctioned by usage, and every language is full of such anomalies. The nominative is used for the accusative[1] and the accusative for the nominative;[2] the dative for the accusative[3] and the accusative for the dative;[4] a plural is treated as a singular[5] and a singular as a plural;[6] a masculine form is used for a feminine or neuter;[7] a plural takes an additional plural ending[8] and a

[1] *E. g.*, in the plural of the West Germanic *a*-declension: Goth. nom. pl. *dagós*, acc. *dagans;* OHG. nom. acc. pl. *tagâ*.

[2] *E. g.*, in the singular of the OHG. *ó*-declension: Ags. nom. sing. *giefu*, acc. *giefe;* OHG. nom. acc. *geba;* so E. acc. pl. *you* used for the nom. *ye*.

[3] *E. g.*, E. dat. acc. *him, her:* Ags. dat. *him, hire*, acc. *hine, hí, héo;* NHG. refl. dat. acc. *sich:* MHG. dat. [*im, ir*], acc. *sich*.

[4] *E. g.*, NHG. dat. acc. *euch:* MHG. dat. *iu*, acc. *iuch*.

[5] *E. g.*, NHG. *woge* f. < MHG. *wâge*, pl. of *wâc* m. Similarly Fr. *joie* f. < Lat. *gaudia* n. pl.

[6] *E. g.*, E. *pea*, pl. *peas* < ME. *pese*, pl. *peses, pesen;* similarly E. *cherry, sherry, eaves, riches*, etc.

[7] *E. g.*, *voller Freuden* of a masc. or neut. subject, sing. or pl.; similarly *halber, selber, etc.*

[8] *E. g.*, E. *children, brethren, kine.*

comparative or superlative an additional sign of the comparative or superlative;[1] an abstract or collective is used to denote a concrete individual;[2] a perfect in the sense of a present[3] and a present in that of a perfect;[4] an infinitive for a past participle;[5] the third person of the verb for the first and second persons;[6] in the second person singular a subjunctive form is substituted for the indicative, while the other forms remain undisturbed;[7] what is properly part of one word becomes part of another;[8] what is properly positive is used in a negative sense;[9] Latin, Greek, Romance and Germanic elements are combined promiscuously,[10] and such modern formations as *automobile* and *electrocution* are only more novel but not more irregular than many similar hybrids and contractions in good repute. In view of such and countless similar anomalies who will venture to say what is the natural course of a language in any particular? English grammars may object to the expression *he done it,* but in saying *he got* instead of the older *he gat,* we have formed the preterit indicative on the model of the past participle, while if we say *he has sat* instead of the older *he has sitten* we have done precisely the opposite and analogy would call for *he has did* instead of *he has done.* How can we tell then whether or not *he done it* is likely to become the standard form?

[1] *E. g.*, E. *lesser, worser;* G. *mehrere;* E. *foremost, hindmost.*

[2] *E. g.*, Lat. *agricola,* E. *youth,* G. *frauenzimmer.*

[3] *E. g.*, Gr. *οἶδα* and the Germanic pret.-presents; E. *I have got* = *I have.*

[4] *E. g.*, E. "I *forget* who said so" for *have forgotten.*

[5] *E. g.*, G. "ich hätte es thun *müssen, dürfen,*" etc.

[6] *E. g.*, Ags. 1. 2. 3. pl. *bindað* < **bindanð* = Goth. 3. pl. *bindand.*

[7] OHG. *nâmi,* Ags. *nôme* = Goth. subj. *nêmeis,* for the indicative *namt.*

[8] *E. g.*, E. *for the nonce* < *for then* (Ags. *ðam, ðan*) *ones;* E. *a napron* > *an apron;* OHG. *lisis thu* > *lisistu* > *lisist thu;* NHG. *währendes Krieges* > *während des Krieges.*

[9] *E. g.*, Fr. *pas, point, jamais,* G. *kein,* which are not in themselves negative. Of course the use of two negatives (which according to logic make a positive) does not belong in this same category, because everywhere in natural, untutored speech several negatives are felt to strengthen one another just like other combinations of synonyms.

[10] *E. g.*, E. *atonement, righteous, starvation, druggist, biographer, witticism,* etc.

But not only have grammatical categories become mixed, particular terms confused and significations changed seemingly without rime or reason, but even the most general tendencies of linguistic change that have as yet been discovered appear occasionally to have given way to others. What may be called the counterpart, in linguistics, of the law of gravitation in physics, viz., the tendency according to which the larger bodies of forms attract the smaller ones and few forms can long maintain themselves in complete isolation, even this most general tendency has apparently not worked without exception. Throughout the history of the Germanic languages, for instance, the so-called weak verbs, being much more numerous than the strong, have attracted the latter, and many strong verbs have in the course of time passed over into the weak conjugation. As everybody knows, this tendency is still at work and the vulgar and dialectic forms *knowed* and *growed* for *knew* and *grew* are exactly in a line with the recognized *sowed* and *glowed* for the older *sew* and *glew*. In a few exceptional cases, however, weak verbs have gone over into the strong conjugation, *e. g.*, the E. *dig* with its modern pret. *dug* for the older *digged*, and the G. *preisen* and *weisen*. With what degree of assurance can we then assert that in any particular instance one or the other tendency is the natural one?

To such questions we may reply that in spite of all these anomalies most languages are in the main remarkably regular and the ruling tendencies in their development are unmistakable. The seeming irregularities are not due to the fact that any well recognized tendency has suddenly ceased to operate, but rather to the fact that there are always a number of conflicting tendencies, the relative strength of which it is not easy to determine. Very often our failure to recognize law and order has been caused by a desire to reduce all linguistic changes to very simple principles, forgetting how complicated the processes are and how many different factors have to be taken into account. It may be hoped that as our knowledge

of facts increases and our conception of the nature of linguistic processes becomes clearer, the causes of many as yet unexplained exceptions will be revealed. Meanwhile there are in every language cases of variation in usage where the philologist can well determine which of the several forms of expression would be most in accord with the natural tendencies of the language. There can be no doubt that the most perfect language would exhibit the fewest idiosyncracies, that it would, as far as possible, express difference of meaning by difference of form, and likeness of meaning by likeness of form, and that it would do both by the simplest means that would be effective. Such regularity economizes force in the acquisition and the use of the language, and it enhances its beauty and usefulness. There can also be no reasonable doubt that in the same degree as a nation has guarded and advanced its other intellectual and moral interests, it has also striven, more or less consciously, to improve its language. What is then proposed, is, after all, only that the unsystematic and disorganized efforts of the millions should be directed by the systematic and organized efforts of the few that can bring the greatest intelligence to bear on the problem.

It is, however, not only a question of making language simpler and more regular, but also of enriching it and adapting it to the needs of our ever changing life and thought. Simplicity and regularity depend chiefly on grammar, including pronunciation and orthography; the adaptation of language to the varying conditions of life and thought, however, is largely a matter of vocabulary. It is conceivable that in regard to its grammar a language may reach a comparatively stable condition, as, *e. g.*, modern English has done, though even there changes in pronunciation are in progress and in other grammatical fields also the struggle between contesting forms is still going on. Change of vocabulary, however, is synonymous with general intellectual activity. Not only do philosophers, scientists, inventors

need new terms to express new conceptions, or to express old conceptions more accurately, not only do poets and orators need new figures of speech to appeal more powerfully to the imagination of their contemporaries, but even in the plain untechnical language of every-day life new expressions are often needed to replace the old ones that have lost their effectiveness, as old coins lose their glitter and intrinsic value from constant use. It must be confessed that here philology cannot at present speak with quite as much authority as it can with reference to grammar. Not only is the invention of new terms to some extent a matter of the imagination, and the philological mind is not necessarily highly imaginative; but for judging of the appropriateness of a new term or the relative value of several synonymous expressions, philology does not seem to have at present the same sound scientific basis as for judging things purely grammatical. It is well known that in the present generation philology on its linguistic side has been primarily occupied with the forms of words, only secondarily with their meanings. Notable exceptions will, of course, occur to every one, but the fact remains that for one valuable contribution to the study of word-meanings we might name scores of such to the study of phonetics, inflection, derivation and syntax. Moreover, what study has been devoted to significations has been for the most part lexicological, has dealt with words as individuals; until recently, most of the attempts to group changes in signification as well as the gains and losses in vocabulary and to find the causes underlying them, have been made by amateurs.[1] To be sure when Wamba the Jester explained to the Swineherd why the names of live domestic animals were Saxon, while the names of the good things that came from them were Norman, he would have been as amazed if he had been told that he was discussing a problem in semasiology, as M. Jourdain was when he learned that he was talking

[1] A recent exception in a promising line is the article by A. Goetze, *Zur Geschichte der Adjectiva auf* -ISCH. *PBB.* 24. 464 ff.

prose. It seems clear, however, that next to a knowledge of actual usage, a knowledge of semasiology is necessary if we would judge of the fitness of an expression for a certain purpose. As it is, hardly a beginning has been made to determine why hosts of words have disappeared from our vocabulary and others have sprung up in their places, or what has caused numerous words and idioms to change their meanings, while the meanings of others have remained substantially unchanged through thousands of years. The difficulty of treating such questions scientifically, combined with the ease with which they lend themselves as play for the imagination, have until recently made them seem more attractive to amateurs than to scholars; but until philologists shall have investigated as thoroughly the general conditions of changes in vocabulary, as they have those in grammar, they will not have a thoroughly scientific basis for expressing an expert opinion on some of the questions of present usage, though doubtless they are already better equipped for this task than other persons.

If we grant then that it is both possible and upon the whole desirable that philology should take a more active part in influencing contemporary speech, two questions naturally present themselves: *first*, on what general principles should decisions concerning doubtful points in language be based, and *second*, what can be done to cause these decisions to be generally accepted.

In reply to the first question it may be said that the end of all conscious influence on the course of language must be its general improvement as a means of conveying thought. This may seem too obvious to require argument, but as a matter of fact questions concerning propriety in speech have often been decided on very different principles, and even when in general the right ground was taken, the conception of what constitutes improvement has often been too narrow.

Two factors have to be taken into account: on the one hand the force of usage, representing the inertia or conserva-

tism in the language; on the other, the improvement that may come to the language from a change in usage or from a fixing of undecided usage. Disregard of the force of usage leads to attempts at reform too radical to be practicable; carried to an extreme it leads to Utopian schemes like Volapük, that have at times carried even sensible persons off their feet. On the other hand, exclusive regard for usage overlooks the fact that usage is not permanent, and that men have at all times more or less consciously striven to improve their language.

In the nature of things, anything like accurate qualitative and quantitative analysis of these two factors or weighing of their respective forces against one another is impossible. It may be safely said, however, that their nature and their scope is better understood by us than formerly, and that there is correspondingly less reason for failure in puristic efforts. One-sided views of what constitutes usage and what improvement in language have been responsible for the futility of many previous endeavors. Too much weight has often been given to the usage of particular periods or particular authors, and one of the most common mistakes has been to submit the living questions of the speech of our own day to the decision of the great writers of by-gone generations. The enthusiasm with which philologists have devoted themselves to the study of the past has sometimes led them to regard the present merely in its character as the successor to the past, having no individuality or rights of its own. Some one period in the past has been to them the *aetas aurea*, everything that came later represented deterioration and decay. The writings of the Germanic philologists of the early part of this century contain many regrets at the losses that the Germanic languages have suffered since the glorious period represented by the Gothic with its dual, its passive voice, its full and sonorous inflections; the High German shifting of consonants was to them in a sense but an unneces-

sary and regretable disturbance of a beautiful harmony.[1] To others again the Middle High German period was the golden age in language as well as in literature, and in the opinion of some of them the changes that the language has undergone since the thirteenth century have been mostly for the worse. But while some would acknowledge that the language of the great writers of the eighteenth century bears in itself its own justification, they would regard all recent deviations from the usage of Lessing, Schiller and Goethe as unjustifiable.[2] It must be confessed that such extreme views are now rarely held, but has this habit of bowing to the dictum of the past and subordinating to it the wants of the present entirely disappeared? Is it not common enough to hear a philologist justify an expression by a reference to a passage in Shakespeare or the King James Version of the Bible? That an expression occurs occasionally or even frequently in a great classic of a former century is at most a good reason why it should be intelligible to every cultivated person, but this does not in itself justify the use of it by a modern writer. The question is solely what is at present good usage. There is probably no serious disagreement on this principle among those who have given the matter sufficient thought; but are we always consistent in applying it? As long as a mode of expression does not conform to present usage, it matters little whether it was last used by Pope or Chaucer or King Alfred, by Shakespeare or the most obscure of his contemporaries; the question whether or not it may be employed unsupported by present usage must be decided entirely on internal grounds of fitness, and without reference to the chronology of its previous use. Philology cannot expect to influence contemporary speech without recognition and consistent application of the principle that the living languages are for the living and the usage of each generation is a law unto itself. In

[1] Cf. Raumer, *Gesammelte sprachwissenschaftliche Schriften*, 1863, p. 162.

[2] This is in the main the standpoint of K. G. Andresen in his well-known *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen*, 8. ed., 1898.

fairness it should be added, however, that this principle has as often been violated by the amateur-purists.

But not only the authority of the great writers of former generations, but also that of contemporary authors has often been overrated. It should be borne in mind that poets, novelists and historians do not, as a rule, write primarily with a view to producing models of style any more than Caesar wrote a book for beginners in Latin. I imagine that even the greatest writers often forget the categorical imperative as applied to language. What has been said before of the anomalies in language in general applies also to a varying extent to all individual writers and speakers: there is probably no solecism for which we cannot cite prominent authorities, especially in our day when not only prolegomena and letters, but the private diaries and notes of great poets are printed and may become material for linguistic research. The lists of references that are often produced in support of a contested usage, are therefore not always to the point.

We must further remember that language adapts itself legitimately not only to the time, but also to the place. The recognition of this principle is of particular importance in this country, for a considerable number of the differences in English usage are geographical. More has probably been said and written on the subject of Americanisms than on anything else connected with Modern English; yet there is really very little ground for the great sensitiveness that is displayed on this point on both sides of the Atlantic. It is perfectly clear that a country that is geographically, politically and economically as independent as America could not for ever remain intellectually dependent on the mother country and that it must solve the problems of its speech for itself as it does other social problems. The natural sympathies that exist between the two countries and the general levelling tendencies of modern times will doubtless prevent the speech of America from ever widely diverging from that of England; the conditions are entirely different from those that caused

the differentiation of continental and insular Saxon. Slight differences, however, will naturally occur, caused either by manifest differences in social or political conditions or by those subtler physical and psychical factors that produce changes in language, and these differences may even grow much beyond their present extent. Only those unfamiliar with the nature of language and the causes of linguistic change can be astonished or disappointed at the discovery that the English language on this side of the water has not done what could not possibly have been expected of it, namely, that it should have changed in the last hundred years precisely in the same way it has changed in England. On the other hand it would seem reasonable that just so far as the language of the two countries becomes differentiated, the English people are entitled to claim for their language the name of English, for in the case of a complete breaking up into two languages, there could be no doubt that the English people would have the best right to call theirs the English language. In so far, therefore, as the difference extends even now, it seems quite proper to insist that the language of this country is American, or United States, or whatever distinctive term may be preferred; but the fact that a mode of expression is not in use in England is not in itself a sufficient reason why it should not be used in America.

In determining the force of usage, therefore, we must not draw the lines too narrow, either chronologically, or geographically, or socially. All usage, whether archaic or contemporary, individual, local or general is a factor in language in two ways. In the first place, it is to some extent an indication of the inherent fitness of a mode of expression in regard to which we might otherwise be in doubt. The more generally a form of speech is used, the greater is, on the whole, the presumption in favor of its natural fitness, but natural fitness and general usage are by no means convertible terms, for the language of the masses is less perfect than that of the educated few. On the other hand the usage of an

individual author is not in itself conclusive proof of the fitness of a mode of expression, for even the most careful writer may from early habit or for other individual reasons often and even regularly employ the less preferable of two synonymous forms.

In the second place, all usage is of consequence in so far as it represents the conservative force in language and resists change. The use of any new or less familiar form of expression in place of an old or more familiar one always causes some disturbance among the psychical organisms that make up our speech-consciousness and therefore meets with mental resistance. These psychical organisms are the result of our whole linguistic experience in reading and hearing, writing and speaking. From this point of view, the usage of any author is of consequence only just in proportion as he is read.

Of these two ways in which usage affects the future course of language, the second is by far the more important one; and if we wish to determine the force of usage as a factor to be taken into account by the purist, we must ask in regard to every doubtful expression not who has used it in the past, but what hold has this word or idiom or construction on the language of the present generation. So far as the testimony of one or more authors can answer that question, such testimony is of consequence, otherwise not. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the hold that any particular usage has on the language depends not only on the frequency with which the mode of expression itself is used, but on the intimacy of its associations with other modes of expression with which it is grouped in our minds on its formal or material side. The associations between the various speech organisms are so complex that it is impossible to disturb one of the latter without more or less disturbing them all.

The second factor to be taken into account in all puristic efforts is the improvement that may come to the language from any proposed change or regulation. Here again we must not take too narrow ground. Language may be im-

proved in many different directions, *e. g.*, those of simplicity, regularity, accuracy, variety, euphony. To show how one-sided the work of purists has often been, it is only necessary to recall their violent opposition to many new terms on the ground that there was no need of them, that they expressed nothing that could not be equally well expressed by the old speech-material. Entirely aside from the fact that absolutely synonymous terms are extremely rare, that one of a pair of synonyms nearly always soon assumes a different shade of meaning and thus tends to enrich the language and make it more precise, it must not be forgotten that such additions to the vocabulary give greater choice to the poet for the purposes of rime and metre, to the orator for accent and rhythm, to all of us greater possibilities of variation in writing and speaking. Further, if the new term really continues to be shunned in the better language, there is still a distinct advantage in having different terms for the higher diction and for the vulgar. Without disparaging the value of simplicity, we may for instance well ask what the charm of poetry and the effect of oratory would be if poets and orators were limited to the vocabulary of the shop, the street and the family. We need both house-coats and dress-suits.

Similarly the advantages and disadvantages of changes in meaning have to be carefully weighed against one another. To take one of the most extreme cases imaginable: it happens occasionally that an expression comes to be used in two diametrically opposite meanings, so that, to avoid ambiguity, we seem to be precluded from using the word at all and the language has apparently suffered a distinct loss. But there are many relations that partake of the nature of both likeness and oppositeness, and to express such relations words are very welcome. So the word *counterpart,* which can no longer be used without ambiguity either to denote that which is like something else, or that which is its opposite, may be used appropriately of the two halves of a symmetrical building, or of a seal and its impression, or in a higher sense, of

two human beings; and this use of the word is a distinct gain to the language.

However, any gain in one direction may be offset by a loss in another; and we have to weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages. What tends to regularity may also tend to destroy variety and euphony, what promotes simplicity may destroy accuracy. Any addition to the vocabulary may be followed by a subtraction, for experience shows that the average speaker cannot acquire the use of more than a certain amount of speech-material; but such subtraction will generally follow the lines of least resistance and need not directly affect anything connected in form or meaning with the new accession.

The work of the philologist-purist must therefore consist in balancing carefully in every case the force of the existing usage against the advantages to be gained for the language by a change or regulation, and he must make his decisions accordingly. Take, for instance, the so-called "cleft infinitive" in English, in regard to which there has been so much discussion. It is not sufficient to determine when and by whom the preposition *to* was first separated from the infinitive by an adverb, though that is of consequence for the explanation of this mode of expression; nor what particular writers have most indulged in this liberty; nor whether or not it offends our ears, for if it became general it would soon cease to offend; but we must rather determine the whole extent of this usage, the hold it has on the language in all its forms; and on the other hand what the language has to gain or lose in point of accuracy, regularity, variety; also to what extent existing analogies are strengthened or weakened by it; whether or not, for instance, the analogy of the use of a past participle or a finite verb with preceding adverb will not always tend to bring the cleft infinitive into use again, however often it may be suppressed; finally, whether, if we should for these various considerations decide in favor or against the construction, it is worth while to make a fight

either one way or the other, for in many cases the advantages and disadvantages may be so nearly balanced that the game would not be worth the candle. Or take, on the other hand, that bug-bear of the German purist, the inversion of subject and predicate after *und*, a construction that has often been represented as a characteristic of the style of newspapers and commercial letters. It has been shown that it antedates the first German newspaper by several centuries,[1] but that is not much to the point; the real questions are as to what hold it has on present usage, and what is to be gained or lost by its adoption or rejection. All such questions, however, can be answered more satisfactorily by the philologist than by anybody else, for he commands more facts and can take a broader view of the problem. Naturally each case must be decided on its merits, but certain leading principles applying to a number of similar cases may probably be agreed upon.[2]

[1] Particularly striking is the frequency of this construction in MHG. prose.

[2] The first attempt, as far as I know, to lay down some such principles was made by Professor A. Noreen in his monograph *Om språkriktighet*, 2d ed. Upsala: 1881. Translated into German by A. Johannson in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, I, 95 ff. The translator in an article in the same volume (pp. 232 ff.) discusses Professor Noreen's views and expresses dissent on several points. It would lead too far on this occasion to discuss the questions involved. Most of the principles laid down by Professor Noreen commend themselves readily. The one that seems to me most objectionable is that of two synonymous terms the shorter one is always to be preferred. This principle, often asserted in rhetoric, seems to me to be in a line with a current explanation of the cause of phonetic change, viz., that phonetic change is generally (or always) due to a desire for ease of utterance. Both I believe to be wrong. There is no doubt that simpler means for the expression of thought could be devised than those now in use; we could form more words of not more than five letters each than we should have any use for, without exhausting all the possible combinations. But language depends for its effects to a certain extent on *volume* of sound and the reduction of all linguistic expression to the simplest possible forms would in the end greatly change the character of the language and lessen its usefulness. How far we may go in this direction is largely a matter of temper, in the individual as well as in the people. It is well known that some languages have, on the whole, shorter words, more concise forms of expression than others, and such differences reflect undoubtedly differences

It remains to say a few words about the methods by which philology might cause any efforts in behalf of the improvement of language to produce practical results. In the first place public discussion of usage must not be left, as has been largely done heretofore, to the amateur-purists, but philologists should take the initiative whenever there seems to be a real need of regulation or change. Abuses in language gain headway very rapidly and interference is of little avail unless it comes promptly. Then further, the hold which we in general have on the growing generation in school and college should enable us to give impetus to many a useful reform. But it is not sufficient that we should teach what in our opinion is best in language, for that is done now; but at least in college the fundamental principles that determine what is right and what is wrong should be taught, and that is not at present done as generally as might be. A knowledge of the fundamental facts of language might seem to be a necessary part of the intellectual outfit of an educated person, but many of the public discussions on usage show what crude notions prevail in this regard. That the weather clerk really makes the weather probably none but infants believe, but that language is made by the compilers of dictionaries and grammars is a conception not confined to the young or ignorant. That we all have a hand in making language, that we are all responsible for it to the same extent as for other social institutions, and that the greatest responsibility rests with those best able to bear it, is a fact that is not fully understood even by the educated. A story is told of a proof-reader in a great printing office who had the reputation of being a great authority on the English language; he was

in the intellectual make-up of the several nations. But their languages are not on that account necessarily more or less perfect. It should also not be overlooked that by simply ruling out the longer form, we preclude the possibility of a later differentiation between the two forms and of a consequent real gain to the vocabulary. Originally *kennen*, *bekennen* and *erkennen* were practically synonymous; if two of them had been dropped, we should have lost the means of a very necessary distinction.

said to know the Dictionary by heart. One day a compositor came to him with the Dictionary and pointed out to him with great satisfaction that he had been in error in making a certain correction in the compositor's proof, that the word had been spelled exactly as the Dictionary gave it. "That is so," admitted the proof-reader, and then taking his pen he coolly changed the spelling of the Dictionary and returned the book with the words—"Now it is all right." Of course the most amusing thing about this story is not that the proof-reader should have dared to correct the Dictionary, but that so many educated people should laugh at him for doing so. The ordinary popular dictionaries may be fair authorities on orthography, because that is comparatively stable, but in regard to other matters they generally fall far short of representing the actual state of the language, and if one of them really contained the whole speech-material properly classified, the work would be incomplete soon after its appearance. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that the permanent forces underlying all linguistic activity should be correctly understood.

Finally, it is hardly necessary to add, philologists themselves should endeavor, in writing and speaking, to apply the principles for which they wish to win recognition. It is clear that any one giving such advice treads on dangerous ground, but it is hoped that the doctrine will not be condemned merely because the preacher has not lived up to it.

H. C. G. von Jagemann.

IV.—INTERPRETATIVE SYNTAX.[1]

I am well aware that the expression interpretative syntax has not the prestige of previous usage. Indeed no one at all familiar with the modern trend of syntactical studies could say that they serve in the slightest degree as aids in the interpretation of literature. It seems to be assumed that syntax has nothing to do with literary criticism or with stylistic effects. And as the study of English syntax is now conducted, one can hardly imagine two persons more alien in their aims and methods than the literary critic and the writer on syntax.

It does not avail to cite beautiful definitions of philology, definitions that assert the philologian's equal right to all the slopes of Parnassus; this alienation exists in practice, and it has proved hurtful both to the student of literature and to the student of syntax. Literary criticism, lacking the solid basis of language study, has lost the note of authority and become mincing and arbitrary; while studies in syntax, divorced from the vitalizing influence of literature, have become mechanical in method and statistical in result.

Of the two, syntax has lost the more heavily; for in the study of syntax counting has so taken the place of weighing that it may fairly be questioned whether the majority of monographs devoted to English syntax make any appeal whatsoever to the real feeling for syntax latent in the reader, or latent even in the investigator himself. There *is* such a thing as a feeling for syntax, a syntactic sense,—though we are in danger of losing it,—a sense that is as necessary for appreciating the range and import of syntactical distinctions as

[1] Address of the President of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, at its Annual Meeting held at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., December, 1899.

taste is necessary in the realm of æsthetics or conscience in the realm of morals.

Not only is the study of syntax divorced from the study of literature, not only has the feeling for syntactical distinctions been blunted by the mania for statistics, but the old line of cleavage is still run between syntax and inflections. The grammars and special monographs continue to treat inflections and syntax as two separate and unrelated subjects. But a moment's consideration will show that inflectional forms are the product of syntactical relations. They are the deposit of syntactical forces. One might as well try to explain the rounded forms of pebbles in a streamlet, without considering the agency of the water, as to explain inflectional changes apart from the syntactical agencies that shaped them.

Syntax has thus become narrowed and isolate. No longer looked upon as an integral and organic part of language and literature, it is viewed as something external, a mere scaffolding,—a series of separate ladders, on which Germans are ascending and descending. Now syntax is not something external; its problems are not separate at all. It is a vast network with countless radiations and interweavings. The best investigator is not one who is quick at figures or dead to literature. He is rather one who in his alertness and susceptibility should suggest old Sir John Davies's idea of the soul,—being

> "Much like a subtle spider which doth sit
> In middle of her web, which spreadeth wide;
> If aught do touch the utmost thread of it,
> She feels it instantly on every side."

There are poetic effects both subtle and far-reaching that find expression in none of the traditional canons of rhetoric or literary criticism, but in the phenomena of syntax and of syntax alone. Take, for example, canto XI of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, in which the omission of the verb in the principal clause adds an element of calm that could not otherwise be secured:

"Calm is[1] the morn without a sound,
Calm as to suit a calmer grief,
And only thro' the faded leaf
The chestnut pattering to the ground:

Calm and deep peace on this high wold,
And on these dews that drench the furze,
And all the silvery gossamers
That twinkle into green and gold:

Calm and still light on yon great plain
That sweeps with all its autumn bowers,
And crowded farms and lessening towers,
To mingle with the bounding main:

Calm and deep peace in this wide air,
These leaves that redden to the fall;
And in my heart, if calm at all,
If any calm, a calm despair:

Calm on the seas, and silver sleep,
And waves that sway themselves in rest,
And dead calm in that noble breast
Which heaves but with the heaving deep."

Compare now the brooding quietude of those stanzas with the jerkiness of these lines, so filled with verbs:

"I hear the noise about thy keel;
I hear the bell struck in the night:
I see the cabin-window bright;
I see the sailor at the wheel."

Verbs denote activity and change: they are bustling and fussy. Their presence in certain reaches of lyric poetry would be as nullifying as the creaking of organ pedals during a dirge. When thought gives way to feeling, when the emotion of the poet no longer soars but poises and hovers, the absence of the verb,—a purely syntactical phenomenon,—becomes a most marked characteristic of the sentence structure. Note the effect in these lines:

[1] The only verb of a principal clause in these five stanzas is the second word of the first line, *is*. Note how well the colon after each stanza indicates the uniformity of mood maintained.

> "Sunset and evening star,
> And one clear call for me!"
>
> "Twilight and evening bell,
> And after that the dark!"

Observe in these lines from Poe how quickly the verbs take flight when the poet's activity of thought is merged into mere brooding:

> "And all my days are trances,
> And all my nightly dreams
> Are where thy dark eye glances,
> And where thy footstep gleams,—
> In what ethereal dances,
> By what eternal streams."

In the study of lyric poetry, especially of the elegy, the omission or subordination of formal assertion will be found a suggestive index to the poet's changing mood.

But the syntax of omission may be employed not only to interpret literature, but to interpret history as well. Everyone has observed how quickly different professions, industries, societies of every sort, gather about them a special vocabulary. But more interesting than vocabulary is the phase of syntax that these social organizations exhibit. The members not only employ new words but they omit well-known words that will be supplied, as it were, from the common fund. This is a form of abridged syntax. Transitive verbs especially are used intransitively, because the direct object is understood and need not be expressed.

When we say, for example, that Miss A. *plays* well, only an irredeemable outsider would reply "Plays what?" So, too, in certain circles, we shall be readily understood when we say that Miss B. *paints* well or *draws* well; that C. *throws* well, or *kicks* well. Students of language had long ago noticed how frequently transitive verbs become intransitive; but it remained for M. Bréal to interpret this trend from transitive to intransitive. "An abundance of intransi-

tive verbs in a language," says M. Bréal,[1] "is a sign of civilization." And the remark is as true as it is acute, provided, of course, these intransitive verbs were once transitive. Such intransitive verbs do increase in number just as men become more closely banded together, and as civilization succeeds in diffusing a common fund of information. There are very few of these verbs in Old English; but they swarm in Modern English, especially in nineteenth century English, because society is now more closely knit. The newspapers alone have in this way made it possible to use scores of transitive verbs intransitively.

The same is true, of course, in the case of adjectives used without their nouns. "The blue and the gray," "The New York Central," "The Phi and the Di," and similar abridged phrases testify to a fund of common intelligence and common interests. The study, then, of these omissions in the different stages of any language would not result in a barren array of statistics, but would furnish an index to a people's gradual nationalization, and indicate how far collectivism was replacing individualism.[2]

And why should not syntax aid in the interpretation of history? History is one: a nation's art, science, architecture, laws, literature, and language are but parts of a larger whole.

> "Deep and broad, where none may see,
> Spring the foundations of that shadowy throne
> Where man's one nature, queen-like, sits alone,
> Centred in a majestic unity."

Shall we study the evolution of a people's character in the way they build their bridges and highways and homes, and

[1] *Essai de Sémantique* (1897), p. 330. Instead of "un signe de civilisation," would not "un signe de organisation" be more accurate? But M. Bréal's book is too good to be lightly emended.

[2] I am inclined to think that the dropping of inflections is another indication of collectivism. Words do not have to be pronounced to a finish when speakers have learned to presume on a community of ideas and information.

not in the way they build their sentences? All that man has done existed first in the mind and was latent in the language of will and purpose before it was bodied in deed. And back of man, antedating the universe itself, there was the λόγος; *καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν.*

The uniformity that exists in all the varied phenomena of human history finds its parallel, where we should expect to find it, in the corresponding uniformity of linguistic processes. This latter uniformity is not in individual words, or sounds, or inflections. It is in word relations, that is, in syntax. It is one of those touches of nature that make the whole world kin. Polynesian words, for example, are not our words; but the Polynesians have their subjunctive mood, their passive voice, their array of tenses and cases, because the principles of syntax are psychical and therefore universal.

A good illustration of the interpretative attitude toward syntax is found in Professor Gildersleeve's *Essays and Studies*:[1] "We contrast the epos of Greece with the epos of Rome. One grammatical difference sums the whole matter up. No historical present in the one, while the historical present abounds in the other, and nothing more is needed for him who appreciates the range of grammatical phenomena."

Indeed it is not easy to set bounds to the radiations of syntactical distinctions into other departments of thought and activity. The strongest stanza yet written by an American poet seems to me to express a truth already taught by syntax. You will remember that all the Romance tongues discarded the endings of the Latin future indicative, and gradually built their future tense out of the verb *have* preceded by an infinitive.[2] French *Je chanterai*, for example, is literally and

[1] See chapter on *Grammar and Æsthetics.* See also Elster's *Prinzipien der Litteraturwissenschaft* (1897), pp. 414–424.

Both authors discuss the æsthetic side of syntax. As used in this paper it will be seen that interpretative syntax includes æsthetic syntax, but more besides.

[2] So, too, Old English *Ic sceal* (*sculan*), *I shall*, meant originally *I have to*, *ought to*, or *must.* It is interesting to find that Modern Greek has discarded

was originally not *I shall sing*, but *I have to sing* (= *J'ai chanter*, *Ego habeo cantare*). And so for Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. The expression connoted obligation or necessity, as in Tertullian's *quem habemus odisse* (*Apologeticus* 37), *whom we have to* (*must*) *hate*. But the Romance tongues have gradually passed from the obligatory *I have to, you have to, he has to* to the voluntary and colorless *I shall, you will, he will*. An imposed duty has become a recognized and accepted duty. Says Emerson,—

> "So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, Thou must,
> The youth replies, I can!"

One of the questions most hotly discussed by the so-called[1] Lake School of poets related to the distinction between fancy and imagination. The distinction is a vital one in literary criticism, and was best stated by Wordsworth.[2] It is now generally agreed that, while both imagination and fancy must work with materials already furnished, imagination is the constructive faculty, fancy the decorative faculty. Whatever be the kind of imagination employed—whether poetic, scientific, practical, architectural, or inventive—its chief function is to build; while fancy, following after, adorns or modifies.

the old future and evolved our *will* + infinitive. "The habit of forming the ordinary Future with θέλω had doubtless established itself in the vulgar speech long before it was admitted in the literary style; and can hardly have arisen before the vernacular had begun to diverge very decidedly from the classical type, *i. e.*, not earlier than about 300 A. D., possibly much later. In low Latin such forms as *cantare habeo* for *cantabo* became common from the sixth century onwards."—Vincent and Dickson's *Handbook to Modern Greek* (1893), p. 326.

[1] "So-called" because the School as a school had no existence. "Wordsworth and Southey never had one principle in common," says De Quincey. See his second paper on Coleridge in *Literary Reminiscences*.

[2] See his *Poetical Works*, Preface to edition of 1815. The distinction made by Wordsworth is quoted almost in full by Fernald in *English Synonyms and Antonyms*, p. 210.

May we not interpret this distinction in terms of syntax by saying that imagination is shown in a writer's choice of subjects and predicates, fancy in his choice of adjectives and adverbs? Strip Browning of all that functions either as adjective or as adverb, reduce his sentences to the bare forms of psychological subject and psychological predicate, and have you not still a strong and stimulative body of thought? Would Tennyson fare so well? Could you find the residue of Swinburne? Wordsworth's illustration of fancy is Shakespeare's description of Queen Mab,—

> "In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
> On the forefinger of an alderman."

Those lines, you see, are purely adjectival. They do not assert, they attribute. But when the great dramatist says,—

> "The quality of mercy is not strained,
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath,"

or

> "Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
> Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain top,"

or

> "The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact,"

or when David says, "The Lord is my shepherd,"—we feel that the human outlook has been permanently broadened. Pontoons have been constructed joining things that were never before joined. But these pontoons unite subject to predicate, not adjective to noun, or adverb to verb.

Of course, imagination and fancy usually go together. But the essence of the distinction is that the products of the imagination, like the joint creations of subject and predicate, have a life of their own and are thus, to a degree, independent; while the forms of fancy, like the functions of adjective and adverb, are parasitic and thus relative. "The best in this kind are but shadows." The difference between the literature

of Elizabeth's reign and the literature produced by the Caroline and Metaphysical poets who followed, is that in the first a full and splendid stream of imaginative thought flows from subject to predicate; in the second, this current is diverted and dissipated among adjectives and adverbs: what should have been tributaries have become bayous, and drain rather than swell the central flow.

One of the problems that to-day are pressing most insistently for solution is, To what extent may syntactical peculiarities be relied upon as tests in determining authorship? Everyone even cursorily familiar with the methods of biblical, especially of Old Testament criticism will have observed the importance that is attached to the argument from syntax. The insufficiency of some of these tests is equalled only by the defiant assurance with which mutually exclusive results are defended. Is it possible to find in syntax a criterion of authorship? Not if syntax be divorced from personality and reduced to gross statistics; not if it be confined to the triangle of the empirical, the historical, and the genetic, which, according to Gröber,[1] are the only possible kinds of syntax.

Suppose that we have two poems and wish to know whether they were written by the same author. Let us call them A and B. If A have many peculiarities of construction not shared by B, if the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* of the one be the *δεκάκις λεγόμενα* of the other,—this alone proves nothing. They might still have come from the same author, the differences being due to a difference of topic, of purpose, of mood, of range or elevation of thought. Let us first interpret the syntax of each poem separately. If the syntactical peculiarities of A are found to be numerous and significant enough to enable us to get at the author's personality, and if the syntactical peculiarities of B are also numerous and significant enough to reflect personality, we

[1] *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, vol. I, p. 211 (1888).

are provided at once with invaluable evidence in determining whether the two poems came from the same author; but if the syntactical evidences are neither numerous nor vital enough to betray personality—and mere number counts for little[1]—the evidence from syntax is void of force.

Let me give a simple illustration. Suppose I desired to know whether a certain anonymous novel were written by Zola. I should turn for evidence to a dissertation which I have recently read with the keener pleasure because the author's method fortifies my own views as to the range and personal correlations of syntax. The dissertation is entitled *Syntactical Studies in the Language of Zola*,[2] and is by Eugène Gaufinez. Dr. Gaufinez confines his study to Zola's *Docteur Pascal* and devotes the body of his work, sixty pages, to the mere enumeration of Zola's peculiarities in the use of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and the other parts of speech. Most dissertations would have stopped at the bare enumeration; but Dr. Gaufinez goes a step farther. He adds a page of admirable interpretation. Zola's syntactical usages were found to be numerous enough and significant enough to enable Dr. Gaufinez to see through them into the method and personality of the novelist. And his interpretation, which I quote in full, not only might serve as a criterion of authorship, should occasion arise, but shows also the close affinity between syntax

[1] "The argument from style," says Driver (*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 167, n. 2), "is *cumulative:* hence expressions which, if they stood alone, would have no appreciable weight, may help to support an inference, when they are combined with others pointing in the same direction." The argument from style becomes cumulative in the true sense only when the concurrent expressions are both numerous and significant,—significant enough to be distinctive and characteristic. The stereotyped commonplaces of expression, however numerous the coincidences, cannot be relied upon as trustworthy evidence. See the admirable section on "Bestimmung des Autors" in Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode.*

[2] *Etudes syntaxiques sur la langue de Zola dans le Docteur Pascal*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde, von Eugène Gaufinez, Bonn, 1894.

and literary criticism, when syntax is weighed in the balances of style.

Dr. Gaufinez thus summarizes and interprets his results:

"Two principles, different but not opposed, seem to have dictated the laws of Zola's syntax. These are, briefly, (1) the principle of picturesque expression and (2) the principle of natural expression.

"(1) The tendency of Zola, as indeed of all the impressionists, is to paint rather than to narrate, to produce sensations with things rather than to awaken ideas about things. Let us picture him at work, pen in hand, his mind's eye fixed on some image that appeals to his powerful imagination. Rapidly he sketches the rough draft, adds a few of the most significant details; then, as his attention is by degrees directed to the different outlines of the picture, he notes and determines these, returns and emphasizes those that are most striking, until, from this confusion of details, there is disengaged the living picture which he has before his eyes, the novelist really building up his work before us. Hence his jerky style, with its strange phrases; hence his massing of adjectives and participles, his abstract terms, his frequent imperfects. They are, so to speak, the strokes of the painter's brush.

"(2) The second principle which controls Zola's syntax is the determination to write just as people talk, to give to his style the untaught cadence of ordinary speech. Thought can be expressed with perfect clearness without a rigorous adherence to the rules of grammar. Then, too, popular and conversational speech, in spite of its licenses—or better, on account of them—has a vivacity and picturesqueness of its own, quite different from that found in the language of scholars. Hence, in the style of Zola the numerous inversions and ellipses; hence his peculiar punctuation, and all those turns of expression that so often make us feel that we are listening to spoken speech instead of reading written speech.

"These are the two principles on which the syntax of Zola seems to be founded."

Dr. Gaufinez has here interpreted syntax in terms of personality and stylistic effect. His summary would be of great value as Zola evidence in case of disputed authorship, and has, besides, a solidity and definiteness that contrast sharply with the elegant trifling that parades itself in high places to-day under the name of literary criticism.

Before syntactical distinctions can be made to disclose their full wealth of import and suggestiveness, they must be held long in solution. The attempt must not be made to force a premature and barren crystallization. It is one thing to classify, another to interpret. The more sympathetically the syntax of English is studied, the more striking will appear the interrelation of its parts and the continuity of its functions. One comes almost to believe that the norms of syntax are indestructible, so persistently do they reappear in unexpected places. If a construction is common in Old English prose, let the student watch confidently for its reappearance or for its lineal descendant somewhere in Modern English. Trust no man who tells you that it is dead.

Take, for example, Old English *weorðan, to become.* We are told in works on English syntax that *weorðan* survives to-day, like a fly in amber, only in the crystallized expression *Woe worth*, as in Scott's

> "Woe worth the chase, woe worth the day,
> That costs thy life, my gallant gray!"

We are informed that *weorðan* and *bēon* had come to mean pretty much the same thing; and that, although German preserves the distinction between *Er ist alt* and *Er wird alt,* Old English had so confused the distinction that *weorðan,* feeling itself *de trop,* left the field to *bēon.*

That is but a half truth. *Weorðan* to-day *is* absent in the flesh, but present in the spirit. It survives in a score of constructions that have been called into existence solely to

take its place and to transmit its syntactic function. To me one of the most interesting things in the syntax of English is the way in which verbs the most remote in meaning from *weorðan* have come at last to function as its substitute. Remember that in Old English if a man *became* sick, or rich, or crazy, or anything else, *weorðan* was the preëmpted copula, as is *werden* in Modern German. Note now the words that have been summoned from century to century for the purpose of filling the space left vacant by the passing of *weorðan:* We say that a man *becomes*[1] rich, *falls* sick or *takes* sick, *goes* crazy (dogs *run* mad, cows and streams *run* dry), *grows* worse, *gets* tired, and *turns* red. These verbs are not mere link-words (as in, he *stood* amazed), nor do they denote duration or attainment. They denote the process of attainment, a *becoming*, and are the chosen delegates of old *weorðan*. It is a long call from some of these words to *weorðan*. The transitive verbs in the list had to pass through a middle voice. Thus, "I *got* sick" was preceded by "I *got myself* sick," just as "*Get* out of my sight" was preceded by the reflexive construction found in *Gen.* 31, 13: "*Get thee* out from this land." The word *go* seems at present to be most rapidly widening its sphere. Representative English authors use it in the sense of *become* before *serious, content, silent* and *stale*. With a reach from *crazy* to *silent*, it would seem that *go* bids fair to rival *become* as the most popular representative of ancestral *weorðan*.

Now do not these facts belong to any exhaustive treatment of *weorðan?* It is not enough to say that *weorðan, to become*, was moribund in Chaucer's time and dead before Shakespeare was born. Our language could afford to lose the form but not the syntactic function of so indispensable a word as *weorðan*. If syntax has to deal with the living elements of

[1] Old English *becuman*, which has given us *become*, meant only *to come, arrive, happen;* never *to become*. The *New English Dictionary* gives c. 1175 A. D. as the earliest date for *become* followed by a complementary adjective or substantive.

language and not with its bleached bones, it must correlate and interpret the subtle transitions of function, the interplay of resources, the distribution of activities that keep a language the adequate vehicle of a nation's thought. By the traditional methods of approach—the empiric, the historical, and the genetic—you would learn when *weorðan* formally died, and what ailed it. You would be told of its ancestry, but not a word as to its progeny.

I emphasize, therefore, the continuity of English syntax, and the necessity of a comprehensive knowledge of Modern English before this continuity can be adequately realized. The leaders in the study of English syntax have from the first been Germans. Not speaking English as their mother-tongue and of course not thinking in English, they would be the first to admit themselves incapable of appreciating the niceties of Modern English syntax.[1] Under their influence great results, it is true, have been accomplished. The study of Old English and of Middle English has been raised to the dignity of a science; but Modern English has been neglected. The syntax of Alfred is being exhaustively treated; but no one has investigated the syntax of Browning or Tennyson or Carlyle or Ruskin. So far as I know, not one monograph has been written on the syntax of any English author born since the year 1600.

The study of English syntax as a whole remains, therefore, fragmentary. The syntax of earlier periods is yet to be correlated with the syntax of later periods. Until this is done—and it can be done only by those who speak English as their mother-tongue—the range and persistency of syn-

[1] Paul, *Prinzipien*, 3d ed., p. 28: "An der Muttersprache lässt sich daher das Wesen der Sprechthätigkeit leichter erfassen als an irgend einer anderen." But Stoffel (*Studies in English*, Preface, p. vii) holds that "anomalous idioms . . . . stand a better chance of being made the subject of systematic study by foreigners than by natives." True, but "anomalous idioms" constitute about as much of syntax as "Gorgons and Hydras and Chimæras dire" do of zoölogy.

tactical phenomena cannot be fully apprehended, and interpretation cannot be thorough-going.

In thus correlating the old with the new, it is surprising to see how little has been done even in the minutiæ of syntax. One illustration will suffice. Investigators in Old English have offered various explanations of the singular verb that is found in relative clauses after *ǣlc þāra þe, nān þāra þe*, and *ǣnig þāra þe*, meaning respectively *each of those who, no one of those who*, and *any one of those who*. They seem to see in these expressions a syntactical curio, an Old English Melchisedec "without father, without mother, without descent." Nothing could be further from the truth. The idiom may be found in the works of almost every standard writer of this century, and in newspapers and conversation it is rare that one finds the plural used instead of the singular.

Irving speaks of the alleged prejudice of Americans against Englishmen as "one of the errors which *has* been diligently propagated." William Dean Howells says, "He appeared to me one of the noblest creatures that ever *was*." Thackeray, Dickens, Emerson, and Ruskin furnish numerous illustrations; and Macaulay, purist of purists, says, "This reply [of Mr. Burke] has always struck us as one of the finest that ever *was* made in Parliament."[1] It is not my purpose now to proffer a solution of the difficulty; but I contend that the solution will be reached through Modern English more easily than through Old English, because in Modern English our syntactic sense has freer play.

Not only are syntactical distinctions long-lived, not only (as in the case of *weorðan*) do they survive the particular forms in which they originated, but they sometimes shift the

[1] The singular is also found in Old French and Modern French (see Tobler's *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, p. 196), and in Gothic and Modern German (see Paul's *Prinzipien*, 3d ed., p. 285). Neither Tobler nor Paul cites any illustrations from Modern English; nor has anyone sought help in sentences like "He is the best *man that has* been here," in which, to my mind, the true solution lies.

sphere of their activity. Exorcised in one place, they take refuge in another. English and American students, for example, find it difficult to appreciate the distinction that the Germans make between *du* and *Sie*, the French between *tu* and *vous*, the Spanish between *tu* and *Usted*, and the Italians between *tu* and *voi*. It does not help matters to be told that a corresponding distinction once obtained in English between *thou* and *you*. It still seems unreasonable that any-one should have used *thou* to his wife and yet to his servant; that the same word that figured among the members of one's family as a term of intimacy and affection was a gross insult if applied to a stranger or an equal. Under what modern formula may we group these apparently incongruous elements?

The difficulty is removed at once by recurring to our use or omission of such titles as Miss, Mrs., and Mr. A man does not call his wife Miss Mary (or Mrs. Jenkins); he does not call his daughter Miss Alice, his housemaid Miss Jane, or his cook Miss Bridget. In these instinctive omissions we group into one category the same persons that the Germans group under *du*, and our forefathers grouped under *thou*. With outsiders and equals we use, as the case may be, the unprompted Miss or Mrs. or Mr. This again is the circle of the German *Sie* and of our own former *ye* or *you*. The distinction, therefore, is not lost in Modern English. It has only shifted its territory. The syntactical feeling that dictated the proper use of *thou* and *you* to our forbears survives intact to-day. It has passed, however, from the realm of the personal pronoun to the realm of the titular prefix, and has become more social than syntactical.

In conclusion, the illustrations that have been adduced are sufficient, I trust, to show that the significance of a syntactical complex is not exhausted by tracing it back to its earliest stage, even when the tracers sent out prove entirely successful. We must trace forward as well as backward. In the summary of a man's life and influence his children count for

fully as much as his great-grandfather. Nor is syntax a straight line. There are lateral relationships as well as lineal relationships. The clue to one phenomenon may have to be sought in another and apparently irrelevant phenomenon. There are affinities with style, there are notes of personality, there are analogies and radiations. If the investigator overlooks them, he will do so at the peril of every conclusion that he announces. His work may be exhaustive, but his results will be none the less fragmentary.

C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

V.—INFLUENCE OF THE COURT-MASQUES ON THE DRAMA, 1608–15.

During the reign of James I., court-masques attained a great importance both as splendid spectacles and in the literature of the time. They were very numerous, were produced at great expense, and engaged the services of the best poets of the day. Usually performed at a marriage, or on some festival like those of the Christmas season, they consisted primarily of two parts, (1) the dramatic dialogue usually setting forth some allegorical or mythological device which formed the basis of an impressive spectacle, and (2) the dances interspersed with songs and accompanied by music. These dances were performed by ladies and gallants of the highest court circles, the queen often participating. In addition to these elements, about the year 1608 a third appeared, the anti-masque, consisting of grotesque dances by 'antick' personages. These comic anti-masques at once became exceedingly popular and played no small part in the entertainments. The antic dancers were almost always actors from the public theatres.[1]

This last fact points to an interesting connection between the masques and the drama, for it establishes an *a priori* probability that the antic dances used in the masques would be performed again in the theatres. As Mr. Harold Littledale has shown,[2] such a repetition of an anti-masque does undoubtedly occur in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, borrowed from Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, 1613. When presented at court, this anti-masque won especial praise

[1] For proof of the statements in this paragraph, see *Die Englischen Maskenspiele.* Alfred Soergel. Halle, 1882.

[2] See *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Harold Littledale, New Shakspere Society. Series II, 7, 8, 15, 1876–85. Mr. Littledale was unacquainted with Dr. Soergel's investigation and gave this borrowing less prominence than it deserves in fixing the date.

from His Majesty and others because it presented various characters and costumes. This was an entire innovation, for in previous anti-masques the dancers had all been of one sort. In the play the same personages appear as in the court-masque—a Lord and Lady of May, a chamber-maid, serving-man, mine host and his fat spouse, a traveller, tapster, clown, fool and baboon; and the dance, like that in the masque, is a grotesque May-dance. The evidence for the borrowing is complete. It is inconceivable that this anti-masque should have been introduced into the notable court entertainment after it had been staled on the public stage. It is, on the contrary, entirely probable that Fletcher introduced into the play the dance which had won a great success in the Court-masque, and which was probably danced by some of the same actors who had performed at court. It is also probable that Fletcher used the anti-masque shortly after the court entertainment, while the novelty and success of the dance were common talk; a few years later and other anti-masques would have been chosen. The date of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* is thus fairly well fixed at 1613.

This instance may serve as an illustration of the value of a knowledge of court-masques in determining the dates of Jacobean plays. In this paper I shall attempt to determine the date of the *Winter's Tale* from the use of an anti-masque of satyrs.

The influence of the masque on the drama in a more general way has been emphasized by Mr. Fleay and treated at length by Dr. Soergel. The nature of this influence in the reign of James I., however, has not been fully examined. The masque in its simple form—a dance by a group of revellers with or without an introductory speech—was common enough in the earlier drama; but as the court-masque grew more elaborate, its machinery, costumes, mythological devices, anti-masques, and, indeed, its general construction were borrowed or imitated so freely by the dramatists that its influence on the drama was distinctly important.

Beaumont and Fletcher seem to have been among the leaders in setting this new dramatic fashion, for their plays contain a great deal of masque pageantry; gods and goddesses ascending and descending, clouds opening, antic dances and even complete masques. There are, in fact, distinct masque elements in sixteen of their plays. Of these, their *Four Plays in One* is the most notable example. The *Four Plays* are given in the form of an entertainment before a king and his bride, and the last, the *Triumph of Time*, has unmistakably the form of a masque. Theme, spectacle and dances all follow the recognized fashion. Mercury and Time appear: "one-half of a cloud is drawn," "singers are discovered," "then the other half is drawn and Jupiter seen in his glory." The main masque is danced by Delight, Pleasure, Lucre, Craft, Vanity, etc., and there is also an anti-masque of a "Troop of Indians, singing and dancing wildly about Plutus." Here, too, we have not merely an introduction of masque-like pageantry, but a skilful effort to combine romantic drama and a court-masque. Beaumont and Fletcher were undoubtedly promoting what Ben Jonson, who did not mix his masques and plays, called the "concupiscence of dances and antics,"[1] which in 1612 he declared began to reign on the stage.

In this paper I shall not attempt to trace farther the general influence of the masque on the drama, but shall try to show that another instance of a combination of masque and romantic comedy exists in Shakspere's *Tempest*.

First, in regard to the date of the *Winter's Tale*. It is described in Dr. Forman's note-book, under the date of May 11, 1611. This is the final limit for the date. I think the early limit is determined by Ben Jonson's *Masque of Oberon*, January 1, 1611.

This contains an anti-masque of satyrs, and I conjecture that the dance of satyrs in the *Winter's Tale* was directly

[1] See "Address to the reader," *Alchemist*, 4to, 1612.

suggested by this anti-masque. Anti-masques were, as we have seen, first introduced in 1608 and at once became very popular. In *Oberon* there is one of these antic dances, doubtless performed by actors from the public theatres. This was a dance of ten (or twelve) satyrs, "with bells on their shaggy thighs," and is thus described:

> "Here they fell suddenly into an antic dance full of strange gesture and swift motion, and continued it until the crowing of the cock."

And again, later, after the entrance of Oberon, there was a little more dancing by the satyrs.

> "And the satyrs beginning to leap, and express their joy for the unused state and solemnity."

In the *Winter's Tale* (IV, 4) there is a similar antic dance of twelve satyrs which is clearly an addition to please the audiences of the day.

> "*Servant.* Master, there is three carters, three shepherds, three neat-herds, three swine-herds, that have made themselves all men of hair, they call themselves Saltiers, and they have a dance which the wenches say is a gallimaufry of gambols, because they are not in 't; but they themselves are o' the mind, if it be not too rough for some that know little but bowling, it will please plentifully.
>
> *Shepherd.* Away! we'll none on 't: here has been too much homely foolery already. I know, sir, we weary you.
>
> *Polixenes.* You weary those that refresh us: pray, let's see these four threes of herdsmen.
>
> *Servant.* One three of them, by their own report, sir, hath danced before the king; and not the worst of the three but jumps twelve foot and a half by the squier.

Shepherd. Leave your prating: since these good men are pleased, let them come in; but quickly now.
Servant. Why, they stay at door, sir. [*Exit.*
Here a dance of twelve satyrs."

Like the dancers in the masque these are great leapers, and like those they are men of hair. Moreover, three of them by their own report had danced before the king, as did the satyrs in the masque.

Now, while satyrs are not altogether uncommon on the Elizabethan stage, a dance of satyrs "full of gesture and swift motion" was certainly an innovation. Such anti-masques were only introduced about 1608, and such a dance of satyrs is not found in any of the court-masques before (or, for that matter, after) 1611. The *Winter's Tale* is generally dated about the first of 1611, therefore, either Jonson must have borrowed from the public stage the idea of an antic dance of satyrs for his masque at court, or Shakspere must have borrowed from the court-masque this new and popular stage device for his *Winter's Tale.* The second alternative is far more probable because of the great importance of the court-masques and the desire for novelty in them, and because the public may naturally be supposed to have been anxious to see a reproduction of a popular anti-masque. It gains additional probability from the fact that actors from the theatres performed in these anti-masques and from the reference to the three who had already danced before the king. It is still more probable because an anti-masque in Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple* is obviously made use of in a similar way in the *Two Noble Kinsmen.* Finally, we may note that the dance is an integrant part of the *Masque of Oberon,* while it is a pure addition to the play.

The probability, then, is very strong that Jonson devised this dance of satyrs for his *Masque of Oberon,* where it was performed by actors from the King's men, and that Shakspere introduced the dance, doubtless with some variations but with some of the same actors, in the *Winter's Tale.* This fixes

the date of the play between January 1 and May 11, 1611, which harmonizes with the generally assigned date 1610–11.

Now, in regard to the influence of the court-masques on the *Tempest*. That poem, which to us is so full of beneficent idealism, on the Elizabethan stage must have seemed largely an effort to satisfy the craving for spectacular novelties. Caliban, that immensely taking Elizabethan stage-beast who has proved so prophetically philosophical, must have been the hit of the play. Then there was the old device borrowed from *Midsummer Night's Dream* of the invisible Ariel bewildering the courtiers; and there was the still older business of the vanishing banquet "accomplished with a quaint device." Then there were the drunken scenes, such as Shakspere had used before, but now made especially diverting when the climax was reached and the dogs chased the drenched and filthy boors about the stage, while Prospero and Ariel cried on quarry. Prospero himself, with his magician's robe and wand, must have made an imposing spectacular figure.

Prospero and Ariel are, indeed, proper figures for a masque, and the "strange shapes," like the satyrs in the *Winter's Tale*, are nothing more nor less than an anti-masque. Note, for proof, the stage directions.

> III, 3. "Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet; they dance about it with gentle actions of salutation; and, inviting the king, etc. to eat, they depart."

Again, a little later, after Ariel in the form of a harpy has vanished in thunder.

> III, 3, l. 82. "then, to soft music, enter the Shapes again, and dance, with mocks and mows, and carrying out the table."

Still again—

> IV, 1. "A noise of hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds," etc.

The anti-masques at the court often appeared in shape of animals, as goats (*Honour of Wales*, 1619) and bears (*Augurs*, 1622) and monkeys.

These grotesque spirits, then, in shape of dogs, and, earlier, with their dancing and mocks and mows, must, just as certainly as the masque proper in the fourth act, have been suggested by the court-masques. The antic dances and performance of the Shapes, together with the devices of Prospero and Ariel, make, in fact, an unmistakable masque-setting for the masque proper, with its goddesses and graceful dance of nymphs and reapers.

Thus in the *Tempest* Shakspere was combining the construction, pageantry, and devices of the court-masque with a romantic comedy, just as Beaumont and Fletcher did in the *Four Plays*. Ben Jonson, in fact, seems to have considered Shakspere a leading offender, for in protesting against the jigs and dances he especially mentions "those that beget tales, tempests and other like drolleries." [1]

It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that while Shakspere led or followed the fashion of borrowing suggestions from the masque, he combined his masque-material with his play much more skilfully than any of his contemporaries. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Four Plays* is a rare instance of a similar attempt to unite the diverse elements. Usually, the anti-masque, or the spectacle, or the masque proper, is dragged into the play. In the *Tempest*, however, the strange shapes and the goddesses suit the atmosphere of the enchanted island and play a natural part in the magic of Ariel and Prospero. Shakspere, as usual, merely adopted a convention, mastered it, and forced it into the service of his imagination.

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE.

[1] Introduction to *Bartholemew Fair*, 1614.

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Grâlandes des schœnen . . . .
in britûnscher wîse (3582 ff.).

[1] Ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1869 (*Deutsche Classiker*, VII), I, 129; cf. Miss Weston's translation, London, 1899, I, 25–26.

Fortunately we have preserved in Old French a *Lai de Graelent*[1] which answers well to the slight description here given, telling namely of the hero's relations with a very proud *amie*. This lay, moreover, was evidently intended to have a musical accompaniment. In one manuscript of the poem there is a stave of music under the first verse of each paragraph;[2] and, although it is difficult to say precisely what part this music could have played in the rendition of such a long narrative poem, there is no reason to doubt that when minstrels sang or recited our lay, at least at some time in its history, they took a harp in their hands, even as Tristan did at his uncle's court, and struck the notes softly.

But this was not the only lay sung in King Mark's hall that evening after meat. Before Tristan was invited to show his skill, he had listened to the harping of the court minstrel, who sang a lay "made by Britons of *Gurûn* and his lady"—a lay with which he was already familiar, and which he now heard again with deep emotion. It would seem that this lay of *Gurûn* should be identified with that sung by Tristan's own loved one, if we may believe the words[3] of the Anglo-Norman poet Thomas, whose work, written about 1170, Gottfried translated in the beginning of the thirteenth century:

"In her room she [Yseult] was seated one day and made '*un lai pitus d'amur.*' It told how Guiron was surprised and killed for love of the lady who was dear to him above all

[1] The *Lai de Graelent* was first published by Roquefort in his *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, I, 486–541. It is also printed in Barbazan and Méon's *Fabliaux*, IV, 57 ff., and in Renouard's edition of *Le Grand d'Aussy*, 1829, I, App. 16 ff. It was edited by G. Gullberg, along with *Espine*, in a rather obscure publication, *Deux lais du XIIIe siècle pub. d'après les MSS. de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris*, Kalmar (Sweden), 1876. In the *Strengleikar* (see p. 123, below), we find a fragmentary *Grelentz Saga*, which is but a prose translation of the French poem, but does not get farther than to line 158. In one of the two French MSS. of the lay, it is called an *aventure*. It is probably because he had such a heading in his MS. that the Old Norse translator called his version a *saga*, while all the rest of the stories in the volume are called *ljóð*.

[2] See G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 33.

[3] *Tristan*, ed. Francisque Michel, London, 1839, III, 39.

else, and how by cunning the count gave the heart of Guiron to his wife to eat, and of her grief when she learned of her lover's death"—whereupon the poet adds a few lines which I cannot refrain from quoting, so fully do they suggest the atmosphere that surrounds the heroines of Breton romance:

> La reine chante dulcement,
> La voiz acorde a l'estrument:
> Les mainz sont belles, li lais buens,
> Dulce la voiz, e bas li tons.

This lay of *Guiron*, summarized by Thomas, was evidently a version of a very widespread tale, found in some form or other all over the world, which recounts how the heart of a lover is eaten by his unsuspecting *amie*, who dies soon after.[1] And it may be the same as that mentioned in the *Roman d'Anséis de Carthage*,[2] where we read:

> Rois Anséis doit maintenant souper;
> Mais il faisoit un Breton vieler
> Le lai *Goron*, comment il doit finer
> Com faitement le convint definer.

Still we cannot be certain; for we know well that there existed other lays of *Gurun* which treated entirely different matter. In the *Strengleikar*,[3] the Norse translation of Old French lays made at the command of King Haakon Haakonsön about the middle of the thirteenth century, we find a *Guruns Ljóð*, which relates a story that has no likeness to the summary in *Tristan*—a story of how a lover won his lady, the daughter of a Scottish king, by the mediation of a

[1] The story may be found, e. g., in another Old French lay, *Ignaure*, in the romance of Jakemes Sakeseps, *Le Châtelain de Couci*, in Boccaccio's novel of Guiscardo and Ghismonda (IV, 1), and in many popular ballads like the English *Lady Diamond*. It is fully discussed by G. Paris, *Rom.*, VIII, 343 ff.; *Hist. Litt.*, XXVIII, 352 ff.; Hermann Patzig, *Zur Gesch. der Herzmäre*, Berlin, 1891; Ahlström, *Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, pp. 125 ff.; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Part IX, pp. 29 ff.

[2] See Michel, *Tristan*, III, 95.

[3] Ed. Keyser and Unger, Christiania, 1850, pp. 57 ff. Haakon ruled Norway from 1217 to 1263.

harper and a dwarf, and brought her with him to "Kornbretaland," not, however, before he had won fame for himself, fighting for her sake and in her honor. The author of this lay explains in his epilogue that he is aware that many versions of the Gurun story exist, but that he has read only the one he has told.[1] Moreover, the reference in Gottfried's *Tristan* might well be, as Patzig suggests,[2] to Marie's lay of *Le Fraisne*, of which the hero, a *seignur* of Dol, is called Gurun;[3] for, as he points out, the striking thing about the other Guiron is the nature of his death, and not his relations with his *amie*.

We have evidence at all events of the existence of three distinct *Gurûn* (*Guiron*) lays: 1. that preserved in Old Norse; 2. that which goes under the name of *Le Fraisne;* and 3. that which told especially of the hero's violent death and the cooking of his heart.

But what complicates matters still more, and has made necessary some examination of these lays in this paper, is the fact that we have in Middle High German poems no less than three distinct places in which the heart episode is attributed, not to *Gurûn*, but to *Grâlant* (*Grâlanden*). In *Der Weinschwelg*,[4] composed about the middle of the 13th century, we find:

Grâlanden sluoc man unde sôt
und gab in den vrowen zezen,
wand si sîn niht wolden vergezen.

[1] "Margir segia þessa sogu með oðrum hætti. en ei las ec annat en nu hefi ec sagt yðr." (p. 61.) [2] *Herzmäre*, p. 18.

[3] *Die Lais der Marie de France*, ed. Karl Warnke (*Bibl. Norm.*, III), Halle, 1885, p. 64, ll. 253 ff. Lays are frequently said by their authors to have two names. The *Lai d'Ignaure* is also called *Lai del Prison* (p. 30); the *Lai d'Eliduc* was called after the two heroines by the Breton names *Guildeluec ha Guilljadun* (v. 21). In another of Marie's lays there is a discussion at the end whether it should be called *Quatre Dols* or *Le Chaitivel* (*Chait.*, 204 ff.)—cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 310. Guiron, however, is not an uncommon name; cf. *Guiron le Courtois* (*Giron il Cortese*), and Löseth's Prose *Tristan*, pp. 514–15.

[4] *Altd. Wälder*, ed. by the brothers Grimm, Frankfurt, 1816, III, 33–34; Wacknernagel's *Altd. Lesebuch*, 2nd ed., p. 583.

In Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*,[1] in a list of unfortunate lovers, mostly from antiquity, but including Tristan and Yseult, Ywein and Laudine, we learn how "Grâlanden sloch man unt sot." The third reference is in Der von Gliers:[2] "Grâlant, den man gar versôt." Wolf[3] regarded this interchange of names as simply a confusion of the two heroes Grâlant and Gurûn, and R. Köhler[4] and others have adopted this view. The matter cannot, I think, be so easily disposed of. Three independent references agreeing so closely, with no other conflicting, would seem rather to indicate the existence, in Middle High German at least, of an earlier poem in which Grâlant, not Gurûn, was the unhappy lover who suffered so cruel a death.

If this be true, it would help us to explain why in the passage above quoted from *Anséis de Carthage*, one manuscript introduces the lay of *Graelent*, instead of *Gurûn*.

> Li rois seoit sour ·j· lit à argent
> Pour oblier son desconfortement
> Faisoit chanter le lai de *Graelent*.

We have thus seen that there were three distinct lays of which Gurûn (Guiron) is the hero, and that Graelent (Grâlant) frequently had Gurûn's most characteristic adventure ascribed to him. It is clear then from this example, as from many others that could be adduced, that names in lays or romances are easily interchangeable, and that the hero of one set of adventures may supplant the hero of another and thus have attributed to him two very unlike and very inconsistent careers.

If now we turn to *Graelent*, we find the situation similar. We have several persons in Old French literature bearing that name, and it is difficult to decide what relation, if any, they bear to one another.

[1] Ed. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852, ll. 11,562 ff.
[2] Bodmer's *Sammlung von Minnesingern*, Zürich, 1758, I, 44.
[3] *Ueber die Lais Sequenzen u. Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841, pp. 237–38.
[4] Marie's *Lais*, ed. Warnke, p. LXXXI, note 1.

We may note first the occurrence of the name in Renaud de Beaujeu's *Bel Inconnu*, 5424, in the form *Grahelens*, which may have been the way it was written by Chrétien in *Erec*, 1952, not *Graelemor* (*Graislemiers*), as in Foerster's edition. This latter form appears to me to have arisen from the dropping of the *-n-* in *Graelen-mor*, a form which we find in the lay and elsewhere,[1] and which was here used in preference to *Gra(h)elent* because of its association with the hero *Guingamor*, who in both *Erec* and *BI*, but not in the lay, is represented as Graelent's brother. In both cases this *Gra(h)elent* is said to be from *Fineposterne*, Finistère. There can, I believe, be little doubt that the two persons, Graelen(t)-mor and Guingamor, were made brothers because of the likeness of their adventures, and that the introduction of their names in *Erec* shows Chrétien's familiarity with the lays so-named.[2]

In our lay, however, the hero has the appellation *Mor* (*Muer*), and it seems therefore most probable that his name was influenced by that of the old Breton leader *Gradlon Mor*, Latin *Gradlonus Mor*, or *Gradlonus Magnus*, which, according to Zimmer, could develop, through an intermediate **Grazlen*, into **Graelen*, **Graalen*. We read of this historical person[3]

[1] See below, pp. 143–177. Cf. Zimmer, *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 7 ff.; Wend. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, 1899, p. 481.

[2] The reference to Guingamor in the continuation of the *Perceval* by Gaucher de Dourdan should be noted in this connection as one of the many bits of evidence of the familiarity of romance-writers with lays (see Schofield, "Lay of Guingamor," p. 242). Many lays are referred to which are not extant, cf., e. g., Chrétien's *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, ll. 2152 ff.; *Roman de Renard*, ed. Méon, 12, 149 ff. The hero *Guingamiers* is mentioned in *Diu Krône*, 2333; cf. *Sir Gringamore* in Malory, Bk. VII. The form *Guing(a)-* appears as the first element of many other proper names, e. g., *Guinglain*, *Guingalet*, *Guingambresil*, *Guingalois*. The ending *-mor* (*-muer*) of Celtic words was confused with *amor* and other endings of names which, though similar in sound, were of different origin.

[3] Wolf (*Ueber die Lais*, p. 238) first connected him with the hero of the lay. Zimmer has traced his career in *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 11 ff. For a full account of his life, so far as it is known, see De la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes and Paris, 1896, I, 311–325; cf. also F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV, 516; Wend. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, p. CXVI; Dom Plaine, *Grallon-le-Grand, roi des Bretons d'Armorique*, (*Revue hist. de l'Ouest*, 1893, p. 701).

in the Life of St. Winwaloe, the founder of Landevenec, written by one Wrdisten before 884, in which Gradlonus Magnus is represented as founder, defender and organizer of *Cornubia* (the Armorican Cornwall). He appears to have died about the beginning of the 6th century.[1]

In a record in a Cartulary of Landevenec, occurs, as Zimmer points out (p. 15), a list of the *comites Cornubiae* in a hand of the 12th century in which *Gradlon Mur* is mentioned, and in which appear two other Counts of Cornwall with the same name *Gradlon: Gradlon Flam*, and *Gradlon Plueneuor* (Plonéour in the present Quimper).

In the same Cartulary are several charters fabricated in the 11th century, one of which represents three ambassadors (*nuntii*), very holy men, as coming from Charlemagne (*Karolus magnus*) to Gradlon Mor to beg his aid for the distressed Franks, because, they declared, he had received from God power to destroy the race of pagans with the sword of the Lord.[2] This shows that Gradlon Mor was brought into connection with Charlemagne in historical documents, and may possibly throw some light on a very extraordinary passage in the *chanson de geste* of *Aspremont*[3]—a rhymed account of a fabulous expedition against the Saracens in Italy. There Graelent is represented as a companion of Roland.

> Rois Karlemaines l'avoit en sa maisun
> Norri d'enfance, moult petit valleton;
> Ne gisoit mais se en sa chambre non.
> Soz ciel n'a hom mielz vielant en son,
> Ne miex dist le vers d'une lecon
> Et icil fist le premier lai breton.

Here we have the Graelent of our lay confused with some other Graelent (Graelen, or Grallon, more likely) who, even as the Gradlon Mor of history, though in a different way, is associated with the great King Charlemagne. The author of

[1] Ca. 505, according to De la Borderie, I, 325.
[2] See de la Borderie, I, 324; Zimmer, pp. 14 ff.
[3] Analyzed by P. Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 313–14; cf. 302.

the *Aspremont*, however, had a very vague notion of the lay, for he represents the hero as its author: that Graelent wrote the first Breton lay is, of course, absurd. The passage quoted has its chief interest for us in establishing two facts: (1) that the lay of *Graelent* was well known in the last third of the 12th century, when the *Aspremont* was probably written,[1] and (2) that there was another person of the same name figuring in fabulous narrative with whom it was possible to confuse him.

I would cite still another passage in which a *Graalant* is mentioned, of whose exploits I know nothing more than what may be inferred from the following bare reference to him, which occurs in the English prose romance of *Merlin*,[2] dating from the middle of the 15th century, but translated from a much earlier French source.[3] In the description of the battle between the twelve Kings of the Saisnes before the city of Clarence, we read: "Full grete was the bataile and the stour mortall for sore eche other dide hate. Ther dide the Cristin well preve theire prowesse, for magre hem thei sette Carados on horse, that Bloys of Plaisshie hym brought wherefrom he hadde smyten down the Kynge *Graalant*," etc.

It is certain then that *Gradlon*, **Graelen*, **Graalen*, is an old Breton name, borne by various historical, legendary and fabulous people, none of whom resemble in the slightest the hero of the Old French lay of which one version is attached to him.[4] The fact, however, that this knight is called *Graelent Mor* would certainly seem to show that he was identified by the lay-writer with Gradlon Mor, the semi-fabulous king of Cornwall of the 5th century; though there is absolutely nothing in the legends attached to him to justify it.

[1] See G. Paris, *Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, 2nd. ed., p. 247; cf. § 24.

[2] Ed. Wheatley, E. E. T. S., 1865, p. 442.

[3] *Le Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, London, 1894, from a MS. of about 1316, which has (p. 316): "Illuec se prouerent bien li crestien car malgre tous leur anemis remonterent Karados et li amena Brios del Plastre ·j· cheual dont il ot abatu le roy *Grailenc*," etc.

[4] Note also that in *Der jüngere Titurel*, ed. K. A. Hahn, 1842, p. 205, l. 2060, we read of "Der fürste Marbisine des herzentum *Gralande*."

II.

What suggested the association of Graelent's name with a series of adventures which are elsewhere ascribed to another knight, Lanval (Launfal)? A close examination of certain episodes in the two lays which bear these heroes' names, will, I believe, enable us to give at least a probable answer to this question, and at the same time, perhaps, will throw light on the mode of composition of mediaeval romantic poetry in general.

The lay of *Graelent* tells practically the same story as Marie's *Lanval*,[1] and the two are unquestionably but different versions of the same theme, borrowing independently from related sources.[2] So much are they alike in the material they embody, and at the same time so much do they differ in details and arrangement that they cannot possibly have been written by the same author. Yet, despite the repeated protests of scholars since the time of Wolf, *Graelent* has been over and over again unjustifiably ascribed to Marie de France. Roquefort is primarily responsible for this mistake, which De la Borderie repeated as late as in 1896, and other scholars in England since. The ascription of *Graelent* to Marie is but another example of the effort so commonly, but so unwisely, made to attach all anonymous poems to the prominent authors of the period in which they were written. To be sure, very few lay-writers are mentioned in their works by name; but we know for certain that there were many who busied themselves in Marie's time with the *matière de Bretagne* and put into literary form the stories long current in popular tradition of

[1] Ed. Roquefort, I, 202 ff; ed. Erling, Kempten, 1883; but best by Warnke, *Bibl. Normannica*, III (Halle, 1885), 86 ff; cf. the O. N. translation *Ianuals Ljóð* in *Strengleikar*, pp. 69 ff, where, however, the MS. being defective, the part corresponding to the first 154 lines is unfortunately missing.

[2] G. Paris, in a brief note on Kolls, *Zur Lanval Sage* (*Rom.*, XV, 644), leaves the question open: "Reste à savoir si les deux poèmes ont une source commune, ou si l'on a influencé l'autre." There is no real trace of influence either way; see below, p. 170, note.

Breton heroes and their marvellous deeds—stories which form the basis of Arthurian romance. Marie's position among these unnamed contemporaries resembles that of Shakspere amid his fellow dramatists in the age of Elizabeth. They did well, but she and he did better. Marie wrote the lay of *Milun*, but not *Doon; Bisclavret*, but not *Mélion; Lanval*, but not *Graelent*.

If then *Lanval* and *Graelent* are not by the same author, what relation do they bear to each other? The generally accepted opinion is that *Graelent* is the older, and represents the form of the story before it was polished by Marie. If, however, we examine the reasons for this opinion, we shall, I think, see that they are not entirely adequate; we cannot accept it without reserve.

The chief difference between *Lanval* and *Graelent* is in the way the hero comes into relation with the fay. Lanval, in distress because his money is all gone, leaves the court and makes his way to a pleasant meadow, where he lies down to rest by a river's side. Suddenly he sees two beautiful maidens approach, richly dressed, one bearing a basin of gold, the other a towel. They salute him first, and tell him their mistress has sent for him. He accompanies them to a pavilion near by, finer than even Queen Semiramis or the Emperor Octavian could have afforded, which is surmounted by a golden eagle. There, on a rich bed, reclines the fay, clad only in a chemise, with a mantle of purple Alexandrine thrown over her. Her side, face, neck and breast—marvellously fair—are all uncovered. She calls Lanval by name and avows her love for him. He declares his willingness to leave all to be with her. She gives him great gifts, and they lie together until she bids him depart. She cautions the hero not to tell any one of his love, else he shall lose her forever. When he desires her presence he need only wish for her, and she will come to do all his *talent*, unseen by others. After a delightful repast, Lanval departs. When he returns to the city, he is surprised to find his men well dressed and his horse

splendidly caparisoned. He dispenses treasure without stint to people of every condition, rejoicing continually in his lady's love.

Graelent shows great variation from this account. The hero is out alone in the woods, sad because of his poverty, when all of a sudden he sees in a thicket a hind whiter than snow. He starts out in pursuit, but though he is always able to keep near, he can never quite reach her. She leads him into a plain where is a "fountain" with clear, sparkling water, in which a maiden is bathing along with her two damsels. Their garments they have hung up on a tree near by. As soon as Graelent observes the maiden, he thinks no more of the hind. He gazes long at her, marvelling at her beauty, then steals up quietly and gets possession of her clothes. When the bathers realize the knight's presence and their sorry plight, they are terrified, and the lady begs him to return what he has taken. She offers to give him money instead of the clothes, and when he declares that he is not a merchant and even asks her to be his love, she treats him with scorn, and expresses astonishment at his extreme boldness. Finding her so haughty, Graelent threatens to leave her naked in the forest, and when finally he induces her to issue from the fountain, and she is dressed, he conducts her willy nilly into the dark forest, and there "a fait de li ce que li plest." Now she changes her manner with amazing suddenness, grants him her love, promises him, like the fay in *Lanval*, bountiful treasure, and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires it, but that if at any time he reveal their relations he shall lose her. Graelent returns to his dwelling, where a messenger from the lady soon comes to him, and brings such gifts as enable him to be as generous as his heart prompts.

It is obvious that in this episode *Lanval* is much closer to the original story than *Graelent*. There can be absolutely no question that the mistress of the hero was at first a fay pure and simple, that her dwelling was the otherworld, and that

she came on purpose to gain the love of the young knight. She knows his past and future, and is all-powerful to do anything for him he may wish. She has no limitations of beauty, age or resources.

In both lays she is thus represented; but while in *Lanval* she is consistently portrayed, in *Graelent*, in the passage I have summarized, she is confused with a swan-maiden: she must needs be captured by the hero, who gets her into his power by stealing the clothes she has left on the bank while she bathes. Moreover, traces of the joining of the two distinct conceptions are present in our lay. The maiden who one moment pleads with Graelent for mercy and who allows herself to be ravished by force alone, who declares: "Graelent, vus m'avés surprise" (300), nevertheless adds the following bit of information, which would indeed be bewildering did we not know that the inconsistency is due to the introduction of elements foreign to the original story:

> Graelent, vos estes loiaus
> Prox è curtois è assés biax:
> Pur vus ving-jou à la fontaine,
> Pur vus souferai-jou grant paine;
> Bien savoie ceste aventure (315 ff.).

The author has now evidently returned to the original material. The words just quoted should be compared with the following from *Lanval:*

> Lanval, fet ele, bels amis,
> pur vus vinc ieo fors de ma terre
> de luinz vus sui venue querre
> Se vus estes pruz e curteis (110 ff.).

The verbal agreement between the two lays, in reality very slight, is nowhere more significant.

Lanval, I repeat, is much more primitive in this part of the narrative than *Graelent;* and the swan-maiden adventure has evidently been clumsily introduced into a lay where it has no business to be, thereby causing confusion and

inconsistency. Where, we may now ask, did the author of *Graelent* get his material?

I have pointed out elsewhere[1] that in this episode and especially in the hunt which precedes it, *Graelent* shows striking likeness to the lay of *Guingamor*, and that a very similar story is contained in the Old French *Dolopathos* by Herbert, based on the Latin prose version of John of Alta Silva, which was written between 1179 and 1212. But neither of these poems can be regarded as the source of the interpolation in our lay.

There is, however, a poem, in another language and of a much later date, part of which I should like to bring into comparison with this interpolated passage. I refer to the 14th century Middle High German poem of *Friedrich von Schwaben*[2]—a long, rambling, uninspired production, chiefly interesting because of the old traditions it embodies and its allusions to mediaeval works and their heroes. It tells of a fabulous Duke Frederick of Swabia, whom the poet leads from one extraordinary adventure into another without troubling himself much about a reasonable plot. Into this heterogeneous mass of material taken from all kinds of sources, is introduced a romantic version of the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens, which is to be found nowhere else in mediaeval literature except in the beautiful Eddic lay *Vǫlundarkviða*, which dates from the end of the ninth century. This is the best part of the old German poem—the only part, I may add, which is accessible in more than a summary.[3]

[1] "Lay of Guingamor" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, IV, 1897, 236 ff.)

[2] Dr. K. H. Hermes published about 600 lines of the text under the heading *Die Wielandsage im F. v. S.*, in von der Hagen's *Germania*, VII (1846), 95–115. The poem was first analysed by Langer in Gräter's *Bragur, ein Literarisches Magazin der Teutschen u. Nord. Vorzeit*, Leipzig, VI, I (1798), 181–189; VI, II (1800), 189–205; VII, I (1802), 209–235. Cf. Uhland, *Schriften*, I, 481 ff.; Grimm, *Deut. Heldensage*, 310 ff.; 473; Raszmann, *Die deut. Heldensage u. ihre Heimat*, 1857/8, 2nd ed., 1863, II, 265; Jiriczek, *Deut. Heldensagen*, 1898, I, 24 ff.; Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd. ed., III, 642.

[3] Ludvig Voss announces an edition of the poem in his dissertation, *Ueberlief. u. Verfasserschaft des M.H.D. Ritterromans, F. v. S.*, Münster, 1895.

If we compare the stories of Wieland and Graelent, we see that they are both represented as handsome knights who enter the service of a king in order to aid him in a war with another prince. In both cases they come into high favor with the kings they serve, but their wages are unjustly withheld by their lords, and they are thus reduced to poverty.

In W. the king refuses to pay the knight, in order that he may not be able to leave him. In Gt. his refusal is said to be at the suggestion of the amorous queen, who later plays a prominent part in the story; but traces of the original explanation are clear in the words:

> Povre le tenist entur lui
> Qu'il ne péust servir autrui (151–2).

W. bitterly laments his situation. He has, he realizes, lost his *türe arwait*, but there is nothing now for him to do: not being able to leave, he must remain at court in poverty. Even so, Gt. is sad and downcast. He "n'atent nul secors" (159) and decides that "ne li remest que engagier" (155).

W. in his distress rides out alone from the city, and suddenly finds himself in the presence of a beautiful hind, whom he follows until he comes to an open place where is a *prunnen klar*. Separated from the hind, he sees three doves come flying to the fountain and there transform themselves into beautiful women, remove their clothes and go in bathing. W. quietly gets possession of their garments, and then shows himself. When they see him, the maidens are at first terrified, and "nackent und plos" bewail their unhappy condition. Finally, one of them thus appeals to W. (p. 108):

> lieber gesell,
> Nu hör, was ich wel!
> Du hast genommen unser gewand,
> Daz zel ich für ein schand:
> Wir haben dir ne leit getan;
> Darum soltu unz das gewand lan,
> Daz stat wol deinen eren.
> Nu tů mich geweren!

W. replies that one of them must marry him:

> Oder ir müst nackent stan,
> Und ich wil von euch gan;
> Ewr gewand trach ich hin.

They inquire whether he is of noble race; but he will not tell and insists on his demand. They then offer him money.

> Wir wellen mit dir dingen
> Und dir geben reichen sold,
> Baide silber und gold,
> Daz du lebest kostlich
> In ainem jeden rich
> Unser gewand mag dir nit frumen;
> Nun bis versunnen
> Gib uns wider daz!

But he refuses. At last, seeing that there is no escape, they agree to his proposals.

> Er gab in ir gewand,
> Und gieng hindan zů hand.
> Als sij waren angelait,
> Bald was er bereit.

Thereupon, after much complaint, the charming Angelburg, the leader of the three maidens, grants him her love.

In like manner, we remember, Gt. rides out alone into a forest, "très pensix, mornes è dolent" (198). While he is wandering about, he discovers a hind, who leads him to the clear fountain within which he sees three damsels bathing, their clothes having been left on the bank. He pays no more heed to the hind-messenger, but turns all his attention to the three bathers, especially to the one preëminently beautiful.

> Ne la veut en l'iave tuchier,
> Par loisir la laisse baignier.
> Sa despoulle est alés saisir,
> Par tant le cuide retenir
> Ses Dameiseles s'aperçurent
> Del' Chevalier, en effroi furent.
> Lor Dame l'a araisuné,
> Par mautalent l'a apelé:

Graelent, lai mes dras ester,
Ne t'en pués gaires amender
Se tu od toi les emporteies,
E ensi nue me laisseies;
Trop sanleroit grant cunveitise.
Rent moi se viax nun ma chemise,
Li mantiax puet bien estre tuens,
Denier en prens, car il est buens.
Graelent respunt en riant,
Ne sui pas fix à marchéant,
N'a Borgois pur vendre mantiax:
S'il valoit ore trois castiax,
Si n'enporteroie-jou mie:
Isciés de cele iave, Amie,
Prenés vos dras, si vus vestés
Ançois que vus à mei parlés.
Je n'en voil pas, dist-ele, iscir,
Que de mei vus puisiés saisir;
N'ai cure de vostre parole,
Ne sui nient de vostre escole.
Il li respunt, je sofferai,
Vostre despoulle garderai,
Desque vus isterés ça fors:
Bele, mut avés gent le cors.
Qant ele voit qu'il veut atendre,
E que ses dras ne li veut randre;
Séurté demande de lui
K'il ne li face nul anui.
Graelent l'a aséuré;
Sa chemise li a dunée:
Cele s'en ist de maintenant,
Il li tint le mantel devant,
Puis l'afula è si li rent (223 ff.).

Thereupon, he presses his suit, and the maiden, after much protestation, finally gives way, and grants him her love.

The Wieland episode in *Friedrich von Schwaben* is evidently a very close parallel to the interpolation in *Graelent.* The two stories cover just about the same ground, and emphasis is laid on the same features. It should be noted particularly how minutely the two accounts agree, not only in the attitude of the hero towards the three maidens, but also in their attitude towards him. Their "reasoning," which

nowhere else in similar stories is prolonged and detailed to anything like the same extent, is practically identical in both cases. At first affrighted, the bathers beg for the return of their garments. Then, unable to make the hero ashamed of his conduct, they offer to recompense him, deeming him to be a person of common origin whose chief interest in taking their clothes is desire for gain. Such an idea he repudiates, and declares that he will give up their garments when one of them promises to become his *amie*, but not until then. They object to his proposal, for they fear he is of low degree. He thereupon threatens to go off and leave them naked in the forest. Seeing no escape, they agree to his demands, emerge from the water, and receive their clothes from his hands. When they are clad, the hero urges his suit. The beautiful maiden chosen by him to be his lady, protests vehemently, and only gives way by necessity; but afterwards she treats him graciously and the two become devoted lovers.

The Middle High German poem appears to be a late romantic version of the story in first part of the Old Norse lay of Wayland (*Vǫlundarkviða*), which tells how the hunter Wayland and his two brothers discover three swan-maidens bathing in a lonely lake, and how they force them to become their wives by getting possession of their swan-garments, and of the love of Wayland for the beautiful All-wise (*Alvitr*) whom he has thus won.

The Old Norse lay, all scholars agree, is a fusion of two earlier poems independent of each other—a combination nowhere else found. The first part, with which alone we are at present concerned, seems originally to have existed in verse form unconnected with the tale of the famous smith's imprisonment by King Nithuth and his terrible revenge. As Symons says:[1] "Von dieser Sage hat nur das abenteuer-

[1] Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., III, 722 ff.; cf. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Helden Sagen*, I, 9 ff., 24 ff.; F. Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldisl. Litt. Hist.*, Copenhagen, 1893, I, 204 ff.; Detter, *Arkiv f. Nord. Fil.*, III, 309 ff.; Niedner, *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 36 ff.

liche deutsche gedicht Herzog Friedrich von Schwaben einen merkwürdigen, späten Nachklang in ritterlich-phantastischer Umgestaltung bewährt, der zwar zur Erklärung der Sage nichts beiträgt, aber den Beweis liefert, dass auch dieser Teil der nordischen Ueberlieferung von Wieland in Deutschland, und zwar in selbständiger Existenz bekannt gewesen ist." Inasmuch as we have no trace of a written High German original for the poem, Symons suggests (p. 642) that it may have been taken up from some oral Low German version. It is evident, as he points out (p. 729), that although the association of Wayland with a swan-maiden was not well known, the agreement of the Middle High German and Old Norse poems shows that it had already been brought about in the Saxon home of the Wayland story.

It is unnecessary to try to make very precise the relations between the Middle High German version of this tale of Wayland and the interpolation in *Graelent.* I would say, however, that in my opinion the German version goes back more probably to an Old French story than to an older German tradition.[1] The author of *Friedrich von Schwaben* was entirely familiar with Arthurian romance and the *matière de Bretagne.* He gives a list[2] of the noble Knights of the Round Table in which occur the names of Perceval, Erec,

[1] Note that the metrical French *Dolopathos* of Herbert (ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856) is an amplification of a Latin prose version of Johannes de Alta Silva, written ca. 1185, and first published by Oesterley in 1873 (see *Rom.*, II, 500). It contains, as I have pointed out ("Lay of Guingamor," pp. 231 ff.), a swan-maiden story very similar to that in *Guingamor* and in our lay. It is important to observe in this connection that this particular story was separately translated from the Latin of Johannes into German prose, which translation is now preserved in a paper MS. of the 15th century (Haupt and Hoffmann, *Altd. Blätter*, I, 128 ff). It has a few lines of verse at the beginning and the end. This swan-maiden story is not connected with Wayland, and has no such definite points of contact with our lay, as are found in the Friedrich version; but its history shows us that the Wayland story, current in France, and embodied in the *Graelent*, may possibly have got into German through some Latin redaction.

[2] See *Bragur*, VII, I, 225–6; Voss, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

Gawain, Iwein, Lancelot, Wigalois, Tristram, Gawain, Wigamur, Titurel, Amfartas, and others; and his poem, so far as we can tell from the summaries, has many Celtic motives.

It may be well to remark that the episode in the Friedrich poem cannot possibly be based on that in *Graelent*. For, in the first place, there is no suggestion in it of any other part of the lay, agreement between the two poems being confined to the one incident, which is complete and of about the same length in both cases—and, secondly, because in certain features the German poem is evidently closer to the original story: the hind speaks to the hero and is more unmistakably a fay-messenger, but, above all, the three maidens come flying to the fountain in the form of doves, and are not transformed into women until they go to bathe.

As Symons rightly thinks, the swan-maiden story was doubtless told of Wayland among the Saxons. It certainly was well known to the Normans, and could without the slightest difficulty have become familiar to the Bretons and French through them. Already considerable influence of Northern tradition has been pointed out in Breton romance, e. g., in *Tristan*, and time will, I believe, reveal many more borrowings from the same abundant source. As J. Loth says:[1] "L'idée d'avoir été chercher du Scandinave dans les traditions armoricaines n'a rien que de naturel pour qui connaît les luttes si fréquentes et si sanglantes des deux peuples. Nous possédons même une épopée française au XIIe siècle, composée en Bretagne et dont le sujet est au fond la lutte des Bretons contre les Norrois (*Noreys*) et leur victoire définitive sur les envahisseurs, le *Roman d'Acquin* (éd. Juon des Longrais, Nantes, 1880). Il n'y a question ni d'Erec, ni d'aucun des héros des romans arthuriens, silence signicatif et qui prouve qu'au XIIe siècle, en Armorique, les souvenirs les plus vivants, les plus nationaux étaient ceux des longues et sanglantes luttes des Bretons emigrés pour l'indépendance de leur nouvelle patrie, d'abord contre les Francs, puis contre les Normands. Le Beau,

[1] "Les Romans Arthuriens" (*Revue Celtique*, XIII, 484).

d'après un écrivain du XIe siècle, Ingomar, nous a aussi conservé dans son Histoire de Bretagne le souvenir de luttes plus anciennes encore des Bretons contre les pirates Frisons et Francs." It may not then be wholly accidental that every Graelent we know from fabulous or romantic narrative, except the hero of our lay, is in some way connected with the Saxons or Franks. The Graalant in the *Merlin* is mentioned in the chapter dealing with the battle against the "Saisnes;" the Graelent in *Aspremont* is said to have been brought up at the court of Charlemagne, with whom even Gradlon Mor in the 12th century was associated. Grâlant, moreover, was, as I have shown, the hero to whom was attributed in Germany, where the Northern traditions were widely current, the story of the gruesome repast of Gurûn's lady, to which many close parallels exist in Old Norse.[1]

Granted, then, that the story of Wayland's capture of a swan-maiden who became his beloved wife, was known among the Saxons and Normans, and that it found its way to the Bretons and French, it would inevitably be worked over by

[1] Could this confusion of Gurûn with Grâlant be due to a vague reminiscence of the fact that Galant made drinking cups out of the heads of King Nithuth's sons and sent them to the unfortunate father, who drank from them at a feast? This eating of the heart of one's nearest and dearest is common enough in Scandinavian tradition. Indeed, as Ahlström suggests (p. 135), *Gurûn* may itself come from *Guðrún*, who served up to her husband Atli the hearts of his two sons Erp and Eitil (*Guðrún* passing into *Gurûn* as *Gradlon* into *Graelen*, the dental spirant disappearing early in the Celtic languages; see Zimmer, *Zt. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 4, 5; *Z. D. A.*, XXXII, 245, note 3). In Germany the Nibelungen stories, which told of Regin and Sigurth cooking the heart of Fáfnir, and of the cutting of the hearts of Gunnar and Högni from their breasts, must have been very familiar. No early Celtic motive of this kind has as yet been pointed out. It is interesting to observe that the poem in which Guiron is first mentioned, viz., the *Tristan*, is that in which Northern influence is most manifest.

In the *Wilkina Saga*, King Nithuth is represented as hamstringing Wayland in order to keep him with him. The king was at war with his enemies. Wayland did him a service for which a great reward had been promised. The king, however, was ungrateful and refused to recompense him for his service. The smith felt himself unjustly treated, but had to continue in the employ of the king. This is not unlike the Graelent story.

them in romantic form, and under the influence of stories like *Guigemar* and the *Chevalier au Cygne*, develop into just such an *aventure* as we must postulate to explain the Graelent interpolation and the Wieland episode in the Middle High German romance.

What name would the hero bear in the French version of this story? Unquestionably that by which Wayland was always known in Old French, viz., *Galant*. This is, for our purposes, a very important point: the hero of the story which the lay-writer used as the basis of his interpolation was called in German *Wieland*, but in Old French *Galant*. Here, I believe, we have the reason for the introduction of the disturbing incidents. The author of the lay, knowing the story of Galant and the beautiful swan-maiden, and observing its likeness to the induction of other romantic Breton narratives, decided to introduce this, as he did other matter, into the story he was working over from earlier traditions. Having changed his account in many features, he makes up his mind to give his hero a new name, and he naturally chooses that of the hero of the story he has embodied in his narrative, having to alter it but slightly to make it identical with that of the well-known Breton king, whose victories over the Franks had made him popular among those who belonged to the same ancient realm.[1] There is nothing whatever in the history of Gradlon Mor—historical or fabulous—to suggest unaided the ascription to him of these adventures. But it was the easiest thing in the world to give to the name *Galant* the slight twist necessary to make him an entirely suitable hero for a "Breton lay." There is no hint of the swan-maiden episode in the 15th century Middle English version of our lay by Thomas Chestre, although, as we shall see (pp. 153 ff., below), it contains many features preserved in *Graelent*, but not in Marie's

[1] King Grallon still lives in popular tradition in Armorica. See Ferd. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV, 516, who cites *Annales de Bretagne*, Nov., 1894, p. 63. Cf. further Th. de la Villemarqué, *Barzas-Breiz*, Paris, 1839, pp. XLIII, and (for the legend of St. Ronan in which Grallon figures) 315 ff.

poem. It is significant, therefore, that it too is called by what I regard as the original name, *Launfal.* The swan-maiden episode, I believe, is most closely associated with the name of the lay in which it is alone found, and which alone bears this name. The lay was not called *Graelent* (*Graalant*[1]) until it embodied the story of *Galant.*

De la Borderie imagines (I, 323) that this poem represents the oldest branch of a legendary cycle that grew up around the name of Gradlon. "C'est la légende de la jeunesse de Gradlon. Il n'est pas roi encore, mais il est beau et brave, audacieux, irrésistible," and so on. The historian surely takes the matter altogether too seriously. Admit, as we may, that the name Graelent is phonetically about the same as Gradlon, it does not follow that every episode in which a hero of that name figures is part of a legendary cycle to be attached to the most prominent person who has borne it. And now that we are aware that in all probability the name was attached to the poem by what may be called accident, and that Lanval was more likely the person about whom the story was originally told, the last possibility of attaching it to the fifth century Armorican prince, as a branch of his legendary history, is forever removed.

With regard, moreover, to the name of our hero, we should observe that there is no reason why a proper noun developed out of *Gradlon* should have phonetically a final *-t*, unless by some confusion. Zimmer,[2] aware of the difficulty, offered two possible explanations: (1) In the second part of Breton names the etymologically related *-gen* (= stem *geno-*) and *-gent* (= stem *gento-* = O.H.G. *kind*), later *ien* and *ient*, have the same meaning, and in like manner the *-en*, which developed from *-on*, may have been lengthened to *-ent.* (2) The oblique case *Graelent* was simply formed by the Frenchified Bretons out of the nominative *Graelens* by analogy. Neither

[1] This is the superscription of the lay in the MS. of the end of the 13th century from which G. Paris has published his *Lais Inédits;* see *Rom.*, VIII, 32–33.

[2] *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XIII, 6.

of these suggestions, however, seems very plausible. It is important to note, in the first place, that this final *-t* seems never to have attached itself to the regular developments of the name *Gradlon*. This name is now current in Brittany[1] without a *-t*. Moreover, the modern French equivalent of the earlier *Gradlon* is *Grallon*. Nowhere is there a trace of a *-t* except in our lay and in passages influenced by it. It is not common in the history of language to have a whole people revert to the original form of a name after a new one has become established. Even in our lay, moreover, the *-t* is not constant. To be sure, we have no really good edition of the poem, with the variants given; but Le Grand d'Aussy writes always *Gruélan*, and Renouard, who in the appendix to his translation prints the text complete, though he uses *Graelent* usually, writes nevertheless *Graelen-Mor*, without the *-t*. The scribe, familiar with the name of the ancient king, may have written it at this point, where the identification was apparent, in the way to which he was accustomed.

I believe it likely that the author of our lay, having *G(u)alant* before him as the name of the hero in the story he was inserting, identified this hero with the great Breton king *Graalen* (*Graelen*) *Mor*. He adopted the *-r-* from the king's name, to make the two names more alike,[2] but he did not drop the *-t* already present. His lay becoming popular, the form with *-t* was usually written by later scribes whenever the name of the hero occurred in the documents they were writing.[3]

[1] Brizeux (*Gramm. Celto-Bretonne*, 2nd ed., 1838, cited by R. Köhler, p. lxxxii, note 1) says: "Sous la Ligue on chantait encore le *Graalen-Môr*, qui a tant fourni aux romans de la Table-Ronde; et l'on chante toujours: Ar roué *Graalen* zô enn Iz bez."

[2] Cf. *Guingalet, Gringalet; Guingamor, Gringamore; Gifflet, Grifflet*, etc. There are plenty of instances of an adventitious *-r-* of this kind, so that this simple addition would in no way disturb him. See Add. note, p. 180.

[3] It is very instructive to observe how the name of an historical Norseman, the famous viking *Guðormr*, against whom Alfred the Great strove successfully, found its way into the romances, and underwent numerous transformations. We find it in Gottfried's *Tristan* in the form *Gurmun;* and this name too seems to have been confused with *Gurun* in the MSS.

However, in the lay, *Graelent* (*Graalant*) has three syllables, although the German poems write only *Grâlant* (*Grâlanden*) and the Old Norse translation has *Grelent*, which seem hardly to accord with that pronunciation. Zimmer would explain the extra syllable as a trace of the dental spirant (in Gradlon) which has dropped. Professor Sheldon suggests, what seems more likely, that the name may have taken its present form under the influence of *Grael* (*Graal*), the Holy Grail.

It should be noted that Wayland's name is found in French and Latin documents in various forms, e. g., *Galant*, *Gallant*, *Galland*, *Gualant*, *Guielandus*. We cannot be sure just what form it had in the story from which the author of Gt. borrowed. The variants of the proper noun in *Erec*, 1952, which Foerster agrees with Zimmer in regarding as that of our hero *Graelent* are: *Grailemus*, *Graillemers*, *Garlemes*, *Greslemues*, *Graislemiers*, and the form *Grahelens* in *BI* probably represents the reading in the MS. of *Erec* that Renaud had before him. Obviously the scribes treated names carelessly, and altered them freely.[1]

of *Anséis de Carthage* (see above, p. 123). Hertz in an interesting note to his translation of the *Tristan* (Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 569–79) discusses the romantic history of this personage, and cites the following forms of his name: *Guðrum*, *Gudrum*, *Godrum*, *Guðrun*, *Gydhrun*; *Guthram*, *Gythram*, *Guntram*, *Gunther*, *Gountere*, *Guderus*, *Gytro*, etc. By Geoffrey and his contemporaries he was usually called: *Gurmund*, *Gormund*, *Wermund*; by Wace also, *Guermons*, *Gormons*. He was also confused with *Gorm(o)*. See Ferd. Lot (*Rom.*, XXVII, 18–47), who writes as follows (p. 47): "En résumé, Gormond est parfaitement historique: il résulte de la fusion de *Vurmo*, chef danois, qui fit campagne en France en 881 et 882, et du viking d'Angleterre, *Guthorm* (Gudrum), que nous voyons sons les murs de Cirencestre en 879. Ses exploits et le stratagème fabuleux par lequel il s'empara de cette ville [see Geoffrey, XI, 8, 10; XII, 2] étaient déjà racontés dans le poème du XIe siècle et ont pour origine une *saga* ou au moins un recit scandinave." Note also the transformation of the Scandinavian name, *Hengist*, which became in French *Angius*, *Anguis*, in Malory *King Anguish*; cf. the English *Merline* (*Percy Folio MS.*, I, 424–25), where *King Anguis*, "The Danish King," is the leader of many "Sarazens," who "wrought in England mickle woe."

[1]Another good example of scribal variations we may find in the forms of the proper names in Marie's lay of *Yonec*, where one scribe writes the

The existence of the interpolation in Gt. has evidently misled Ahlström, who maintains that our lays embody what was originally a swan-maiden story. The principal theme of Chrétien's *Yvain*, he asserts,[1] is "ce même conte de la femme-cygne qui nous a donné les lais de *Graelent*, etc." But he finds it hard to explain the situation in *Lanval* on such an hypothesis, and makes the unhappy suggestion that there is in Marie's lay a reminiscence of the fountain scene, inasmuch as the two maidens of the fay, when they first meet the hero, bear one a towel, the other a basin of gold. "Dans *Lanval*, le pendant de *Graelent*, il ne reste de toute la scène [à la fontaine] que la rencontre du héros avec deux belles suivantes, qui portent de l'eau pour le bain de leur maîtresse" (p. 296). In his Swedish dissertation,[2] he even undertakes to explain why this change took place: "The climate in the district of Kardoil did not readily allow any such fantastic notions as beautiful fays bathing in fountains out in the open, and therefore the *amies* of Lanval and Désiré had to be satisfied to take their baths at home." Ahlström surely imagines Kardoil[3] (Carlisle in Cumberland) much nearer the North Pole than it really is. The maidens were of course not preparing to "tub" their mistress; they were simply getting water (in a *gold* basin, be it noted) for use in bathing the hands before meat, as was the regular custom in the romances.

Liebrecht,[4] too, did not suspect the real situation in *Graelent*, thinking it a version of the Psyche story, "zwar einige

hero's name variously: *Ywenet, Iwenec, Yuunec, Yonec;* another *Dyonet, Iomet, Dyomet, Yonet, Ionet.* His father is called *Muldumarec, Murdimalet, Nusdumaret, Eudemarec.* In the same lay the city of *Caerwent, Carwent, Caruent, Caruot, Cacruet, Carnant,* is said to be on the river *Duëlas, Dualas, Ditalas.*

[1] "Sur l'Origine du Chevalier au Lion" (*Mélanges de phil. romane, dédiés à Carl Wahlund,* Macon, 1896), p. 299.

[2] *Studier,* pp. 54–55.

[3] On this place see Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch,* p. 327.

[4] Kuhn's *Zt. f. vergl. Sprachforschung,* XVIII, 1869, 59 ff.

züge (verbot des Schauens, Lampe) verloren." He does not seem to have known of its connection with the other lays of the cycle.

III.

If now we examine the lay of *Graelent* in connection with that of *Lanval*, we shall see that there are still other clear cases in which *Graelent* has less primitive material than its companion poem.

The first of these is a long disquisition of 34 lines (73–106) on love, which is certainly late. When the queen asks him if he has an *amie*, Graelent replies in the negative. "Love is no trifling matter," he explains; "hundreds of people speak of love, without having the least idea of real devotion. It is rather a *rage*, a *folie*. Idleness, indifference, and falseness destroy it. Love demands chastity in thought, word and action. If one of two lovers is faithful and the other false and jealous, their affection cannot be of long duration. Love has no need of a companion. When true, it comes from God alone, 'de cors en cors, de cuer en cuer.' Cicero, in his *De Amicitia*, says expressly that what one lover desires should be desired by the other, if they are to be happy together. But if the wishes of the two do not coincide, love no longer exists. It is easy to get a mistress, but to keep her requires 'douçour, è francise, è mesure.' Love ought never to be feigned. It demands so great loyalty that I have never allowed myself to be under its sway." Such a scholastic discussion reveals too much familiarity with the elaborate treatments of love in the Middle Ages[1] to be anything but a late addition to the originally simple, unsophisticated story. It is found in no other version, and is entirely out of place in *Graelent*.

[1] See W. A. Neilson, "Origins and Sources of the *Court of Love*" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VI, 1899).

This discussion is inserted in the interview between the hero and the amorous queen who, like Potiphar's wife,[1] receives

[1] On the Potiphar's wife episode, see Schofield, "Lay of Guingamor," p. 237. Rhŷs says (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 228): "The Mórrigu or Great Queen's antagonism to Cuchulainn was explained thus in Irish mythology: In a weak moment she made love to him, and he gave her a rebuff which she keenly resented." With the situation in *Guingamor* and other similar stories, cf. that in the *Hjalmters og Ölvers Saga*, ch. 8 (*Fornmanna Sögur*, III, 469 ff): Hjalmter refuses the advances of his step-mother (cf. *Seven Sages*) and treats her roughly. She proceeds to have her revenge. In chapter 9, the hero vainly pursues a hind in a forest, which leads him to a giant's cave. This is evidently a result of the step-mother's machinations. Hjalmter wishes to kill the giant "ok lúka sva stjúpmoður mina sendiförina þá sem hun hefir sendt okkr hingat til hans" (p. 472).

In the popular ballad, *The Queen of Scotland* (Child, No. 301), a queen in the king's absence invites young Troy Muir to her bower and bed.

'O God forbid,' this youth then said,
'That ever I drie sic blame
As ever to touch the queen's bodie,
Altho the king's frae hame.'

When that he had these words spoken
She secretly did say,
'Some evil I shall work this man,
Before that it be day.'

This ballad contains nought but motives of romance. The queen tells the hero that "if he will lift a stone in the garden he will find in a pit under the stone gold enough to buy a dukedom. The next morning Troy Muir lifts the stone, and a long-starved serpent winds itself around his middle. A maid comes by and allays the serpent's rage by cutting off her pap for him. Troy Muir is immediately released, and the wound in the maid's breast heals in an hour." Later she recovers her pap. Miss Harper has shown (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, Nov., 1898) the connection between this tale and that of Carados and the serpent in the *Perceval*, and her argument has been discussed at length by Gaston Paris, "Carados et le Serpent," in *Rom.*, XXVIII, 1899, 214–231. I may add that in the *Prose Lancelot* the hero is urged to open a tomb to see what it contains, and that, when he does so, a dragon emerges. This story is contained in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Bk. XI, ch. 1; see Sommer's edition, III, 191 ff.

The hero's name, *Troy Muir*, seems to be only a corruption of *Tryamour*, though, as Professor Child observes, the ballad has no likeness to the romance so called (ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc., vol. XVI, 1846). It should be noted that the fay in Chestre's poem is called *Dame Tryamour*, and

a rebuff from the youth to whom she offers her love. This incident is found in both poems, and was therefore in the earlier story from which both poets drew. It occurs, however, in different places in the two narratives. In *Lanval* it very naturally superinduces the disclosure of the hero's relations with his *amie*. The queen, seeing Lanval happy and radiant, the beloved of all at court, not only because of his personal attractions, but also because of his generosity, which is made possible by the help of the fay, readily falls in love with him. He as readily, under such circumstances, rejects her forthputting offer, and when taunted by her with secret vice,[1] naturally justifies himself by telling the real reason for his conduct. In Gt., on the other hand, the scene with the queen is dragged in, evidently out of place, at the very beginning of the lay. It is clearly stated (see p. 134) that the king refuses to pay the hero so that he may retain him in his service, and yet this is said also to be due to the machinations of the

that the fair maiden whom Friedrich von Schwaben wins at the fountain is the daughter of a King *Triamer*. *Tryamour* is, except in Chestre's poem, where I suspect a misunderstanding, a man's name. It is the name of the King of Wales in *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Kölbing, 1882, ll. 2300 ff. In the English *Merlin* (ed. Wheatley, E. E. T. S., 594) we find a "*Triamores*, casteleyn of Cambenyk." *Sir Tryamour*, the English romance, is mentioned along with *Sir Lancelot of the Lake*, *The Knight of the Swan*, *Sir Bevis*, and *Sir Guy* as having been read by Rowlands, who wrote a poem on Guy of Warwick in 1608 (see *Rowlands' Works*, Hunterian Club, 1874, II, 8). See below, p. 160, n. 2.

[1] Geoffrey of Monmouth (Bk. XI, ch. 7) says of Malgo, King of Britain, that he was "omnium fere Britanniae pulcerrimus, ... robustus armis, largior ceteris: and ultra modum probitate præclarus, *nisi Sodomitana peste volutatus*." A similar statement is made of Guendoloena in Bk. II, ch. 6. Note in this connection that the fights of Arthur with the Picts and Scots, referred to in the introduction to Marie's lay, are recounted by Geoffrey, Bk. IX, ch. 1 ff. The Duke of Cornwall, moreover, plays a prominent part in *Lanval* (ll. 435 ff.) as in Geoffrey, Bk. IX, ch. 5, 15; Bk. X, ch. 6, 9. It looks as if Marie knew Geoffrey's work, and was influenced by it in minor details. (See on this point Brugger, *Zt. f. fr. Sp. u. Lit.*, XX (1898), 122 ff.; Ferd. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1898), 47, n. 2). On the prevailing vice alluded to by Marie, see, however, Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leip., 1879, I, 455, n. 3, 456, n. 1, 457.

queen, who, we should think, would be most eager to get him away from court lest he betray her infidelity. In *Guingamor*, we remember, the queen in a similar situation, far from trying to keep the knight at court, urges her lord to propose to him the boar-hunt from which, as she knows, ten others who have already undertaken it have never returned.

The Potiphar's wife scene appears to have been shifted from the position it occupies in *Lanval*,[1] when another device was adopted to make a suitable occasion for the knight's betrayal of his secret love. The king is represented as having the queen placed, *desfublée*, on a high balcony to show off her beauty, and as then asking his courtiers if they have ever seen anyone more beautiful. All of course praise her, as they are expected to do—all but Gt. His silence is noticed, and he is thus led, by way of explaining his conduct, to boast of his *amie*.

Graelent, then, cannot unreservedly be called older than *Lanval*, as scholars assert.[2] In certain very important features it appears to be much less primitive in substance and arrangement, and to contain matter foreign to and inconsistent with the original narrative.

But still there is some justification for the prevalent opinion in that Gt. does seem more primitive in some respects than Marie's lay. In the first place, the scene in *Lanval* is laid at Arthur's court and Guinevere plays the part of the forth-putting queen. Originally, there can be little doubt, the hero of our lay was not a knight of the Round Table, and the Arthurisation of the poem is evidence of a comparatively late redaction. Still, neither lay is old enough in its present form to make Arthur's appearance in it remarkable. Stories of the great king had been for a long time on everyone's lips, and ere this many a Breton hero had doubtless given up his independent existence and joined the brilliant company of Arthurian knights. It is interesting, however, to observe

[1] On the reason for this shift, see below, pp. 168 ff.

[2] For example, Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 324; G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, xxx, 9.

that *Lanval* is the only one of Marie's lays in which Arthur plays a part, and further that his association with it has no effect whatever on the plot. The lay is not worked over to suit the new conditions. The lines in which Arthur and his knights are mentioned could be cut out bodily without affecting the story.

In the second place, Gt. contains an episode not in Marie which I believe to have been in the original source. I refer to that part of the lay which tells of the hero's relations with the mayor's daughter. In all probability the hero's poverty is to be explained by the fact that though he had been long engaged by the king to help him in a war he was waging, he had received no pay for his services, and had spent all he had brought with him to court. The king was deliberately withholding his reward for fear the knight should leave him. Marie mentions in opening that the king was carrying on war, but makes no further reference to the situation to explain his conduct. No reason whatever is stated for not giving gifts to L. as to the others of his court; yet this ignoring of L. when Arthur was distributing presents is represented as habitual.

Gt. finds himself alone one day in great need at the house of a citizen of the town, all the household being absent at a dinner except his host's daughter. She takes pity on the poor knight and asks him to dine with her, but he declares that he has no desire to eat. He would gladly go riding in the country, but he has no saddle or bridle. The maiden provides him with this equipment, and he rides off on an old horse, which totters beneath him. His plight attracts the attention of the passers-by. They comment on his evident poverty and jeer at him. Finally he reaches a meadow, where he alights, lets his horse loose to graze, and lies down with his ragged mantle beneath his head.

This episode, which, as we shall see, is preserved rather more fully in Thomas Chestre's English version, appears to have been in Marie's source also. At all events, she has in

her brief introduction, which gives one the impression of being much condensed, a passage which cannot be explained except as a reminiscence, though perhaps an unconscious one, of the original situation.

The knight, we read, "qui tant aveit le rei servi," and who yet is in sad poverty, issues alone from the town to *esbaneier*. And in this connection it is said that "sis chevals tremble forment" (46). There is no hint of his horse being in ill condition, and yet it "trembles greatly." This is unintelligible unless we suppose it to be a reminiscence of a fuller introductory account similar to that in Gt. and Chestre. Compare particularly the words of the English poet:

> Launfal dyȝte hys courser
> Wythoute knaue oþer squyer,
> He rood wyth lytyll pryde.
> *Hys hors slod and fel yn þe fen,*
> Wherfore hym scornede many men.
> Abowte hym fer and wyde (211 ff.).

It is clear that Marie either had before her an imperfect account or deliberately omitted the whole scene. She may have thought that it was ill suited for a courtly audience, or that it detracted from the dignity of any Arthurian hero to represent him in such a plight, justly laughed at by common people. At all events, the opening fifty lines of *Lanval* are clearly a condensation of the original introduction.

The view we hold with respect to the relations of Gt. and the lay of Thomas Chestre[1] will probably affect our opinion concerning the age of the matter which these two poems have

[1] Edited first by G. Ellis, *Le Grand d'Aussy's Fabliaux, translated by G. L. Way*, London, 1800, 2nd ed., 1815; again by Ritson, *Ancient Eng. Met. Romances*, London, 1802 (ed. Goldsmid, Edin., 1885, II, 1–33; or, with *Lib. Desc.*, separately, 1891), but best by Erling, Kempten, 1883; cf. Ward, *Cat. of Roms.*, I, 416. The shorter English version *Sir Lambewell* may be found in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1867, I, 142 ff.; Kittredge, "Launfal," *Amer. Journal of Philology*, X, No. 1; cf. Zupitza, Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXVIII, 68; Kaluza, *Engl. Studien*, XVIII, 168 ff.; Sarrazin, *id.*, XXII, 331 f.

in common, but which is not to be found in Marie. And yet before we can solve this problem, we must know what relation the other English version, *Sir Landavall* (*Lambewell*), bears to Marie and Chestre. This last question admits of a definite answer. A minute, independent examination of the English lays, has shown me that the family tree which Prof. Kittredge has arranged in his admirable discussion of the English versions of *Launfal* is certainly correct. Scholars are wrong who assert that the short version is but a condensation of Chestre's poem. Nevertheless, there is obviously very close agreement between them. In many long passages the language is almost identical. I have counted no less than 83 cases in which the same rhyme is employed, and in 50 more the same word is used in both poems to end other lines. Thus, of the 632 lines in *Lambewell*, 216 end with the same word as the corresponding ones in *Launfal*, and there are many others in which the alteration is obvious and the reason for it easily discernible. There is only one possible explanation of this situation: Thomas Chestre utilized freely the earlier rhymed English translation of Marie's lay. There is no evidence to prove that he was familiar with the work of the Anglo-Norman poetess in the original. His poem, however, is 1044 lines long, compared with the 623 in the translation (535 in R.), and 664 in the French. It is evident, therefore, that he has added considerable new material. What is the nature of his amplifications?

We may first eliminate a passage of 108 lines (505–612) which tells how L. overcomes a Lombard knight, Syr Valentyn, who has heard of his fame and challenges him to fight. L. travels from Brittany to Lombardy to accept the challenge, and not only slays his opponent but also many of the "lordes of Atalye." This episode is clear padding. It is only interesting to us at present as showing Chestre's eagerness to expand his narrative. He is simply doing on a small scale what many mediaeval writers had done before him, amplifying a Breton

lay into a romance by adding to it incidents borrowed from various and unlike sources.

But the most interesting of Chestre's additions to the earlier English translation are those which present material found in Gt. but not in Marie. We have already seen how the two poems, Gt. and Lf., agree in the scene with the daughter of his host, how she invites him to dine with her (cf. his reply, "Jeo n'ai cure de mangier," 178, and "To dyne have I no herte," 195) and later gives him a saddle and bridle, with which he rides away on a broken-down horse. His poor equipment in each case attracts attention. Cf.

> Cil et celes qui l'esgardèrent
> L'escarnirent mult è gabèrent (189–90).

and

> Wherefore hym scornede many men
> Aboute hym fer and wyde (215–16).

He rides on, however, to the forest where (though in different ways) he discovers the beautiful fay.

We may now note the other significant agreements between Lf. and Gt., as opposed to Marie:

1. After his meeting with the fay, the knight leaves in the morning just as he had come, without change of raiment, without attendant. He returns to the city and goes at once to his chamber. He is there looking out of the window when he sees messengers approach, who bear him treasures from his *amie*.

2. The two most important presents given him are a beautiful steed and an attendant squire, neither of which are mentioned by Marie. The squire (in Lf. called Gyfre) is sent by the fay to pay Lf.'s debts and arrange his affairs. He says to Gt. (349 f.):

> Vos gages vus aquiterai
> De vostre ostel garde prendrai.

Cf. Lf., 418 ff.:

> All that Launfal had borwyth before
> Gyfre, be tayle and be score,
> Yald hyt well and fyne.

The presents are similar in the two poems. In Gt. the messenger displays "Buins dras à sun Segnur vestir" (367), rich clothes (362–5), "or et argent" (366). In Lf. they appear "some with sylver, some wyth gold" (379), "wyth ryche clothes, and armure bryght" (382). No particular gifts are spoken of in Marie.

3. In both cases the knight has an interview with his host, who is now most gracious.

4. In Marie there is no mention of the clerics in the list of those helped by the hero. In Lf. we read that he gave to the "*relygyons*" and in Gt. to the "*croisiés*" (in the same connection in both places).

5. In Gt. we learn that:

> El païs n'a turneiement,
> Dunt il ne seit tus li premiers,
> Mut est amés des chevaliers (402 ff.).

Lf. has a description of a tournament, which is not found elsewhere, but which may have been suggested by some such remark as the above. It begins thus:

> Alle the lordes of Karlyoun
> Lette crye a turnement yn the toun
>   for love of Syr Launfal (432 ff.).

6. In Lf. and Gt. the king calls together his followers to a feast, at which the subsequent events take place.

> Semonneit ses Baruns par ban,
> Tus ceux qui de lui rien teneient,
> E à sa Cort od lui mangeient,
> Serveient le par grant amur (412 ff.).

Cf.

> For King Artour wold a feste holde.
> Of erles and barons bolde,
>   Of lordynges more and lesse (619 ff.).

7. In Gt., after judgment has been passed on the knight, respite is given him for a year (519). In Lf. it is put at "twelve moneth and fourtenyght" (815), the last words

being probably added for the sake of rhyme. In M. no length of time is mentioned.

8. In Lf. and Gt. the knight goes from the court to his own lodging. He finds, of course, in all versions that he has lost his *amie*, but in Lf. and Gt. he discovers that the squire she has given him has also disappeared (cf. Lf. 728, 737, and Gt. 502 ff.).

9. When the messengers come, they alight at the gate in Gt. and Lf.; in M. they ride straight up to the king's dais (cf. Gt. 569–71 and Lf. 860–61).

10. Only in Gt. and Lf. is the saddle and other equipment of the fay's "palfrey" described. Its great value is emphasized (cf. Gt. 602 ff. and Lf. 949 ff.).

11. In both cases the hero has a faithful horse which laments the loss of its master (see below, p. 158 ff.).

These agreements, especially the interview with the host's daughter, the riding-out on the old horse, the return to the chamber in the same attire, the attendant squire and the splendid horse bestowed by the fay, the disappearance of the former when the pledge of secrecy is broken, and the lamenting steed, are very definite. There are only two ways of explaining them: either Chestre borrowed direct from Gt., or both drew from a common source in which the story was more complete than in Marie.

Before deciding this question, it should be noted that the English poem has also features in common with *Désiré*,[1] a lay very closely connected with the Lanval cycle, which likewise tells of a young knight who has secret relations with a fay, whose love he loses by making open confession of it. Here, too, we find that the fay sends the knight a servant (p. 29), and definite presents. One of these, an *anel d'or* through which he is able to control as much gold and silver as he desires, reminds us of the *alner*[2] of silk in which Lf. always

[1] Ed. Francisque Michel, *Lais Inédits*, Paris, 1836, pp. 5 ff.; cf. *Strengleikar*, pp. 37 ff.

[2] In Marie's lay of *Milun* an *anel d'or* serves as a means of recognition of a son by his father. The following lines may perhaps throw light on the relation of the *alner* to the rest of the gift:

found a mark of gold, a sort of Fortunatus' purse. In both cases this gift vanished when the hero broke his vow of secrecy. Moreover, the beginning and ending of the two poems are similar. Chestre represents Lf. as begging Arthur for leave to go to his own home (giving as a reason the death of his father). Cf. *Désiré*, p. 16:

> Désiré prent del rei congé;
> En sa terre en est alez
> A Calatir où il fu nez.

Compare, however, particularly the following passage at the end of *Désiré:*

> La damoisele ad pris cungé;
> En sun païs s'en volt aler,
> N'aveit cure de sojurner:
> 'Muntez, fet-ele, Désirez;
> Ensemble od mei vus irrez. . . .
> Désirez munte, si s'en va
> Od s'amie ki l'enmena.
> Od li remeist en tele manere
> Ke pus ne repeira arere,
> De returner n'ot-il mès cure (pp. 36–37).

With these words from *Launfal:*

> þe lady lep an hyr palfray
> And bad hem alle haue good day,
> Sche nolde no lengere abyde; . . .
> þe kny3t to horse began to sprynge,
> Anoon wythout any lettynge
> Wyth hys lemman away to ryde (1009–16).
> þus Launfal wythouten fable
> þat noble kny3t of þe rounde table
> Was take ynto fayrye
> Seþþe saw hym yn þys lond no man (1033 ff).

> "al col li pendirent l'anel
> e une almosniere de seie
> avuec le brief que nuls nel veie" (96 ff.).

Milun also went about "chercher les turneiemenz" (376). Cf. Ywain's ring given him by his lady; see Ahlström, *Mélanges Wahlund*, pp. 297–98. There are numerous instances of such magic rings.

The other poems have all a different ending. In M. the fay pays no attention to the knight; but when she is leaving he jumps from a *perron* on her horse behind her, and rides away with her to Avalon. In Gt. too, the fay heeds not her *ami* when she leaves the court. He rides after her through a forest to a river. He wishes to follow her further but she bids him not attempt to cross the stream; he is sure to drown if he does. He, however, plunges in after her, gets separated from his steed, and is about to sink, when, at her companions' intercession, the fay rescues him, and replaces his wet garments by her own mantle.

> En sa terre l'en ad mené
> Encore dient cil du paїs
> Que Graelent i est tous vis (708 ff.).

Gt. is entirely unlike Lf. in this final scene; for in Gt., as in M., the fay appears resentful when leaving court, while in Lf. and D. she rides away happily with her *ami*. And yet Gt. and Lf. agree in mentioning the fidelity of the hero's horse. In Gt. are sixteen lines on this subject, from which we learn that the knight's horse was disconsolate at the loss of his master. He went about in the forest neighing loudly. It was impossible to catch him. But tradition said that every year at the time when he had lost his master, he returned to the stream, and manifested distress by his stamping and neighing.[1] This

[1] Gt. has no name for the horse, but in Chestre it is called *Blaunchard.* This is found elsewhere as the name of a horse, e. g., in *Sir Generides* (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club, Hertford, 1865, ll. 4146, 4447, 4825, 7951, and especially 9280). Cf. 4825–6:

> Blaunchard he spored, his goode stede,
> That as the winde ondre him yede.

Again in *Garin le Lohérain*, ed. P. Paris, p. 238, we read of *le bon liamier* called *Blanchart:* "Begon n'eût pas donné Blanchart pour cent marcs de deniers." Cf. Raimbert de Paris, *Chev. d'Ogier de Danemarche*, 9899 ff.:

> Hon li amaine *Bauçant* son arragon
> Ainc an si bon ne monta li frans hons
> Fors seul *Baiart*, etc.

certainly has some connection with the following passage in Lf.:

> Every yer, upon a certayn day,
> Me may here Launfales stede nay
> And hym se wyth syȝt (1024 ff.).

But where Chestre got the rest of the same stanza we cannot say.

> Ho þat wyll þer axsy justus,
> To kepe hys armes fro þe rustus,
> In turnement oþer fyȝt,
> Dar he neuer forther gon,
> Þer he may fynde justes anoon
> Wyth syr Launfal þe knyȝt (1027 ff.).

The feature of the lamenting horse, found in Gt., but nowhere else in our cycle, except in Chestre, who borrowed from Gt., is paralleled in Celtic tradition. The most famous Celtic instance of a devoted horse is Cuchullin's Grey (*liaẟ*)

The horse *Baiart* is really the hero of the romance of *Renaud de Montaubon*. But it is particularly interesting that a horse *Baiart* plays an important part in the *Lai del Doon* (Paris, *Lais Inedits*, *Rom.*, VIII, 61 ff). He was faster than a swan and his master would not have parted with him for two castles. The conclusion of Gt. is strikingly like that of the lay of *Doon:*

L'aventure du bon destrier	De lui et de son bon destrier,
L'aventure du chevalier	Et de son filz qu'il ot molt chier,
Cum il s'en ala od sa Mie,	Et des jornées qu'il erra.
Fu par tute Bretaigne oïe,	Por la dame que il ama,
Un lai en firent li Bretun,	Firent les notes li Breton
Graalent-Mor l'apela un.	Du lay c'om apele Doon.

The horse in Lf. was doubtless called *Blaunchard* rather than *Baiart* because Gt.'s horse was white (*Sun blanc cheval fist amener*, 641). These two names, it should be noted, are elsewhere confused in different versions of one and the same romance: in the English prose *Ipomedon* (ed. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889, pp. 341, 348) we read of a horse called *Blaunchard*, while in the metrical English version A (*id.*, ll. 3551, 4152) it is named *Blokan* (*Bloncan*), which corresponds to *Baucan* in the French of Hue de Rotelande (ed. Kölbing and Koschwitz, ll. 4428, 4464). Hertz points out (*Spielmannsbuch*, pp. 350 f.) that the names of horses are usually taken from their color, e. g., *Morel* (black), *Fauvel* (fox), *Sorel* (sorrel), *Liart* (bright grey), *Baiart* (bay), *Ferrant* (iron-grey), *Bauzant* (dappled), etc.; cf. the *Lai du vair Palefroi* (Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, I, 164 ff.); also the names of Cuchulinn's horse, *The Grey of Macha*, and of Sigurth's, *Grani*.

of Macha.[1] This marvellous steed knew in advance of its master's impending death, and when being harnessed before the great defeat on Muirthenne "tears of dusky blood" coursed down his cheeks. In the battle the Grey of Macha protected Cuchullin so long as his soul was in him, and "wrought three red onsets around him. And fifty fell by his teeth and thirty by each of his hoofs. Hence is the saying: 'Not keener were the victorious courses of the Grey of Macha after Cuchullin's slaughter.'" We have also, as Miss Hull notes, the interesting story of St. Adamnan's old white pack-horse,[2] which, fully aware that its master was about to leave it, came up to the Saint, and "began to utter plaintive cries and like a human being to shed copious tears on the Saint's bosom, foaming and greatly wailing. . . . The Saint blessed the work-horse, which turned away from him in sadness."

It is, however, just possible that this feature got to the Bretons, like the story of Wayland, through the Normans; for we have no parallel to the conduct of Graelent's horse closer than that of Sigurth's in the so-called *Second* (or *Old*) *Lay of Guthrún* in the Elder Edda,[3] paraphrased in the *Vǫlsungasaga* (ch. 32).

Like Gt.'s horse, Grani escaped when his master left the world, and wandered about in distress, showing his grief by his mournful neighing and strange behavior. As Guthrún relates: "Grani made great mourning when he saw his lord wounded. I went to speak with him, as with a man, but he

[1] See Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* (Grimm Library, No. 8), London, 1898, pp. 244, 254, 260 ff.; cf. the description of the steed in the "Wooing of Emer," *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[2] *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, ed. Reeves (Historians of Scotland, vol. VI), Bk. iii, p. 96.

[3] *Norrœn Fornkvæði*, ed. Bugge, 1867, p. 266, sts. 4, 5; cf. *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, I, 317. This lay was written not later than ca. 950; see Finnur Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, Copenhagen, 1893 ff., I, 297. The names of the steeds of the Old Norse gods are mentioned in Snorri's *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15. On magic horses see Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, cxv.

lowered his head to the ground: the horse knew that his master was dead." The French poet tells of Gt.'s horse that "Pur sun Seignur grant dol mena." Far and wide were heard

> La noise et le friente, et le cri
> Ke li bons chevaus demenot
> Pur sun Seignur que perdu ot (724 ff.).

It was Grani which Sigurth loaded with Fáfnir's treasure, and which he rode across the flickering flame about Brynhild. Mention is made of this famous steed in the Lay of Wayland (st. 14), which contains the swan-maiden story so closely related to part of *Graelent*.

Chestre's additions to his English original cannot all have come from any one source. We have seen that his work is based on Marie's version, that it has a large number of features in common with Gt., and that it contains an extraneous Valentyn[1] episode. We have noted also several other features of minor importance which are paralleled in *Désiré* and elsewhere.[2] On general principles it is hardly likely that

[1] Chestre may have taken this name from the romance of *Valentine and Orson* (*Sans Nom*), which was popular in his day. A summary of it may be found in Ashton's *Romances of Chivalry*, 1887, pp. 235 ff. As Ashton says: "This romance is undoubtedly of French origin, and the British Museum has a fine MS. of it (10 E. IV. Royal). The earliest known printed copy is one by Jac. Maillet, *Lyons*, 1489, and it was a favorite both with the early French and Italian presses." It was printed by the early English printers, Wynkyn de Worde and Copland. An old Swedish version was published in 1846 (*Samlingar utg. af Svenska Fornskrift-sällskapet*, III). Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, XXVII, 325–26. A *Valentin* is mentioned in Wace's *Brut*, l. 6121.

[2] Lf., too, agrees, strangely enough, with *Friedrich von Schwaben* in certain seemingly significant points: 1. Each hero had served his king for *ten* years; 2. Each had to send his followers from him because of his poverty: in Hermes' summary of the German poem (*Germ.*, VII, 98) we read: "nachdem all sein geld verzehrt ist, sieht er sich genöthigt, die diener die ihn begleiten, nach hause zu schicken und allein weiter zu ziehen"—Lf. has to part with his two followers because all his money is spent (see 127–180); 3. In F. von S. the father of the hero's *amie* is the daughter of King Triamer of Arabia—in Lf. she is a king's daughter and is herself called Tryamour (see above, p. 147, n.). These features in the German poem are

Chestre at his late date, nearly three centuries after L. and Gt. were written, should have before him the earlier stories from which Marie and the author of Gt. drew, particularly as we have no evidence whatever that the story of Lanval was ever written down except in the forms still preserved. Chestre's apparent eagerness to lengthen his narrative by adding details or incidents of various kinds would easily explain his turning from Lf. to the parallel lay of Gt. for whatever new matter he could get. He paid no attention to the swan-maiden interpolation, because it was inconsistent with the account of the English poem he had made up his mind to follow; but he borrowed everything else he could suitably, and worked them with considerable skill into his own work.

I may mention here another consideration which would seem to show clearly that Chestre borrowed from the particular poem Gt. rather than that both drew from the same source. In Gt., because of the misplacing of the Joseph and Potiphar's wife episode at the very beginning, instead of having it superinduce the revelation of the hero's *amie*, the relations between the knight and the queen are strained from the outset.

> La Roïne mult l'en haï
> Quant ele à lui del'tut failli,
> A sun seignur mal le meteit,
> E volentiers en mesdiseit (137 ff.).

She reveals later what really rankled in her mind when, at the time of the exhibition of her beauty, she says to the King:

> Bien sai qu'il m'a piéça haïe
> Jeo cuit qu'il a de moi envie (441–2).

Gt.'s taciturnity when all others are echoing a hollow word of praise seems to have been prompted primarily by his contempt for her. Had it not been for this, he would probably

not really connected with the swan-maiden episode, however, and may simply be taken as additional evidence that its author was familiar with the same sort of tradition that found its way into Thomas Chestre's poem.

not have been disposed to withhold the insignificant tribute to her beauty formally asked of him. He is, however, forced by this reticence to boast of his *amie.*

In M. there is no mention of any anterior dislike for the queen, and all the trouble is represented as coming suddenly from the rejection of her proposal of love. And yet, though this is the situation in Lf. also, we are told at the very beginning of the poem that "Syr Launfal lyked her [the queen] noght" (44), and for the same reason as in Gt.: she wished to have "lemmanys unther her lord" (47).[1] The queen, moreover, is represented in the early part of the poem as disliking Lf., though the reason is not given, and when, after his departure from court, his two squires bring back word that all is well with him, she "rues it sore," and would have him "in paynys more and more" (180). Chestre, however, seems to forget this situation entirely, and later makes the queen herself say to Lf., with whom she has managed to obtain a private interview:

> Sertaynliche, syr kny3t,
> I haue þe louyd wyth all my my3t
> More þan þys seuen 3ere;
> But þat þou louye me,
> Sertes y dye for loue of þe,
> Launfal my lemman dere (676 ff.).

This inconsistency is in neither M. nor Gt. It could not have been in any earlier source. It is explicable, I believe, only on the hypothesis that Chestre revised the older translation of Marie's lay under the influence of Gt., from which poem he introduced the disturbing feature of the mutual dislike of queen and knight.

In just what form Marie found the Lanval story it is difficult to say precisely. In her narrative the sequence of

[1] Guinevere's reputation as an adultress was by this time well established. Cf. the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* (Child, No. 30) in which the latter says (st. 24) that he has had a daughter by King Arthur's wife, and refers to the King as "that kindly cockward."

events is most natural and no extraneous episodes are inserted. Yet at the same time it is clear that in parts, especially in the introduction, her account is much condensed and would not be entirely intelligible had we not a fuller version of certain incidents in Gt. and Chestre. Marie may of course have been following traditions which were incomplete in these particulars, but it is rather more likely that she purposely omitted them, thinking to make her narrative more interesting by relieving it of unessential matter. Rarely, if ever, I fancy, did Marie make additions of any length to the stories she put into rhyme. She seems to have been faithful to tradition in all she has recorded, though she probably did not feel constrained to tell all she knew. For originality in conception or combination we look in vain in her work. The great success she achieved, was apparently due to her graceful, flowing style, her good taste, and possibly to her unusual opportunities. She found the Breton stories popular; she made them suitable and charming reading for knights and ladies, and in so doing perpetuated her own name.

The central theme of Lanval is also embodied in the Italian poem *Pulzella Gaia*,[1] which seems to have been composed in the fourteenth century, though preserved only in a MS. of the fifteenth.[2] Over two-thirds of this poem, however, deals with other matter, and the Lanval incidents do not form the real kernel of the story, as has been generally supposed. Here, too, the hero (it happens to be Gawain-Galvano in this case) gains the love of a fay, though in a way entirely unlike that in the lays. She is called P. G., and is the daughter of Morgana. When he leaves her, she gives him a ring able to supply all his needs, and by which he can summon her to his side. She imposes on him the restriction that he must not tell of her love. When he returns to court, and astonishes all by his riches, the queen summons him to her and offers him her

[1] Ed. Pio Rajna, "Per nozze Cassin-D'Ancona," Florence, 1893, Sts. 15–51; cf. the review of Luigi Morissengi, *Giornale Storico*, XXI, 478; G. Paris, *Rom.*, VII, 23.

[2] See *Rom.*, VII, 23.

love. He rejects her offer and she plots his ruin. A tourney is proclaimed at which every knight is expected to tell of his lady, and Gawain, moved by her taunts, boasts of the charms of his. The queen thereupon proclaims that any one who cannot prove his assertions shall lose his life. Gawain, finding that his ring has lost its power, sees no way to escape death, and prays for his *amie.* But to no avail. On the appointed day he is about to be executed, and his many friends are lamenting the fate of their beloved companion, when P. G. appears with an immense following of knights and damsels, justifies by her beauty his assertions, and rescues him from death. She chides the knight, whose disobedience has brought misery to her, and goes away without him. Finally, after many adventures, he rescues her from the dungeon where she has been imprisoned by her mother Morgana.

This account is evidently based on the Lanval version of the story. With Gt. it presents no agreement in any feature in which that lay differs from Marie's. It has, for example, no trace whatever of the swan-maiden episode, and the queen's proposal does not come until after the hero has won the love of the fay.

Another Italian poem, *Lo Bel Gherardino,*[1] ascribed to Pucci, and probably written about 1335, also tells of an impoverished knight who gains the love of a fay and is given by her rich presents, which all vanish when he reveals their source.

The fifteenth-century poem *Liombruno*[2] is also, as Köhler shows, closely connected with the Lanval cycle. L., a fisher's son, becomes the husband of a fay, Madonna Aquilina. When they separate, she gives him a magic ring which

[1] Miss Lucy A. Paton has called my attention to this story. See D'Ancona, *Una Poesia et una Prosa di A. Pucci*, Bologna, 1870, p. 15.

[2] See Warnke, *Lais*, p. lxxxiv. R. Köhler cites also a large number of Italian and other popular tales which are related to this story. Morissengi (*Giorn. Stor.*, XXI, 478) believes *Florimont* to be more closely connected with our cycle than it really is.

procures for him all he wishes, but at the same time she forbids him to reveal his secret love. When he reaches his home, he participates in a tourney, the prize to the victor being the hand of a king's daughter. He wins, but declines the match, boasting that he already possesses a more beautiful *amie.* He is thrown into prison for this offense and can only be freed if he proves his statements within thirty days. He is in dire distress; but on the thirtieth day his lady appears, preceded by two other damsels, each of whom the king takes to be the hero's wife. She rescues Liombruno, but immediately after withdraws, not without reproaching him for his disobedience. He has many adventures before he wins her back.

IV.

Having examined the relations of the different versions of our story to one another, I should like now to discuss briefly the antecedents of its main theme—that, namely, of the mortal who enters suddenly and unexpectedly into relations with a beautiful supernatural mistress, who grants him her love, and bestows upon him rich gifts, but makes secrecy a condition of the continuance of their intercourse. The hero forgets this restriction in the excitement of extraordinary events at the king's court, and permits himself to boast of his *amie,* in such a way that his lord regards his words as a personal insult, and has the knight placed in bonds, to be finally condemned to severe punishment, or death, if within a certain time he cannot produce the lady of whom he has boasted, and prove the truth of his statements regarding her. Much to the astonishment of all at court, the knight's *amie* comes in time to save him, but is forced to act in accordance with the warning previously given and rewards her lover's disobedience as she has foretold.

It were out of place here to enter into a detailed examination of the countless stories which tell of supernatural women and their mortal favorites, or even of the nature of Celtic

fairy mistresses and their *rôle* in mediaeval romantic literature.[1] I would, however, call attention to the fact that we have in early Celtic tradition a story which presents a very close parallel to the central theme in *Graelent* and *Lanval*—so close, indeed, that the summary of the lays which I have just given may be applied to it equally well. I refer to the tale of the "Debility of the Ultonian Warriors," of which Windisch published in 1885 two versions,[2] the older to be found in the *Book of Leinster* (a manuscript of ca. 1150), the other, more complete, in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Harl. 5280) in the British Museum. The older account is evidently condensed, but the younger appears to represent the story as it existed long before the *matière de Bretagne* began to be worked up into French lays or romances. I shall here follow the longer version, using Miss Hull's translation, but will advance no agreement between it and our lays in which it is opposed to the form of the story already recorded before Marie wrote, and certainly of much earlier date.

"There lived on the heights and in the solitudes of the hills a rich farmer of the Ultonians, Crundchu mac Agnoman by name. . . . For a long time he lived without a wife. As he was one day alone on the couch in his house, he saw coming into the mansion a young, stately woman, distinguished in her appearance, clothing and demeanour. . . . For a long time they dwelt together. Through his union with her, he increased yet more in wealth. His blooming appearance was delightful to her.

"Now the Ultonians frequently held great assemblies and meetings. All, as many as could go, both of men and women,

[1] See on this matter Alfred Nutt, "The Happy Otherworld," in *The Voyage of Bran* (Grimm Library, No. 4), London, 1895; *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888, p. 232.

[2] *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der König. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 1884, pp. 336 ff.; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, I, 320 ff.; Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchulinn Saga* (Grimm Library, No. 8), London, 1898, pp. 96 ff.

went to the gathering. 'I, too,' said Crundchu, 'will go like every one else to the assembly.'

"'Go not,' said his wife, 'lest you run into danger by speaking of us; for our union will continue only if you do not speak of me in the assembly.'

"'Then, indeed, I will not utter a word,' said Crundchu.

"The Ultonians gathered to the festival, Crundchu also going with the rest. It was a brilliant festival, not alone in regard to the people, but as to horses and costumes also. There took place races and combats, tournaments, games and processions.

"At the ninth hour the royal chariot was brought upon the ground, and the king's horses carried the day in the contests. Then bards appeared to praise the king and the queen, the poets and the Druids, his household, the people and the whole assembly. (The people cried), 'Never before have two such horses been seen at the festival as these two horses of the king: in all Ireland there is not a swifter pair!'

"'My wife runs quicker than these two horses,' said Crundchu.

"'Seize the man,' said the king, 'and hold him until his wife can be brought to the race-contest!'"

When the lady hears of her lover's boast, and consequent imprisonment, she recognizes that he has "spoken unwisely" and that their relations have been put an end to by the disclosure against which she has warned him; but she nevertheless goes to court, and saves him from death by demonstrating the truth of his assertions concerning her: she outruns the horses and arrives first at the end of the course. But this exhibition of her power, to which she has been forced by the brutal king, causes her death. She was on the point of being delivered when she began the race, and at the end of the course, before the horses reach the goal, she gives birth to twin children. She utters a cry in her travail. All who hear that cry are suddenly seized with weakness, so that they have no more strength than the woman in her pain.

Indignant at the shameful treatment she has received, she pronounces upon them the curse that they shall continue regularly to be thus afflicted even to the ninth generation. "This is the cause of the *Noinden Ulad*, or the Debility of the Ultonians."

We cannot fail to notice that an earlier fairy mistress story which, as I have indicated, resembles closely, even in its present form, the chief theme of our lays, is here used to explain, without much plausibility, the periodical fits of weakness to which the Ultonians seem to have been subject—a curious idea which is supposed by some to have had its origin in a custom similar to the "*couvade*," but which, according to Miss Hull (p. 293), "has more probably arisen from some form of *ges* or *tabu*, such as are found among all savage nations, and may have been connected with religious or funeral ceremonies."

This story justifies us in asserting that the central theme of the Lanval poems goes back to genuine Celtic tradition. But in addition to contributing so important a bit of evidence, it has special interest for us in this study because it helps to clear up a puzzling problem with regard to the relations between the two lays here specially under discussion. As will be remembered, in L. the Potiphar's wife episode is used to superinduce the hero's boast of the beauty of his *amie*, while in Gt. another means is adopted to bring about this end. In this feature Gt. is distinctly the nearer to the account in the Irish story, both in spirit and in the general situation.

In Gt. we read that it was the custom of the king to summon all his barons and followers once a year (at Pentecost) to a great assembly at court, and that after meat he had his queen placed in a prominent position in order that her beauty might be praised by all at the assembly.

> A tox le conveneit loer,
> E au Roi dire et afremer
> K'il ne sevent nule si bele

> Mescine, Dame ne Pucele.
> N'i ot un seul ne le prisast,
> E sa biaté ne li loast,
> Fors Graelent qui s'en taiseit. . . .
> Des autres teneit à folie
> Ki de tutes parts s'escrioient
> E la Roïne si looient (423 ff.).

The king, observing Gt.'s silence, demands the reason. The knight declares that he has a love more beautiful than the queen.

> Li Rois cumande k'on le prenge,
> N'aura de lui amur ne pais,
> De prisun n'istera jamais,
> Se cele n'est avant mustrée
> Que de biauté a tant loée.
> Graelens est pris è tenus,
> Mix le venist estre téus (472 ff.).

This episode in Gt. is obviously primitive, and indeed probably represents the situation in an early form of our story. At all events, it clearly points back to a crude condition of society, such as we know to have existed in Great Britain and Ireland in early times, but which had long since disappeared. The Irish tale certainly depicts so rough and brutal a king and so uncultivated a set of courtiers that it must have arisen in a remote period of history. In fact, the whole situation in Gt. is only explicable as a reflection of the manners of a past when, at the great assemblies at court, there were certain strange customs established, one of which we may infer from the words of the story before us: "Bards appeared to praise the king and the queen," and we see that on such an occasion the whole people were expected to join in their laudation. It was doubtless because of the brutality of the scene, because of the feeling that it pictured a condition of affairs no longer possible at any civilized court, that it was replaced by the extraneous Potiphar's wife episode in the Lanval story which both Marie and the author of Gt. had before them. It is evident that this episode must have been in the form of the story the author of Gt. was following in

the main; for, although he does not use it in the place where it was originally inserted, he did not leave it out altogether, but unwisely transferred it to the beginning of his lay, where, as we have seen (p. 161 f., above), it did nought but cause confusion and inconsistency.

The author of Gt. appears, then, to have utilized: (1) a story of Lanval, which was doubtless much like that told in the lay of Marie, who, as I have said, probably followed her original without much variation in incident or arrangement;[1] (2) an earlier version of the same theme, which is represented by the Irish story used to explain the debility of the Ultonian warriors, into which the Potiphar's wife episode had not as yet made its way, and which may have had the full introduction found in Gt. and Chestre, but only summarily in Marie, and the feature of the lamenting horse, so closely paralleled elsewhere in Celtic tradition (see above, p. 158 ff.); and (3) the story of Galant and the swan-maidens, which he clumsily inserted into his story without removing the very obvious inconsistencies that such an insertion occasioned. The author of Gt. I imagine as preëminently a combiner, and not even a skillful one. That his lay is very far from representing the original form of the Lanval story, except in so far as it preserves in certain episodes features taken from an earlier lost version, must be evident to all. Nor should we forget that the poet was familiar with Cicero's

[1] *Graelent* cannot well be, as some have suggested, a working-over of the extant lay of *Lanval*. There are no traces in it of the phraseology and allusions peculiar to Marie, no significant agreements with her poem in features where we may suppose it to vary from the original story. Nor could any one reasonably hold the opposite view that Marie revised Gt. The theory advanced by Amaury Duval, in his discussion of our lays (*Hist. Litt.*, XIX, 721), is obviously untenable: "Nous ne saurions dire lequel a été composé le premier. Ce que l'on peut supposer avec quelque vraisemblance, c'est que le lai qui porte un titre breton (Graëlen) a été le premier traduit, et qu'en conséquence le lai de Lanval, n'en est qu'une contrefaçon. Il est à croire que Marie de France (car nous la regardons comme auteur de l'un et de l'autre lais) reproduisit en d'autres termes, et avec quelques additions ce qu'elle avait d'abord écrit en traductrice fidèle."

De Amicitia and the elaborate discussions of love current in the Middle Ages, and that he did not hesitate to introduce into the simple Breton story, which Marie tells with so much more understanding and charm, an extended scholastic harangue, which every one must feel to be out of place in its present position.[1]

[1] Macha, the hero's *amie* in the Irish story of *Noinden Ulad*, which we have seen to be so close a parallel to our lays, is said in the longer version to be the daughter of Sainreth mac Imbaith, which D'Arbois interprets (*op. cit.*, p. 325, note) as Strange, son of Ocean, an appropriate name for a king of the otherworld. He points out how similar are Macha's relations with Crundchu to those of Fand with Cuchullin, both Macha and Fand being fays, who have come from the otherworld to live with mortals. Now Fand was the wife of the god Manannain mac Lir, that is, M. the son of Ocean (for Imbaith and Lir are synonymous). Thus Macha the fay is the granddaughter of Ocean, and Fand the fay is also the granddaughter (by marriage) of Ocean. Is it accidental that in Chestre's *Launfal*, the only place where the father of the fay is mentioned, we read:

> Her fadyr was king of fayrye,
> Of Occient fer and nyȝe,
> A man of mochel myȝte? (280 ff.).

The fay Macha came from the lands of "fayrye," where her father was king. Ocean, the name of this king, could easily be transferred to his kingdom, the watery waste under which the realms of fairy monarchs were often placed (cf. King Underwaves). We have plenty of instances of the confusion of the names of places and persons (among them *Gralant*—cf. p. 128, n. 4, above, and *Lanval*—cf. p. 177, below). *Occient*, moreover, cannot well mean anything but Ocean, for if it be a corruption of *Occident*, or *Orient*, the words "fer and nyȝe" are not suitable, any more than is such a location for the land of "fayrye." Some may find in this slight agreement of Chestre with the Macha story, evidence that the English poet did not borrow direct from Gt., but rather from the source of the incidents the two lays have in common; but I think it very unlikely that such was the case. In settling this question, Chestre's attitude toward his work must be taken into consideration. We must not forget that, like the author of Gt., he too consciously expanded the version of the lay he had before him, and borrowed material from every quarter. Marie said that the fay was carried to Avalon. Chestre represents her father as king of Oleroun (confusing the real with the mythical isle), as well as of "fayrye" and "Occient," evidently not following any one definite story, but simply supplying these details from his general knowledge of fairy lore. My conjecture, that the obscure *Occient* in the English poem is to be explained by the con-

V.

If my conclusions in this paper be justified, what then is their general significance?

In the first place, the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens is now shown for the first time to have been known in the twelfth century in France, and probably in England. We have numerous references,[1] in Old French and Old English literature, and in documents relating to French and English history, to Wayland as a famous smith; but hitherto no one has been able to prove that in either France or Great Britain, or indeed anywhere except in Scandinavia and Germany, did the tradition of Wayland's connection with a swan-maiden perpetuate itself. With such a love story attached to him, it was inevitable that Wayland should come to be represented as a romantic hero. We must not fail to observe that even Wayland the Smith was later conceived of in France as the son of a fay (*ouvriere de faer*); and of the sword *Merveilleuse* we read in *La Fleur des Batailles de Doolin* [*Doon*] *de Mayence*[2] that it "avoit estée faicte en la forge de Galant; et *l'afila une fée* sans mentir."

If in one of the "Breton lays," of which the Celtic origin may now be regarded as the surest, we find inserted bodily an episode which seems to be taken from Scandinavian tradition, the fact is certainly significant. It shows, just what we should expect, that the Normans did not have long and intimate

fusion of the name of the king of "fayrye" in Irish stories with that of his realm, may prove to be right; but certainly it should not be used as an argument to establish the relations of the versions of our story. Chestre, like Chaucer, lived in a land which they both knew to have been at one time, according to common belief, "fulfild of fayerye," and we must not be too definite in stating just where they got their information on a subject so familiar to all.

[1] See *Véland le Forgeron*, par G. B. Depping et Francisque Michel, Paris, 1833; English translation, with additions, by S. W. Singer, London, 1847.

[2] Cited Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 93. This work, though in its present form of the 15th century, is based on a much earlier source.

intercourse with the Bretons without exchanging stories with them, and that we must not be surprised to discover in Armorican tradition many traces of Scandinavian tales, customs and beliefs. It shows further that we must not take it for granted that every so-called "Breton lay" contains pure Celtic material. There are, of course, many poems which bear this name simply because their authors knew that the designation would make their works popular.[1] But with such obvious misnaming I am not now concerned. I wish rather to emphasize the fact that even the most Breton of the Breton lays, in their present form, are combinations of material gathered from various sources, and that no motive in them can be regarded as certainly Celtic without close examination. In *Guigemar*, for example, alongside a hind-messenger, a magic ship and a fay mistress, which may be regarded as Celtic, we find such features as a Gordian knot, a chastity girdle, a temple of Venus on which Ovid's stories are pictured, a wheel of fortune, but above all a transformed Oriental tale of a harem adventure in which a jealous, spy-setting husband detects the *amour* of his young wife, whom he has kept confined in a place apart, and of whose attendant it is stated euphemistically (l. 257) that he was an eunuch. In the charming lay of the *Fraisne* we find not only the idea that the birth of two or more children at one time is evidence of adultery on the part of the mother, which is based on beliefs current all over the world, and a story akin to that of the patient Grissel in Boccaccio and elsewhere in ballads and *mährchen*, but also such Scandinavian features as the exposure of children, and recognized concubinage. *Eliduc* contains a story similar to that of Jonah and the sailors in Scripture, and a long weasel episode, to which nearly thirty parallels have been pointed out in ancient classical writings, works of the Middle Ages, and later popular tradition. And in like manner every Breton lay, if examined from this point of

[1] *Espervier, Ombre, Conseil, Amors, Aristote, Oiselet,* are in no real sense "Breton."

view, would be found to be more or less a mixture of Celtic and foreign material.

Further, the fact that we have occasionally two lays (like *Graelent* and *Lanval*) on the same subject, though clearly by different authors and showing unlike combinations and arrangement of material, is sufficient to prove that there was a great fund of traditional narrative from which authors, drawing what pleased them, and disregarding what was not to their taste, were able to make new lays of old stuff. It is usually impossible to say whether any particular lay-writer was the first to combine the distinct episodes which appear in his or her work; but it does not require much critical acumen to see in almost every lay the hand of a conscious artist. The authors, to be sure, adhere in general closely to tradition so far as the separate incidents are concerned, but they gave themselves free play in combination. Thus we find *Tyolet* made up of two distinct parts, the introduction telling of the boyhood of the hero, so strikingly like that told by Chrétien of Perceval, and the story of the traitorous knight who claims the reward of another's victory, which is found attached to a seneschal in Gottfried's *Tristan*, to Kay in the prose *Perceval* and to other persons in various places. *Doon* tells the same story as *Milun*, but its introductory matter is entirely different, for it embodies incidents, found in other places attached to independent heroes, which are paralleled in the *Dolopathos*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Merchant of Venice* and elsewhere.[1] A comparison of the parallel lays of *Bisclavret* and *Mélion*, by different authors but treating the same subject, will show a like divergence. Not only is one Arthurised while the other is not, but one contains features which are quite at variance with the other story.

We have seen that though Marie was apparently disposed to condense rather than to amplify her narrative in any but minor details, the author of *Graelent* introduced a good deal of new matter unconnected with the original theme, and that

[1] See *Rom.*, VIII, 59.

Thomas Chestre carried on the amplifying process to such an extent that his poem may fairly be called a romance. This development is important to keep in mind when we undertake to discuss the way in which the longer romances grew up, and the material they embody. Marie's lays may be taken to represent in some measure the material which the romance-writers had before them when they wrote. Not that the simple narratives they utilized were all told with the grace of style so characteristic of the Anglo-Norman poetess, but they must have been similar in scope and substance. Marie makes no claim to invention or originality. She does not seem to have done more than recount what she has heard or read. If then her lays show traces, as they unquestionably do, of the combination of unconnected themes, this should probably be attributed to her predecessors, to the minstrels, or story-tellers, whose tales she was content to put into pleasing rhyme. The process of combining separate episodes to make an extended poem, we may well believe, had begun before the time of Marie's contemporary, Chrétien de Troies. He simply carried it one step farther, and devoted his great literary talent to presenting in more attractive form, with more modern courtly flourishes, the stories already existing. Doubtless he himself made new combinations, and in so doing was guided by a poet's sense of appropriateness, choosing such general and subordinate episodes as would contribute best to the development of his hero's character. To him we must certainly ascribe the interesting psychological discussions so numerous in his works. But still his power of invention is not great. His art is shown above all in the way in which he combines and arranges separate stories, or embellishes those already told at considerable length.

Moreover, we must not forget how *Graelent* became the hero of a lay otherwise attributed to a knight called in French *Lanval*, in English *Launfal*, *Landavall*,[1] *Lambewell*,

[1] *Landavall* may possibly point to a Latin redaction; cf. *Landavallense Monasterium*, below, p. 177. Chestre's poem is headed *Launfal*(*us*) *Miles*.

Lamwell, in Old Norse *Ianual.* This transference to one hero of the adventures originally ascribed to another is very common in the romances. Gawain is not the only one who cuts off the head of a warrior at his own request. Carados and Lancelot do the same thing, to say nothing of Cuchulinn in the *Fled Bricrend;* and the Green Knight has many rivals for the honor of receiving the mysterious blow. The abduction of Queen Guinevere is performed by Meléaguant, Melwas, Milianz, Gazozein, Falerin; and she is rescued by Gawain, Lavaine ?, Lancelot, Arthur. The youthful adventures of Perceval are paralleled by those of Peredur, Cuchulinn, Tyolet, Amadan Mor, Guinglain, Wigalois, Libeaus Desconus, Carduino, Mériaduec, Fergus, Floriant, Morien and other heroes. Galahad, as is well known, replaces Perceval in the later stories of the Quest of the Holy Grail. Nothing indeed in the romances is more bewildering, though nothing is commoner, than to find the same adventures performed by several different persons in different places.

Light has, I hope, been thrown by this paper on the relations between the several versions of the Lanval cycle of lays. Just where, however, the different poems were composed is a question I have not here discussed in detail because I am persuaded that it can never be quite satisfactorily answered. I cannot agree with Ahlström (p. 56) that *Graelent* was composed in England. Everything seems to me to indicate that Zimmer and Foerster are right in placing its origin in Continental Brittany. On the other hand, Marie apparently took down her lay in England, where we remember she lived and wrote,[1] and I see no reason to believe that it *must*

[1] In *Lanval* the events are said to take place at *Kardoil*, where Arthur is sojourning to defend *Loengre* (the middle and southern part of England) against the inroads of the Picts and Scots. Zimmer (*Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 1891, 93–94), asserts that this is a true picture of the historical situation in northern England in 1092, and that the mention of *Cardoel* as Arthur's residence in the *matière de Bretagne* is a Breton souvenir of the events of 1091–1092 on the Scottish border. He has no doubt (*Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 798; *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XII, 234, 235 note, 239; XIII,

16 and note) that the lay goes back to Breton sources, and that the *Bretun* mentioned in it are Armorican Bretons, not Cymry. He regards the hero's name as identical with that of the parish of Lanval (Lanvaux) in the present district of Morbihan, France, and thinks that, therefore, the lay probably represents the form of the fay story which circulated in Vannes, "Die *Guigomar* Version aus Leon, die *Graelent* Version aus Cornouaille im letzten Grunde, und romanisierte Bretonen der Haute-Bretagne haben beide Versionen den Franzosen übermittelt."

Loth urges (*Rev. Celtique*, XIII, 1892, 481) that the two names of hero and place may have nothing to do with each other. The oldest forms of the name of the parish, he points out, are *Lanvas*, 1177; *Lauvas*, 12th century; *Lanvaos*, 1264; and there is another *Lanvaux* in Baud. "Lanvaux étant en territoire bretonnant, le sens de ce mot et sa forme primitive d'après les formes jusqu'ici connues, restent incertains. Le nom d'homme *Lanval* peut n'avoir rien de celtique que le premier terme et avoir été formé comme Perceval. Lanvaux (au XVII *Landavallense monasterium*) peut n'être qu'une fausse interprétation française d'un mot breton différent."

F. Lot also makes light of Zimmer's contentions (*Rom.*, XXIV, 520; XXV, 12–13), and suggests that Lanval may be a deformation of the same Celtic name to which Lancelot goes back. "Ce nom [Lancelot] n'est certainement pas celtique. Il rappelle *Lancelin*, diminutif ou hypocoristique germanique de Lantbert, Lantfrid, etc. Il n'est pas douteux que ce ne soit *Lancelin* qui ait influencé et déformé un nom celtique qui personne n'a réussi jusqu'ici à reconstituer." (Cf. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. xli.)

Freymond remarks, in his account of Version P of the *Livre d'Artus* (*Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XVII, 1895, pp. 17 note, 19 note): "Ist es reiner Zufall, dass das *Lambale* in der Namensform von Guiomars Vetter *Guivret de Lambale*, an *Lanval* erinnert? In einer Handschrift des Prosatristan findet sich dafür *le comte de Lambale*, was freilich nach Löseth auf einem Versehen beruhen soll. (s. Löseth, *l. c.*, S. 485 und 521 f.)." We remember that *Guiomar* (*Guigemar*, *Guingamor*) is represented by Chrétien as brother of *Graelent Mor*. [The form of this name in the MSS. of *Erec* I take to be the same as that in the lay, *Graelen-mor*, the *n* dropping before the *m* (cf. *Graale[nt] Muer* in *Le Roman de la Rose, ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Servois, S. A. T. F., l. 2537), and regard it as evidence that when *Graelent* was used in combination with *mor*, the final *-t* was often lacking.] Note in this connection that in a continuation of the *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, ll. 45, 282 ff.) Perceval marries his cousin to one who "Rois fu et sire de *Lanval*: loial."

To this last passage my attention has been called by Dr. Alma Blount, formerly of Radcliffe College, who is preparing an onomasticon of the Arthurian cycle; as also to the account of the parentage of a certain Lanval in the prose *Agravain*, analyzed by P. Paris in the Appendix to Vol. V of his *Romans de la Table Ronde*, pp. 320–321: "Au temps de Joseph d'Arimathie, il y avait sur les marches d'Écosse un roi nommé Eliezer qui fut des premiers à recevoir le baptême. Afin de mieux assurer le salut de son âme, il avait abandonné sa femme et renoncé à la couroune, pour vivre

have originated in Armorica. Zimmer's assertions on this point are open to objection. J. Loth and F. Lot have already shown flaws in his argument, and his chief contention that Arthur's Round Table was absolutely unknown among the Cymry and that therefore a lay which contained a reference to this institution could not but be composed in Brittany, where alone the Round Table was at this time known, Mr. A. C. L. Brown has demonstrated to be unfounded.[1]

We are practically certain that the story which was worked up into poetic form in *Graelent* and *Lanval* existed in Ireland and Armorica. I can see no reason why we may not believe that it also existed in the various parts of Great Britain where Celtic languages were at that time spoken. Let scholars dispute if they will whether it was first written down in French and became literature in Great Britain or on the Continent, whether it was brought to England by the Breton auxiliaries of William the Conqueror under the leadership of Alan Fergant, or developed independently in Wales and Cornwall and got into the hands of the Anglo-Normans without ever crossing the Channel,—these matters are profoundly indifferent to anyone whose chief interest in the lay is as a literary monument in a remote period of history, as a fascinating story which charms us to-day as we know it did

en pélerin des dons que les bonnes gens lui faisaient." One day, during his voluntary exile, he had a dream, in which the Lord bade him return home, where he would find his wife and the son he had begotten the day he had departed. The wife and son were astonished to see again the king whom they had thought dead. He is told that when the boy was born, he was thought to be the fruit of illegitimate love, and that it was not until he had been left unharmed by the two lions into whose den he had been thrown, that he had been recognized as the real heir to the throne. Lanval at once gave back the kingdom to his father; but Eliezer died soon after his return. Lanval is mentioned as one of Arthur's knights in P. Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 250. For other references to him, see *Roman de la Rose, ou de Guill. de Dole*, S. A. T. F., 1893, l. 5497 (*Lanvax*, a typical lover); Löseth, *Tristan*, § 185 and p. 467, § 395a ff.; Sommer, *Roman de Merlin*, p. 327; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, l. 1677; *Diu Krône*, l. 2292; *Carle of Carelyle* (Madden, *Sir Gawayne*), p. 188.

[1] *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII (1900), "The Round Table before Wace."

Goethe in his old age, and La Fontaine before him. We are in no way surprised that Marie's contemporary, Denis Pyramus, although he protested that her lays were "pas du tout verais," still could not withhold this tribute to their popularity:

> All love them much and hold them dear,
> Baron, count and chevalier,
> Applaud their form, and take delight
> To hear them told by day or night.
> In chief, these tales the ladies please;
> They listen glad their hearts to ease.

In conclusion, I would express the hope that this study may be found to have some value in helping scholars to decide the still much discussed question of the Celtic origin of the Arthurian romances. This interesting and important problem can never be satisfactorily solved until the results of a large number of thorough investigations of particular themes have been presented impartially to the scholarly world. I have endeavored to separate the kernel of the original fairy-mistress story in the Lanval cycle of poems from the material that surrounds it, and to indicate why extraneous features became attached to a theme with which they had at first no connection. This central theme, I have tried to show, is based on Celtic tradition. In at least one instance, then, if my conclusions are correct, a story attached to Arthur in Marie's lay, and closely resembling many other stories told of various knights of the celebrated Round Table, is proved to be of Celtic origin. Even as Guingamor and Guigemar, whose adventures are in the main those of Celtic heroes, Graelent and Lanval came to figure among the followers of the famous British king. If now it is admitted that such material as that we have been discussing is plainly Celtic, we have certainly advanced somewhat toward an end most students of Arthurian romances have in view, a clearer understanding of the contribution of the Celts to the imaginative literature of the world.

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 143, ABOVE:

I would not appear to insist unduly on the conjecture I have made with regard to the reason for the *-t* in *Graelent;* for it is a matter of slight importance in my argument. To be sure, I think it the easiest explanation yet suggested. But I am not unaware of the fact that other proper names with a similar ending are written with and without a *-t*, e. g. *Bertran(t)*, *Engran(t)*, *Gontran(t)*. According to Mackel (*Franz. Studien*, VI, 180), the *-ran* in these words is derived from the Germanic stem *hrafna* > Mid-Lat. *ramnus*. Zimmer probably had such names as these in mind when he made his second conjecture that the final *-t* may be due simply to analogy. Moreover, as is well known, a final *-c* sometimes shifts with a *-t*. In the French *Merlin* (quoted above, p. 128, note 3) we have *Grailenc* corresponding to *Graalant* in the English translation; cf. *Floovenc*, *Floovent; Romarec* (Wace), *Rumaret* (Laȝamon).—I would also remark that we have a romance of *Galeren* (*Galeran*), *Comte de Bretagne*, by Renaut (ed. Boucherie, 1888). The hero's name is sometimes written with a final *-t*; but, as Mussafia points out (*Rom.*, XVII, 439, note), this form is not justified. The name of the hero, *Galeren(t)*, may have been borrowed from the lay of *Graelen(t)*. Renaut was thoroughly familiar with the older lays (cf. ll. 7008 ff.), his poem being nothing but an artistic amplification of Marie's *Fraisne*. In Malory, and elsewhere in English works, one of the knights of the Round Table is called *Gal(l)eron of Galway*. *Galeron* is the name of the heroine in the poem *Ille et Galeron*, written by Gautier d'Arras in 1157 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Löseth, Paris, 1890, II).

W. H. S.

VII.—A STUDY OF POPE'S *IMITATIONS OF HORACE.*

Dr. Johnson said of Pope's *Imitations of the Satires and Epistles of Horace* that they "cannot give pleasure to common readers; the man of learning may be sometimes surprised and delighted by an unexpected parallel; but the comparison requires knowledge of the original, which will likewise often detect strained applications. Between Roman images and English manners there will be an irreconcileable dissimilitude, and the works will be generally uncouth and party-coloured; neither original nor translated, neither ancient nor modern."[1] It is not necessary to refute, what no one now maintains, that these *Imitations*[2] cannot give pleasure to common readers, that they appeal only to men of learning by their unexpected parallels to the original, or that they are generally uncouth. It remains, then, to discover how far the rest of this criticism holds good as well as to investigate Pope's methods in rendering his original.

ADAPTATION OF ROMAN TO ENGLISH CONDITIONS.

The most obvious parallels which Pope would need to draw were those which would give to his *Imitations* the tone and character of eighteenth century life. These occupy a range from the most general references to the facts of history and geography to those touching upon the particular institutions and customs of the poet's country and the special conditions of his environment. Some of the parallels are very simple, being merely the change of a modern for an ancient name, such as France for Greece,[3] Oxford for Athens,[4]

[1] Johnson's *Life of Pope*, Arnold's ed., p. 424.

[2] The *Imitations* are indicated by Roman numerals from I to VI, corresponding respectively to *Sat.* II, i, ii; *Ep.* I, i, vi; II, i, ii.

[3] v, 263. [4] vi, 56, 116.

a German prince for the king of the Cappadocians,[1] Edward III. and Henry V. for Romulus,[2] George II. for Augustus;[3] these are hardly more than tags indicating the change of scene and age. Such are also allusions to current events,[4] which are incidentally introduced. It is not by these general references that the spirit of the eighteenth century can be caught; this Pope seeks to do by the parallels drawn in the special conditions of English political, social and domestic life, in the personal allusions from his own circle of friends or foes, and in autobiographical details. Whenever, too, he infuses his own individuality into his *Imitations*, he binds the separate details into a unity as artistic as it is complete.

Politics.—In his references to political parties and issues Pope has no great difficulty in marking off very distinctly the England of his day from the Rome of Horace's. The Roman poet, speaking of his origin, says that he is "Lucanus an Apulus anceps;"[5] the Englishman, disregarding the allusion to birth, substitutes for it a declaration which much more intimately concerns him and his relation to the public, dealing, as it does, with his professional and party opinions:—

> Verse-man or Prose-man, term me what you will,
> Papist or Protestant or both between,
> Like good Erasmus placing all my glory,
> While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory.[6]

For Horace's "haud ignobilis Argis,"[7] who took pleasure in a theatre of his own imagination, Pope substitutes less wisely "a worthy member, no small fool, a Lord," who from being a distinguished Patriot was "purged to a single vote."[8] Further references from politics to the Ministers,[9] the Court,[10] pensions,[11] state spies,[12] and the Levee,[13] give the tone of contemporary life.

[1] IV, 83.
[2] V, 7.
[3] V, Dedication.
[4] I, 75; II, 133–5, 154.
[5] *Sat.* II, i, 34.
[6] I, 64.
[7] *Ep.* II, ii, 128.
[8] VI, 185.
[9] I, 76; III, 96; V, 376.
[10] I, 92; III, 98, 119; V, 170.
[11] I, 116; III, 87.
[12] I, 134.
[13] IV, 101.

Trebatius warns Horace of the danger of his writing ill verses against any one contrary to law;[1] and Pope finds statutes in English law which correspond—

> Consult the statute; *quart.* I think it is,
> *Edwardi sext.* or *prim. et quint. Eliz.*
> See Libels, Satires.[2]

When Trebatius advises Horace to sing Caesar's praise the poet replies—

> Haud mihi deero,
> Quum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
> Verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem.[3]

This Pope makes peculiarly modern by turning it into a satire on the reigning Laureate Cibber—

> Alas! few verses touch their finer ear;
> They scarce can hear their Laureate twice a year.[4]

When Horace speaks in a general way of stripping the skin from the hypocrite,[5] Pope more specifically levels his satire at the "proud gamester in his gilded car" and "the mean heart that lurks beneath a star,"[6] thus giving the modern touch. In Horace's

> Virtutem verba putas et
> Lucum ligna.[7]

Pope seizes the opportunity of making a reference to the church—

> Who Virtue and a church alike disowns,
> Thinks that but words and this but sticks and stones.[8]

The sycophancy of the chaplains of the great houses[9] Pope

[1] *Sat.* II, i, 82.

[2] I, 146. Other references to legal matters are found in II, 172; III, 173; V, 197; VI, 60, 127.

[3] *Sat.* II, i, 17.

[4] I, 33. Cf. also I, 21, V, 377, and for small poets I, 140.

[5] *Sat.* II, i, 64.

[6] I, 107. Cf. IV, 14; III, 98; I, 39; II, 39; IV, 49; VI, 69, 184.

[7] *Ep.* I, vi, 31.

[8] IV, 65.

[9] VI, 220 f. Other references to matters ecclesiastical are, I, 110, 113, 152; II, 80, 119; III, 3; IV, 27, 65; V, 161, 236; VI, 62.

satirizes without a correspondent in his original. Horace inveighs against the greed of his day in these words:—

> Pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui
> Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras
> Excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant.[1]

This Pope, with an eye to the special forms which this vice took in his own day, renders thus—

> Some farm the Poor-box, some the pews;
> Some keep assemblies and would keep the stews;
> Some with fat bucks on childless dotards fawn;
> Some win rich widows by their chine and brawn;
> While with the silent growth of ten per-cent,
> In dirt and darkness hundreds stink content.[2]

London.—The references to the city of London, its various quarters, and its inhabitants are frequent in these *Imitations;* and as the life and literature of the eighteenth century centred in the town, they give an English flavor entirely distinct from Roman associations. In the majority of cases these allusions are direct additions. Thus we have a mere passing mention of London in "Abuse the city's best good men in metre,"[3] with no corresponding Latin.[4] Certain localities are specified in "Bedlam or the Mint,"[5] which give a local habitation to Horace's "inops,"[6] Pope revealing at the same time more caustic satire. "From low St. James's up to high St. Paul's"[7] is also a very apt rendering of Horace's "Janus summus ab imo,"[8] since there is in addition to the local meaning the obvious reference to the high and low parties in the church, and perhaps in the word "low" to the meanness of the court.[9] When Horace speaks of the different parts of the city to which he is summoned by importunate friends—the Aventine, the Quirinal,[10] etc.—Pope finds parallels in Palace Yard, Bloomsbury Square, the House of Lords, and

[1] *Ep.* I, i, 77.
[2] III, 128. Cf. also I, 72, 103; II, 106; V, 195.
[3] I, 39.
[4] So III, 79; V, 170, 370. Cf. also III, 139.
[5] I, 99.
[6] *Sat.* II, i, 59.
[7] III, 82.
[8] *Ep.* I, i, 54.
[9] See E. Courthope, *Pope's Works, ad. loc.*
[10] *Ep.* II, ii, 65 f.

the theatre.[1] The purely modern Lord Mayor's banquet and a clergy feast[2] are the more concrete equivalent of the Latin "coena dubia."[3] In the same connection may be mentioned Pope's very clever double version of Horace's "senescentem equum"[4] in—

> Friend Pope! be prudent, let your muse take breath,
> And never gallop Pegasus to death;
> Lest stiff and stately, void of fire or force,
> You limp like Blackmore on a Lord Mayor's horse.[5]

The Play.—The Italian opera was a shining mark for eighteenth century satire. Pope easily converts Horace's reference to "lacrimosa poemata Pupi"[6] into a fling at the effeminacy of the opera—

> To have a box where eunuchs sing
> And foremost in the circle eye a king;[7]

and "Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis"[8] into

> The willing muses were debauched at court:
> On each enervate string they taught the note
> To pant, or tremble thro' an eunuch's throat.[9]

Horace has an allusion to theatrical affairs in his incident of Lucullus, who was asked for a hundred cloaks for a play (Chlamydes centum scenae);[10] Pope uses only the reference to the theatre and makes that entirely modern—

> Or if three ladies like a luckless play,
> Takes the whole house upon the poet's day.[11]

Horace's wrestling[12] is changed to a sport more peculiar to modern times and more in keeping with Pope's satirical intent, that of "tumbling through a hoop."[13]

[1] VI, 94 f. Cf. also II, 42, 120; III, 84, 110, 113; V, 144, 355, 419; VI, 113, 209, 232. [2] II, 75. [3] *Sat.* II, ii, 76.
[4] *Ep.* I, i, 8. [5] III, 15 f. Cf. also II, 178; III, 89. [6] *Ep.* I, i, 67.
[7] III, 105. [8] *Ep.* II, i, 98. [9] V, 152. Cf. also VI, 11.
[10] *Ep.* I, vi, 41. [11] IV, 87. [12] *Ep.* II, i, 33.
[13] V, 48. Cf. V, 161, 305, 309, 316, 326.

Domestic life.—Pope's care to adapt conditions of Roman to those of English life extends to the smallest details. Even when Horace speaks of a heavy storm as preserving the fish from him and his guest,[1] Pope brings in the conditions of a more northern climate—"or fish denied (the river yet unthawed)."[2] In Horace's Satire on Temperance there is mention of various kinds of dishes for which Pope obtains English equivalents. Thus for the peacock[3] he substitutes the pheasant, for "porrectum magno magnum . . . . catino" he has a "whole hog barbecued."[4] So, for "Tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido"[5] he writes—

> "The robin red-breast till of late had rest,
> And children sacred held a martin's nest,
> Till beccaficos sold so devilish dear
> To one that was or would have been a peer."[6]

For the "mergos assos"[7] which the Roman youth will accept on the word of some "potential voice" as "delicious game," Pope suggests equally strange dishes, of greater point to Englishmen—

> Let me extol a cat, on oysters fed,
> I'll have a party at the Bedford-head;
> Or even to crack live Crawfish recommend;
> I'd never doubt at court to have a friend.[8]

For the specific sports which Ofella recommends to Horace, such as following the hare, breaking in a horse, playing at ball, hurling the quoit,[9] Pope, with his characteristic contempt for what he could not do, bundles them under the general "go work, hunt, exercise,"[10] and herein departs from his usual custom of making his details concrete. In the same

[1] *Sat.* II, ii, 16. [2] II, 14. [3] *Sat.* II, ii, 23. [4] II, 26.
[5] *Sat.* II, ii, 49. [6] II, 37. [7] *Sat.* II, ii, 51.
[8] II, 41 f. Other instances of a similar character are "rank venison" (II, 91) for Horace's "rancidum aprum" (*Sat.* II, ii, 89), "fresh sturgeon and ham-pie" (II, 103), "gudgeons, flounders," etc. (II, 142 f.), in the description of the poet's simple fare for Horace's list in *Sat.* II, ii, 120–125; So, also, II, 51. [9] *Sat.* II, ii, 9 f. [10] II, 11.

spirit he disregards the first part of Trebatius's prescription for sleeplessness—"Ter uncti Transnanto Tiberim," etc.,[1] and renders the second—

> Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento[2]

by advising him to take "Lettuce and cowslip-wine, ... Hartshorn or something that will close your eyes,"[3] favorite sleeping potions of Pope's day. And to this he adds a recommendation as characteristic of himself as of his contemporaries—"If the nights seem tedious—take a wife."[4]

When Horace wishes to point out to Maecenas the fickleness of the poorer classes, he says—

> mutat coenacula, lectos,
> Balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
> Nauseat ac locuples, quum ducit priva triremis.[5]

Pope fills this out with further details peculiar to his time,—

> They change their weekly barber, weekly news,
> Prefer a new Japanner to their shoes,
> Discharge their garrets, move their beds, and run
> (They know not whither) in a chaise and one;
> They hire their sculler, and when once aboard,
> Grow sick and damn the climate—like a lord.[6]

Dress.—In the same connection his treatment of the details of personal adornment is worthy of notice. Horace speaks of Maecenas's ridiculing him if his hair is awkwardly cut, if his gown is askew, or if his shirt is ragged while his tunic is new.[7] This Pope fits into strict eighteenth century fashions,—

> You laugh, half beau, half sloven if I stand,
> My wig all powder and all snuff my band;
> You laugh, if coat and breeches strangely vary,
> White gloves and linen worthy Lady Mary!
> But where no Prelate's lawn with hair-shirt lined,[8] etc.

So the "bedizened actor" arouses immediate applause in Horace's time because of his "woollen mantle with the violet

[1] *Sat.* II, i, 7. [2] *Sat.* II, i, 9. [3] I, 20. [4] I, 16.
[5] *Ep.* I, i, 91. [6] III, 155 f. [7] *Ep.* II, i, 94. [8] III, 161.

dye,"[1] and in Pope's by "Cato's long wig, flow'r'd gown, and lacquered chair,"[2] which would recall to the English reader the leading actor in Addison's *Cato.* In the same way Pope's reference in "Birthday nobles' splendid livery"[3] recalls a distinctively English function.

Personal Allusions.

Particular.—The personal allusions in the *Imitations* either are direct correspondences of those in Horace, are suggested by his context, or are wholly additional. Sometimes we find that the persons in the *Imitation* are of a quite different character from those in the corresponding part of the original. Thus, where Horace speaks with full appreciation of the work of his predecessor, Lucilius,[4] who wrote the praise of Scipio, Pope in the parallel passage, instead of following Horace, mercilessly attacks Blackmore, who had crowded the verse "With arms and George and Brunswick,"[5] satirizes "Budgel's fire and force,"[6] and ridicules the Laureate Cibber.[7] Usually Pope changes the Latin name to an English one, and when he retains it in "Great Caesar's praise,"[8] it is merely for the purpose of an intentionally thin disguise. Horace, in giving examples of the fancies of separate minds, with mild satire mentions Milonius, who dances

> "Ut semel icto
> Accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis.
> Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem
> Pugnis."[9]

This is too good a chance for the display of Pope's satirical wit to be missed—

[1] *Ep.* II, i, 207: Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. [2] V, 337.
[3] IV, 33. Note, too, Pope's reference to "taste" in this connection, with which compare I, 38, where it corresponds to Horace's "Pantolabum scurram" (*Sat.* II, i, 22), and II, 112. [4] *Sat.* II, i, 17. [5] I, 23. [6] I, 27.
[7] I, 35. Cf. also I, 52, 111 f.; III, 6. [8] I, 21. [9] *Sat.* II, i, 24 f.

None deny
Scarsdale his bottle, Darty his ham-pie;
Ridotta sips and dances, till she see
The double lustres dance as fast as she;
F—— loves the Senate, Hockley-hole his brother.[1]

Pope follows Horace[2] in exposing the unjust judge in Page[3] and the jealous woman in Delia;[3] but instead of seeking an exact correspondent for Horace's political informer he characteristically seizes the opportunity for shedding his venom on his sworn enemy, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—

From furious Sappho scarce a milder fate,
P—x'd by her love and libelled by her hate.[4]

In the same way he doubles the Latin Scaeva[5] in Walters and Chartres, who will "never poison you, they'll only cheat."[6] Horace, who does not spare his satire in speaking of the meanness of Avidienus, who, he says, was rightly called a dog,[7] is followed by Pope, who employs the identical name as a screen for attacking Wortley Montagu and for defaming his wife under the drastic epithets of "dog" and "bitch"[8] respectively. It gave Pope his answer, if he were charged with slandering Montagu and his wife. It is only rarely that Pope transcribes directly from the Latin; he probably had no one particularly in mind in Albutius and Naevius,[9] who in Horace also are mere names to us.

Horace, speaking of the gluttony of his fellow Romans, compares them to the crew of Ulysses,[10] thus depending on the familiarity of the story for the full effect of the comparison. Pope leaves nothing to be supplied, and, substituting Kinnoul and Tyrawley for Ulysses, he brings into full significance the legend of Circe,—

Or shall we every decency confound,
Thro' taverns, stews, and Bagnios take our round,
Go dine with Chartres, in each vice outdo
K——l's lewd cargo, or Ty——y's crew,

[1] I, 45 f. [2] *Sat.* II, i, 42 f. [3] I, 81 f. [4] I, 83 f. [5] *Sat.* II, i, 53 f.
[6] I, 89. [7] *Sat.* II, ii, 56. [8] II, 49. [9] II, 64. [10] *Ep.* I, vi, 63.

From Latin Syrens, French Circean feasts,
Return well travelled, and transformed to beasts,
Or for a titled punk, or foreign flame,
Renounce our country, and degrade our name?[1]

To find English poets who would correspond with any degree of exactness to the Latin ones of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* was well-nigh impossible. Consequently Pope departs considerably from his original in matters of detail, though preserving the main outlines of the Latin. For Horace's ancient models, which his benighted contemporaries would regard as framed by the Muses—the Twelve Tables, the treaties between the Gabians and Rome, the books of the pontiffs, etc.[2]—Pope substitutes, with a complete disregard of any parallelism in the matter of literary value, "Chaucer's worse ribaldry," "beastly Skelton," the "language of the Faery Queen," the Scotch "Christ's Kirk o' the Green," and the "British Ben."[3] The parallel lies in what Pope regards as the blemishes of these works. Ennius[4] in Horace is represented by Shakspere and Ben Jonson[5] in Pope, though it is clear the correspondence is far from exact. Pope will sometimes make one poet stand for more than one in the Latin; thus Shakspere corresponds to Ennius,[6] Atta,[7] and Sophocles;[8] matching Alexander and Choerilus[9] Pope has Charles I. and Quarles, and William III. and Blackmore,[10]—the last being introduced for the purpose of satire.

While Horace in *Sat.* II, ii, speaks of the hospitality of Ofella, Pope lays aside Bethel, who up to this has corresponded to Ofella, and makes his father and himself the subject of the rest of the *Imitation*.[11]

Pope, for the most part, avoids general and indefinite terms and uses instead concrete and specific ones. Thus, for Horace's "populus Romanus,"[12] he substitutes the indi-

[1] IV, 118 f.
[2] *Ep.* II, i, 23.
[3] V, 37 f.
[4] *Ep.* II, i, 50.
[5] V, 69.
[6] V, 69.
[7] V, 119; *Ep.* II, i, 79.
[8] V, 277; *Ep.* II, i, 163.
[9] *Ep.* II, i, 232 f.
[10] V, 380 f.
[11] II, 129 f. Cf. III, 25 f.
[12] *Ep.* I, i, 70.

vidual S[chut]z;[1] and he even invents the name, "Sir Job,"[2] for the Latin "dives."[3] So, for the Horatian "oblitus actor"[4] no less than two actors and one actress—Quin, Booth, and Oldfield[5]—are mentioned.

The cases in which Pope introduces personal allusions without any actual correspondents in Horace are more numerous than those with full or partial correspondents. They are usually of a satirical nature and include some of the cleverest parts of the *Imitations*. By means of these he reveals his own personality, gives concreteness to the general statement of Horace, and helps to give the tone and character of the eighteenth century. To Horace's

> Sunt quibus in satira videor nimis acer et ultra
> Legem tendere opus,[6]

Pope adds—

> Scarce to wise Peter[7] complaisant enough
> And something said of Chartres much too rough;[8]

and to Horace's most indefinite remark—

> pars esse putat similesque meorum
> Mille die versus deduci posse[9]—

he gives the personal touch in

> Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day.[10]

And a little farther on in the same satire he adds to Horace's general observation that every man fears the satirist's tongue,[11] the disguised allusions—

> A hundred smart in Timon and in Balaam.[12]

A passing allusion to his enemies, the dunces, fixes a dart, as in "Like Lee and Budgel I will rhyme and print,"[13] where Horace has merely "scribam."[14] In a similar way he trans-

[1] III, 112. [2] III, 138. [3] *Ep.* I, i, 84. [4] *Ep.* II, i, 204.
[5] V, 330 f. [6] *Sat.* II, i, 1 f. [7] Cf. also I, 40; V, 197. [8] I, 3.
[9] *Sat.* II, i, 3 f. [10] I, 5; cf. II, 100. [11] *Sat.* II, i, 23. [12] I, 42.
[13] I, 100. [14] *Sat.* II, i, 60.

fixes Blackmore in "You limp like Blackmore on a Lord Mayor's horse,"[1] which corresponds to Horace's "ilia ducat."[2] In the same manner he bundles together three more in

> Like journals, odes, and such forgotten things
> As Eusden, Philips, Settle writ of kings,[3]

to give personality to Horace's "scriptore meo."[4]

Horace's example of the ambitious citizen who desires enough wealth to give him the honors of the state[5] Pope contorts into the case of the wealthy London citizen whose wealth alone will not gratify his desires for social position, and characterizes this position as assured by

> A pension or such harness for a slave
> As Bug now has, and Dorimant would have.[6]

When Horace speaks of his ragged shirt,[7] Pope makes a nasty allusion to "linen worthy Lady Mary."[8] Horace's simple "quaere fugam morbi"[9] affords Pope an opening for satirizing Ward and Dover, two notorious quacks.[10] For Suadela,[11] Pope makes Anstis, the Garter King of Arms, the more effective inventor of aristocratic origins in modern times.[12] Lely and his painting[13] correspond to the impersonal "picta tabella"[14] of Horace; Ward, Radcliffe, and Ripley[15] to the pilots, physicians, and artisans of Horace;[16] Dryden, Roscommon,[17] Hopkins and Sternhold,[18] to Horace's "Vatis."[19] Horace's exposition of the relation of landlord and tenant in the matter of daily food gives Pope a chance for again satirizing the meanness of Wortley Montagu.[20]

As may have been noticed, the tone of Pope's personal allusions is keener and more bitter than that of Horace's good natured satire. His attitude towards mankind, as well

[1] III, 16; cf. VI, 112. [2] *Ep.* II, i, 9. [3] V, 416. [4] *Ep.* II, i, 268.
[5] *Ep.* II, i, 57. [6] III, 87 f.; cf. VI, 274–7. [7] *Ep.* I, i, 95.
[8] III, 164. [9] *Ep.* I, vi, 29. [10] IV, 56; cf. ll. 61, 64; VI, 70.
[11] *Ep.* I, vi, 38. [12] IV, 82. [13] V, 149. [14] *Ep.* II, i, 97.
[15] V, 182. [16] *Ep.* II, i, 114. [17] V, 213.
[18] V, 230. [19] *Ep.* II, i, 119. [20] VI, 234.

as towards individuals, lacks the gracious urbanity which distinguishes the Roman poet. He often thrusts in the sting of a personality where Horace is content to make such a general criticism as can offend no one.

General.—In his criticism of mankind his attitude is often that of self-satisfied superiority. He writes because "fools rush into his head;"[1] and his weapon, satire, he wears only in a "land of Hectors, Thieves, supercargoes, sharpers, and directors,"[2] an enlargement of Horace's impersonal "infestis latronibus."[3] Like Horace he has a contempt for the mob, which, translating "Bellua multorum capitum,"[4] he calls the "many-headed beast."[5] In the same way he speaks of

> The many-headed monster of the Pit;
> A senseless, worthless, and unhonoured crowd;[6]

which expresses more vehemently the Latin—

> Indocti, stolidique et depugnare parati.[7]

He is not much less severe on the lovers of farce, whether they be mob or lords,[8] and on theatre-goers who unthinkingly praise stage favorites.[9]

His unknown defamers, whether scribblers or peers, are alike mob to him.[10] Under the same heading he classes the miscellany writers—"the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease."[11] Even Shakspere, too, he treats with characteristic flippancy—

> Whom you and every play-house bill
> Style the divine, the matchless, what you will.[12]

The clergy who sink their souls in a banquet,[13] the Prelates, whose lawn lined with hair-shirt, is only less incoherent than his disordered mind,[14] the saint run mad—the worst of madmen[15]—the servile chaplains, who shamelessly flatter their

[1] I, 14. [2] I, 71. [3] *Sat.* II, i, 42. [4] *Ep.* I, i, 76.
[5] III, 121. [6] V, 305 f. [7] *Ep.* II, i, 184. [8] V, 310, 322.
[9] V, 330; cf. *Ep.* II, i, 207. [10] I, 139. [11] V, 108; cf. l. 187; VI, 153.
[12] V, 69. [13] II, 79. [14] III, 165. [15] IV, 27.

masters of the nobility,[1] show with what scorn he regarded the church and its corrupt or bigoted clergy. All this, too, is, of course, without a parallel in Horace.

The Personality of the Imitator.

Pope frequently adds to his original in matters of personal concern, such as the revelation of his character, the defence made necessary by the many charges preferred against him, the province of his art, and details of biography. Sometimes these are based on similar confessions by Horace or on statements made in reference to others. Occasionally they are playfully uttered with no intention that they be taken seriously; and at other times they are deliberately used to deceive the public. Comparison with Horace shows that while the latter's poems were largely personal, they do not bring out in such prominence the individuality of the poet. In these *Imitations* Pope is hardly ever unconscious of self; and his poetry is always most effective when it is most personal.

His professions of moral purpose in his work, placed beside the unquestionably immoral transactions in his life, are apt to sound hollow. When he says, for instance,—

> I love to pour out all myself as plain
> As downright Shippen to as old Montaigne[2]—

which is based on Horace's statement that he seeks to imitate Lucilius, who had revealed himself in his books,[3]—one remembers the many intrigues which give the lie to his professions. At the same time this is not to be taken as a mere transcribing of the Horatian text without regard to his own convictions, nor is it an entirely insincere profession. It may be matched by many others in his poetry, which stand for genuine feeling, even though they seem to clash with his conduct. When he declares—

[1] VI, 220. [2] I, 51. [3] *Sat.* II, i, 33.

> In this impartial glass, my Muse intends
> Fair to expose myself, my foes, my friends,[1]

he is stating what he believes to be true, which, however, neither Pope nor any other poet can make absolutely true. His temperament and not his will alone prevented his being fair to friends and foes and even himself. He places in moderation all his glory[2]—without hint from Horace—and copies the equal mind of Bethel—

> Who always speaks his thought
> And always thinks the very thing he ought[3]—

also additional—which he not unwisely modifies with "what I can."

He confesses natural timidity and awe of the rich[4] in a spirit which is not intended to be taken seriously. A few lines later he says he nods in company,[5] a confession which recalls the incident of his nodding at his own table when the Prince of Wales was discoursing on poetry. This ironical awe of the rich may be contrasted with his claim of virtuous happiness—

> Content with little I can piddle here
> On brocoli and mutton, round the year[6]—

which corresponds to what Horace said of Ofella,[7]—and with his profession of hospitality to his guests,[8] which are not well borne out by Dr. Johnson's story of his leaving his guests to the remnants of a pint bottle of wine. The complaisance shown in this account of the dinner is well matched by the preliminary grace, the merit of which lay in its having been said by a poet.[9] As Leslie Stephen says, "a grace in which Bolingbroke joined could not have been a very impressive ceremony."[10]

Following Horace, he complains of Bolingbroke's breaking the "Sabbath of his days," for he is

[1] I, 55. [2] I, 67. [3] II, 131 f. [4] I, 7.
[5] I, 13. [6] II, 137. [7] *Sat.* II, ii, 116 f. [8] II, 159.
[9] II, 150. [10] *Hours in a Library*, I, 107.

> Now sick alike of envy and of praise,
> Public too long, ah! let me hide my age.[1]

This is pure affectation in Pope. He never reached that stage in his career where he desired silence. In fact, the ready comment is Pope's own words in another *Imitation*—

> I, who so oft renounce the Muses, lie,
> Not ——'s self e'er tells more lies than I,[2]—

a statement none the less true because it is almost an exact translation of

> Ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,
> Invenior Parthis mendacior.[3]

He usually called it equivocating genteelly.

When he depreciates himself and his profession in the *Epistle to Augustus*[4] he does so in a bantering spirit, which is in contrast to Horace's respectful attitude towards the Emperor; this too brings out more strikingly the satirical nature of his address to the King.[5]

Pope's defense of his use of satire as an attack on "Shameless, guilty men,"[6] follows Horace rather closely. Like Horace he professes to be "to Virtue only and her friends a friend,"[7] but unlike the Roman he lacks the graciousness which enables him to live up to his profession. Personal feeling entered too largely into his verse for it to be conceived of as governed by such abstract principles of morality as a disinterested pursuit of virtue.[8] There is something amusing in his protestations that he will strip the gilding off a knave or perish in the generous cause, when we realize that his zeal against the knave was usually the result of personal animus or a contempt for dulness rather than the sincere devotion of his genius to the cause of virtue.[9]

[1] III, 4. [2] V, 175. [3] *Ep.* II, i, 111 f. [4] V, 358.

[5] Cf. also II, 84, 86, for additional references to his art.

[6] I, 105. [7] I, 120; *Sat.* II, i, 70.

[8] See Leslie Stephen's interesting essay on "Pope as a Moralist" in his *Hours in a Library*, Vol. I. [9] Cf. I, 42, 75, 105 f., 133.

There is a note of insincerity, due as much to his desire to render his original as to any wish to impose on the public, in the advice he makes the voice of reason utter—

> Friend Pope! be prudent, let your muse take breath
> And never gallop Pegasus to death,[1]

and in his resolution to act on this advice—

> Farewell then verse, and love, and every toy,
> The rhymes and rattles of the man or boy;
> What right, what true, what fit we justly call,
> Let this be all my care—for this is all.[2]

This was a pose which Pope was fond of but which deceived no one.[3]

He can with considerable honesty follow Horace in saying that he is sworn to no sect, for both in political and religious matters he was less of a partisan than many in those days of intensely bitter party feeling. Though a Catholic and a Tory, he followed neither party to their wildest extremes. Yet he was not the man of moderation he would have us suppose. He would not prostitute his pen to flattery; he could honestly say—

> And when I flatter, let my dirty leaves . . . .
> Clothe spice, line trunks, or, fluttering in a row,
> Befringe the rails of Bedlam or Soho.[4]

One of the noblest traits of his character is his treatment of his friends as recorded in his poetic tribute to them. So unmistakable, in fact, was his praise that his delicate irony is revealed when he says he dare not address George II in panegyric strains,[4] and continuing he declares—

> Besides a fate attends on all I write,
> That when I aim at praise, they say I bite.[5]

[1] III, 13.
[2] III, 17. Cf. VI, 28.
[3] Cf. *Ep. to Arbuthnot*, l. 269.
[4] V, 405 f.
[5] V, 410 f.

Parody.

Pope's Imitation of Horace's *Epistle to Augustus* (II, i) is, in so far as it has reference to George II, distinctly a parody of his original. Horace treated his Emperor with all respect as a beneficent patron of literature; George II., who all his life was utterly indifferent to poetry, could be addressed by Pope only ironically, if the form of the Horatian Epistle was to be preserved. And in this parody the irony of Pope is at its keenest and his wit is most brilliant. He is not fettered by his original beyond being indebted to it for the suggestions he developes, and he is thus enabled to give free scope to his fancy.

Pope represents his sovereign as great abroad,[1] when his sole interests were those of his electorate, and the only weight England had in continental affairs was due not to George but to his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and his queen. At home he amends "morals, arts, and laws,"[2] to all three of which he was equally and hopelessly indifferent. In the same way Pope amuses himself over George's attitude towards poetry.[3]

Further instances of parody are found in the other *Imitations*. Thus Pope burlesques what Horace says[4] in reply to the advice of Trebatius that he write Caesar's deeds, by a ludicrous description of Blackmore's panegyrics on the king—

> What? like Sir Richard, rumbling, rough, and fierce,
> With arms, and George, and Brunswick crowd the verse,
> Rend with tremendous sound your ears asunder,
> With gun, drum, trumpet, blunderbuss, and thunder?[5]

Cibber, too, he impales in a parody of Horace's

> Quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu
> Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem![6]

when he says—

[1] ll. 2, 3, 23 f., 396 f. [2] l. 4. [3] ll. 356 f., 404.
[4] *Sat.* II, i, 13. [5] I, 23 f. [6] *Sat.* II, i, 21 f.

Better be Cibber I'll maintain it still
Than ridicule all taste, blaspheme quadrille, etc.[1]

Describing his determination to write, he takes Horace's

Quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color[2]

and parodies the resolution, using the suggestion of the word 'color'—

Whether the darkened room to muse invite,
Or whitened wall provoke the skewer to write:
In durance, exile, Bedlam or the mint,—
Like Lee or Budgel, I will rhyme and print.[3]

"This," says Warton, "is only a wanton joke upon the terms of his original."

Methods Employed by Pope in Rendering his Original.

Additions.—From the foregoing it has been observed that Pope allows himself great liberties in rendering his original. There is much that is additional in details of description, in satirical touches, in allusions to contemporary conditions, events or persons, and in autobiography. These are, however, for the most part in the direct line of Horace's thought, and are usually of not more than two or three lines. He rarely lays his original aside for any length of time; and in the few cases where the correspondence between the Latin and the English seems to fail it is usually where an exactness of parallel is impossible owing to the nature of the subject. This is most completely illustrated in the *Epistle to Augustus.*

Expansions.—Another means of variation from the original is by the expansion of the idea on Horace or an elaboration from the merest suggestion of the Latin. Thus Horace simply states that he writes because he cannot sleep;[4] this Pope renders with fuller reference to himself—

[1] I, 37. [2] *Sat.* II, i, 60. [3] I, 97. [4] *Sat.* II, i, 7.

> Not write? but then I think,
> And for my soul I cannot sleep a wink.
> I nod in company, I wake at night,
> Fools rush into my head and so I write.[1]

For Horace's resolve—

> Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
> Cederet, introrsum turpis—[2]

Pope vows to

> Brand the bold front of shameless guilty men;
> Dash the proud gamester in his gilded car;
> Bare the mean heart that lurks beneath a star.[3]

Again he will enlarge a word or phrase as "This jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhyming race"[4] for "genus irritabile vatum,"[5] or for "scribimus"[6] he will have "rhyme and scrawl and scribble to a man,"[7] where in both cases the idea is not elaborated. So the one word "abi"[8] is rendered, "I wish you joy, Sir, of a tyrant gone."[9] For the simple expressions of Horace Pope, indulging in the fault of eighteenth century style, uses ornate expressions; thus, for "piscemur, venemur"[10] we have "drive the deer and drag the finny prey;"[11] or for "Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis Tempora momentis,"[12] the grandiloquent—

> This vault of air, this congregated ball,
> Self-centred sun, and stars that rise and fall.[13]

The Latin poet speaks of works among which a word shines,[14] and the imitator, not content with elaborating the verb "emicuit" into

> That solitary shines
> In the dry desert of a thousand lines,[15]

[1] I, 11 f.
[2] *Sat.* II, i, 64f.
[3] I, 106 f.
[4] VI, 148.
[5] *Ep.* II, ii, 102.
[6] *Ep.* II, i, 117.
[7] V, 189.
[8] *Ep.* II, ii, 206.
[9] VI, 305.
[10] *Ep.* I, vi, 57.
[11] IV, 113.
[12] *Ep.* I, vi, 3.
[13] IV, 5 f.
[14] *Ep.* II, i, 73.
[15] V, 111.

bases on it a simile, which is without a correspondent in Horace—

Like twinkling stars the Miscellanies o'er.[1]

Concrete for abstract.—Another respect in which Pope differs from his original is in his using the definite, personal, or concrete illustration for the indefinite, impersonal, or abstract statement of the Latin. Pope will "gain a knighthood or the bays,"[2] while Horace will seek "multa laborum Praemia."[3] The Latin "quis amicus"[4] becomes in the English "Plums and Directors, Shylock and his wife,"[5] another sarcastic reference to Wortley Montagu and Lady Mary. Horace speaks indefinitely of pale guests at a banquet,[6] but Pope satirizes the civic and the ecclesiastical feasts.[7]

The frequent use of illustration and concrete statement in the English version makes up for the greater succinctness of the Latin. Writing nearly twice as many lines as Horace,[8] Pope endeavors by this means to reproduce the spirit and vivacity of the original. And herein lies the excellence of the *Imitations.*

Shifting.—One of the minor variations of Pope from his original is a natural and comparatively unimportant one, the shifting of a thought from one part of the poem to another. This change in arrangement is not frequent, for on the whole he follows Horace's order faithfully. It consists in transferring a sentence from one part of a paragraph to another, or at most from one paragraph to another. The former is seen in carrying from the end of the Latin paragraph to the beginning of the corresponding English one, the general statement which is exemplified in a number of concrete instances. "Each mortal has his pleasure,"[9] says Pope, and he proceeds to enumerate some of them; Horace, after giving his examples, says—

[1] v, 110. [2] I, 22. [3] *Sat.* II, i, 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, 61. [5] I, 103. [6] *Sat.* II, ii, 76.
[7] II, 75. [8] 1403 English to 884 Latin lines. [9] I, 45.

> Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
> Milia.[1]

The change of order involving also a change of connection in thought is found in several instances. Horace speaks of Ofella in his field in the midst of his sons and cattle;[2] Pope, who in this case had put himself forward instead of Bethel, cannot carry out the parallel; but later when, dealing further with autobiographical details, he deserts his original, he shows that he has Horace's line in mind since he makes Swift exclaim: "Pity! to build without a house or wife,"[3] the wife taking the place of the Latin "pecore."[4] Horace, speaking of the bad judgment shown by Alexander in his choice of a poor poet for his panegyrist, says—

> Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
> Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
> Splendida facta linunt.[5]

In this connection Pope omits this remark, but when a few lines later he makes a mock apology for not singing George's praises, which corresponds to Horace's genuine apology, he brings in this idea in—

> A vile enconium doubly ridicules:
> There's nothing blackens like the ink of fools.[6]

Minor changes.—There are some minor changes which better suit English conditions or Pope's temper or whim than a literal rendering of the original would have done. Horace tells a wealthy miser that the time will come when he will be without the money to buy a rope to hang himself with;[7] Pope says—

> Buy a rope that future times may tell
> Thou hast at least bestowed one penny well.[8]

[1] *Sat.* II, i, 27; cf. II, 10 (*Sat.* II, ii, 3).
[2] *Sat.* II, ii, 115.
[3] II, 163.
[4] Cf. II, 29 (*Sat.* II, ii, 63); III, 71 (*Ep.* I, i, 44); V, 26 (*Ep.* II, i, 19).
[5] *Ep.* II, i, 235 f.
[6] V, 410.
[7] *Sat.* II, ii, 98.
[8] II, 109.

As a comparison of the slowness with which the time passes that keeps him from the study of truth, Horace mentions the weariness of the night for those deceived by their lady-loves;[1] Pope uses the other edge of the satire in

> Long as the night to her whose love's away,[2]

making the satire against woman, if anything, keener. Pope renders Horace's lines on Naevius—

> Naevius in manibus non est et manibus haeret
> Paene recens?[3]

by words the exact opposite, with Cowley in the place of Naevius—

> Who now reads Cowley?[4]

Change of application.—Pope's cleverness in imitating his original and in finding parallels where the literal rendering would not suit his fancy is seen in the happy turn he sometimes gives to the Latin by a slight change of its application. Thus, Horace says—

> Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,
> Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor,[5]

which Pope renders—

> Back to my native moderation slide
> And win my way by yielding to the tide.[6]

The expression, "yielding to the tide"—an incorrect rendering, by the way, of "subjungere," which means about the opposite,—was probably suggested by "civilibus undis;"[7] "glide" too is taken from l. 18 where it is used by Horace in direct connection with Aristippus. Horace's mention of an actor's ease of movement in taking the part of a Satyr or a Cyclops[8] recalls to Pope his lines from the *Essay on Criticism*, which he slightly alters in

[1] *Ep.* I, i, 20. [2] III, 36. [3] *Ep.* II, i, 53. [4] V, 75.
[5] *Ep.* I, i, 19 f. [6] III, 33 f. [7] *Ep.* I, i, 16. [8] *Ep.* II, ii, 125.

> But ease in writing comes from art, not chance;
> As those move easiest who have learned to dance.[1]

The connection is the same in both cases, but Pope's comparison loses the vigor which Horace's gains by the conciseness of the Latin and the concrete illustration. The concreteness is on the other side when Pope renders "Escae quae simplex olim tibi sederit"[2] as "The schoolboy's simple fare,"[3] but the terseness of the original is lost in "The temperate feasts and spirits light as air."[4] Since it was no longer the custom to sprinkle the stage with liquid perfumes or bestrew it with flowers, Horace's allusion to this in his mention of the playwright Atta[5] cannot be rendered into English in this connection; but yet Pope seizes the idea of the flowers and makes a pretty reference to Shakspere's birthplace in

> On Avon's banks where flowers eternal blow.[6]

On the mere hint in "dotalibus agris"[7] Pope substitutes for Horace's illustration of financial rivalry with a man who married wealth that of the rivalry in love of a worthy man beaten by the "rich dulness of a son of earth."[8] Horace concedes to Trebatius that his advice not to write is the best—"Peream male, si non Optimum erat;"[9] Pope makes Mr. Fortescue assure him that to write is the worst thing he could do.[10] Horace, in describing Caesar's victories, speaks of "labentis equo . . . . Parthi,"[11] and Pope in his parody of this vigorous description transfers the epithet to the horse—"Angels trembling round his falling horse"[12]—George taking the place of the Parthian. The Latin poet describes Pollux as "ovo prognatus eodem" as his brother Castor,[13] and this Pope cleverly imitates in

> Like in all else as one egg to another,[14]

[1] VI, 178. [2] *Sat.* II, ii, 72. [3] II, 73. [4] l. 74.
[5] *Ep.* II, i, 79. [6] V, 119. [7] *Ep.* I, vi, 21. [8] IV, 43.
[9] *Sat.* II, i, 6 f. [10] I, 15. [11] *Sat.* II, i, 15.
[12] I, 28. [13] *Sat.* II, i, 26. [14] I, 49.

substituting the Fox brothers for Castor and Pollux. The live pig that will disturb Horace's poetical meditations in the streets of Rome[1] becomes as actual a destroyer of good poetry in the "pig of lead," which, "God knows, may hurt the very ablest head."[2]

Suggestions from the form of the word.—There are a few instances of renderings which were manifestly suggested either by the form of the word or by another meaning than that employed in the text. In the line

> Then cheerful healths (your mistress shall have place)[3]

Pope's allusion to the mistress was evidently suggested by Horace's employment of the word "Magistra" in

> Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,[4]

where, with an entirely different meaning, it may be translated in the words of Prof. Conington as a "fine to do the *chairman's* work." Horace's "divinae aurae,"[5] which occurs in his ridicule of the doctrine of immortality, by showing the effects of a banquet on the human soul perhaps suggests to Pope his ridicule of the effects of a clergy feast on *divines*,[6] since in the original the banquet is no special one. For this passage, however, it may be said that the idea of the Epicurean Horace satirizing contemporary orthodoxy may be hint enough for Pope's scorn of the lax morals of the clergy. The Latin oath 'Pol'[7] suggests by its mere spelling the common English "Pox."[8] The use of "accisis"[9] applied to Ofella's wealth suggests as much by its form as its meaning the word "excised" in

> The Lord of thousands now if once excised.[10]

In Horace's ironical advice for the attainment of power and mob applause he recommends hiring a slave to point out the

[1] *Ep.* II, ii, 75.
[2] VI, 102.
[3] II, 149.
[4] *Sat.* II, ii, 123.
[5] *Sat.* II, ii, 79.
[6] II, 80.
[7] *Ep.* II, ii, 138.
[8] VI, 195.
[9] *Sat.* II, ii, 114.
[10] II, 134.

men to whom court should be paid and then greeting them courteously as father, brother—

> Ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta;[1]

Pope in rendering this—

> Then turn about, and laugh at your own jest[2]—

may have been misled as to Horace's meaning, which in this case is 'courteous,' by the resemblance of the word to its English derivative "facetious."[3]

The Imitations Separately Considered.

Satire, II, i.—There was much in the first satire of the second book of Horace to suggest to Lord Bolingbroke that it would suit Pope's case if he were to imitate it in English. Its general theme was satire, wherein his strength lay; it touched on the poet's personal characteristics, his biography, and his favor with the great—subjects in which he was always happy; it satirized the dunces and others equally deserving, whom he had made sport of in the *Dunciad;* it contained a strong statement of the poet's moral purpose, on which he was never weary of descanting.

On the other hand there was genuine praise for Lucilius and a frank acknowledgment by Horace of his predecessor's superiority—neither of which Pope was ever too ready to give to any other poet. There was, too, the subject's loyal regard for his Emperor as well as the poet's gratitude for the royal favor; and in neither case could Pope follow his original.

[1] *Ep.* I, vi, 55. [2] IV, 134.

[3] Could Pope's "martyr" in "For matrimonial solace dies a martyr (III, 151) have been suggested by the form "maritis" in the corresponding line in Horace—"jurat bene solis esse maritis" (*Ep.* I, i, 89)? or "charity" in "The boys and girls whom charity maintains" (V, 231), by "castis" in "castis cum pueris" (*Ep.* II, i, 132)? The words are like enough to make me bold in venturing the query.

Pope declares himself "to virtue only and her friends a friend,"[1] a sentiment Horace attributes to Lucilius,[2] who has confided all his secrets to his book. Horace modestly rates himself below Lucilius and seeks to follow his example; Pope disregards other poets as his model and gives special prominence to his favor with the great. Further than this, Pope takes as correspondents to Lucilius who have celebrated Caesar's praises the miserable Sir Richard Blackmore[3] and the Laureate Colley Cibber.[4] He ironically refers to the king's distaste for poetry and his none too enviable reputation in foreign politics,[5] in the tone of the *Epistle to Augustus.*

The *Imitation* is much more directly personal in its charater than its original. Not that Horace's satire is not strictly personal, but his personality is veiled behind Lucilius's and only indirectly does the poem concern the poet himself. Pope, on the other hand, uses none of this indirectness; he employs the first personal pronoun throughout. It is in this way that he has given an essentially Popian character to the Horatian original. There is no incongruity in fitting English characters and conditions into the form he had adapted from the Latin, none of the "irreconcilable dissimilitudes" Dr. Johnson speaks of. To no period of English literature does the theme of this satire more properly belong; and to the genius of no poet could it be more excellently adapted than to Pope's. The subject being literary, the conflict between "Roman images and English manners" was reduced to insignificance. The peculiarities in the social and political life of Rome are touched upon mainly as illustration, and where fitting parallels are not to hand, Pope disregards the references. There is more freedom exercised here in rendering the original than in any of the others with the exception of the Fifth. The subject was one of direct personal interest to him, and by putting his own spirit into

[1] l. 121. [2] l. 70. [3] l. 23 f. [4] l. 34 f. [5] l. 35 f.

his version he brought it up to the level of his best satirical poetry. It is Pope and not the translator of Horace who is speaking.

Along with this personal conviction went also a more caustic tone than that which pervades Horace. Though the latter can hardly be spoken of as "touching the foibles of mankind with delicacy and urbanity,"[1] when he mentions Cervius, Canidia, and Turius, the criticism holds true of the general character of the satire. But of Pope it is not so. There is strong personal malignity in his verses on Sappho and contempt not merely for dulness in the abstract in his remarks on Blackmore and Cibber. As Professor Courthope says: "The style of Horace is genial and pleasant; Pope is fierce and denunciatory; fine as his declamation is, it is much more in the manner of Juvenal than of Horace."[2]

Satire, II, ii.—The second satire of the second book, being in Horace the praise of temperance in the mouth of the rude countryman, Ofella, suits neither Pope himself nor the age in which he lived. Temperance was by no means one of Pope's virtues. As a young man in 1715 he said to Caryll: "I sit up till one or two o'clock every night over Burgundy and Champagne, and am become so much a modern rake that I shall be ashamed in a short time to be thought to do any sort of business." This was an indulgence, however, which his physical frame could ill endure and which, too, was largely an affectation. Yet he never wholly abandoned it; and Dr. King testified that Pope "certainly hastened his end by feeding much on high-seasoned dishes and drinking spirits."[3] Regret as he might the immediate consequences of high living, he did not find in intemperance the same occasion for satire that he saw in dulness or the ostentation of wealth. Not that he never satirized gluttony, for he was not the man

[1] Warton's *Essay on Pope*, I, 172.

[2] Note to ll. 105–121, Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III. See also Courthope's Introduction to this Satire, p. 278.

[3] *Anecdotes*, p. 12.

to lose any chance for attacking his enemies; but he did not infuse into this subject the vehemence of his personality.

Again, the satire was not fitting to Pope's age. As Prof. Courthope says:[1] "The luxurious Romans of the day might admire in poetry, while they despised in real life, the 'wise saws and rude mother wit' of the rustic Ofella, preserving as these did the flavor of the old Roman simplicity inculcated by Cato the Censor. But to suppose that a society, like that of England under George II., which had by no means lost the principle of liberty and which was working out a new order of taste and refinement, would listen to the commonplace moralizing of a country gentleman like Bethel, showed a curious absence of Pope's usual shrewdness and judgment."

Accordingly we notice that as long as Pope keeps to this subject,[2] he follows Horace more closely than he did in the first *Imitation*, and only in the few personal references does he write with his usual keenness. In the latter part of the satire,[3] where he follows the same course of treatment of his original that distinguishes the first *Imitation*, he takes the place of Ofella, and treats of a subject dear to his own heart without more than a general regard to the Horatian text. And here the level of his satire rises with his increased interest in his topic. In this "we may doubtless," to quote Prof. Courthope, "discover the motive of the *Imitation*."[4]

Moreover, the tone or character of the eighteenth century is not given by the substitution of mere details applicable to English life for those which Horace used, such as English fish and fowl for Roman or the rank venison of our fathers for the rancid boar of Horace's ancestors. Even those free adaptations and expansions of the original, which are usually in Pope's cleverest manner, are in this *Imitation* not all up to his high standard of excellence. His satire on a clergy or a city feast[5] is rather heavy, as is that on the wealthy lord who

[1] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 305.

[2] ll. 1–128.

[3] ll. 129 to end.

[4] Courthope-Elwin, *Pope*, III, 304.

[5] l. 76 f.

prides himself on having a taste.[1] His characterization of Avidien's wife[2] is gross without being clever; and the satire on her and her husband's meanness is with the possible exception of a couple of lines[3] an infelicitous imitation of the original.

Epistle, I, i.—In the first Epistle of the first book, Horace, says Prof. Courthope,[4] "pretends to excuse himself for his laziness in writing, on high stoic principles; the gravity with which he elaborates his philosophy; the fidelity with which he copies the minute manner of the stoics in reasoning about common places; and the final bathos about the cough, are all admirable." This hardly seems to me Horace's idea in this Epistle. He not infrequently brings in the jest, as here in the last line, not to indicate that all which preceded is mock gravity, but to lighten the seriousness of the moral teaching. He had been silent for four years since the publication of the first three books of the *Odes*, and naturally this long interval would be the subject of friendly criticism by Maecenas and would call for an explanation from the poet. "He had," as Prof. Sellar says,[5] "gradually adopted a more retired and meditative life, and had become fonder of the country and of study, and that while owing allegiance to no school or sect of philosophy, he was framing for himself a scheme of life, was endeavoring to conform to it, and was bent on inculcating it on others." Accordingly, though he treats his silence with a certain amount of playfulness, he is not lacking in sincerity nor merely parodying the Stoic philosophy in his excuses, when he declares that he wishes to leave poetry for the search of what is right and true, or when he enveighs against the craving for wealth and the moral and intellectual disorder of the Romans.

The situation was not the same in Pope's case. He had not been silent at all, the sixth epistle of the first book having

[1] l. 111 f. [2] l. 50. [3] ll. 55, 56.

[4] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 328.

[5] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Horace."

been produced the year before. Further Pope never did nor desired to forsake poetry for philosophy. His studies in the latter were most desultory and never advanced beyond the teachings of his guide, philosopher, and friend Bolingbroke.

In the first part of the *Imitation*, accordingly, with the exception of the happy rendering of "senescentem equum"[1] by the figure of Pegasus,[2] Pope follows his original without much spirit. His variations from Horace are weak, and his expressions often lifeless[3] and even in one instance obscure.[4] In one place[5] he loses sight of philosophy with which he started out and for it substitutes "Rhymes."

He redeems himself, however, in the latter part of the *Imitation*[6] with his satire on the rage for wealth; and here again, as Prof. Courthope[7] indicates, is his probable motive for rendering the Epistle. Pope cordially detested the insane thirst for gold that consumed English society, and he spoke with no insincere voice when he enveighed against it. It gave him, too, an opportunity for satiring his enemies whom he could accuse of this vice. But even in this better part of the *Imitation* he is not at his best; the correspondence of the box at the opera to the Roscian Law is poor, since it fails utterly to give the point of the reference in Horace. The unity of the Horatian argument is broken by Pope's two correspondents for the "Bellua multorum capitum" in the court and the mob, thus giving him a chance for his favorite satire on the court but necessitating a forced contrast between it and the people.[8] The satire in this case does not rise above the commonplace and is, therefore, no sufficient excuse for the break in the thought. In his description of the fickleness of all classes, however, Pope, with his accustomed vigor, has depicted society as it existed in England. His satire has the energy of his best work. So, too, his final address to Lord

[1] l. 8. [2] l. 13 f. [3] ll. 45 f., 59 f., 69 f., 98 f.
[4] ll. 43, 44. [5] l. 59 f. [6] ll. 97 to end.
[7] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 329.
[8] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 339, note.

Bolingbroke, though especially appropriate neither to himself nor to his friend, is in Pope's happiest manner, his malignity against Lady Mary and his scorn for comfortable prelates adding sharpness to his wit.

Epistle, I, vi.—The sixth epistle of the first book is in Horace's most characteristic manner, for not only is the subject one that well suited him as a seasoned man of the world, whose philosophic studies induced indifference to the high moral end of life, but it is also especially appropriate to the cynicism of the age of Augustus. Horace and his contemporaries could weigh virtue and pleasure in the balance with utter carelessness as to which kicked the beam, as long as the individual's present happiness were assured. "Adapt your means to your end; above all preserve your equanimity,"[1] is the advice Horace gives to his willing pupils.

Now this is a doctrine essentially pagan and not one that Pope could treat *con amore*, Warburton to the contrary notwithstanding. It was hardly possible for the author of the *Essay on Man*, who professed to be a Christian apologist and thought his essay was a remarkable vindication of the ways of God to man, even to affect to make his own this piece of pagan philosophy. Further, Pope was not a man who could assume effectively even the appearance of indifference in either the greater or lesser concerns of life. His moral standard, it is true, was not high—probably no higher or lower than that of his century—but he thoroughly believed in preaching the virtue which he followed afar off. To remain consistent, therefore, with his preaching, he gives a serious tone to Horace's flippancy, holds up to public scorn what the Roman treats with comparative leniency, and gives to the whole Epistle the character of a *reductio ad absurdum* proof of the insufficiency of any but a virtuous life. Pope's text, then, is not "nil admirari," as he announces at the beginning, but the opposite. The solemnity with which he refers to death;[2] the

[1] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 317.

[2] l. 50 f.

bitter tone of sarcasm running through his advice to try other ways to happiness than that of virtue; the coupling of such names as Lords Kinnoul and Tyrawley with the life of the stews, of Rochester and Swift with the pursuit of love and jest, and of Tindal with heterodoxy, shows plainly a moral earnestness not found in his original. It was not, then, the theme which in itself attracted Pope, but the opportunity Horace's easy treatment of the race for honors, wealth and self indulgence gave him to satirize the corresponding vices of his later day. And in just such satire he is at his best; even though he makes it his boast that he lives among the great, and is not averse to their attention, he is none less their satirist. He never sold his soul to wealth or rank. The personal references which never fail to tell in the hands of Pope largely supplement Horace's small list.

Epistle, II, i.—The Imitation of the first epistle of the second book is generally conceded to be the best. In it Pope has allowed himself more freedom in his adaptation of his original than in the others, even to the extent of parodying Horace's serious address to Augustus, which is the framework into which the matter proper of the epistle is fitted. The subject, being a criticism of the public taste in ancient and modern literature, lent itself as easily to treatment by an English poet of the eighteenth century as by a Roman of the first; it afforded fine scope, moreover, for personal satire. In dealing with such a subject, Pope was brought into direct critical relation with his enemies the dunces as well as with the great poets. The parallels are most ingenious, and with a few exceptions are not far-fetched. The exceptions are the imitation of Horace's account of the origin of satire;[1] the parallel of France conquered by England to Greece conquered by Rome;[2] that of the public recitations;[3] that of the progress of taste since the Restoration as compared with that during Greek and Roman history.[4]

[1] ll. 241–262. [2] ll. 263–275. [3] ll. 362–3.
[4] ll. 139–188. See Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, notes *loc. cit.*

Pope's indignation towards the people is not so much for their preference for the older poets as for their neglect of the modern,[1] and to be thoroughly honest he should have added that he lost his patience more for the imaginary neglect of his own than for the real neglect of any other poet's work, ancient or modern. His usual attitude was not jealousy for modern reputations. No man did more than he to destroy his poetical contemporaries. His satire on the stage followed easily on the track of Horace, for he cherished bitter feelings against the theatre after the unfortunate collapse of *Three Hours after Marriage*, of which he was part author. But instead of singing the praises of epic poetry, as Horace did, in contrast with the degeneration of the drama, and showing how it might fitly be employed in recounting the stories of the reign of Augustus, Pope turns Horace's eulogy into a keen ironical onslaught on the English king, and declares his inability to do justice to the triumphs of his reign.

Epistle, II, ii.—As in the first epistle of the first book, Horace in the second epistle of the second book declares his resolution to devote himself to philosophy instead of to poetry. He gives here various reasons for no longer writing poetry, such as the removal of the spur of poverty, the difficulty of pleasing all, the necessity cf keeping on good terms with the "genus irritabile vatum," and the extreme labor of producing good verse. If, he says, his bad verses could please him or he could avoid knowing they were bad, he should be content to be a scribbler; but as it is, he is resolved to cease from poetry and study philosophy.

Now this is not Pope's case; and with the exception of the opportunity it affords for autobiography, and for satire against the race of scribblers and the moneyed class, it is not one which would call out his sympathies. He had not been silent like Horace, nor had his object in writing originally been merely for pecuniary gain. He was not actuated by any ardent desire to please all—rather he took pleasure in the

[1] l. 115 f.

opposite—and he never felt called upon to keep on good terms with the "jealous, waspish, wronghead, rhyming race." The labor of producing good verse never kept him from writing, great as the burden was. Nor was he the man to profess a creed of contentment with bad poetry as long as he himself is ignorant of its badness. Philosophy, too, was always secondary to poetry.

The subject being thus so ill-adapted to Pope's mind and art, it is not a matter of surprise that this *Imitation* is on the whole inferior. "The line of thought," as Prof. Courthope points out, "is very disconnected. In following Horace in detail Pope does not seem to have understood the argument of his original."[1]

The satire and the autobiographical portions are, as is usual, the best. Other correspondences to Horace are not so happy: the case of the British soldier flatly disobeying his general's orders is impossible, and that of the imaginary member of Parliament improbable. The moralizing of the close is prosaic, lacking the vigor and terseness of the original.

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[1] Elwin-Courthope, *Pope*, III, 388.

VIII.—THE MØJEBRO RUNIC STONE

AND THE RUNIC LIGATURE FOR *NG*.

At Hageby, two Swedish miles from Upsala, there is preserved a runic stone 'originally standing at Møjebro in Hageby Socken and Hagunda Hærad.' It 'is of the hardest red quartz and feldspar, 8½ Swedish feet high and 5 Swedish feet at broadest.' Cut into one side is the figure of a man mounted on a horse, with rein and saddle cloth. He has on a sort of corselet and is brandishing a sword in his right hand—not the left, as sometimes stated. The face is turned slightly away from the observer, who sees the left side and the back of the horseman. On the inside of the arm, just above the elbow, is a peculiar round protuberance. Above the figure is the inscription, running from edge to edge of the stone. All the letters but the lowest one at the right are distinct, and all are normal with the exception of the dotted cross. Stephens gives (*Runic Monuments*, I, p. 179, 180, and *Handbook*, p. 11, 12) both the old inferior cut, 'drawn about the middle of the 17th century and publisht in Göransson's Bautil in 1750,' and the superior reproduction, 'drawn by Prof. Carl Säve, of Upsala, in 1862.' My cut is after the latter, with the correction of the first letter, as explained below.

It is really a waste of paper to copy Stephens's various readings (*Runic Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 181, 900, XXVIII, vol. III, p. 30; *Handbook*, p. 11), but I may give his first and his last. *Ænœ hœh œis lœginia Frœwœrœdœa* = 'Ænæ hewed these (–runes to–the–down–) laid [fallen, slain] Fræwæræd,' I, p. 181. *Ænœhœ, Hœislœ, Ginia, Frœwœrœdœa* = '(Sir–) Ænæhæ, (Sir–) Hæislæ, (the–lady–) Ginia, (raised–this–stone–to–the–lord–) Fræwæræd,' *Monuments*, III, p. 30, *Handbook*, p. 11. Wimmer originally read: *Frawaraðaʀ ana hahai slaginaʀ* = ON. 'Fráráðr á há (dat. sg. fem.) sleginn,' but he

decided later that the first letter was *i* not *f* and came to the conclusion that the dotted cross was not a rune but a sign of punctuation, cf. *Die Runenschrift*, p. 166 ft. Bugge reads: *Ana hahaisla iniʀ frawaradaʀ* = 'Over Hahaisl (satte) Ini (og) Frawarad (Stenen),' cf. *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, p. 233. For objections to these readings see Burg, *Die älteren Nordischen Runeninschriften*, p. 106 etc.

There are only two of the runes about which there can be any question. The picture of 1750 shows ᚨ as the first letter of the lower line. In 1862 Säve found only | but reported the stone as more or less injured at the left, it having been long used as a step at the well of the Hageby rectory. Most scholars now read *f*, which is almost certainly correct. The dotted cross is very interesting. In *Philologische Studien* (Festgabe für Eduard Sievers, p. 18) I showed that the various forms of the rune for *ng* are only different ligatures of the runes for *n* and *g*. I can now be more definite. The combination of these two consonants was one of the most common ones in Germanic. Moreover, the nasal was really *η* and occurred only in this combination. Hence it is not strange that its written form drifted away from that of *n*, and thus an individual spelling for the group arose. The runes for *n* and *g* were but slightly different crosses and easily became alike, just as Ͷ Γ νγ became Γ Γ γγ in Greek. They were thus regarded as a sort of double letter for the group *ηg* and developed differently according as they were written next to one another, above one another, or over one another:—

ᚾX {
1. XX, X◇X, ◇.
2. x/x { ◇, ◇, ◇. / ◇X.
3. ✳, ⁑X.
}

That the vertical line should on stone be displaced by two dots was natural; for the vertical line is apt to break up the stone where it crosses the two oblique lines.

Wimmer was right in beginning with the lower line and reading up as well as to the left. The position of the rune for the final ʀ above the upper line is sufficient to show that the lowest line is the first of the inscription. This early retrograde legend is one of the many blocks in the way of Wimmer's derivation of the runes from the Latin alphabet. I read as follows in normal order:—

ᚠᚱᚨᚹᚨᚱᚨᛞᚨᛉ ᚨᚾᚨᚺᚨᚺᚨᛁᛊ ᛚᚨᛜᛁᚾᛁᛉ
F r ā w a r a ð a ʀ a n a h a h a i s l a n g ī n i ʀ
The guard watched long.

In all probability, the guard was himself the artist and cut his picture in the rock to while away the time that hung heavy on his hands. We think at once of the mounted guard that met Beowulf and his men as they landed on the Danish coast (*Beowulf*, 229, etc.). The importance of the inscription will appear from a consideration of the forms of the words, especially the last two:—

frāwaraðaʀ is a compound of *frā* (older *fram*) 'fore,' and *waraðaʀ* 'guard,' compare OE. *foreweard* 'outpost,' 'Vorposten,' 'advance guard.' The idea (1) 'in front,' 'forward,' 'on ahead' (also 'advanced,' 'very') is prone to change into that of (2) 'away,' 'off' (and later 'loss,' 'destruction,' 'wrong'); and a comparative or superlative or some other form of the word or an entirely different word assumes the earlier meaning. In Greek we have πρό with the earlier meaning intact; in Germanic, *fra-* (OE. *for-*, Ger. *ver-*) has gone over to the second meaning. In Germanic the old meaning was taken up (1) by *fora* (OE. and Eng. *fore*, Ger. *vor*; cf. Skt. *purā́* and *purás*, and Greek πάρος, which was used of time, not place) and (2) by the superlative *fram* (cf. Greek πρόμος 'foremost'). Compare the many Old-English compounds having *for-* (=*fra-*) in the second meaning with the later ones having *fore-* in the earlier meaning. With Skt. *prá* 'forward' and *prá-svādas* 'very pleasing,' and OE. *for-heard* 'very hard,' compare OE. *fram* 'forward,' 'bold,'

and Gothic *fram* 'farther,' *fram-aldrs* 'advanced in age,' 'very old.' But already in Germanic, *fram* itself changed from the first to the second meaning, and the new comparative Gothic *framis*, ON. *fram(m)* (<*framʀ*, Sievers, *PB.* 15, p. 405 N, Noreen, *AI. Gr.*², § 217, A₄) assumed the meaning 'farther on,' 'forward.' In Pr. ON. *frāwaraðaʀ* 'outpost,' 'advance guard,' 'Vorposten,' we have just such a compound of the earlier *fra(m)* as the later Old Norse shows of *fram(m)* in *fram-bryggja* 'forward gangway,' *fram-kirkja* 'fore-church,' 'nave,' *fram-altari*, *fram-tønn*, *fram-bogr*, &c. Compare the older compound *frā-saga* 'Vortrag,' 'story,' with the later *fram-saga* 'pleading,' 'delivery' (in court); also the earlier OE. *for-* (=*fra*) in *for-heard* 'very hard,' *for-strang* 'very strong,' but the later *fore-* in *fore-hālig* 'very holy.'—The second part of the compound *frāwaraðaʀ* is common in Germanic, especially in compounds, compare Gothic *-wards*, ON. *-varðr* in names (the independent word is in Old Norse an *u*-stem : *vǫrðr*), OHG. *-wart*, OE. *weard* and *-weard*.

anahahais is the reduplicated preterit of the verb *anahaisan* 'keep watch.' *ana-* has the value of German *auf-* in *aufpassen* 'keep watch;' compare Gothic *analagjan* 'auflegen,' *anatimrjan* 'aufbauen,' etc. *haisan* has the stem Gc. *hais*, IE. *kois*, seen in Paelignian *coisatens* 'curaverunt,' Old-Latin *coiro*, Latin *cūro*, Umbrian *kuraia* 'curet,' all meaning 'take care of,' 'watch,' Brugmann, I², § 874. (I shall treat this stem and its other representatives on another occasion.) No such reduplicated preterits have thus far been found in Primitive Old Norse (Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gr.*, p. 327, ₂), but I have recently discovered several, including two cases of *hahait* = Gothic *haíhait*. The *a* of *ha-* is evidently the sign for the obscure vowel, represented by *aí* in Gothic. Compare also the second (epenthetic) *a* of *waraðaʀ*.

langīniʀ = the Old Norse adverbial genitive *lengi* 'long,' 'for a long time,' really the genitive of the *īn-* abstract, Gothic *laggeins* (*Urgerm. Gr.*, p. 255, 259), with the ending *-iʀ* intact.

GEORGE HEMPL.

IX.—GERMANIC ELEMENTS IN THE STORY OF KING HORN.

To the mass of romances current during the Middle English period of our literature, the contribution of purely Germanic tradition was a relatively meagre one. The spirit which had produced the earlier epic was at this time extinct. A solitary offshoot of the earlier epic seems to have survived in the story of the dragon-killing Wade with his famous boat, Guingelot. But even this story is lost to us save in occasional references, and from these we must infer that all definite idea of its origin was lost, since it is associated, now with Weyland, now with Horn and Havelok, now with Launcelot. To these earlier tales, such as those of Beowulf and possibly of Wade, having a popular, epic origin, succeeded in the Middle English period a mass of tales and romances of the most diverse origin imaginable. Even in the popular romances of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton, which are supposed to contain a kernel of genuine English tradition, the original story is almost lost amid the mass of mythical, imaginary, or purely conventional matter later added. The historical events in the lives of Waldef and Hereward are embellished with much of the conventional romantic matter, and the late romance of Richard Coeur de Lion consists very largely of the purely conventional.

The stories of *Havelok* and *Horn*, which are supposed to have been among the first products of this second growth of story, seem to preserve more than the other later romances, their primitive traits and are hence usually classed as English, or Germanic, in origin. I have undertaken in this paper to distinguish if possible some of the peculiarly Germanic elements in the story of King Horn.

The story of Horn, it is generally believed, had its origin in the turbulent times of the Danish invasions, though the

usual association of *King Horn* with the *Havelok* may, perhaps, have led the critics astray in their judgments. At all events the kernel of genuine historical tradition is probably small. How the different elements in such a story aggregate, we can plainly see in the case of the *Hereward:* "The writer of the life of Hereward," according to Wright, "had, among other sources of information, the work of the presbyter, Leofric, Hereward's archdeacon. This Leofric, he tells us, occupied himself in collecting for the edification of his hearers, all the acts of the giants and warriors from the fables of the ancients, or, in the instance of more modern heroes, from the trustworthy relations of those who had known them, and in writing them in English that they might be preserved in people's memories." In this way grew the *Hereward*, and in a similar manner we may suppose that the original story of Horn attracted to itself many new and foreign elements, receiving its development and final form probably at the hands of the *jongleurs*, or gleemen, whom we are to think of as wandering widely and gathering romantic material from the most remote regions.

What, then, was the kernel of genuine historical tradition from which grew the story of King Horn? Perhaps this nucleus is the story of a prince driven from his realm, who afterwards returns and takes vengeance. Perhaps still more is historical. But the data at hand are entirely insufficient for any certain conclusions, and Wissmann[1] is probably right when he concludes, "Man wird über vermutungen dabei schwerlich hinauskommen."

For all that it seems possible in our English, gleeman version of the Horn story, to distinguish two distinct essential elements: (1) Horn's expulsion from his kingdom and his return and avengement of his father's death, (2) the separation and reunion of the faithful lovers. In the present form of the story the second element is the more prominent but hardly the more original. The welding together of the two

[1] *Anglia*, iv, 342–400.

elements is not perfect, and we notice, in consequence, a certain incongruity between Horn, the dauntless and invincible fighter, and Horn, the faithful lover. Certainly the passive, almost reluctant part that he plays, is more in keeping with the first than with the second element of the story. Further the climax of interest to the first element, Horn's return to Suddenne and his avengement of his father's death, in the existing form of the story is quite secondary in interest to that of the second element, the reunion of the two lovers. Furthermore the opening lines, *A sang ihc schal ȝou singe Of Murry þe kinge* (Cambr. MS., vv. 3, 4), and the allusions later to the prowess of Horn's father, *Hi sede hi neure nadde Of kniȝte dentes so harde* (Cambr. MS., vv. 863–4), suggest inevitably that the death and later avengement of King Murry must one time have been more important elements of the story than at present. Still further evidence of the abridgment of this side of the story is the slight part played by Horn's twelve companions, and the very abrupt introduction of Arnoldin, one of them, in the second rescue scene. Altogether one is tempted to conclude that the second, the love element, if it formed a part of the original story, was certainly less prominent than in the present form of the story, where its interest overshadows that of the other, probably more primitive element.

The story of the exiled prince seems to be especially Germanic. At least historic incidents which might supply the nucleus for such a tale were particularly common in connection with the continual wars between Denmark, Norway and Sweden, as one may read in Snorro's *Heimskringla* or in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, and also with the invasions of England, Danish and Norman, as in the well known instances of Havelok, Hereward and even of Alfred. The revenge motive also, which in the present form of the story is subordinated in importance to the love story, seems to be Germanic, though perhaps, particularly Northern. The pious avengement of the death of a father or other relative, is one of the

strongest family links in primitive Germanic society and forms an oft recurring theme in such sagas as the *Njala* and the *Laxdaela* or in the Northern histories, where it produces continuous chains of murders. In Saxo Grammaticus[1] we read (i, 20 ff.) how Hadding, son of Gram, attacked and destroyed Swipdag, King of Norway, his father's slayer, and thus won back Denmark (IV, 111 ff.); how Athisl kills Frowin and how the death is avenged by Frowin's two sons, Ket and Wig (ii, 53); how Ro was slain by Hodbrodd and avenged by his brother, Helgi (ix, 301); how Ragnar set out for Norway to avenge the death of his grandfather (iii, 86 ff.); how Amleth slays his uncle Feng, the murderer of Amleth's father, Horwendil. The imperativeness of this avengement it is difficult for the modern mind to realize, and to make this clear, Shakespeare, in his drama based on this story, has to introduce the ghost with his express injunctions, to a spirited Scandinavian of Hamlet's time, entirely superfluous.

To determine the nationality of the love element is by no means so easy a matter. The parallelism between the names and incidents connected with Horn's stay at the court of Aylmar (Hunlaf) and those at the court of Thurston (Godreche), especially in the French version, which seems to rest upon an older English version from which *King Horn* has probably been abridged to suit the ballad-singers, suggest a double possibility; either that these two parts of the story were in origin one and the duplication an *encore* in response to popular applause, a sequel, so to speak, or as Ward[2] suggests, that "there has been a combination (such as one finds in the Romance of the Quatre Fils Aymon) of two forms of the same story."

This duplication of climax seems to be a frequent feature in the mediaeval romances contemporary with *King Horn*. Wissmann[3] points out this double climax of interest as a

[1] The references are to Elton's translation, London, 1894.

[2] *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum.*

[3] *Anglia*, iv, 399.

feature of the mediaeval German romances, *Morolf* and *König Rother*, and in *Orendel* the Queen Bride has to be rescued three times at least. In this very desire of the glee-man to protract his story lies perhaps in part the explanation of Horn's somewhat unnatural treatment of Rymenhild's love overtures, which finds a parallel in the still more unnatural demeanor of Orendel toward Bride, in which the writer's artifice to prolong his story is obvious. At the same time various slight differences suggest a possible duality of origin for the two disguise scenes.

In the first of these scenes Horn rescues Rymenhild from an enforced marriage, appearing in the disguise of a palmer, and the incident suggests inevitably a group of home-coming stories[1] widely current throughout the Middle Ages in various forms, whose argument may be summed up about as follows: A prince who is retarded (usually captured or shipwrecked) on a journey (nearly always to the orient) learns that his wife is to marry again. In some miraculous wise, usually in humble, disguising attire, the prince returns after a certain time (often seven years), exactly on the day of the wedding. After he has made himself known (frequently through a ring), he enters again into his former rights.

This tale, which is often elaborated with the most super-natural elements, had a very rich development in Germany, appearing in such romantic stories as that of Gerhard of Holenbach (Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, VIII, 59), the ballad known to English readers in Walter Scott's translation as the *Noble Moringer* (cf. also Uhland, *Volkslieder*, 1–773), and the various versions of the story of Henry the Lion. If we may believe Berger, the source of this tale is oriental. An oriental version Berger cites in the story of Abulfaouris (*Cabinet des Fees*, Genève, 1786, XV, 321 ff.), who, detained on a journey in the orient seven

[1] See W. Splettstösser, *Der heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib in der Weltlitteratur*, Berlin, 1899.—J. W. B.

years, after many marvellous adventures among the genii and earth spirits, at length, in humble disguise, reaches home on the day set for his wife's second wedding. Of whatever ultimate origin, the story was one widely current throughout Europe at the time of the crusades, and was no doubt part of the stock in trade of every gleeman, and no doubt had its influence on the Horn story.

Another parallel, however, to the story of Horn's rescue of Rymenhild is to be found in a distinctly Germanic saga. This saga, which seems to form the original kernel of the German Orendel story, forms a four-time recurring theme in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*: (1) Gram rescues Groa, daughter of Sigtryg from marriage with a giant (i, 13); (2) Gram, disguised as a leech, returns to the court of Sumble in time to prevent the princess Signe, his betrothed, from being married to Henry of Saxony (i, 18); (3) Halfdan sues for Gurid, daughter of Alf, and last of the Danish royal line, but she reproaches him with his obscure birth and an unsightly, unhealed wound on the lip. He replies that he will not come back to ask for her before he has wiped away both marks of shame by winning glory in war. Halfdan accomplishes great exploits, but false report gives out that he has been vanquished, and Gurid prepares to marry the Saxon Siwar. Halfdan returns in time for the wedding; Gurid acknowledges her preference for him; he slays the bridegroom and most of the guests and takes Gurid to wife (vii, 242–246); (4) Halfdan rescues Sigrid, daughter of Yngwin, from marriage with Ebbe, a rover of common birth (vii, 244). Of these (2) and (3) are no doubt identical in origin, the double version having arisen from Saxo's misconception of the poetic royal title, Gram, which in this case means Halfdan. The first story cited reminds directly of a Thor myth, and the fourth bridges the way from the Danish Saga to the original myth, since the Latin name, Sygrutha (Sigrid), is no doubt identical with Syritta, a secondary name of Freyja, the sister of Ingvi (according to Saxo, daughter of Ungwi

(Lat. Unguinus), and we are led back to the older sagas of the gods (e. g. *Gylfaginning* 42, *Harbardslied, Alvismal, þrymskviþa*, etc.) in which Thor and his disguises and his hammer figure so prominently as punishing the presumption of some giant who has dared lay claim to Freya.

These mythological tales in turn are supposed to rest upon a season myth, finding parallels in Greek myths of Apollo, and in the *Odyssey*, in Sanskrit and in Semitic, whose most general form seems to be something as follows: The god of fertile summer, who has been absent in the winter, returns in summer, from the East, and in humble apparel. This god of summer, returning, delivers a woman or goddess from a persecutor.

It is a long way from the season myth, and from Thor and his hammer, to the almost idyllic love story in *King Horn*, and one naturally hesitates in doubt whether the story of the love of Horn and Rymenhild is founded on some contemporary incident, or if it is a new version of the popular mediaeval love story, localized, with more or less definite names and places, and attached to some story, real or fictitious, of an exiled prince, or if it really can trace a direct descent back to the earlier saga. Perhaps no one of these suppositions is entirely false. Certain it is that instances of such love situations were not unknown to the contemporary period. A somewhat parallel story, which, considering its source, must of course be taken with a grain of salt, is related by Gaimar. 'Walgar, with the two sons of Edmund, flees to Hungary to preserve the princess from the death which their letter from England prescribed for them in Denmark. Edgar is loved by a princess, and the king consents to the union and makes a great assembly to announce publicly: *apres son jur seit Edgar heir'* (vv. 4578 ff.). But this story, like most of Gaimar's, probably rests on popular tradition and is perhaps as uncertain as the story of Horn itself. Another semi-historical incident is related by Layamon in the course of his story of Brenne and Belin (*Brut*, vv. 4288–6090). Belin

goes to Norway intending to marry the princess Delgan, but the princess has a lover, Gutlac (Godlac), King of Denmark. She sends to Gutlac a secret message that she has been forced to marry Brenne, who was to bear her to Britain in three days time, with the accompanying words, "*and ihc sende þe gretinge of mine golde ringe.*" Gutlac rescues her in a sea fight. A principal, though not fatal objection to this theory is that we have no historic incident which is at the same time entirely parallel and perfectly authentic.

The second supposition, that the current, and more or less conventional tale, has been attached to the story of an exiled prince may be to some extent true. Similar love scenes are frequent in such conventional romances as *King Richard*, *Ipomydon*, etc. The third supposition, that the love story may trace its descent back to the early sagas and perhaps may rest ultimately on mythology, finds some support in certain very archaic elements in the English poem. The violent, almost fierce, nature of Rymenhild's passions, of love for Horn, or of anger at Athelbrus, are regarded rightly by ten Brink as indicative of the time of composition and of the non-Romanic origin of the work. Her passionate outbursts remind one of the passion of Freya, for instance, where in the *þrymskviþa*, she bursts her necklace in her passion. The relatively primitive manner of life in the English version, and the cruelty of custom referred to ("*Payns him wolde slen, oþer al quic flen*," 85–6, *Alle þat were þerin . . . . He dude hem alle to kare, þat at the feste were, Here lif hi lete þere*, 1241–46, *Whanne hi weren asla3e, Fikenhild hi dude to dra3e*, 1491–2), point in the same direction.

Several other traits of the poem seem to indicate Germanic origin. The formal challenge, on the part of a champion in an invading host, to a duel upon the result of which shall depend the marriage of a princess or the fate of a kingdom (vv. 867–872) finds numerous parallels in the Northern history and mythology. In Saxo Grammaticus we read (iv, 114 ff.) how the Saxon king challenges the blind king

Wermund, and how Wermund's deaf and dumb son, Uffe, counters with a challenge to any two Saxons, and in the ensuing combat is the victor, or (viii, 281 ff.) how Prince Snio, at war with the King of the Goths, sends his two champions, who challenge the Gothic king to send strong men to fight. "Snio laid down as a condition of the duel that each of the two kings should either lose his own empire or gain that of the other, according to the fortune of the champions." The duel between Cnut and Edmund Ironsides is an historic instance of the case in point (cf. Gaimar, vv. 4255 ff.) and one might mention further[1] the duel between Fortinbras and the father of Hamlet, alluded to in Shakespeare's play.

Horn's backwardness in meeting the love advances made him by Rymenhild, on the ground that he must prove his knighthood, seems also to find its explanation in an old Germanic usage according to which a commoner, or one of slave blood, could not presume to wed a high-born lady. In Saxo again we read (v, 124) how the princess of Hungary disdained Frode because he lacked honor and glory. 'For in days of old no men were thought fit for the hand of high-born women, but those who had won some great prize of glory by the lustre of their admirable deeds,' and (v, 165) Arngrim sues for Frode's daughter, but must conquer Finnmark and Pernland before being accepted, and (vi, 194) Ingild promises his daughter Helga to Helge, if he will first venture to meet in battle the champions pitted against him, and (vii, 245) Gyrwitha, like the famous lady who wedded Harold Fairhair, required her husband Siwar to be overking of the whole land. Although one is inclined to suspect the ballad writer of introducing Horn's reluctance simply as a means of protracting the story, an artifice even more obvious in the German gleeman's romance of Orendel, it must be noted that Horn's case is quite parallel with those

[1] Cf. also the duel between Guy and Colbrand in *Guy of Warwick.*

cited above from Saxo, *Ihc am icome of þralle, and fundling befalle* (419–20), and according to Grimm (*Rechtsalterth.*, 303), "Eingewanderte fremde werden unfrei," and further (460, 6), "Der aufgenommene fundling ging, rechtlich betrachtet, ganz in die gewalt des aufnehmenden über." It is interesting to note something similar in the later, conventional romance, *Guy of Warwick*, where Felice rejects the love of Guy until he has proved himself worthy by deeds of arms.

Further, the general etiquette of the duel seems to agree with the Germanic code. The time and place of meeting should be determined beforehand (cf. *King Horn*, 816; Saxo, viii, 358). It is not becoming for several, at least several Christians, to fight against one. Horn says (vv. 885–892): "*Sire king hit nis no riȝte On wiþ þre to fiȝte. Aȝen one hunde, þre cristen men to fonde. Sire, ischal alone . . . . Bringe hem þre to deþe.*" With this compare Saxo (vii, 222) where Halfdan replies to Siwald's challenge to fight him and his children, 'that a combat could not be lawfully fought by more than two men.' The heathen, on the other hand, do not recognize this law (*King Horn*, 567, 611 ff.; Gaimar, vv. 16 ff.). It was, however, unbecoming of a brave knight to shun a combat against several, as we learn in Saxo from several instances. Halfdan fights Siwald and his seven sons (vii, 222), also Hardbeen and his remaining six champions (vii, 223): cf. *King Horn*, 613 ff., 833 ff. The horn is the signal for assistance, v, 1395, as in *König Rother*, 3673 and 4187, and *Gudrun*, strophe 1392 (cf. also the *Song of Roland*).

In the case of the proposed marriage of Rymenhild to Mody we seem to have a survival of an archaic Germanic custom, of marriage by purchase, old in Saxo's time (Saxo, viii, 275), for "*A king þer gan ariue þat wolde hire haue to wyue. Aton he was wiþ þe king. Of þat ilke wedding* (923–6), and *Heo sede þat heo nolde Ben ispused wiþ golde*" (1037–8).

All the traits above referred to, taken together with the names and the nature of the versification, seem to warrant one in regarding the Horn story as Germanic, and the archaic

nature of some of the customs seem also to render plausible the idea that the rescue element at least was very old and in one of its forms not unlikely of direct descent from the very primitive sagas of heroes and gods. Even the story of the boat, with Horn's farewell address, has an archaic Germanic ring. This story of the cast-off in the boat, had, to be sure, a wide circulation in mediaeval romance in some very fanciful tales (cf. The Legend of Gregory, Chaucer's *Man of Lawe's Tale*, the story of Crystabelle in *Sir Eglamour*, the "Man born to be King," and "Danae and Perseus," in *The Earthly Paradise* and Marie de France's *Lay of Guigemar*. At the same time the story of Scyld Scefing in *Beowulf* shows that the incident belongs to the Germanic stock of stories.

That this story of Horn had companion stories is to be expected, but few of these have been preserved. The story of the brothers Belin and Brenne, upon which rest verses 4288–6090 of Layamon's *Brut*, must have had many traits and incidents in common with our story. Besides the instance mentioned above of Delgan rescued by her Danish lover, we see how Brenne, in exile, enters the service of a foreign king, there makes himself famous and well beloved, and marries the princess and then returns to regain his English dominions, though with different success than in the case of Horn. Further the arms used seem to have been the same, and the accomplishments of the two princes are strikingly similar. "*Brennes wes swiðe hende his hap wes þe betere. Brennes cuðe on hundes. Brennes cuðe hauekes, he cuðe mid his honden hanlie þa harpe. þurh his hænde craftes hiredmen hine leouede* (Layamon, vv. 4893–4922).

Of the other minor features of the story one can be less certain. The most of them seem to be common property and to form part of the stock in trade of all romancers, irrespective of nationality. The faithful friend Athulf, to be sure, reminds one of the foster brothers so frequent in Norse saga; on the other hand the false Fikenhild seems to find no parallel in Teutonic heroic story. The dreams, the disguises

and the ring motive seem to belong to the common stock of mediaeval romantic frippery.

To return, then, from this divagation to the subject of the double rescue of Rymenhild, the double turning point in the story, after what has been said, one is ready to agree with Ward when he says that "the second disguise, always a popular device, seems to have been especially so among the heroes of the Anglo-Danish cycle. It is not at all improbable, therefore, that the second rescue of Rymenhild represents the turning point of an older version," resting perhaps upon the sagas. The earlier, the more dressed-up rescue scene, represents the more modern version, which has no doubt come under the influence of the contemporary style of romance and has been dressed up with much of the conventional frippery of mediaeval romances, and expanded so as quite to overshadow the story of exile and revenge.

We arrive then at no very definite conclusions about the original form of the story. The story of the exiled prince has an abundance of historic parallels in Teutonic history, and the rescue story also, in one of its forms, may be of Teutonic origin. This latter element has, without doubt, been much expanded, the first rescue scene containing many of the conventional traits of contemporary popular romance, and the second rescue scene, with its abrupt introduction of Arnoldin, seeming to correspond to the turning point in an earlier version. The English *King Horn* is an abridged, ballad version of a larger story. The names of the enemy, *Sarazin*, *paien*, *hund*, *admiral*, etc., are the conventional ones of mediaeval romance, but the proper names seem, for the most part, to be Germanic, and the kinds of boats alluded to and the scenes of invasion and combat described, seem to be, without doubt, those connected with the Danish invasion. The Christian element, like that in *Beowulf*, may well have been contributed by the later Christian composer or *trouvère*.

George H. McKnight.

X.—CHARACTERIZATION IN THE BEGINNING OF THACKERAY'S *PENDENNIS*.

This paper was begun with the expectation of dealing somewhat fully with one large division of *Pendennis*, but as the investigation proceeded, ample material was found for a report of usual length in the one topic of characterization; hence, other topics have been omitted. The word 'beginning' is used technically to include the early part of the book up to the point where the chief opposing elements of the entire action face each other. If the essence of a story consists in a conflict of forces, the beginning cannot logically end with the introduction of one set of these forces, nor is it extended into the active struggle between them, for this makes the middle of the action. The point of juxtaposition of the two sets, therefore, if not the point of opposition, must form the end of the beginning.

Pendennis not having as a whole much connectedness of plot, the structure of the beginning is somewhat peculiar. For one thing, it is long, occupying at least twenty-two chapters and more than two hundred pages. Besides, it contains an incident,—the love-affair of Arthur and Miss Costigan, the actress, or Fotheringay, as she is called,—which is a complete and separate story, having almost no plot-relation with the rest of the novel; its value consisting, therefore, in its character-portrayal. This youthful affair with Miss Costigan, who is ten years Arthur's senior, is followed by an account of his life at college, Oxbridge, as Thackeray names it. The Oxbridge portion, too, is deficient in plot-value, but in general is important for character-development. And then, finally, the Clavering family are introduced and some indications are given of the future relations between them and the Pendennises. The Claverings prove to be the opposition-element in the plot, and here,

with the twenty-second chapter, the beginning may be said to close.

In order to consider with special care the characterization of some of the leading personages, it has been found desirable to make a special arrangement of the material of the story. The usual current of a novel may be compared to a mountain stream, its movement broken and varied by alternate falls and levels. Its material, in other words, naturally runs into scenes and intervals;—scenes, where the movement is relatively quick and spirited; and intervals, levels, where further preparatory action may occur, explanations be given, and energy stored for following scenes. This alternate movement is perhaps especially noticeable in Thackeray, and for two reasons; partly because of the brilliancy of his conversations, and partly because of the sketchy character of his mind and method. 'Scene' as here used is perhaps not capable of exact definition, and it suffices to say that a passage becomes a scene partly by virtue of its vividness, but chiefly because of its importance in the plot or general action. A scene implies conversation and action, and these of a vital nature. In the present analysis of the beginning, there are twenty-four scenes, arranged as indicated below.[1] Of these the

[1] The paging referred to in this paper is that of Mrs. Ritchie's biographical edition (Harper's, 1898–99). It has been desirable to estimate the actual amount of space given to the personages, and hence to count roughly the pages by lines, forty-four being the full quota. Page numbers, however, are always those of the edition mentioned. The arrangement into scenes and intervals is as follows:—

Sc. i, pp. 1–5 (ch. 1).
ii, p. 16, l. 16—p. 20 (ch. 2).
iii, p. 28, l. 40—p. 32, l. 28 (ch. 3).
iv, p. 35, l. 29—p. 38, l. 36 (ch. 4).
v, p. 42, l. 4—p. 45, l. 18 (ch. 5).
vi, p. 47, l. 13—p. 51, l. 43 (ch. 5).
vii, p. 61, l. 20—p. 62, l. 35 (ch. 6).
viii, p. 62, l. 42—p. 64, l. 30 (ch. 6).
ix, p. 69, l. 23—p. 72, l. 20 (ch. 7).
x, p. 77, l. 1—p. 82, l. 40 (ch. 8).
xi, p. 91, l. 1—p. 95, l. 20 (ch. 10).

opening scene is given separate treatment, simply because it is the opening scene, and is viewed also from the standpoint of the novel as a whole. For this scene Thackeray chooses an event in the middle of the Costigan love-affair. It shows Major Pendennis receiving the news of his nephew's engagement to the actress, and the mother's appeal to the Major for help. The effectiveness of this opening is admirable, no less for its intrinsic interest than for the revelation it makes of character. The most striking characteristic of Major Pendennis is worldliness; and here he is in the very heart of the London social world, at his customary club in Pall Mall, with his fashionable invitations spread about him in enviable array. His position as a man high in society, and his chief interest in life, are at once shown by this incident. The description of his natty appearance, and the account of his disposal of the invitations according to the rank of the senders, confirm the impression. Contrast also is afforded by his neglect of his sister's humble country letter, although it is "marked immediate." The first bit of feeling ascribed to the Major is satisfaction at seeing a less fortunate neighbor covet some of his invitations; and his character is further bared by the anger he feels at the idea of Arthur's low marriage, and his fear of suffering ridicule himself because of it. His stinginess is shown in the last of the scene (p. 5) by his charging to his sister's account the coach-fare he

xii, p. 96, l. 7—p. 105, l. 18 (ch. 10, 11).
xiii, p. 108, l. 6—p. 113, l. 31 (ch. 12).
xiv, p. 117, l. 1—p. 119, l. 2 (ch. 13).
xv, p. 119, l. 15—p. 121, l. 18 (ch. 13).
xvi, p. 136, l. 20—p. 140, l. 5 (ch. 15).
xvii, p. 146, l. 3—p. 150, l. 35 (ch. 16).
xviii, p. 157, l. 25—p. 158, l. 43 (ch. 17).
xix, p. 177, l. 1—p. 178, l. 13 (ch. 19).
xx, p. 187, l. 5—p. 188, l. 12 (ch. 20).
xxi, p. 189, l. 1—p. 191, l. 3 (ch. 20).
xxii, p. 198, l. 5—p. 199, l. 34 (ch. 21).
xxiii, p. 204, l. 37—p. 207, l. 40 (ch. 22).
xxiv, p. 213, l. 27—p. 215, l. 28 (ch. 22).

spends in going to her house; and his manner of fighting is indicated by his having, long before, quietly claimed against all other comers a certain comfortable table at his club (p. 1). From this glimpse into his past, brief as it is, we may expect Major Pendennis to be always self-possessed and polite, but none the less shrewd and persistent. He retains these qualities later even under the insults of Costigan (ch. 11), and the treachery of Morgan (ch. 68). His skill as a diplomat, perhaps the only other marked trait he has, is not shown in this first scene.

Half of the scene is devoted to the Major and half to Helen and Arthur, the whole occupying a little more than four pages. Three-fourths of this is specific narrative, being a record of individual events. The first paragraph is descriptive of the Major, the second is generalized narrative, recording his customary acts, and the rest is specific. Two short speeches are given to the Major, one of them revealing a dominant motive,—"My nephew marry a tragedy queen! Gracious mercy, people will laugh at me so that I shall not dare show my head!" An effective device for gaining life-likeness consists in showing the Major through the eyes of another personage, Glowry, so minor in the novel at large as never to appear again, yet here serving as foil and commentator. It is Glowry who covets the invitations, who comments on the Major's neglect of Helen's letter, who notices his swearing and horrified looks while reading the letters about the marriage. Thus, though the Major is given little speech in the opening scene, Thackeray yet succeeds in making a remarkably clear, lifelike impression.

Helen and Arthur are presented by means of their letters, a means in itself more dramatic, but in this case scarcely more vivid than the brilliant narrative in which the letters are placed. Helen's letter is not given in full, but the scene as a whole produces of her an impression of simplicity, delicacy of breeding, timid anxiety, and devotedness to her son. He is quite beyond her control, if indeed he was ever under it.

Only one strong trait of her character is left for later revelation—her piety. The characters of the two letter-writers are of course especially shown in the sentiments and ideas they express, yet the most delicate skill is evident in Thackeray's choice of words, particularly in Arthur's letter. Take the first sentence as an illustration:—"In informing you of my engagement with Miss Costigan, daughter of J. Chesterfield Costigan, Esq." (familiar to the reader as Jack Costigan, or even Cos), "but, perhaps, better known to you under her professional name of Miss Fotheringay, of the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane, and Crow Street, and of the Norwich and Welch Circuit, I am aware that I make an announcement which cannot, according to the present prejudices of society at least, be welcome to my family." Arthur's letter is, in fact, a masterpiece of delineation. Though, according to his intention, the style has a solemnity befitting the importance of the contents, yet the letter is boyish, pompous, exaggerated, and sentimental. With all its thoughtless conceit and selfishness, however, it shows a good sense of honor, and capacity for strong feeling. All these traits remain prominent in Arthur's character throughout the novel.

Besides the revelation of character it gives, this scene sets clearly before the reader the first large situation of the book. On the one side are the gentle Helen, evidently a widow, and the worldly-minded Major, for the time truly united in their opposition to the youth over whom they stand as guardians. Of the Costigans, indeed, little is told; yet the cause of war is clear, and the age and occupation of the actress turn the reader's sympathies rather against than toward her. The issue is not known, but it may be guessed. The scene is admirably vivid and perfectly intelligible, needing little filling to enable the story to progress.

Regarded, however, as an introduction to the novel as a whole, the opening scene, and the entire first situation, as before remarked, are limited and one-sided. After this first situation the Costigans hardly enter into the action of the

story. The plot concerns Arthur, Laura, and the Clavering family, the Major being an intermediary. Laura and the Claverings are not alluded to in the opening scene, and they are given only brief mention till after the close of the Costigan incident.

Passing now to the general topic of characterization, the questions I shall attempt to answer concern the use made respectively of the scene and the interval, and the outer and the inner means employed to present character;—the answers looking, so far as they have value beyond themselves, to a statement of the sources of power and vividness in Thackeray's narrative.

If—having once for all set aside the obvious fact that the entire work comes from and through the author's mind—if we may regard a third-personal novel as a mimic world in which the author appears only as a commentator, we may divide the modes of characterization into two main classes, one based on rhetorical form, the other on motive. The modes included in the first class vary in internality according as the author mediates between the personage and the reader. The speech of the personages becomes, by this system, the most direct and internal means possible. For in speech, more than in any other form, the author goes out of the story and makes the persons show themselves. Next to speech in directness is the relating (by the author) of the personages' thoughts—thought-narrative and semi-quotation or indirect speech. Narrative of action is in form as internal as thought-narrative, though viewed psychologically, it is less so. Author's description, whether of character or appearance, and comment, are evidently the means, showing most of the author's intervention, and hence are the most external.

The other class, based on the actual mental activity represented in the personages, includes the more truly internal and vital means of characterization. According to these, personages reveal their characters in the following ways:—by the frequency or repetition of their sentiments or acts; or,

on the other hand, by the infrequency of these and the persons' behavior in the unusual circumstances. Again, by the nature of the motives operating in the persons; and likewise by the feelings they appeal to and the acts they cause in others. They show their inner make-up, too, through the nature of the outward stimuli to which they respond; and, finally, by the presence or the absence of ulterior purposes and the nature of those purposes. These are matters not of rhetoric, but of life; and their efficiency depends, in fact, chiefly on the author's knowledge of human nature. For this reason, though they have distinct structural value, they belong also to the imaginative and emotional elements of fiction, and pass somewhat beyond questions of structure. This system of classification may seem incomplete in that it omits the light thrown on one person by the comment of another. But psychologically such comment belongs with the feelings and acts due to the influence of the person commented on. The author, indeed, may make this equivalent to his own comment (a use that rather defies analysis), but he is just as likely, too, to let the comment reflect light on the person uttering it.

On continuing according to these classes the analysis of Thackeray's treatment of the leading personages, I find the following results. To Major Pendennis are devoted twenty-nine of the two hundred and five full pages (actual number 217) here included in the beginning. Eight scenes after the first occur in which he is one of the chief figures (Scenes 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 21), his part occupying about fifteen pages. The remaining twelve pages help to form intervals. These subordinate parts consist of about twenty-five scattered passages, and are chiefly narrative, either generalized or specific; a few, however, contain comment (e. g., pp. 137, 142, 84), and a less number are largely descriptive (e. g., pp. 65–66). Eleven of these minor passages include conversation, and one a letter (p. 126). At least ten scattered bits are specially indicative of the Major's character, yet without

throwing on it any new light (pp. 7, 89, 137, 142, 145, 159, 168, 201). Similarly, a number of longer passages give added fulness to his portrait (pp. 12–13, 65–66, 84–86, 130, 140, 185). Others, again, are distinctly used for plot or for general movement and connection (e. g., pp. 89–80, 95, 114–119, 125–126, 129, 145, 156). Besides these occur a few incidental references (e. g., p. 180).

This analysis shows that in the case of Major Pendennis Thackeray depends for portrayal chiefly on the scenes; the intervals, when not mainly used for narrative purposes, serving to emphasize the impression given in the scenes, and especially to show habitual acts or states of mind. In the intervals one might expect chiefly the external modes of portrayal, i. e., comment or description; but a survey shows that Thackeray seldom uses either of these alone. There is a constant mingling of narrative with comment, with speech, or description. Narrative predominates, yet speech is not infrequent, and the conclusion is that in the intervals also Thackeray inclines to use the more internal and direct means of portrayal.

The scenes, since they are full of conversation and action (the opening scene is not here included) naturally display especially the personages' mental life. Analysis of the Major's mind according to the scheme given above, shows that though the situation in which he is placed in either the Costigan incident or the Oxbridge incident is not usual, yet he never indulges in any sentiments or acts different from what we are led to expect of him in the opening scene. Thackeray, for example, expressly makes him unresponsive to the picturesque and unfamiliar surroundings of Oxbridge (p. 159). Further, it is noticeable that his position in the novel differs from that of other personages in that his behavior is governed both in the early and the later parts of the book by a persistent purpose. In the beginning this purpose is to prevent Arthur's marriage with the actress; and though Arthur's determination to marry her presents a purpose opposing the

Major's, yet his is less resolute and consistent than his uncle's. The Major's activity, therefore, both in word and deed, springs from a more complex mental condition than that found in the others. He acts and talks not only from inner emotional motives, as Helen chiefly does; nor is he, as Foker is, merely played upon by the varied life of the world, responding to it and thereby gratifying his personal desires. The Major's mind, in other words, shows inner activity and outward responsiveness in union. His emotions, to be sure, are simple. What he has of affection is centered in Arthur; his family pride rests there also. But the feeling all-powerful with him is respect for rank and wealth and the wish actively to enjoy them. His life thus runs on the surface of human existence; so much so, that it reaches a paradox, and with the single exception of family affection, superficiality, worldliness, snobbishness, form his very heart's core,—his patriotism and his religion. Now added to this superficiality, which thus becomes in him an inner motive, is his purpose, his will, to act on Arthur and to an extent mould his life into similar worldliness. Radiating from this center of worldliness in the Major, like rays from a light, are the many minor qualities, with their varied manifestations, that make up the solid center. Scene after scene shows them,—politeness, skill in flattery, either mild or excessive, yet always courtly (pp. 95–108), suavity (pp. 91–95), patient diplomacy, the ability to play on others' moods, and to turn conversation to his own advantage (pp. 77-82, 95–108). A cautious, clever observer, his strategic skill is admirable (pp. 177–178, 77–82). As a victor, he is even generous (pp. 119–121); but his fear of social disgrace makes him shun the slightest misfortune, such as Arthur's failure and indebtedness at college (pp. 189–191). Like a summer fly, he flees from exposure the moment the clouds threaten. Again, the motives and feelings he appeals to are in accord with his own nature,—reason, honor, self-conceit, family pride, and above all, selfishness and respect for the world (pp. 77–82). Helen

and Laura, especially the latter, having natures different from his, are affected by him hostilely, thereby confirming the same fact (pp. 66, 71, 84, 119, 140). Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Major, as contrasted with Arthur or Helen, is the prominence given him in the scenes, and the proportion of speech. He appears in only one scene where he is not a chief person (indeed, this passage might be called—p. 118—an interval rather than a scene), and of his fifteen pages ten are filled with speech. The *form* of direct speech is sometimes used even when the Major is represented as thinking (e. g., pp. 69, 77, 82).

To the protrayal of Arthur about fifty pages of the beginning are given. Of these less than five are filled with his own speech, the rest being chiefly narrative. The narrative is for the most part specific, though in chapter three and in the Oxbridge incident a large proportion is generalized. Description is found chiefly in touches (e. g., pp. 27, 22), yet there is also an occasional paragraph of it (e. g., p. 21). Paragraphs of comment are not infrequent, but they often seem to bear less on Arthur than to be suggested by youth in general (e. g., pp. 23, 129, 154, 171–72). Some appears in bits of a line or two (e. g., pp. 25, 40, 61, 113); and some takes the form of address to the reader (e. g., pp. 28, 142, 184). Arthur is, of course, the central figure, the one whose thread of history is used for connection, and therefore many brief references to him occur that have no character-value. He appears in nineteen scenes; in two he has the chief part in the conversation (pp. 62–64, 146–150); and in two others he has an equal part (pp. 187–188, 189–191). The characterization of him seems about equally divided between the scenes and the intervals. His selfishness toward his mother in both his love-affair and his extravagance; his laziness or lack of seriousness; and his desire for pleasure, are more fully shown in the intervals,—probably because only scrappy conversation occurs between him and his mother, and because the long Oxbridge portion is mostly made up of intervals (pp. 51–56,

65–69, 121–136, 158, 177, 178–187, 199–201, 208–213). His superciliousness (pp. 35–38), his capacity for enthusiasm and reverence (pp. 35–38), his stubborn will (pp. 62–64, 119–121), are perhaps best shown in the scenes. Whereas his wounded vanity and remorse (pp. 183–208), his easy impressibility, even gullibility (pp. 28–32, 45–47, 178–187), and his curiosity about life (pp. 32, 77–91, 145–146), appear equally in the scenes and the intervals. Thackeray intends Arthur to give the impression of being intellectually gifted, and in fact he writes poetry, shows some sensibility, speaks well, and reads widely though hastily; yet he really does nothing remarkable. The generosity and frankness with which he is abundantly credited are seen only in touches (pp. 22, 44–47, 182), but he hardly appears at all without showing vanity, conceit, and lordliness. These and selfishness are his birthmarks, and they affect in some way nearly everything he does. The small amount of speech given to him is remarkable, and what does occur cannot compare in individuality with Foker's, the Major's, or Costigan's. This fact partly accounts, no doubt, for the lack of vitality in his portrait. It is true that Thackeray gives him the benefit of a good deal of semi-quotation and thought-narrative, no less than eight marked instances occurring of the first (pp. 25, 44, 47, 55, 67, 83, 146, 165), and four of the second (pp. 19, 31, 68, 162). Some of these (e. g., p. 55) have the exact form of direct speech, but are not printed as such. Those that occur on pp. 19, 67, 162, especially illustrate his character. His acts and speech are alike, however, in their prompting motives, and these have been sufficiently indicated in the list of qualities given above. He is as quick to respond to an external stimulus, especially to those of a worldly nature, as to the inner demand for pleasure. In fact, the two usually coalesce and govern his life, turning him from duty and even from his passion. He has no purpose ulterior to himself, and little for himself. In his relations to others he is as much passive as active; and the

motives and feelings he appeals to in them throw no new light on his character, unless in the Oxbridge incident, where his companions' admiration is won by his showy versatility.

Helen's portrayal occupies of the beginning somewhat more than thirteen pages. She appears in five scenes, but is never the chief actor. In three she has a prominent place (pp. 1–5, 69–72, 198–99); in the others she is in the background (pp. 77–82, 119–121). In the last scene she is present, but takes no part (pp. 213–215). Her characterization, therefore, is given chiefly in the intervals; and besides, is done in scattered bits. She speaks but twenty-five times all told, never for more than five or six lines, and often less than half a dozen words, the whole amount being remarkably small. Thackeray uses, however, almost an equal amount of semi-quotation and thought-narrative (seventeen passages). This is, of course, a middle ground between speech and narration; but whereas in the case of Major Pendennis, for example, the author tends to break into direct speech (e. g., p. 69), with Helen he becomes more external, running into pure narrative or even into comment (p. 67). Touches of description are not unusual, most of them of some character value; yet comment is more frequent. In a few cases comment forms the body of a paragraph, and is suggested by the rather typical qualities of high breeding or watchful motherhood (pp. 13, 19, 159). As in the case of Arthur and the Major, specific narrative prevails in the treatment of Helen; yet the proportion of generalized passages is greater, being about as two to three. Helen's character is as simple as the Major's, and is almost the exact opposite. Her entire activity is motived by either her piety or her motherly love, and she does not much distinguish between them. She lives for nothing but her children, yet her devotion is often unintelligent; no better proof of which could be found than in the mild contempt Arthur feels for her as he grows into manhood. She can command his affection, but not his interest or respect.

For a personage whose position is relatively important, Helen is certainly given very little space and attention. Thackeray keeps her in the background even when she might speak and act, though he often uses in such places a semi-direct form of speech (e. g., pp. 28, 67, 68). Her character is typical—that of the pious mother—rather than individual, and is on the whole insipid. Whether or not Thackeray intended to produce this result, it exists; and is certainly due in part to the absence of the more direct means of characterization.

To Laura six and one-half pages are given. Until chapter 21 only separate and incidental bits occur, and her character is somewhat identified with Helen's; but this chapter (21) is largely devoted to Laura, and it shows chiefly the internal means of characterization. One entire page, however, is filled with description of her looks (pp. 194–5),—an unusual amount for Thackeray. She appears in two scenes, in each as a leading person (pp. 198–9, 213–215). In these and in part of the interval preceding the first (i. e., pp. 194–97) her portrayal is chiefly made. In Laura's case, too, specific narrative is found more frequently than generalized, though a good proportion of this latter is used in the interval just mentioned as a means of summarizing her attitude toward Pen (pp. 195–96). Of speech she has almost if not quite as much as Helen, and hers is more characteristic and individual, especially in the two scenes. There are also several passages of semi-quotation more vivid than those given to Helen (pp. 196, 197, also 200, 210). One or two pieces of comment of some length are found (p. 196). As motives Laura shows loyalty and generosity (pp. 198, 215); indignation and jealousy (pp. 195–97, 208, 210); good sense and judgment repeatedly (pp. 195, 200, 166, 213–14); and if she has no reason for her devotion to Arthur, Thackeray at least admits this in a bit of comment (p. 196). It is a little strange that Laura, who no doubt is intended for the heroine, should be given so little space, and that her characterization should begin so late

in the novel. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the clearness and firmness of impression produced in the last two chapters. Her behavior is not controlled by any ulterior purpose, but she has active effect on Pen by lending him money and sending him back for his degree. At this point in the novel she is in fact the chief actor, and that is one reason why she becomes, in spite of brief treatment, a well-defined figure.

Of the five remaining persons that are prominent in the beginning, i. e., Foker, Smirke, Costigan, Miss Costigan, and Blanche Amory, only a word can be said here. The first four distinctly belong to the types that Thackeray good-humoredly laughs at, and with Thackeray this fact alone is enough to ensure clever characterization. Blanche Amory, of course, appears in but one scene, and she shows only one side of her nature,—her vanity, conceit, and bad breeding, but not her hypocrisy.

In the analysis of the scenes I have tried to reach the more vital means of the characterization, to get at the mental conditions of the personages, and to state some of the ways in which Thackeray handles and presents these. In addition to the detailed analysis, therefore, a few general remarks must be made, the proofs of which cannot here be given.

One of the most obvious facts is that few of Thackeray's characters develop, except as the persons pass from youth to manhood. In this novel, for instance, the characters of Arthur and Laura grow with their growth, yet the change is hardly one of quality so much as of manifestation according to different circumstances. The motives operating in them in the beginning continue throughout the novel.

Moreover, it is worth noting that his most successful characterization is done on rather simple lines, dominated by a few self-consistent motives. The struggle of conflicting tendencies and feelings, such as appears in Arthur Pendennis and Clive Newcome, is not represented with much power. But a simple or a static character shows itself over and

again in a hundred different combinations and circumstances. The variety is always external. Thus by force merely of reiteration, the individuality of a personage is unmistakably manifested and demonstrated.

Another thing is noticeable,—that the minds of the personages are revealed either by external means, i. e., by author's comment and description, or by the internal means of action and the still more direct speech. The external means, however, seem to be comparatively rare. Nor has Thackeray a confirmed habit, common among recent novelists, of bridging the gulf between the reader and the personage by narration of the persons' thoughts. As a rule he follows the dramatic method of action and speech. An evident result of this method is that the figures are superficially drawn unless he has comprehended them fully enough not only to analyze their mental life, but to body forth that life in act and word at once appropriate and illuminating. In the case of some persons it may fairly be questioned whether he does this; but with the natures that he really understands, there is no question whatever. One source, then, of the vividness of his character-portrayal lies in the simplicity of character and in the predominant use of the dramatic method of presentation.

Another source is found in a characteristic habit of Thackeray's mind, his habit of minute observation. Thackeray was less a reasoner than an observer, his mind could record and reproduce better than it could infer and synthetize. Therefore this habit leads both to strength and to weakness in his work. For, having granted what is evident without proof, that his range of interest and comprehension is distinctly limited, one finds this power of minute observation helping, in the case of his better drawn figures, to create a vitality that is simply astonishing. Yet, on the other hand, the same power misleads him at times into lengthiness or even dullness. How long and heavy and unindividual is Arthur's life at Oxbridge! Few conversations occur, and the effect is that of a long piece of generalized narrative. Yet in

truth the bulk of the passage—more than three-fourths—is in specific form, a record of individual events. The trouble is that the reader is given a mass of details, interesting enough in themselves possibly, but not skilfully correlated and fused into striking personalities and occurrences. The better effect of this minute observation a reader is perhaps less likely to notice because his enjoyment of the parts it helps to vitalize swallows up the question of means and ends. It is best seen in the recording of the acts, looks and gestures, as well as the speeches of the conversational passages. Brief quotation cannot give the full effect, but may illustrate the point. In the scene (p. 109, ch. 12) between Miss Costigan and her father when she learns that young Pen has no money and decides to throw him over, occurs the following :—

"At this juncture Miss Fotheringay (Costigan) returned to the common sitting-room from her private apartment. . . . She brought in a pair of ex-white satin shoes with her, which she proposed to rub as clean as might be with bread crumb; intending to go mad with them upon next Tuesday evening in Ophelia. . . . She looked at the papers on the table (Arthur's love-letters); stopped as if she was going to ask a question, but thought better of it, and going to the cupboard, selected an eligible piece of bread wherewith to operate on the satin slippers; and afterwards coming back to the table, seated herself there commodiously with the shoes, and then asked her father in her honest Irish brogue: 'What have ye got them letters, and pothry, and stuff, of Master Arthur's out for, pa? Sure ye don't want to be reading over that nonsense?'"

Her father explains how he has learned from Major Pendennis of Arthur's poverty—treachery, as he thinks.

"Milly looked very grave and thoughtful, rubbing the white satin shoe, 'Sure, if he's no money, there's no use marrying him, papa,' she said sententiously. . . .

'And the boy?' said Mr. Bows. 'By jove! you throw a man away like an old glove, Miss Costigan.'

'I don't know what you mean, Bows,' said Miss Fotheringay placidly, rubbing the second shoe. 'If he had had half of the two thousand a year that papa gave him, or the half of that, I would marry him. But what is the good of taking on with a beggar? . . . (Sure, it's near dinner-time, and Suky not laid the cloth yet.). . . . Well, I bet a penny, with all your scheming, I shall die, Milly Costigan, at last. So poor little Arthur has no money? Stop and take dinner, Bows: we've a beautiful beefsteak pudding.'"

Another instance less noticeable and humorous occurs in the scene after Pen has received his dismissal from Miss Costigan and the Major proves that the letters Pen had got before were not written by her (p. 120, ch. 13).

"'What—what is this,' Pen said. 'It's some joke. This is not her writing. This is some servant's writing.' . . .

'I saw her write it,' the uncle answered, as the boy started up; and his mother coming forward took his hand. He put her away.

'How came you to see her? . . . Oh, it's not true; it's not true! . . . She can't have done it of her own accord.'"

His uncle explains the lady's reason for withdrawing.

"'I will know from herself if it is true,' Arthur said, crumpling up the paper.

'Won't you take my word of honor? Her letters were written by a confidante of hers, who writes better than she can. . . . You have seen her with Miss Costigan, as whose amanuensis she acted'—the Major said, with ever so little of a sneer, and laid down a certain billet which Mr. Foker had given him."

It is hardly necessary to speak of how much this passage is vivified by the incidental acts included. The effect is like that of a theatrical performance.

Still another source of lifelikeness in the scenes lies in Thackeray's recognition of the fact that in any scene or conversation intended to be characteristic, to be more than merely transitional, a climax of some kind must occur (without which,

indeed, a passage can scarcely be called a scene), and in his choice for these places of specially significant acts, speeches, and diction. Take as an effective instance of such a climax the scene where Pen, gloomy and desperate, tells his uncle of his failure to pass the college examinations (p. 189, ch. 20).

"The Major came out of his dressing-room neat and radiant, . . . held out one of his hands to Pen, and was about addressing him in his cheery, high-toned voice, when he caught sight of the boy's face, . . . and dropping his hand, said, 'Good God! Pen, what's the matter?'

'You'll see it in the papers at breakfast, sir,' Pen said.

'See what?'

'My name isn't there, sir.'

'Hang it, why *should* it be?' asked the Major, more perplexed.

'I have lost everything, sir,' Pen groaned out; 'my honour's gone; I'm ruined irretrievably; I can't go back to Oxbridge.'

'Lost your honour?' screamed out the Major. 'Heaven alive! you don't mean to say you have shown the white feather?'

Pen laughed bitterly at the word feather, and repeated it. 'No, it isn't that, sir. I'm not afraid of being shot; I wish to God anybody would shoot me. I have not got my degree. I—I'm plucked, sir.'

The Major had heard of plucking, but in a very vague and cursory way, and concluded that it was some ceremony performed corporally upon rebellious university youth. 'I wonder you can look me in the face after such a disgrace, sir,' he said; 'I wonder you submitted to it as a gentleman.'

'I couldn't help it, sir. I did my classical papers well enough; it was those infernal mathematics, which I have always neglected.'

'*Was it—was it done in public, sir?*' the Major said."

The contrast between the two at first, and the humor of the misunderstandings make a moral background for that question of the Major's, always uppermost in his mind—

'does the public know? what will the public think?' The style, too, is effective in its broken speeches, its verbs and adverbs and exclamations.

A word may be said also about the occasional skillful use of contrast between characters as a means of portrayal. Pen's desire to fight a duel, for example (p. 139, ch. 16), distracted his mother, angered his rector, "while it only amused Major Pendennis." Miss Costigan wrapped up Pen's love-letters and poems for return (p. 113),—"Nor was she in the least moved while performing this act. What hours the boy had passed over those papers! What love and longing; . . . . what watchful nights and lonely fevers might they tell of! She tied them up like so much grocery, and sate down and made tea afterwards with a perfectly placid and contented heart; while Pen was yearning after her ten miles off; and hugging her image to his soul."

Another means of characterization, most difficult to attain and impossible to analyze, is the power of personality. Personality indicates character as a scent does a plant, distinct from it, yet not independent. It is an intangible, subtly compelling force, at once revealing the character to which it belongs and focussing the mutual influence of person on person. In Thackeray there seems to be little recognition of this force by the personages in their speech or otherwise, and the author himself seldom emphasizes it. As a recognizable element it hardly enters at all into the composition of the minor personages, and its existence in the more important is often taken for granted rather than shown. Only in a few cases does it strongly affect the reader. In the old worldly men and women, Major Pendennis and Lady Kew; in the sharpers and adventurers, Becky Sharp and Beatrix Esmond; and in a few noble persons, notably Colonel Newcome and to some extent Ethel Newcome;—in these figures the personality is a luminous and transparent cystid, as it were, which renders the inner light of individuality only the more vivid and penetrating. These are the figures that live actively in the reader's

memory after the books have lost their transitory effects. These are the ones that possess a special degree of convincingness, seeming to proclaim their birth in the author's inmost consciousness and understanding; and he creates this peculiar magnetic personality almost unintentionally and unconsciously.

These ways just mentioned are among the chief by which Thackeray gets his remarkable like-like effects in character-drawing. This paper is but sketchy and incomplete; yet if all should be stated that analysis could reach, there would still remain a stretch of power untouched. Every novelist has the same choice in diction, motive, circumstance, belonging to general human nature; but not every one has the innate power and happy chance in manipulation and appeal. There is a wealth of experience in the novelist—and in the reader—behind all Thackeray's successful figures; and analysis can never entirely solve the problem of how the illusion of reality is created or state how synthesis is made by the glow of imagination and feeling.

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VOL. XV, 3. NEW SERIES, VOL. VIII, 3.

XI.—TOM TYLER AND HIS WIFE.

The comedy which appears in the following pages is reprinted from "the second impression," as it is called on the title page, made by Francis Kirkman in the year 1661: the first edition is apparently no longer extant. Francis Kirkman occupies an interesting position in the history of the English drama as the first man to interest himself in the collection and preservation of old English plays. To him we owe the reprint of *Lust's Dominion*, which has been attributed to Marlowe, of *The Thracian Wonder*, of *Gammer Gurton's Nedle*, and of other plays; and from Kirkman we have the first attempt at a catalogue of English dramas, the foundation on which Langbaine, Baker, Reed, and others were later to build. The earlier form of Kirkman's "an exact Catalogue of all the playes that were ever yet printed" appeared as a supplement to the present play, and included six hundred and ninety items. A few years later Kirkman had increased his list to eight hundred and six. He tells us that he had seen and read all these plays and that he possesses most of them, which he is willing to sell or lend upon reasonable consideration.[1]

[1] See the article on Kirkman in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and a passage from his, "The Unlucky Citizen," reprinted by Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry*, 2, 354.

Tom Tyler and his Wife was not unknown to our older antiquaries, although several mistakes appear to have arisen about it. Langbaine contains no mention of it. In Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* we find a description of "A ballet declaringe the fal of the whore of Babylone intytuled Tye thy mare Tom-boye, with other and thereunto annexed a prologe to the reders, Apocalyps 18," which ends "quod Wyllyam Kith."[1] Ames assigns this "ballet" to the year 1547. One of the songs of *Tom Tyler* is written on this refrain of "Tie the mare, Tomboy." But the psalmist, Wyllyam Kith, or Keth, as he is more usually called, is not the author of this play: and this, despite the alleged parallel by which a not dissimilar production, *Gammer Gurton's Nedle,* has been commonly assigned to Bishop Still. Indeed, the two songs of which Kith's is reprinted by Ritson[2] have nothing in common except their measure and the refrain. In 1764 Baker mentioned this play as "Tome Tylere and his Wyfe. A passing merrie Interlude. Anon. 4to. 1598. This play has been attributed, but, we believe, without foundation, to William Wayer."[3] This statement is repeated in the second and third editions of the *Biographia Dramatica,* and in Halliwell's spoiling of this good old book, *A Dictionary of Old English Plays,* 1860.[4] In *A Manuel for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays,* by W. C. Hazlitt, 1892, the title of Kirkman's edition is quoted, but no date is ventured for the first appearance. Hazlitt adds, "no copy of any earlier edition is known nor does it appear to have been licensed."[5]

The first edition of Ritson's *Ancient Songs* reprints the "ballet" of Kith, alluded to above, and in commenting upon it says: this song is "particularly alluded to in 'the passing merrie Interlude' of *Tom Tylere and his Wyfe,* first printed

[1] Ed. 1749, p. 508.

[2] *Ancient Songs,* ed. 1790, p. 130.

[3] *Biographia Dramatica,* first edition, 1764, *s. v.*

[4] P. 249. [5] P. 230.

in 1578."[1] From the evident quotation of a title which differs in wording and spelling from "the second impression," that of 1661, and from the fact that Baker and Ritson agree as to that title save for a single letter (Ritson's "Tom" for "Tome"), it is plain that one or both of these authorities had seen an earlier edition of this play. But as the subsequent editions of both Baker and Ritson adhere to their dates first set down, and as Kirkman suggests even an earlier one for the *editio princeps* of *Tom Tyler* in the words of his title, "Printed and Acted about a hundred years ago," we must acknowledge the date of the earliest publication of this play inascertainable on external evidence. Ritson's date, 1578, is certainly the more probable, and Collier follows him, paying a passing and becoming tribute to Ritson's correctness.[2] I do not find the source of Baker's assignment of this play to William Wager. Wager is the author of one extant interlude, *The longer thou livest the more fool thou*, in which, according to Collier, the moral of the necessity of giving children a good and pious education is duly enforced.[3] It is not impossible that Wager wrote *Tom Tyler*, the probable date and the general character of the two interludes are not repugnant. But as Wager's known interlude is not accessible to me I can offer no opinion on this subject.

From the prologue of *Tom Tyler* we learn that it was "set out by pretty boys." Several companies of boy actors, as is well known, were active, especially in the sixties and seventies. The play concludes with a prayer for the queen in which a "perilous chance that hath been seen" is mentioned. The publication of the concluding prayer is always an evidence of an early Elizabethan play. The "perilous chance" may refer to the discovery of the Ridolfi conspiracy in 1571. But prologue and epilogue are extraneous parts of a play

[1] P. 130. It is to be noted that Collier, Dyce, *Beaumont and Fletcher*, American ed., 1854, 2, 194, and Ward, *History*, ed. 1899, 1, 142, all accept this date.

[2] *History of Dramatic Poetry*, 1831, 2, 353.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

and as such are subject to continual change and revision, for which reason too much weight is not to be attached to them.

In considering the internal evidence of probable date, derivable from the vocabulary, general style and metre of this play, I felt interested to ask expert opinion. I therefore entrusted it to my friend, Dr. C. P. G. Scott of Philadelphia, who generously returned me so full and satisfactory an answer that it seems but justice to him that I quote his own words:—

"The vocabulary of the play at once places it, on a superficial view, in the period between 1530 and 1580. A consideration of a few expressions like *coaks* (p. 283), *cock on hoop* (p. 280), *crossbite* (p. 274), *hoddie doddee* (p. 280), *javel* (p. 270), *Laron* (p. 265) (for which read *Lacon*, a too classical spelling of *Lakin-by Lacon* being for *by'r Lakin*) indicates a time more definitely between 1540 and 1570.

"The general style of the wit, the appearance of 'Strife' as the name of a character, the rude good nature of the brawling and basting, the brutality of speech and action to the shrewish wife, the senseless composition of the quarrel, point to the same period.

"In the doggerel style, the inner rime, the deadly iteration of jingle, the occasional forced rimes, and other details, the play accords with similar features more or less present in other pieces of the middle third of the sixteenth century, e. g., Heywood's *Four P's* (1533), *Proverbs and Epigrams* (1562), Bale's *Kyng Johan* (c. 1550), and similar productions.

"The adopted meter and rime-scheme involve the use of forced rimes, and of some words or forms not normal to the time when the work was written. The effect is an occasional archaism, which seems at times to place the piece a generation earlier.

"The constructions, so far as they are not normal, are archaic or forced, and concur in suggesting the period 1540–1570 as the period of writing. But there are indications of some smoothing in the text as printed in the year 1661.

"The orthography is not at all like that of any part of the sixteenth century. It is in the main that of the period of print-

ing, 1661. But there are two peculiarities. One is the use of many spellings which were archaic at that time, e. g., *pacience* (p. 286), *endes* (p. *ibid.*), *laffe* (p. 276), *shrow*, *shrowes* (pp. 262, 267), *abrod* (p. 266), beside spellings then obsolescent, like *merrie*, *bodie*, etc. (*passim*).

"The other peculiarity is the quite modern style of the general spelling, which is much more like that of 1700 or 1800 than like that of 1661. I suppose that the co-existence of these two peculiarities may be explained on the theory that the printer (or the copyist who made the copy for the printer) was given the original edition 'printed about a hundred years ago,' and was told to print it (or copy it), without special instructions as to the spelling, or with only the general instruction to change it to the existing custom. No author or editor seems to have intervened with orthographic notions or customs of his own, so that the printer was allowed to follow his own untutored common sense. He therefore used a style of spelling almost free from the archaisms which still lagged in the books of that period, though retaining some of the sixteenth century forms. To state the matter in few words, and saving any points that might be made on individual words or constructions or spellings, the text of 1661 is evidently a fairly good but not exact reproduction of the words of a text first written or printed between 1540 and 1570—to guess more closely, about 1550–60—but with the spelling for the most part altered to the most advanced style of 1661."

After mentioning Ritson's assignment of 1578 as the date of the original edition of *Tom Tyler and His Wife*, Dr. Scott concludes: "If the date '1578?' is correct, it would not be surprising, as that was a period of archaizing, and some of the 'humorous' pieces of that period, e. g., Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577) are written in a style of verse and wit the more like Heywood and Bale than like the verse and wit which was then budding into the second Elizabethan style."

In *Tom Tyler* the didactic principle has nearly expired. The "sage Parsons," Destinie and Desire, are more like

friendly neighbors holding fatalistic views as to marriage than the abstractions which their names imply. Strife, the shrew, is certainly an abstraction only in name.[1] Lastly, this interlude is one of a series of dramatic productions which derive their interest from a supposedly realistic presentation of the relations of husband and wife. The shrew had been already more than suggested in the wily Tyb of Heywood's *Mery Play between Johan the husbande, Tyb his wife and Syr Jhan the preest*, about 1525, whilst the wife of the contrasted, suffering type had been treated dramatically in 1538, in a play of Ralph Radcliffe, no longer extant, on the popular medieval theme of *Patient Griselda.* This series continued in such plays as *Patient Grissill*, 1599, the joint work of Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton; *The London Prodigal*, one of the pseudo-Shakespearian plays assigned to a date between 1600 and 1605; *The Wise Woman of Hogsden*, of Heywood, and the underplot of *The Honest Whore* of Dekker, both dating about 1604; and *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage.* The "shrew plays" are *The Taming of a Shrew*, written between 1588 and 1590, which has been variously assigned as to authorship; whence Shakespeare borrowed the idea of *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1597; the underplot of Dekker's play mentioned above, 1604; and Fletcher's brilliant sequel to Shakespeare's "shrew," *The Woman's Prize*, which dates certainly after 1610. Finally the two themes appear in contrast in the same play in *How a Man may Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1601; in *The Fair Maid of Bristow*, 1604; and in Marston's *Dutch Curtezan*, of about the same date. In these and other plays of the same class the contrast takes the wider range of the chaste and the vicious woman.

FELIX E. SCHELLING.

[1] I can not agree with Ward's statement that Strife is "half an abstraction, half a type."—*English Dramatic Literature*, ed. 1899, 1, 142. Collier's estimate of this play is altogether fair.—*History of English Dramatic Poetry*, ed. 1831, 2, 353 ff.

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AND

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DESIRE, The Vice.
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STURDIE, A Gossip.
TYPPLE, An Ale-wife.
TOM TAYLER, An Artificer.
PATIENCE, A sage Parson.

TOM TYLER AND HIS WIFE.

THE PROLOGUE.

My dutie first in humble wise fulfill'd,
I humbly come, as humbly as I am will'd,
To represent, and eke to make report,
That after me you shall hear merrie sport,
To make you joy and laugh at merrie toyes,
I mean a play set out by prettie boyes.
Whereto we crave your silence and good will,
To take it well: although he wanted skill
That made the same so perfectly to write,
As his good will would further and it might. 10
The effect whereof it boots not to recite,
For presently yee shall have it in sight.
Nor in my head such cunning doth consist,
They shall themselves declare it as they list.
But my good will I promised them to do,
Which was to come before to pray of you,
To make them room, and silence as you may,
Which being done, they shall come in to play.

Here entreth in Destinie and Desire.

I Represent the part that men report,
To be a plague to men in many a sort. 20
Destinie. I am, which as your Proverbs go,
In wedding or hanging am taken for a fo,[1]
Where as indeed the truth is nothing so.
Be it well or ill as all things hap in fine,
The praise or dispraise ought not to be mine.
Desire. I am glad I met you.
Destinie. Whither jet you?

[1] foe.

Desire. I jet I tell you true, to seek and see you,
To tell you such newes, as I cannot chuse.
Destinie. I pray you what is that? 30
Desire. Sirra know you not *Tom Tyler* your man?
Destinie. Yes Marry, what than?
Desire. He made sute to me, his friend for to be,
To get him a wife, to lead a good life.
And so I consented, and was well contented,
To help him to woo, with all I could do,
And married he is.
Destinie. But what for all this?
Desire. Marry that shall you know, his wife is a shrow,
And I hear tell, she doth not use him well. 40
Wherefore he speaks shame of thee and my name.
Destinie. If you so framed to have your name blamed,
Or your deeds be noughtie, what am I faultie?
I know no cause why;
Desire. No more do I.
I did my good will, and though he sped ill,
I care not a Flie.
Destinie. Let them two trie.
They match as they can, the wife and good man,
In wealth or in wo, as matters do go. 50
And let us not mind their lot to unbind,
But rather forget them,
Desire. Marry so let them.
For as for my part, though it long to my Art
Mens hearts to inflame, their fancie to frame
When they have obtained, I am not constrained
To do any more.
Destinie. Content thee therefore,
And let thy heart rest, for so it is best.
And let us away, as fast as we may, 60
For fear he come to you.
Desire. Marry have with you. *Here they both go in.*

Tom Tyler commeth in singing

The proverb reporteth, no man can deny,
That wedding and hanging is destiny.

A Song. I am a poor *Tyler* in simple aray,
And get a poor living, but eight pence a day,
My wife as I get it, doth spend it away;
And I can not help it, she saith; wot ye why,
For wedding and hanging is destiny.

I thought when I wed her, she had been a sheep,
At boord to be friendly, to sleep when I sleep,
She loves so unkindly, she makes me to weep; 70
But I dare say nothing god wot, wot ye why?
For wedding and hanging is destiny.

Besides this unkindnesse whereof my grief grows,
I think few *Tylers* are matcht with such shrows;
Before she leaves brawling, she falls to deal blows
Which early and late doth cause me to cry
That wedding and hanging is destiny.

The more that I please her, the worse she doth like me
The more I forbear her, the more she doth strike me
The more that I get her the more she doth glike me; 80
Wo worth this ill Fortune that maketh me crie
That wedding and hanging is destinie.

If I had been hanged when I had been married,
My torments had ended, though I had miscarried;
If I had been warned, then would I have tarried;
But now all to lately I feel and crie,
That wedding and hanging is destinie.

The song ended, Tom Tyler speaketh.

T. Tiler. You see with what fashion I plead my passions;
By marrying of *Strife*, which I chose to my wife,

To lead such a life, with sorrow and grief, 90
As I tell you true, is to bad for a Jew.
She hath such skill, to do what she will,
To gossip and to swill, when I fare but ill.
I must work sore, I must get some more,
I must still send it, and she will spend it,
I pray God amend it, but she doth not intend it.
What should I say, but high me away,
And do my work duly, where ich am paid truly?
For if my wife come, up goeth my bomme,
And she should come hither, and we met
together, 100
I know we shall fight, and eke scratch and bite,
I therefore will go hie me, and to my work plie me,
As fast as I can.

Here Tom Tyler goeth in, and his wife cometh out.

Strife. Alasse silly man;
What a husband have I, as light as a flie?
I leap and I skip, I carry the whip,
And I bear the bell; If he please me not well,
I will take him by the pole, by cocks precious soul
I will make him to toil, when I laugh and smile;
I will fare of the best, I will sit and take rest, 110
And make him to find all things to my mind.
And yet sharp as the wind, I will use him unkind,
And fain my self sick; there is no such trick,
To dolt with a Daw, and keep him in awe.
I will teach him to know the way to Dunmoe.
At bord and at bed, I will crack the knaves head,
If he look but awry, or cast a sheeps eye:
So shall I be sure, to keep him in ure,
To serve like a knave, and live like a slave.
And in the mean season, I will have my own
reason, 120

And no man controle me, to pil or to pole me,
Which I love of life.

Sturdie. God speed gossip *Strife.* *Sturdie entereth.*

Strife. Well met Goodwife *Sturdie*, both welcom and worthie.
And ever I thank ye.

Sturdie. I pray you go prank ye,
Ye are dew old huddle.

Strife. The Pigs in the puddle.
But now welcome indeed, and ye be agreed,
Let us have some chat. 130

Sturdie. Marry why nat?
For I am come hither, to gossip together,
For I drank not to day.

Strife. So I hear say.
But I tell you true, I thought not of you,
Yet the ale-wife of the Swan, is filling the Can,
With spice that is fine, and part shall be thine,
If that thou wilt tarrie.

Sturdie. Why, yes by Saint Mary;
Else were I a fool. *Here entreth Tipple* 140

Tip. Marrie here is good rule. *with a pot in her hand*
A sight of good guesse. *and a piece of Bacon.*

Strife. Never a one lesse, now Tipple is come.

Tipple. And here is good bum, I dare boldly say.

Sturdie. Why had I not some of this tother day?

Tipple. Make much of it now, and glad that ye may.
Come where shall we sit? and here is a bit
Of a Gammon of Bacon.

Strife. Well said by Laron.
Sit down even here, and fall to it there: 150
I would it were better for ye;
As long lives a merry heart as a sorrie.

Tipple. Where is *Tom Tyler* now, where is he?

Strife. What carest thou where a dolt should be.
And where is your good man?

Tipple. Forsooth nought at home, he is abrod for pence.
Sturdie. Well, I had need to go hence,
Least my good man do misse me.
Strife. I would teach him John come kisse me,
If the dolt were mine. 160
Sturdie. Alas are you so fine!
Would God in all your chere, *Tom Tiler* saw you here;
Strife. What and if he did?
Tipple. Marrie God forbid, the house would be too hot,
Strife. Now by this pewter pot,
And by this drink I will drink now,
God knows what I think now.
Sturdie. What think you, Gossip *Strife?*
Strife. I had rather then my life,
My husband would come hither, 170
That we might busk together,
Ye should see how I could tame him,
Tipple. Alas, and could ye blame him,
If that he were displeased?
Strife. He shall be soon appeased, *Tom Tiler*
If either he gaspeth or glometh. *cometh in.*
Sturdie. By gods blew hood he cometh.
Away, by the Masse away, he will us all else fray.
Tom. These summer daies be verie drie.
Strife. Yea, that is a devil a lie. 180
Tom. Ich should have a pot of beer, and go to work again.
Strife. Yea knave, shall honest men
Go hire thee by the day, and thou shalt go awaw
To loyter to and fro? I will teach thee for to knoy,
How fast the hours go. One, two, three.
T. Tiler. I pray thee let be. *She beateth him.*
Strife. Four, five, six; Lord, that I had some sticks.
I would clapper claw thy bones
To make you tell your stones,

The worser while I know you; 190
T. Tyler. Good wife I beshrew you;
I pray leave your tumbling?
Strife. Yea knave are you mumbling?
Hence ye knave hence, bring me home pence,
Afore ye go to bed, or I will break your knaves head,
Till the blood go about.
T. Tiler. Now our Lord keep me out, *Tom Tiler goeth out.*
From this wicked wife.
Sturdie. Why, how now *Strife?* here is prettie rule;
Strife. Hold your peace fool, it is no news for me; 200
Let this talk be, and fall to your chere.
Tipple. Here is good beer, quaff and be merrie.
Strife. I am half wearie with chiding alreadie.
Sturdie. Keep your brains steddie,
And fall to your drinking.
Tipple. Nay fall to singing, and let us go dance.
Strife. By my troth chance, and let us begin,
Rise up gossips, and I will bring you in.

Here they sing

Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler,
More morter for Tom Tiler. 210

As many as match themselves with shrowes, *Strife*
May hap to carrie away the blowes, *singeth this staff.*
Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler.
As many a Tyde both ebs and flowes,
So many a misfortune comes and goes,
Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler.

Tipple singeth this staffe. Though Tilers clime the house to tile,
They must come down another while,
Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler.
Though many a one do seem to smile, 220
When Geese do wink, they mean some gile,
Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler.

Sturdie singeth this staffe. Though *Tom* be stout, and *Tom* be strong,
Though *Tom* be large, and *Tom* be long,
Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler.
Tom hath a wife will take no wrong,
But teach her *Tom* another song. *Here they end singing Tom Tiler, Tom Tiler. and Tipple speaketh.*

Tipple. Alas poor Tom, his Cake is dow.
Sturdie. Ye may see what it is to meet with a shrow. 230
And now we have soong this merry fit,
Let us now[1] leave gossiping yet,
Strife. Hold your peace fooles, ye have no wit
Fill in and spare not, swill in, I care not.
This drink is *ipse*, to make us all tipse.
And now gossip *Sturdie*, if I may be so worthie,
Half this I drink to you.
Sturdie. The headache will sting you, I fear me anon,
Therefore let us be gone, I heartily pray you.
Strife. Tipple, What say you, will you drink no more. 240
Tipple. I have tippled sore I promise you plain,
Yet once and no more, have at you again.
Strife. Ho, pray God, he,
Sturdie. So, So, So, So.

Here they sing again.

Another Song.

The Mill a, the Mill a,
So merily goes the mery Mill a.

Let us sip and let it slip,
And go which way it will a,
Let us trip, and let us skip,
And let us drink our fill a. 250
Take the cup, and drink all up,
Give me the can to fill a:

[1] Not.

Every sup, and every cup,
  Hold here, and my good will a.
Gossip mine, and Gossip thine,
  Now let us Gossip still a:
Here is good wine, this Ale is fine,
  Now drink of which you will a.
Round about, till all be out,
  I pray you let us swill a: 260
This jelly grout is jelly[1] and stout;
  I pray you stout it still a.
Let us laugh, and let us quaff,
  Good drinkers think none ill a:
Here is your bag, here is your staffe,
  Be packing to the mill a.

Here they end singing, and Tipple speaketh first.

Tipple. So merily goes the merie mill a;
Hold here is my can.
Sturdie. Nay I beshrow my hart than,
I must depart, therefore adew. 270
Strife. Then tarrie and take us all with you.
Come Gossips, come. *Here they all go in, and Tom Tiler cometh out.*
T. Tiler. I am a tiler as you see, a simple man of my degree,
Yet many have need of me, to keep them clean and drie;
And specially in the Summer time
To pin their tiles, and make their lime,
And tile their houses to keep out rain,
Being well rewarded for my pain.
And where I work by week or day,
I truly earn it and they truly pay; 280
I would desire no better life;
Except that God would change my wife.

[1] qu? jolly.

If she were gone and I were free,
What tiler then were like to mee?
For howsoever I travel, she uses me like a Javel,
And goeth from house to house, as drunk as a mouse;
Giving and granting, checking and taunting,
Bragging and vaunting, flauting and flaunting.
And when I come home, she makes me a mome;
And cuts my comb, lik a hop on my thomb,[1] 290
With contrary biting too dear of reciting.
But this is the end, if I could get a friend
Some council to give me, you would not believe me
How glad I would be. *Enter Tom Tayler.*

T. Tailer. The wiser man he. *Tom Tiler* how now?
T. Tiler. Tom Tayler, how dost thou?
Tayler. After the old sort, in mirth and jolly sport,
Tayler-like I tell you.
T. Tyler. Ah sirra I smell you.
You have your hearts ease, to do what you please, 300
But I have heard tell, that you have the hell.
Tayler. Marrie that is well. But what if I have?
T. Tiler. May not I crave one friendly good turn,
While the fire doth burn, to put my wife to such ill fare?
Tayler. In faith I do not care,
But what meanest thou by this?
T. Tiler. To live in some blisse, and be rid of my wife.
Tayler. Why are you at strife, what is the cause?
T. Tiler. When I come in her clawes,
She guides me for ever; but help me now or never, 310
As I told thee before,
Put her in hell, and I care for no more.

[1] hop o' my thumb.

Tayler. Why foolish knave, what hell should I have?
With a wild evil am I a Devil?
Thou art out of thy wit.

T. Tiler. No bum say not yet, though I am vext with a fit
Of a liberal wife, that will shorten my life.
And thou be no devil, take it not evil;
For I heard tell, that thou hast a hell.
And I have a wife, so devilish in strife, 320
Which cannot do well, and therefore meeter for hell,
Then here to remain.

Tayler. If the matter be so plain;
Then what wilt thou say, if I find the way
By words to intreat her, and after to beat her
If she will not be ruled [?]

T. Tiler. She is to well schooled with too many shrowes
To receive any blowes, never think so.

Tayler. If she be such a shrow, something at her throw.
Stand to it foolish calf, I will be thy half. 330
What will she fight?

T. Tiler. Yea her fingers be very light
And that do I find, her checks be so unkind.
Alwayes and ever, she is pleased never,
But fuming and freating, buffeting and beating;
Of this my silly costard.

Tayler. A hoorson dostard. And what dost thou than?

T. Tiler. Like a poor man,
Desiring her gently to let me live quietly.

Tayler. Now of mine honestie I like thee the better. 340
And wouldest thou let her.

T. Tiler. Yea, and so would you, I tell you true,
If you were in my case.

Tayler. Nay then by Gods grace,
I will prove by your leave, if she can me deceive
By any such sort, ye shall see a good sport.
Put off thy coat and all thy apparel;

	And for thy quarrel I will make speed.	
	And put on thy weed, come on and unray thee.	
T. Tiler.	And what now I pray thee.	350
Tayler.	Come give me the rest.	
T. Tiler.	I wene you do jest. What meant you by this?	
Tayler.	No harm sir I wis.	
	Now get me a cudgel, this is wondrous well,	
	Now am I well armed, if now I be harmed,	
	I may chance to beguile her for beating *Tom Tiler;*	
	Now Thomas my friend, this is the end;	
	You say your wife will fight, her fingers be so light;	
	If she have such delight, I will conjure the sprite,	
	If she come neer, while I tarrie here.	360
	Therefore stand by, and when thou hearest me crie,	
	Come help me to cheer me.	
T. Tiler.	Nay I must not come neer thee, *Here Tom Tiler*	
	Be certain of that. *goeth in a while.*	
Tayler.	Well if you will not, make no more debating.	
Strife.	Ye knave are ye prating? *Enter Strife.*	
	When you should be at work, do you loiter and lurk?	
	Take that for your labour.	
Tayler.	Nay faith by your favour I will pay you again,	
	There is for me to requite your pain.	370
Strife.	Yea knave are you striking?	
Tayler.	Yea whore, are ye greeking?	
Strife.	In faith ye knave I will cool you.	
Tayler.	In faith ye whore I will rule you.	
Strife.	Yea knave are ye so fresh?	
Tayler.	Yea whoore I will plague your flesh.	
Strife.	And I will displease thee a little better;	
Tayler.	And in faith I will not die thy debter.	
	Now now, how like you your match?	
Strife.	As I did ever, even like a Patch.	380

Ah knave, wilt thou strike thy wife?

Tayler. Yea marrie, I love this gear alife.

Strife. Hold thy hand, and thou be a man.

Tayler. Kneel down and ask to be forgiven then.

Strife. Ah whoorson knave my bones is sore.

Tayler. Ah unhappie whore; do so then no more.

Strife. I pray thee be still, thou shalt have thy will.
I will do so no more, I am sorrie therefore.
I will never more strike, nor profer the like,
Alas I am killed. 390

Tayler. Nay thou art il willed as thou hast been ever.
But trouble me never, I advise thee again,
For I will brain thee then.
Now praise at thy parting.

Strife. Wo worth overwharting that ever I knew,
I am beaten so blew, and my gall is all burst.
I thought at the first he had been a dolt.
But I bridled a Colt of a contrarie hare,
Soure sauce is now my chear.
Therefore I will away, for I get naught by this
play; 400
And get me to bed, and dress up my head.
I am so sore beaten with blowes. [*S*]*He fireth in.*

Tayler. It is hard matching with shrowes.
I see well enough the Damsel was tough,
And loth for to bend. But I think in the end
I made her to bow. But where is Tom now?
That he may know how all matters do stand.

T. Tiler enters. *T. Tiler.* Here sir at hand. How now *Tom Tayler?*

Tayler. Much ado to quail her.
But I beleeve my girds do her grieve, 410
I dare be bold, she longs not to scold,
Nor use her old sport, in such devilish sort;

T. Tiler. I pray thee why so?

Tayler. I have made her so wo, so black and so blew,

I have changed her hew and made her to bend;
That to her lives end she will never offend
In word nor in deed. Therefore now take heed
She strike thee no more.

T. Tiler. Ich will stroke thee therefore;
And *Tom* God a mercy. 410

Tayler. She looked arsie versie at her first coming in,
And so did begin with sowring of showes,
And fell to fair blowes.
But then I behide me, and she never spide me;
What I was I am sure. Therefore get thee to her,
And get thee to bed, whatsoever is said.
I care not a straw, for thou hast her in awe.
She is so well beaten, she dare not once threaten,
Nor give thee any ill word at bed and at boord,
But grunting and groning, thou shall find her moning 420
Her piteous case with a saint Johns face,
I warrant well painted, for I stroke till she fainted,
And paid her for all ever,
Till she said she would never be churlish again.

T. Tiler. Let me alone with my damsel then;
And if I be able, without any fable
I will quit thee.

Tayler. If she crossebite thee,
Hence forth evermore beswinge her therefore,
And keep her up short, from all her old sport. 430
And she will not be ruled, let her be cooled.

T. Tiler. But I dare say, she will think of this day,
All her life long.

Tayler. Shall we have then a good song,
For joy of this glee betwixt her and thee?

T. Tiler. By my troth if you will, I shall fulfil
As much as I can.

Tayler. Let us sing than.

The tying of the Mare, that went out of square.
T. Tiler. By my troth any you dare, go to begin. 440

Here they sing.
Tie, tie, tie the mare, tie,
Lest she stray from thee away;
Tie the mare Tomboy.

Tom Tiler singeth.

Tom might be merrie, and well might fare,
But for the haltering of his Mare,
Which is so wicked to fling and flie,
Go tie the mare Tomboy, tie the mare, tie.

Tom Tailer singeth.

Blame not Thomas if Tom be sick,
His mare doth praunce, his mare doth kick;
She snorts and holds her head so hie, 450
Go tie the mare Tomboy, tie the mare, tie.

Tom Tiler singeth.

If Tom crie hayt, or Tom crie hoe,
His mare will straight give Tom a bloe,
Where she doth bait, Tom shall abie,
Go tie thy mare Tomboy, tie the mare, tie.

Tom Tayler singeth.

Tom if thy mare do make such sport,
I give thee councel to keep her short.
If she be coltish, make her to crie.
Go tie the mare Tomboy, tie the mare, tie.

Here they end singing, and Tom Tayler first speaketh.

Tayler. Well now to your charge, 460
Let her run no more at large.

But now she is so well framed,
If she do ill you must be blamed,
Therefore take hood[1] heed.

T. Tiler. Yes that I will indeed.
And I thank you for you pain.
As I am bound I tell you plain.

Tayler. Well *Thomas* fare you well, *Tom Tayler goeth in.*
Till you come where I do dwell.

T. Tiler. Ah sirra this is trim, that my wife is coold by him, 470
I marvel how she took the matter;
And how she will look when I come at her;
And whether she be well or sick;
For my part I doe not stick
To do my dutie as I ought,
Yet will I never die for thought,
I will go hie me home. *Tom Tyler goeth in.*

Here entereth Sturdie and Tipple.

Sturdie. Farewell good honest mome.

Tipple. How likest thou this match?
Wouldst thou have thought the Patch, 480
Would have beat his wife so black and blew from top to toe
Being such a simple fool?

Tipple. Belike he has learned in a new school
Whereat I cannot chuse but laffe,
The still Sow eateth up all the draffe.
Beware of such wily Pies.

Sturdie. But she, an she be wise,
Will seek some way to rook him.

Tipple. It is too late to break him, if now he get the better.

Sturdie. If she can do so, let her; 490
I dare be bold to say, she will do what she may.

[1] good.

Lo here she cometh creeping, *Enter Strife fair*
Alas for wo and weeping, *and softly, wailing*
The truth will now appear. *and weeping.*

Strife. Alas and well away.
How ill have I been used, my bones be all so brused.
My flesh is plagued vily, and my head is woundey,[1] hily.
My arms be black and blew, and all my sides be new.

Sturdie. Though all this be with you Gossip, discomfort never.

Tipple. He watched[2] ye once for ever. 500
But trust his hands no more.

Strife. Alas I am so sore,
I can neither stand nor sit but am beside my wit;
And never well apaid, till that I may be laid
To ease me on my bed.

Sturdie. Bind this about your head,
And hardly lay you down, we must into the town;
And after that, surely then we will come to you again;
And I pray you be of good cheer.

Tipple. I am sorrie to see you here 510
In such unhappie case, but take some heart of grace
Good Gossip I pray you,

Strife. Alas neighbours, I stay you
From your businesse perhaps, but I will take a nap,
If I can where I lie.

Sturdie. Then we will see you again by and by.

Sturdie and Tipple goeth out, and Tom Tiler cometh in.

T. Tiler. I heard say my wife is abominable sick,

[1] wounded. [2] matched.

Indeed she was beat with an unhappie stick,
Gods, look where she lies, close with her eyes,
That is well said I will get me to bed, 520
And lay me hard by her, and yet not too nie her,
For feare I awake her, a good yeare take her,
For using me so.

Strife. But alas, O, O,
My bones, my bones, fall in peeces at ones!
Alas, alas, I die, O husband, husband why,
Why have you done so? I was never your foe,
So much as you make me, and so you may take me,
If I have you offended, it shall be amended.
Alas wherefore should ye beate me a so soare? 530

T. Tyler. You would be still never, but buffet me ever,
And Gossip at will, when I must work still,
And take ill your pleasure, and braul without
measure
And now you may see, as the old sayings bee,
God sendeth now, short hornes to a curst Cow.
I come home merrily, when you sit verely.
Lowring and pouting, knawing and lowting.
And I was your noddy, as mnch[1] as no body.

Strife. Alas what than, you being a man,
Should beare with my folly, and you being
holly 540
Might councel me, tho not beating me so.
I thought I should find, you loving and kinde,
And not of this minde.
For us to war foes, for such crewel blowes,
I tell you plaine, I married my bane,
When I married thee, as far as I see.

T. Tiler. Wife I am sorrie, this ill is befalne ye,
But I tell you true, the fault was in you.
For till this day, I dare boldlie say,
I never did proffer you such an offer; 550

[1] much.

It was your owne seeking.

Strife. I beshrew such striking.
So close by the ribs, you may strike your tibs
So, well enough.

T. Tiler. This rage and this ruffe
Need not to be, wife if ye love me,
Let us agree, in love and amitie,
And do so no more, I am sory therefore,
I take God to my judge, that ever this grudge,
Should happen to be, between you and me. 560

Strife. Alas, I may mone I might have been woone
With half these strokes, but curstnesse provokes
Kind hearts to dissever, and hatred for ever
Most commonly growes, by dealing of blowes.
Therefore blame not me, if I cannot love ye;
While we two have life.

T. Tiler. By my halydome Wife;
Because you say so, now shall ye know
If you will content you, that I do lament you.
For I will tell you true, When I saw you 570
Ever brawling and fighting, and ever crossebiting,
Which made me still wo, that you should thus do;
At last here after, I complaind the matter
To *Tom Taylor* my Master, who taking a waster
Did put on my coat, since ye will needs know it;
And so being disguised, he interprised
To come in my steed; and having my weed
You pleading your passion after the old fashion;
Thinking it was I, stroke him by and by,
Then straight did he in steed of me, 580
Currie your bones, as he said for the nones,
To make you obey.

Strife. Is it even so as you say?
Gods fish you Knave, did you send such a slave
To revenge your quarrel in your apparel?
Thou shalt abide[1] as dearlie as I.

[1] abie.

I thought by this place, thou hadst not the face
To beat me so sore. Have at thee once more.
I now wax fresh co[1] plague a knaves flesh
That hath so plagued me, for everie blow three. 590
Be sure I will pay you, till you do as I would have you.
Ah whoreson Dolt thou whorson subtle Colt;
Son of an Oxe, how like you your knocks?
The pils and the pox, and the poison in box
Consume such a Knave, and bring him to grave.
The Crowes and the Pies, and the verie flesh flies
Desire to plague thee. In faith I will plague thee.

T. Tiler. O wife, wife, I pray thee save my life.
You hurt me ever, I hurted you never,
For Gods sake content thee. 600

Strife. Nay thou shalt repent thee,
That ever *Tom Tayler*, that Ruffian and railer
Was set to beat me, he had better he had eat me;
I hope for to find some tosser so kind
To currie that knave, for the old grudge I have,
As now I do thee; there is one more for me.
Kneel down on your knee, yon[2] hoddie doddee;
I will make you to stoop, though you set cock on hoop
For joy of *Tom Tayler*, that he could beguile her.
Take that for her sake, some mirth for to make, 610
Like an asse as you be.

T. Tiler. Why should you strike me
For another mans fault?

Strife. Because thou art naught,
And he a vile knave. *Enter Sturdie and Tipple.*

Sturdie. What more can ye have?
Enough is enough, as good as a feast.

[1] to. [2] you.

Stri e.[1] He shall bear me one cuff yet more like a beast.
Tipple. Gossip content thee, and strike him no more.
T. Tiler. All the world wonders upon her therefore. 620
Sturdie. Away neighbour *Thomas* out of her sight.
T. Tiler. Alas she hath almost kild me out right.
I will rather die than see her again. *Go in T. Tiler.*
Strife. I promise you, I have a great losse then,
How like ye now this last overthwarting?
It is an old saying, praise at the parting.
I think I have made the Cullion to wring.
I was not beaten so black and blew,
But I am sure he has as many new.
My heart is well eased, and I have my wish, 630
This chafing hath made me as whole as a fish.
And now I dare boldly be merrie again.
Sturdie. By saint Mary you are the happier then.
My neighbour and I, might hap to abie,
If we should so do, as he suffereth you;
But we commend you.
Strife. I can now intend you,
To laugh and to quaff, and lay down my staff,
To dance or to sing.
Tipple. There were no such thing, after this madness. 640
Sturdie. And ye say it in sadness,
Let us set in, on a merrie pin.
The storie of the strife, between Tom and his wife,
As well as I can.
Strife. Shall I begin then to set you both in?
For I can best do it,
Sturdie. Now I pray thee go to it.

Here they sing.

Hey derie, hoe derie, hey derie dan,
The Tylers wife of our Town,
Hath beaten her good man. 650

[1] *Strife.*

A Song.

Tom Tiler was a trifeler,
And fain would have the skill
To practise with *Tom Tayler*,
To break his Wives will.
Tom Tayler got the victorie,
Till *Tylers* Wife did know,
It was a point of subtiltie;
Then *Tom* was beat for wo.
Thomas Tilers Wife said evermore
I will full merrie make, 660
And never trust a man no more
For *Thomas Taylers* sake.
But if *Tom Tiler* give a stroke,
Perhaps if he be stout,
He shall then have his costard broke,
Till blood go round about.
Though some be sheep, yet some be shrowes,
Let them be fools that lust:
Tom Tilers Wife will take no blows,
No more then needs she must. 670
If *Tom* be wise, he will beware,
Before he make his match,
To do no further than he dare,
For fear he prove a Patch.

Here they end singing.

Strife. Gossips, godlige[1] for this mrerie[2] song;
Pray God we may long keep such merrie glee.
Sturdie. Ye[3] marrie say we,
God grant all wives, to lead the like lives
That you do now.
Tipple. I know not how that may come to passe, 680
But by the Masse, good handling doth much.
Strife. For a fair touch my will shall not want.

[1] godlige = god'ild ye. [2] merrie. [3] yea.

Sturdie. Would God I could plant,
My eye-lids in such sort, to make such a sport,
And live so at ease, to do what I please.
Tipple. Alwaies the Seas.
Be not like mild, but wanton and wild
Sometime more higher, then need shall require;
So may the hap be with you and with me.
Strife. Let all this be, for we will agree, 690
And let us away, for I dare say,
Tom Tiler is gone to make his mone,
After these strokes, like a wise Coaks;
But all is one.
Sturdie. Come let us be gone it is time for to go.
Tipple. I think it be so; come on, have with you.

Here they go in, and Tom Tayler, Tom Tiler, and Destinie enter.

T. Tiler. If *Destinie* drive poor Tom for to live.
For ever in strife with such an ill wife;
Then *Tom* may complain, no more to remain 700
Here on the earth, but rather wish death.
For this is too bad.
Tayler. Why, how now my lad, what news with thee?
T. Tiler. In faith as ye see.
After the old fashion, pleading on passion
If Fortune will it, I must fulfil it.
If *Destinie* say it, I cannot deny[1] it.
Destinie. Nor I cannot stay it.
For when thou wast born, thy luck was forlorn.
Therefore content thee, and never repent thee. 710
T. Tayler. I cannot lament thee.
For I am sure you know, I charmed your shrow,
With such cruel blowes, by the faith that now goes
I thought she would die.
T. Tiler. Then happie were I.

[1] qu? denay.

Tayler.	And a good cause why,	
	But you may now go for bacon to Dunmo.	
T. Tiler.	Yet fain would I know, of *Destinie* now,	
	How long and how my life shall it passe.	
Tayler.	Why foolish asse, that were but a follie.	720
	For he is too hollie to tell any news.	
Destinie.	I do not use, to tell ore[1] I strike,	
	I suddenly gleek, ore[1] men be aware.	
Tayler.	Then I can declare if I look in thy hand,	
	How thy fortune will stand. Hold up thy fist.	
T. Tiler.	Here, do what ye list.	
Tayler.	By my troth I wist it, and have not mist it.	

He striketh him on the cheek.

	By the sign that here goes, you are born to take blowes.	
	Tarrie, let me look again.	
Tom Tyler.	Nay beshrew my heart then.	730
Tayler.	Ask *Destinie* hereby, and I make a lie.	
Destinie.	No, you do not indeed.	
T. Tyler.	Then I will change my weed,	
	And tyle it no more, if my chance be so sore,	
	As you two doe make it.	
Destinie.	We do not mistake it,	
	Thereof be you bold, and this hope you may hold,	
	If your fortune bee to hang on a tree,	
	Five foot from the ground, ye shall never be drownd.	
	So if you be born, to hold with the horne,	740
	How soever your wife jet it, you cannot let it.	
	And if you leade an ill life, by chance of your wife,	
	Take this for a verity, all is but your destiny.	
	And though your deedes prove naught,	
	Yet am I not in fault.	
T. Tiler.	Then let me be taught, how to eschew,	

[1] ere.

Such dangers as you, enforce to a man.
Destiny. Yea, but who can instruct you thereon?
For all is no more then I have said before.
But howsoever it be, learn this of me, 750
If you take it not ill, but with a good will,
It shall never grieve you.
Tayler. No faith, I believe you,
That is even all. He that loves thrall,
It were pittie he should lack it.
T. Tyler. Then I must pack it
Between the coat and the skin,
As my fortune hath been ever yet in my life,
Since I am married with *Strife*,
Hap good hap, will, hap good, hap evil; 760
Even hap as hap may.
Tayler. That is a wise way.
Never set at thy heart, thy wives churlish part,
That she sets at her heel, such sorrows to feel.
It would grieve any Saint. *Enter Strife.*
Strife. Take a pensil, and paint your words in a table,
That the foole may be able to know what to doe.[1]
Desteny. Here is one comes to woo,
By the Masse I will not tarry. *Desteny goeth in.*
Strife. I would it were muskadine for ye, 770
To stand prating with knaves.
Tayler. Hark how she raves, she longues[2] for a whip.
Strife. Ye[3] faith good man blabberlip.
You pricklouse knave you, have you nothing to do
At home with your shreds? a prayer of wise heads
I promise you you have. But you doltish knave,
Come home, or I will fetch you.
Tayler. Now a halter stretch you.

[1] Possibly these two lines should be spoken by Taylor.
[2] longs. [3] Yea.

And them that sent you. *Enter Patience.*

Pacience. Good friendes, I pray you content you. 780
Whence cometh this strife, I pray the good wife?
Be pacient for all.

Strife. And shall the knave braul
And make discord to be, betweene my husband and me.

Pacience. Why so? are you he
That setteth debate, and disposed to prate?
I pray you be still.

Tayler. Marry with a good will.
As God shall save me, I did behave me
As well as might bee, as these folkes did see. 790
Till this gigish dame, into this place came
But she is too too bad.

Patience. And I count him mad,
That for any fit, will compare his wit,
And with a foolish woman to wander,[1]
He is as wise as a Gander.
You are too much to blame, and you to for shame,
Leave your old canker, and let your sheet anker
Be alwayes to hold, where I pacience am bold
If things hap awry, to fall ont[2] by and by, 800
It doth not agree, though Desteny be
Unfriendly to some, as he hits all that come,
In wealth and in wo, I am sure you know,
There should be no strife, betweene man and wife
And thus my tale endes, I would have you all friends
And I would have Tom Tayler to be no rayler,
Nor Tom Tyler to chide, which I cannot abide.
Nor his wife for to shew, any prankes of a shrew.

T. Tyler. Ich would God it were so, for I bid[1] the wo.
Ich wish it for my part, even with all my heart. 810

[1] qu? mander = maunder. [2] out. [3] bide.

For howsoever it goes, I beare the blowes
Which I tell you I like not.

Tayler. Though I chide, I strike not,
Your Mastership doth see.

Strife. I beshrew his knaves heart, that last stroke me.

Patience. Well once againe let this foolishnesse be.
And as I told you, so I pray you hold you.
For I will not away, till I set such a stay
To make you gree friendly, that now chafe unkindly.
Come on Strife I finde, your churlish kinde. 820
You must needes bridle, if it be possible,
For els it were vaine, to take any paine.
Take *Tom* by the fist, and let me see him kist.

Strife. If Patience intreat me,
I will though Tom beate me,

T. Tyler. Well wife, I thanke you.

Patience. Nay whither away prank you?
Tom Tayler also, shall you kiss ere you go,
And see you be friends.

Strife. I would he had kist both the endes. 830

Tayler. Nay, there a hoate coale

Patience. Now see this wilde Foale.
Be quiet I pray you, for therefore I stay you.
And Desteny to thee, thou must also agree,
As well as the rest. *Enter Desteny.*

Destenie. I think it so best
Be you agreed all?

Now speak altogether except Patience.

All speak. We are, and we shall.

Patience. Then take hands, and take chance,
And I will lead the dance. 840
Come sing after me, and look we agree.

Here they sing this Song.

A Song.

Patience entreateth good fellows all,
  Where Folly beateth to break their brawll,
Where wills be wilfull, and Fortune thrall,
  A patient party perswadeth all.

Though Strife be sturdy to move debate,
  As some unworthy have done of late.
And he that worst may the candel carry,
  If Patience pray thee, do never varry.

If froward Fortune hap so awrie, 850
  To make thee marry by Destenie,
If fits unkindly do move thy mood,
  Take all things patiently, both ill and good.

Patience perforce if thou endure,
  It will be better thou mayst be sure,
In wealth or wo, howsoever it ends,
  Wheresoever ye go, be patient Friends.

The end of this Song.

Here they all go in, and one cometh out, and singeth this Song following all alone with instruments, and all the rest within sing between every staffe, the first two lines.

The concluding Song.

When sorrowes be great, and hap awry,
Let Reason intreat thee patiently.

A Song.

Though pinching be a privie pain, 860
  To want desire that is but vain.
Though some be curst, and some be kind
  Subdue the worst with patient mind.

Who sits so hie, who sits so low?
  Who feels such joy, that feels no wo?
When bale is bad, good boot is ny
  Take all adventures patiently.

To marrie a sheep, to marrie a shrow,
  To meet with a friend to meet with a foe,
These checks of chance can no man flie, 870
  But God himself that rules the skie.

Which God preserve our Noble Queen,
  From perilous chance that hath been seen,
And send her subjects grace say I
  To serve her Highnesse patiently.

God save the Queen.

XII.—THE EPISODES IN SHAKESPEARE'S *I. HENRY VI.*

The present paper is drawn from a number of notes gradually collected and is intended to be one of a series of studies upon those plays of Shakespeare belonging to his earliest dramatic period. It is a period of vital interest in Shakespeare's work, because artistically it is his formative one and historically it connects our greatest dramatist with his predecessors and with characteristic contemporary fashions and productions.

Whatever may be the exact date on which Shakespeare came to town or began his dramatic career, as is well known, there were three sorts of plays current and fashionable at the time. There was the English history or chronicle play; the Senecan tragedy of blood; and the Plautean comedy of dialogue and situation,—both of these last formed upon classic models. Shakespeare is at first no innovator, but in his beginning work is connected with all these and other modes. *I. Henry VI* is an illustration of the history or chronicle play, closely followed by the Second and Third Parts and by *Richard III.* The example of the tragedy of blood based on Senecan models is *Titus Andronicus*, which, from certain points of view, is a necessary link in the chain of structural and character development from the crude Senecan imitation, through Marlowe's vehement creations and Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, to the masterful *Hamlet* and *Lear*. And thirdly, the *Comedy of Errors* is an adaptation of the bustle and wit of the Plautean comedy of sparkling dialogue and equivocal situation. But comedy was very close to the native English genius. It had perked itself up long before in the face of the sacred background in the *Noah's Wife* and the *Shepherds* of the *Miracle Plays;* and it could not be expected now that a made-to-order pseudo-classic type should pre-

scribe a stiff jacket for constant wearing. *Love's Labour's Lost* may derive ultimately from classic comedy, but is more immediately the product of artificial court-life and manners and speech best associated with the name of John Lyly. Of a phase suggesting the manner of Robert Greene, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* adopted the formal and exaggerated love *versus* friendship romance from some one of its many applications in Southern Europe.

Indeed, if anything seems to be true of the beginner Shakespeare, he is very precocious at trying conclusions with competitors of every sort and catching up any contemporary literary fashion that may be in favor. As he became better acquainted with courtiers and court-life, he wrote for the young nobles, and surely ladies, too, of London and Elizabeth's court two love narratives derived from Ovid: *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece.* And it was probably not far from the same time that the young and now successful poet was led, after well-known imitations of Italian models, to indulge in the first of "his sugred sonnets among his private friends." Such was the spirit of the young Shakespeare in his early work. It is the first natural step in his development into his later individual mastery.

The play of *I. Henry VI.* shows Shakespeare under the influence of one of the earliest of these contemporary literary fashions: he is at work upon the materials for a history drama. A good plea can be made, as it is made by Mr. Halliwell-Phillips and Professor Sarrazin,[1] even if the matter cannot be definitely determined, on behalf of *I. Henry VI.* as the earliest of all the early works ascribed to Shakespeare. Certainly the history play is the form in which Shakespeare's genius first fruited and soonest became exhausted. It cannot have been far from the historic year of the Spanish Armada that Shakespeare began his literary work in London. While

[1] J. O. Halliwell-Phillips: *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1890, 9th ed., vol. I, p. 97. G. Sarrazin: *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre*, 1897.

in isolated existence and in a crude form before, the vogue of the history play, its great temporary popularity and as sudden dying down after ten years of life (1589–1599), can be traced directly to the national feeling evoked by the victories of the English over the Spanish in the eventful year of 1588. The new victories over Spain would naturally recall the ancient glory of the victories of brave Talbot over the French; or the accounts in the chronicles may have been brought afresh to mind by existing disturbances in France. An older play may or may not have existed on the subject. It may be that it is an older play that is referred to by Nash in *Pierce Penniless*, or it may be that it is *I. Henry VI.* In any case, it was a subject that could now be presented and could be counted upon to arouse national spirit and popular enthusiasm. *I. Henry VI.* breathes at every pore this patriotic atmosphere.

Omitting *Henry VIII.*, which was written near the close of the dramatist's career and which occupies a peculiar place in his work, there are nine history plays connected with Shakespeare's name. These fall into two groups closely related in subject, each group consisting of four plays and thus forming a sort of tetralogy. The two tetralogies may be regarded as connected by the remaining play as intermediate in point of development and structure and power of characterization. The first group or tetralogy contains *I.*, *II.*, and *III. Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* This group deals with the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses which culminate in the cruel and monstrous Richard. One wicked king may suggest another, particularly if a play already exists on the subject and can be readily worked over, compressed into shape, and the characters, instead of being pulled about on strings, be made to live. *King John*, therefore, falls between the two groups; and in method of construction and character development is to be compared with the two Richards, one on each hand and both showing the very different influence of Marlowe's two manners. The second

tetralogy goes back in subject to take up the original cause of these fateful quarrels; and this is treated in a freer, broader, and maturer spirit in *Richard II.*, *I.* and *II. Henry IV.*, and *Henry V.* A little offshoot from the Falstaff scenes of Henry IV. is the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The one group ends where the other begins: *Henry V.* closes with the crowning of the king in Paris; *I. Henry VI.* opens with the burial of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey and the woes ensuing from his coronation. The closing words of the Chorus as Epilogue to *Henry V.* seems to lay particular emphasis upon this connection and to take evident pleasure in the thought of work complete, and of a series brought at length to a termination.

Thus considered *I. Henry VI.* becomes a part of an apparently larger and more completely developed whole, and constitutes possibly the first play in Shakespeare's "bending" to prevailing fashions. But the play not only rewards examination in this larger spirit; looked at for itself in structure and form it is no less interesting. An analysis of *I. Henry VI.* shows not the close fusion of parts into a spiritual whole as in a later play like *Much Ado* or *King Lear*, or even in a comparatively early play like the *Merchant of Venice* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* There are not a few passages of no mean rhetorical power, more, indeed, than is generally supposed, but the play as a whole is structurally weak. There is little elaboration of character or development of plot. The play is characterized by the loose putting together of parts; each part being but the result of a succession or stringing together of scenes or episodes.

Briefly and generally stated, just as in the outward form of *The Shrew*, of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of the *Merchant of Venice*, of *Henry IV.*, of *Much Ado about Nothing*, of *King Lear*, of *Cymbeline*—plays taken from very different periods of Shakespeare's work—so in the structure of *I. Henry VI.* there are two leading parts into which the play falls. These

two parts may be generally designated as the Talbot or French portion and the Henry or English portion.

As the Folio edition gives the play there are twenty-seven scenes. By separating the episode of the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk from the Joan episode that immediately precedes, as independent by its very content, there will be twenty-eight. Of these twenty-eight scenes at least sixteen belong to the Talbot part, eight to the Henry part, and the remaining four serve to connect and weld these together. Of these four one is about, and two others intimately concerned with, the Talbot wars; the fourth is the scene of the wooing of Margaret. Also two of the eight Henry scenes transfer the English king to France, and may be treated as connecting scenes; certainly, as will be shown, they bear a peculiar relation one to the other.

The French War or Talbot portion, into which the Joan of Arc scenes naturally fall, is thus apparently the original basis of the play. It is more closely related to the chronicles of Holinshed and Hall, and apart from specific exceptions presently to be noted, is the more archaic in manner and principle. Upon this Talbot part as ground stock is grafted the Henry part—the scenes comprising the quarrels of the nobles. The general jealousy between Gloucester and Winchester—at the Abbey, at the Tower, in the Parliament and in the Palace of the King—passes over into the specific enmity between Plantagenet and Somerset in the Temple Garden, followed at once by the death of Mortimer and bringing in its train all the horrors the factions of the Red and White Roses entail. These are hardly one-half so many as the Talbot scenes, but they are among the longest and most independently developed scenes in the play.

Also the four connecting or welding scenes, which bring the Talbot episodes into connection with the others, are largely independent and free in development. For instance, the long opening scene of the First Act is an introduction to the general situation. The accounts of the three messen-

gers arriving in succession interrupt the quarrels of the nobles and tell of Talbot's distress. By the simple device of the messengers, taken from the old Senecan tragedy to serve as chorus, the English and the French parts are brought together at the opening of the play. Again, into the midst of the Fourth Act, where the death of Talbot is developed out of all due proportion, but in a distinctly elevated strain, by a poet who shows at once both lyric and dramatic power, two other connecting scenes are thrust. Scenes 3 and 4 of this Act are absolutely parallel in construction: Sir William Lucy appeals to both York and Somerset for succor in vain, and the death of Talbot is ascribed not to the French and to Joan, but to the jealousies and quarrels of the parties of the Red and the White Rose. And in the last Act occurs the final connecting scene: the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk. It is an episode of the battlefield; yet it is at the same time but another element of discord among the nobles: Suffolk becomes an influence in moving the King's choice in opposition to Gloucester. But this episode has a deeper significance than helping to connect the Talbot and Henry portions of the drama: it prepares intimately for Parts II. and III. of *Henry VI.*, wherein Margaret and her guilty love fill so large a part. Suffolk's speech:

> "Thus Suffolk hath prevailed; and thus he goes, ...
> Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
> But I will rule both her, the king, and realm"—

are the last words of Part I., and a sombre note is struck as the curtain falls. If ever there was intentional preparation for matter to come, it is surely here. So close is the connection that a recent editor (Donovan) ends the first play prematurely and places the concluding portion of the last scene as the beginning of the Second Part. It is the figure of Margaret, amid the jarring contentions of parties, that moves sombrely through the four plays and binds the first tetralogy into a single whole—one ultimate consistent concep-

tion, though of unequal execution. Unhistorically, but poetically enough, the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk is placed near the close of the First Part of *Henry VI.* and prepares for Parts II. and III. Unhistorically again, the figure of Margaret appears in the fourth play, in *Richard III.*, like a weird figure of Fate, proclaiming curses and vengeance.

Not that the whole plan was seen from the beginning. It gradually grew out of the material at hand. Part I. prepared for Parts II. and III.; Parts II. and III. are intimately connected; and *Richard III.* completed Part III. Or there may have been a different order of writing. So specifically does I. prepare for II. and III. in certain particulars that it is conceivable that I. was written after II. and that III. had been already planned.[1] Without entering here upon the difficult question of the relation of the Quartos to the Folio version of *II.* and *III. Henry VI.*, Parts II. and III. may have existed in an incomplete shape before *I. Henry VI.* assumed its present form. The author saw the dramatic possibilities in these Wars of the Roses in the reign of Henry VI. Part I., therefore, could be made to serve as introduction. The Talbot material already well-known and existing in chronicle form, even if not, as is probable, as an old play, could be compressed, altered, and added to, and other non-chronicle parts introduced. The Henry, and particularly the Margaret, episodes became emphasized to accord with the two plays, the early forms of *II.* and *III. Henry VI.*, already existing. Finally, *Richard III.* served as conclusion, after II. and III. had been put into final form. Such would be a conceivable hypothesis as to the relation of Part I. to Parts II. and III.

At any rate, whatever may be the precise order and dates of these several plays brought in question, the method and spirit of the writing of *I. Henry VI.* hardly admits of doubt.

[1] Mr. Richard Grant White has a suggestion akin to this in his "Essay on the authorship of King Henry the Sixth."

To work up or rewrite the Talbot portions of the Chronicles, probably, though not necessarily, already crystallized into an old play on the triumph of "brave Talbot" over the French, which possessed the hated Joan of Arc scenes and all; to intensify the figure and character of Talbot; to work over or add scenes like those touching Talbot's death; to connect him with the deplorable struggles of the nobles; to invent, by a happy poetical thought, the origin of the factions of the Red and White Roses in the Temple Garden; to sound at once the note of weakness in the king continued in the succeeding Parts, and thus convert the old Talbot material effectually into a Henry VI. drama; and to close with the wooing of Margaret as specific introduction to Part II.,—something like this seems the task that the dramatist set himself to perform.

Such a process as this mingling of themes in *I. Henry VI.* best accounts for obvious difficulties: the confusion of dates, chronological disorders, and more than one bewildering repetition of the same event. The portrayal of the death of Talbot before the marriage of the king to Margaret is historically an anomaly, but dramatically easily understood. Also the return of the Duke of Burgundy to the French occurred historically after the death of Joan and was in no wise caused by her; but there seems to have been some traditional or chronicle authority for the episode, apart from the freshness and spirit of the dramatic conception of the passage. Certain obscurities of reference may likewise be the result of the condensation of the old Talbot parts, just as in *King John* some of the deeds and words of the Bastard Faulconbridge are to be referred to the older play for proper understanding. Such may be a possible explanation of a vagueness in the presentation of the figures of the Master Gunner and his Boy, and of certain peculiarities in the structure of the Joan episodes as well as in the conception of the character of Joan herself. There is a seeming contradiction or anomaly in two references to Winchester as

Cardinal in the First and Fifth Acts respectively. In the quarrel at the Tower in Act I., when Gloucester wishes to stamp the Cardinal's hat under his feet, Winchester is addressed as Cardinal. In Act V. Exeter is surprised to know that Winchester is become Cardinal and to see the habiliments of office:

> "What! is my Lord of Winchester install'd
> And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?"

There is suggested at once that some of the contradictions and repetitions in the play can hardly be due to anything else than to writing over existing dramatic material in new forms and keeping some parts of the old side by side. The strongest internal evidence of the probable existence of an older Talbot play seems to rest here; although one must be careful in drawing too rigid conclusions from the structure of a play that admittedly belongs to a formative period and nowhere applies very closely the laws of sequence and consistency.

As explained the opening scene of the play seems to serve for connecting the two main parts or plots of the drama. The narrative of the messengers jumbles together events wide apart in order to set forth the sum total of results. The capture of cities at various stages of the war and in different years are dramatically brought together in one breath. The method is not that of narrative or chronicle, but chronicle transformed into drama. So far good; for this is the usual procedure of the chronicle play. But the content of the third messenger's speech touches material that is later specifically enacted in Acts II. and III.: he relates the circumstances of Talbot's valor and, in sharp contrast therewith, the story of Fastolfe's cowardice:

> .... "valiant Talbot above human thought
> Enacted wonders with his sword and lance:
> Hundreds he sent to hell, and none durst stand him;
> Here, there, and every where, enraged he flew:
> The French exclaim'd, the devil was in arms;

> All the whole army stood agazed on him:
> His soldiers spying his undaunted spirit
> A Talbot! a Talbot! cried out amain
> And rush'd into the bowels of the battle.
> Here had the conquest fully been seal'd up,
> If Sir John Fastolfe had not play'd the coward:
> He, being in the vaward, placed behind
> With purpose to relieve and follow them,
> Cowardly fled, not having struck one stroke." (I. i. 121–134.)

This is reported as having occurred upon "Retiring from the siege of Orleans." Now Scene I. of the following Act is laid "before Orleans." In close agreement with Holinshed and Hall, the stage directions read: "Cry: 'St. George,' 'A Talbot.' The French leap over the walls in their shirts;" and the Bastard of Orleans comments: "I think this Talbot be a fiend of hell" (II. i. 38–46). The same episode is once more repeated a few lines further: "Alarum. Enter an English Soldier, crying 'A Talbot! a Talbot!' They fly, leaving their clothes behind;" while one of the English soldiers declares, "The cry of Talbot serves me for a sword" (II. i. 77–81). The scene in Act II. seems to be the older, upon which is based the Messenger episode. The account of the Messenger is written for the special purpose of introducing the play, and the two versions are allowed to stand side by side in succeeding Acts. Indeed, all the accounts of Talbot's deeds of valor, multiplied, as if to gain force by iteration, bear a general resemblance.

But the four mystifying repetitions of Fastolfe's cowardice attest even more pointedly this working-over process. The several incidents seem to have been drawn from an episode in an old play based upon the Chronicles, and perhaps still need the old play to be perfectly explained. As related, the Messenger recounts the Fastolfe episode in the opening scene, as happening when the English were "retiring from the siege of Orleans." There it is narrative. Upon release as prisoner, Talbot himself expresses the same feelings about Fastolfe crying out in utter indignation:

> "But, O! the treacherous Fastolfe wounds my heart,
> Whom with my bare fists I would execute,
> If I now had him brought into my power." (I. iv. 35–37.)

This is in perfect accord with the narration of the Messenger and is evidently connected with the latter. It is one of Talbot's first utterances after appearing on the stage. It occurs in the scene with the obscure Master Gunner and his Boy. It interrupts the sequence like a passionate outburst, and stands isolated. Taking this remark with the spirited second speech containing the extravagant description[1] of Talbot's treatment among the French there is the feeling that both speeches have been worked over and intensified, consistently with what the Messenger has told, to gain a stronger impression of Talbot's character.

In this aspect the second reference to Fastolfe is directly dependent upon the first. This cannot be said of the third, however. Act III. enacts before our eyes the scene already told of and once again referred to in Act I. It is incorporated in the second scene and is supposed to occur this time before Rouen.

[1] "In open market-place produced they me,
To be a public spectacle to all:
Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
The scarecrow that affrights our children so.
Then broke I from the officers that led me,
And with my nails digg'd stones out of the ground,
To hurl at the beholders of my shame:
My grisly countenance made others fly;
None durst come near for fear of sudden death.
In iron walls they deem'd me not secure;
So great fear of my name 'mongst them was spread
That they supposed I could rend bars of steel
And spurn in pieces posts of adamant:
Wherefore a guard of chosen shot I had
That walked about me every minute while;
And if I did but stir out of my bed,
Ready they were to shoot me to the heart." (I. iv. 40–56.)

"An alarum: excursions. Enter Sir John Fastolfe and a Captain.

Cap. Whither away, Sir John Fastolfe, in such haste?
Fast. Whither away! to save myself by flight:
We are like to have the overthrow again.
Cap. What! will you fly, and leave Lord Talbot?
Fast. Ay,
All the Talbots in the world to save my life. [Exit.
Cap. Cowardly knight! ill fortune follow thee!" [Exit.
(III. ii. 104–108.)

Fourth and last, in the first scene of Act IV., which, as we shall see later, shows other signs of having been developed from the scene immediately preceding (III. 4), by the addition of new material and a fresh spirit, there is still another account of the Fastolfe incident. It is this last account that follows the details of the Chronicle most closely. As Fastolfe bears a letter from the recreant Duke of Burgundy to the young English king, Talbot tears the Garter from Fastolfe's leg and bursts forth:

"Shame to the Duke of Burgundy and thee!
I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
To tear the garter from thy craven's leg, . . . ,
This dastard, at the battle of Patay, ...
Like to a trusty squire did run away. . . ." (IV. i. 13–26.)

The Chronicle supports Talbot in placing the occurrence at the battle of Patay. True, the Folio has "Poitiers," but this is an obvious slip. But in the play the episode is given not once but thrice and as occurring at different places. Clearly all instances grew from one.

The tribute to the Knights of the Garter, that, it is needless to say, has no parallel in the Chronicle and presumably also not in the older play, and which Shakespeare again touches upon in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, seems to have been the particular occasion for this last special mention of the Fastolfe episode. In it Talbot reaches a patriotic strain as distinct, if not yet so noble, as the spirit of Faulconbridge in *King John* and of the dying John of Gaunt in *Richard II*. It was this Fastolfe episode that Shakespeare seems still to

have had in mind, when, later, in *Henry IV.*, his creative power, no longer shackled by the mechanical necessity of piling scene on scene, made apparently out of this germ certain of the Falstaff scenes. From Sir John Fastolfe to Sir John Falstaff is a slight change in letters—a change actually made by the Folio spelling, which has "Falstaffe"—and at least one of the spellings in the Chronicles also transposes the l and the s. After "Oldcastle" had been given up, and another name looked for, here was one at hand. And the running away at Shrewsbury is not very unlike the running away at Patay; yet what a difference in the genius of the two! Another point of contact may be mentioned. Henry VI. dismisses Fastolfe in these words:

> "Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight:
> Henceforth we banish thee, on pain of death." (IV. i. 46, 47.)

There was a fat, white-haired old knight to whom another royal speech was made:

> "I know thee not, old man: fall to thy prayers; . . .

and with the very words:

> "I banish thee, on pain of death."
> (Second Henry IV., V. v.)

As intimated, the freely developed scene i of Act IV. bears a curious relation to the final short scene of Act III. The two scenes must be reckoned together. In the tabular statement above they were counted as belonging to the Henry and English portion; but with perhaps better reason they would be treated as welding and connecting parts. Both have the King in Paris; both have identically the same actors; both have the same two situations, viz., Talbot's interview with the King, and the quarrel of Vernon and Bassett, the followers respectively of York and Somerset. But the second scene is developed far beyond the former, and the spirit of the two is equally different. One is condensed and compressed; the other elaborated and heightened by fresh details. In place

of the former bareness, in the new scene the King is ready for coronation and a fictitious Governor of Paris, who, however, does not appear, is addressed. Gloucester takes a prominent part in directing; Talbot throws the insult upon Fastolfe, for the fourth time repeated, and pays the tribute to the Knights of the Garter; the disaffection of the Duke of Burgundy is discussed in council and a plan of action determined upon; Vernon and Bassett, the respective champions of York and Somerset, lay their quarrel in detail before the King, whereupon even fiery, immoderate Gloucester becomes for the nonce peacemaker:

> "Confounded be your strife!
> And perish ye, with your audacious prate!"
> (IV. i. 123, 124.)

The King has his chance to "play the orator," not unlike the later opening scene of *Richard II.*, seeking to quiet the strife of subjects; and Exeter's prophetic notes close the episode. A well-packed and strong scene it is, unquestionably. The newer scene seems to have been suggested by and worked out of the former; but even after this had been done the former crude and undeveloped one was still left side by side as introductory.

There are other indications that point to the existence of an older Talbot play. The Talbot portion of the play stands generally much lower in spirit and in average excellence. Some part of this impression comes from its necessary character. The bustle and confusion of battle, the passing in and out of English and French soldiers, the scraps of French, the cheap references to classic mythology and tradition—all combine to give an archaic impression to the style. The many references to "Hunger" are an almost necessary implication from the scenes of war and are touches possibly derived from an older Talbot play. They can hardly be, as Professor Sarrazin seems almost to intimate, a reflex of Shakespeare's own starving condition in his early London years. Likewise,

the religious expressions that fall from Talbot's lips, natural as they are for intensifying one who was the chief hero of an old play, have an archaic sound and are apparently stray notes from older material. Luther-like, Talbot exclaims (II. i. 26), "God is our fortress;" and in his report to the King in the clearly older of the two scenes discussed (III. iv. 11, 12), he

> "Ascribes the glory of his conquest got
> First to my God and next unto your grace."

Quite out of the same intense spirit of narrow patriotism would come the crude, disdainful and insulting references to the enemy, all belonging to the French war episodes. In this way is best understood the conception of the Joan of Arc scenes. All of the few touches added here and there to her characterization seem fresher and more modern. Many of the barer references to the simple home and country life of the day could also possibly be traced back to older material. It is not the reference in itself to the country and to Nature, but the aptness and freshness and spirit that we feel is the mark of the young Shakespeare. The illustrations may be seen in the quotations collected by Professor Sarrazin in his excellent monograph on *I. Henry VI.* in *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre,* although the author is not inclined to make any such distinctions. But a difference in treatment in different parts is very evident, which shows at least tendencies and influences.

The scenes of the Talbot portions are usually derived from the chronicles of Holinshed and Hall, the epitaph of Talbot, and probably one or two other isolated sources;[1] and the frequent compressions and omissions, and occasional expansions, may best be explained, as in *King John,* by the intervention of an intermediate play. Such an expansion is the episode of the Countess of Auvergne. The episode is

[1] See *Shakespeare's Holinshed,* by W. G. Boswell-Stone, 1896, which gives in detail the treatment of the sources in the play as we now have it.

not found in Holinshed and Hall, and as the play stands, it is both clumsily and unnecessarily introduced. It is prominent in position, but unsatisfactory in effect. It is designed to emphasize Talbot's valor and resource, as would befit a play specifically on Talbot's bravery, but seems too crude to have been developed of itself from the context and by the creator of the two scenes that immediately follow: the plucking of the roses in the Temple Garden and the death of Mortimer. The episode seems based on an old *motif* and recalls similar traditions from the Robin Hood and Alexander[1] legends, and the Samson and Delilah story in the Bible. It concludes scene ii and fills all of scene iii in Act II. The obsequies of Salisbury over, the usual Senecan figure of the Messenger enters and inquires for "the warlike Talbot." The Queen of Sheba desired to see Solomon in all his glory, and "the virtuous lady, Countess of Auvergne," craves the presence of Talbot in her castle. This close of scene ii is the introduction to the scene that follows. The countess gives her porter instructions:

> "The plot is laid: if all things fall out right,
> I shall as famous be by this exploit
> As Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus' death." (II. iii. 4–6.)

Talbot securely within doors, she calls him her prisoner; but the hero 'winds his horn,' his soldiers break in, and the Countess and her plotters are confounded. Not, however, before the Countess and Talbot have indulged in a quibble on the conceit of "the shadow" and "the substance."

> *Countess:* Long time thy shadow hath been thrall to me. . . .
> But now thy substance shall endure the like. . . .
> . . . .
> *Talbot:* No, no, I am but shadow of myself;
> You are deceived, my substance is not here; . . . etc.
> (II. iii. 36–63.)

[1] In the *Wars of Alexander*, edited by W. W. Skeat, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XLVII, pp. 264–265, Alexander is taken prisoner by Candace and quails before her. As in the story of Delilah the episode shows the woman's wit rather than the hero's resource.

It is a quibble that Hamlet engages in with his Wittenberg university friends, Guildenstern and Rosencrantz, though not at such intolerable length, and Schmidt's Lexicon will show many others. We are almost on the ground of the verbal quibbles in *Love's Labour's Lost, Comedy of Errors,* and other early comedies; only, bad as many of these latter are, they are fresher and more concise in treatment. It may be that the young Shakespeare found this episode in the old play and with the inveterate love for word-punning in his early work, sounded the many changes on these words. In a later scene in the play the same figure is again employed—this time more happily and poetically—in connection with the terms of peace offered to the French King:

> "Must he be then as shadow of himself?
> Adorn his temples with a coronet,
> And yet in substance and authority,
> Retain but privilege of a private man?"
>
> (V. iv. 133–136.)

In one or two places in the Joan episodes expansions and additions beyond the chronicle narrative can be observed. In Joan's first appearance at the French Court there are one or two lines of freshness, of which distinctly the best are those of the concluding speech, I. ii.:

> "Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days,
> Since I have entered into these wars.
> Glory is like a circle in the water
> Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
> Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought."
>
> (I. ii. 131–135.)

But it is in the interview with the Duke of Burgundy (III. iii.) that Joan is at her best. She breathes a patriotic spirit in appealing to his love of country, his pride, his self-interest, to return to the bosom of his bleeding land. The patriotism is as marked, albeit in a greater lyric strain befitting the woman's voice, as the martial tone of Talbot in the Garter scene before the Knights of England. The episode

has something of the spirit of the best scenes, but its effect is immediately destroyed by the exclamation: "Done like a Frenchman: turn, and turn again!" Here we are back at the old commonplace again!

The interview between Joan and her father (V. iv. ll. 2–33) is also not in the Chronicle. The thirty lines undoubtedly display something of the same pathos between parent and child that the death-scene of Talbot shows. It is a development, but just as the Countess of Auvergne episode is a development. Compared with the enthusiasm of Talbot's feelings in the corresponding scene, it seems archaic in spirit and method, and apparently with the other Joan episodes must be based upon the older Talbot material. Joan's soliloquy (V. iii), calling upon "ye charming spells and periapts," is in the same category. It falls far below the very little later Shakespeare, as it falls below Schiller's lyric monologue in the *Jungfrau*, which was yet evidently inspired by it.

The death of Talbot and the tenderness and love of the hero for his son gave the poet—creator or reviser—opportunity for extended idyllic treatment. Scenes ii to vii inclusive, of the Fourth Act, fall together for this purpose. They are developed out of the Talbot parts, and in contrast with the compression and obscurity at other points have been worked out in the fullest detail. The work is done, too, in a way to effect a closer union between the Talbot and the Henry portions. The first of the six scenes strikes the note of those to follow: it consists of three solemn speeches, by Talbot, by the opposing General who is not named, and again by Talbot. The thought is a repetition, a summary of the ideas as to Talbot's character, already often expressed, but here more highly figurative and poetic. There is a softer and more flexible spirit brought out than in the stern Talbot we have had before, and it finds fitting lyric expression. Talbot's comparison of his position with

> "A little herd of England's timorous deer,
> Mazed with a yelping kennel of French curs!"
> (IV. ii. 46, 47.)

stirs a sympathetic note.

The next two scenes are mere pendants, each necessary for the other, but in themselves serving only to develop the episode of the death and draw out the closing scenes to greater length so as to become more effective. In each Sir William Lucy enters; he urges York in the one and Somerset in the other to haste to the aid of Talbot; but mutual jealousy keeps them still. Thus Talbot's fate is dramatically determined by the quarrel of the roses in the Temple Garden:

> "The fraud of England, not the force of France,
> Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot."
> (IV. iv. 36, 37.]

It is one of the first blights of the struggle between the Red and the White Rose.

Again, scene v and scene vi are parallel. The two scenes portray at length the love of father and son, and prepare for the climax reserved for the last scene. It seems as if the poet wished to dwell upon the circumstance and to repeat himself again and again. The dialogue between father and son reveals this elaboration. It begins in blank verse, but quickly turns into rime, and into rime for a purpose: to bring out the lyrical accent of the lament. It is as if after the first speech between the two in blank verse, the idea must be iterated and reiterated, and rime is necessary for this. It is at this point in scene v that the feeling seems to reach a climax. It is a Damon and Pythias or David and Jonathan sort of friendship, almost more than the tie that binds father and son, which finds lyrical expression. In its repetition of various phases and elaboration of the sentiment it recalls the strong scene between father and son in the rugged, early Brome play of Abraham and Isaac. The expression of the mutual love and devotion of father and son is strengthened by the conscious form employed: the stichomythia or rapid

succession of speech and reply united to rime. The intensifying effect is evident:

> *Tal.* "If we both stay, we both are sure to die.
> *John.* Then let me stay; and, father, do you fly. . . .
> *Tal.* Shall all thy mother's hopes lie in one tomb?
> *John.* Ay, rather than I'll shame my mother's womb.
> *Tal.* Upon my blessing, I command thee go.
> *John.* To fight I will, but not to fly the foe.
> *Tal.* Part of thy father may be saved in thee.
> *John.* No part of him but will be shame in me." (IV. v. 20–39.)

The two scenes have the same situation; except that one is before battle and the other in the midst of it. The very repetition strikes a deeper note and emphasizes the desperateness of the situation.

Last scene of all is the death of both son and father. The comparison with Icarus is repeated, and Talbot's last words over his fallen son are full of the conceits of metaphysical poetry, characteristic of passages in this play, in many of the early undoubted Shakespeare plays, as well as in other productions of the time:

> "Brave death by speaking, whether he will or no;
> Imagine him a Frenchman and thy foe.
> Poor boy! he smiles, methinks, as who should say,
> Had death been French, then death had died to-day. . . .
> Soldiers, adieu! I have what I would have,
> Now my old arms are young John Talbot's grave."
> (IV. vii. 25–32.)

All the critics have pointed out the similarity of this last line to a passage in Part III., and of both to a line in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta:* "These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre" (l. 1160).

In the divisions into scenes, this scene might have ended here, and a new one have begun. The reference to the quarrels of York and Somerset gives the connection. The cry of the father's love for his child, however overwrought and extravagant, is the clearest single note struck in the whole play amid the jar of quarrels and the rush of battle.

Yet how far away we are from Lear's cry over Cordelia dead in his arms:

> "Howl, howl, howl, howl! O, you are men of stones:
> Had I your tongues and eyes, I'ld use them so
> That Heaven's vault should crack. She's gone forever!"
> (V. iii. 257–259.)

Repetitions of episodes and situations become so frequent in the play that they are a characteristic feature of the structure and style. The repetition is often avowed and of purpose; sometimes it is derived from old forms of the Senecan tragedy and designed as a mere accumulation of horror or intensifying of effect. Take the device of the three messengers in Act I., scene i., coming in one after another recounting disasters. Misfortunes never come single. This is repeated in *Richard III.* where there are four messengers instead of three. Also in *Richard III.* there are two wooing scenes under similar revolting conditions; three women sitting in a row lamenting the taking off of their dear ones; and the long array of ghosts that pass Richard's tent in solemn pageant. In this sort of tragedy mere number counts.

In *I. Henry VI.* there are numerous examples of both avowed and unconscious repetition. In Act I., scene iv Talbot soliloquizes over "Old Salisbury," "mirror of all martial men," with the usual conceits of style:

> "One eye thou hast, to look to heaven for grace:
> The sun with one eye vieweth all the world." (I. iv. 83, 84.)

In Act II., scene ii. Talbot performs the obsequies of Salisbury in Orleans. In the corresponding scene of the next act (III. ii.) he orders the obsequies of Bedford in Rouen:

> "A braver soldier never couched lance,
> A gentler heart did never sway in court."
> (III. ii. 134, 135.)

Act III., scene i. closes with a didactic soliloquy of Exeter's, who, like a chorus for the play, comments on the dissentions among the nobles:

"As fester'd members rot but by degree,
Till bones and flesh and sinews fall away,
So will this base and envious discord breed."
(III. i. 192–194.)

Precisely one act later the first scene of Act IV. closes in the same way: Exeter is again alone and soliloquizes on division and discord.

Nearly all the scenes have the same construction and end in formal monologues, or summarizing or anticipatory speeches. The first scene of the First Act closes formally as it was introduced: with a speech parallel in structure from each of the four Dukes who introduce the scene as mourners about Henry's funeral, aptly characterized by Mr. Wendell as an "operatic quartette."[1] In Act I. the French King Charles closes ii. and iv.; Talbot iv. and v., the latter a monologue; the Mayor of London, who is made a comical figure, iii. In Act II., scenes iv. and v. are both closed by Plantagenet, the latter in formal monologue form. In Act III., scene i. ends with Exeter's soliloquy; ii. with Talbot's tribute to Bedford. In Act IV., i. ends with Exeter's soliloquy again; iii. and iv. with Sir William Lucy; and ii., v., vi., and the death scene in vii. with Talbot. In Act V., iii. and v. end with Suffolk and iv. with York.

Exeter's genius at presaging evil is apparent, and he recalls a prophecy of ill on Henry:

"Which in the time of Henry named the Fifth
Was in the mouth of every sucking babe." (III. i. 196, 197.)

In a later act he recalls another prophecy on Cardinal Winchester:

"Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy,
'If once he came to be a cardinal,
He'll make his cap co-equal with the crown.'" (V. i. 31–33.)

There are other prophecies in the play. King Henry remembers a speech of his father, dramatically justified in the

[1] Barrett Wendell: *William Shakspere*, 1894, p. 78.

tenor of the play, but actually incongruous, as the young king was but "an infant nine months old" at Henry V.'s death.

The greatest prophecy is that of Warwick in the Temple Garden (II. iv. 124–127); and this is answered in York's spirited outburst of rhetoric in the last Act addressed to Warwick and anticipating other tragedies to come:

> "Is all our travail turn'd to this effect?
> . . . .
> O, Warwick! Warwick! I foresee with grief
> The utter loss of all the realm of France."
> (V. iv. 102–112.)

The most poetical instance of this distinct monologue form is in the scene freely invented, where the dying Mortimer is brought in on a chair by his gaolers at the Tower. Everything in these words seem frankly Shakespearean:

> "Kind keepers of my weak, decaying age,
> Let dying Mortimer here rest himself.
> Even like a man new haled from the rack,
> So fare my limbs with long imprisonment;
> And these grey locks, the pursuivants of death,
> Nestor-like aged in an age of care,
> Argue the end of Edmund Mortimer. . . .
> Just death, kind umpire of men's miseries,
> With sweet enlargement doth dismiss me hence."
> (II. v. 1–16; 28–30.)

The scene closes with the same soliloquy form, this time by Richard Plantagenet:

> "And peace, no war, befall thy parting soul!
> In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage
> And like a hermit overpass'd thy days. . . .
> Here dies the dusky torch of Mortimer,
> Choked with ambition of the meaner sort."
> (II. v. 115–117; 122, 123.)

Tenderness between parent and child is a thought reiterated: strongest between Talbot and young John, it is expressed by the father of Joan towards his child, and intimated in the slightly developed figures of the Master Gunner and his Boy.

Quarrels break out everywhere. Those between Gloucester and Winchester sound above the laments over the dead king at his funeral in the Abbey. They break out afresh at the Tower, in the Parliament House at the coronation, even at the end in the King's Palace, and continue into Part II. It is only a reflection and intensifying of this first quarrel to introduce the later quarrels of the Red and White Roses; and after the chief scene in the Temple Garden between Somerset and Plantagenet, it is the veritablest echo to have the entirely superfluous quarrel of their followers, Vernon and Bassett, and, too, unnecessarily repeated.

The two scenes between Gloucester and Winchester at the Tower and at the Parliament are closely alike in their structural development. The same situation with Gloucester and Winchester and their followers is repeated, but in the second instance the hurly-burly is only a part of a larger and more complex situation. One prepared for the other and suggested merely certain features. The hurly-burly between the followers of Gloucester and Winchester is as noisy as the quarrels of the Montagu and Capulet factions in the streets of Verona, and the Mayor, drawn as a comical figure and as clownish as the Serving Men he chides, rushes in in both scenes to put an end to the uproar:

> "Good God, these nobles should such stomachs bear!
> I myself fight not once in forty year." (I. iii. 89, 90.)

Again he complains:

> "Our windows are broke down in every street
> And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops."
> (III. i. 84, 85.)

Probably enough the Mayor and the corporation, in deserving this portraiture, were not altogether favorable to the theatre companies. The attitude of the play towards the mob, "the many headed multitude," is the same as that in the Jack Cade scenes in Part II., the same attitude as in *Henry IV.*, in *Julius Caesar*, and in *Coriolanus*.

The Temple Garden scene is a new and specific development of the old quarrel among the nobles. For the rest of the play the double quarrels exist side by side, those of Gloucester and Winchester yielding in interest to those between Somerset and Plantagenet. The poetical happiness of the episode of the plucking of the Red and White Roses has been often admired. Analyzed it contains the usual stylistic and metrical characteristics of the undoubted early Shakespeare plays. It is full of plays on words, uses of conceits, epithets, comparisons, antitheses, repartee, stichomythia, and various figures of speech and rhetorical tricks—the characteristics [1] generally of the Henry and English portions of the play. Warwick's speech in his indisposition to commit himself, is characteristic of this freshness of spirit: [2]

> "Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;
> Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;
> Between two blades, which bears the better temper;
> Between two horses, which doth bear him best;
> Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye;
> I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgement; . . .
> But in these nice, sharp quillets of the law,
> Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw." (II. iv. 11–18.)

An apt illustration of the elaboration of a conceit may be found in the retort of Somerset and Vernon [the plucking of the red and the white roses is referred to]:

[1] Illustrations of the metrical and rhetorical peculiarities of the play are abundantly given in the pages of Professor Sarrazin: *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre*, 1897; Goswin König: *Der Vers in Shakspere's Dramen*, 1888; Leopold Wurth: *Das Wortspiel bei Shakspere*, 1895; M. Basse: *Stijlaffectatie bij Shakespeare*, 1895; G. Kramer: *Die Anwendung der Stichomythie neben Gleichklang bei Shakespeare.*

[2] This speech of Warwick and Talbot's comparison of his position with "a little head of England's timorous deer," on page 308, are the two passages cited at the meeting of the Modern Language Association by Prof. Hulme from Madden's *Diary of Master William Silence.* See *Modern Language Notes*, Feb. 1900. Both passages occur in the parts clearly added and worked into the older play, according to the foregoing analysis.

> *Som.* Prick not your fingers as you pluck it off,
> Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red
> And fall on my side so, against your will.
>
> *Vern.* If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,
> Opinion shall be surgeon to my heart
> And keep me on the side where still I am.
> (II. iv. 49–54.)

And this spirited manner of speech continues through many lines.

Most of the critics ordinarily speak of the rose scene as poetical and worthy of Shakespeare, but give less thought to the following one of the dying Mortimer and hardly any to the Parliament scene that comes hard upon this in opening a new Act. Yet, from an investigation by one of my students, all three scenes, which belong to the Henry portion of the play, seem to agree very nearly in uniformity of mere mechanical and metrical execution. The real difference lies in the poetic opportunity that a certain scene by virtue of its inherent poetical character must possess—an opportunity which, amid the weltering material of the play, the playwright made for himself.

The fifth and last scene of Act II., portraying the death of Mortimer, belongs intimately to its predecessor, the Temple Garden scene, as further explanatory. It is unhistoric in setting, and like its forerunner, its creation is purely for a dramatic purpose. After the exciting scene in the Temple Garden Plantagenet hastens to the Tower to greet his imprisoned uncle, Mortimer, and to receive his dying benedictions. In a weak and dying state Mortimer is brought on the stage like the dying John of Gaunt in *Richard II.* and the persecuted Queen Katharine in *Henry VIII.* The insertion of the genealogy, as reason for the contention in the Garden and for future struggles, is a method repeated in later history plays, notably in *Henry V.*, under similar compunction. It is a union of dramatic and epic offices like the part of the Chorus and follows older Senecan tradition.

The figure of Richard Plantagenet, as does that of Warwick, connects the First Part intimately with Part III., as the two pairs of characters, Gloucester and Winchester, Suffolk and Margaret, connect it closely with Part II. Something like Hamlet, Plantagenet affirms near the close of this scene:

> "Well, I will lock his counsel in my breast;
> And what I do imagine let that rest." (II. v. 118–119.)

It is a fitting inheritance; for it is Plantagenet's son who is the terrible Gloucester of Part III. and the monstrous Richard III.

In the Parliament scene both sets of quarrels are dramatically brought together. A seeming reconciliation is patched up between Gloucester and Winchester; and the ideal villainy of Shakespeare is represented, that of dissimulation:

> "*Glou.* So help me God, as I dissemble not!
> *Win.* [*Aside.*] So help me God, as I intend it not!"
> (III. i. 140, 141.)

It is the method of Aaron the Moor and Tamora in *Titus Andronicus*, of Richard III., of Don John in *Much Ado*, of Iago, and of the latter's diminutive in devilishness, Iachimo. In the general aversion shown towards Cardinal Winchester, a feeling that reaches its height in the death scene in Part II., we are reminded of the disinclination portrayed towards a greater Cardinal in *Henry VIII.*[1] One quarrel thus seemingly sealed, by a clever dramatic touch the other, smouldering, breaks out at the same moment. It is determined by the King and an apparently united council on Plantagenet's behalf:

[1] Were Shakespeare not the most objective and least personal of all writers, we could imagine we might almost trace the Reformer in this portrayal, strengthened as it is by the religious individualism left standing in Talbot's religious exclamations cited above (p. 304). But as much or more could be brought on the other side, and it is always safest in principle to consider the dramatic effectiveness of scenes, and not fancy any possible personal or symbolical interpretation.

> "That Richard be restored to his blood. . . .
> And rise created princely Duke of York."
> (III. i. 159, 173.)

All shout in seeming unison, but precisely like the Cardinal before, Somerset, remembering the Temple Garden scene, mutters a dissent:

> "*All.* Welcome, high prince, the mighty Duke of York!
> *Som.* [*Aside*]. Perish, base prince, ignoble Duke of York!"
> (III. i. 177, 178.)

The evident use of stichomythia, together with word and sound repetition in both instances, heightens the intended antithesis. But, as in others of Shakespeare's early plays, it is an effect of opera rather than that of pure drama.

The young King is not introduced until the Parliament scene in Act III., although his name is given to the play in its present form. And justly so, as in the title rôle of the *Merchant of Venice* and of *Julius Caesar*. All the dissensions among the nobles, those of Gloucester and Winchester, and of Plantagenet and Somerset, cluster about Henry. The Talbot portion has become subordinated to him, as it becomes associated with him and his history. The spirit of the King's weakness, of his scrupulous religiousness, of his oratorical, poetic, and philosophic gifts, emphasized in Parts II. and III., are all intimated in Part I. As the struggles of the Parliament scene rage about him, his first speech, chiding Gloucester and Winchester, reveals his delicate and susceptible nature, finding expression in moralizings and dissertations:

> "O, what a scandal is it to our crown,
> That two such noble peers as ye should jar!"
> (III. i. 69, 70.)

And again:

> "O, how this discord doth afflict my soul!" (III. i. 106.)

But he is both too young and too weak to effect a conclusion. One act later (IV. i.), when the Plantagenet and Somerset quarrel is repeated in miniature by their followers,

Vernon and Bassett, the King fearful for all differences of opinion, again strives for quiet, but as a poet:

> "Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife.
> I see no reason, if I wear this rose [*Putting on a red rose*],
> That any one should therefore be suspicious,
> I more incline to Somerset than York:
> Both are my kinsmen, and I love them both." (IV. i. 151–155.)

This is the fatal action that determines York's hostility to the King—an opposition that ends only with the death of Richard on Bosworthfield. Small wonder there is the comment of Warwick:

> "My Lord of York, I promise you, the king
> Prettily, methought, did play the orator."

To which York replies:

> "And so he did; but yet I like it not,
> In that he wears the badge of Somerset.
> *Warwick.* Tush, that was but his fancy, blame him not;
> I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm.
> *York.* An if I wist he hid—but let it rest; . . ."
> (IV. ii. 174–180.)

It is the same "sweet prince," who "thought no harm," that in Part III., in another "fancy," could sit on a hillside, and wish himself, not with poor brain-troubled Lear, "every inch a king," but a silly swain:

> "Ah, what a life were this! how sweet! how lovely!"
> (II. v. 41.)

Do we ask about the authorship of the play? We cannot be too sure. There are too many difficulties on all sides to be too dogmatic in any conclusion. It seems folly to suppose with Mr. Fleay[1] that individual lines and scenes can with any degree of certainty be awarded to A and B and C and

[1] F. G. Fleay: *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, 1886.

D and E. Mr. Richard Grant White,[1] like others, became absorbed in the many delicate questions involved in Parts II. and III. and found little space to devote to Part I., but adhered in a general way to A, B, C, and D. Mr. Swinburne's[2] eloquent denunciation is the feeling of a poet, but is clearly susceptible of limitations. As Professor Sarrazin[3] has pointed out, the Talbot figure in the play seems to have derived an impulse from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and the tenderness of father and son recalls episodes in the *Spanish Tragedy* of Kyd. Also there is a wooing of another Margaret by proxy in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay;* and the sentiment of the couplet,

> "She's beautiful and therefore to be woo'd;
> She is a woman, therefore to be won"— (V. iii. 77, 98.)

again repeated in both *Titus Andronicus* and *Richard III.*, has been traced to Greene's *Planetomachia.* But we are not bound to conclude joint authorship of all these and others, but only influence, as Prof. Sarrazin wisely suggests. But he, it seems, returning to the view of Charles Knight,[4] wishes to accept every word, every line and every circumstance, as traceable to Shakespeare. This, in turn, may go too far; for certain parts of the French and Joan scenes at least may have been left virtually unchanged, if we accept the intervention of an older Talbot play. Mr. Dowden[5] believes it

[1] R. G. White: *Essay on the authorship of the three parts of King Henry the Sixth;* Vol. VII of "Works of William Shakespeare," 1859.

[2] A. C. Swinburne: *A Study of Shakespeare*, 3d edition, 1895.

[3] G. Sarrazin: *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre*, 1897.

[4] Charles Knight: *Pictorial Edition of Shakespeare, Supplement to Histories*, Vol. II.

[5] Edward Dowden: *Shakspere Primer*, 1877, p. 62. In the *Introduction to Shakespeare*, 1895, Mr. Dowden expresses the same opinion: "The authorship of the first part of Henry VI. is not ascertained; it probably received additions from Shakespeare's hand; ... it is essentially pre-Shakespearian."

Mr. Sidney Lee, in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, 1898, p. 59, helps us but little further: "In 'The First Part of Henry VI.' the scene in the Temple Gardens, where white and red roses are plucked as emblems by

"is almost certainly an old play, by one or more authors, which . . . . had received touches from the hands of Shakspere," but enters upon no details. Other recent commentators follow in the paths of the older ones, get around the obstructions they see ahead as best they can, and by ignoring the difficulties, have little or nothing to say.

My own endeavor has been to see what can be found, by an analysis, in the play itself. If the apparent results, gained by a study of the structure, can be accepted; if there be an original Talbot portion, based either on an older play or directly upon the chronicles, adapted and strengthened by dramatic emphasis upon Talbot's character and Talbot's death, and expanded into a Henry VI. drama, and thus given a place in a larger tetralogy;—the person ordering this material and effecting these changes, in other words, the real creator of the play as it stands, could well be Shakespeare near the beginning of his art. At least one principle is clear. By a study of the earliest plays attributed to Shakespeare, for themselves and in their historic and comparative relations, there will be found to be more and more points in common with the Shakespeare of the later plays;—not yet in the fulness of his power, but at any rate with suggestions of the method, structure, habit of thought, characterization, and art of the master to be.

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the rival political parties (Act II., sc. iv.), the dying speech of Mortimer, and perhaps the wooing of Margaret by Suffolk, alone bear the impress of his style." This is in substantial agreement with what Mr. Dowden had already said in his *Primer*. It is unfortunate that neither Mr. Dowden's nor Mr. Lee's plan permitted the critic to enter upon a detailed discussion of the play.

XIII.—THE GERMANIC SUFFIX *-AR-JA.*

Few of the Germanic suffixes have recently been discussed so often as the suffix *-ar-ja,* the most widespread and extensively used suffix of the Germanic dialects. Grimm's theory that this suffix is identical with the suffix *-ja* plus an additional *-r,* which, in a modified form, was adopted by Kluge in the first edition of his *Stammbildungslehre,* has been given up and most scholars seem now to agree with Sütterlin-Möller's explanation, according to which *-ar-ja* was borrowed from the Latin *ārius.*[1] This borrowing, as Orthoff suggests, must have been done at two different periods, because it would explain the twofold form *-ari* and *-āri* in O.H.G.

While this explanation appears quite plausible from a linguistic point of view, serious objections must be raised against it as soon as we examine it more closely. For the question arises at once when and in what way was our suffix borrowed from the Latin? Sütterlin in his little book, *Geschichte der Nomina Agentis im Germanischen* (p. 78 f.), answers this question as follows: "Das germanische Suffix seinerseits aber ist—wie wol auch das Keltische—aus dem Lateinischen entnommen. Auch hier lässt sich eine Reihe von Wörtern anführen, welche leicht aus dem einen Sprachgebiet in das andere hinüberleiten. Es sind meistens termini technici, für die dem alten Deutschen die einheimische Bezeichnung fehlte." The words which Sütterlin then quotes in support of his theory are all terms which belong to the sphere of clerical learning, few of which, like *kellnâri, chamerâri, cancelâri, notâri* and *schuolare* became afterwards terms of common life. It is true that in the older documents of the various Germanic dialects we find few words containing

[1] Cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik,* II, 282 ff.

the suffix *-ar-ja*. But many of these words like *fiskari, gardari* (*Heliand*); *baþere, hûdere, maltere* (*Freckenhorster Heberolle*); *bindere, folgere, sceáwere, weorpere, reafere, scotere* (Grein, *Sprachschatz*) are terms which signify primitive occupations, and it seems to me inconceivable that the terms for these primitive occupations should have been changed, that Gothic *fisk-ja*, e. g., should have become O.H.G. *fisc-ari*, O.S. *fisk-ari, fisc-ere*, O. Fries. *fisk-er* for the sake of a few technical terms in *-ārius*, which originated among the clergy, and for which the common man had little use. Moreover, there is not a single case in O.H.G. of one of these words ending in *-ari* having a second form with the suffix *-ja*. If this were the case we could see how the suffix *-ari* had taken the place of suffix *-ja*, and, since *-ja* appears more frequently in Gothic, we might conclude that *-ari* had been substituted at a later period for *-ja*. There is, however, not the slightest indication that the Westgermanic word for 'fisher' was at any time *fisk-ja* and not *fisk-ari*.

The theory of the Latin origin of *-ar-ja* would be far more plausible, could it be shown that this suffix was imported into the Germanic languages by a large number of Latin loan-words ending in *-ārius*. But the list of these old loan-words which Kluge gives in the second edition of his "Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialecte" contains only about half a dozen words in *-ārius* for all the Germanic dialects. Can it seriously be supposed that of these words '*monetārius, operārius* and *tolonārius*,' as Kluge thinks (*Zeitschrift für franz. Phil.*, 17, 591) were the types after which hundreds of words in the various Germanic dialects were made?

The most decisive argument against the Latin origin of our suffix is furnished, in my opinion, by the Gothic. Here the suffix *-areis* appears only in eight words, which are the following:

bok-areis
lais-areis
liuþ-areis

mot-areis
sok-areis
wagg-areis
wull-areis
daimon-areis.

There is no question that Wulfila, as C. Marold, *Germania*, 26, 129 ff., 27, 23 ff., 28, 50 ff., showed, used beside the Greek version, the Latin text of the *Itala*. But none of the Latin equivalents of the Gothic words in *-areis* ends in *-ārius* and, moreover, there is in Gothic no Latin loan-word ending in *-ārius*. The question must, therefore, be asked: was the Gothic language at the time of Wulfila sufficiently influenced by the Latin to justify the formation of words composed of Germanic stems plus the Latin suffix *-ārius?* Only in one case did Wulfila form a loan-word by the suffix *-areis:* in the case of '*daimon-areis,*' and I believe that this word may throw light on the origin of our suffix.

The Greek term for *daimon-areis* is δαιμονιζόμενος which the Latin version translates by 'daemonium habens.' Since Wulfila always renders δαιμόνιον by *unhulþa* we would expect that he translate δαιμονιζόμενος by *unhulþ-areis.* But the Goths evidently were lacking the conception of δαιμονιζόμενος which, in the gospel of Mark, is always translated by *wods.* Hence the term *unhulþareis,* not being in use, would have meant nothing to them. For the purpose of introducing the new idea Wulfila seems to have chosen the Greek *daimon,* and he added the suffix *-areis* to convey to the mind of his people the conception of *habens* as in the Latin 'daemonium habens.' The new word *daimonareis* hence became synonymous with *wods* by the force of the suffix *-areis* which the Goths still must have felt as a separate word. If, on the other hand, our suffix had been borrowed from the Latin the form *daimonareis* = *daemonārius* would have remained unintelligible to the readers of Wulfila, since there is no

proof that *-ārius* was used in Gothic to such an extent as to justify its connection with the Greek *daimon.* Besides there is in Latin no such word as *daemon-ārius* which could have become the model for *daimon-areis.*

I believe, therefore, that I am justified in assuming that in Gothic the suffix *-areis* has still the force of an independent word with a definite meaning. This being the case we are able to understand the limited use of our suffix, not only in Gothic but also in the older documents of the Westgermanic dialects. Thus we have it in *Heliand* but four times (*dôperi, driogeri, fiskari, gardari*), in the Old Low Frankian documents ten times, in Grein's *Sprachschatz* sixteen times and in Old Norse Poetry, including later periods, twenty-seven times. Like Gothic *-leiks* in *ga-leiks* and *hwi-leiks* Germanic *-ar-ja* must have been an independent word which originally was used in noun-composition, but owing to Germanic accent afterwards became the extensively used suffix *-er,* the original meaning of which had become obscure.

This original meaning of our suffix will disclose itself if we compare it with Sanskrit *ar-yá*: 'treu, ergeben, zugethan' (Fick, *Wörterbuch der indogerm. Spr.,* I, 168). Germanic *ar-ja,* like Sanskr. *ar-yá,* is, in my opinion, an old verbal-adjective from the root *ar* 'fügen, passen, sich mit etwas zu thun machen' with participial meaning.[1] To be sure *arja* as an independent word is not found in the Germanic dialects, and it seems that the root *ar* in the meaning just given died out altogether in Germanic, which retained *ar* only in the meaning 'to plow,' e. g., Gothic *ar-jan,* O.H.G. *er-ran.* But we have an analogous case in the suffix *-varii, var-ja* in tribal names like Amsi-varii, Chas-varii, Chat-varii, etc. The *-var-ja* contained in this suffix does not exist as an independent word and it seems that it was sometimes mixed up with *-ar-ja* as the word *Româre,* 'Römer,' shows, which is = Ags. *Rom-ware.*

[1] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Gram.,* II, 1, 116 ff.

If the explanation of *-ar-ja* just given is correct its meaning is easily explained. It is essentially that of Sanskrit *ar-yá* = 'angepasst, sich mit etwas zu thun machend,' hence = 'habens.' A *wagg-areis* is = 'was der Wange angepasst ist = Kissen,' a *wull-areis* = 'der sich mit Wolle zu thun macht,' a *daimon-areis* = 'daemonium habens.'

The same meaning of this suffix I find in the hitherto unexplained names of Germanic tribes like *Asc-arii. Asc,* as Much, *Zeitschr. f. d. A.*, 41, 94, suggests, means 'spear' and *Asc-arii* are those devoted to or busy with the spear.

But it seems that this suffix also appears as the first member of Germanic proper nouns. Here belong names like *Ario-vistus,* Gothic *Aria-mirus, Aria-ricus,* etc., which thus find a satisfactory explanation, since they cannot be connected with Germ. *harja,* Gothic *harjis, Heer.*

In conclusion I wish to suggest that this explanation of Germ. *ar-ja* may throw light on the origin of the unexplained Latin *-ārius.* For I do not think that Prellwitz, *Bezzenbergers Beiträge,* 24, 94 ff., has succeeded in showing that Latin *-ārius* is an old locative going back to idg. loc. plur. *āsi.*

I agree with Fick who, in the preface to the 4th edition of his *Vergleichende Wörterbuch,* says: "Suffixe sind als bestimmende Wörter zu denken, welche mit den durch sie bestimmten nur in eine engere Verbindung getreten sind. Die Zurückführung der Casussuffixe, Personalendungen des Verbs und Wortbildungssuffixe auf Wörter ist eine unabweisbare Aufgabe der Sprachforschung, die sich auch in manchen Fällen heute schon lösen lässt."

JULIUS GOEBEL.

XIV.—VITA MERIADOCI: AN ARTHURIAN ROMANCE NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE COTTONIAN MS. FAUSTINA B. VI., OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

I.

Introduction.

The following edition of the *Vita Meriadoci* is based on an exact transcript of the Cottonian MS.[1] made for me by Mr. F. B. Bickley, of the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum, during the months of June and July, 1899, and shortly after collated by me with the original MS. The edition is similar in character to that of the other Latin romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii*, contained in the same MS. which appeared in these *Publications* (vol. XIII, No. 3) two years ago. The only particular in which I have departed from the plan of that edition is in regard to the abstract of the story printed at the end, which in this instance can no longer be termed a paraphrase. Further experience in the comparative study of stories of this kind has convinced me that translations and paraphrases are less useful to the student than briefer summaries and I should indeed reproach myself for the length of the present abstract but for the fact that the barbarous character of the language in which it is composed renders a perusal of the Latin text rather tedious to the reader and it accordingly seemed advisable to render the original with a certain amount of detail.

[1] 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. In the transcript the usual contractions were resolved.

II.

Sources.

Like its companion romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii*, the *Vita Meriadoci* is preserved, as far as known, only in the Cottonian MS., Faustina B. VI., and has remained unprinted up to the present time. It was, no doubt, one of the "five Latin romances still existing in manuscript" to which Sir Frederic Madden refers in the Introduction (p. x, note) to his edition of the English romances relating to Sir Gawain, published for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. Two brief notices of the romance, moreover, have since appeared in well known works—viz., Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum* (vol. I, pp. 374 f.) and San Marte's edition[1] of Geoffrey of Monmouth (pp. 292 f.), but in each instance the abstract of the story is too condensed to give any but a very faint idea of the incidents it embraces. The indications furnished by these notices, however, have been sufficient to suggest to M. Gaston Paris[2] certain just observations with regard to the date of the Latin romance and its independence of the *Chevaliers as Deus Espees*,[3] whose hero bears an identical name. That the source of the Latin story is precisely an Anglo-Norman poem, as M. Paris is inclined to believe, may well be regarded as more open to question.

I propose in the following to take up the discussion of the sources in four divisions:—

I. The story with which the *Vita Meriadoci* begins (pp. 339–357), viz., the murder of Meriadoc's father, the narrow escape of the young prince and his sister from death, their bringing up in the forest and subsequent adventures down to the death of Griffith, is clearly marked off from the

[1] Published at Halle, 1854.

[2] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXX, pp. 245 f.

[3] Edited by Wendelin Förster, Halle, 1877.

remainder of the work, and whilst romantic enough is free from the insipidity and, on the whole, from the extravagance which too often mar the Arthurian romances. Mr. Ward has observed[1] that this part of the romance is "not improbably founded upon a Mabinogi," but adds at the same time that the present version was not written by a Welshman, inasmuch as the author speaks of the mountain *qui Kambrice Snavdone resonat,* whereas *Eryri* is the genuine Welsh name for the range. With regard to the apparently Welsh features of the story it may be remarked that the chief names, at least, are without significance as being in all probability originally unconnected with it. This assertion may be ventured in view of the fact that neither in Welsh history or legend nor in the Arthurian saga generally does anything related of the characters who bear names identical with those we find in the *Vita Meriadoci* at all correspond to the incidents of this romance.

First, the name of Meriadoc is not found as that of any prince or king in the history of Wales.[2] Nor is there any reason to identify the character in our romance with Conan Meriadoc, the hero of Breton legend, as is done by San Marte.[3] The incidents which are related of the latter in Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book V., Chapters 9–15) bear no similarity to those which are related of the hero of the Latin romance and the only connection between them is a partial identity of name. As for the hero of the French romance, *Li Chevaliers as Deus Espees,* M. Gaston Paris has already inferred from the abstract of the *Vita Meriadoci* in Ward's *Catalogue* that the Meriadocs in these two works are totally unconnected and a comparison of the full text of the Latin

[1] *Catalogue of Romances,* I, p. 375.

[2] I have consulted for this purpose *The History of Wales,* by B. B. Woodward, London, 1859,—also those of the early Welsh Chronicles which were accessible to me, viz. the *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion.*.

[3] Edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 293,—also in his *Arthur = Sage* (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842), p. 36.

work as now published with Förster's abstract of the French poem (Introduction, pp. ii–xxxii) only confirms the correctness of his observation.

Similarly unconnected with Welsh history or legend are the two royal brothers, Caradoc and Griffith. Of the historical Caradocs we have the death of one described in the Gododin poems,[1] a chieftain who perished in the battle of Catraeth. The *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion*[2] record furthermore the deaths of three Caradocs, but in none of the three cases do the circumstances admit of any identification with the king in the Latin romance. It is true that Caradoc, son of Rhydderch, has a brother named Griffith,[3] but no further parallelism can be observed between the incidents of the romance and those of the chronicle. Indeed, so far as I can discover, Welsh history offers no incident similar to that of the treachery of Griffith and the assassination of Caradoc in the Latin romance and the same may be said of Welsh legend as represented in the various texts—tales, triads, etc.—which are collected in Loth's *Les Mabinogion* (Paris, 1889). On the other hand, neither in the *Livre de Karados* of the continuation to Chrétien's *Perceval*[4] nor elsewhere in the romance literature of the Middle Ages do I find any account of the death of *Carados Brie-Bras,* the famous

[1] W. F. Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868), I, p. 386.

[2] Cp. the editions of these works by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel in the Rolls Series, both published at London in 1860.

The entries in the *Annales Cambriae* are as follows: (1) Under the year 798 "Caratauc rex Guenedote apud Saxones jugulatur." (2) Under 1035 "Caradauc filius Rederch ab Anglis occisus est." (3) Under 1079 "Bellum montis Carn, in qua Caradarn filius Caradoci et Caraduc filius Gorvini et Goethi filius Ruallan a Reso filio Teudur et a Grifino filio Conani occisus est." The corresponding passages in the *Brut y Tywysogion,* with slight variations of date for the last two instances, will be found in English translation on pp. 9, 39 and 51 respectively of Williams' edition.

[3] See *Annales Cambriae* under the year 1055 for the death of Grifud, son of Riderch.

[4] *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal publié d'après les manuscrits originaux par Ch. Potvin* (Mons, 1866–71), vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

Sir Craddocke of the English ballad. His chaste wife, moreover, *Guinon, Guinor, Guimer*[1] is not represented anywhere as the daughter of a king of Ireland.

It is quite in accord with what has already been said that we find the Latin romance also differing from Welsh and Arthurian legend generally as to the consort of King Urien. In the Welsh tradition this person is Modron,[2] not Orwen. In the French romances, in the not very frequent passages where mention is made of Urien's wife, she is Morgan le fay.[3]

It is plain then from the above that the well-known names of Arthurian saga have been utilized to give *éclat* to a story which originally had no connection with it. Nevertheless, the remaining names are for the most part[4] Welsh and the background of mountain and forest, haunted by wolves, seems

[1] For these variant forms of the name see Potvin's edition of the *Perceval*, l. 15415, l. 15351, and vol. III, p. 207, *note* respectively.

[2] See J. Loth's *Les Mabinogion*, II, p. 260.

[3] Cp. the Huth-*Merlin* (ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich for the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, Paris, 1886), I, pp. 201 f., where their marriage is related,—also *Roman de Merlin* (ed. O. Sommer, London, 1894), p. 177, and Malory's *Morte Darthur* (ed. O. Sommer, London, 1889–91), I, pp. 89, 123, 126, 140.

[4] To consider these different names:

1. *Orwen* occurs twice in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (s. *The Mabinogion*, etc., edited by Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887, pp. 123, 142). It is the name of the queen of Ethelbert in the Latin version of the Havelock-story which Prof. Skeat quotes from the fourteenth century *Eulogium Historiarum* in his edition of *Havelok* for the Early English Text Society, London, 1868, Preface, p. xvii. So also *Orewayn* in the Lambeth fragment of *Havelok* (Skeat's Preface, p. xii) and *Orwain, Orewain, Orewen* in the Old French versions of the Havelock-story. (For passages see Index to Geffrei Gaimar's *L'Estorie des Engles*, edited by Hardy and Martin for the Rolls Series, London, 1888–89.) This name was already recognized as Welsh by Ward in his discussion of the Havelock-legend (*Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 432). Lady Charlotte Guest, in her translation of the *Mabinogion* (2nd edition, London, 1877), p. 257, reproduces the name *Orwen* as it appears in the Welsh text, whereas in J. Loth's translation of the same passage (*Les Mabinogion*, I, p. 282) we find *Gorwenn*. Dr. F. N. Robinson of Harvard kindly informs me that the latter is correct, the forms of the Welsh text without *g* being explained by the regular loss of initial *g* in certain situations in Welsh.

to be an inseparable part of the original conception of the story. Indeed, there is a certain curious resemblance—partly of incident but mainly of atmosphere—between the story of the youth of Meriadoc and Orwen and that of the young princes in *Cymbeline* which Shakespeare lays in the moun-

2. *Morwen* was doubtless in use in Wales, although I do not know of any occurrence of the name in a specifically Welsh document. I find it, however, as the name of the saint of Morwenstow in the northeast angle of Cornwall. S. Morwenna, *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London, 1882), II, p. 948.

3. *Duneuuallus* is no doubt another Latinization of Welsh *Dumnagual* or *Dyvnwal* (see Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, pp. 365, 366) which appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book II, Chap. 17) as *Dunvallo*.

4. *Sadocus* does not occur, as far as I am aware, as a Welsh name. The name *Sadoc*, without the termination *-us*, does occur in the genealogy of Christ in the Gospel of St. Matthew, I, 14: "Azor autem genuit Sadoc. Sadoc autem genuit Achim." Nevertheless, I think we are more likely to have here the corruption of a genuine Welsh name, such as *Cadawc* (*Cadoc*) (s. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, p. 262, note,—also in Latinized form *Cadocus*, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache und Literatur*, XIV, p. 179, and under *Cadoc* in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*).

5. *Moroveus* is a variant form of *Meroveus* and is taken like other names in this romance, as we shall see later on, from Frankish history. It is not recorded among the long list of variants of *Meroveus* in the Index to the *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), Hannover, 1888; s. Tomus, II, p. 545. Nevertheless, in the genealogy of the French kings, which occurs in John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* (edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston for the Rolls Series, London, 1858), pp. 148 f., we have "Moroveus . . . . a quo reges Franciae etiam ad tempus Morovingi vocabantur. Moroveus genuit Childericum."

6. *Griffinus* and *Ivorius* being simply Latinizations of the well-known Welsh names, Griffith and Ivor, do not call for comment.

7. *Dolfin*, as the name of a dog, is unknown to me save in this text.

Passing to names of places: 1. I have been unable to identify the *Silva Fleuentana* (p. 349). 2. The *Scilleas fauces* (p. 356) is simply a reminiscence, no doubt, of the classical Scylla and Charybdis. 3. *Arglud* (p. 347), the name of the wood in which the children are reared, means "on (or opposite) the Clyde." The variant form of this name, *Alclud*, is used throughout Geoffrey of Monmouth (cp. Book II, Ch. 7, *et passim*) as the name of a town in the North. Only later, then, is it applied to the wood (s. E. Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, XI, p. 75, note). The author of the romance evidently places this forest near the court of the King of Wales, which involves a singular geographical confusion.

tains of Wales.[1] As a mark of Welsh, or, at least, Celtic origin, perhaps, we may take the mysterious eagles on Eagle Rock (p. 349) which constantly face the four points of the compass. Compare with these the equally mysterious eagles of the *De Mirabilibus Britanniae* (s. *Nennius*, ed. Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Berlin, 1894, p. 213): "Primum miraculum est stagnum Lumenoy. In eo sunt insulae sexaginta et ibi habitant homines et sexaginta rupibus ambitur et nidus aquilae in unaquaque rupe est," or the fabulous eagle of Snowdon in the *Itinerarium Kambriae* of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Works*, edited by J. F. Dimock for the Rolls Series, London, 1868, vol. VI, p. 136), "quae qualibet quinta feria lapidi cuidam insidens fatali, ut interemptorum cadavere famem satiet, bellum eodem die futurum fertur exspectare; lapidemque praedictum, cui consuevit insidere, jam prope, rostrum purgando pariter et exacuendo, perforasse."

As already stated, I have been unable to connect the story of this first division of the *Vita Meriadoci* with any story of Celtic origin, nor has my search been more successful in the literatures of other nations. Nevertheless, the most essential individual features of the story can be paralleled from various other stories. The treachery of the regent towards the children with the rule over whose dominions he is temporarily entrusted recalls the story of *Havelok* (ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S., 1868) and the resemblance as to *motif* is observable even in detail. Thus Godard in *Havelok* (ll. 443 ff.) plans to slay his wards, but is so far affected with pity by the pleadings of the boy, at least, that he allows him to escape for the time being, but commits him to Grim with the order that he be slain. Like the executioners in the Latin romance, although he escapes their subsequent fate, Grim contrives means of saving the life of the boy. It is an unessential difference that the regent in *Havelok* is not

[1] This episode, as far as is known, was invented by Shakespeare. Cp. A. W. Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature* (new edition, London, 1899), II, p. 190.

the uncle of the heir. Neither is the guardian of Goldborough in the parallel story of the heroine in the same English romance, yet in the Old French *Lai D'Haveloc* (s. Geffrei Gaimar's *L'Estorie des Engles,* edited by Hardy and Martin for the Rolls Series, London, 1888–89, pp. 295 ff.) Alsi is uncle to Argentille. In addition, however, it is to be noted in *Havelok* that the father of the children is not slain by the treacherous regent. A still further similarity is observable in the detail that Grim, when he applies for his reward after having pretended to slay Havelok, meets with the same reception from his employer (ll. 678 ff.) as the assassins of Caradoc and only escapes death by flight.

The same *motif* of the faithless uncle and the compassionate executioners, adapted to the circumstances of *bourgeois* life, will be found in the well-known ballad of the *Children in the Wood*[1] (Percy's *Reliques,* ed. A. Schröer, Berlin, 1893, II, pp. 672 ff.).

It may also be noted that in the legend of the *Chevalier au Cygne*[2] a servant who at the direction of their grandmother takes the hero and his sister and brothers into the forest to slay them has pity on them and leaves them where they are found by a hermit who brings them up. For the rest, supernatural features are too closely interwoven with the story of the *Chevalier au Cygne* to admit of any further comparison.

For the prophetic dream in which the death of Caradoc is foreshadowed compare the examples cited by R. Mentz in

[1] Percy regards this ballad as based on an old play, *Two Lamentable Tragedies,* etc., by Rob. Yarrington, 1601, and the play in its turn as based probably on some Italian novel. Fleay seems to show (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama,* II, pp. 285 f.) that Yarrington is a fictitious name and that Chettle is the real author of the play. He throws no light, however, on the source.

[2] For analyses of the various versions see H. A. Todd, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* for 1889, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne,* Introduction, pp. ii ff.—also G. Paris in *Romania,* XIX, 314 ff.

his *Träume in den Altfranzösischen Karls = und Artusepen* (Marburg, 1888), pp. 26 f.

In conclusion, as to this division there seems to be a certain confusion of *motifs* in the first part of the *Vita Meriadoci* with regard to the manner in which the children are saved from execution. The compassion of the men appointed to slay them would have alone sufficed and it seems unjust that this compassion should have been rewarded with death, as we find it in the romance. We shall, perhaps, have to take our choice between two different modes of rescue. Under the alternative hypothesis we should have to suppose that the men were only prevented from carrying out their lord's commands by the elaborate stratagem of Ivor through which they themselves suffer death. If we suppose them to be saved simply through a change of heart on the part of the appointed executioners, the story would be left too bald and the second hypothesis seems to me to be the more acceptable.

II. The second division of the *Vita Meriadoci* (pp. 357–365) relating the successive encounters of Meriadoc with the three knights, who after being overthrown by him become his most devoted followers, delays the career of continental adventure on which the hero seems just about to enter and is, I believe, the invention of the writer who gave the stories concerning Meriadoc their Latin dress. Nothing, perhaps, so insipid or absurd can be found even in Arthurian fiction as these knights with their preposterous names. Indeed, I have little doubt that we have in this episode an anticipation of *Sir Thopas*—if anything so coarse of texture can be compared with Chaucer's masterpiece—that is to say, an intentional burlesque on the romances of the time. This tendency to burlesque has shown itself unmistakably in the *De Ortu Waluuanii* in the receipt for the preparation of Greek fire[1] and the present episode offers in my opinion simply another manifestation of the same spirit. For the rest, the indi-

[1] *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIII, pp. 412 ff.

vidual *motifs* are practically all commonplaces[1] of the Arthurian romances.

III. The strange adventures of Meriadoc (pp. 365–380) in the forest which constitute the third division of the Latin romance have no exact parallel, as far as I can discover, in medieval fiction. Leaving aside the innumerable examples in fairy tales of enchanted palaces situated in the depths of forests, the experiences of the hero in the present story bear greater resemblance to those of Huon of Bordeaux in the Castle of Adamant (s. the English version, *Huon of Burdeux*, edited by S. L. Lee for the Early English Text Society, 1884–87, II, pp. 408–413) than to any others I could mention. We have there, at least, the attendants who preserve an unbroken silence in spite of all the questions of the hero and their chief shows also his resentment at these questions, although in a different manner from the steward of the *Vita Meriadoci.*

There is a similar incident in *La Mule sanz Frain* (*Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes Inédits*, edited by Méon, Paris, 1823), ll. 486 f., of a dwarf who exhibits the same reticence when encountered by Gawain in the marvellous palace, and still other examples of various features of these adventures might be adduced, but the resemblances are of too general a nature to be of any value. All that can be said is that the impression left upon the reader by this section of the romance is most similar, perhaps, to that which is produced by the prose forms of *Huon de Bordeaux* and *Ogier le Danois.*

[1] The most characteristic features of the episode, viz., that the vanquished knight becomes a follower of his successful adversary and receives back from Arthur all that he has lost by his defeat, are found in the second part of *Golagros and Gawane* (last edited by F. J. Amours for the Scottish Text Society in *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, Edinburgh and London, 1897), stanzas 92–105. The Scotch poet drew his materials from the *Conte du Graal*, ll. 18209 ff. (ed. Potvin). Similar also is the Galeron episode of the *Awntyrs off Arthure* in the same volume as *Golagros and Gawane.*

IV. In the remaining section of the romance (pp. 380–397) it is noteworthy that the two brothers, Gundebald and Guntramn, bear names which are characteristic of the Franks and Burgundians, and are evidently derived from their history. We have already had *Moroveus* from this source. The first of the above names, *Gundebaldus*, is evidently a variant of the name of the Burgundian king, Gundobad († 516). So we find *Gundobaldus* among the variant forms of the name of this king in the Index to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Gregorii Turonensis Opera* (Hannover, 1884–85), Part II. So *Guntramnus* is the name of the Frankish king, son of Chlotarius I., whose royal seat was at Orleans and the variant form, *Guntrannus*, will be found in a text of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Tomus XV*, p. 474. On the other hand, the name of Meriadoc's companion, *Waldomerus*, belongs to the Scandinavian branch of the Germanic race.[1]

The manner in which Gundebald tests the applicants for military service under him recalls to mind a somewhat similar custom of King Arthur in the companion romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii* (pp. 424 ff.). Furthermore, the island in which his palace and beautiful gardens stand has striking points of resemblance to that in the *Sone de Nausay*[2] (edited by Moritz Goldschmidt for the Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1899, No. 216), ll. 17131 ff., and despite considerable differences of detail is in my opinion simply an altered and debased form of the same tradition. The isle in the French poem is situated *demie lieuwe en mer* (l. 17131), whereas the island of the Latin romance is absurdly situated *super Rheni fluminis ripas*. On the other hand, they are both exactly as long as they are broad :

[1] I have not been able to identify the place-name *Ueredario* (abl.), p. 378, nor *Saguncius* (p. 368), which is the name of a person.

[2] My attention was first called to this passage by the Preface to Förster's edition of Chrétien's *Lancelot* (*Der Karrenritter*), Halle, 1899, pp. xlix ff. It is there quoted in full.

Et l'ille si quaree estoit
Que nus hons savoir ne pooit
Au quel les il en a le plus. (ll. 17135 ff.)

Eiusdem latitudinis cuius et longitudinis est (p. 386). They are both approachable only by causeways, although in the *Sone de Nausay* the causeway does not reach quite to the island, being separated from it by Chrétien's *pons de l'espee.* The four palaces of the French poem on the periphery of the island against whose walls the sea beats are most likely the originals, as it seems to me, of the four *castella* (p. 386) of the *Vita Meriadoci* which guard the heads of the causeways. Finally in each a king of evil disposition rules over a spot of ideal beauty. The bottomless marsh which, in the Latin romance, lies on each side of the causeway is simply a more or less burlesque attempt in the spirit of this author to rationalize the traditional description of the marvellous island as the land from which no one returned. No phrase like the *terra de qua nemo revertitur* (p. 386) of the *Vita Meriadoci* characterizes the island in the French poem, yet I think it equally probable that this conception belongs to the original tradition as that it was borrowed from Chrétien's description of the realm—

Don nus estranges ne retorne. (*Lancelot*, l. 645.)

It is hardly necessary to point out that if the above theory of the relations between the *Sone de Nausay* and the *Vita Meriadoci* is correct, the description of the isle in the former is not simply a development of suggestions from Chrétien's romance.

The situation of the captive princess in this division of the romance is very similar to that of the heroine in the *De Ortu Waluuanii.* Nevertheless, the episodes differ too much, I think, to be taken as variants of the same original story.

Finally, the description of the hostilities between the Emperor of Germany and the King of France in the *Vita Meriadoci* recalls the opposition of these two personages in

Partonopeus de Blois (published by G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834), II, pp. 124 f., but the circumstances of their opposition are totally different in the two cases.

III.

Author.

The present romance is evidently by the same author as the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, which is preserved in the same MS. with it. The same tendency to burlesque manifests itself in the two romances. Leaving out of the question the episode of the three knights, the description of the mode of preparing food in the forest in the *Vita Meriadoci* (p. 350) exhibits this tendency almost as plainly as the receipt for the preparation of Greek fire in the *De Ortu Waluuanii* (pp. 412 ff.). Attention has already been called to the similarity between the situations of the captive princesses in the two romances as also to the similarity between Arthur's and Gundebald's methods of testing the knights who seek service under them. Similarities of Latin construction confirm the view of identical authorship. The most marked of these, perhaps, are the great abuse of *que* as a connective and the constant insertion of words of the main clause in ablative absolute clauses. These peculiarities are found on nearly every page of both romances.

For the rest, the *Vita Meriadoci* supplies us with no new evidence as to the personality or nationality of the author.[1] The similarity of the materials he drew from to the French romances which has been pointed out above leaves little doubt that these materials were also French. Mr. Ward (*Catalogue*, I, p. 375) has already remarked that the use of *Snowdon* for *Eryri* makes it plain that the author was not a Welshman. On the other hand, there is nothing which enables us to decide whether he was of French or English nationality. I

[1] See on this subject my edition of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* (pp. 386 f.).

note that the only citation in Ducange for the word *carpella* (= saddle-bow) which occurs in our text (p. 373) is from an Anglo-Saxon gloss, but I am unable to say whether any significance should be attached to this. Considering that the romance is preserved only in an English MS. there is a presumption that the author was English.

IV.

Date.

Since the *Vita Meriadoci* is unquestionably from the same hand as the *De Ortu Waluuanii*, it is unnecessary to add anything to the discussion of the date of the author which will be found in my edition of the latter romance (pp. 388 f.). There is no new evidence in the *Vita Meriadoci* on this subject and accordingly no reason to change the conclusion there arrived at that the author of the Latin romances wrote in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and that the materials which he used were probably of but little earlier date.[1]

V.

Text.

Vita Meriadoci.

[Cott. MS. Faustina, B. VI.]

[Fol. 2.] Incipit prologus R.[2] In Historia Meriadoci, regis Kambrie, memoratu dignam dignum duxi exarare historiam, cuius textus tantarum probitatum tantique leporis decoratur titulis, ut, si singula seriatim percurrerem, faui dulcorem in

[1] Just as in the case of the *De Ortu Waluuanii* the MS. of the present romance exhibits numerous omissions (s. pp. 356, 379, *et passim*), to say nothing of errors, which make it certain that it is not the original MS. of the author.

[2] *I confess that I do not understand the meaning of this* R. *Probably it was the initial of the author or scribe.*

fastidium uerterem. Legencium igitur consulens utilitati illam compendioso perstringere stilo statui, sciens quod maioris sit precii breuis cum sensu oracio quam multiflua racione uacans locucio.

Incipit historia Meriadoci, regis Kambrie. Igitur ante tempora regis Arturi, qui totius Britannie monarchiam optinuit, insula tres in partes digesta, Kambriam uidelicet Albaniam et Loegriam, plurimorum regum subiacebat imperiis, eiusque quam plures, prout fortuna rem ministrabat, uno in tempore gubernacula sorciebantur. Ea autem tempestate, regnante scilicet Uther Pendragon, patre Arturi, regnum Kambrie duobus germanis, genitore defuncto, cesserat, quorum natu maior, Caradocus dictus, ius regium possidebat, iunior autem, Griffinus uocabulo, partem prouincie sibi a fratre gubernabat creditam. Sedes uero regni Caradoci regis [Col. 2.] et quo maxime frequentare solebat penes niualem montem, qui Kambrice Snavdone resonat, exstabat. Hic autem rex Caradocus, diuiciis pollens miraque uirtute preditus, classem permaximam milite instructam in Hyberniam duxit, quam, rege ipsius deuicto, sue dicioni subiugans sibi tributariam effecit. Rebusque prospere gestis, filiam regis Hybernensis suo matrimonio copulauit, ex qua in Kambriam reuersus duos gemellos sed diuersi sexus progenuit. Qui, dum regnum non modico tempore rexisset tranquille, contigit eum in senium uergi etateque prematura grauari. Et quia in effeto corpore et uigor minuitur et sensualis intellectus hebetatur, tanto regimini operam ulterius *adhibere*[1] non preualens, tocius regni tutelam suo fratri Griffino tuendam tradidit. Ipse autem uenatibus aliisque oblectamentis licencius indulgens quiete et ocio senium pertrahebat et fouebat.

At Griffinus curam regni sibi commissam diligenter exequens sapienterque administrans nil absque regis Caradoci fratris sui consilio disponebat. Vnde et a fratre maiorem graciam meruit, eique omnem regni potestatem, regio dumtaxat sibi retento nomine, rex Caradocus commiserit. Sed

[1] MS. adibire.

ubique nequicie pestis sur[Fol. 2b.]repit, que eo cicius mentem ad scelus impellit, quo eam maior rerum cupido infecerit. Quidam namque peruerse mentis, uel fraterne paci inuidentes aut nouitatibus studentes seu certe aliorum discrimen sibi lucrum fore reputantes, Griffinum conueniunt eumque in fraternam necem hiis uerbis accendunt:

"Quia tuis" inquiunt "hactenus utilitatibus accuracius studium dedimus teque honoris sullimare fastigio sedulum habuimus, indignum nos ualde ducere noueris, hunc decrepitum tibi preponi, quem omnium sensuum iam pene constat officio priuari; maximo quippe dedecori tibi debet uideri, illi te dignitate posteriorem haberi, qui et eiusdem nobilitatis insigniris linea et cui maior cum uirtute corporis noscitur inesse sapiencia. Jam eciam fama uulgante, comperimus illum ad sue nate coniugium quendam gentis extranee potentem acciuisse regnique gubernacula tibi commissa ei uelle committere. Quem si contigerit sibi oblata inesse connubia, ratum existimes quod et te debito honore destituet et nobis auita predia pro̾ssus surripiet; fraude quippe et sub dolositate fieri ne dubites, te regiis prelatum negociis, donec prefatum nobilem filie interuenientibus [Col. 2.] nupciis sibi confederauerit; cuius amminiculo si quid aduersus eum moliri uolueris, tuos casset conatus. Cur igitur illum infatuatum senem diucius sinis uiuere, cuius causa et nos et tocius regni statum patet *periclitari?*[1] Verum tua tibi mens fortassis applaudit, omne ius regium ac omne semper sicut nunc tibi regni cessurum negocium. Sed numquid impune? Nonne Caradoco educatur filius quem eciam nunc etas tenella mire probitatis futurum certis manifestat indiciis? Nonne, cum uiriles annos attigerit, sibi paternum uendicabit principatum? Cuius apicem si te consentaneo assequi non potuerit, numquid tibi inuito ui extorquere non laborabit? Hinc ciuilis discordia, intestinum bellum, cedes ciuium, patrieque proueniet desolacio. Jube igitur ad Tartara dirigi cuius uitam uobis tanto perpendimus imminere discrimini. Ecce uniuersa manus

[1] MS. periclitare.

procerum tibi subditur, omnis regni potestas tue uoluntati exponitur, si id dumtaxat perfeceris, quod tibi a nobis consulitur. Et ne causeris te tantum negocium absque magna industria manuque ualida nec posse nec audere aggredi. Tantum assensum tribue, et nos eo rem moliemur ingenio, quo nulla tibi de eius nece possit oriri suspicio."

Quid multa? Hiis atque aliis multis fraudulentis ser[Fol. 3.] monibus animum Griffini circumueniunt et, nunc quasi imminente terrentes discrimine, nunc blanda regni mulcentes ambicione, ad fraterne necis assensum pertrahunt. Inde loci temporisque opportunitas queritur, qua propositum perpetraretur facinus. Placet eum siluas uenatum adeuntem a sociis seducere et in abdita nemoris iaculo confodire. Diesque crastina ad hec explenda statuitur, qua regem Caradocum uenandi gracia siluas se aditurum proposuisse non ignorabant.

Nocte uero preterita ipsius diei, cum rex Caradocus se quieti dedisset, uisum est sibi suum fratrem Griffinum sibi [in] siluis ex aduerso consistere et duas sagittas pharetra exemptas cote diligenter acuere, duosque deinde uiros aduenisse ipsasque sagittas de manu Griffini accipientes tenso neruo inopinate in se direxisse. Ad quarum ictum ipse perter[r]itus sompno excutitur, et, quasi reuera uulnus pertulisset, magnis uocibus uociferatur. Cuius insolito clamore regina obstupefacta eum inter brachia corripit et quid haberet curue tantas uoces emitteret tremebunda inquirit. Quo, adhuc pre timore palma pectori impressa, que uiderat referente, illa presaga futuri: "Te, domine" ait "queso, obserua, quia tuus procul dubio germanus Griffinus [Col. 2.] tibi machinatur insidias; insidias quippe portendunt sagitte. Et quia te luce sequenti uenatum ire constituisti, insidiarum locum tibi [in] siluis agnoscas parari. Laudo igitur te hac uice domi manere uenatusque oblectamenta in posterum differre." E contra rex "Desine" inquit "loqui huiusmodi; meum fratrem quem adeo semper hactenus dilexi et cui tanta imperitus sum beneficia mihi nunquam credam mortis uelle moliri discrimina." Consilio itaque regine cedere renuit, sed summo diluculo, ut

fata eum ducebant, siluas uenatum peciit. Griffinus autem, suus germanus, duos uiros nobiles, quidem robustos et audaces sed moribus peruersos, truculentos et sanguinis effusione gaudentes, elegerat, destinatumque flagicium eis perficiendum commiserat, se eos omnibus Kambrie commorantibus sullimiores facturum pollicitus. Regalis igitur familia dum discopulatis canibus inuentam predam insequitur et, ut in tali solet fieri negocio, diuersis uiis certatim tenditur, rex Caradocus senio grauante insequi non preualens solus cui mors imminebat deseritur. Nec mora, aduolantes duo predicti scelesti uiri non eminus inter densa *fruticum*[1] abditi eum a uia remocius in opaco recessu nemorum distrahunt, distractum iaculo confodiunt, ac, telo uulneri relicto, festinanter discedunt, ut pocius casu alicuius uenantis [Fol. 3b.] quam fraude insidiantis id euenisse crederetur.

Mors autem tanti uiri diucius celari non potuit. Statim namque, adhuc tepente sanguine, a uenatoribus siluas oberrantibus exanimis *reperitur*.[2] Fit clamor, turbo, tumultus, signoque dato, reuocantur caterue uenancium. Profertur in medium funus regium cruore crudeliter conspersum, cuius miserabile spectaculum uniuersos ad fletum commouet et planctum. Tam magni facinoris queruntur auctores, sed difficile patet cognicio cuius rei de nullo habetur su[s]picio. Diffunditur rumor per uicinas urbes, regem Caradocum [in] silua insidiis circumuentum crudeliterque peremptum. Omnes gemunt, omnes super eo continuant luctum et gemitum, lacrimeque pro mortuo effuse quanto uiuus habebatur testabantur amore.

Regina uero, dum hec geruntur, super uisione sibi a uiro relata nimis uera coniciens thalamo residebat seque inpacabili fletu afficiebat. Que, nece regis comperta eiusque funere eminus contemplato, inmodico dolore correpta in extasim corruit, et, quia mens respiracionem a dolore habere non potuit, corruens expirauit.

[1] MS. fructicum. [2] MS. repperitur.

Interea uero Griffinus alias longius profectus regia exequebatur negocia, ut omnis a se fratricidij aboleretur suspicio. Cui cum regis interfeccio nunciata [Col. 2.] fuisset, scissa ueste, abruptisque capillis, luctum simulauit, lacrimas ubertim effudit, *sed*[1] ipsas lacrimas pocius gaudium quam dolor extorquebat.

Rege igitur Caradoco fatis dato ingentique omnium comprouincialium merore eius celebratis exequiis, Griffinus confestim ui et potencia regnum sibi arripuit, ipsiusque sibi iura uendicans, se, proceribus absentibus et nescientibus, diademate insigniuit. Verum multociens nequiciam, quo magis quis tegere nititur, tocius propalatur. Duo namque illi grassatores qui innocuum regis sanguinem effuderant, ei semper assistentes, dum premium facinoris sibi promissum eum dissimulare et quasi obliuioni tradidisse conspicerent, eum secrete conuenere et ut debita persolueret expeciere, se vnde ab eo ea promeruisse commemorantes, quorum obsequio sibi regale cessisset solium. Ipse autem uersipellis, locum se *reperisse*[2] aduertens quo plebis a se opinionem auerteret—de fratris namque interitu iam habebatur suspectus—totum facinus, quasi ultor fratris et rei in[s]cius, in eos retorsit et de morte sui germani coram regni magnatibus criminari cepit; statimque quosdam ex officialibus aduocans "Hos" exclamat "carnifices, hos mei fratris karissimi interfectores tollite et eminencioris arboris fastigio tocius Kambrie simul suspendite, pateatque uniuersis quibus eorum nequiciam remuneraui stipendiis!" Ad hec illi callide in eum [Fol. 4.] cauillantes "Nequiter" respondent "exsoluis que nobis spopondisti." Quo sermone Griffinus perculsus metuensque ne se sceleris propalarent conscium eorum absque mora linguas radicitus iubet abscidi, ac, data sentencia, eos deinde puniri. Linguis igitur precisis, ad supplicium pertrahuntur, ac in prospectu utriusque insule, Hybernie scilicet et Kambrie, rupe preruptissima una suspenduntur. Sermo tamen quem in Griffinum

[1] MS. set.

[2] MS. repperisse.

puniendi protulerant non surda aure perceptus ad principum patrie peruenit noticiam, unde apud omnes fratricidii Griffinus suspicionis notam incurrit.

Hoc itaque rumore uulgato, fit clandestina principum perpetratum facinus abhorrencium conuencio diligensque super rebus agendis inter eos consultacio. Nulli quippe dubium erat, sed, tum ex illorum qui crimen perpetrarant improbacione, tum ex uisionis quam supra *retulimus*[1] interpretacione, omnes ratum habebant, regem Caradocum consensu et consilio Griffini, fratris sui, necatum fuisse, callebantque uiri sagacis ingenii, quod, si regni stabilimentum manusque ualidior Griffino prouenisset, eamdem nequiciam quam in fratre exercuerat in se quoque qui ipsius fideles exstabant uel maiorem exerciturum; ob quod sibi caucius prouidendum [putant] et aliquid ex aduerso oportere conari, quo sua roborata pars aduersarii debilitaretur. Inito ergo consilio, cunctorum in hoc copulatur assensus, ut paruulos, filium scilicet et filiam [Col. 2.] regis Caradoci, Griffino auferrent *puellaque*[2] filio Morouei, ducis Cornubie, in coniugium traderetur; quatinus ipsius ducis subsidio puerum, licet decennem, in paternum regnum promouere et Griffino, si quid contra moliretur, possent obsistere.

Inter ceteros autem primores duo, Sadocus et Duneuuallus, sibi inuicem consanguinei, nobilissimi habebantur proceres, ex quorum sentencia omnium pendebat consilium et qui ipsi conuentui presidere uidebantur. Hii ex uniuersorum deliberacione Griffinum adeunt regiosque pueros ab eo reposcunt, a patrie principibus id esse decretum ipsisque placere asserentes, ut paruuli in sua tuicione consisterent, eos ipsi tutarent et educarent, donec etas maturior et hanc nubilem reddisset et puerum ad regni regimina que sibi iure debebantur admitteret; sic pacem firmandam, patrie concordiam futuram, principum nullumque ius regni sibi uendicare ausurum, dum hii in medio consisterent, ad quos regni respiciebat gubernacio

[1] MS. reculimus. [2] MS. puellamque.

Tunc Griffinus, licet mente saucius, iram tamen continuit, et, ut erat uersute mentis, responsum proceribus distulit, ut, illis in responsi accepcione suspensis, quid aduersus eorum conatus sibi utile foret licencius interim preuideret. Moxque absque dilacione fidelem nuncium ad nutricium puerorum precipitanter dirigit, eos sibi omni proposita occasione [Fol. 4b.] imperans adduci, uolens sua sub potestate coherceri, causa quorum sibi periculum timebat imminere. Educabantur autem infantes apud regium uenatorem, Iuorium nomine, cuius uxor, Morwen dicta, ipsos gemellos gemino lactauerat ubere. Ipsos autem pueros tante pulcritudinis gracia uenustabat, ut ultra mortale quiddam in eis relucere crederes. Puer autem Meriadocus, puella Orwen dicebatur.

Iuorius igitur, mandato Griffini accepto, per nuncium ad se directum paruulos ei destinat, nil mali suspicatus et quid parabatur penitus inscius. Quibus adductis G[riffinus] consilium init cum suis complicibus, disserens et tractans cum eis quid principum sit obiciendum conatibus. Diuersisque diucius inde causis uentilatis, ultima demum in nece puerorum finitur sentencia. Perpendebat enim, quod, si ipsi principibus traderentur, suffrati ipsorum auxilio in se insurgerent et, ut regni heredes, se de regno expellere laborarent; si uero apud se conseruarentur, nichilominus, dum daretur facultas, paternum in se ulcisci niterentur interitum; atque ita, quia eorum causa se quoquouersus manebat exitium, hinc necessitate cogente, illinc regnandi cupiditate stimulante, eos neci addicendos adiudicat statimque trucidari imperat. Quod ubi infantes eius assis[Col. 2.]tentes presencie audierunt, lugubri uoce in altum emissa, in fletum miserabiliter proruperunt, seque inuicem amplexi ad sui aui corruere uestigia paruisque manibus eius pedes tenentes et illis blandis oribus osculantes lacrimabili questu ac miserandis precibus ut sibi misereretur precabantur. Quis ad hec teneret lacrimas? quis non ad misericordiam flecteretur super tante generositatis alumpnis, super tanto decore preditis, humo stratis, indulgenciam supplicantibus? Griffinus quoque, uidens suos nepotes suis

prouolutos uestigiis, ad misericordiam flectitur, eosque ab intentata cede absoluit. Verumptamen proprie saluti consulens sciensque quod, si salui euasissent, semper quoquomodo debitas a se penas exigerent, iussit eos ad siluam que Arglud *nuncupatur*[1] deduci atque laqueo suspendi, ita tamen ut fragiliori fune, qui cicius rumpi posset, sibi colla necterentur, fidei sacramento ab xij uiris hoc nefas executuris accepto, ut numquam inde discederent, donec rupta corda cecidissent.

Acceptis igitur infantulis, tortores forestam Arglud pecierunt. At ubi ad siluas ventum est, ceperunt mutuo de eorum conqueri exicio, dicentes nefarium esse tam crudeli morte perire quos nihil constabat deliquisse. Motique pietate sic eos statuerunt suspendere, ut et funis cito [Fol. 5.] rumperetur et salui euadere potuissent. In quodam autem saltu ipsius nemoris annosa quercus a diluuii exstabat tempore, proceritate elata, ramis ampla diffusis, et quam uix bisseni uiri brachiorum circumdarent amplexu. Solo tenusque interius erat concaua; cuius concauitas in se spaciose uiginti *contineret*[2] homines, adeo artum habens aditum, ut flexo poplite, depressis humeris, illam necesse erat subire. Super huius ramum roboris pueros, coniunctis adinuicem uultibus, mutuis inherentes amplexibus, debili fasce illaquearunt, ut, sicut dixi, rupto fune, cicius caderent illesisque gutturibus inde[m]pni manere[n]t. Laqueo suspenduntur; suspensos autem pueros ipsi econtra, ut sibi imperatum fuerat, obseruantes residebant.

Interea tam tristis rumor ad eorum nutricii Iuorij aures defertur. Qui rem sue coniugi, lacrimis suffusus, referens, "Aut" ait, "certe, eos neci surripiam aut una cum eis moriar." Confestimque cornu uenatorio collo innexo seque suo cane, dicto Dolfin, commitante, quem multum diligebat, simul cum uxore Morwen ad siluam Arglud iter arripuit, hiis armis tantummodo, arcu scilicet cum sagittis et gladio, contentus. Sed quia se solum inermem contra tot intelligebat nil posse ualere, industria sanius quam uiribus censebat uten-

[1] MS. nunccupatur. [2] MS. conciueret.

dum. Quatuor igitur ingentes focos e quatuor partibus ipsius saltus accendit [Col. 2.], accensisque plurimas quas secum attulerat carnes passim iniecit *ilicemque*[1] uicinam cum coniuge et cane ascendens delituit. Fumo autem ignium per nemoris latitudinem diffuso, ubi lupi in confinio degentes—quorum inibi ingens habebatur copia—odorem perceperunt carnium, illo contendere et confluere ilico ceperunt, sociisque longius exstantibus diro ululatu, ut moris habent, aduocatis, in unius hore spacio pene usque ad duo milia conuenere. Aduentu quorum illi xij uiri nimis perterriti seque uidentes tanta luporum hinc et inde obsessos multitudine, dum nec ualerent fugere nec loco auderent consistere, concauitatem prefate arboris delitescendi gracia omnes subiere. Lupi autem conuenientes rogos cateruatim circumastabant atque in flammarum globos ac si inde carnes erepturi impetum faciebant. Tunc Iuorius, tenso arcu, quatuor in illos quatuor ignes uallantes spicula direxit, quatuorque, transfossis illiis, uulnerauit. Sanguine uero effluente, ceteri omnes lupi in eos qui uulnera pertulerant irruerunt eosque membratim dilacerantes discerpserunt; consuetudinis enim est illis illo quo ignem perceperint semper contendere, eumque quem e sui numero sauciari contigerit unguibus et dentibus discerpere. Lupis uero circa rogos certantibus et tumultuantibus, cauee inclusis metus augebatur [Fol. 5b.], lupos sin[e] causa circa quercum exterius seuire reputantibus. Ad hec Iuorius cornu ho[r]ribiliter insonuit eiusque strepitu uniuersos inde lupos abegit. Nichil enim adeo lupi quam sagittas et tubarum metuunt strepitum, vnde eciam raro aut numquam uenatoribus lesionem inferunt.

Iuorius igitur inde, lupis abactis, arborem qua consederat descendit ac ignem copiosum ante ipsius fouee introitum qua uiri latebant cumulauit; cuius calore fumique uapore inclusos pene extinxit. Illi autem se interius quantum ualebant retrahebant et artabant, sed Iuorius nichilominus semper

[1] MS. illicemque.

ignem propius admouens insequebatur, donec sub ipso ore spelunce flammam ingessit. Tunc illi torridi et semiusti una uoce "Iuori, miserere!" exclamant "scimus enim quis sis et quod causa paruulorum hoc in nos sis machinatus discrimen. Sed, quesumus, ignem a nobis amoue et facultatem hinc egrediendi tribue; et nos tecum pueris liberum paciemur abire." Quibus Iuorius: "Exite, ergo." Ignemque e latere hinc et inde amouens, exeundi facultatem dedit. Erat autem, ut in anterioribus retuli, ipsius cauee aditus tam artus et summissus, ut non ubi unum solum intrantem uel exeuntem et illum flexo poplite, capite demisso, admitteret et emitteret. Data itaque exeundi licencia, unus solus repens manibus et pedibus egreditur. Qui cum ceruicem extulisset, Iuorius a foris e latere [Col. 2.] spelunce consistens, euaginato gladio, ei *caput*[1] amputauit. Trunc[a]tumque ad se cadauer extrahens, "Exite hinc! propere hinc" exclamat "exite!" Quid moramimur? Vnus igitur post unum omnes egressi sunt, singulisque egredientibus Iuorius *caput*[1] abscidit.

Hiis ita gestis, pueros iam pene dimidie diei suspensos spacio, eciam fere exanimes, deposuit, allatoque cibo eorum animas parum refocillauit, ac deinde cum eis et suo cane Dolfin et coniuge ad siluam Fleuentanam confugit. Verebatur namque propter Griffini *furorem*[2] uel domum redire uel quoquam in patria clam amplius consistere. In illa autem silua rupis ardua nimis eminebat, rupis aquilarum *nuncupata*,[3] eo quod omni tempore quatuor super illam nidificient aquile, contra quatuor principales uentos semper uultus *conuersos*[4] habentes. Et ipsa uero et in ipsa rupe aula perampla, perpulcri thalami, diuersaque miri operis ad instar testudinis erant incisa edificia, habitacula ciclopum olim credita, sed ante illud tempus uix ab aliquo comperta, archano et densissimo nemoris sinu recondita. Hec edificia Iuorius cum infantulis peciit, ac ibi quinquennio omnibus incognitus moram fecit. Ferina caro quam uenatu conquirebat cibum, latex

[1] MS. capud. [2] MS. furororem. [3] MS. nunccupata. [4] MS. conuerse.

haustum prebebat; nuces quoque pomaque siluestria et ceteri fructus qui inibi inueniri poterant, autump[Fol. 6.]nali collecti tempore et reconditi, alimento seruiebant. Iuorius cum Meriadoco uenatum et aucupatum cotidie pergebat; Morwen uero, uxor eius, puella Orwen secum assumpta, in colligendo fructus uel herbas occupabatur.

Sed[1] hic fortassis queritur quomodo sibi carnes ad esum parauerint, dum et ignis et uasa quibus elixari possent defuerint. Carnes quidem sibi pabulatum more *filiorum*[2] exulancium accurare consueuerant. Huiusmodi quippe homines prediis uel patria scelere exigente expulsi, publica ab conuersacione remocius semoti, saltus siluarumque latebras usque frequentantes, dum uasis cibis elixandis necessariis indigent, ignem silice eliciunt, piram[3] quam maximam e sarmentorum lignorumque constructam congerie copiose accendunt; accenseque caucium quot uoluerint calefaciendos iniciunt. Interim uero ceteri, terram cauantes, binas fossas non eiusdem quantitatis preparant, una quarum alta et ampla, altera parum arcior et profundior exstat. Sicque constituuntur ad inuicem, ut semipedis inconuulse terre spacium inter eas maneat. Per illud autem spacium a maiori ad humiliorem foueam fit oblique haut magnum foramen quod clepsedra uel sude obturatur. Inde unda implent maiorem, carnes uero elixandas in minori collocant, uiridi quoquouersus substrato gramine, locatasque iterum herba cooperiunt. [Col. 2.] Hiis autem ita compositis, iam scintillantes foco eiectos caudices in foueam repletam deuoluunt lance; ab quorum feruore limpha non solum estuans sed eciam ebulliens dempta clusilla incontinenti pabula percurrere cauea sinitur. Hocque tam diu fit donec sufficienter elixa caro extrahatur. Iuorius quoque, eo ordine carnes elixandas conficiens, cibum sibi gratissimum et saporissimum accurabat. Attritis autem et consumptis uestimentis que illuc attulerant, indumenta sibi ex pappiris texuerunt ac arborum consuerunt foliis.

[1] MS. set. [2] MS. filius. [3] *Latinization of Greek πῦρ.*

Emenso uero v annorum spacio, quadam die, dum nemus se solito spaciatum lustrarent et Morwen cum puella longius ab Iuorio esset semota, ecce Vrianus cum Kaio, regis Arturi dapifero, media uia illis occurrit. Vrianus uero rex erat Scocie curiamque regis Arturi adierat, eumque ad propria repedantem Kaius iussu regis Arturi conducebat. Cumque simul properantes cominus puelle deuenissent, salutans sibi inuicem Kaius quidem regreditur; Vrianus uero ceptum iter prosequitur. Qui puellam eleganti forma contemplatus, tanteque esse pulcritudinis, quante nunquam aliquam nouerat, ipsius amore succenditur. Illo equum conuertit; illam nequicquam reluctantem ante se super sonipedem sustulit, ac, nutrice flente relicta, suam in patriam abduxit. Gaius quoque, dum per artam semitam [Fol. 6b.] regrediendo tenderet, Iuorium et Meriadocum uenatu honustos obuios habuit. Ipseque *incomparabilem*[1] pueri admiratus speciem—erat enim flauis capillis, nitida facie, procera statura et pectore exstante, ilibus gracilioribus—cornipedem post ipsos iam fugientes admittit, Iuorioque longius terrore abacto, Meriadocum rapuit ouansque secum deuexit.

Iuorius autem, erepto sibi puero Meriadoco, sua lugubris habitacula repetit, quo sua[m] coniugem similem deflentem querelam offendens quod discrimen incurrerant alterutro referunt. Pro quo infortunio eiusmodi dolor eorum mentes occupauit, ut continuo biennio post amissionem puerorum se inmitigabili luctu torquentes non sine maxima cibi potusque penuria inibi soli degerent.

Expleto uero biennio, dum una dierum se conquerentes inuicem multa conferrent, "Quid" ait illa "hic solitarii degimus? Causa pue[r]orum huc confugimus, ut eos uite conseruaremus, hic hactenus perstitimus; quibus ablatis et desideratis, quid hic nos ulterius detinet? Saniori profecto uteremur consilio, si quo abducti sint inquirere et indagare studuissemus. Pergam certe nunquam indultura labori, nunquam captura quietem, donec puellam michi surreptam

[1] MS. incomparibilem.

usquam fortuna *nancisci*[1] con[Col. 2.]cesserit. Scio autem quod hac parte et manum contra boream[2] abducta sit. Miles enim qui uirum conducebat, a quo puella rapta est, dum ab eo discederet, se in Scociam ad eum uenturum promisit eique proprio ualedicens nomine Vrianum nuncupauit." Iuorius: "Ego quidem curiam regis Arturi frequenter frequentaui, ei uenatorio officio obsequens, quo, si umquam Kaius ipsius dapifer michi uisus et cognitus est, illum a me puerum Meriadocum abstulisse non dubito. Ibo et ego, si forte diuinum numen, mei miseratum doloris, eum michi aliquorsum obtulerit." Dicta faciunt; se mutuo flentes osculantur; diuersasque uias ineuntes ab inuicem dirimuntur. Morwen igitur ad Scociam iter arripuit; ipsaque die qua Vrianus rex, puella Oruen sibi in uxore dotata, celebres nupcias agebat, illo peruenit. Jam namque Oruuen nubilem etatem attigerat; que quibus erat oriunda natalibus, ipsa referente, Vriano regi euidenter patuerat. Missarum autem peractis solempniis, dum regina Oruen splendidis ornata indumentis ab ecclesia ad palacium rediret, Moruuen, turbis pauperum qui elemosinam petituri confluerant inmixta, ipsam quidem diligenter contemplabatur, *sed*[3] eam minime cognoscere potuit; ex uarietate quippe cultus sepe fallitur cognicio ulterius. [Fol. 7.] At regina inter cateruas pauperum parum subsistens, cui bonus mos inoleuerat egenos semper fouere et eorum inopiam sua supplere habundancia, dum pietatis in eos intuitum flecteret, suam nutricem inopinate aduertit, animaduersamque cognouit. Quam statim ut aspexit, pallore suffunditur et cum dolore preteritorum, cum gaudio presencium, mente sibi euanescente, in mentis excessum rapitur ac inter manus procerum quibus incumbebat ad terram labitur. Ad hec nobiles et proceres omnes et circumstantes obstupefacti accurrunt. Adest et ipse rex Vrianus nimis trepidus, eamque in se reuersam reuelans quid habuisset interrogat. Regina "Non est mirum, domine" respondit "si uultus palluerit, si

[1] MS. nanccissci. [2] *MS. has* tetendit *after* boream. [3] MS. set.

mens mihi defecerit—mihi me coram illam intuenti assistere que cum maximo proprio dispendio me neci surripuit et usque ad etatem adultam educauit. *Sed*[1] nunquam cara tibi habear; quo me amore diligas, in ea ostendere poteris; quia quicquid boni uel honoris illi impenderis, me gracius accepturam quam mihimet impensum cognoscito." Suamque nutricem medio pauperum euocans, lacrimis prorumpentibus, eius collo brachia iniecit ac ante regem Vrianum papira dumtaxat ueste amictam statuit. Vrianus uero, liberalitatem laudans coniugis, iussit Moruuen thalamo induci, optimo cultu indui, omniaque ei reperiens necessaria, cum regina fecit morari.

[Col. 2.] Iuorius autem interea regis Arturi curiam adiit, atque eo conuiuante, cuius fores nunquam tempore prandij claudebantur, regiam aulam, omnibus spectaculo factus, subiit; uir namque *enormis*[2] proceritatis erat, torua facie, barba prolixa, incultis crinibus, scyrpis et papijris contextis amictus, ense latus cinctus, uenatorium cornu collo, arcum cum sagittis manu, ceruum uero exanimem magni ponderis inmenseque magnitudinis, quem sibi obuium casu uenatu ceperat, humeris gestans. Regiam autem ingressus, uniuersos hinc et inde discumbentes diucius immobilis persistens diligenti cepit perlustrari lumine, si forte quempiam inter eos cognosceret, a quo et ipse quis esset innotesci ualeret. *Sed*[3] neminem preter Kaium dapiferum aduertit quem sibi antea cognitum recognoscebat. Quo uiso, ceteris pretergressis, confestim coram eo ad mensam accessit, eum salutauit, suoque prolato uocabulo et quis esset ostenso, ceruum eius ante pedes deposuit, ut sui munusculum non dedignaretur accipere rogitans.

Meriadocus uero, Iuorio intrante, mense cum aliis residens, ut eum conspexit, quis erat falli non potuit, confestimque iunctis pedibus mensam transsiliit, in eius amplexus lacrimis suffusus irruit, eum necis liberatorem uiteque conseruatorem contestans et clamitans. Deinde cum eo ante Kaium acce-

[1] MS. Set. [2] MS. in normis. [3] MS. set.

dens dapiferum, [Fol. 7b.] commemoratis ab eo sibi collocatis beneficiis, ut illius dignaretur, sui gracia, remunerare beniuolenciam suppliciter exorabat. Kaius autem non ignarus quis esset, quippe qui sibi quondam multociens suo solebat obsequi officio, precipue tamen gracia Meriadoci, illum penes se retinuit ac quibus indigebat liberaliter ditauit.

Non multum post hoc temporis effluxerat et Kaius dapifer, ut ipsum Vriano spopondisse commemorauimus, in Scociam proficiscitur, Iuorium et Meriadocum secum adducens; bellorum quippe impedimentis instantibus quibus sub rege A[rturi] semper occupabatur nunquam antea expediri potuit, ut secundum suam promissionem illo proficisci ualuisset. In Scociam igitur ad regem V[rianum] peruenientes, ultra omnem estimacionem Iuorius uxorem, Meriadocus sororem suam sanam et hilarem, ingentique honore et gloria preditam, reperit. Quantum hinc eis exoritur gaudium, quam efficax preteritorum sibi hinc euenerit remedium, ex ipsius rei euentu prependere poteris. Que enim maior leticia quam parentes et amici tristes diucius diuisi se tandem *hilares*[1] reperire, post nimios labores potiri quiete, pauperiemque et miseriam diuitiis et gloria commutare? Universos igitur commune gaudium optinet, plurimi in deliciis dies ob tantam fortune graciam ab eis continuantur preteritique dolores releuantur gaudiis.

[Col. 2.] Cum autem simul inibi commorarentur, ceperunt sui patrui Griffini nequiciam, quam tum in suo genitore, tum et in se nequiter exercuerat, crebro sermone reuoluere et si aliquo modo uicem sue malicie illi reddere ualerent propensius agere. Sed, quia regem A[rturum] illi fauere non ignorabant, sub cuius G[riffinus] degebat imperio, sibi minime successurum sciebant, si sine regis A[rturi] assensu et auxilio aliquid in eum moliri conarentur. Ex communi igitur sentencia et deliberacione oportunum tempus nacti, regem A[rturum] super hiis se apud eum conquesturi adeunt. A quo honorifice suscepti causam aduentus insinuant, flebili

[1] MS. hillares.

querimonia rem gestam ei per ordinem referunt, et ut se super tanto *ulcisceretur*[1] scelere illius genibus prouoluti suppliciter deposcunt. Rex autem A[rturus] regis quodam Caradoci probitatem et sapienciam ad memoriam reducens et tam inauditum Griffini distans facinus ei confestim misso mandauit nuncio, ut die statuta ad suam ueniret curiam, super fratricidio quod sibi imponebatur responsurus. Griffinus uero hactenus fama uulgante suos nepotes quos neci addixerat audito euasisse, semper habens suspectum se non impune laturum scelus quod in eos orsus fuerat, locis opportunis castella condiderat uirisque et pabulo in preparacionem pugne callide sufficienter munierat. Et [Fol. 8.] maxime niualem montem qui Kambrice Snaudune dictum, situ loci ceteris tuciorem, munire curauit, quem quasi asilum constituit omnibus eciam incolis cum paruulis et mulieribus et sua *supellectili*[2] uniuersa super eum tuto abductis et collocatis. Quibus rebus G[riffinus] confisus destinato sibi ab rege A[rturo] nuncio se nequaquam ad eius curiam respondit uenturum, vnde A[rturus] nimium comm[o]diis instructa militum copia cum Vriano rege Scocie contra eum ilico ascendit.

Griffinus uero, cognito ipsius aduentu, omnes uiarum transitus quibus Kambria adiebatur antea obstruxerat, una sola relicta peruia, que hinc et inde imminencium rupium tam artis arcebatur faucibus, uti non nisi unum post alium uiatorem caperet. Hanc quoque ipse G[riffinus], armatorum stipatus cateruis, obsidens, regem A[rturum] inibi, nusquam alias reperto transeundi aditu, meare conantem facili repellebat iniuria. Quo dum A[rturus], nescius quid faceret, in transeundo moras necteret, Sadocus et Duneuuallus—illi duo proceres quos a Griffino pueros petisse superius ostendimus—collecta et conducta ualida multitudine militum, inprouisi parte alia in illius irrupere prouinciam flammaque et cede nulli parcentes etati quoquouersus depopulabantur. Cuius rei G[riffinus], percepto nuncio, suis pereuntibus succursum

[1] MS. usciscereтur. [2] MS. supplectili.

ire contendens, uallem quam [Col. 2.] obsederat incustoditam reliquit, aciemque contra duos prefatos proceres direxit. Sicque, libero A[rturo] patefacto introitu, omnem statim illas Scilleas fauces traiecit exercitum, Griffinumque insecutus in quodam o[p]pido preardua rupe constructo obsedit, erectisque in circuitu aggeribus, inpugnare cepit. Feceruntque ipsi machinas contra machinas, seque uiriliter propugnantes fortiter restiterunt. Horum extrinsecus iuges fiebant assultus; illi econtra cotidie subitos in eos *moliebantur*[1] excursus. Modo telorum balistarumque iactus eminus percrebrescere, modo congressiones militum cominus uideres ferucocere; modo distinctis aciebus dextrisque consertis in mutuam cedem aduerse irruebant caterue, resque maximo agebatur| discrimine.

At rex A[rturus], loci posicione diligencius inspecta, ...[2] et suimet natura eciam absque propugnatore ualde muniebatur—una namque tantum ex parte, in ipso decliui montis latere, difficilime ascendebatur, tantaque erecta celsitudine, ut uix ad ipsius culmen telorum iactus pertingeret—perpendensque inclusorum excursibus municipii capiundi dilacionem fieri, eos artius propensiusque expungnare statuit. Fossam igitur amplam et profundam ante ipsas ualuas oppidi ducere precipit, utque eorum refrenaret excursus et, si uiribus non posset, uel eos fame ad dedicionem cogeret. [Fol. 8b.] Deinde per girum, silua succisa, aggeres quam plurimi hinc et inde eriguntur, unde crebri iactus uoluebantur lapidum iaculacionesque agebantur missilium. Ad hec Griffinus, obsidionem artatam totumque aduertens negocium in uirtute consistere, singulis quibusque eorum machinamentis contraria obiciebat, omni elaborans conamine, ut nequaquam ascribi ualeret inercie, si sese quoquomodo deuinci *contigisset*.[3] Ratum tamen habebat, se nullius uiribus nisi sola fame submittendum. Quodque ita prouenit; toto namque triennio semper hostibus inuincibilis restitit, donec uictrix uincencium ei

[1] MS. molliebantur.

[2] *There is no break in the* MS. *here but evidently some words are wanting.*

[3] MS. contigesset.

nimia fames ingruit, que citius omni robore mentes robustorum flectere et ad dedicionem solet compellere. Quid ultra? Famis peste ingruente G[riffinus] conpulsus se in regis A[rturi] misericordia dedidit. Arturus autem se de eo misericordiam habiturum negauit, nisi suorum parium iudicio procerum. Jussu igitur regis A[rturi] proceres ad iudicium exeunt, quorum censura eum capitali addixit sentencie. Iniustum namque omnibus uidebatur, illum diucius uiuere, quem tantum facinus in fratrem et nepotes constabat commisisse. Data itaque sentencia, deo eius ultore nequicie, Griffinus capite plectitur.

Postquam igitur G[riffinus] merita exsoluit supplicia, uniuerse primatus Kambrie, rege A[rturo] annuente, Meriadoci [Col. 2.] cessit dominio. Sed ipse, ut *probus*[1] iuuenis, maioris honoris apprecians se in florenti etate probitatibus exercere miliciamque expertum iri quam domi residens desidia torpescere, suum socerum Urianum, regem Scocie, conuenit, et, quid apud se deliberarat innotescens, om[n]em Kambrie prouinciam eius tu[i]cioni commisit—tali condicione inter se sanctita, ut quamdiu experiunde ipse uoluisset uacare milicie, tam diu sub eius tutela regnum Kambrie consisteret, ubi autem in pace reuerteretur, ut paterno iure sibi debitum ad suum, si sibi placeret, rediret imperium. Nondum tamen quam terram peteret deliberacione habita, interim in curia regis A[rturi] perhendinabat, donec disposuisset, quo ad propositum opus tenderet.

Rex autem A[rturus] per idem tempus apud urbem liber parumper a bellorum inquietudinibus morabatur. Cui semper euenire solebat, ut, quociens eum aliquamdiu aliquorsum perhendinare contigisset, semper tociens alicuius magni negocii occurrebat euentus. Quod et tunc accidit. Miles enim quidam, Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu dictus, ad eius curiam aduenit, Nigrum Saltum suum esse calumpnians, nulliusque nisi sui illum debere subiacere dominio astipulans, quem rex A[rturus] ut maioris potestatis sibi nitebatur auferre.

[1] MS. probet.

Econtra rex respondebat predictum Nigrum Saltum sui iuris dumtaxat existere, id sibi assumens in argumentum, quod genitor suus, rex Vterpendragon, duos diuersi [Fol. 9.] generis in eodem saltu quondam nigros apros siluestres posuerit, ex quibus omnis grex pecorum qui in illo habebatur processerit. Ad hoc Nigri Militis de Nigro Saltu erat responsum, quod, licet minime prefatos nigros apros illius recognosceret, se tamen eorum eo facto libenter liberam ei concessurum capturam, quo Nigri Saltus possessione et dominio sibi licite uti liceret. "Verumptamen," ait "O rex, si ex rerum euentu huius controuersie consistat probacio, mihi nempe censura iusticie pocius assentire uidebitur, qui et ex ipsius Nigri Saltus effectu auita suffundar nigredine et Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu ex ipsius Nigri Saltus mihi nomen diriuetur nomine." Hinc igitur inter eos causarum discerpsiones et controuersiarum oriuntur litigia. At, ubi discerptantibus finis esse non potuit, isto in calumpnia procaciter instante, rege quoque e diuerso illam procacius infirmare nitente, tandem res parum suorum procerum iudicio examinanda committitur, ut, quod illi inter regem et suum militem, equitate dictante, decreuissent, dictata equitas utrumque sequi compelleret rerum. Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu, illos quod magis regis gracie cederet quam quod ad suum profectum proueniret decreturos non dubitans, sanius et decencius esse duxit, id quod sui iuris calumpniabatur constare suis uiribus disracionare quam suspecto aliorum arbitrio committere, dum [Col. 2.] ratum et inmutabile sciebat futurum quicquid iudicii *pertulisset examine.*[1] Ergo coram omni concilio medius prosiliit et "Quia," ait "O rex, te mihi ex aduerso huic cause patrocinari conspicio, istorum me iudicio committere non audeo, quos procul dubio quod tibi pocius quam mihi succedat decreturos agnosco. Vnde, quia preiudicium incurrere pertimesco, id quod calumpnior me propriis uiribus contra xl^{ta} e tuis quos uolueris disracionatum offero, ut scilicet hiis singulis xl diebus unum qui agat duellum aduer-

[1] MS. pretulisset exanime.

sum me ad Nigrum Saltum dirigas. Quibus si preualuere potuero, simul et in causa preualeam; si uero contingat succumbere una et mea causa succumbat." Placuit regi et omnibus que dixerat, omniumque in hoc conuenit assensus non parum admirancium eum aduersus tot et tam fortes regis A[rturi] capigenas solum audere inire conflictum. Erat autem Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu iuuenis quidem sed miles peroptimus qui nullius umquam formidauerit congressum.

In dictum igitur duellum, loco et tempore statuto, iniciatur, ad quod agendum singulis diebus unus a rege A[rturo] miles dirigitur. Sed omnes, uno homine *excepto*,[1] omnes a Nigro Milite de Nigro Saltu prostrati, deuicti et sub nomine captiui ad eum remissi sunt. Iamque ceteris sinistro fato transcursis, e quadragenario numero tres tantummodo dies restabant, cum rex A[rturus], inmodice afflictus, tum pudore, suos ualidiores [Fol. 9b.] equites ab uno deuinci, tum eciam dampno quod sibi ea de causa perpendebat oriri, Kaium dapiferum suum aduocauit, quem et sic allocutus est: "*Intolerabili*[2] michi mens merore premitur nullaque per diuersa cogitacionum distracta quiete perfruitur, cui nunquam quicquam quam in presenti obrepsit pudibundius. Ecce namque tot mei famosos campigenas quos bello misimus, pro dolor! ab uno subigi, tot uiros robustos ab uno pudet eneruari, in quorum singulis, quia meam causam agere noscuntur, tociens me uinci confundor, quociens ipsi ab aduersario expungnantur. Et de quo celebre hactenus ubique ferebatur, quempiam meorum militum mille aliis preualere solere, nunc e conuerso, uerso fortune filo, mille meorum nequeunt hunc resistere. Igitur quia strenuiores mei exercitus hosti inerti loco cesserunt et dies xl^mus duobus dumtaxat interpositis instat diebus, uiuaci utendum est consilio, ut uel saltim hiis iij diebus nostri simul *pudoris*[3] et dampni resarciatur cumulus. Vnde necesse censui te incrastinum ad initum debere proficisci duellum, quem uirtute et industria ceteris sepius ualenciorem expertus sum et

[1] MS. excepti. [2] MS. Intollerabili. [3] MS. pudores.

cuius est officium, aliis deficientibus, pro me semper laboris subire dispendium commilitonibusque uexatis et abactis auxilii conferre subsidium. Quod si te eciam uictrix manus hostilis eidem quo ceteros inuoluerit discrimini, meus profecto nepos Waluuanius [Col. 2.] contra eum conflictum die sorcietur sequenti. Illum quoque si isdem infortunii casus merserit, ipsemet die extrema ad singulare illius certamen progrediar, quo aut totum cum dedecore perdam seu certe mei esse dominii Nigrum Saltum uirtuose decernam. Vade ergo et ut summo sis presto diluculo sedulus preuide." Kaius: "Tanta oracionis prolixitate opus non erat tue mentis scire placitum michi; nolueris ratum haberi preceptum. Presto ero et rem quo melius potero perficere curabo." Perrexit igitur atque secretius cum amicis secedens, quam lepide, quam generose, quamque uiriliter rem gereret cum eis deliberabat.

Hoc ubi Meriadocus comperit, qui iam ante triennium ab eodem Kaio ad militarem nobiliter fuerat promotus ordinem, ad eum adcessit atque an uerum esset quod de eo audierat inquisiuit. Quo respondente uerum, cepit Meriadocus eum rogare, ut se sui loco duellum cum Nigro Milite de Nigro Saltu sineret committere, dicens indecens nimis esse et sue glorie minime expedire, ut cum illo confligeret a quo tot probos patebat deuictos; quia qui maioris uirtutis hactenus ceteris habitus fuerat si et ipse uictus sortem incurrisset uictorum, maiori nempe quam alii exponeretur obprobrio, quippe dum ad hoc eligebatur ut omnes alios ulcisceretur. De se uero si contigisset deuinci, nec sermonem asserebat habendum; si autem triumphum de tociens triumphante potuisset [Fol. 10.] *nancisci*,[1] non solum sibimet sed eciam illi laudis fauorem adquireret, quia uirtus et probitas militis est honor et gloria principis. Kaius autem ad hec illius iuuente *inualitudinem*[2] sibique inexpertam causans haberi miliciam, illum respondit qui se sue commisit fidei sin[e] causa tanto nolle destinari periculo, quantus ex bellorum solet prouenire euentu uel

[1] MS. nanccisci. [2] MS. inuallitudinem.

dispendio. Demum tamen, prefatis atque multis aliis racionibus flexus, ei quod petebat de eius non diffidens uirtute concessit, plurimum eum hortatus, ut sic studeret exequi negocium, quatenus non uituperium sed laudis utrique adipisci mererentur brauium.

Meriadocus igitur sub ipso diei crepusculo, armis, ut decebat, instructus, sonipedem ascendit atque ad Nigrum Saltum, moderaciori tamen gressu, ne equ[u]s *anhelus*[1] fatisceret, contendit.[2] Ambiebat autem ipsum Nigrum Saltum fluuius latus et profundus, qui, quasi limes et diuisio, terram regis A[rturi] ab ipso saltu dirimebat. Ad quem Meriadocus perueniens equo descendit, faleras deposuit, se in recenti herba parumper refrigerare et spaciari equum uoluntando permisit. Deinde, crine composito, singulisque membris leni manu comptis et detersis, iterum cornipedem stratum ascendit. Vado autem quo transiturus erat reperto, bucina, sicut alii ante fecerant, [Col. 2.] insonuit, quo Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu militem qui secum congrederetur aduenisse cognosceret. Niger autem Miles de Nigro Saltu, sonitu percepto bucine, arma statim corripuit, ac, equo ascenso, se cursu precipiti ei obuium dedit, quique[3] in medio ipsius uadi transitu ei occurrens cum illo congressus est. At Meriadocus, equum cursu, lanceam inpulsu, caucius dirigens, splendidum ei ferrum sub ore stomachi inflixit, et, cum ipso ictu dextram fortiter infringens ac in latus artificiose retorquens ipsum inpulsum prona petere compulit. Moxque lanceam scuto infixam deserens, stricto mucrone, in eum in declino uno pede scansili retento pendentem irruit; nasumque cassidis leua arripiens quasi ei *caput*[4] amputaturus institit. Niger uero Miles de Nigro Saltu, supplices ad eum manus protendens, ut secum paucis, pace interposita, colloqui liceret flagitare cepit. Cuius precibus

[1] MS. hanelus.

[2] *Here in the* MS. *followed the words:* Ambiebat autem ipsum Nigrum Saltum moderaciori, etc.—contendit, *a confusion of the preceding and following sentences. The scribe, however, later on observed the mistake and marked the words* vacat.

[3] que *here, as occasionally elsewhere in this text, means* also.

[4] MS. capud.

cedens Meriadocus dextram cohibuit et quid dicere uellet annuit. Qui super equum erectus "Multas cum multis" ait "congressiones inij, et nunquam me forc[i]orem nec eciam mei parem usque hodie reperire ualui. Tui autem inpulsum impetu omnis me protinus pristina uirtus reliquit, nec alterius modi mihi tua est experta inpulsio, quam si celi et terre una adinuicem, me medio existente, fieret collisio. Dic igitur mihi quis sis, miles eggregie, cui procul dubio etas [Fol. 10b.] maturior incomparabilem uidetur spondere uirtutem, quem eciam nunc inberbem tante fortitudinis comitatur effectus." Meriadocus: "Mei generis originem nunc superfluo duco retexere; pandam quod ad presens spectat negocium, me, militem regis A[rturi], hunc Nigrum Saltum contra te disracionatum esse legatum." Cui ille: "Te ipsius militem equidem sum patenter expertus teque Nigrum Saltum aduersum me decreuisse prossus fateor." Gladiumque uagina extrahens ei ab cuspide in signum uictorie tradidit. "Obsecro tamen," subiunxit, "ut tue propaginis seriem mihi notifices, quia tante fortitudinis tanteque pulcritudinis indolem non reor ex humili plebe descendisse." Tunc Meriadocus, cuncta que pretaxauimus replicans, omnium suorum lineam generacionis natalium, prospera et aduersa que pertulerat, sueque mentis ad milicie exercicium propositum, singillatim patefecit. Quibus auditis, "Iuste," ait Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu "tanto oriundus stemmate, tanta animi uirtute, corporisque *precellis*[1] uigore. Nec me pudet aliis semper inuincibilem a *tali*[2] deuinci qualem te iam signis patentibus euidenter comprobaui. Insuper et quicquid mei est tui ex nunc dicioni submitto, meque, quocumque perrexeris, ad uniuersa que peragere uolueris inseperabilem tibi spondeo futurum comitem, quo nec fideliorem nec magis necessarium te reperturum estimo. Pro insipiente reputabitur qui alteri nostrum, altero presente, aliquid mali moliri uoluerit." Hec dicens, ceruicem ad *Meriadoci*[3] genua suppliciter flexit seque ipsius imperio

[1] MS. procellis. [2] MS. tale. [3] MS. Merodiaci.

[Col. 2.] et dicioni subdidit. Meriadocus autem, quod sibi a tanto uiro offerebatur indignum renuere iudicans, ipsius dedicionem cum subieccione gratuito suscepit animo. Deinde inuicem amplexi simul ad curiam regis A[rturi] properabant, accepta ab eo fide, interposita cum securitate fidelitate, ut quo aduiueret suo in obsequio fidelis persisteret.

Omnibus autem xl diebus quibus contra Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu duellum agebatur nunquam rex A[rturus] cibum sumere consueuerat, donec qui missus fuerat remeasset. Illoque die de Meriadoco quam de aliis magis sollicitus et ipse inpastus remansit et nullum e suis cibari permisit, quousque cognosceret cuius fortune euentus incurrisset. Moram autem Meriadoco diucius nectente, iussit quendam rex A[rturus] summam arcem ascendere, si quoquam eum repedantem aduerteret. Speculator uero, *turri conscensa*[1] oculisque contra uiam que ad Nigrum Saltum ducebat erectis, "Quendam" exclamauit "aduenientem longius intueor, quem incessus moderacior et splendor armorum Meriadocum testantur. Tri[p]licem enim loricam habebat auream, scutum, interlucentibus gemmis, aureis totum obductum laminis, in cuius equi falleris nil nisi et pallor electri et fulua auri radiabat species. Sed et alium" ait "a dextra equitem nige[r]rimis armis secum adducit, quem, quantum arma et gestus indicant, Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu esse prenuncio."

[Fol. 11.] Rex autem hoc pre admiracione credere non potuit, sedque friuolum esse asserens quod annunciabat dicebat tam probum et exercitatum militem ab inberbi *adolescente*[2] inpossibile fore deuinci. Illis autem inde sermocinantibus et diuersa proferentibus, Meriadocus cum Nigro Milite de Nigro Saltu, quem manu ducebat, regiam dignus omnibus spectaculo factus subiit ac ante regem et eius primates progrediens "Tuam" ait, "O rex, causam decreui; Nigrum Saltum, unde causa agebatur, tibi adquisiui; et, si inde teneris dubius, ecce Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu, qui illum sui calumpnia-

[1] MS. turi concessa.

[2] MS. adoloscente.

batur dominij, propriis tibi uiribus subactum adduco. Nunc ergo premia que uictori spopondisti exsolue, ne et ego remuneracionis immunis et tu beneficii uidearis ingratus." Huiusmodi enim donum rex A[rturus] singulis ad duellum proficiscentibus proposuerat, ut, si quis Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu expungnasset, quicquid rediens ab eo peteret, impetraret. Cui rex "Splendido" respondit "et opulento dignus censeris premio; pete quod placuerit, feres procul dubio quicquid nostra sullimitas tua uirtute dignum perpenderit." Meriadocus "Multos tuorum" ait "huius rei examinacione uexasti, que mei est terminata obsequio. Ecce, habes quod optasti, possides quod calumpniabaris, decreuisti unde certabas. Age ergo liberaliter, ut liberalem decet in liberalem [Col. 2.] uirum, ut mei gracia Nigri Saltus illi libera restituatur possessio, quam se mei causa desiderasse conqueritur. In hoc enim toto mee summa pencionis consistit, ne suo iure nobilem uirum contingat destitui, cuius probitas pocius exigit augeri quam minui." Arturus "Licet" ait "pro uoto tibi petenda que placere[n]t proposuimus, Nigri Saltus tamen instanciam nos fecisse meminimus; quo excepto, quicquid aliud animo sederit gratanter annuimus. Ridiculo quippe et mentis ascriberetur inconstancie, si tam leuis estimem precij, in cuius adquisicione adeo desudaui. Te ergo aliunde remunerari expete, quia Nigro Saltu nostrum neutrum mihi exstat gratum donare." Confidentes autem illi ipsius familiares et consiliarij proceres et primi palacij eum hortabantur, ne uirum bene de se meritum promisso et debito cassaret premio; quod nec illius probitatem nec ipsiusmet dignitatem decebat, "Et si quod maius est" aiebant "a te expeteret, annuere debueras, presertim dum hoc exposcit, quod propriis uiribus adquisiuit. Justum namque est, ut inde remuneracionis sumat stipendia, in cuius adquisicione laboris est perpessus dispendia." Quorum tandem rex Arturus credens consilio Nigrum Saltum Meriadoco ad *quidlibet*[1] uellet—datum scilicet uel possessum—iure concessit perpetuo,

[1] MS. quorumlibet.

quem ipse Meriadocus statim in regis presencia Nigro Militi de Nigro Saltu liberum et quietum restituit, salua subieccione et fidelitate, quam Nigrum Militem de Nigro [Fol. 11b.] Saltu sibi fecisse *retulimus.*[1]

Duello igitur contra Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu pro ipso Nigro Saltu completo, die sequenti Roseus Miles de Roseo Saltu adest, qui hanc (*sic*) impari calumpnia in regem inuectus Arturum se ab eo conquerebatur auito *fundo,*[2] Roseo uidelicet Saltu, destitui. Super quo dum inter eos uehemens uerborum accio, racione postposita, nil equitatis censeret, demum Roseus Miles de Roseo Saltu suam causam duelli *examini*[3] contra quemlibet e regis militibus commisit, Rosei Saltus libera possessione concessa cui prouenisset uictoria. Mittitur et contra hunc Meriadocus, illius congressum ceteris formidantibus; qui, non minori in istum quam in priorem usus uirtute, prostrauit, deuicit et cepit, sibique socium effectum et sue dicioni deditum ad regem deduxit Arturum. A quo in laboris remuneracionem, ut ipsemet postulauerat, Roseo Saltu Meriadocus donatus et ille quoque Roseo *Militi*[4] de Roseo Saltu quod ei surripuerat reddidit.

Huic Candidus Miles de Candido Saltu succedit, qui non dispari accione in ius ductus, discerptacionum controuersiis sibi non prospere cedentibus, singulare certamen proponit. Cum Meriadoco in uado fluminis Candidum Saltum circumfluentis congreditur, a quo et deuincitur. Singuli quippe saltus singulis amnibus ambiebantur, in quorum uadorum transitu semper ab eis est mu[Col. 2.]tua facta congressio. Candidus igitur Miles de Candido Saltu a Meriadoco deuictus sibi, sicut alii, subicitur, in eius societate recipitur et quem amiserat Candidum Saltum iterum, Meriadoco donante, assequitur.

Meriadocus igitur, postquam hos tres sibi confederauit proceres, scilicet Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu, Roseum Militem de Roseo Saltu, et Candidum Militem de Candido

[1] MS. reculimus. [2] MS. fundeo. [3] MS. exanimi. [4] MS. multi.

Saltu, uiam quam animo prefixerat ad inquirendam et exercendam miliciam accelerabat. Regni itaque Kambrie, ut pretaxauimus, suo socero Vriano, regi Scotie, tuenda et disponenda negocia commisit, itineris tanti dispendio res necessarias accurauit, se sociosque, quomodo dicebat, armis, equis et preciosis indumentis instruxit et ad imperatorem Alemannie properare instituit. Missis namque longe lateque nunciis, sciscitatus fuerat quenam terrarum regio bellorum subiaceret legibus, relatumque sibi fuerat inter imperatorem Alemannie et Gundebaldum, regem terre ex qua nemo reuertitur, maximas bellorum geri discordias; Gundebaldus quippe, rex terre ex qua nemo reuertitur, unicam filiam imperatoris uiolenter rapuerat nullaque condicione flecti potuit, ut eam patri suisque redderet natalibus. Hoc seminarium discidii inter eos existerat et ad irarum causas grauissimas bellorumque discrimina instimulauerat. Inuitabantque et conducebant a remotis terrarum recessibus milites quoscunque magne probitatis audierant [Fol. 12.] et crebros excursus mutuasque congressiones omni pene die inuicem agebant. Fiebantque utrarumque parcium cedes innumerabiles, desolaciones urbium, rapina rerum familiarum et quod hiis est grauius indiscreta captiuorum seruitus ciuium. Inter que probitas et uirtus uniuscuiusque in propatulo facile habebatur et quos laudis deceret premia, quosue uituperacionis manere[n]t opprobria, omnium patebat obtutibus. Quibus rebus Meriadocus compertis, cunctis ordinatis et dispositis, illo cum sociis iter arripuit, et, terra marique multis traiectis dispendiis, ad imperatorem sanus et *incolumis*[1] cum omnibus peruenit. Imperator autem, postquam quis esset et cur ad se uenisset audiuit, eo quod decuit eum honore suscepit atque inter primos stipendarios sui exercitus eum constituit. Non multum primo uero, dum ad quelibet certamina singulosque congressus se probius et uirtuosius ceteris omnibus iugiter ageret, uniuersis gregariis conducticiis et stipendariis militibus ab imperatore preficitur; quorum nume-

[1] MS. incolumus.

rus pene usque ad xiij milia recensebatur. Maiores quippe probitates ipse solus cum suis sociis patrabat cotidie quam maxima pars imperialis exercitus; vnde non solum apud imperiales sed eciam apud regem Gundebaldum eius nomen celebre ferebatur.

Quodam autem die prepeti cursu *anhelo*[1] equo nuncius ad imperatorem [Col. 2.] uenit, referens Saguncium, principem milicie regis Gundebaldi, suam terram cum ualida manu intrasse prouinciamque quoquouersus depredari. Imperator autem *ascito*[2] confestim Meriadoco iussit cum suis cateruis hostibus suum regnum depeculiantibus occurrere predamque quam ceperant de manibus eorum excutere. Meriadocus uero, nil moratus, milites in iiii^or^ turmas diuisit, quarum unam secum retinuit, tribus autem reliquis suos tres socios prefecit. Fines autem illius prouincie quidam fluuius profundo cingebat gurgite, quem hostes prede ducti cupidine uado transsierant quemque eciam regredientibus illis traicere erat necesse et loco eodem, quia nusquam alias uadum *reperiebatur*.[3] Circa huius fluminis ulteriorem ripam Meriadocus Nigrum Militem de Nigro Saltu cum sua turma transmisit, ut, si hostes in reuertendo suam manum, fluuio traiecto, euaderent, a Nigro Milite de Nigro Saltu inopini exciperentur. Candido uero Militi de Candido Saltu precepit cum suis, ut aduersariis predam eripere[n]t, dum ipsemet cum eisdem congrederetur. Roseum quoque Militem de Roseo Saltu, cui iiii^tam^ partem exercitus commiserat, non longe in insidiis constituit esse, qui sibi belligeranti, si opus esset, ferret subsidium. Hoc igitur ordine disposito exercitu, ipse ocius aduersarios peciit, quorum itineris et accionis consilium per exploratores totum certius inuestigauerat. Casu autem euenit quod eis ad predicti fluuii *transitum*[4] [Fol. 12b.] occurrit, maximam predam uirorum, mulierum, pecudum et diuersarum *supellectilum*[5] secum ducentibus. In eos igitur irruens

[1] MS. hanelo. [2] MS. acscito. [3] MS. repperiebatur.
[4] MS. transsitum. [5] MS. suppellectilum.

primo impetu eorum agmen deiecit, quia et preda onusti incedebant et in amnis transitu maxime impediebantur. At tamen Saguncius ad eorum primum congressum vniuersam predam cum sarcinis iussit quam tocius in unum infra agmen coaceruari militibusque per cuneos expeditis, strictis gladiis, in se irruentibus resistere. Discriminosum igitur inter eos est bellum conflatum, dum hii totis uiribus niterentur *que*[1] perdiderant excutere, illi econtra uiriliter contenderent capta retinere. Meriadocus autem hinc et inde furibundus partans armatorum agmina nunc more bellue in hostes irruebat et prosteruebat, modo suorum animos uariis excohortacionibus ad certandum audaciores efficiebat. Ipse quidem uirtute Saguncius autem numero militum precellebat. Pungna uero magna protrahitur parte diei, licetque innumerabilis hostium multitudo undique cateruatim a Meriadoco pessumdaretur, anceps tamen semper mansit uictoria, donec Roseus Miles de Roseo Saltu, qui non eminus infra nemoris abdita pro subsidio latuerat, cum sua cohorte inprouisus a latere in eos excurreret aciesque confertas dissiparet. Turbatis autem et disiectis ordinibus, tunc primum abductam predam pertinacibus calumpniatoribus liberam deseruerunt sueque saluti [Col. 2.] fuga consuluerunt. Et quia insequencium ab omni latere celis micantibus uia euadendi nusquam patebat, estuosus gurgitis fluctus precipites irruperunt, eo uiam querentes, quo nunquam ante uiator transierat. Presens tamen discrimen iuuit astucia; equites quippe super equos amnis medio, quo maior raptus aque ferebatur, magno spacio interiecto, duobus in locis constiterunt, ut rigor aque reliquo transeunti exercitui facilior fieret. Verum idem fluuius nocte preterita aquis niualibus ex uicinis montibus defluentibus adeo inundauerat, quod eciam ipsi equites egre in eo consisterent. Quia tamen mortis urgebat necessitas, pedites cum equitibus mixtim certatimque se in profundum dederunt, leuiorem mortem fluuium quam hostilem gladium sibi illaturum credentes. Submersi sunt itaque fere omnes qui flumen transituri priores ingressi

[1] MS. quo.

sunt; sed eorum mors ceteris salus fuit; tot enim tunc undis perierunt, ut ceteri expeditum eorum compara[tum] transitum haberent. Sed, flumine transito, dum letarentur se discrimen euasisse, in aliud inciderunt. Niger quippe Miles de Nigro Saltu, qui, ut prediximus, illo a Meriodoco premissus fuerat, illos flumen transgressos excepit, necemque fugientes nece affecit. Meriadocus quoque, ereptam predam Candido militi de Candido Saltu commendans, eos insecutus est extremosque fugiencium exicio dabat. Saguncius autem, ubi suos a fronte et a tergo uidit occumbere, sibi maturius preuidens, ad [Fol. 13.] quandam annosam siluam que in uicino erat cum paucis elabitur. Cuius fugam dum Meriadocus cognouisset, Nigro Militi de Nigro Saltu totum relinquens exercitum ad delendas uel capiendas reliquias hostium, ipse fugientem Saguncium per opaca silue, tantum cc^tis^ expeditis secum assumptis militibus, persequi festinauit, quem mangnopere uiuum cupiebat capere. Niger igitur Miles de Nigro Saltu cum Roseo Milite de Roseo Saltu, hostes sine miseracione cedentes, uniuersis aliis interfectis, pene usque ad vi milia captiuorum cum multimodis spoliis abducunt atque Candidum Militem de Candido Saltu, qui trans flumen cum excussa preda remanserat, pecierunt.

Interea Meriadocus fugientem Saguncium per densitatem silue cum cc^tis^ militibus persequebatur, eum minime comprehensurus; jam enim a conspectu eius remocius euaserat, atque deinde per quandam strictam semitam a uia circa declinans, iter quod ad suam ducebat patriam, silua egressus arripuerat. Erat autem eadem silua uasta nimis et horrida, quam cuius esset latitudinis uel longitudinis nullus unquam rimari potuit: uidelicet, ob feritatem inmanium beluarum eam inhabitancium et ob innumera et incredibilia fantasmata que per siluam uiantes uexabant et deludebant. Tot quippe fantasiarum in ea apparebant species, ut nullus transeuncium ab earum illusionibus immunis effugeret. Quorundam quoque animos, humano sensu, tum *terroribus*,[1] tum suis trans-

[1] MS. terrioribus.

formacio[Col. 2.]nibus, priuatos, quasi in extasim ad alia secula raptos dementes effecerant. Meriadocus igitur, predictam siluam ingressus, toto spacio estiui diei post meridiem in eam procedebat. Vesperascente uero, in quodam saltu cum suis descendit, atque, equis in recenti herba pabulatum dimissis, membra pansaturus sub diuo accubuit, suis uigilibus precipiens, ut statim primo diluculo ad proficiendum excitarentur. Verum se collocantes, sompnum capturi, uix oculos clauserant, dum ecce aurora albescente, ut sibi pro uero uidebatur, diescebat. *Vigiles*[1] itaque Meriadocum adierunt, eumque excitantes, "Domine," inquiunt, "surge; iam enim dies *lucescit.*"[2] Ille enim magno sompno grauatus quam alleuiatus, ualde admirans, excitantibus se dixit: "Vix sompnum cepi, et nunc dies est? vbi est ergo nox? Certe aut ego prolixiori solito sompno indigeo aut nox solito breuior est." Jussit tamen eadem hora surgere *et*[3] iter inceptum carpere. Pergentibus uero lux semper clarior sole ascendente apparebat, ita ut, dum necdum miliarium et semis pergissent, ultra primam horam diei esse iudicarent. Circa quod tempus diei in quandam planiciem latissimam peruenerunt, in quam sepe Meriadocus cum imperatore uenatum ierat. In ipsa autem planicie subito sibi ingencia edificia apparuerunt, miri et preclari operis columpnis celatis et depictis, celsis laquearibus, ex lapide marmoreo et porphiritico tabulatis parietum constructis et constratis, [Fol. 13b.] omnia circumcirca alta fossa ualloque prerupto cingente. At Meriadocus ob tantorum edificiorum tam subitam structuram non parum obstupefactus "Miror," *inquit,*[4] "O commilitones mei, de tanta rei nouitate quam uideo, unde hec domus marmoree eiusmodique rerum apparatus qui nostris patent oculis aduenerì[n]t. Necdum quippe dies xxi^us^ est, ex quo in hac ipsa planicie cum imperatore et quibusdam e nobis uenatus sum, quo temporis spacio nec tantum opus perfici nec, si posset perfici, a nobis utique quiuisset celari. Procedamus tamen et cuius sint habitacula

[1] MS. Vigeles. [2] MS. lucessit. [3] MS. ad. [4] MS. inquid.

uel a quibus constructe inuestigemus." Illis igitur procedentibus, subito ante ianuas palacii pueri pene xxx apparuerunt, speciosi ualde, ciclade purpur[e]a et bisso amicti. Qui omnes uenientibus occurrentes Meriadocum *alacri*[1] uultu cum sociis salutauerunt atque ad prandium inuitauerunt. Jam autem hora diei tercia sibi esse uidebatur. Meriadocus autem, quamquam iter inceptum accelleraret, iudicauit tamen ingredi, hac causa precipua, ut inhabitatores cognosceret et res tam mirabilis et stupenda sibi patefieret.

Curiam igitur ingressi sunt, quam maxime multitudinis incognite replebat frequencia, atque ad hostium aule descenderunt. Inde per porphiriticos gradus ascendentes ubi regiam subierunt, in eminenciore domus parte preclarum accubitum aduerterunt sericis pannis nobiliter stratum, in quo femina decoris inestimabilis recu[Col. 2.]babat, quam et lepidi gestus et incomparabilis pulcritudo nitorque glorie non parue nobilitatis esse affirmabant. Tota quippe domus intrinsecus uariis ornamentis erat ornata, nobilesque uiri procerum militumque hinc et inde circumsidebant, diuersis ludis se spaciantes. Quidam enim simulatam pugnam bifaria acie *pyrgis*[2] componebant; alii alearum iacturis operam dabant; nonnulli tesseris iactis euentum lucri uel dampni fortune committebant. Quorum lusum predicta matrona, illorum domina, in accubitu suo iacens, dum contemplaretur, ubi intrantem Meriadocum est intuita, parum se erigens eum lepide prior salutauit et ad se euocauit, omnibus illis iussis assurgere. Ille autem aduocatus audacter processit atque super lectum iuxta eam resedit, suis militibus sparsim per aulam assidentibus. Ad quem uirago "Bene," ait "Meriadoce, ad nos uenistis; multum enim temporis est, ex quo te desiderabam uidere, tuas audiens probitates." Cui ille: "Stupendum est non modice quod uideo et audio, uel quomodo mei faciem aut nomen cognoueris uel quis in hoc loco tantas structuras tam repente condiderit, cum necdum mensis transiit quod hic

[1] MS. alicui. [2] MS. pirgis.

nec unus lapis edificii fuerit." Illa ad hec: "Ne mireris, Meriadoce, si te tuo uocauerim nomine, diu quippe est quod mihi et uultu et nomine haberis cognitus. Sed multum erras de hiis edificiis, que tam subito constructa asseris, quia et hec habitacula sunt a priscis temporibus. Nec hic locus est quem [Fol. 14.] tu esse existimas nec umquam nisi modo in hoc loco fuisti. Nunc autem nobiscum comedes, quam diu placuerit penes nos perhendinaturus." Vacatisque ministris, iussit confestim mensam apponi. Qua apposita, solus quidem Meriadocus iuxta illam ad celsiorem mensam recubuit; milites autem eius mixtim cum aliis discubuerunt. Maximus famulatus ministrancium assistebat; splendidus apparatus dapium regalium apponebatur; tot erant fercula, quod numerum excederent, quod sicut postea Meriadocus se astruebat nunquam in aliqua curia uidisse nec tante dulcedinis aliqua degustasse. Verum omnes in communi silencium tenebant, ut nullus in tota aula uel seruiencium aut discumbencium cum considente seu conseruiente aliquid loqueretur.

Quod Meriadocus aduertens, et quia necdum interrogauerat qui essent, circa finem prandii dapiferum ad se uocauit, atque, matrona alias intendente esse curie, quesiuit que gens essent, si sua domina uirum haberet, nomen quoque eiusdem, nec non et cur ita omnes tacerent, ut eciam cum suis militibus qui erant extranei et [quos] eorum uerbis exhilarari debuissent nullus penitus uerbum consereret. Dapifer autem, dum ad interrogata responsum reddere debuisset, ruga in naso contracta, subsannam ei pro responso reddidit. At Meriadocus, eum hoc reputans ludendo fecisse, iterum eum ut quesita sibi inti[Col. 2.]maret blande rogauit. Ille uero iterato, more canis estuantis, linguam ab ore usque ad mentum deorsum exerens, subiuncto cachinno, Meriadocum deridebat. Meriadocus autem, nec tunc quidem rem ut erat intelligens et derisionem adhuc lusum existimans, "Uir" ait "eggregie, quid est quod agas? Ego que michi ignota et tibi bene sunt cognita a te quero et tu mihi responsionis loco contraccionem narium et distorte bucce reddis ualgium. Queso ut uel nunc

demum interrogata mihi *edicas.*"[1] Verum dapifer, nichil ei locutus, tercio ad instar auricularium aselli ambas manus circa tempora sparsis digitis agitans, ardentibus oculis, patenti oris rictu, Meriadoco, ac si iam eum deuoraret, incubuit, uultusque eius adeo immutatus est, ut similior demoni quam homini uideretur. Vnde Meriadocus, nimium perterritus, statim e mensa prosilire uoluit. Quod matrona aduertens, quasi irata, dapiferum increpare cepit, "Tolle, tolle," clamitans "nec uiro nobili iniuriam inferas, ne alicuius rusticitatis nota nostram curiam notare ualeat." Tantus autem timor Meriadocum omnesque eius socios eadem hora inuasit, ut, mensa confestim sublata, consurgerent atque tremebundi cum festinacione exirent. Dies autem, quantum ad eorum estimacionem, ad uesperum iam uergebatur. Equis igitur ascensis, non plene miliarium perrexerant [Fol. 14b.] cum noctis tenebre adeo dense incumbebant, ut nullus ab alio aduerti ualeret. Isdem quoque stupor atque insaniaque sibi contigerat, eciam eorum equis incubuit; qua incumbente, in tantum debac[c]hati sunt, quod nullus ex eorum sessoribus eorum aliquem domare uel a precipiti refrenare cursu ualuisset. Dispersi sunt itaque huc illucque per siluam, quo insania equos ferebat, totaque nocte quasi in congressione pungne, admissis equis, sibi occurrentes; equi cum equis uirique cum uiris in occursu mutuo collidebantur. Quique dum inuicem occurrerent, quisque ad alium clamabat, ut cursum sisteret, manibusque extentis, quisque alium quocumque posset loco ac si se mutuo *recepturi*[2] arripiebat. Sed nec equi refrenari nec a se potuerunt retineri. Eorum igitur quam plurimi, collisis membris, tam equorum quam equitum sparsim ceciderunt; alii autem per auia ducti a sociis errauerunt; reliqui omnes, una cum Meriadoco in cuiusdam fluminis profundo gurgite circa matutinum tempus inopini deuecti, usque ad *sellarum*[3] carpellas tumescentibus aquis insederunt. Die autem facto, tunc primum quidem ubi essent cognouerunt, fluuiumque egressi, licet

[1] MS. editas. [2] MS. recenturi. [3] MS. cellarum.

inmenso labore, quinquaginta iiij e suo numero deesse inuenerunt. Meriadocus uero, tantis infortuniis acceptis, magno consternatus est dolore, conuersusque ad socios "O commilitones," *inquit*[1] "dies fantasti[Col. 2.]ca nos deliciis pauit. Sed quo *fuimus*,[2] quos *conuiuas*[3] habuimus, infortunium quod nos secutum est euidenter edocuit. Tamen ob amissionem sociorum magne doleo, quos scio me minime *reperturum*."[4]

Flumen igitur egressi parum a labore fessa membra pausauerunt, indeque in siluam progrediebantur, quorsum irent prorsus ignorantes. Dumque se siluam egressuros sperarent, in interiora eius semper tendebant. Post meridiem aut[em] tempestas ualida est eis exorta, scilicet uis uenti cum mundacione pluuie et coruscacione fulminum terroribusque tonitruum; *quibus*[5] malis in tantum quassati sunt, ut felices iudicarent qui ea tempestate sub tecto manebant. Anxius igitur nimis Meriadocus et nescius quid faceret, inquirebat a sociis si quem in uicino nossent locum, quo sub aliquo edificio a tanta procella possent confugere. Cui unus militum respondit, castellum permaximum in confinio haberi sed neminem umquam illud intrasse qui sine dedecore exierit. Erat autem inter alios tiro quidam, Waldomerus nomine, cognatus ipsius imperatoris, qui, amore ductus, Meriadocum ad bellum *comitatus*[6] fuerat. Hic, tam horride tempestatis semper inualescente turbine, dum iam dies uergebatur ad uesperam et iam ictus tonitruum, coruscaciones fulminum *ferri*[7] ulterius non posse[n]t, cepit a milite querere quorsum esset castellum, quod se nosse prope adesse predixerat, [Fol. 15.] et ut se illo duceret rogare. Ad hec miles: "Ego quidem te, si uis, ad castellum ducam. Sed ipse in castellum minime tecum introibo. Verumptamen predico tibi ingrauissime te peniturum, antequam exeas." Cui Waldomerus "Ne cures" ait; "tantum ad castellum me ducito, quia hic non remanebo." Duxit itaque illum miles ad castellum, quem eciam pene uni-

[1] MS. inquid. [2] MS. fuerimus. [3] MS. conuiuias.
[4] MS. repertinum. [5] MS. quos. [6] MS. comitatum.
[7] MS. ferre.

uersi qui cum Meriadoco erant, exceptis xi tantum militibus, secuti sunt, dicentes se uelle pocius quamlibet experiri fortunam quam sub tanto ibi preditari (*sic*) discrimine. Miles autem qui illos duxerat, ubi fores oppidi attigit, illis ualedicens ad Meriadocum reuersus est, quia iam se cum hiis qui secum remanserant sub umbra annose quercus[1] a procella *contulerat.*[2] Valdomerus igitur, cum ceteris se *comitantibus*[3] castellum ingressus, omnes aditus apertos inuenit sed neminem in toto castello. Intrauerunt autem quandam aulam in superiore turri sitam, auleis copertam, et tapetis undique stratam, in cuius medio ignis lucidissimus accensus ardebat. Stabula quoque equorum in ulteriori ipsius parte erant, satis habundancia prebenda et foragine. Que cum Waldomerus uidisset: "Descendite," clamauit "O socii; optime hospitati sumus. Ecce omnia affatim suppetunt quibus maxime indigebamus. Domus est nobis amata, ignis accensus, iumentis autem sufficiencia pabula in stabulo. Delirauit qui nos ab hoc hospicio [Col. 2.] dehortari contendit." Igitur descendentes equos in stabulis constituerunt, pabula apposuerunt, armisque depositis, focum circumsederunt. Sed dum parumper ibi consedissent, tam ingens timor eos inuasit, ut nullus alium alloqui nec eciam intueri auderet, sed, demissis capitibus, terram tacentes aspiciebant, ac si iam sibi necesse imminere uererentur. Interea illi qui cum Meriadoco remanserant, ingruentibus noctis tenebris, *predicta*[4] tempestate semper in peius uergente, ceperunt se inuicem conqueri, quod non issent cum sociis sed in tanta procella remansissent. Prefatum militem, qui alios ad castellum duxerat, deprecabantur, ut ipsos quoque ad commilitones quam tocius ducere festinaret. Miles autem, quamquam inuitus, dux eis usque ad castella factus est, sed ipse confestim ad Meriadocum rediit. Aduenientibus autem istis, priores a terrore quo tenebantur illorum aduentu admodicum releuati sunt; sed ubique ipsi cum eis fere dimidia hora consederunt, eodem pauore omnes comprehensi exangui-

[1] *In the* MS. *we have* se *after* quercus.
[2] MS. contulerant.
[3] MS. commitantibus.
[4] MS. predictam.

bus similes uidebantur. Meriadocus inter hec in silua cum uno milite consistens, tum aeris intemperie urgente, tum ueritus ne suis militibus sui in absencia aliquid discriminis contingeret; "Duc me" ait "ad socios, cum quibus malo si qua sunt participari pericula quam hic sine illis tutus consistere." Cui miles: "Libenter te ad illos ducam, sed ego huc redibo." Duce igitur milite, Meriadocus [Fol. 15b.] oppidum peciit, et, ductore redeunte, aulam subiit. Quem intrantem cum nemo salutasset nec ei assurgeret, "Qua causa," clamauit "o socii, sic obmutescitis?" Tunc Waldomerus, resumpta audita, *caput*[1] erexit atque "Meriadoce, ne mireris" respondit "nos ita silere; quia tam, immo dico, pauore tenemur, quod nec nos intueri alterutro nobis mens fit." Ad hec Meriadocus "Surgite" ait "quam tocius; nichil aliud quam inercia uos *detinet.*[2] Quid ueremini? Surgite, discumbite, mensam opponite; nimis enim longa ieiunia continuauimus. Ego autem, si in hac domo habentur, que nobis sunt uictui perquiram necessaria." Surgentibus itaque illis et discumbentibus, Meriadocus confestim thalamum unum et alium adiit, sed, in illis nullum reperiens, tercium quoque subiit, in quo puellam mirande forme thoro residentem offendit. Ante quam et mensam positam cum pane et uino sufficienti Meriadocus igitur oblati cibi ductus cupidine iii^es utres uino plenas collo sibi et brachiis suspendit, cophinumque placentis refertum inter manus corripiens, ad socios festinus reuertebatur, nil *prorsus*[3] nec eciam salutacionis uerba locutus cum uirgine. Verum illi properanti quidam procere stature in secundo occurrit thalamo, qui, percuntatus quis esset et cur panem et uinum domini sui furatus fuisset, ex inprouiso cum pungno ei *tempora*[4] eo annisu contudit, ut pene ad pedes eius Meriadocus prosterneretur [Col. 2.] gladiusque quem manutenebat longius propelleretur. Ille autem, de gladio nil cogitans sed ut que rapuerat perferre posset ad socios, citato gressu ab illo in aulam profugit; quibus et allata apposuit, dicens se quo-

[1] MS. capud. [2] MS. detinent. [3] MS. prorssus. [4] MS. timpora.

que ad coquinam iturum. Prius tamen, dum se deliberaret ulcisci de illo qui se percusserat et ensem non inuenisset, confusus parum resedit, quid sibi contigisset pre pudore non *ausus*[1] referre sociis. Vnde dum tristis resideret, ecce quidam a thalamo uenit, ipsius ferens mucronem sibi a puella missum mandante eum rusticum et inertem esse: rusticum, quod se non salutasset et sibi apposita abstulisset, inertem quod contra inermem ense munitus resistere minime ausus fuisset. Gladium autem Meriadocus adeptus confestim coquinam adiit, *lancemque*[2] permaximam optimis ferculis que in ea affatim *reperit*[3] impleuit. Juxta focum autem dormiebat uir inberbis, raso capite, inmanis corporis, qui Meriadoco tumultuante in colligendis epulis exter[r]itus, quasi amens, prosiliit, ueru quo grues assari solebant ambabus manibus arripuit, Meriadocumque iam exeuntem nactus ei inter scapulas tanta ui ueru ingessit, quanta, ut puto, eum exanimem reddidisset, nisi fustis in ictu confracta ictum debilitasset. Ante hostium uero coquine et penes illud puteus altus erat. Meriadocus igitur percussus *lancem*[4] concitus deposuit, suum percussorem per aures—quia capillis care[Fol. 16.]bat—furibundus corripuit, eleuauit, nequiquam renitentem in profundum putei proiecit et cum *lance*[5] dapifera ad socios profugit. Cum quibus et residens eos alacriter hortabatur *comedere*.[6] Illis itaque in summa prandentibus, truculentus satelles, gigantee forme, semitrabem dorso gerens, aulam ingressus est. Qui, quoquouersus torua rotans lumina, "Qui sunt" exclamauit "hii latrones, qui domum domini mei furtim ingressi sunt eiusque cibos more ardalionum diripuerunt et consumpserunt?" Cui cum Meriadocus respondere conaretur, ille excussam fortiter trabem in eos proiecit, cuius ueru *illos*[7] exangues reddidit. At Meriadocus, socios male tractari ab illo non ferens diucius, euaginato gladio, in eum irruit atque in fugam conuertit, fugientique insistens, tam diu per thalamos, per curiam et per nemus eum insectatus est, donec in sequendo eum in domum

[1] MS. audiens. [2] MS. lanccemque. [3] MS. repperit. [4] MS. lanctem. [5] MS. lancte. [6] MS. commedere. [7] MS. illorum.

quandam armatis plenam circa crepusculum inopinus incidit. Dumque armatorum territus multitudine egredi uellet, omnes in eum solum irruentes ipsum remanere coegerunt. Ille autem, dorso applicato parieti, scutum protendit, uiriliter restitit, nec *ante*[1] tum propugnando, tum impugnando destitit, quousque, ex eis quam plurimis occisis, ceteri ipsius pertinacia uicti ei dextram darent ac libere quo uellet ire permitterent.

Meriadocus igitur ab illis liberatus ad castellum rediit sed sociorum neminem *reperit.*[2] Vniuersi enim pre timore [Col. 2.] fugerant sonipedemque eius cum armis secum duxerant. Nescius itaque quid ageret pedes per siluam solus iter carpebat. Jam autem, sole ascendente, dies claruerat; pergenti uero illi fit obuia mulier, Ueradario residens, sonipedem dextra ducens, lacrimis obducta faciem. Hec a Meriadoco interrogata cur fleret respondet, uirum suum, strenuum militem, paulo ante a duobus spurcissimis latronibus fraude interfectum, se ab illis captam *sed*[3] tunc a sompno pressis fugisse; quem ducebat uelle dare sonipedem qui mortem domini sui ulcisceretur. Spondet ulcionem Meriadocus; equum ascendit; cum illa pergit; unum dormientem opprimit; alter excitus et resistens similem casum luit. Inde digressus, muliere relicta, ut fortuna fauebat, prefatus miles qui in silua illis ad castellum pergentibus remanserat ei occurrit. Quem Meriadocus uidens ualde letatur, ei casus suos exponit, sociorum turbam amissam refert, se uero sapienter egisse, quod ipsius uoluerit parere consilio. Miles autem ad hec eum consolatus cum eo ultra progreditur. Non longius uero processerat et ecce ante se in quadam planicie armatorum turbam incidere conspexerunt. Quibus conspectis, Meriadocus iussit militi ibi subsistere, dum ipse ad cuneum quem uiderant properaret et qui essent inquireret. Subsistit miles; Meriadocus sonipedem post eos admisit, extremosque nactus, suos quos [Fol. 16b.] perdiderat omnes cognouit una cum Waldomero esse socios;

[1] MS. autem. [2] MS. repperit. [3] MS. set.

fortuitu namque uniuersi qui, ut premissum est, ab illo deuiarunt paulo ante in ipsa planicie sibi inuicem occurrerant. Quibus ex insperato uisis, ultra quam credi potest Meriadocus exhilaratus est, quia nunquam se eos recuperaturum crediderat. Milites igitur ex inuencione ducis et dux ex militum recepcione letificari . . . . tractabant . . . .[1] mutuo iam fore sibi capiendum consilium, ne ulterius similia discrimina sua in curia incurrerent. Vnde adinuicem conferentes, dum fere usque ad tria miliaria processissent, clamor et tumultus perualidus, quasi bellancium strepitus, eorum auribus eminus insonuit. Obstupefacti igitur uniuersi se circa ducem fuderunt, ac Meriadocus, id quoque fantasticum esse existimans, remque prescire antequam ipse illo accederet cupiens, duos equites qui unde tantus clamor esset indagarent premisit. Illi autem interim, equis descensis, eorum *reditum*[2] in loco expectabant. Nunci[i] itaque festinantes qua tumultuancium uoces perceperant iter arripiunt. Sed non longius ambierant, cum silua egressi cruentas certancium cateruas pre se offenderunt [et] totam *quoquouersus*[3] terre superficiem [uiderunt] cadaueribus occisorum stratam, riuulos effusi sanguinis toto campo diffluere. Puerum igitur quendam cominus extra prelium stantem aduocant, a quo qui esse[n]t ille confligencium turme querunt. Quibus puer: "Exercitus sunt imperatoris et regis [Col. 2.] Gundebaldi." Ad hec illi "Quis" inquiunt "ductor est imperialis excercitus?" Puer: "Tres socii Meriadocij exercitui presunt, quos ipse pridie ad hostium spolia reliquerat, dum ipse Meriadocus Saguntium, ducem Gundebaldi, de bello fugientem persequeretur. Verum quia ipse Meriadocus statuto termino ad illos non rediit, cum uniuerso quem regebant exercitu qua eum isse putabant uia compendiosiori in eius subsidium illum secuti sunt, uerentes ne aliquo tardaretur discrimine. Sed uiarum inscii cum inconsultius fines hostium intrassent, a rege Guntranno, fratre Gundebaldi, qui in uicinis regnat, hodie matutius tempore

[1] *No break in MS. but some words seem to have been lost in this passage.*
[2] MS. redditum.
[3] qua quo uersus.

insidiis circumuenti sunt. Jamque, ut ipsimet cernere potestis, eorum usque ad internicionem ceditur exercitus, illique iam tanto coartantur periculo, ut in proximo aut morientes occumbent aut certe ducentur captiui; hostium quippe innumerabiles conuenere copie. Verum nec uictoribus leta relinquitur uictoria; omnes enim ex aduersa parte nisi perpauci qui relinqui sunt iam corruerunt. Quia tres prefati socii, scilicet Niger Miles de Nigro Saltu et Roseus Miles de Roseo Saltu et Candidus Miles de Candido Saltu, tanta uirtute in eos debac[c]hati sunt, ut pocius leonum quam hominum illorum uideretur esse fortitudo."

Hiis auditis, a puero nuncii conciti ad Meriadocum reuertuntur eique audita referunt. Meriadocus autem, sociorum infortunium suum reputans, du[Fol. 17.]centos quos secum habebat equites duas in turmas diuisit, nilque moratus, ad locum certaminis, nunciis precedentibus, quam celer[r]ime properat. Quo ubi uentum est, *haud*[1] procul tres socios suos ab hostibus circumuallatos iamque capiendos uel interficiendos conspicit. Paucis igitur suos de pristina hortatus uirtute, aduersarios ab utroque latere uiriliter iussit inuadere. Nec mora, clamore ualido sublato et equis ad cursum concitatis, bifaria acie e silua inopini excurrunt, hostes undique *acriter*[2] inuadunt, inuasos dissipant, dissipatos partim capiunt, partim obtruncant, omnesque in fugam conuertunt captamque predam de manibus eorum *excutiunt*.[3] Aduersarii namque eos plures quam erant subsidio uenisse putauerunt, ideoque primo eorum impetu statim terga uerterunt. Fuerant autem qui capti erant ex imperialibus septingenti[4] quinquaginta equites qui, hostium fuga excussi, eos qui se ceperant statim *infestare*[5] ceperunt, et qui e bello fugientes se in siluam receperant, hostes abactos uidentes, in campum reuersi sunt. Occisorum autem ex parte imperialium habebatur numerus ccccti xxxvi. Ceteri omnes salui.

[1] MS. haut. [2] MS. accriter. [3] MS. excuciunt.
[4] *After* septingenti *the* MS. *has* dcc. [5] MS. infestari.

Fugientibus igitur aduersariis, Meriadocus a tergo cum suis truculentus insistit necemque miserandam ingerit. Omnes enim quos assequi poterant neci dabant. Cesus [Col. 2.] est igitur ab eis uniuersus regis Guntranni exercitus, ut mille penitus ex eo superessent reliquie. Ipse quoque Guntrannus fugiens a Meriadoco anticipatus occiditur. Per cuius regnum suum ilico duxit exercitum, omnia circumcirca ferro et flamma pessumdans. *Potitus*[1] est igitur uniuersis municipiis eius et urbibus, quarum quasdam ui expugnauit, quasdam in dedicionem accepit. Prebebat autem larga stipendia suis militibus de hostium spoliis. Inierat autem cum sociis consilium, se minime ad imperatorem rediturum, nisi ante miris a se gestis. Mandauit tamen imperatori bellorum euentus et queque a se gesta fuerant. Imperator uero, illum de singulari collaudans uirtute, rescripsit ei, cun[c]ta que adquisi[u]erat uel adquisiturus foret in sua, prout uellet, potestate mansura, et, si filiam suam quam rex Gundebaldus rapuerat *eripere*[2] posset, se eam sibi in matrimonio dotaturum diuiciasque et gloriam affatim collaturum. Quibus mandatis ab imperatore Meriadocus acceptis nitendum sibi summo opere indicabat, ut inceptam probitatem *meliori*[3] fine concluderet, ne sua inercia perderet quod tanti honoris sibi a tanto offerebatur principe.

Igitur per ciuitates et castella que ceperat aptis locis dispositis suorum militum presidiis, ipse priuatus, usus consilio, tantum cum tribus sociis suis, scilicet Nigro Milite de Nigro Saltu et Roseo Milite de Roseo Saltu [Fol. 17b.] et Candido Milite de Candido Saltu, in regnum Gundebaldi regis proficiscitur; regna quippe horum duorum fratrum collimitabantur, trium dierum interiecto itinere. Jam enim fama uirtutum eius usque ad aures filie imperatoris peruenerat. Ipsa quoque clanculo nuncios ad Meriadocum miserat, mandans ei, se ob probitates eius illum solum diligere . . . .[4] ipsius anunciam (*sic*) oppido appetere; et si ad eam uellet uenire [et] sua industria se e potestate Gundebaldi eripere,

[1] MS. Pocius. [2] MS. erripere. [3] MS. meiliori.

[4] *Some words apparently lost here, although there is no break in the MS.*

insuper et regnum ipsius ualeret adquirere. Hoc tamen ei per nuncios sepe inculcauit, ut, si ad se ueniret, cum manu priuata accederet, dicens eum potius cautela quam uiribus id negocium ad effectum posse perducere. Comparatis itaque uie necessariis, Meriadocus solummodo et tres socii eius iter ineunt. Errauerunt autem in siluam quamdam, quam transgressuri intrauerant, biduoque fame affecti sunt, quia nulla hominum habitacio in *uicino*[1] aderat, a quibus sibi necessaria emere poterant. Quinto demum die, in extrema hora nemoris, grex boum, quasi de pascuis domum reuertens, tempore uespertino ante se apparuit. Tunc Meriadocus ait Nigro Militi de Nigro Saltu: "Festinanter precede; collem qui ante nos eminet ascende; si locus sit quo diuertere hac nocte possimus inspice; hic quippe grex quem conspicimus non longius remota hominum repetunt habitacula." Niger igitur Miles de Nigro [Saltu], ut sibi iubebatur, precessit, montem ascendit, circumspexit, rediit, clamauitque ad socios: [Col. 2.] "Venite; ne moremini; urbs preclarissima muro circumdata trans montem habetur, cuius eciam suburbana firma concludunt menia." Colle itaque traiecto, hominem inuenerunt in agro, a quo que et cuius urbs esset urbisque quesierunt aditum. Responsum est ab eo urbem Gundebaldi regis et nobiliorem municioremque tocius regni ipsius esse, ob cuius decorem et firmitatem filiam imperatoris quam ceperat in eam posuisse in eamque clausam obseruare; portis autem ciuitatis sedulos continue custodes pre timore imperatoris presidere neminemque ab occasu solis usque ad ipsius ortum die sequenti urbem ingredi uel egredi permittentes; si autem urbem uoluissent intrare, gregem boum precedentem sequerentur. Intrabat autem grex in suburbana per quandam portam paruulam. Secuti sunt igitur armenta boum, atque suburbana subeuntes ad ualuas ciuitatis peruenerunt repagulis firmissime obseratas. Meriadocus autem aduocans ianitorem rogauit blande, ut sibi ianuas patefaceret. Ille uero tantum-

[1] MS. uicinio.

modo portarum aperto postico, "*Cuiates*[1]" ait "estis? *pacifici*-[2] ne an exploratores?" Cui Meriadocus: "Ex Britonibus originem ducimus; regi Britannie diu militauimus; pacifici sumus; ut regi Gundebaldo seruiamus in hanc patriam uenimus, quem ab imperatore Alemannie grauari audiuimus. Si militibus indiget et nostro seruicio, presto habemur ipsius parere imperis. Nos ergo intrare permitte." [Fol. 18.] Contra ianitor: "Laudandi quidem estis, quod ad subsidium domini mei uenistis, cui talium uirorum non parua incumbit necessitas. Verum propter fraudes imperialium sibi assidue insidiancium ab ipso *uetitum*[3] est, aliquem extraneum hanc ingredi ciuitatem, nisi ex precepto oris ipsius uel prefecti, quem ad tuendam reliquit ciuitatem. Rex quippe longius tridie infra suum regnum *profectus*[4] est, dimisitque in hac urbe filiam imperatoris, quam ui abduxit, ut ipsa eum rogauit, ob cuius *raptionem*[5] cotidie pene milites imperatoris per hanc discurrunt prouinciam et uariante fortuna plurime hinc [et] inde fiunt congressiones. Qua de re claustra urbis arcius obseruantur, ne aliqua incuria hosti poteat aditus. Vos autem ite et uobis in suburbano *hospicia*[6] capite, donec rex redierit uel cum prefecto huius urbis *locutus fuerim*."[7] Cui Meriadocus "Immo," ait "tu ad prefectum uade et renuncia illi quatuor milites ante ualuas stare urbisque precari ingressum; simul et cur aduenerimus ei insinua." Ad hec ianitor "Non faciam," *respondit*[8] "quia non mihi uacat et porte iam sunt claudende. Discedite hinc ad hospicium uestrum. Procacia uestra uos aliquas demonstrat machinari insidias." Quo dicto, cum posticum claudere uellet, Meriadocus equo prosiliens "Obsecro" ait, "amice, tria uerba mecum secrecius ad tuum profectum loquere." Janitore uero negante et posticum claudere festinante, Meriadocus, aduertens neminem cum eo infra ianuas adesse, [Col. 2.] pede dextro tam fortiter posticum impulit, ut et ipsum ianitorem postico impulsum

[1] MS. cui aces. [2] MS. pacifice. [3] MS. ventum.
[4] MS. prefectus. [5] MS. repcionem. [6] MS. hospicio.
[7] MS. locuti fuerit. [8] MS. respondere.

solo resupinum prosterneret. Introque fremebundus irrumpens, ipsum per *tempora*[1] cor[r]eptum foras extraxit atque in rapidum flumen, quo urbs ambiebatur, proiecit. Deinde introgressus portas *aperuit*[2] et socios urbem intrare fecit.

Dum hec ab illis geruntur, fortuitu filia imperatoris in turri muris contigua ad superiores fenestrarum absides cum duabus puellis stabat, hinc uirorem pratorum, fluenta fluminum, illinc amenitatem se spaciando despectans nemorum. Que, uniuersa que ad ualuas urbis acta sunt intuita, statim cepit coniecturare ipsum esse Meriodocum qui tantum *facinoris*[3] perpetrare ausus fuisset. Verita igitur ne a ciuibus res gesta comperiretur, sine mora nuncium quem ante ad Meriadocum miserat clanculo asciuit, portas urbis adire celerrime precepit, qui essent quos pre illis stare uiderat inquisiturum. Nuncius festinauit, ualuas peciit, re inuestigata, ad dominam rediit, Meriadocum adesse nunciauit. Remittitur nuncius festinanter, Meriadocum ad castellum perducturus. Mandauit autem illi, ut diceret, mutato nomine, se regi militaturum aduenisse. Rex autem, ut predixi, remocius profectus fuerat. Prefectus quoque ad regalia exercenda negocia eadem die urbem exierat. Filia uero imperatoris, ut domina, urbi presidebat, cuius iussionibus animo libenciori quam ipsius regis omnes [Fol. 18b.] ciues obsecundabant. Meriadocus igitur, castellum ingressus, filiam imperatoris cum considentibus lepide salutauit, suumque interrogantibus nomen mentitus, regi subsidio se aduentasse cum sociis astruebat. Exceptus est autem ab illa coram aliis, ut extraneus, sed post refeccionem cene, quibusque militum sua hospicia petentibus, puella, cum sui consilii consciis remanens, eum introduxit thalamis omnibusque refocillauit deliciis. Cui, cum uniuersa que circa imperatorem et a se gesta erant narrasset, "Mecum" ait illa "O Meriadoce, hiis duobus perhendinabis diebus, tercio quo te misero proficiscens."

Moratus est igitur apud illam Meriadocus duobus diebus omnique gaudio et delectacione recreatus est. Die autem

[1] MS. timpora. [2] MS. apparuit. [3] MS. facionoris.

tercio illucescente, Meriadocum illa aduocauit, cui et hec locuta est: "Patens tibi est, Meriadoce, me a rege Gundebaldo ui captam et ui a patre, iam triennium est, abductam. Nec tamen me quasi captiuam sed *uelut*[1] filiam, immo eciam ut dominam, semper hactenus habuit. Tocius enim sui regni principatus in [m]eis subiacet iussionibus acque ad meum nutum uniuersa eius precipua pendent negocia. Ipsemet rex mee uoluntati in omnibus obsequitur, nec est quod uelit patrare quod menti mee obesse noluerit. Verum licet mihi pro uoto suppetant omnia, meam tamen mihi conscienciam semper captiuitatis remordet iniuria; vnde [Col. 2.] mihi regnum est pro carcere, diuiciarum copias inopiam reputo, honor et gloria mihi uidentur dolor et augustia, nec est aliquid quod meo sedeat animo, quamdiu tenear sub captiuitatis uinculo. Nitendum est igitur ut hinc eripiar, quia gratius est mihi eciam cum miseriis mori libera quam cum omnibus deliciis uiuere captiua. Ad quod efficiendum neminem te magis scio idoneum, quia qui tot probitatum singulari uirtute assecutus [es] insignia certa sum te meum uelle completurum, si ad hoc uolenti animo erigaris. Duo autem sunt que huic rei maxime suffragantur. Vnum autem est, quod in re militari sollers haberis et strenuus, et, ut puto, solus inuentus es, qui Gundebaldi incomparabilem conterat fortitudinem, qui in rebus bellicis nunquam sui parem inuenit. Aliud est quod ipse rex Gundebaldus ob morum peruersitatem et importabilem tirannidem uniuersis sui regni ciuibus odiosus habetur, tuaque fama audita, tuum aduentum ardentibus animis hactenus affectauerunt. Rem autem quo te docuero aggredieris ordine.

"Curiam ipsius Gundebaldi a me digressus adibis, quodque sub eius stipendiis militaturus adueneris ei intimabis. *Sed*[2] sunt quedam in quibus te premunitum esse desidero. Ipse Gundebaldus incomparabilis exstat uirtutis, cui mos huiusmodi noscitur hactenus fuisse, ut nullum sibi militare [Fol. 19.]

[1] MS. velud. [2] MS. Set.

cupientem consorcio sue admiserit milicie, antequam quarum esset uirium ipsemet singulari congressione fuerit expertus. Est autem ei quedam insula, quindecim ex omni parte patens miliariis, super Rheni fluminis ripas sita, terra de qua nemo reuertitur *nuncupata;*[1] ex cuius uocabulo ipse cognominatus est rex terre de qua nemo reuertitur. Que quidem insula iccirco terra de qua nemo reuertitur dicta cognoscitur, quod sit tota palus perpetua, omni destituta soliditate, que nec hominum nec pecudum umquam tulerit uestigia; omnis quippe illius superficies insule ad instar bituminis liquescit et *defluit*[2] mollicie, nulla firmitate subnixa, ut pocius liquidum bitumen quam solidam terram iudices. Inde est—quia quicquid illam ingreditur statim mergitur—terra de qua nemo reuertitur merito *nuncupatur.*[3] Non herbas gignit, non arbores nec aliquid quod uitalem spiret animam. Eiusdem latitudinis cuius et longitudinis est. In medio tamen ipsius, quasi in puncto centri, pene miliarium et semis terra solida est; quem locum, municioni congruum et inexpungnabilem Gundebaldus considerans, mira arte et industria uiam permeabilem per mediam paludem ad illum usque direxit. Longissimis enim trabibus centenorum pedum sibique more . . . .[4] *compleuit*[5] ex aduerso incastratis paludi spisso ordine et directo infixis; alios[6] pedes crassitudinem habentes super capita eorum contabulari fecit. Has quoque contabulaciones [Col. 2.] lapidibus strauit, ut natura pocius quam ars uiam uideatur effecisse. Secat autem insulam a quatuor partibus per medium in modo crucis porrecta, cuius partes coeunt in predictam solidam continentem in medio loco sitam, in qua ipse Gundebaldus aulam uenusti operis construxit, [h]ortum diuersarum arborum fructuumque conseruit et aquarum riuulos diriuauit. Quam aulam fere semper dum pacis fruitur ocio frequentat, ubi et omnes suos congessit thesauros. A quatuor autem lateribus quatuor castella insulam muniunt,

[1] MS. nunccupata. [2] MS. deffluit. [3] MS. nunccupatur.
[4] *Although there is no break in the* MS. *some words seem to have been omitted here.*
[5] MS. compliuit. [6] *Probably a numeral has been omitted before* pedes.

scilicet quibus locis uiarum capita ab insula exeunt. Sed predicta semita artissima est, ut obuiantes non capiat, tantum pedum . . . .[1] porrecta in latitudinem. Nam paludis profunditas et inconstancia laciorem fieri minime passa est. Gundebaldus igitur, ut premonstraui, dum ad se uenientes milites et sibi seruire cupientes probare desiderat, ipse aulam prescriptam armatus petit, militem ad quodlibet unum ex quatuor castellis statuit; deinde, admissis equis, in arta semita inuicem congrediuntur. Verum omnes qui cum eo hactenus confluxerunt ipse prostrauit atque in profundam paludem nunquam resurrecturos deiecit. Est quippe uir nulli probitate posterior, habens sonipedem generosum et precipuum, cuius solius ualore multos egregios milites ille deuicerit et prostrauerit. Certus itaque sis te cum illo oportere congredi et te ei minime posse resistere, si prefato equo uectus [Fol. 19b.] tibi occurrerit, nisi meo minuaris (*sic*) a[m]miniculo. Habeo namque apud me sonipedem quem Gundebaldus mihi commendauit, fratrem alterius sonipedis quem ipse secum detinet sed illo multo ualenciorem et *egregiorem*.[2] Preclara quoque ipsius arma penes me seruantur, que una cum pretaxato equo tibi tradam, quibus munitus ipsius occursum secure poteris recipere. Videas ergo ut te probe strenueque contineas, quia uita et salus utriusque nostrum ex hoc pendet negocio. Si tibi successerit, et mihi succedit; si quid aduersi *incurreris*,[3] et me casus idem manebit."

Hiis dictis, suffusa lacrimis dextrarium e claustris quibus tenebatur fecit produci *Arabicum*,[4] forma, pulcritudine, decore et ualore sola regia sella dignum. Erat enim capite paruo et macilento, acutis et erectis auribus, collo lato spisso et neruoso, corpore plano et producto, iliis striccioribus, pectore diffuso, crassis clunibus et rotundis, cauda protensa crispa et demissa, tibiis grossis et ualentibus, magnis pedibus, firmis ungulis, uiuaci gestu, magnarum uirium, lenis motus, cursu uelocissimus, tante mansuetudinis, ut manu pueri posset circumflecti.

[1] *A numeral is needed here.*
[2] MS. eggregiorem.
[3] MS. incurrens.
[4] MS. arrabicum.

Hunc equum falleris quibus condecebat co[m]ptum et ornatum iussit Meriadocum ascendere, supradictis regis armis ei contraditis. Mutuo igitur ualedicto, Meriadocus [Col. 2.] ad regem tendere cum sociis cepit. Quem apud unum e quatuor castellis insulam cingentibus *reperiens*,[1] ea condicione ab eo suscipitur, ut, si singularem illius congressum perferre ualuisset, numero ipsius ascriberetur milicie. Quid plura? Dies statuitur, quo inuicem congrederentur. Occultabat autem Meriadocus sonipedem usque ad diem congressionis, iuxta preceptum puelle, ne a Gundebaldo comperiretur. Numquam enim Gundebaldus cum eo certamen inisset, si illum equum Meriadocum habere cognouisset. Duelli dies aduenerat et uterque se ad certamen preparat. Rex ab aula in insula sita, Meriadocus a proximo castello armatus progreditur. Verum vbi appropinquauerunt et rex Gundebaldus suum sonipedem aduertit, confestim expaluit, omneque robur ipsius *emarcuit;*[2] in sortibus quippe acceperat se ab illo solo uincendum qui sibi singulari pungna illo equo uectus occurrisset. Non tamen erat tunc tempus penitendi nec locus periculum euitandi, quia, ut alter libere transiret, alter deici ante erat necesse. Tota igitur res solis consistebat uiribus. Hec tamen horrenda uoce intonuit, se ab illis proditum in quibus maxime confidebat, subiu[n]xitque: "Meriadoce, Meriadoce, nunc primum quis sis agnosco. Tua cum puella amicicia supplantauit me." Meriadocus autem eius dicta non attendens, a[d]misso equo, demissa lancea, eum uiriliter impulit, atque cum equo [Fol. 20.] in unum globum, uersis uestigiis, in paludem deiecit. Absor[p]tique sunt ambo, scilicet rex cum sonipede, in profundo bituminis nec unquam postea uisi sunt.

Rege igitur Gundebaldo in palude submerso, quia propter uie artitudinem equum Meriadocus circumflectere minime poterat, usque ad aulam progressus est. Ex cuius aduentu milites, custodes palacii, regis interitum cognoscentes, sine mora in *ultionem*[3] in eum unanimes irruissent, ni pacta

[1] MS. repperiens. [2] MS. emartuit. [3] MS. ultorem dum.

condicio et lex statuta uetuissent. Sanctitum namque inter regem et Meriadocum iureiurando, suo uniuerso audiente exercitu, fuerat, ut, si, illo deuicto, Meriadocus uictor *existeret*,[1] ob ipsius necem nil prorsus mali a suorum quoquam pateretur, et, quia herede carebat, suo quoque libere potiretur imperio; tot quippe autem secum confligentes prostrauerat, ut nec Meriadocum[2] ipsum quidem sibi posse resistere certus extiterit; ideoque pactum huiusmodi quasi pro ridiculo cum eo inierit. Sed longe aliter quam sperabatur contigit. Aulici igitur, cum condicione sanctita constricti, tum eius probitatem admirati, non solum ei nocere cauerunt, uerum eciam cum ingenti ipsum laude susceperunt, ut dominum *acclamantes*[3] illum dignum imperio, qui uirum contriuerit, cuius impetum neminem umquam ferre potuisse constabat. Arma itaque thesaurosque ei contradunt. Mittit confestim pro sociis ad castellum de quo ad bellum egressus est. Nunciatur quoque [Col. 2.] res gesta per reliqua oppida confinia. Conueniunt ad Meriadocum principes; coadunantur militum cohortes; in regni gubernatorem ab omnibus assumitur, summaque rerum potestas ei conceditur. Deditur illi uniuersa prouincia; tocius regni cessit potencia. Meriadocus autem, eorum liberalitati et munificencie debitas gracias referens condignisque muneribus singulos remunerans, illis in commune insinuat, quod miles sit imperatoris; quod ab eo ad subiugandos hostes directus [sit]; quod hiis rebus maxime suam operam adhibuerit, ut filiam imperatoris a captiuitate excuteret; quod quicquid illis in regionibus adquisisset uiribus et nomini imperatoris ascriberet; quod imperator sibi filiam se in matrimonio daturum, si eam e Gundebaldi posset manibus eripere, spoponderit; propter que omnia oportere se consensu, consilio et ordinacione imperatoris agere, que agenda erant super regnorum que assecutus fuerat regimine. Ad hec principes ex communi responderunt consultu, se nichil

[1] MS. exissteret.
[2] *In the* MS. Meriadocum *by mistake is put after* autem *in this sentence.*
[3] MS. acclammantes.

imperatori debere; se nichil ex ipso tenere; se nunquam sub eius dicione fuisse; se nec timore nec uiribus imperatoris sibi cessisse. Si traditum a se principatum in antiqua libertate uellet tueri, gratum illius sibi foret dominium; si sub imperatoris deliberaret transferre imperium, iret quo uellet, ut uenerat; ipsi sibi alium regem preficerent. Dum hoc inter eos diu uentilatum fuisset, tandem in hac se[n]tencia [Fol. 20b.] consenserunt principes, ut, si imperator ei suam filiam in coniugium traderet, regnum suum imperatoris dicioni subigi non refutarent; sin autem, id nullo modo fieri paterentur. Tali fine conuentus soluitur. Meriadocus autem, munitis undecumque urbibus et castellis, ad puellam rediit, a qua cum magna triumphali pompa *magnisque*[1] occurrencium est exceptus preconiis.

Dum autem Meriadocus in hiis esset occupatus negociis, ingens bellum inter imperatorem et regem Gallie exoritur, quo imperatorem ualde comprimi et coartari contigit. Rex quippe Gallie ex inprouiso super eum ducens exercitum, longe lateque eius depeculiatus prouincias, quasdam quoque preclaras urbes et municipia expugnauit, ciues captiuauit, reliqua omnia ferro et flamma pessumdans. Tres eciam ipsius duces cum maxima multitudine sibi occurrentes prostrauit omnemque eorum usque ad internicionem fudit exercitum. Imminente igitur sibi rege et assidua infestacione incumbente, compulsus est imperator cum eo pacem firmare [et] tali condicione inire concordiam, ut filiam suam quam Gundebaldo Meriadocus eripuerat maritali lege coniungeret, concessis ei omnibus que de suo imperio armis optinuerat. Jam quippe ei Meriadocus uniuersa a se gesta scripto innotuerat. Cauit autem diligentissime imperator, ne quod [Col. 2.] cum rege Gallie super filie sue desponsacione conuenerat ullo modo Meriadoco patefieret; unde et ad huius rei noticiam non nisi consiliarios suos quemquam admiserat. Nouerat enim probitatem Meriadoci et quantum in re militari ualeret quantumque iam sibi ex duobus regnis que adqui-

[1] MS. mangnisque.

si[u]erat robur accreuisset. Studuit itaque eum fraude circumuenire, qua filiam suam de manibus eius auferre ipsumque sui potestati posset subigere.

Hec imperator apud se et cum amicis deliberans duos nobilissimos proceres, xl suo in commitatu milites habentes, ad Meriadocum cum suis signatis direxit apicibus, quibus primum Meriadocum laude afferebat multiplici, illum patronum et tutorem sui sepe clamitans imperii. Deinde dignas laboribus ipsius remuneraciones promittebat; quedam quoque de *propriis*[1] negociis que circa se uersabantur interserabat. Ad ultimum uero mandabat et precipiebat illum sine dilacione ad se properare, suam filiam cum principibus utriusque regni abducere, tum quia eam uisendi immo detinebatur affectu, tum quod nupcias eiusdem peragere festinaret, quas se absente perfici nolebat, tum [quod] eciam principes quos conuenire iubebat sibi dedicionem facerent. Meriadocus autem, huiusmodi ab imperatore mandata suscipiens, magnum sue glorie ex dictis ipsius repu[Fol. 21.]tabat emolumentum accidisse, non perpendens hamum cibo tectum, uenenum melle dulcoratum, uerba captancia decepcionis blandiciis illita extitisse. Nec mora, procerum coegit concilium, in quorum audiencia mandata imperatoris recitari iussit. Quibus auditis, confestim fauor cunctorum eum assecutus est, illum dignum *acclamancium*[2] regni gubernacione qui tot et tanta a tanto principe percipere meruisset laudum preconia. Promiseruntque secum illo una ituros eique in omnibus que imperasset obsecundaturos et quicumque casus manerent socios fore atque participes.

Cum maximo igitur decore atque nobilitate profeccione parata, Meriadocus, assumpta filia imperatoris, iter propositum arrip[u]it. *Comitabantur*[3] autem eum xii comites ingenuitate et diuiciis *conspicui*[4] procerumque multitudo usque ad lxxxiiii quos non minus xx milia militum sequebantur. Nam cum tanta militum copiositate aduenit,

[1] MS. propriiis. [2] MS. acclammancium. [3] MS. commitabantur.
[4] MS. conspicium.

ut eciam imperatori terribilis uideretur. Aduentanti autem imperator quasi gratulabundus occurrit, aliud uultu pretendens quam quod mente machinabatur. Jussit autem omnem turbam que cum eo uenerat, exceptis primoribus, circumcirca per uillulas et castella hospitari, uolens, si quid accidisset, omne robur exercitus ab eo remocius consistere, quatinus eorum presencia ei minime foret presidio. Primores autem et principes cum Meriadoco [Col. 2.] in suo excepit palacio. Aggregauerat autem et imperator innumerabilem miliciam, ita ut uix urbis qua morabantur menia ipsam capere[n]t. Nata[m] uero suam statim, ubi aduenit, a consorcio Meriadoci remouens, in celsiori turre constituit, adhibita ei diligenciori custodia. Ne tamen dolus pateret, aditus ad eam Meriadoco minime negabatur; sed quid inter eos gereretur suis sedulo rimari iussit, occasionem aduersus eum querens qua iuste uideretur eum grauare debere.

Nunciatur imperatori interea ab insidiantibus, Meriadocum cum filia sua sepius secreta uerba conserere, oscula inmoderacius imprimere et striccioribus stringere colla complexibus. Quod imperator audiens ad suam exercendam nequiciam se uiam *reperisse*[1] congratulatus [est] ualde. Conuocat igitur omnes principes qui ad curiam conuenerant una cum Meriadoco et suis proceribus, induxitque palacio, quasi cum eis super aliquo consultaturus negocio. *Uniuersam*[2] autem reliquam turbam clausis iussit amoueri foribus. Occuluerat autem et infra palacium et extra in pomerium quo ab aquilonari parte ambiebatur palacium ualidam manum armatorum usque ad mille quingentos milites, quibus signum dederat, quid quando agere proposuerat. Facto igitur concessu nobilium et silencio imperato, "Non uos," ait imperator "O patres et principes, latere existimo, quo affectu meos fami[Fol. 21b.]liares semper coluerim uel quibus honoribus mihi fideles extulerim quantisue sub me militantes sim solitus remunerari stipendiis. Cum amicis mihi namque est secretorum *comunicacio*,[3] cum de me iam bene meritis regni

[1] MS. repperisse. [2] MS. Uniuersum. [3] MS. communicacio.

tuicio, cum mihi militantibus thesaurorum particio. Illis diligentem, istis liberalem, reliquiis aut[em] ex[h]ibere munificum me semper studui. Hinc amicorum constanciam, procerum fidelitatem, militum uero singularem circa me comparaui uirtutem. Argumentum mee oracioni hic qui adest Meriadocus existit, quem quam fauorabiliter ad me aduentantem exceperim, ad quante dignitatis gradus sullimauerim satis habetur compertum. Primum namque ex stipendario in numero meorum famularium eum asciui; deinde gregariis uniuersis et stipendariis militibus meis prefeci; auricularem et consiliarium meum constitui; preclaras illi quoque prouincias ad regendum tradidi; hiisque satis maiora ei conferre proposui, tum ob illius uirtutem, tum quod id mee glorie rebar comparere. Quidem *strenuum*[1] eum fateor militisque pro me sudasse laboribus. Verumptamen queso cuius tociens triumphauit uiribus? Nonne meis? Nonne corrobore mei exercitus uictor exstitit? Cuius est suffultus diuiciis? Nonne suis ex meo erario stipendia prebebantur militibus? Duo quidem regna subegit. Sed quomodo? Decertante meo exercitu. Natam quoque meam de manibus Gundebaldi excussit. Sed per quid? Per industriam [Col. 2.] mee ipsius filie. Nichil ergo absque meo egit amminiculo. Vt tamen meam in eo liberalitatem et munificenciam ostenderem, super omnem quem ei ante honorem contuli, deliberaui meam copulare filiam, augere diuicias insuper et terciam partem mei imperii eius subdere dominio. Idque exequi iam festinassem, nisi scelus ipsius interuenisset quod me a meo diuertit proposito. Tanto namque ipse Meriadocus in me excessit facinore, ut non solum *promissis*[2] destitui beneficiis, uerum eciam sit dignus dirissimis subigi suppliciis. Meo quippe dedecori dedit operam nilque pudibundius quam quod gessit inferre potuit. Pudet me meimet ipsius proferre uerecundiam. Nisi tamen proferatur a uobis, sciri non potest filiam meam quam me

[1] MS. strennuum. [2] MS. promissus.

more regio desponsaturum nouerat, me insciente, oppressit, uiolauit, et, ut puto, sicut uenter tumescens innuit, grauidam *reliquit.*[1] Meam munificenciam sua preuenit nequicia, illamque sibi prostituit que sibi illibata desponsari debuit. Apud nos igitur meam depono querelam, expectaturus quid uestra super hoc censura, equitate dictante, censeat."

Ad hoc Meriadocus, ultra quam credi potest miratus et ob inauditam prodicionem que sibi intentabatur ira feruescens, dum in medium prosilisset, ut ab illatis se excusaret calumpniis, confestim qui in latebris erant, accepto signo, hinc et inde eruperunt armati. Meriadocum cum sociis, strictis gladiis, circum[Fol. 22.]dederunt, circumdatos ut inermes ceperunt, captosque abducentes in *arcem*[2] fortissimam que confinis erat palacio sub arta incluserunt custodia. Eadem quoque tempestate destinauit imperator quatuor legiones per circumiacentes uillulas ad Meriadoci occupandum exercitum, dato precepto, ut Meriadoco fauentes ergastulis manciparent, qui autem niterentur resistere gladiis cederentur. Ex quibus plurimi, prodicione comperta, fugam inierunt, quidam uiriliter pungnantes interfecti sunt, reliqua multitudo usque ad xiii m[ilia] sese imperatori dederunt; sparsim quippe per uillas hospitati fuerant, unde leuiter ab imperialibus, ut incauti et dispersi, occupati sunt. Imperatoris autem filia ubi qua fraude sit circumuentus Meriadocus audiuit, tam ingenti est absor[p]ta *merore*,[3] ut uix a propriis manibus abstineret, quin semet ipsam interficeret. Continuit tamen mentis ardorem, certa de futuris existens, quod Meriadocus, si posset euadere, uicem suis proditoribus recompensaret.

Uicesimo autem die quo hec gesta sunt rex Gallie cum magna nobilitate aduenit, sibi pactam filiam imperatoris in uxorem ducturus. Verum ubi ad puelle uentum est colloquium, remque secrecius et diligencius inuestigans, eam grauidam rex deprehendisset, ilico, quasi in iniuriam suam factum fuisset, ipsius repudiauit connubium, se scortum in

[1] MS. reliquid. [2] MS. artem. [3] MS. merrore.

coniugium abiurans umquam duc[Col. 2.]turum. Federa quoque que cum imperatore inierat sine dilacione abrupit, id in suum dedecus machinatum fuisse sepius inculcans. Nil tamen que ei iure belli abstulerat penitus restituere uoluit, sed, fracta pacis condicione bellique renouato tumultu, passim imperatoris depredabatur prouincias. E contra imperator, ubi de pace sibi spes excidit, *congregat*[1] et ipse non paruas tam pedestrium, quam equestrium copias, furentique regi maturat occurrere. Certus ab utrisque dies certaminis indicitur, quo quis eorum adeptus fuisset uictoriam alterius potiretur imperio.

Meriadocus interea [in] *prefato*[2] turri tenebatur inclusus. Verum propter bellorum euentus laxiori seruabatur custodia. Imperator enim facti penitens a uinculis immunem eum esse preceperat, sperans animum eius se aliquo modo posse lenire. Dolebat enim grauiter, quod prodicionis pro eo arguebatur crimine, uirum quod sibi utilem perdidisset, regemque nichilominus sibi hostem existere. Postquam autem Meriadocus bellum parari cognouit, qualiter euadere posset apud se sedule deliberabat. Segregatus namque a sociis per se solus manebat. Quid[d]am autem insolitum machinatus est, sicut mens hominis, ubi magis artatur, magis artificiosa sepius inuenitur. Quodam igitur ues[Fol. 22b.]pertino tempore omnes pannos quos habebat, exceptis lineis, in frusta concidit, ipsasque scissuras ad instar funiculi ad inuicem connexuit, funemque longissimum ex conscissa ueste contexuit. Quem eciam trabe ligatum per quandam humiliorem fenestram deorsum deposuit, per quem ipse ad terram confestim descendit. Deinde, ut specie canis excubias falleret, usque ad uallum manibus pedibusque repebat. Quo sine aliquo impedimento transito, ad domum cuiusdam militis, qui in uicino degebat sibique erat familiarissimus, citissime tendebat. A quo quidem ubi quis esset agnitus honorificentiss[im]e susceptus est et omnibus refocillatus deliciis. Tribus autem diebus cum eo perhendinauit. Quarto uero locum certaminis

[1] MS. coggregat. [2] MS. prefati.

peciit una cum suo hospite, qui eciam adinuenit sibi in armis et equis queque erant necessaria.

Pugne dies illuxerat, et a suis ducibus armis septus uterque in campum decertaturus producitur exercitus. Meriadocus in prima fronte se regalibus latenter ingessit cohortibus. Nulla mora, distinctis et ordinatis aciebus, discurrunt pedites; congrediuntur equites; clamor ad sidera tollitur; cominus eminusque pungnatur; corruunt passim uulnerati; nunc hac, nunc illac, uicti uictoresque pellunt et propelluntur. At Meriadocus, inter primos se semper agens, principem milicie imperatoris obuium habuit. [Col. 2.] Cum quo congressus seminecem medio campo prostrauit ac eius equum abduxit. Post hunc cuidam duci qui primam conducebat aciem occurrit. Huic quoque sub cauo pectore ferrum recondit mortiferum, abducensque sonipedem illum in suo sanguine uolutantem *reliquit.*[1] Tercium imperatoris nepotem, qui post eum imperaturus credebatur, furibundus excepit; nec meliori homine . . . .[2] istum quippe cum equo in una deiectum congerie nece mulctauit tristesque manes ad Tartara misit. Deinde orbiculatim inter utrasque perequitans acies, quasi imperialibus insultaret, splendidam in eos lanceam uibrabat atque ad suum lacessibat congressum. Imperator autem, ex interitu suorum optimatum et familiarium tanto accepto infortunio, animo nimis torquebatur, atque, ubi in eo uindicaretur, mori mallet quam uiuere. Ignorabat tamen quis esset. Cumque illius congressum nullum suorum amplius conspiceret audere excipere "Occumbam" exclamauit "cum ceteris, nisi hos qui occubuerunt ulciscar." Equum igitur calcaribus subducens ad cursum coegit Meriadocumque prefixa cuspide omni uirtute peciit. E contra Meriadocus totis habenis in imperatorem admisit sonipedem atque in eum preceps irruit. Eoque imperatorem aggressus est impetu, ut nec clipeus obstiterit nec lorica, quin ualida impacta dextra lancea ei penetralia transuerberaret et cum [Fol. 23.] calido sanguine spiritum per auras eliceret.

[1] MS. reliquid. [2] *Something seems to have been omitted here.*

Dum autem corrueret "Qualia" *inquit*[1] Meriadocus "mihi, O imperator, prebuisti stipendia, talia et ego tibi impendo seruicia." Hec dicens, se continuo cateruis armatorum immiscuit, ne cui comperiretur quis esset euadere cupiens. Rex autem quecumque gesserat sedulo conte[m]platus lumine mittit statim post eum qui illum ad se cum honore deducerent, ne tam probus miles suam euaderet noticiam, et quia ipsius gestiebat remunerari uirtutem qua de tam ualido hoste triumphauerat. Cumque ante se ductus fuisset Meriadocumque cognouisset, cuius probitas sibi satis relata fuerat, rex subridens "Meriadoce, Meriadoce," ait "e merito in illum talia exercuisti quem tante perfidie constat uite co[m]misisse facinus. Laborasti pro me, nec ero tibi ingratus, sicut ille exstitit. Ille tibi uxorem mei causa abstulit. Ego uero illam restituam."

Neci igitur imperatore tradito, ipsius totus dispergitur exercitus. Verum non multum post regis Gallie dicioni cum vniuerso imperio subditur. Rex autem, imperii potitus gubernaculo, Meriadoco confestim suam coniugem cum omnibus que ipse Meriadocus conquisi[u]erat restituit; insuper et magnas possessiones ei adiecit; suos proceres in custodia *detentos*[2] ei reddidit eumque secundum a se super totum suum imperium constituit. Nascitur post hec Meriadoco filius, ex quo multi reges et principes processerunt. Meriadocus uero in omni probitate consenuit.

VI.

Abstract of the Story.

[p. 340.][3] In the time of Uther Pendragon, father of Arthur, a king named Caradoc ruled over Wales, whilst his brother Griffith governed a province under him. The seat of Caradoc's power was in the neighborhood of Snowdon. He

[1] MS. inquid.
[2] MS. decentos.
[3] These bracketed numbers refer to the corresponding pages of the Latin text.

conquered Ireland and married the daughter of the king of that land, and a son and a daughter were the fruit of this union. Feeling sometime afterwards, however, the approach of old age, Caradoc decided to turn over the administration of his kingdom to his brother Griffith and to devote himself to hunting and other amusements. Griffith at first governs the land wisely, [p. 341.] but evil men persuade him to render his power permanent by slaying his brother and seizing upon the throne. [p. 342.] They plan to carry out the assassination whilst the king is hunting in a forest. Caradoc has a dream that he is pierced with arrows by two men who received them from the hand of Griffith. Notwithstanding the fright which the dream causes him and the attempt of the queen to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, [p. 343.] Caradoc goes forth to the hunt. Owing to his age he falls behind the others and is slain under circumstances similar to those of which he had been warned in the dream.

The news is spread abroad and the queen expires from grief. [p. 344.] Griffith also feigns grief but he makes haste to lay hands on the crown. Moreover, he not only refuses their reward to the assassins of Caradoc, but in order to turn suspicion from himself he commands his men first to cut out the tongues of the assassins and then to put them to death. But the accusation which, [p. 345.] before dying, they had launched against Griffith had been heard and was generally believed. The nobles who had been adherents of Caradoc, fearing what Griffith might do against them in future, determined to take away the children of Caradoc from his wicked brother and to seek an alliance for the girl with the son of Moroveus, duke of Cornwall. When two of their number, Sadoc and Donwald, approach him on this subject, [p. 346.] Griffith delays his reply but despatches a message to Ivor, the royal huntsman, and Morwen, his wife, who were bringing up the children, and orders them to send the children to him. Ivor, unsuspecting, obeys his command. Griffith decides to slay the children, but being, in a measure,

touched by their appeals [p. 347.] he sends them off to the forest of Arglud with directions that they should be hanged there. The appointed executioners, however, feel compassion for the children and on reaching the forest tie them to the branch of a huge oak with a slender rope, easily broken, so that they might fall to the ground unharmed. Ivor hears of the flight of the children and taking along with him his horn and his dog Dolfin, *quem multum diligebat*, together with his sword and arms he sets out for the forest, accompanied by his wife and determined to rescue the children or to die in the attempt. Recognizing his inability to accomplish anything against so many by force, he resorts to a stratagem. [p. 348.] To frighten off the men who have charge of the children he kindles fires in the four quarters of the forest and throws flesh into these fires with the purpose of attracting wolves from every side by the odor. He then hides himself in a tree nearby with his wife and dog and waits there to see what will happen. His expectation is answered by the result. The wolves gather and the men conceal themselves in the hollow of the tree to which the children had been hanged. Ivor wounds four of the wolves with his arrows and the remainder of the pack attack their wounded comrades, thereby increasing the fright of the men in the hollow tree. Ivor next blows his horn and scares away the wolves. He then descends from the tree and begins to smoke out the men in their hollow. [p. 349.] To gain permission to come out, they promise to let the children go away with him free. Ivor assents, but as the men crawl out of the hollow one by one, he slays them all in succession. He then delivers the children, who had been suspended for half a day, and flies with them, his wife and his dog to the Fleventanean forest, where he takes refuge in Eagle Rock—so-called because on it were built the nests of four eagles who constantly faced the four points of the compass. There were wrought in the rock ample rooms and the whole was concealed by the dense

woods round about. They lived there by hunting, [p. 350.] fowling and the nuts which they gathered. The author then describes how they struck fire from flint and were able to cook their food without the usual utensils. [p. 351.] After they had lived five years in this manner, they were walking one day in the forest, Morwen and the girl being somewhat separated from the rest when Urien, King of Scotland, accompanied by Kay passed along on his way home from a visit to Arthur. Urien and Kay had just taken leave of one another when the former observed Morwen's charge, raised her up on his horse and carried her away to Scotland. Similarly Kay, meeting with Ivor and Meriadoc, to the great distress of Ivor, laid hands on the boy and bore him off likewise. At the end of two years Ivor and his wife determined [p. 352.] to leave the forest and go in search of the children. They guess the whereabouts of Orwen from words which Kay had let fall in parting with Urien. Moreover, Ivor recognized Kay from having once served as a huntsman at Arthur's court. They separate, then, Morwen going to Scotland in search of the girl and Ivor to Arthur's court with the hope of recovering Meriadoc.

It happened that Morwen arrived in Scotland on the very day appointed for the marriage of King Urien and Orwen. On their return from the church after the marriage ceremony, the queen, whilst dealing out alms to the poor people by the wayside, recognizes her foster-mother in the throng. Orwen faints at the sight of her, but when she revives tells Urien [p. 353.] the cause of her swoon. Morwen is then brought to the palace and entertained in the handsomest manner.

In the meanwhile Ivor has sought King Arthur's court. Bearing a dead stag on his shoulders, he enters the hall whilst they are all at the feast. He recognizes Kay and offers him the stag. Meriadoc in turn recognizes his foster-father at once and springs clear over the table to greet him. At Meriadoc's request [p. 354.] Ivor is received among the attendants of Kay.

Shortly after this Kay pays a visit to King Urien in Scotland and takes Ivor and Meriadoc with him. There they meet Morwen and Orwen, and mutual recognitions take place with great delight.

After a time they all plan to take vengeance on Griffith for his crime, but first seek the consent of Arthur, [p. 355.] recalling to his memory the virtues of Caradoc. Arthur summons Griffith to appear at his court on an appointed day to make amends for the murder of his brother. But Griffith, who has learned in the meanwhile of the escape of his brother's children, determined not to obey the summons. On the contrary, he determined to resist King Arthur and fortifies various places—especially Mount Snowdon, upon which Arthur and Urien now advanced with their forces.

Griffith cut off all the approaches to Wales save one which was very narrow and could be easily guarded. To dislodge the enemy, Sadoc and Donwald on the side of Arthur ravaged Griffith's provinces to such an extent that the latter [p. 356.] was compelled to leave his stronghold and oppose them. Arthur then pursues Griffith and besieges him in a town situated on a high rock. Nevertheless, all the efforts of Arthur to reduce the place were vain for the space of three years, when at last it succumbed to famine. [p. 357.] In accordance with the judgment of the nobles Griffith was executed, after which event the kingdom of Wales passed into the hands of Meriadoc.

But Meriadoc was unwilling to remain at home in the idleness of peace and he accordingly arranged with his brother-in-law,[1] Urien, that the latter should take charge of the kingdom whilst he sought warlike adventures abroad—on the condition, however, that he might resume his sovereignty whenever it pleased him. Nevertheless, for a time, Meriadoc stayed on at Arthur's court before going into foreign lands and whilst he was there the Black Knight

[1] The MS. strangely has *socer* in two places, viz., pp. 357, 366.

of the Black Woodland came to court to assert his right to the Black Woodland against King Arthur. [p. 358.] The latter laid claim to the Woodland on the ground that the herd of swine which frequented it had sprung from a black boar and sow placed there by Uther Pendragon. The Black Knight, on the other hand, averred that the darkness of his complexion which was due to the Black Woodland sufficiently established his claim. The Black Knight declines the arbitration of Arthur's nobles and proposes to submit the question to the decision of arms. He offers to combat forty knights on forty successive days [p. 359.] and the king accepts his terms. In due time the agreement is carried out, but on thirty-seven successive days the Black Knight overcomes the champions opposed to him. Arthur in alarm arranges to send Kay forth [p. 360.] as the champion the next day, and Gawain on the day following that, if Kay should prove unsuccessful. But Meriadoc who had been knighted by Kay hears of this arrangement and begs Kay to be allowed to take his place. [p. 361.] Kay consents and Meriadoc sets out for the Black Woodland. A deep and broad river ran by the place, marking, as it were, the limits of Arthur's kingdom. Meriadoc on reaching this river turned his horse loose to rest and refresh himself in the grass. He next prepared himself for the encounter and mounting his steed advanced to the ford and sounded his trumpet. The Black Knight duly rushes forth but is overcome by Meriadoc. [p. 362.] He expresses his admiration for Meriadoc's strength and makes inquiry concerning his ancestry and history. He then surrenders and proposes that Meriadoc should accept him as his constant comrade in all future enterprises. [p. 363.] To this Meriadoc agrees and they set out for Arthur's court.

During the forty days that the combats with the Black Knight lasted King Arthur refused every day to take food until he had heard the result of the combat. On this day in his anxiety on account of the delay he sends a man up to the top of a tower to be on the watch for Meriadoc's return.

After a time the watchman announces that the hero is approaching together with the Black Knight. The king is incredulous, but soon they arrive and Meriadoc reports his victory and claims the redemption of the promise which the king had made—viz., that he would grant him any request that he might proffer, in case he proved victorious in this contest. The king invites him to state his petition and Meriadoc asks [p. 364.] that the possession of the Black Woodland be restored to the Black Knight. The king is reluctant thus to relinquish the object of the contest, but on the advice of his nobles he finally yields.

[p. 365.] On the following day the Red Knight of the Red Woodland presents himself with the complaint that the king has robbed him of his ancestral estate. Meriadoc is again sent forth as champion of the king and having overcome this new adversary makes the same terms with him as with the Black Knight and restores the property to its owner.

The same thing is repeated with the White Knight of the White Woodland, so that Meriadoc in these three combats has gained three devoted followers.

[p. 366.] Meriadoc now determines to entrust the kingdom of Wales to his brother-in-law, Urien, on the terms which have already been stated, and to carry out his plan of seeking warlike adventures. He learns of a war going on between the Emperor of Germany and Gundebald, king of the land from which no one returns, for the latter had seized and carried off the only daughter of the emperor and refused on any terms to give her up again. Meriadoc with his companions goes to the wars and so distinguishes himself that he is soon put at the head of the imperial forces. [p. 367.] One day the news is brought that Saguncius has invaded the land and is ravaging it. The emperor orders Meriadoc to go forth and oppose him. Meriadoc divides his forces into four bands, retaining one with himself and entrusting the others respectively to his three companions. The invaded land is bounded by a river which can only be forded at one point.

Whilst the enemy are plundering the emperor's country, Meriadoc sends the Black Knight with his force across the river so as to be in a position to intercept the invaders on their return. The White Knight he orders to recover their booty from the enemy whilst he himself engages them. Lastly he puts the Red Knight and his band in ambush, to render him aid whenever the opportunity should offer. Meriadoc then assails the army of Sanguncius laden with booty. [p. 368.] Notwithstanding the prodigies of valor which he performs, the issue is doubtful until the Red Knight throws his force on the enemy's flank and routs them. The fugitives endeavor to cross the river, the horsemen placing themselves in a double line in the middle of the stream with an interval between them in order to break its force for the rest. But recent rains had so swollen the current that this manœuvre did not succeed. The first that entered the stream were drowned in great numbers, [p. 369.] but this enabled the rest to get across [on their dead bodies, apparently]. Nevertheless the Black Knight and his men fell upon them here and they were likewise attacked from behind by Meriadoc. Saguncius decides to look out for his own safety and escapes with a few men to an ancient forest, whither Meriadoc follows him in pursuit. In the meanwhile the Black and Red Knights completed the destruction of the invading army and rejoined the White Knight who had charge of the booty on the other side of the river.

With two hundred men Meriadoc continues to pursue Saguncius through the forest mentioned above, but the latter makes good his escape. Now this forest, in which the pursuers find themselves involved, was of vast and unknown extent, for it was haunted by wild beasts and by innumerable phantasms that vexed wayfarers and led them astray, so that no one had ever dared to explore it. [p. 370.] Meriadoc and his men marched forward into the wood a whole summer's day, but when evening comes, they descend from their horses and let them loose to graze in a woodland pasture. Guards are

set with the instruction to wake them at dawn and the rest go to sleep. Hardly had they closed their eyes when, much to Meriadoc's astonishment, the guards warn them to arise, for day is breaking. They began the march again, but had not proceeded more than a mile and a half when it seemed already past prime. About this time they came to a plain where Meriadoc had hunted with the emperor. But suddenly there appeared beautiful buildings of immense size surrounded by a wall and a moat. Meriadoc expresses to his followers his astonishment at seeing these marble dwellings on ground which he had hunted over not three weeks before and summons them to go forward and discover who are the possessors of these marvellous structures. [p. 371.] Before the gates of the palace they are met by about thirty beautiful boys, clad in purple, who salute them courteously and invite them to a meal. It seemed to be already about the third hour of the day, but Meriadoc, although anxious to hasten on his journey, consents to go in, mainly to satisfy his curiosity concerning this strange adventure. They enter the court, which they find filled with people, and ascend by steps of porphyry to a room in the upper part of the house, where they find a beautiful woman lying on a couch and looking on at the nobles and knights who were playing chess and various games of chance about the room. When she perceived Meriadoc, she saluted him and called him to her. She addresses him by his name and welcomes him, saying that she had long heard of his deeds of prowess. Meriadoc expresses his surprise that she should know his name—also that he should find these marvellous structures where so recently [p. 372.] none had been. She rejoins that he has been long known to her both by name and person—moreover, that the buildings which excite his wonder have been there from the earliest times and that he is mistaken in believing that he had ever been in this spot before. Meriadoc and his men are then invited to sit down at a splendid banquet, the former being honored with a seat next to the mistress of the house, at a higher table apart from

the rest. But it is a peculiarity of this feast that no one of the company—either guests or servants—ever speaks a word. Whilst the lady of the house is looking elsewhere, Meriadoc calls the steward to him and asks who his mistress is, her name, whether she is married and the meaning of this silence, but the steward, instead of replying, only turns up his nose and makes a gesture of contempt. When the question is repeated, he hangs out his tongue down to his chin, like a panting dog, and gives no answer save a laugh of derision. Meriadoc remonstrates with him and asks the question a third time. [p. 373.] The steward, still silent, puts his hands to his temples and wags his fingers like the ears of an ass. At the same time his eyes become filled with flame, his mouth gapes open and he rushes upon Meriadoc as if to devour him, looking more like a demon than a man. Notwithstanding the rebuke which the steward's action calls forth from the lady of the house, Meriadoc and his men are so frightened by this experience that they leave the feast and hasten to their horses. These are likewise stricken with terror and all that night they bear their masters hither and thither in wild confusion through the forest, bringing them constantly into collision, as though in battle. In this way many of the men are thrown, some are borne entirely away from their companions, whilst Meriadoc and the rest find themselves in the morning plunged in a river up to their saddle-bows. When they emerge from the river, [p. 374.] Meriadoc has to lament the loss of fifty-four of his men.

In attempting to find their way out of the forest they only penetrate deeper and deeper into it, and a great storm of thunder and lightning which comes up adds to their wretchedness. Meriadoc inquires whether any one knows of a place in the forest where they may seek shelter and learns from one of his knights of a great castle nearby, from which no visitor, however, had ever returned without shame. Nevertheless Waldomer, a relative of the emperor, who had followed Meriadoc to the war, insisted on making trial of this castle

[p. 375.] and he is accompanied by all but eleven of the men. The knight who guides the party to the castle returns to Meriadoc, but Waldomer and the rest go in and find a handsomely furnished hall up in a tower with a blazing fire in it—also stables, with abundance of forage, attached to the castle. They provide for their horses, lay aside their arms and seat themselves about the fire, but soon an inexplicable terror descends upon them, so that they all sit in silence and do not dare to look at one another. In the meanwhile the men who had remained with Meriadoc become impatient on account of the storm and desire also to be led to the castle. The knight who knows the way leads them thither, but returns to Meriadoc, who had been left alone. The spirits of those who first entered the castle are somewhat relieved by the arrival of their companions, but they are soon all afflicted with the same fear. [p. 376.] Finally Meriadoc wishes to join his men and is led to the castle by the guide, who steadily refuses, however, to enter himself.

When Meriadoc comes upon his companions seated in the hall, as described above, he is surprised that they do not salute him and asks the reason. Waldomer explains that they are all possessed with terror. Meriadoc bids them get up and prepare a table, whilst he goes to seek for food. He passes through two rooms, but, finding nothing, enters a third and discovers there a beautiful girl sitting on a couch with a table abundantly supplied with food and drink set before her. He snatches up both bread and wine and hurries off, but in the second room encounters a man of huge stature, from whom he receives a blow that nearly prostrates him, causing his sword to fly from his hand. Meriadoc, nevertheless, keeps on his way and sets down the food and drink before his men. He does not tell them what has happened to him—and though determined to take vengeance on his assailant only says that [p. 377.] he is going to the kitchen. He rests first, however, and whilst he is sitting there depressed, a man appears, bringing Meriadoc his sword and delivering a

message from the girl, in which he is accused of rudeness and cowardice for his recent behavior. Meriadoc takes the sword, goes to the kitchen and fills a dish with the best food he can discover. He finds there sleeping by the fire a man of great stature, beardless and with shaven head, who is awakened by Meriadoc. This man attacks Meriadoc with a spit, which, however, breaks in his hands. On the other hand, Meriadoc seizes him by the ears, casts him into a deep well before the kitchen entrance and rejoins his companions. Whilst they are eating, another man of gigantic size comes in, bearing a beam on his shoulders, and upbraids the strangers. He frightens them by throwing the beam at them, but Meriadoc attacks him and pursues him through the house and out into the woods. Whilst engaged in this pursuit, [p. 378.] about dawn he lights upon a house full of armed men who assail him. Putting his back to the wall he beats them off and kills many of them.

Having thus got rid of his assailants, he returns to the castle, but finds no one there, for his men had all fled terror-stricken and had taken his steed along with them. Meriadoc then sets out through the forest alone. He comes upon a woman weeping, who relates that her husband had been slain by two robbers and she herself captured, but that she had managed to escape whilst the robbers were asleep. She promises the steed to any one who will avenge her wrongs. Meriadoc accepts the offer and slays both the robbers. Later on he meets the knight who had guided them to the castle and tells him of the loss of his companions. They go on until they come upon a band of men in a plain, who turn out to be Waldomer and his companions. [p. 379.] The re-united company now advance about three miles further, when they hear a great noise. Meriadoc fears another adventure with supernatural beings and sends forward two of his followers to discover what is the matter. They had not gone far when they emerge from the wood and find themselves witnesses of a fierce combat. From a boy nearby they

learn that the opposing forces are those of the emperor and Gundebald, [p. 380.] and that the former had been led hither by the Black, Red and White Knights in search of Meriadoc, and had been ambushed in this spot by Guntramn, brother to Gundebald and ruler over the country hereabouts. The messengers return with this information to Meriadoc, who divides his company into two bands and unexpectedly attacking Guntramn and his men routs them completely. [p. 381.] He pursues the fugitives, slays Guntramn, lays waste his lands, takes possession of his cities and sends back word to the emperor of his achievements. The emperor writes back that Meriadoc may retain all that he conquers for himself—moreover, that if he is able to recover his daughter, whom Gundebald had carried off, she shall be his wife. Meriadoc determines to show himself worthy of these favors and sets out with his three chosen companions for the neighboring kingdom of Gundebald. He had already received from the captive princess messages similar to those which he had received from her father, [p. 382.] advising him, moreover, that her rescue was to be achieved rather by stratagem than by force. They set out, but have to pass through a wood in which they wander about some days. On the evening of the fifth day they meet on the edge of the woods a drove of beeves returning, as it seemed, from pasture. Meriadoc infers from this that human habitations are at hand and he sends forward the Black Knight to the top of a hill in front of them to see if he can discover any place where they might lodge that night. The knight comes back and reports that a beautiful walled town is in sight. They advance and learn from a man in a field over the hill that this is the chief city of Gundebald's kingdom and the one where the emperor's daughter is kept confined—also that no one is allowed to enter or leave it between sunset and sunrise. The herdsman directs them, nevertheless, to follow him and his drove. They gain entrance without difficulty to the suburbs and next arrive at the city gates. [p. 383.] When challenged by the

gate-keeper, Meriadoc relates that he is of British origin and has come to offer his services to Gundebald, who, as he hears, is at war with the emperor. The gate-keeper replies that owing to frequent insidious attempts of the emperor's men and the necessity of guarding the princess no one was allowed to enter the town save by the especial command of the king or prefect. Meriadoc asks him to go to the prefect and seek this permission, but he refuses. The persistence of the strangers excites the gate-keeper's suspicions, so that he bids them depart and is about to close the gate but Meriadoc pushes it back so violently with a blow of his foot that the gate-keeper is knocked down. [p. 384.] Meriadoc hurls him into the river that flowed about the town and then makes his companions go in.

Now the princess had been standing by the window in a tower nearby with two of her maidens, looking out on the beautiful landscape, and so had become a witness of the above scene. Suspecting that the chief of the strangers was Meriadoc, she despatches a messenger to find out. When she learns that her suspicion is correct, she sends for him to come to her tower and directs him to represent himself as a man seeking service under Gundebald. Both the king and his prefect are away and in their absence the princess governs the city. Meriadoc is brought before her, and, concealing his name from all but those who are in the secret, he pretends that he and his companions have come to aid the king. The princess entertains them handsomely for two days. [p. 385.] On the third day she relates how eager she is to be freed from her captivity, notwithstanding the kind treatment she has received from Gundebald. She then broaches to Meriadoc her plan for overcoming the tyrant. He is to seek admission to the band of Gundebald's knights, but it was the latter's custom to admit no one to this company [p. 386.] before he had tested him in single combat. This combat would take place on a certain island in the Rhine, which was about fifteen miles long on every side and was known as the land from

which no man returned. It was so-called, because, except for a space about a mile and a half square in the centre, it consisted of a great marsh on which nothing could stand and which was totally destitute even of vegetation. By driving piles into the marsh Gundebald had constructed wonderful causeways leading to the central space and in that spot he had erected a splendid palace and laid out the most beautiful gardens. The causeways crossed each other at right angles in the very centre of the island and were so narrow that two people coming opposite ways could not pass each other. At each of the four points where the causeways left the island Gundebald had erected fortified towers. [p. 387.] When he wished to put to the test any one who applied for admission to his company of knights, the applicant had to advance along this causeway from one of the four towers and sustain the shock of an encounter with the lord of the island. If he fell into the marsh, he would surely be engulfed by the quicksands, and as a matter of fact no one as yet had ever survived the encounter. Gundebald is largely dependent for his success on a wonderful Arabian steed, but the princess promises her champion a brother to this steed which is even stronger, [p. 388.] and at the same time presents him with a superb suit of armor which Gundebald had left with her. Meriadoc meets the king at one of the four above-mentioned towers and agrees to the usual terms of the contest. He conceals his steed until the day of the combat. On that day when Gundebald perceives him advancing on the dreaded steed he grows pale and calls out that he has been betrayed, for it had been prophesied that he could not be overcome in single combat save by a man who rode upon this steed. The combatants rush together and Gundebald and his horse are thrown over into the marsh, from which they never emerge again.

Meriadoc now goes on to the palace in the middle of the island and in accordance [p. 389.] with the terms agreed on before the combat all of Gundebald's men there offer him

their allegiance. He sends for his three favorite knights, and the chief men of the surrounding towns also come in and make him ruler over the land. Meriadoc, however, explains that he has been waging war on the emperor's account and in order to rescue the princess who has been promised him in marriage—consequently, that all his conquests must be transferred to the emperor. The chief men object to this, [p. 390.] but finally consent to accept the authority of the emperor, if he fulfills his promise of giving his daughter to Meriadoc in marriage. Meriadoc then returns to the princess who receives him in triumph.

In the meanwhile, however, a great war has broken out between the emperor and the king of Gaul. The emperor finds himself hard pressed and is forced to conclude peace with his enemy on the condition that he would give him the hand of his daughter already promised to Meriadoc. This arrangement he keeps concealed from Meriadoc—[p. 391.]on the other hand, he sends him messages, commending his valor and promising him rewards, and also orders him to bring to court his daughter and all the nobles of the land he has conquered. Meriadoc, unsuspecting, calls together a council of the chief men and they agree to go. He sets out with the princess and a great host of men [p. 392.] and they are met by the emperor who receives him together with the nobles in his palace, but disperses the rest in places round about, in order to cut them off from their leader. The emperor himself had taken the precaution of bringing together a large body of men on his own side. He at once puts his daughter in a tower and surrounds her with guards, but he allows Meriadoc to visit her freely, in order that he may find an opportunity of bringing accusations against him. Spies soon report that Meriadoc has been seen indulging in undue familiarities with the princess, and accordingly the emperor, without announcing his object, calls together a council to which Meriadoc also is summoned, and after first discoursing on the liberality which he had always displayed towards

his men [p. 393.] and recounting his past favors to Meriadoc especially, he accuses the latter of having rewarded his benefits by [p. 394.] seducing his daughter and ends by asking the judgment of the nobles. Meriadoc springs forth to defend himself from these charges, but armed men whom the emperor has kept in concealment near at hand rush out and arrest Meriadoc and his companions. At the same time four legions are despatched through the villages round about to quell any possible uprising of Meriadoc's men. Taken by surprise they surrender in large numbers without opposition. When the princess hears of these events she is profoundly afflicted, but is confident that Meriadoc, if he once escapes, will take full vengeance on his enemies.

On the twentieth day after this the king of Gaul comes to marry the princess, but discovering that she is pregnant he renounces the marriage [p. 395.] and renews his war on the emperor. A day is appointed for a battle which is to settle the question of superiority between them.

In the meanwhile, partly on account of the war and partly on account of the emperor's remorse, Meriadoc is more laxly guarded. One evening accordingly he tears up his clothes and makes a line by which he lets himself down from a window to the ground, crawls along the ground to escape the notice of the watch-dog, climbs the wall and escapes to the house of a friend nearby. After resting there three days [p. 396.] he goes off to the place where the battle is impending. He ranges himself in the front rank of the forces of Gaul and slays so many of the emperor's chief men that the emperor himself in desperation attacks him, but suffers the same fate. [p. 397.] The king of Gaul observes the valor of this knight and has him summoned before him. When he learns that it is Meriadoc, he promises to reward him with the hand of the princess.

On the emperor's death his army is put to flight and afterwards surrenders to the king of Gaul. The king now redeems his promise and gives the princess to Meriadoc in

marriage. He also restores to Meriadoc every thing that the latter had gained by conquest and adds other great possessions besides. Finally he makes him second to him in authority over all his dominions. A son is born to Meriadoc, from whom many kings and princes are descended. Meriadoc himself lived to enjoy an honorable old age.

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XV.—THE FRIAR'S LANTERN AND FRIAR RUSH.

Friar Rush appears in all the versions of his printed history (Danish, Swedish, German, English)[1] as a malignant

[1] See the bibliography in Bruun's edition of the Danish *Broder Russes Historie* (1555), Copenhagen, 1868, pp. 18 ff. Since 1868, the Low German poem has been edited (after Schade) by Bobertag, *Narrenbuch*, [1885,] pp. 363 ff., and the English tale (from Thoms, with omissions) by H. Morley, *Early Prose Romances*, Carisbrooke Library, 1889, pp. 409 ff. See also Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, 1871, p. xlvii; Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, 1886, pp. 293–322; Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, I, 389.

In 1882, Gering published, from two fourteenth-century manuscripts, an Icelandic tale, "Frá því er púkinn gjörðiz ábóti" (*Íslendzk Æventýri*, No. 26, I, 104–7; cf. translation and note, II, 83–85), which bears a striking resemblance to the legend of Friar Rush, and which, if it is really the same story, is the earliest version yet discovered. Here the devil, whose name is not given, actually becomes abbot. (Compare the cobold "Bôppole," said to be the ghost of a Jew who in his lifetime had managed to become an abbot, though he had never been baptized: Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 50.) The narrative is serious throughout, embodying none of the tricks that mark Rush as a goblin or cobold. It is quite possible that the story of Rush, as we know it, is a combination of a simple legend like the Icelandic text with some such tale of a house-cobold, serviceable in a monastery, as that told of Hödeken (Hutgin, Hütchen) of Hildesheim by Trithemius, *Chronicon Hirsaugiense* ad ann. 1132, and after him by Weier, *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, ed. of 1583, i, 22, cols. 114 ff. (not in ed. of 1568); see also Paullini, *Zeit-kürtzender Erbaulichen*

fiend who, under the disguise of a friar, brought a religious house to dire confusion. Yet it seems to be the received opinion that he was also known to the English (either under his full name or simply as "the Friar") in quite another character,—that of harmless and serviceable house-spirit. In this *rôle* he was, it is held, to all intents and purposes identical with the domestic manifestation of Robin Goodfellow:

Lust Dritter Theil, 1725, ch. 169, pp. 1058–60; Grimms, *Deutsche Sagen*, I, 97 ff. The remarkable correspondence between Hödeken and Rush was observed by Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft, Discourse upon Divels*, ch. 21, 1584, p. 522, Nicholson's reprint, 1886, p. 438 (see particularly Wolf u. Endlicher, *Von Bruoder Rauschen*, 1835, pp. xxix, xxx, and notes 21 and 29, pp. xliii, xlvi; reprint in Scheible, *Kloster*, XI, 1087, 1097, 1099). The services of Rush in guarding a man's wife for him, related in the English version, but in no other (reprint of 1810, pp. 26 ff.; Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, I, 32 ff., 2d. ed., 1858, I, 292 ff.; cf. Bolte's note in his edition of Valentin Schumann's *Nachtbüchlein*, p. 386) are curiously paralleled by one of Hödeken's adventures, though the point of the two stories is different. Scot does not mention the similarity. Perhaps the chapters in question were not in the English version which he knew. The extant English text dates from 1620 and contains a good deal of extraneous matter from *Eulenspiegel* and elsewhere. One of the chapters describing Rush's guardianship of the farmer's wife, "How Rush came home and found the Priest in the Cheese-basket" (reprint of 1810, pp. 32 ff.; Thoms, as above, I, 38 ff., 2d. ed., 1858, I, 298 ff.) is nearly related (as Bolte has observed) to the twentieth tale in Valentin Schumann's *Nachtbüchlein*, 1559 (ed. Bolte, 1893, pp. 63 ff., cf. note, pp. 395–6), which is the source of Ayrer's drama *Der Münch im Kesskorb* (*Dramen*, ed. Keller, V, 3093 ff.). Cf. also the fifteenth-century Swiss poem printed by Bächtold, *Germania*, XXXIII, 271 (see Bolte, as above, pp. 396, 416; Fränkel, *Vierteljahrschrift f. Litteraturgeschichte*, V, 471; Pistl, the same, VI, 430). A remarkable parallel to the English chapters is a Calabrian-Greek popular tale published in Pitrè's *Archivio*, VI, 368 ff. The resemblance to Hödeken's exploits in disturbing the intrigues of the noble lady is general rather than particular. The Hödeken episode is identical with the plot of Hans Sachs's humorous poem, *Der Teuffel hütt einer Bulerin*, 1558 (ed. Keller, IX, 371 ff.). Stiefel, *Hans Sachs-Forschungen*, p. 142, has overlooked this. He cites, as a possible source for the *schwank*, Burkard Waldis, *Esopus*, ii, 88 (from Abstemius, No. 62, see Kurz's *Waldis*, Anm., p. 108: this is No. 312 in Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Fables of Æsop and other Eminent Mythologists*, 1692, p. 274), but the Hödeken story is much closer, for in Waldis and Abstemius it is a friend, and not a devil, that watches the wife. In a later article

that is, he worked at night for the servants, expecting no other payment than "the cream bowl duly set," but, if that were denied him, showing his displeasure by all manner of petty mischief. The sole foundation for this opinion is a famous passage in Harsnet's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603, in which "the Frier" is mentioned in some sort of connection with Robin Goodfellow. Unfortunately,

(*Ztsch. f. vergl. Litteraturgeschichte*, N. F., x, 17–18) Stiefel quotes a brief story from *Mensa Philosophica*, ed. 1603, p. 241, which is much to the purpose. I have not seen this edition; in an undated edition of about 1500 ("Colonie, apud predicatores"), the passage is on folio 40a. Goetze, *Sämtliche Fabeln u. Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, II, [1894,] xviii, cites K. Seifart, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Stadt u. Stift Hildesheim*, II, 47 [41 ff.], where material about Hödeken may be found. Ayrer's Fastnachtspiel, *Wie der Teufel einer Bulerin jhr Ehr vor jhren Bulern hütet* (ed. Keller, IV, 2673 ff.), is based on Hans Sachs (see Stiefel, p. 143; Pistl, as above, VI, 432). Cf. also *The Schole-house of Women*, 1572, vv. 581–94 ([Utterson,] *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, II, 76; Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, IV, 127–8). One is tempted to seek the remote source of this anecdote in the well-known Oriental tale of the guardian bird in *The Seven Sages* (on which see the references in Bolte, as above, pp. 391–392), but proof is out of the question. A good parallel to the episode of boiling the cook is what is told of the "Chimmeke" of Loitz in Pomerania (Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, II, 496). A demon serving as a cook and preparing "vivande finissime" occurs in the twenty-third novel of Sercambi (ed. Renier, 1889, pp. 95 ff.), but the novel as a whole belongs to a different set from that which we are discussing (see the parallels collected by Köhler, *Giornale Storico della Lett. Ital.*, XVI, 108 ff.). With the episode of the possessed princess, found in all versions of Friar Rush, and referred by Wolf and Endlicher to the legend of St. Zeno, should be compared the remarkable story of Malke the Saint in Prym u. Socin, *Syrische Sagen u. Märchen*, No. 53, pp. 216–18. A new study of Friar Rush is much needed, for Schade's excellent paper, *Weimarisches Jahrbuch*, 1856, v, 357 ff., is out of date. Such a study is promised by H. Anz, whose careful article in *Euphorion*, 1897, IV, 756 ff., calls attention to an unknown Low German copy of about 1486 and makes the beginning of a re-examination of the legend. Anz's results (which, to be sure, are provisional) are not altogether convincing. He ignores both Hödeken and the Icelandic legend, and he certainly attaches too much importance to the dubious "John Præst" of Pontoppidan and to the Esrom apostate discovered by Bruun. His theory that the specific Rush story originated in Low Germany is plausible and may perhaps be supported by some of the evidence cited in this note.

very few of the scholars who have discussed the subject have actually seen Harsnet's book, and hence the passage in question has been quoted again and again in an incomplete and singularly misleading form. In the present note, Harsnet's words will be subjected to a closer scrutiny than they have hitherto received, and an attempt will be made to determine what bearing the result may have on the "friar's lantern" in Milton's *L'Allegro.*

I.

The credit of directing literary students to Harsnet's *Declaration* belongs to Theobald, who, in 1733, pointed out that Shakspere had used it in Edgar's "poor Tom" speeches in *King Lear.*[1] The "Frier" passage was first quoted in 1762 by Thomas Warton, who applied it as a whole to the illustration of Milton's "drudging goblin" (*L'Allegro,* 105).[2] Warton repeated the Harsnet passage, in a somewhat different form, in a note on Shakspere's Puck, printed in the Variorum of 1793.[3] On neither occasion did he make any comment on "the Frier."

[1] Theobald's *Shakespeare,* 1733, v, 163, 164 (cf. Furness, *King Lear,* p. 186). Theobald spells the name "Harsenet." Warburton's *Shakespear,* 1747, VI, 99, has a similar note. The relations between these two editions are so well known that no one can hesitate to whom credit is due in this instance. Had Theobald received the note from Warburton, he would certainly have mentioned his obligation (see Theobald's *Preface,* I, lxvi). J. M. N[eal ?], in an interesting communication in *Notes and Queries,* 2d. Ser., VII, 144, overlooks this point.

[2] *Observations on the Fairy Queen,* 2d. ed., 1762, I, 120; ed. of 1807, I, 167 (not in the first edition, 1754): "The *Goblin* is Shakespeare's *Robin Goodfellow,* and the tradition about him is found in Harsenet's *Declaration,* &c. quoted above. 'And if that the bowle of curdes and creame were not duly sett out for *Robin Goodfellow,* the frier, and Siss the dairy-maid, to meet him at, &c. why then either the pottage, &c.,' pag. 135." The "above" means I, 62, of this second edition (where is the passage referred to in note 1, p. 420, below).

[3] v, 33 (on *Midsummer Night's Dream,* ii, 1); cf. Var. of 1821, v, 203. In 1813, Warton's note on Puck was repeated, with due credit, in Brand's *Popular Antiquities,* II, 358, a posthumous work, edited by Henry (after-

In 1808, Scott, in *Marmion* (canto iv, st. 1), combined Friar Rush with Milton's "friar's lantern:"

> Better we had through mire and brush
> Been lanthorn-led by Friar Rush.

In a foot-note, Scott remarked "*alias* Will o' the Wisp," and in his *Notes*, p. lxvi (first ed., 1808), he went into some detail:—"*Friar Rush.* This personage is a strolling demon, or *esprit follet*, who, once upon a time got admittance into a monastery as a scullion, and played the monks many pranks. He was also a sort of Robin Goodfellow, and Jack o' Lanthorn. It is in allusion to this mischievous demon that Milton's clown speaks,—

> She was pinched, and pulled, she said,
> And he by *friar's lanthorn* led."[1]

wards Sir Henry) Ellis. Brand gives the quotation from Harsnet as it stood in the Var. of 1793, except for trifling variations in spelling and punctuation. He refers to Reed's *Shakspeare.* In Warton's edition of Milton's *Poems upon Several Occasions*, 1785, p. 53 (note on *L'Allegro*, 104), to which Brand refers also, Harsnet is not mentioned, and the same is true of the second edition, 1791, p. 58. Like Warton, Brand neither comments on "the Frier" nor makes any allusion to Friar Rush. In both the *Observations* and the note in the Var. of 1793 Warton spells the name "Harsenet," and in this he is followed by Brand.

[1] In the same note Scott refers to Reginald Scot's mention of *The History of Friar Rush.* In 1819 Sir Francis Palgrave (*Quarterly Review*, XXI, 107) remarked that Reginald Scot "ranks him [Friar Rush] in the same category with Robin Goodfellow, so that Robin and the Friar [N. B. Friar *Rush*, for Palgrave says nothing of Harsnet's "frier"] were alike the heroes of popular and traditionary tales;" and again, in 1820 (*Quarterly Review*, XXII, 358): "*Friar Rush* is Puck under another name." These observations of Palgrave's probably go back to the note to *Marmion* (see below, p. 421, note 4). The passage in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 521–2, hardly warrants the inference drawn from it by Walter Scott, Palgrave, and Wolf and Endlicher, p. xxx (Scheible, *Kloster*, XI, 1087). Scot merely says that "there go as many tales upon Hudgin, in some parts of Germanie, as there did in England of Robin Goodfellow," and goes on to compare Hudgin (not Robin) with Friar Rush, on the basis of a printed text of the latter (see p. 416, note, above).

Scott, it will be observed, says nothing about Harsnet's "Frier."[1]

It was not until 1828, when Warton's quotation from Harsnet had been before the world for nearly seventy-five years, that Harsnet's "Frier" was brought into that association with Friar Rush from which he has not yet freed himself. In that year, the late Mr. W. J. Thoms, in the Preface to his reprint of the English *Friar Rush* (p. i),[2] quoted Harsnet as follows, identifying Harsnet's "Frier" with Rush, and Rush, in turn, with Robin Goodfellow: "And if that the bowle of curds and cream were not duly set out for Robin Goodfellow, *the Frier*, and Sisse the dairy-maide, why then either the pottage was burnt, or the cheese would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat never would have good head." In 1828 Keightley[3] quoted the same passage, apparently regarding "the Frier" as identical with Robin Goodfellow, but saying nothing about Rush. In 1835 Wolf and Endlicher accepted Thoms's identification of Harsnet's "Frier" with Friar Rush, and remarked that it was doubtless "das elfenartige Wesen des

[1] Perhaps he had never seen Harsnet's book. His note in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1802, II, 193 ("Even so late as 1602, in Harsenet's *Declaration of Popish Imposture* [sic], p. 57, Mercury is called *Prince of the Fairies*") is derived from Warton's *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, sect. ii, as is shown by the error in the title of the book (*Imposture* for *Impostures*). The passage does not appear in the first edition of Warton, 1754, but is in the second, 1762, I, 62: "In *Harsenet's Declaration*,* Mercury is called 'Prince of the *Fairies*.'".

[2] *A Collection of Early Prose Romances*, vol. I; see also ed. 2, 1858, I, 258 (the second edition has new matter and refers to Wolf and Endlicher, but it does not modify the sentences pertaining to the relations between Puck and Rush). Thoms probably got his quotation from Warton's note on *Midsummer Night's Dream:* he reproduces Warton's errors, even to the spelling "Harsenet," and adds some of his own.

[3] *The Fairy Mythology*, II, 110. So also in the edition of 1833, which is a mere re-issue of that of 1828 (see the *Preface*). Keightley spells "Harsenet" and shows by other errors that he got the quotation at second hand, probably from Brand or Warton.

* "*Of Popish Imposture*, &c. 1602, pag. 57, ch. 12."

Bruder Rausch der Grundsage" that led the English to associate him with Robin Goodfellow.[1] *Sisse* they took for the name of another cobold, suggesting that it might be a misprint for *Nisse*.[2] In 1836 Thomas Wright reviewed Wolf and Endlicher's book. He held that "the character of Friar Rush existed among the people independently of the legend which is now inseparable from his name," regarded Harsnet's "Frier" as an earlier manifestation of Rush than that found in the legend, and proceeded to further hazardous combinations.[3] "Harsnet alludes to the practice of laying a bowl of cream to propitiate 'Robin Goodfellow, the Friar, and Sisse (*i. e.*, Cicely), the dairy-maid,' in which three personages we suspect that we see three others, the *Robin* Hood, *Friar* Tuck, and *maid* Marian of the old popular morrice-dance." This triple identification cannot be taken seriously.[4] In 1850 Keightley assumed that Harsnet's "Frier" and Rush were one and the same person, remarking that the latter "haunted houses, not fields."[5] Since then, the identity of the two has hardly been questioned.[6] A recent investigator of the Rush

[1] *Von Bruoder Rauschen*, Vienna, 1835, pp. xxx, xliv (reprint in Scheible's *Kloster*, XI, 1087, 1098). The "Harsenet" passage appears to be quoted from Warton. Wolf and Endlicher's notes are very learned throughout. They refer to *Marmion*, Reginald Scot, Sir Francis Palgrave's articles, etc.

[2] Compare, for example, the Scandinavian *Nisse* or *Nissen god dreng*. See Grimm, *D. M.*, 4th. ed., p. 417.

[3] *Friar Rush and the Frolicsome Elves*, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1836, XVIII, 193–4; reprinted in his *Essays on Subjects connected with the Literature, etc., of England in the Middle Ages*, 1846, II, 1–37 (see pp. 22–23).

[4] See below, p. 425, note 2. Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, had already compared Rush with Hudgin (Hutgin) in Weier, *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, i, 23 (see p. 416, note 1, above), and had remarked: "This *Hudgin* was so called, bicause he alwaies ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I thinke it was Robin hood" (*Discourse upon Divels*, ch. xxi, p. 522, Nicholson's reprint, p. 438). It was perhaps this passage that led Scot to make his identification, which had in turn its influence upon Palgrave and Wolf and Endlicher.

[5] *The Fairy Mythology*, new (3d.) ed., p. 347, note.

[6] H. Anz, *Euphorion*, IV, 756 ff., 1897, says nothing about Harsnet's "Frier."

legend, Mr. C. H. Herford, who has made one or two important contributions to the subject, occupies, on this particular point, precisely the position of Wolf and Endlicher. By 1600, he thinks, "the alien [Rush] has not only completely established himself in the fearful fancy of rural England, but in the process he has put on the likeness of the rest of the rustic pantheon. . . . From Christian he has passed over into Teutonic mythology. The English pucks and goblins have admitted him into their merry company; and the devil forgets his mission, and condescends, like Goodfellow, to play the village censor, and to stickle for propitiatory bowls of cream."[1]

It is high time that this famous Harsnet passage, to which Friar Rush owes his position as an adopted English member of the company of Teutonic house-cobolds, should be examined afresh and with reference to its context. This is particularly desirable since not one of the scholars I have referred to, from Thomas Warton to Mr. Herford,—a list covering a whole century,—has quoted it accurately.[2] The extract that follows is from a fine copy of the first edition (1603) in the Boston Public Library.[3]

"But out of this, and such like Heathenish dreames, what a world of hel-worke, deuil-worke, and Elue-worke, had we

[1] *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, 1886, p. 307. Mr. Herford has no authority but "Harsenet" for this statement. He has fallen into an error of chronology by not observing that Harsnet, whatever he means by "the Frier," is referring to beliefs and practices as they were in Roman Catholic England, and is, therefore, not to be cited for the state of things a generation later than *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.

[2] Dr. W. Aldis Wright prints the passage ("And if . . . . good head") correctly (as was to be expected) in his introduction to the Clarendon Press edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. xix, but he makes no comment on "the Frier," having no occasion to do so.

[3] *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the harts of her Maiesties Subiects from their allegeance, and from the truth of Christian Religion professed in England, vnder the pretence of casting out deuils. Practised by Edmvnds, alias Weston, a Iesuit, and diuers Romish Priests his wicked associates.* 4°. London, 1603. A second edition, 8vo., appeared in 1605.

walking amongst vs heere in England, what time that popish mist had befogged the eyes of our poore people? How were our children, old women, and maides afraid to crosse a Churchyeard, or a three-way leet, or to goe for spoones into the Kitchin without a candle? and no marueile. First, because the deuil[1] comes from a smoakie blacke house, he, or a lewd frier was still at hand, with ougly hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, a cowes tayle in his breech, eyes like a bason, fangs like a dogge, clawes like a Beare, a skinne like a Neger, and a voyce roaring like a Lyon; then *boh*, or *oh*, in the dark was enough to make their haire stand vpright.[2] And if that the bowle of curds, & creame were not duly set out for *Robin good-fellow* the Frier, & *Sisse* the dairy-maide, to meete at *hinch pinch, and laugh not*, when the good wife was a bed, why then, either the pottage was burnt to next day in the pot, or the cheese would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat would neuer haue good head. But if a *Peeter-penny*, or an houzle-egge were behind, or a patch of tyth vnpaid to the Church (*Iesu Maria*) thē ware where you walke for feare of *bull-beggers*,[3] *spirits, witches, vrchins, Elues, hags, fairies, Satyrs, Pans, Faunes, Syluans, Kit with the candlesticke, Tritons, Centaurs, Dwarffs, Giants, impes,*

[1] What follows is in part word for word from Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, vii, 15, pp. 152–3 (Nicholson's reprint, p. 122): "But in our childhood our mothers maids have so terrified us with an ouglie divell having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches," etc. (there follows the famous list, which Harsnet reproduces, with a few inadvertent variations, in the italicized passage below). Observe that the words "or a lewd frier," which are highly significant, are Harsnet's insertion.

[2] Cf. Scot, *ibid.*, p. 153 (Nicholson, p. 123): "Where a right hardie man heretofore scant durst passe by night, but his haire would stand upright."

[3] The enumeration that follows is italicised by Harsnet as being a quotation, and in the margin he adds a note, "See Scots booke of Witches." (Cf. the last note but one.)

Calcars, coniurers, Nymphs, changlings, scritchowles, Incubus the spurne, the mare, the man in the oake, helwayne, the fire-drake, the puckle, Tom thumbe, hobgoblin, Tom-tumbler, Boneles, and the rest: and what girle, boy, or old wisard would be so hardy to step ouer the threshold in the night for an half-penny worth of mustard amongst this frightfull crue, without a dosen *auemaries*, two dosen of crosses surely signed, and halfe a dosen *Pater nosters*, and the commending himselfe to the tuition of S. *Vncumber*,[1] or els our blessed Lady?" (Pp. 134, 135.)

Harsnet's words about "the Frier," it will be immediately observed, bear quite a different sense, when seen in their full and exact context, from that which has always been ascribed to them. Judicial investigation had just brought to light a very gross imposture in the way of pretended demoniacal possession. The possessed persons had been under the spiritual direction of certain Jesuits, and these had made a number of converts by their success in exorcising the devils. Harsnet's *Declaration*, as the title-page sets forth, was published to counteract the effect of these frauds by making the facts known. The tone is one of sustained and unsparing satirical humor. The author is very clever and not a little abusive. The reformed Church of England, he maintains, is not favorable to superstitions about demons and witches, but in former times, under the dominion of Roman Catholicism, everybody believed in goblins and the clergy fostered the belief.[2] In so

[1] On the worship of St. Uncumber in England see W. Sparrow Simpson, *S. Paul's Cathedral and Old City Life*, 1894, pp. 247 ff.

[2] Compare the interesting mention of Robin the Devil (*i. e.*, Robin Goodfellow), in John Davis's Narrative, written 1560–70: "Furthermore, one Feerefilde, a waker, coming nightlie throwgh the guilde-hall . . ., woulde come and call this child at the hold, whether of his owne mynde or sett on by some other papest he knewe not, but these weare his woordes, 'Whie doste thow not recant? Thow wilt be feared one tyme or other, as I have, by robing the devill, which is like a raged colte, whiche hath ledd me abowght this hall all night or now, and at length lawgh me to skorne, and sayd *howgh hoo*." This was in 1546. *The Imprisonment of John Davis, a boy of Worcester, written by himself in after life* (MS. Harl. 425, folio 69), in J. G. Nichols, *Narratives of the Reformation*, Camden Soc., 1859, pp. 66–7.

doing, he more than once insinuates, the clergy had their own selfish ends to further or their own vices to conceal. If the petty dues to the church were behindhand (Peter-pennies, housel-eggs, or tithes), then beware of goblins! Obviously, then, the intention of the sentence about "Robin Goodfellow the Frier"[1] is to suggest that, when a cream-bowl was set out for Robin, it was emptied by two persons,—Cicely the dairy-maid[2] and some friar (the only Robin Goodfellow that had any real existence), who meet by assignation and have a little supper in the kitchen after the mistress of the house is abed. If the cream is not duly provided, Cicely has it in her power to punish such interference with her sport by seeing to it that the "butter does not come" or that some similar domestic calamity happens.[3] In the same paragraph Harsnet suggests

[1] "The Frier" is in apposition with "Robin Goodfellow."

[2] Wright (*Essays*, as above, p. 421, note 4) regards Cicely as a mythological personage, equating her with Maid Marian! Other scholars ungallantly ignore her. Harsnet uses the name elsewhere to designate a kitchen-wench: "Next, for that euery kitchin-maide, Hob, and Iohn, doth well see, and know, that a spoonful of water, a cursie of oyle, and a candels end can haue of themselues no power, and strength; to scald, broyle, or torture a deuil: now when this good Hob, Iohn, or Sisse shal bring," etc. (p. 99). Cf. "When Tom came home from labour, Or Ciss to milking rose." Corbet, *The Faeryes Farewell*, st. 3, *Poems*, 4th. ed. (Gilchrist), 1807, p. 214. On Maid Marian and the fact that she is not anciently associated with Robin Hood, see Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, III, 43–46. In view of the evidence there collected and the cogency of the editor's reasoning, it is discouraging to see the obsolete errors set forth afresh by E. H. Meyer, *Deutsche Mythologie*, §§ 334, 339. The "mythic" Robin Hood dies very hard (see Binz, in Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge*, XX, 222, note 2).

[3] Compare *Round about our Coal-Fire: or, Christmas Entertainments*. London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country (cited in Brand, *Pop. Antiq.*, ed. Hazlitt, III, 23): "The Fairies were very necessary in Families, as much as Bread, Salt, or Pepper, or any other such Commodity, I believe; because they used to walk in my Father's House, and if I can judge right of the Matter, they were brought into all Families by the Servants; for in old Times Folks used to go to Bed at Nine o'Clock, and when the Master and Mistress were lain on their Pillows, the Men and Maids, if they had a Game

that the devil himself was sometimes impersonated by "a lewd frier" (see p. 423, above, and note 1). The significance of "to meete at *hinch pinch, and laugh not*"[1] will escape nobody and need not be dwelt on.

The following passage bears out this interpretation: "And *Geoffry Chaucer*, who had his two eyes, wit, and, learning in his head, spying that all these brainlesse imaginations, of witchings, possessings, house-hanting, and the rest, were the forgeries, cosenages, Imposturs, and legerdemaine of craftie priests, and leacherous Friers, either to maske their venerie,[2] or to enritch their purses, by selling their Pope-trumpery.

at Ramps, and blunder'd up Stairs, or jumbled a Chair, the next Morning every one would swear 'twas the Fairies, and that they heard them stamping up and down Stairs all Night, crying *Waters lock'd*, *Waters lock'd*, when there was not Water in any Pail in the Kitchen" (pp. 44–5). So in *Apothegmes of King James*, 1658: Sir Fulke Greville "would say merrily of himself, that he was like Robin Good-fellow, for when the Maides spilt the Milkpannes, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin," etc. (p. 139, in Brand-Hazlitt, III, 40).

[1] Harsnet uses the term in another page in the innocent sense of a sort of rude Christmas game. He is addressing Roman Catholic priests in general. "In my opinion, there was neuer *Christmas-game* performed, with moe apish, indecent, slouenly gawdes, then your baptising, and superbaptising ceremonies are. Your puffe, your crosse-puffe, your expuffe, your inpuffe vppon the face of a tender infant, . . . your sorcerised chrisme, your lothsome driuell, that you put vppon theyr eyes, eares, and noses, and lyppes, are fitting complements for *hynch pynch, and laugh not: coale vnder candlesticke: Frier Rush:* and *wo-penny hoe.* Which are more ciuilly acted, and with lesse foule soyle, and lothsome *indecorum*, then your spattring, and greasing tricks vpon the poore infant," pp. 32, 33. This interesting list of Christmas sports has attracted little attention. Friar Rush, it will be seen, had given his name to a rustic sport, probably of a boisterous kind. "Woe penny ho" occurs again with reference to a Christmas game at p. 116. "Hoppenny Hoe" is used by Nashe for "a rustic:" "No vulgar respect haue I, what *Hoppenny Hoe* and his fellow *Hankin Booby* thinke of mee, so those whom Arte hath adopted for the peculiar Plants of her Academie, and refined from the dull Northernly drosse of our Clyme, hold mee in any tollerable account." *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (Grosart, III, 92). The phrase seems to be properly a call to a horse: "Ho (whoa)! Penny, ho!"

[2] Cf. also what Harsnet says of Sara Williams, one of the "possessed" (*Declaration*, p. 21).

(as *Medals, agnus dei, Blessed beades, holy water, halowed Crosses, periapts, amulets, smocks of proofe,* and such) at a good rate; as who would not giue soundly for a Medal defensiue against the deuil? writes in good plaine termes of the holy Couent of Friers thus:

> "*For there as wont to walken was an* Elfe,
> *There walketh now the* Limitor *himselfe:*
> *In euery bush, and vnder euery tree,*
> *There nis none other* Incubus *but hee.*" (Pp. 137–8.)

Any doubts that may remain as to the meaning of *Robin good-fellow the Friar* and *Sisse the dairy-maid* will be dissipated by examining the following passages in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584):—

"I hope you understand that they affirme and saie, that *Incubus* is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c: and that he neither dooth eate nor drinke. In deede your grandams maides were woont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin good-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight. . . .

"But to proceed in this confutation. Where there is no meate eaten, there can be no seed which thereof is ingendred: although it be granted, that Robin could both eate and drinke, as being a cousening idle frier, or some such roge, that wanted nothing either belonging to lecherie or knaverie."[1] Bk. iv, ch. 10, pp. 85–86 (Nicholson's reprint, p. 67).

"There be twentie severall waies to make your butter come, which for brevitie I omit; as to bind your cherne with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c: but your best remedie and surest waie is, to looke well to your dairie maid or wife, that she neither eat up the creame, nor sell awaie your butter." (Bk. xii, ch. 21, p. 281; Nicholson's reprint, p. 229.)

[1] Oldys as long ago as 1737 (*The British Librarian*, No. 4, for April, 1737, London, 1738, p. 218) excerpted this passage from Scot with a complete understanding of the satire involved in it.

"You shall read in the legend, how in the night time *Incubus*[1] came to a ladies bed side, and made hot loove unto hir: whereat she being offended, cried out so lowd, that companie came and found him under hir bed in the likenesse of the holie bishop *Sylvanus*, which holie man was much defamed therebie, untill at length this infamie was purged by the confession of a divell made at S. *Jeroms* toombe. Oh excellent peece of witchcraft or cousening wrought by *Sylvanus!*" (Bk. iv, ch. 5, p. 79; Nicholson's reprint, p. 62.[1])

Scot's position in these matters is Harsnet's precisely, and he shows the same animus toward the Roman Catholic clergy. His *Discoverie* preceded Harsnet's *Declaration* by nearly twenty years and was much read. It is not too much to suppose, therefore, that Harsnet's satirical remark about the friar's being the real Robin Goodfellow is modelled after Scot's words of similar tenor, particularly when we find him, in the very same paragraph, quoting Scot and referring to him in the margin. It is also worth noting that Scot concludes his Fourth Book by quoting, at greater length, the passage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, which we have just read in Harsnet. As if to clinch the argument for us, Harsnet insinuates that the devil was sometimes impersonated by "a lewd frier."

It must now be clear that mythologists and students of folk-lore need not further concern themselves with Harsnet's Friar, who stands revealed as a creature of flesh and blood, and no demon or spirit—whether Rush or another.[2] With the disappearance of this supposed piece of evidence, vanishes every reason for believing that Friar Rush was ever known in England as a frolicsome spirit to be equated with Puck

[1] See also Henry More, *Appendix to Antidote against Atheism*, chap. 13, *Philos. Writings*, 2d. ed., 1662, *Antid.*, p. 185.

[2] We shall hardly be asked to accept Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, pt. ii, sec. 2, mem. 4, as evidence in rebuttal: "Merry tales of errant Knights, Queenes, Louers, Lords, Ladies, Giants, Dwarfes, Theeues, Cheaters, Witches, Fayries, Goblins, Friers, &c., such as the old woman told *Psyche* in *Apuleius*, *Bocace* Nouells and the rest." (Cf. Shilleto's ed., 1893, II, 93.)

or Robin Goodfellow. There is no evidence that he was known except from his printed *History* or from painted cloths, and as a devil in a devil's guise. The well-known passage in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* supplies positive evidence. Hodge is describing a "great black devil," with horns "as long as your two arms."

> "Saw ye never fryer Rushe
> Painted on a cloth, with a side long cowes tayle,
> And crooked cloven feet, and many a hoked nayle?
> For al the world (if I shuld judg) chould reckon him his brother:
> Loke even what face frier Rush had, the devil had such another." [1]

II.

We must now turn to the much vexed place in Milton's *L'Allegro* where the "friar's lantern" is mentioned:

> "She was pincht and pull'd she sed;
> And he by friars lantern led,
> Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
> To earn his cream-bowl duly set." (Vv. 103 ff.)

Here, Keightley assures us, we have "a palpable mistake of the poet's." For "the Friar is the celebrated Friar Rush, who haunted houses, not fields, and was never the same with Jack-o'-the-Lantern." Keightley is rather fond of putting Milton in the wrong. In the present instance, however, he has nothing to cite in favor of his assertion but the passage from Harsnet, which, as we have seen, he entirely misunderstood. Since "the Frier" in the *Declaration* is not Rush at all, there is no reason to think that Milton was here referring to Rush; unless, to be sure, we assume that he had read

[1]Act iii, sc. 2, Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Collier, II, 44 (1825), ed. Hazlitt, III, 213. Collier's edition quotes Scot. With this description compare the woodcut in the earliest (Low German) edition of Rush as reproduced by F. Bobertag, *Narrenbuch*, [1885,] p. 368. See also H. Anz, *Euphorion*, IV, 757. In the woodcut on the title-page of the English *Rush* (1620), as reproduced in the reprint of 1810, Rush is not so terrible as in the former, but still distinctly devilish.

Harsnet and had failed to comprehend him. But this is not credible. If Milton read the passage, he read it as it stands and not in the mutilated forms in which most scholars have quoted it.[1] Reading it as it stood, he would have found both the animus toward Romanism, and the tone of raillery, too congenial to his own feelings and his own satirical vein to make misapprehension possible. We may infer, then, that somewhere in England Milton had heard the Will-with-a-Wisp called "Friar's Lantern," unless, to be sure, there is strong antecedent probability against us. It is easy to show that no such improbability exists, but that, on the contrary, such a name for the *ignis fatuus* was a very likely one.

All students of the "lower mythology" know the resolute inconsistency of popular superstition with regard to several sets of beings whom, for scientific purposes, one would like to keep sharply distinct.[2] Fairies, goblins, witches, dragons, elves, cats, ghosts, dwarfs, will-o'-the-wisps, familiars, white ladies, and so on, are found, on occasion, performing each other's duties with baffling self-complacency.[3] In no

[1] *Fairy Mythology*, ed. 1850, p. 347, note (not in eds. of 1828 and 1833). "It was probably the name Rush," he adds, "which suggested *rushlight*, that caused Milton's error." Cf. his ed. of Milton, 1859, I, 52. Commentators since Keightley have not thrown much light on the verse. Masson (Cambridge ed., 1890, III, 175) is inclined to follow him. Mr. Verity (Pitt Press ed., 1891, p. 85) tries to defend the poet, but gets into difficulties with Harsnet, whom he quotes in a form more sadly mutilated than ever.

[2] How far this results from original identity among these creatures or their functions is a question that need not be raised here.

[3] Examples will occur to every one, but a few may be cited to show the multifariousness of the confusion. *Lutins* (*pie-pie-van-van*) are identified with *sorciers* who drown men in a certain pond. Meyrac, *Traditions, etc., des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, p. 195, cf. p. 205 (cf. the Moine de Saire, p. 435, note 3).—*Fées* eat men and are called *sorcières*. Id., p. 197.—*Nutons* (= *lutons*) are confused with sorcerers. Id., p. 202. (On *nutons* in general see H. de Nimal, *Légendes de la Meuse*, Brussels. pp. 138 ff.).—*Fées, lutins*, witches, etc., confused. Carnoy, *Litt. orale de la Picardie*, pp. 3 ff.—*Fées, lutins*, etc., confused with wizards, *revenants*, pirates, Saracens. E. MacCulloch, *Folk-lore de Guernesey, Revue des trad. pop.*, III, 161–3.—*Fions* appar-

case is the confusion greater than with Will-o'-the-wisp. Properly a fiery spirit of field or fen, he is confused with almost every creature of the minor mythology: with ordinary non-luminous *lutins espiègles*,[1] with malignant and even murderous goblins,[2] with fire-drakes,[3] with house-

ently used indiscriminately for *fées* and *lutins espiègles*. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 74 (cf. 103).—Fées = the neutral angels. Id., I, 75 (cf. *Les fées chrétiennes*, Sébillot, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, IV, 515–19). They take the forms of animals (like ordinary witches), I, 91.—*Chats sorciers* have taken the place of witches and also of serviceable house-cobolds. Id., II, 47–49 (cf. *Ztsch. f. Volkskunde*, I, 77, etc.).—*Le Sotrê* is a small mischievous cobold. He also takes care of horses and cattle and sings children to sleep. Sometimes he is a *cauchemar*. L. F. Sauvé, *Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges*, pp. 232–5.—Compare the *dracs* in Bladé, *Contes pop. de la Gascogne*, II, 262 ff., with the *fées* in Fleury, *Litt. orale de la Basse-Normandie*, pp. 56–57.—The *folletto* is sometimes a nightmare. Pitrè, *Usi e Costumi del Popolo siciliano*, IV, 68–70.—An *aufhock* in the shape of a cat was really the *schratl*, but the *schratl* is also a house-spirit. Schlossar, *Ztsch. f. Volkskunde*, IV, 166–7. Cf. the confusion between Rôdbücksch and cat. U. Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern u. Rügen*, pp. 115, 118 (cf. pp. 123, 135).—Wild Huntsman (Hackelberg) and *Drâk*: cf. U. Jahn, p. 129, with Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 182.—For such confusions in the British Islands, see Henderson's rich chapter on "Local Sprites," *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, 2d. ed., 1879, pp. 246 ff.; cf. L. Brueyre, *Contes pop. de la Grande-Bretagne*, 1875, pp. 199 ff; Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, 2d. ed., 1880, pp. 30–32.

[1] For example, with piskies, pisgies, or pixies, and spriggans (see Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 3d. ed., pp. 81, 82; cf. M. A. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, Penzance, 1890, p. 122); with Pwca (Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, 2d. ed., 1880, pp. 18–23). Robin Goodfellow, as is well known, sometimes appears as a "walking fire." Interesting tables of the names, forms, and functions of *lutins* may be found in *Rev. des trad. pop.*, IV, 613 ff., 664 ff.; V, 101 ff.; VIII, 46 f. (cf. V, 338 ff.; VIII, 443).

[2] Thus *lutins*, *sorciers*, and *feux-follets* are confounded: they wish to drown a man in a pool. A. Meyrac, *Traditions des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, pp. 203–4 (cf. p. 195). See Thoms, *On Puck as Will-o'-the-Wisp*, *Athenæum*, Sept. 25, 1847, No. 1039, p. 1005, reprinted in *Three Notelets on Shakespeare*, 1865, pp. 59 ff.

[3] See U. Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern u. Rügen*, pp. 105 ff., 110, 127, etc.; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, pp. 75, 76; id., *Beitr. zur deutschen Mythol.*, II, 332, 338–41; Frau Adler, *Ztschr. f. Volkskunde*, I, 73, 74; O. Knoop, *Volkssagen aus dem östlichen Hinterpommern*, pp. 8, 124; H. Hartmann, *Bilder aus Westfalen*, p. 132; Sommer, *Sagen aus Sachsen u. Thüringen*, p. 32

cobolds,[1] with stable-cobolds,[2] with white ladies,[3] with the aufhock,[4] with the Devil,[5] and even with werewolves.[6] Some of these substitutions may be due to the element of mischief (shown particularly in leading travellers astray) which several of these beings possess; others may be explained by the general tendency to assign domestic functions to spirits of the field and wood.[7]

(= Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 462); Schambach u. Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen u. Märchen*, pp. 163–6, 358. If it be thought that the *drå̊k* is not to be identified with the will-o'-the-wisp in any way, it may be observed that the "fiery man" and the will-o'-the-wisp cannot be kept apart and that the *drå̊k* and the "fiery man" are not always distinguishable: see Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, p. 178, and K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, I, 60, 61.

[1] See references in note 3, p. 431, above.

[2] Thuriet, *Trad. pop. du Doubs*, pp. 305, 306; cf. Monnier et Vingtrinier, *Croyances et Trad. pop. receuillies dans la Franche-Comté*, etc., 2d. ed., 1874, pp. 641–3.

[3] Jules Lecœur, *Esquisses du Bocage normand*, Condé-sur-Noireau, 1887, II, 418–19; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, pp. 98, 99; cf. Sébillot, *Trad. et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 213.

[4] Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, p. 180 (cf. p. 181).

[5] Wucke, *Sagen aus der mittleren Werra*, I, 48 (the Devil with a lantern).

[6] Amélie Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse*, 1845, p. 247.

[7] Many examples in Mannhardt, *Wald. u. Feldkulte*, ch. i, I, 75, 81, 90–92, etc.; cf. II, 171, 195 ff. *Erdweibchen* as housemaid: Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, I, 275. *Follets* or *lutons*, who live in holes in the rocks, thresh for farmer, like cream, etc.: Thuriet, *Trad. pop. du Doubs*, p. 518. The piskey or pixey may be serviceable as a house-cobold: *Notes and Queries*, 1st. Ser., II, 475; cf. id., 510–11, 514; see also Hunt, *Pop. Romances of the West of England*, 2d. ed., pp. 81, 129. *Kaboutermannekens* (dwarfs), who live in a hill, serviceable as house-sprites: Panken, *Noordbrabantsche Sagen*, Nos. 16, 17, *Ons Volksleven*, IV, 28–29; No. 30, IV, 53; No. 31, IV, 68–69; No. 33, IV, 70; cf. also Nos. 35–40, IV, 92–95, 114–116. The *malik* is both a house and a wood sprite: J. Schmidt, *Zeitschr. f. Volkskunde*, IV, 219–21. *Fées* serve as house-sprites: H. Roux, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, II, 488–9; so *les Margot la fée*, who come down the chimney and for whom meals are prepared: Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 116 (cf. I, 124). "Weisse Frau" as serviceable house-sprite: Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 54. The *bergmändl*, properly a mine-cobold, serves as hausgeist: Baumgarten, *Aus der volksmässigen Ueberlieferung der Heimat*, Linz,

Now monks or friars appear as surrogates for various creatures of the "lower mythology." For this substitution several causes are immediately obvious,—some of general applicability, others attaching to particular phenomena or special localities. Thus, the ruins of monastic buildings, with associated traditions of the power or the crimes[1] of their former occupants, assist in the transference to monks of stories properly referring to giants.[2] Real or imaginary underground passages belonging to monasteries (and frequently, in popular belief, connecting them with nunneries in the vicinity)[3] facilitate the substitution of monks for dwarfs. The monastic habit, resembling in some respects the attire of certain gnomes and goblins, is of itself enough to give the name "monks" to various sprites in no way associated with monasticism.[4] Another potent cause of such transferences is the fact that to ghosts, the unquiet spirits of the dead, are often assigned, usually by some obvious confusion, functions more originally belonging to dwarfs, fairies,

1864, II, 75 (cf. II, 74). See also Sébillot, as above, I, 128–9, 133; Jecklin, *Volksthümliches aus Graubünden*, I, 19; I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Tirol*, 1859, pp. 38 ff. (2d. ed., 1891, pp. 54 ff.). We need not raise the question whether the belief in fiery sprites of the hearth has assisted in the domestication of fiery sprites of the air or the field: see Grimm, *D. M.*, 4th. ed., II, 765: J. W. Wolf, *Beitr. zur deutschen Mythol.*, II, 332; K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, I, 60, 61; Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, p. 176; Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, p. ix.

[1] For the bad reputation of monks (as sorcerers and the like) in popular story, see Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 337 ff.

[2] Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volkssage*, 2d. ed., 1879, pp. 383–4. Cf. Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, p. 282.

[3] See Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes*, 1871, pp. 186–8; cf. No. 32, note, p. 20, with No. 202, p. 78. See also Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, No. 798, 2d. ed., II, 193; *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 366–7; Lyncker, *Deutsche Sagen u. Sitten in hessischen Gauen*, 1854, p. 128; Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 52, note 2, 260–1, and note; Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, II, 83, 95; J. Nicholson, *Folk Lore of East Yorkshire*, 1890, p. 81.

[4] See, for example, J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, p. 181, and the references in note 1, p. 437, below.

elves, or cobolds,[1] and that monks and friars are no more exempt than laymen from walking the earth after death.

From all these causes we find the monk or friar in popular superstition performing in many *rôles*, from the mere apparition[2] to the genuine dwarf. The functions represented

[1] Thus the "Cauld Lad of Hilton" seems properly to be a serviceable house-cobold; yet he is said to be the ghost of a servant "slain by an old baron of Hilton in a moment of passion." Henderson, *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, 2d. ed., 1879, pp. 266–7; see also *Denham Tracts*, ed. Hardy, I, 55–57, 201–2, 340. Compare the "Dunnie" (Henderson, p. 263; *Denham Tracts*, II, 167 ff.) and "Silky" (*Denham Tracts*, II, 169 ff.). Peg o' Nell, the evil goblin of the Ribble, who drowns men in that stream, is said to have been a servant-maid in her lifetime: Henderson, p. 265; cf. *Folk-Lore*, VI, 295. See also Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-Lore*, 1867, pp. 49–62; C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-Lore (chiefly Lancashire and the North of England)*, 1872, pp. 124 ff.; Byrne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 113–14; Bosquet, *Normandie pittoresque et merveilleuse*, p. 259 (cf. Byrne, p. 51); Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, I, 206–10.

[2] See, for examples, *Anekdotenbuch für katholische Priester*, 1778, in Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, I, 345–6; Ed. Hager, *Voigtländische Volkssagen*, 1839, I, 33 (see Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, No. 641, 2d. ed., II, 46); A. Lütolf, *Sagen u. s. w. aus den fünf Orten Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden u. Zug*, p. 142; A. Niederhöffer, *Mecklenburg's Volkssagen*, IV, 269–70 (two Franciscans); Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, p. 78; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, p. 95; Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, I, 186; Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch*, pp. 445, 454 (monks and nuns), Wucke, *Sagen aus der mittleren Werra*, I, 3, 15; Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, I, 230 (ghost of a Benedictine seen in a wood in open day); I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Tirol*, pp. 182–3; Schöppner, *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, II, 266, 348; J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch u. s. w. im Voigtlande*, pp. 511–12; Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, pp. 8–10 (Austin friar); id., pp. 202, 207; Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes*, pp. 78–82, 110; K. Gress, *Holzlandsagen*, 1870, p. 13; Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, 1866, p. 255; id., *Sagen, Sitten u. Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, 1878, p. 127 (Franciscan); Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d. ed., 1874, I, 90–91, 103–6, 275–6, 385, 530; II, 310, 321 (monk and nun); id., *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 138–9, 531; K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, I, 142–5, 150 (headless); Ch. Thuriet, *Trad. pop. de la Haute-Saone et du Jura*, p. 59 (cf. Monnier et Vingtrinier, *Croyances et Trad. pop. recueillies dans la Franche-Comté*, etc., 2d. ed., 1874, p. 522), p. 200, p. 375 ("le Capucin du Mort-Bois," who acts as a *censor morum;* cf. Monnier et Vingtrinier, p. 522); Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 340; Firmenrich, *Germaniens Völkerstimmen*, I, 301 (abbot in the form of a raven). For nuns, and the like, see Witzschel, *Sagen aus*

include, among others, those of treasure-spirits,[1] beneficent warning spirits,[2] savage and even murderous cobolds (bugbears),[3] murderous water-sprites,[4] stone-throwing demons,[5] fierce hill-sprites,[6] mine-spirits or gnomes,[7] the auf-

Thüringen, 1866, pp. 102 (procession), 276–8; id., *Sagen u. s. w. aus Thüringen*, 1878, pp. 92, 98; Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 267; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, p. 101; id., *Deutsche Märchen u. Sagen*, pp. 315, 365; Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, p. 92. For priests, see J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche M. u. S.*, pp. 229–30; Witzschel, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Thüringen*, 1878, pp. 111, 113 (cf. pp. 51, 130); Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d. ed., 1874, I, 297; Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, I, 204; J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch u. s. w. im Voigtlande*, p. 512; I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Tirol*, pp. 173–4; J. Lecœur, *Esquisses du Bocage Normand*, II, 392; Pitrè, *Usi, Costumi, Credenze e Pregudizi del Popolo Siciliano*, IV, 29.

[1] G. Amalfi, *Tradizioni ed Usi nella Penisola Sorrentina*, 1890, p. 173. See also the story of the Probst at Oberzell: Schöppner, *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, II, 266 (cf. II, 349).

[2] "Il Monaco della Scaletta" used to give warning of the arrival of pirates: Pitrè, *Usi e Costumi, Credenze e Pregiudizi del Popolo Siciliano*, IV, 30.

[3] "Le moine bourru" used to traverse the streets of Paris at night and wring the necks of those who were looking out of the windows: Monnier et Vingtrinier, *Croyances et Traditions pop. recueillies dans la Franche-Comté*, etc., 2d. ed., p. 521; cf. Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque*, p. 139. A nurse's bugbear is "la *paparaugno* ou moine bourru:" P. Laroche, *Folklore du Lauraguais*, pt. VI, Albi, 1894, p. 311. "Le moine de Saire" was a wicked monk who was carried off by the devil; he takes various shapes (of animals, of drowning men, etc.) for the purpose of inflicting bodily injuries or death: Bosquet, as above, pp. 264–6; J. Fleury, *Litt. orale de la Basse-Normandie*, pp. 32 ff.; cf. A. Meyrac, *Traditions etc. des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, p. 206. A ghostly abbot wrings the necks of persons who visit a certain cellar of the monastery at Michaelstein: Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, II, 35; cf. I, 214. See also J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen u. Sagen*, p. 231.

[4] See "le moine de Saire" in note 3, above.

[5] The spirit that haunted the parsonage at Gröben, near Jena, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, first appeared about 1645 "in Gestalt eines grauen Mönches." The stone-throwing began in June, 1718, and lasted about nine months. See the long story given (from J. Heinisch, *Das Zeugniss der reinen Wahrheit u. s. w.*, Jena, 1723) by Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d. ed., 1874, II, 360 ff.

[6] A ghostly monk near Grünhain pulls travellers down hill or otherwise maltreats them: Grässe, as above (note 5), I, 504. A very similar story is told of a ghostly miner (*ibid.*). Cf. J. Gebhart, *Oesterreichisches Sagenbuch*, Pest, 1862, p. 231.

[7] Cf. note 6, above, and note 4, p. 436, below.

hock,[1] out-of-door dwarfs,[2] stable-cobolds, house-cobolds. The Italian Monaciello[3] and the German Bergmönch[4] deserve special

[1] Wucke, *Sagen der mittleren Werra*, I, 47 (cf. I, 3). On the *aufhock* in general see, for example, Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, II, 207 (Hockemänner); Bindewald, *Oberhessisches Sagenbuch*, pp. 87–88; Ph. Hoffmeister, *Hessische Volksdichtung*, Marburg, 1869, p. 142; K. Seifart, *Sagen aus Hildesheim*, 1854, pp. 6–8 (der Huckauf), etc., etc.

[2] Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, pp. 12, 468. See p. 437, note 1.

[3] The "Monaciello" is a fantastic little creature that haunts houses, pulling the bedclothes away from sleepers and playing other tricks like those in which house-cobolds take delight. He appears in various shapes. See Basile, *Pentamerone*, i, 2 (ed. Croce, I, 35, and note), i, 4 (ed. Croce, I, 63), iii, 7 (ed. 1674, p. 351); L. Correra, *Giambattista Basile*, *Archivio di Letteratura Popolare*, I, 29; Casetti and Imbriani, *Canti pop. delle Provincie Meridionali*, II, 188–9; Amalfi, *Tradizioni ed Usi nella Penisola Sorrentina*, pp. 151 ff.; *Folk-Lore*, IV, 401. "Lu Munacchedu" of Sicily and Calabria is practically identical with the Monaciello, but has points in common with "le donne di fuora": Pitrè, *Archivio*, VIII, 119. The twitching away of the bedclothes is a familiar trick. For a good old case see Guil. Parisiensis, *De Universo*, ii, 3, 8 (*Opera*, ed. 1674, tom. I, p. 1030, col. 1, E). It was played by a mysterious spirit in a Tyrolese Capuchin monastery; the spirit was subsequently identified as a skeleton in monkish attire: I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Tirol*, 2d. ed., 1891, p. 261 (1859, pp. 182–3). Zingerle compares Gebhardt, *Heilige Sagen in Oesterreich*, II, 76, F. Müller, *Siebenbürgische Sagen*, Kronstadt, 1857, p. 43, and Vonbun, *Sagen Vorarlbergs*, 2d. ed., 1889, p. 68. Add Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 205 (where the mischievous spirit is a ghostly monk); J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, p. 49; Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-Lore*, p. 61; *The Mad Merry Prankes of Robbin Good-Fellow*, *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Chappell, II, i, 84; Harman, *Caveat*, 1567, E. E. T. S., p. 36.

[4] The "Bergmönch" is sometimes a dwarf, sometimes a giant. In a story from the Harz (Grimms, *Deutsche Sagen*, I, 5) he is described as a gigantic man in the monkish habit, carrying in his hand a great miner's lamp. He gave the miners oil and assisted them at their work, accomplishing more in an hour than two men could do in a week. The men told of their strange assistant, and the supply of oil ceased. On the Bergmönch see also Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, I, 69–74, 132–4, 147, 157, 261–2; id., *Deutsche Sagen*, 1863, pp. 31 ff. (1879, pp. 31 ff.); Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volkssage*, 2d. ed., 1879, pp. 359–70; J. W. Wolf, *Beitr. zur deutschen Mythol.*, II, 314; Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, pp. 194 ff.; Harrys, *Volkssagen Niedersachsens*, II, 2 (= Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 627), 48 (= Grässe, I, 636); Grässe, *Sagenbuch*, I, 628; Schöppner, *Sagenbuch der Bayerischen Lande*, I, 174. A monk conducts a miner into a mountain to see Kaiser

mention, and the use of *münche, mönken*, etc., as a synonym for "dwarfs" in various parts of Germany[1] is highly significant. Of monks or friars as house-cobolds two or three instances may be specified, on account of the widespread confusion between house-sprites and field-sprites. At Krosigk, in North Germany, there was a ghostly monk who milked the cows, curried the horses, and plagued the maids when they were lazy; he used sometimes to ride the horses at night.[2] "Der gute Kapuziner" of Ulm haunted a house that had once been a monastery; he worked for the family all night long,—made the fire, brought in wood, washed dishes, and so on.[3] "Boppôle," a mischievous house-cobold, long ago banished to the woods, is the ghost of a Jew who in his lifetime had got himself made an abbot.[4] A ghostly Capuchin haunted a smithy in Swabia, mending the fire and hammering on the anvil.[5] A Mansfeld monk haunts a brewery, making

Friedrich (Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, 1866, pp. 269–70), but this is probably not significant here.

[1] E. Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen u. Gebräuche aus Sachsen u. Thüringen*, I, 35–37 (= Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 323–4); Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, II, 112; Müllenhoff, *Sagen u. s. w. der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein u. Lauenburg*, p. 236; Bartsch, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Meklenburg*, pp. 59–60, 86; Niederhöffer, *Mecklenburg's Volkssagen*, IV, 12 ff., 105 ff.; J. W. Wolf, *Beitr. zur deutschen Mythol.*, II, 314, 331. Cf. J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, pp. 8, 181; Schambach u. Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen*, pp. 115, 151; Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, pp. 109–111. For *mönken* as brewery-dwarfs see Bartsch, as above, I, 59–60, and cf. the *malzmönch* accompanied by dwarfs in Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d. ed., 1874, II, 224. The "Kapleimännle" (Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben*, I, 327–9) is a strange mixture of ghost and sprite. Dwarfs are sometimes called Templars (*Templiers*) in Luxembourg: *Wallonia*, III, 154. Ghostly monks dance about a great cherry tree near Rothbach, in Alsatia: Stöber, *Sagen des Elsasses*, p. 325 (cf. W. Hertz, *Deutsche Sage im Elsass*, p. 50).

[2] Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 206. Compare the stable-cobold (not a monk) in Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes*, pp. 51–52.

[3] Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 52.

[4] Birlinger, as above, I, 50. Cf. the Icelandic tale cited above, p. 415, note 1.

[5] E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen u. s. w. aus Schwaben*, p. 274.

it his special care to hold the servants to their duty.[1] Similar instances are common enough.[2]

Since monks and friars are so common as surrogates for various sprites with whom the Will-o'-the-wisp is sometimes confused, it is natural that they should sometimes be substituted for the Will-o'-the-wisp himself, particularly since there is a tendency to regard strange hovering or wandering lights as specifically ghostly appearances and even as the souls of the unquiet dead.[3]

[1] Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, p. 112.

[2] See F. Mihm, *Koburger Sagen*, Schleusingen, 1845, pp. 71–2 (cf. pp. 114 ff.); Kuhn u. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, I, 205 (cf. the Monaciello, p. 436, above); Wucke, *Sagen der mittleren Werra*, I, 118; Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, I, 52; Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, pp. 54, 83, 204; Pröhle, *Harzsagen*, 1859, I, 213–14. The fullest account of house and stable cobolds under the name of *mönche* is perhaps that in E. Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen u. Gebräuche aus Sachsen u. Thüringen*, I, 35–37 (repeated in Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 323–5), cf. Sommer's note, I, 172.

[3] Will-o'-the-wisps are (1) souls from Purgatory asking prayers and good works, (2) souls of unbaptized infants, (3) malicious *lutins*, (4) nightmares, (5) ladies singing and dancing, candle in hand: C. Moiset, *Les Usages etc. dans le département de l'Yonne*, pp. 89–90 (*Bulletin de la Soc. des Sciences hist. et nat. de l'Yonne*, année 1888). See also Gaetano di Giovanni, *Usi, Credenze ed Pregiudizi del Canavese*, p. 140; Carnoy, *Litt. Orale de la Picardie*, p. 9; J. Lemoine, *Le Folklore au Pays Wallon*, 2d. ed., Gand, 1892, p. 131; J. Lecœur, *Esquisses du Bocage Normand*, Condé-sur-Noireau, 1883–7, II, 14 (souls of unbaptized infants or of unchaste and damned priests); Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque*, pp. 247 ff. (priest or priest's concubine); Sébillot, *Trad. et Sup. de la Haute-Bretagne*, I, 150–1 (priests); U. Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern u. Rügen*, p. 395; O. Knoop, *Volkssagen aus dem östlichen Hinterpommern*, Posen, 1885, pp. 13, 55–56; Philo vom Walde [J. Reinelt], *Schlesien in Sage u. Brauch*, pp. 22–24; Schambach u. Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen*, p. 215; Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volkssage*, 2d. ed., pp. 63 ff.; K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, I, 59; Laistner, *Nebelsagen*, pp. 130–1; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, p. 200; Baumgarten, *Aus der volksmässigen Ueberlieferung der Heimat* (29*ter. Bericht über das Museum Franco-Carolinum*), Linz, 1869, p. 132; Bartsch, *Sagen aus Meklenburg*, I, 214; Müllenhoff, *Sagen u. s. w. der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein u. Lauenburg*, p. 553 (cf. p. 188); J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Sagen u. Märchen*, p. 500; Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes*, p. 165.

Field apparitions in the form of fiery or burning men are often explained as the ghosts of dishonest surveyors or of men who have sinned by "removing

Thus a blue light sometimes seen in Kloster Orlau, in the Tyrol, is said to be the spirit of a certain monk.[1] In Saxony, there is a story of barefoot brother in fiery shape,[2] and another of a Franciscan who wanders about carrying a lighted candle.[3] A monk and a nun who loved each other in this life are now two Will-o'-the-wisps (*irrlichter*).[4] Near Kamburg, on the site of an old monastery, a ghostly lantern goes to and fro; it is that used by a young monk who long ago met with a tragic end.[5] In the Lausitz the ghost of a Minorite, who was a murderer, still walks, lantern in hand, in a passage in an old convent.[6] A monk, carrying his head under his arm and bearing a lantern in his hand, perambulates the fortifications of Dresden when some misfortune, especially a death, threatens the court.[7]

the ancient landmark." Such apparitions cannot always be distinguished from the will-o'-the-wisp. See, for examples of them, Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, II, 74–86; id., *Naturmythen*, pp. 176, 181; Bindewald, *Oberhessisches Sagenbuch*, 1873, pp. 157–9; Lyncker, *Deutsche Sagen u. Sitten in hessischen Gauen*, 1854, p. 110; Schambach u. Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen*, pp. 206–12; Henne-Am Rhyn, *Deutsche Volkssage*, 2d. ed., pp. 505–7; J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen u. Sagen*, p. 326; Hartmann, *Bilder aus Westfalen*, 1871, p. 133; Grässe, *Sagenbuch des Preussischen Staats*, I, 680. *Revenants* of this particular class are not always fiery: see, for examples, *Ons Volksleven*, I, 91–92; Panken, *Noordbrabantsche Sagen, Ons Volksleven*, IV, 7–8; Meyrac, *Traditions des Ardennes*, p. 199; Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque*, p. 263; Müllenhoff, as above, p. 189; Jecklin, *Volksthümliches aus Graubünden*, II, 120 ff. For serviceable "feurige Männer" see I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen u. s. w. aus Tirol*, 1859, p. 187; J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch u. s. w. im Voigtlande*, p. 500 (= Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, 1866, p. 232). For a very curious story of a burning man who is really a ghost, see *Ons Volksleven*, IV, 8.

[1] Bechstein, *Mythen u. Sagen Tirols*, 1857, p. 201.

[2] Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d. ed., I, 335–6.

[3] Grässe, as above, II, 120–1.

[4] Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, pp. 46–7.

[5] Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, 1866, pp. 242–3; see also Grässe, as above, II, 412.

[6] K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, II, 81.

[7] J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen u. Sagen*, p. 498, from P. C. Hilscher, *Nachricht*, 1729.

These examples may be fortified (1) by the well-known belief that *feu-follets* are the souls of unchaste or otherwise sinful priests,[1] and (2) by the common explanation of strange lights as ghostly lanterns, moving of themselves or carried by sprites or *revenants*.[2]

Now some of the most familiar names for the will-o'-the-wisp in England imply that the *feu-follet* is a lantern or a lantern-bearing sprite. We have Jack-with-a-lantern, Jack-a-lantern, Hob-and-his-lantern,[3] Jenny-wi'-the-lantern,[4] Peg-a-lantern,[5] devil's lantern,[6] and lantern-

[1] See examples in note 3, p. 438, above.

[2] A few typical examples are given. The "Mirichicchiu" is the ghost of a physician; he is a dwarf in stature, and may be seen seeking bones with a lantern: Amalfi, *Tradizioni ed Usi nella Penisola Sorrentina*, p. 154. A headless man bears a lantern: Grössler, *Sagen der Grafschaft Mansfeld*, p. 171. Ghosts with lanterns: Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes*, p. 162, and note; Schambach u. Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen*, p. 214; Grössler, as above, p. 138. Lantern borne by a hand (nothing else visible): Witzschel, *Sagen aus Thüringen*, p. 255 (cf. p. 294); Grössler, as above, pp. 66, 70, 167. A serviceable lantern released by a thank-you: Eisel, as above, p. 162.

[3] Jabez Allies, *On the Ignis Fatuus*, 1846, p. 3, gives Hoberdy's Lantern, Hobany's Lantern, Hob and his Lantern, Jack-o'-Lantern, and Will-o'-the-Wisp as names known in Worcestershire. *Hoberdy's* and *Hobany's* are doubtless corruptions of *Hob and his*. Other forms are the following: Hob-o'-Lantern (*Notes and Queries*, 1st. Ser., XII, 290); Hobby lantern lantan, lanthorn (*N. and Q.*, 1st. Ser., XII, 290; E. Moor, *Suffolk Words and Phrases*, 1823, pp. 172, 487; Forby, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 1830, II, 162); Hobbedy's Lantern (J. Drummond Robertson, *Glossary of Dialect and Archaic Words used in the County of Gloucester*, E. D. S., p. 69; R. Lawson, *Upton-on-Severn Words and Phrases*, E. D. S., p. 18; Mrs. Chamberlain, *Glossary of West Worcestershire Words*, E. D. S., p. 15); Hobbady-lantern (Jesse Salisbury, *Glossary of Words and Phrases used in S. E. Worcestershire*, 1893, pp. 17, 48); Hob-lantern (Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, *Glossary of Hampshire Words and Phrases*, E. D. S., p. 44). Hob is well-known as a goblin-name: cf. Hob of Runswick (*Glossary of Yorkshire Words and Phrases*, London, J. R. Smith, 1855, p. 83), Hob Thrust (J. Nicholson, *Folk Lore of East Yorkshire*, 1890, p. 80; J. T. Brockett, *Glossary of North Country Words*, 3d. ed., 1846, I, 223), Hobthrush (*Denham Tracts*, ed. Hardy, I, 339–40).

[4] O. Heslop, *Northumberland Words*, E. D. S., pp. 407, 428.

[5] Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore*, p. 53.

[6] Georgina F. Jackson, *Shropshire Word-Book*, 1879, p. 117.

man.[1] What is more likely than that in Milton's time the *ignis fatuus* was also called "friar's lantern," and regarded as a light borne by the spirit of a friar, or by some vagrant goblin in friar's shape?[2] The name is appropriate and has all the marks of popular origin. It is mentioned by Milton only,[3] and it appears to be no longer in use.[4] But these are not objections that can be urged with any seriousness.

At all events, now that Rush is out of the way, the burden of proof lies very heavy on any who maintain that Milton based his famous line on a misconception.

[1] *N. and Q.*, 1st. Ser., XII, 290; 4th. Ser., III, 182; W. Rye, *Glossary of Words used in East Anglia*, E. D. S., p. 110.—Other names for the will-o'-the-wisp are:—Kit with the cansticke (Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, bk. vii, ch. 15, p. 153, Nicholson's reprint, p. 122); Kit-in-the-candlestick (Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, *Glossary of Hampshire Words and Phrases*, E. D. S., p. 50); Kitty Candlestick (*N. and Q.*, 7th. Ser., XI, 275); Kitty-wi'-the-Wisp (O. Heslop, *Northumberland Words*, E. D. S., pp. 407, 428; cf. Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, ed. Hazlitt, III, 345); Joan-the-Wad (Courtney and Couch, *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall*, E. D. S., p. 31; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, Penzance, 1890, p. 122); Joan-in the-Wad (Holloway, *General Dictionary of Provincialisms*, 1839, p. 89, cited in *N. and Q.*, 5th. Ser., x, 499); Jacket-a-wad (Holloway, as above, p. 89); Gillion a burnt taile or Gyl burnt tayle (Gayton, *Pleasant* [*Festivous*] *Notes upon Don Quixot*, 1654, pp. 268, 97, cited in Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, ed. Hazlitt, III, 347); Spunkie (W. Grant Stewart, *Pop. Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 1823, p. 161, quoted by Allies, p. 34); Syleham Lamps (*N. and Q.*, 1st. Ser., XII, 290); Syleham Lights (W. Rye, *Glossary of Words used in East Anglia*, E. D. S., p. 123); Aw-puck [= Hob-puck] (Jesse Salisbury, *Glossary of Words used in S. E. Worcestershire*, 1893, pp. 2, 48); Pinkit (Jesse Salisbury, as above, pp. 28, 48); Pinket (Allies, p. 18).

[2] This is substantially the opinion expressed by Thoms on the basis of Mlle. Bosquet's statement (see p. 438, note 3, above) that the *feu follet* is believed to be the soul of an unchaste priest: *Athenæum*, September 25, 1847, p. 1005 (reprinted in his *Three Notelets on Shakespeare*, 1865, p. 65).

[3] The term "Friars' lanthorns" occurs in a catalogue of sprites in *The Denham Tracts*, ed. Hardy, II, 78; but this catalogue is simply Mr. Denham's extension of Reginald Scot's well known list (see p. 423, note 3, above). The author was merely stringing together all the goblin-names he could think of and brought in the friar's lanthorn from *L'Allegro*.

[4] The disappearance of the friars from England sufficiently accounts for this obsoleteness. In Milton's day, the memory of the begging "limitours" was still fresh.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

October 18, 1900.

XVI.—GENDER-CHANGE[1] FROM MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN TO LUTHER, AS SEEN IN THE 1545 EDITION OF THE BIBLE.

The subject of the gender of substantives has in recent years occupied the attention of many scholars, and various theories dealing mostly with the origin of gender have been proposed. Benjamin Ide Wheeler in the *Journal of Germanic Philology,* Vol. II, 4, states plainly the fundamental points of the leading theories. The literature on the subject is also to be found there. A reference to this article will suffice. Victor Michels (*Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen,* Strassburg, 1889) discusses the main principles which are at work in bringing about gender-change in German. C. Bojunga in a Leipzig dissertation,[2] in developing the principles which underly the shiftings in the substantive declension, reaches about the same results as Michel's, however in not so full or concise a manner. These treatises[3] deal with the changes from the OHG. and MHG. to the NHG. period. Only occasional references are made to Luther's language.

The subject of Gender in Luther has been treated by Karl Frommann in a treatise[4] which has evidently been overlooked to a great extent. Frommann gives complete lists of the passages[5] containing the stems which show different

[1] This article, parts of which were read at the meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association at Nashville, Tenn., is intended as a contribution to the study of Luther's language.

[2] *Die Entwicklung der NHG. Substantivflexion u. s. w.*, Leipzig, 1890.

[3] In the light of these treatises an introduction on my part is superfluous.

[4] *Vorschläge zur Revision von Dr. Martin Luthers Bibelübersetzung. Zweites Heft. Sprachlicher Theil, erste Abtheilung,* Halle, 1862.

[5] Before having this article in hand I made a similar detailed collection. I have checked Frommann's citations and have found them to be exact with but few exceptions.

genders in the 1545 edition of the Bible. Frommann's article is useful only as far as the material is concerned. The stems are treated alphabetically without any class arrangement whatever. Again, he does not deal with the numerous stems which change completely from MHG. to Luther's time, this lying beyond the scope of his article. Carl Franke devotes a paragraph (140) in his well known book[1] to the subject of gender-change. From this paragraph, however, one can obtain but a meager idea of this important chapter. Franke's citations are from works of various periods of Luther's literary activity, and even then nearly fifty stems found in Frommann's article are not treated.

These statements suffice to show the need of an article which treats the subject in full, if one desires to see just how much influence Luther exerted on the NHG. written language in this particular chapter. I have used the above mentioned works freely, and to avoid unnecessary repetition references are made in the index to the page or paragraph of each article. One may readily see what has been taken from these sources. I have also used freely the usual grammars and dictionaries, and the various articles which refer to this subject.[2]

As the title of the article indicates, this investigation is based upon Luther's most complete work, the Bible edition of 1545 (*K*).[3] It has been shown that within the declension of the substantives[4] Luther worked according to a definite system of linguistic principles, which he followed more closely than one might expect in the transition period from

[1] *Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers*, Görlitz, 1888.

[2] These articles are found quoted in Michel's book.

[3] Karl v. Bahder, *Idg. F.*, iv, 353: "Am geklärtesten ist Luthers Sprache in der letzten Bibelausgabe von 1545; auf dies Werk ist auch die spätere Schriftsprache in erster Linie gegründet und jede Untersuchung, die Luthers Sprache in ihrer Bedeutung für die schriftsprachliche Entwicklung betrachtet, wird es zum Ausgangspunkt nehmen müssen.

[4] *Substantivflexion bei Martinus Luther* (*Bibelausgabe von 1545*), Cornell Dissertation, 1897.

MHG. to NHG. And as transitions take place from one class to another within the same gender, or as even stems of different genders influence one another so as to bring about class changes, so likewise transitions from one gender to another are evident, due to various general principles and particular associations. Starting from the MHG. written, court, or class language I have observed that about 270 substantives show in "*K*" some change of gender. All genders are affected: masculine stems become feminine and vice versa; neuter stems become masculine and vice versa; neuter stems become feminine and vice versa. We find a general leveling of the numerous fluctuations which prevail in MHG., sometimes singly, but mostly according to well defined categories. The general causes of the leveling will be mentioned under each head and the particular associations under each stem.

Masculine Stems Become Feminine.

A large number of stems which in MHG. are masculine, or at least fluctuate between masculine and feminine, become in NHG. feminine. Here especially group movements are to be observed.

1. *Weak masculines become feminine.*

The possibility of the change is apparent from an examination of the paradigms:

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
Sg. N.	*bote*	*zunge*	Pl.	*boten*	*boten*
G. D.	*boten*	*zungen*			
A.	*boten*	*zungen*			

The masculine stems have not as yet taken on the *-n*, in the nominative and the *-s* in the genitive singular, so there are no barriers to be overcome in the declension. The general causes which bring about the ultimate change are:

the large number of dissyllabic feminines ending in *-e*, with similarity of form, function, and meaning; the confusing of the masculine and feminine article in the Low German dialects; the predominate use of the plural in many of the stems. The habit of assigning *die* to the stem used in the plural is carried over to the singular. Several subdivisions are easily made:

(*a*). Plant names.

Blume MHG. *bluome* mf. is in *K* f. except in Hohel. 2, 1, where the form *ein blumen* occurs.

Lilie MHG. *lilje* fm. is used in *K* only in the plural.

Narde MHG. *narde* mf. shows in *K* different genders according to the meaning: Used as *salbe* it is f. Joh. 12, 3; used as *pflanze* it is m., however only in the Song of Solomon, Hohel. 1, 2.[1]

Palme MHG. *palme* mf. is in *K* f. 1 x Richt. 4, 5 in meaning of palmtree. The transition is due in part to *die buche, die eiche, die linde, die tanne*, etc.

Pfebe MHG. *phedeme* fm. is used only 4 Mos. 11, 5 in the sense of *die melone*. The gender is uncertain.

Rose MHG. *rôse* mf. is in *K* f. 3 x Hos. 14, 6; m. 1 x Hohel. 2, 1.

Traube MHG. *trûbe* mf. is in *K* f. 3 x Jes. 65, 8; m. 2 x Hohel. 1, 14 and 4 Mos. 13, 25.

Zwiebel MHG. *zwibolle*, etc., m. is used only in one doubtful case, 4 Mos. 11, 5.

The plant names are feminine in *K*. The transition is complete with but few exceptions, these occurring save *traube* 1 x m. in the Song of Solomon. The feminine usage is due in part to feminine plant names as, *die minze, die raute, die bone, die erbse, die gerste, die linse* and *die möhre*.

(*b*). Names of small animals.

[1] It is an interesting fact that the language in the Song of Solomon and in the apocryphal books is very irregular in comparison with the rest of the bible, both in the declension as well as in gender.

Blindschleiche MHG. *blintslîche,* is in 3 Mos. 11, 30 m. *der blindschleich(e).* Associations explain the retention of the masculine: der igel, der molch, der blindschleich, vnd der maulworff. It is also to be noted that apocope occurs (see p. 460).

Heuschrecke MHG. *höuschrëcke* m. is *K* f. Pred. 12, 5. The stem is used mostly in the plural. The transition is due to insect names, especially *die raupe* with which stem it is used in association: 1 Kon. 8, 37 oder hewschrecken, oder raupen———Joel 1, 4 was die raupen lassen, das fressen die hewschrecken.

Made MHG. *made* mf. is in *K* f. 2 x Hiob 25, 6. In Hos. 5, 12 the association with *motte* exerts influence: ich bin—eine motten, vnd—eine made. Compare also *die schabe.*

Schnecke MHG. *snecke* is in *K* f. Ps. 58, 9.

Schlange MHG. *slange* is often used and is with the exception of Amos 5, 19 f. Compare *die natter.*

Basiliske MHG. *basiliske* m. (likewise NHG.) is in *K* m. Jes. 11, 8; f. Jes. 14, 29. The feminine form is due to association with *schlange:* Jes. 14, 29 aus der wurtzel der schlangen wird eine basiliske komen———Jer. 8, 17 schlangen vnd basilisken.

Weihe MHG. *wîe* m. remains m. This fact is explained by associations: 3 Mos. 11, 14 den adeler, den habicht, den fischar, den geyer, den weihe———5 Mos. 14, 12 der adler der habicht, der fisschar, der teucher, der weihe, der geyer mit seiner art.

The names of the small animals are already in *K* feminine with the exception of *weihe* which hardly belongs to this group. Even in *weihe* the gender is explained from associations. In one stem *basiliske* the feminine is used where NHG. retains the masculine.

(*c*). Members of the body.

Lippe MHG. *lëfse* mf. is used only in the plural.

Niere MHG. *niere* mf. likewise.

Wade MHG. *wade* mf. likewise.

Judging from the regularity of the transition to the feminine in the above groups it is probable that in case the singular had occurred the feminine would have been used in these stems also.

Backe MHG. *backe* m. is used often in the singular and is m. throughout 1 Kön. 22, 24. This fact tends to prove the tendency of the plural usage to bring about the transition to the feminine gender.

(*d*). Stems pertaining to the phenomena of fire.

Asche MHG. *asche* fm. is in *K* often used and always f. Jes. 58, 5.

Flamme MHG. *vlamme* mf. is in *K* f. 14 x 2 Mos. 3, 2; m. 3 x Hohel. 8, 6; Jes. 10, 17; Wsh. 10, 7. The irregular usage in the Song of Solomon and in the apocryphal books has already been noted. In Jes. 10, 17 the form *ein* is easily explained by the number of *ein* forms in the sentence: vnd das liecht wird ein fewr sein, vnd sein Heiliger wird ein flamme sein. The -*e* is omitted in two other places where no doubt exists as to the gender as, 4 Mos. 21, 28 ein flamme —die.

Kohle MHG. *kol*(*e*) mf. is used mostly in the plural, the singular occurring Jes. 6, 6 and here f.

Lohe MHG. *lohe* mf. is in *K* f. throughout Richt. 13, 20.

The transition of *asche, flamme* and *kohle* is due primarily to the prevailing plural usage. *Lohe* follows the tendency of the related stems. Compare also *die glut* and *die hitze.*

(*e*). Stems not easily classified in general groups.

Hefe MHG. *hefe* is in *K* f. 1 x Jes. 25, 6. The transition is partly due to *die geste* and *die bärme.*

Neffe MHG. *nëve* m. is used 1 Mos. 36, 2 in sense of *die nichte.*

Pfoste MHG. *phoste* m. is used in the singular only 1 Sam. 1, 9 and there f. Compare *die säule* and *die stütze.*

Pfrieme MHG. *phrieme* m. is in *K* f. 2 x 2 Mos. 21, 6. The feminine is explained by related stems: *die ahle, die nadel.*

Reue MHG. *riuwe* mf. is in *K* f. 2 x 2 Cor. 7, 9, 10. The transition is caused partly by *die trauer, die sorge*, etc., and also by *die treue* (*untreue*). The similarity of sound exerting great influence.

Seuche MHG. *siuche* mf. is in *K* f. throughout 5 Mos. 7, 15. The transition is due to a number of stems related in meaning: *die not, die plage, die pestilenz* (see p. —), *die krankheit* and *die schwachheit.* Associations are also evident in *K: krankheit* and *seuche* 5 x Matth. 9, 35 und heilete allerley seuche und allerley kranckheit; *plage, krankheit* and *seuche,* 5 Mos. 28, 60. 61 vnd wird dir zu wenden alle seuche——dazu alle kranckheit vnd alle plage; *plage* and *seuche,* Luc. 7, 21 von seuchen vnd plagen; *pestilenz* and *seuche,* Ps. 91, 6 fur der pestilentz, fur der seuche; *qual* and *seuche,* Matth. 4, 24 mit mancherley seuchen vnd qual behafft; *schwachheit* and *seuche,* Matth. 8, 17 er hat vnser schwachheit——vnd vnser seuche getragen. These repeated associations have great weight in the determination of the gender.

Even these single stems show in *K* complete transition to the feminine. Particular associations which throw light on the gender change are present in every case.

(*f*). Stems used only in the plural.

A few stems are used only in the plural, so their gender is only to be inferred: *koralle* MHG. *koralle* m., *maie* MHG. *meie* m., *saite* MHG. *seite* mf., *schuppe* MHG. *schuope* m., *schwäre* MHG. *swëre* m., *stapfe* MHG. *stapfe* mf., *strieme* MHG. *strieme* m., *treppe* MHG. *treppe* mf. and *zacke* MHG. *zacke* fm. (?). The above list shows again the influence of the plural usage on the gender.

(*g*). Stems retaining the MHG. gender.

When one takes into consideration the large number of stems which become feminine, the fact that a few still retain the masculine gender in *K* is rather to be expected.

Borte MHG. *borte* m. is in *K* m. 2 Mos. 28, 32; 39, 23. The retention of the masculine in *K* is easily explained from the associations: sol ein loch sein, vnd ein borte umbs loch

—vnd sein loch oben mitten inne, vnd ein borte vmbs loch.

The effect of the repetition of *-ein* in a sentence has already been noted. Furthermore, it might be added that neuters occurring in association with masculines exert influence at least in preventing gender change, as the neuter indefinite article *ein* is like the masculine except in the accusative, and the neuter definite article is like the masculine in genitive and dative. This fact is not to be dismissed as one of no importance.

Lappen MHG. *lappe* mf. is in *K* m. throughout Luk. 5, 26. The masculine forms are due to *der zeug* (p. 469), *der stoff*, *der saum*, *der zipfel.* Associations are also present: *riss.* Matth. 9, 16 denn der lappe reisset doch wider von kleid, und der riss wird erger—Mk. 2, 21. denn der newe lappe reisset doch von alten und der riss wird erger.

Rebe MHG. *rëbe* mf. is in *K* m. 6 x Joh. 15, 4; f. 1 x 4 Mos. 13, 24. The retention of the masculine is due in part to stems of simular meaning as: *der ast*, *der stock* (*weinstock*), *der zweig* (see p. 469). The feminine form is explained by association, vnd schnitten daselbs eine reben ab mit einer weindrauben.

Schatten MHG. *schatte* m. remains m. with but few exceptions, 4 x 1 Mos. 19, 8.

Scherbe MHG. *schërbe* mf. is in *K* f. 3 x Hiob. 2, 8; m. 2 x Spr. 26, 23; Jes. 45, 9. The retention of the masculine forms is due in part to *der topf.*

Schranke MHG. *schranke* mf. is in *K* m. 1 x 2 Chron. 4, 9. The stem is used here in the sense of *der vorhof*: er machet auch einen hof—, vnd einen grossen schranken—. Notice association with *hof.*

Sitte MHG. *site* m. is in *K* m. 2 x 3 Mos. 3, 17. In 1 Sam. 30, 25 the association with *recht* (see *borte*) seems to retain the gender; das ist——ein sitte vnd recht worden. Associations with *das gebot* and *das recht* occur repeatedly in the plural as: 1 Kön. 8, 58——seine gebot, sitten vnd rechte.

Waise MHG. *weise* m. remains m. in *K* 19 x 5 Mos. 14, 29. The retention of the masculine corresponds to the natural gender. *Der knabe* is always intended.

A glance at this list will show that the stems are used mostly in the singular, a striking proof for the important part played by the plural usage in determining the gender change, associations are present in every case which prevent the transition to the feminine gender.

The conditions in *K* show that, in the category of the weak masculine stems which on account of well defined general causes and particular associations become feminine, a general transition has taken place. A few stems still remain masculine which afterwards become feminine, but even this stage of the development is explained by associations. The MHG. fluctuation is leveled and the language of *K* presents in this category a striking conformity to the NHG. written language.

2. *Strong masculines become feminine.*

a. A small group of stems used mostly in the plural. The possibility of the gender change is evident from the MHG. paradigms:

	Masc.	Fem.
Pl. N.	*tage*	*gëbe*
G.	*tage*	*gëben*
D.	*tagen*	*gëben*
A.	*tage*	*gëbe*

The declensions are alike with the exception of the genitive, and this is of little importance in the light of the fact that the *die* cases are alike. Furthermore a possibility is present which brings this group into the first group (p. 444). In the substantive declension shiftings are noticeable in the plural formation of the masculines; *o*-stems pass over to the *-i*, to the *-er* and a few to the *-n* plural. Why not also in case of this category? This transition would merely increase the possibility of the gender change. It is to be

noticed that the transition goes one step farther in this than in the first group. There the masculine and feminine stems are alike in the singular; here the plural form is brought over into the singular.

Hornis(se) MHG. *Horniz* is used only in the plural in *K* and is always weak 2 Mos. 23, 28. The transition to the weak masculine declension before the gender change is probable in this case, due to the number of weak animal names. The immediate change of gender is caused by a number of insect names especially by *die wespe.*

Locke MHG. *loc* m. is used only in the plural. In *K* are present both the *a*-plural 3 x Richt. 16, 13 and the *n*-plural 2 x Hohel. 5, 2. The strong forms may be remnants either of the masculine or of the feminine *o*-declensions. The transition is caused partly by *die flechte* and *die strähne.* Compare also feminines similar in sound as: *die flocke* and *die glocke.* The transition to the *n*-plural first is not probable in case of this stem.

Thräne MHG. *traher, trahen* m. (*trêne* f.) is in *K* f. 1 x Hes. 24, 16, otherwise it is used only in the plural. Compare *die zähre* which passes through a similar transition. The weak form is found in MHG. (Lexer wb.). This fact tends to prove the transition to the *n*-plural before the gender change.

Woge MHG. *Wâc* m. also *wâge* f. is in *K* f. Luc. 8, 24, otherwise used only in the plural. Compare *die tiefe, die welle* and also *die flut* (p. 452). Associations occur in Ps. 42, 8——deine flut rauschen da her, das hie eine tieffe vnd da eine tieffe brausen, alle deine wasserwogen vnd wellen gehen vber mich.

Tücke MHG. *tuc* m. shows a fluctuation in *K* m. 4 x —*tuck* 1 x Ap. 8, 22; *tück* 3 x 5 Mos. 15, 9; f. 5 x —*tücke* 4 x Spr. 24, 9 *tück* 1 x Sir. 22, 27. In the plural occur both strong and weak forms; *tücke* 3 x Jes. 32, 7—*tück* 1 x Ps. 10, 2—*tücken* 1 x Spr. 12, 8.

The stems of this group with the exception of *tücke* are regularly feminine.

b. The *ti*-abstracts.

A number of abstract stems ending in -*t*, which in MHG. are masculine, or fluctuate between masculine and feminine, become in NHG. feminine. The similarity of the *o*-paradigms has already been noted. These stems however are mostly *i*-stems and show in MHG. the following paradigms:

	Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
Sg. N.	*bach*	*kraft*	Pl.	*beche*	*krefte*
G.	*baches*	*krefte* (*kraft*)		*beche*	*krefte*
D.	*bach*(*e*)	*krefte* (*kraft*)		*bechen*	*kreften*
A.	*bach*	*kraft*		*beche*	*krefte.*

In the singular the paradigms are alike in the nominative, in the accusative and sometimes in the dative. In the plural the paradigms are exactly alike, not even the *n* in the genitive of the *o*-class is to be overcome. The general causes of the transition are: the influence of the numerous feminine stems ending in -*t*; the confusing of the masculine and feminine article already noted; the plural usage.

Art MHG. *art* mf. is in *K* f. throughout 1 Mos. 1, 11. Compare *die beschaffenheit, die gattung, die natur,* also *die weise.*

Blüte MHG. *bluot* mf. is in *K* f. throughout, *blüt* Hiob 8, 12. The transition takes place with *die blume* and the plant names already cited. The stem has not taken on the -*e* in the singular.

Flut MHG. *vluot* mf. is in *K* f. 9 x Ps. 69, 3; m. 2 x Dan. 11, 10; Sir. 21, 16. The plural is not regular: *flut* 3 x 2 Mos. 15, 8———*fluten* 1 x Wsh. 14, 1. The gender change may also be influenced by *die wassermenge,—masse, die welle, die woge* (p. —) and *die tieffe.* Associations are also evident: *tiefe* 2 Mos. 15, 8 die flut stunden—die tieffe wallet; *tiefe, woge* and *welle* Ps. 42, 8 deine flut rauschen da her, das hie eine tieffe vnd da eine tieffe brausen, alle deine wasserwogen vnd wellen gehen vber mich. See *die woge* (p. 451).

Furt MHG. *vurt* mf. is in *K* f. 5 x Jos. 2, 7 ; m. 1 x 1 Mos. 32, 22. The transition is partly caused by *die fahrt* (*überfahrt*) and *die fähre.* Associations with stems denoting means of traveling, as *die fährte* or *die strasse,* may also have influence on the gender change.

Anfurt is in *K* f. 4 x Jer. 47 ; 7 ; m. 4 x 1 Mos. 49, 13. The feminine forms are due to *die furt.* The masculine forms are explained by the usage of *anfurt* in the sense of *der hafen.*

Last MHG. *last* mf. is in *K* f. throughout Matth. 11, 30. A number of stems related in meaning exert influence: *die bürde, die fülle, die menge, die masse* and *die schwere.*

List MHG. *list* mf. is in *K* f. 4 x Jos. 9, 3 ; m. 3 x Röm. 1, 29. The transition is partly caused by stems related in meaning: *die schärfe, die klugheit, die schalckheit, die schlauheit, die weisheit, die witze* and MHG. *die vâre.* The retention of the masculine form is explained by the associations *schade* 4 Mos. 25, 18 sie haben euch schaden gethan mit jrem list; *hass, mord* and *hadder* Röm. 1, 29 vol hasses, mordes, hadders, lists.

Luft MHG. *luft* m. is in *K* f. throughout Off. 9, 2.

Lust MHG. *lust* mf. is in *K* f. throughout Hiob 22, 26. The feminine usage is brought about partly by stems related in meaning: *die freude, die wonne, die begierde* and *die sucht.* Associations are also evident: *freude* Jes. 35, 2 in aller lust vnd freude———Wsh. 8, 16 sondern lust vnd freude; *begierde* Gal. 5, 24 sampt den lüsten vnd begirden.

Pracht MHG. *braht* mf. is in *K* f. 15 x Hiob 40, 8 ; m. 6 x (3 x in variations) Esth. 1, 4. Compare related stems: *die grösse, die herrlichkeit, die hoheit, die hoffart, die würde,* etc. Associations are also evident: *freude* Jes. 60, 15 wil ich dich zur pracht ewiglich machen, vnd zur freude; *herrlichkeit* Hes. 31, 18 mit deiner pracht vnd herrligkeit. The masculine forms are easily explained. Most of these are found in the apocryphal books. In Hes. 28, 17 *pracht* is used in the sense of *der stolz.* In Esth. 1, 4 the masculine form is due to the association with *reichtum* (see p. 474) das er sehen liesse den herrlichen reichthum—vnd den köstlichen pracht.

The *-ti* abstract stems are in *K* with but few exceptions feminine. Associations are present which exert influence on the ultimate transition. Even the exceptions are due to particular associations.

c. Other stems ending in *-t.*

The same general conditions and causes are present as in *b.*

Angst MHG. *angest* fm. is in *K* f. throughout 1 Mos. 42, 21. The transition is brought about by the feminine stems ending in *-t,* especially by *die furcht* and *die not.* Compare also *trübsal* (see p. 478). Associations also explain the feminization: *not* 6 x Jer. 15, 11 wil—komen in der not vnd angst———5 Mos. 28, 53 in der angst vnd not———Jer. 19, 9 in der not vnd angst———Spr. 1, 27 wenn vber euch angst vnd not kompt———Bar. 3, 1 in dieser grosser angst vnd not———2 Cor. 6, 4 in grosser gedult, in trübsaln, in nöten, in engsten; *trübsal* (p. 478) Jes. 30, 6 im lande der trübsal vnd angst———Ze. 1, 15 ein tag der trübsal vnd angst——— Röm. 8, 35 trübsal oder angst———2 Cor. 2, 4 in grosser trübsal vnd angst.

Gewalt MHG. *gewalt* mf. is in *K* f. throughout, except in the apocryphal books, where the masculine forms occur 3 x Sir. 20, 8. The transition is caused in part by stems having similar meaning: *die kraft, die macht, die stärke,* etc. Associations are present in *K* which help determine the ultimate transition: *macht* Esth. 10, 2 aber alle werck seiner gewalt vnd macht———Dan. 7, 27 gewalt vnd macht———Eph. 1, 21 vber alle fürstenthum, gewalt, macht, herrschaft; *obrigkeit* and *herrschaft.* 1 Cor. 15, 24 wenn er auffheben wird alle herrschafft, vnd alle oberkeit vnd gewalt———Röm. 13, 1 sey vnterthan der oberkeit, die gewalt vber jn hat. See also *die majestät.*

Heirat MHG. *hîrât* mf. is used only in the apocryphal books; 1 Mk. 10, 56 m.; St. Esth. 3, 11 f. Associations occur which explain the feminine form: keine freude an der ehre—keine lust an der—heyrat. Compare *die ehe, die hochzeit,* etc.

Kost MHG. *kost(e)* fm. when used in the singular is f. 3 x Esra 6, 4; m. 4 x (apocryphal books 1 Mk. 3, 30). Compare *die nahrung, die pflege, die speise* and *die zehrung.*

Majestät MHG. *majestât* mf. is in *K* f. throughout 5 Mos. 5, 24. Compare *die herrlichkeit, die herrschaft, die hoheit, die macht, die gewalt,* etc. Associations are also present: *herrlichkeit* 5 Mos. 5, 21 seine herrligkeit vnd seine maiestet; *herrlichkeit* and *gewalt* 1 Chron. 30, 11 dir gebürt die maiestet vnd gewalt, herrligkeit; *ehre, gewalt* and *macht* Jud. 25 sey ehre vnd maiestet vnd gewalt vnd macht.

Two stems ending in *-t* show in *K* feminine forms, which are in MHG. and NHG. masculine.

Gurt MHG. *gurt* m. is in *K* f. 5 x 2 Mos. 28, 8; m. 1 x Bar. 6, 43. See *der gürtel* (p. 464).

Frost MHG. *vrost* m. is in *K* m. except Jer. 36, 30, where the feminine form is explained by the associations; des tages in der hitze, vnd des nachts in der frost liegen. The retention of the masculine is due to *der schnee, der tau* (see p. 468), *der hagel, der regen,* etc.

The stems of this group are regularly feminine except in the apocryphal books. Numerous associations help determine the completion of the development. Two stems, which in NHG. retain the MHG. gender, are effected by the general feminine tendency.

d. Various masculines become feminine.

A number of stems which do not belong to general group movements become feminine. The transition in these cases is due principally to particular associations. However, the same general conditions and causes are present here, as in the group movements. Again, the general movements certainly exert influence on the isolated stems.

Bahn MHG. *ban(e)* mf. is in *K* f. throughout Hiob 23, 11, due partly to *die strasse* and other stems denoting means of travel, but principally to discriminate from the similar stem *bann* MHG. *ban* meaning ban.

Bank MHG. *banc* mf. is in *K* f. 2 x Esth. 7, 8. Compare *die tafel.*

Fahr (*gefahr*) MHG. *var(e)* fm. is in *K* f. throughout 1 Sam. 20, 21. The transition is caused by two categories of stems: *die furcht, die not, die angst; die falschheit, die nachstellung* and *die gefährdung.*

Flur MHG. *vluor* occurs only in the dative plural 1 Chron. 5, 16.

Glatz MHG. *gla(t)z* m. is in *K* f. throughout 3 Mos. 13, 41. The transition to the feminine gender may be explained in two ways. Either it is due directly to *die platte*, or *die platte* influenced the stem to take on *-e* in the singular and then it falls under the influence of the numerous feminine stems ending in *-tze.*

Musse MHG. *muoze* f. *muoz* m. retains the form *musse* 1 Cor. 7, 5 and is accordingly f.

Pein MHG. *pîn(e)* mf. is in *K* f. throughout Matth. 25, 46. Compare *die not, die qual, die sorge* and *die strafe. Pein* is used in the meaning of *strafe* Matth. 25, 46; 2 Thess. 1, 9; 1 Joh. 4, 18.

Pestilentz MHG. *pëstilëncie* fm. is in *K* f. except 2 Chron. 7, 13. Compare *die dürre, die not, die plage, die seuche* (see p. 448) and *die teurung.* Associations are found in *K: teurung* 2 Chron 6, 28 wenn eine thewrung im lande wird, oder pestilentz, oder dürre———2 Chron. 20, 9 straffe, pestilentz oder thewrung———1 Kön. 8, 37 wenn eine thewrung, oder pestilentz, oder dürre—im lande sein wird; *dürre* see above; *straffe* likewise.

Purpur MHG. *purpur* m. (likewise NHG.) is in *K* f. throughout Jon. 3, 6. The feminine gender is due to *die seide* as seen from association: Jer. 10, 9 gele seiden vnd purpur zeucht man jm an———Hes. 27, 7 von geler seiden vnd purpur———Spr. 31, 22 weisse seiden vnd purpur ist jr. kleid. Again, Luther uses *seide* where in later editions *purpur* is found 2 Mos. 39, etc.

Schauer MHG. *schûr* m. (likewise NHG.) is in Hiob 27, 18 f. Later editions have *die hütte.*

Schur MHG. *schuor* mf. is in 5 Mos. 18, 4 f. Compare *die wolle.* The numerous feminine stems ending in *-ur* also exert influence.

See MHG. *sê* mf. (NHG. likewise according to the locality and meaning assigned[1]) is used in *K* in the sense of an inland body of water and is m. throughout Luk. 8, 33. The retention of the masculine gender in this usage is easily explained by the associations: 2 Mos. 7, 19 vber jre beche vnd ströme vnd see, vnd vber alle wassersümpffe——5 Mos. 8, 7 ein land da beche vnd brünnen vnd seen innen sind——Hiob 14, 11 wie ein wasser ausleufft aus dem see, vnd wie ein strom versieget vnd vertrocknet——Jes. 42, 15 vnd wil die wasserstrom zu insulen machen, vnd die seen austrocken. Compare also *der fluss, der teich, der weiher* and *der wasserfall.* From the above it is evident that the retention of the masculine in the meaning of an inland body of water is due to the gender of a category of stems used as names of bodies of waters: *der bach* (see p. 465), *der brunnen, der born, der fluss, der sumpf, der strom, der teich, der wasserfall* and *der weiher.*

Even the isolated stems, with the exception of *der see,* show in *K* the feminine gender throughout. The transitions are explained by numerous associations.

3. *Stems ending in -el become feminine.*

A number of stems ending in *-el* which in MHG. are masculine, or masculine and feminine, become in NHG. feminine. The possibility of the gender change is seen from the paradigms, especially after certain known changes have taken place:

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
Sg.	N.	*nagel*	*mandel*	Pl.	*nagel*	*mandel*
	G.	*nagels*	*mandel*		*nagel*	*mandeln*
	D.	*nagel*	*mandel*		*nageln*	*mandeln*
	A.	*nagel*	*mandel*		*nagel*	*mandel.*

[1] George Hempl, *The Journal of Germanic Philology,* Vol. II, p. 100.

The only obstacle then to be overcome is the genitive singular and plural. The same general forces are at work as in the preceding categories. However, the large number of masculine stems ending in *-el* exert a retarding influence in the transition.

Angel MHG. *angel* mf. (likewise NHG.) shows different genders according to the meaning: *angel* (*zum fischfang*) is m. Hiob 40, 21; Matth. 17, 27; *angel* (*der thür*) is f. Spr. 26, 14. Associations which help explain this discrimination are present: Hiob 40, 21 kanstu den L- ziehen mit dem hamen, vnd seine zungen mit dem strick fassen? Kanstu jm einen angel in die nasen legen———Matth. 17, 27 vnd wirff den angel, vnd den ersten fisch der ausser feret, den nim——— Spr. 26, 14 wie die thür in der angel———1 Kön 6, 34 vnd zwo thür—das ein jgliche thür zwei blatt hatte an einander hangen in jren angeln.

Distel MHG. *distel* mf. is used only in the plural, but always weak 1 Mos. 3, 18. Compare the category of plant names especially *die dattel* and *die mandel.*

Kräuel MHG. *kröuwel* is f. 1 Sam. 2, 13, 14. The strong plural forms occur 3 x 2 Mos. 27, 3, although in association with *schauffeln.* Compare *die schaufel, die schüssel* and especially *die gabel.*

Mandel MHG. *mandel* fm. is used in *K* in two meanings: *die frucht; die garbe.* In the first meaning *mandel* is used always in the weak plural. In 1 Mos. 43, 11 the association with *dattel* occurs: vnd datteln, vnd mandeln. See *die distel.* In the second meaning *mandel* is m. Ruth 3, 7. The strong plural occurs 3 x Hes. 3, 15; the weak plural 1 x Jes. 17, 11. This form is explained by the association: aber in der erndten, wenn du die mandeln solt erben.

Rohrdommel MHG. *rôrtumel*, etc., m. is in *K* f. 3 x 3 Mos. 11, 18; m. 2 x Ps. 102, 7. Notice the associations: 3 Mos. 11, 18 die fleddermaus, die rordomel———5 Mos. 14, 17 die fledermaus, die rohrdomel———Jes. 34, 11 sondern rhordomeln vnd igel—nachteülen vnd raben; Ps 102, 7 ein

rhordomel—ein kützlin———Ze. 2, 14 auch rhordomel vnd iegel.

Stachel MHG. *stachel* m. (likewise NHG.) is m. except 1 Cor. 15, 15 and Hiob 40, 21. We have here to deal with misprints.

Fessel MHG. *vezzel* m. remains m. Spr. 7, 22. The plural is strong 7 x 2 Sam. 3, 34.

Ziegel MHG. *ziegel* m. remains m. Hes. 4, 1. The plural is strong 7 x 2 Mos. 5, 7.

The transition in the category of stems ending in *-el* is not quite so regular as in the preceding categories, which is due perhaps to the large number of *-el* masculine stems. A few associations are present which help determine the gender in some of the stems. A tendency to discriminate in gender according to the meaning is also noticeable.

4. *Stems ending in -er.*

Butter MHG. *buter* fm. is used only in doubtful cases.

Ceder MHG. *cêder* m. remains m. Jes. 44, 14.

Otter MHG. *ot*(*t*)*er* m. is in *K* f. 7 x Ps. 58, 5; m. 3 x 1 Mos. 49, 17. The double gender is due to the meaning of the stem. The masculine forms correspond to the MHG. meaning (*fischotter*). The feminine forms come from the low German meaning; *die schlange* (*adder*). Compare also *die natter* and *die viper*.

From the preceding pages it is seen that the stems which in MHG. are masculine, or masculine and feminine, and become in NHG. feminine are with few exceptions feminine in *K*. Whether in groups or isolated stems the general leveling has taken place in accordance with the principles explained above. Even most of the exceptions are caused by particular associations.

Feminine Stems Become Masculine.

In the preceding chapter we have examined the general movement which takes place from the masculine to the

feminine gender. In face of such a tendency, brought about by established causes, a large movement in the opposite direction is impossible. The influences which bring about the general transition to the feminine gender naturally work to prevent the feminine stems from passing over to the masculine gender. However, a few stems MHG. feminine, or masculine and feminine, become masculine notwithstanding the prevailing tendency toward feminization.

1. *Stems ending MHG. in -e.*

A number of feminine stems ending MHG. in *-e* become masculine in NHG.: *brosem(e), balsame, diupstâl(e), gruoz(e), lenze, schüt(e), spëlte, steinritz(e), strâle, tille, tahe(dahe), ungehôrsam(e), vael(e)* and *zêhe.* These stems have in *K* apocope throughout, due to a general linguistic principle which plays an important part in the declension proper, namely: the apocope of *-e* after *-l -m -t -(t)z -s* < *z* or vowel. To see how consistently Luther followed this principle in the declension of substantives notice tables in my Cornell dissertation, pp. 20 and 35,[1] and the neuter *ja*-class. Compare also the article[2] of v. Bahder in this connection.

After apocope has taken place the influence of the numerous feminine stems is removed, and the stems thus affected are brought into closer contact with the masculine stems. That the loss of the *-e* is an important factor in the gender change is shown by one or two examples: Luther retains the *-e* in *witze* and likewise the feminine gender. In NHG. we find *der brosam*, but *die brosame; der ritz*, but *die ritze.* Luther has *der tünch*, NHG. *die tünche.* Numerous other examples might be cited from NHG. and also MHG. The

[1]

Masculina und neutra auf *-l*	Dat. mit *-e*	1 x;	ohne *-e*	212 x
" " " " *-m*	" " *-e*	1 x;	" *-e*	227 x
" " " " *-t*	" " *-e*	43 x;	" *-e*	856 x
" " " " *-s* < *z*	" " *-e*	8 x;	" *-e*	65 x
" " " " *-tz*	" " *-e*	1 x;	" *-e*	110 x.

[2] *Idg. F.*, iv, p. 352, etc.

loss of the *-e*, however, is not the cause of the change, but merely makes it possible. Particular associations have then full play, the only obstacle in the declension being the genitive.

Brosam MHG. *brosem(e)* f. is used only in the dative plural.

Balsam MHG. *balsame* mf. is in *K* m. Ps. 133, 2.

Diebstahl MHG. *diupstâl(e)* is in *K* m. throughout 2 Mos. 22, 3. The transition is caused by the gender of several stems belonging to the category of crime names: *der mord* (see p. 467), *der betrug, der falsch, der meineid, der ehebruch,* and *der raub.* Associations occur in *K* which confirm this statement: Wsh. 14, 25, 26 mord, diebstal, falsch, betrug-.

Fehl (*feil*) MHG. *vael(e)* f. is in *K* m. throughout 2 Mos. 12, 5. Compare *der fleck, der mangel, der makel* and *der wandel.* Another reason may also be cited. If one glances at the compounds in which *fehl* forms the first part a long list of masculines is to be observed. It seems feasible that such constant association could exert some influence on the gender of the substantive.

Gruss MHG. *gruoz(e)* mf. is in *K* m. throughout Luk. 1, 41. The ultimate transition is caused partly by *der buss, der kuss* and partly by other stems similar in form: *der fuss, der guss* and *der russ.*

Lenz MHG. *lenze* mf. is in *K* m. throughout Hohel. 2, 12. The transition is due to names of seasons and of months.

Schutt MHG. *schüt(e)* f. is in *K* m. 2 x 2 Kön. 25, 1; f. 2 x 2 Sam. 20, 15. The masculine forms are due partly to *der wall, der damm* and *der hügel* (*kleiner, künstlicher*). One association is present in Hes. 26, 8 vnd einen schutt machen, vnd schild wider dich rüsten.

Spelt MHG. *spëlt(e)* f. is in *K* m. Jes. 28, 25. The transition is due to grain names: *der dinkel, der hafer, der kummel, der roggen* and *der weitzen.* Associations occur: Jes. 28, 25 vnd wirfft kümel vnd seet weitzen—vnd spellt an seinen ort———Hes. 4, 9 so nim zu dir weitzen,—hirs vnd spelt.

In 2 Mos. 9, 32 Luther uses *rokken* where in later editions *spelt* is found.

Steinritz MHG. *steinritz(e)* mf. is in *K* m. Jer. 13, 4.

Ritz NHG. *ritze* f.; *ritz* m. is in *K* m. Hohel. 4, 3. Compare *der bruch, der spalt, der sprung* and *der riss.*

Strahl MHG. *strâl(e)* mf. is in *K* m. Dan. 7, 10. Both strong and weak plural are found corresponding to the strong and weak masculine declensions in MHG. The transition to the masculine gender notwithstanding the influences brought to bear on the weak masculine to become feminine, is due principally to *der pfeil,* in which sense the stem is often used: 2 Sam. 22, 15; Ps. 18, 15. In Dan. 7, 10 *strahl* is used in the meaning of *der strom.* In Ps. 78, 48 *strahl* means *der donnerkeil, -schlag.* Compounds like *der blitzstrahl* and *der donnerstrahl* may also help in the transition on account of the gender of the first part of the compound. Compare also *der blitz.*

Till (*dill*) MHG. *tille* fm. is in *K* judging from the form in Matth. 23, 23 m. Notice the association: till, vnd kümel. See *spelt.*

Ungehorsam MHG. *ungehôrsâm(e)* f. is in *K* m. throughout 5 Mos. 31, 27. See *balsam.* Compare also the category of stems denoting crime: *mord* (see p. 467), *diebstahl* (see p. 461). One association is present in Jes. 59, 13: zum freuel (see p. 463) vnd vngehorsam.

Zehe MHG. *zêhe* f. is in *K* m. throughout 2 Mos. 29, 20. Although written *zehe* the word is to be spoken as a monosyllable.[1] Compare *der finger* and *der fuss.* Numerous associations are found which help determine the gender: *der knorpel* and *der daumen* 2 Mos. 29, 20 auff den rechten ohrknorpel thun, vnd auff den daumen jrer rechten hand, vnd auff den grossen zehe jres rechten fusses———3 Mos. 8, 24 vnd thet des bluts auff den knörbel jres rechten ohrs, vnd auff den daumen jrer rechten hand, vnd auff den grossen zehe

[1] v. Bahder, *Idg. F.*, iv, p. 355.

jres rechten fusses——— 3 Mos. 14, 17 auff den knörbel— vnd auff den daumen—vnd auff den grossen zehe—.

Thon MHG. *tahe, dahe* f. is in *K* m. throughout Jes. 45, 9. Here we have to deal with contraction rather than with apocope. In MHG. the stem is weak, accordingly the forms *tahen* are often used, especially in the dative. The development to *thon* is then easy. The gender change is brought about partly by *der lehm, der leimen* and *der letten.* Compare also *der sand, der kloss,* etc. In Jes. 41, 25 Luther has *kot,* where later editions have *thon.*

The stems ending MHG. in *-e,* which become masculine after losing the *-e* according to established linguistic principles, are in *K* regularly masculine. Many associations are present which explain the transition to the masculine gender, at a time when a great number of masculine stems were becoming feminine.

2. *Stems ending in -el.*

We have already seen the possibility of changes taking place in the stems ending in *-el.* A few stems ending in *-el* become feminine because of the general tendency toward feminization and to various associations. However, the transition is not so consistently carried out as in other categories which become feminine, on account of the large number of masculine stems ending in *-el.* It is, therefore, natural that these same masculine stems ending in *-el* exert influence on similar stems which are feminine, or fluctuate between masculine and feminine, so that they become masculine.

Frevel MHG. *vrevel(e)* fm. is in *K* m. throughout 1 Mos. 6, 11. Associations are present in *K: hadder* Ps. 55, 10 ich sehe freuel vnd hadder in der stadt; *raub* Amos 3, 10 von freuel vnd raube; *ungehorsam* (see p. 462). In examining the uses of *frevel* in *K* it is obvious that it is used in various meanings: *gewalt* (*gewalttätigkeit* MHG. m.) Hes. 7, 23; *irrtum, fehler* or *verstoss* 2 Sam. 6, 7; 1 Chron. 13, 17, etc.;

druck Jes. 59, 13; *hass* Ps. 25, 19. The close association in meaning with the above masculine stems must exert some influence on the gender of *frevel.*

Gürtel MHG. *gürtel* mf. is in *K* m. throughout. The transition is due to a number of stems pertaining to clothing: *der hut, der rock* and *der mantel.* Associations confirm this fact: *rock* and *hut* 2 Mos. 28, 4 leibrock, seidenrock, engenrock, hut vnd gürtel———2 Mos. 39, 27–29 vnd machten auch die engenröck von weisser seiden—vnd den hut—vnd den gestickten gürtel.

Speichel MHG. *speichel* f. is in *K* m. throughout 3 Mos. 15, 8.

Scheitel MHG. *scheitel(e)* f. is in *K* f. 6 x 1 Mos. 49, 26; m. 2 x 5 Mos. 33, 16. The masculine forms are evidently due to masculine names of members of the body, especially *der kopf* and *der fuss.* Compare also *der wirbel.* Even in NHG. both genders are used.

Zettel MHG. *zëdel(e)* fm. is in *K* m. throughout 4 Mos. 5, 23. Compare *der zettel (abzug eines gewebes),* also *der brief, der streifen (papierstreifen)* and *der bogen.*

Egel MHG. *ëgel(e)* remains f. Spr. 30, 15.

Semmel MHG. *sëmël(e)* f. judging from the plural Hes. 16, 19 remains f.

Geissel MHG. *geisel* f. (likewise NHG.) shows one masculine form Jos. 23, 13. Frommann's explanation that this form is due to certain remote variations hardly seems feasible. A glance at the associations explains the *zum:* sie werden euch zum strick vnd netz, vnd zum geissel in ewer seiten werden, vnd zum stachel in ewren augen.

The transitions from this category are not entirely complete. *Frevel, gürtel* and *speichel* are regularly masculine, *egel* and *semel* are regularly feminine and *scheitel* predominately so. This state of affairs is caused by the general feminine tendency. However, the transitions that do occur are explained by associations.

3. *Various isolated stems.*

A few stems not belonging to general groups become in NHG. masculine. *Anzahl* and *genüge* are cited here.

Anzahl MHG. *anzal* f. is in the usual meaning f., however, in 1 Kön. 5, 13–14 the masculine form is found 3 x. The stem here is used in connection with *frondienst.*

Aufruhr MHG. *ûfruor* f. is in *K* f. 10 x Luk. 23, 19; m. 8 x Luk. 23, 25. The accusative forms *ein auffruhr* 4 x Amos 7, 10 may be n, but it is more probable that they are misprints. The transition to the masculine gender is caused by: *der auflauf, der aufstand, der tumult, der lärm, der streit, der zank* and *der zwist.* Associations are present which help determine the gender: *mord* Luk 23, 25 der vmbs auffruhrs vnd mords willen; *zank* Ap. 15, 2 da sich nu ein auffruhr erhub, vnd—nicht einen geringen zank mit jnen hatten. Here *aufruhr* means *der zwist.*

Bach MHG. *bach* mf. is m. except in Hiob. 6, 15, and occasionally in the apocryphal books. The transition to the masculine gender is undoubtedly due to the masculine stems denoting bodies of water (see p. 457).

Bericht MHG. *bericht* fm. is Dan. 7, 16 m.

Genüge MHG. *genüege* f. remains f. except *keinen gnüge* Esth. 5, 13.

Hochmut MHG. *hochmuot* mf. is in *K* m. throughout Hiob. 35, 12. The gender is determined by *der sinn, der stoltz* and *der zorn,* as seen from the associations: Jes. 16, 6 das auch jr hohmut, stoltz vnd zorn grösser ist denn jre macht.

Verlust MHG. *verlust* f. occurs only Ps. 144, 14 the masculine form is explained by the association: das kein schade, kein verlust-. Compare also *der nachteil* and even *der gewinn.*

Wachholder MHG. *wëcholtër* f. remains f. 1 Kön. 19, 4.

Klammer MHG. *klammer* f. (likewise NHG.) is in 2 Mos. 26, 14 m., this is evidently due to *seinem* in the same sentence.

Even the isolated stems which in MHG. are feminine and become in NHG. masculine show in *K* with comparatively

few exceptions the masculine gender. Associations being again present which explain the transitions.

Taking the entire chapter into consideration it is evident that Luther shows in general the same consistency as was observed in the chapter dealing with the opposite movement. The changes are comparatively few, as is to be expected, but the ultimate leveling has taken place with but few exceptions and many of these may be accounted for by various associations.

Neuter Stems Become Masculine.

A large number of stems fluctuate in MHG. between the masculine and the neuter gender. This shifting dates back to the earliest periods and is made possible by the similarity prevailing in the masculine and neuter declensions, especially after the weakening of the final vowels has taken place. The following paradigms show the possibility of the changes:

	Masc.	Neut.		Masc.	Neut.
Sg. N.	*tac*	*wort*	Pl.	*tage*	*wort*
G.	*tages*	*wortes*		*tage*	*worte*
D.	*tage*	*worte*		*tagen*	*worten*
A.	*tac*	*wort*		*tage*	*wort.*

One general reason, which Michel emphasizes, is the influence of the masculine abstract stems. Again, after the MHG. period a development in the declension is carried out which is an important factor in bringing about the ultimate results, namely: the extension of the *-er* plural in the neuter stems. A separation thus takes place between the masculine and neuter stems in the plural. The fluctuating stems, prevented from passing to the *-er* plural by the masculine usage, are thus brought into closer contact with the masculine stems than before.[1]

[1] These stems then seem to form the stepping stone to the ultimate adoption of the *-e* plural by those neuter stems which do not pass over to the *-er* plural.

Band MHG. *bant* n. is used only as n. Mark, 7, 35.

Bast MHG. *bast* mn. is used only in doubtful cases.

Bau MHG. *bû* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 2 Chron. 24, 27. The stem is used at times in the meaning of *bauen* 2 Chron. 24, 27.

Dienst MHG. *dienest* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 1 Mos. 29, 27.

Erstling is in *K* m. 3 x Röm. 16, 5; n. 4 x Hes. 48, 14 according to the meaning of the stem: m. when referring to animal; n. to plant kingdom.

Honig MHG. *honec* n. remains in *K* n. 1 Sam. 14, 26.

Kot MHG. *kôt* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Sach. 10, 5. See *unflat* (p. 469). Compare *der schmutz, der dreck,* and *der schlamm.*

Kürbis MHG. *kürbiz* mn. is in *K* m. Jona 4, 6. 7. 9.

Lohn MHG. *lôn* mn. is in *K* m. 36 x Matth. 20, 8; n. 9 x 1 Mos. 30, 28. *Lohn* is used mostly in the meaning of *bezahlung.* In Hiob. 15, 31 it is used in the meaning of *der ersatz.* Compare also *der gewinn, der nutzen, der ertrag, der sold* and *der zins.* The retention of the neuter is due partly to the influence of *das geld* (see p. 472) with which stem it is found in association 5 Mos. 23, 18: du solt kein hurnlohn noch hundgelt in das haus—bringen.

Mord MHG. *mort* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Mark 15, 7. The *i-* plural occurs Off, 9, 21. The transition is explained by various associations: Wsh. 14, 25 vnd gehet bey jnen vnternander her mord, diebstahl, falsch, betrug——meineid——vndanck——ehebruch———1 Mk. 13, 34 treib raub vnd mord im lande———Matth. 15, 19 denn aus dem hertzen komen arge gedancken, mord, ehebruch———Mark 15, 7 die im auffrhur einen mord begangen hatten———Luk. 23, 25 der vmbs auffrhurs vnd mords willen (see p. 465)——— Röm. 1, 29 vol hasses, mordes, hadders, lists (see p. 453)——— Gal. 5, 20 hadder, neid, zorn, zank——hass, mord.

Mut MHG. *muot* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 2 Chron. 23, 1. *Mut* is used at times in the meaning of certain masculine

stems: *der grimm, der zorn* Hes. 16, 42; *der verstand* Hiob. 12, 24. Compare also *der entschluss, der eifer, der eigenwille, der geist* and *der sinn.* One association with *eifer* occurs: Hes. 16, 42 vnd wil meinen mut an dir külen, vnd meinen eiuer an dir settigen.

Ort MHG. *ort* mn. is in *K* m. except in the apocryphal books 2 x and 1 Mos. 47, 21 where it means *das ende.* Compare *der platz, der punkt, der raum* and *der saum.*

Saft MHG. *saf(t)* n. is used only in doubtful cases.

Schmer MHG. *smër* n. likewise.

Schoss MHG. *schôz* mn. (also *schôz(e)* f. In this case the stem would fall under Chapter II, 1) is in *K* m. throughout 1 Mos. 50, 23. Compare *der saum, der zipfel* and also *der leib* (*unterleib*).

Schrecken MHG. *schrecken* n. remains n. 2 Mos. 14, 24.

Speer MHG. *spër* n. is so used that one cannot exactly determine the gender. However, the plural form *sphere* Hab. 3, 11 tends to show that the transition has taken place, especially since the stem occurs here in association with *der pfeil:* deine pfeile fuhren mit glentzen da hin vnd deine sphere mit blicken des blitzes. See also Richt. 5, 8 where Luther has *spiess* instead of *speer* used in later editions. Compare *der schaft, der schild* and *der spiess.*

Tau MHG. *tou* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 2 Mos. 16, 13. Compare phenomena of weather: *der reif, der frost, der hagel, der regen, der schnee* and *der nebel.* Associations occur which explain the transitions: *regen* 1 Kön. 17, 1 sol weder taw noch regen komen———Hiob. 38, 28. 29 wer ist des regens vater? wer hat die tropffen des tawes gezeuget——vnd wer hat den reiffen vnter dem himmel gezeuget———Gs. 3. M. 65 regen vnd thaw lobet den Herrn; *reif(en)* see Hiob. 38, 28, 29; *nebel* Sir. 43, 24 da wider hilfft ein dicker nebel, vnd ein thaw nach der hitze.

Teppich MHG. *tepich*, etc., is in *K* m. 7 x 2 Mos. 26, 9; n. 1 x Jud. 10, 21. Compare *der vorhang.*

Trank MHG. *tranc* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 5 Mos. 14, 26. Compare *der trunk* (*trinken*) and also *der wein*, as seen from association: 5 Mos. 14, 26 wein, starcken tranck.

Unflat MHG. *unvlat* mn. is is *K* m. throughout 2 Chron. 29, 5. See *der kot* (p. 467). Compare also *der dreck*, *der schmutz* and *der schlamm*.

Wall MHG. *wal* mn. is in *K* only m. 2 Kön. 19, 32. See *der schutt* (p. 461). Compare also *der damm*. This stem is used in the meaning of *erhöhung* (*der künstliche hügel*).

Wert MHG. *wërt* mn. is found only in doubtful cases.

Wohlgefallen MHG. *wolgevallen* n. is in *K* m. 2 x Esra 10, 11; n. 3 x Ps. 30, 8.

Zeug MHG. *ziuc* mn. is m. in all meanings Jes. 54, 16. Compare *der stoff* in one meaning of the stem, and *der zug* in another.

Zweig MHG. *zwîc* mn. is in *K* only m. Jes. 14, 19. Compare *der ast*, *der stock*, *der stumpf* and also *der schoss*, which likewise becomes m. in NHG. Stems similar in form exert influence: *der steig* and *der teig*.

Stems ending in -er.

A number of stems ending in *-er* show changes from the neuter to the masculine gender. The possibility of the change is clear from the paradigms, especially after apocope has taken place in the numerous masculine *jo-* stems:

	Masc.	Neut.		Masc.	Neut.
Sg. N.	*ritter*	*vënster*	Pl.	*ritter*	*vënster*
G.	*ritters*	*vënsters*		*ritter*	*vënster*
D.	*ritter*	*vënster*		*rittern*	*vënstern*
A.	*ritter*	*vënster*		*ritter*	*vënster.*

It is therefore natural that a few stems which in MHG. are neuter, or fluctuate between neuter aud masculine, become masculine attracted by the numerous masculine stems ending in *-er*.

Acker MHG. *acker* mn. is in *K* entirely m. 1 Mos. 3, 17. The stem is found most often in the meaning of *ackerfeld*, in which usage it is in MHG. m. In 1 Mos. 3, 17 *acker* has a meaning of *der boden* or *der grund*. In Jes. 5, 10 it occurs in the meaning of *der morgen*. Associations with *weinberg* are found: 4 Mos. 16, 14 vnd hast vns ecker vnd weinberge zu erbteil gegeben——Jes. 5, 10 denn zehen acker weinberges sollen nur einen eimer geben.

Dotter MHG. *tot(t)er* mn. is n. in Hiob. 6, 6.

Jammer MHG. *jamer* mn. is in *K* m. throughout 1 Mos. 44, 34. Occasional doubtful cases are found, but these do not necessarily show the gender change even though the stem is used in connection with neuter stems. The change is due primarily to *der kummer*. Compare also *der schmerz*.

Koller MHG. *gollier* n. is used only in the plural.

Panzer MHG. *panzer* n. remains n. 1 Sam. 17, 5. 38.

Wucher MHG. *wuocher* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Hes. 18, 17. Compare *der übersatz* and *der gewinst*. Associations with *übersatz* occur: 3 Mos. 25, 36 vnd solt nicht wucher von jm nemen noch vbersatz——3 Mos. 25, 37 denn du solt jm dein geld nicht auff wucher thun, noch deine speise auf vbersatz austhun——Spr. 28, 8 mit wucher vnd vbersatz——Hes. 18, 17 keinen wucher noch vbersatz nehmen.

Ufer MHG. *uover* n. is in *K* m. 1 x 2 Kön. 2, 13. This is undoubtedly due to the masculine forms in the same sentence.

With the exception of *panzer* the stems ending in *-er*, which become neuter in NHG., are in *K* regularly neuter. Associations help explain the transitions in a few stems.

Stems ending in -el.

A few stems ending in *-el* become in NHG. masculine. The possibility of the gender change is evident from the declensions which are exactly alike. The transition is brought about by the large number of masculine stems ending in *-el*.

Beutel MHG. *biutel* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Luk. 10, 4. Compare *der sack*, especially *der kittel* and *der mantel*. Compare also other stems denoting *kleidungsstücke*.

Geisel MHG. *gîsel* mn. is used only in doubtful cases 1 Mk. 1, 11.

Pöbel (erst NHG. Kluge, *Wb.*) is in *K* m. 5 x Jes. 2, 9; n. (?) 1 x 5 Mos. 4, 27. The MHG. forms *bovel*, *povel* are mn.

Siegel MHG. *siegel* n. is in *K* n. except in 2 Tim. 2, 19.

Tempel MHG. *tëmpel* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Esra 5, 15. Compare *der engel*, also *der dom* (*bischöfliche kirche*). Associations with *der altar* occur: 1 Mk. 7, 36 fur den altar im tempel——2 Mk. 1, 18 da er den tempel vnd den altar bawet——Matth. 23, 35 zwischen dem tempel vnd altar——Luk. 11, 51 zwischen dem tempel vnd altar.

Tüttel MHG.—is used only in doubtful cases Matth. 5, 18.

Wandel MHG, *wandel* mn. is in *K* m. throughout Jer. 44, 22. Compare *der handel; der umgang, der verkehr; der fehl, der makel, der tadel; der tausch, der wechsel; der weg.* In Jer. 44, 22 the association with *grewel* occurs: ewern bösen wandel vnd grewel.

The stems ending in *-el* which in MHG. are neuter, or fluctuate between masculine and neuter, and become in NHG. masculine are in *K* regularly masculine.

It is therefore evident that the stems which in MHG. are neuter, or show both masculine and neuter genders, and become in NHG. masculine, are in *K* with few exceptions masculine. As in the preceding groups, so here are found associations which help to level the fluctuation prevailing in MHG. Luther again shows a uniformity which compares very favorably with the conditions of the NHG. written language.

Masculine Stems Become Neuter.

A few stems which in MHG. are masculine, or show both masculine and neuter genders, become in NHG. neuter, notwithstanding the general tendency for fluctuating stems to

become masculine. The similarity in the declensions has already been emphasized.

Chor MHG. *kôr* m. remains m. 1 Kön. 6, 16.

Gebäu MHG. *gebû* mn. is in *K* only n. Hes. 40, 5. Compare *das gebäude.* In this stem and in the following stems with prefix *ge-* the influence of the large number of neuter *jo-* stems with the same prefix is manifest.

Geleit MHG. *geleit(e)* mn. is used only in doubtful cases.

Gemach MHG. *gemach* nm. is in *K* n. throughout 2 Kön. 10, 27. Compare *das gebäu, das gebäude* and especially *das zimmer* (*gezimmer*).

Geschrei MHG. *geschrei(e)* nm. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Mos. 39, 15. Compare *das schreien.*

Gezeug MHG. *geziuc* nm. is in *K* n. 3 x 2 Kön. 23, 4; m. 1 x 1 Kön. 7, 48. The masculine is evidently due to *der zeug* (p. 469) or to association: machet allen gezeug—einen gülden altar, einen gülden tisch; the neuter to *das gerät.*

Gefallen MHG. *geval* mn. is in *K* n. 6 x Pred. 5, 3; m. 2 x Hes. 33, 11. Compare the infinitives used as substantives.

Geld MHG. *gëlt* mn. is in *K* n. throughout 3 Mos. 25, 50. It is to be noticed that in the sense of *geprägtesgeld* this stem is in MHG. always neuter. Numerous associations occur which tend to bring about the gender changes: *gold* Jud. 2, 10 gold vnd gelt aber nam er; *gut* Hes. 22, 25 sie reissen gut vnd gelt zu sich——Sir. 14, 3 vnd was sol geld vnd gut einem kargen hunde——Sir. 40, 26 geld vnd gut, machet mut——Bar. 6, 34 weder gelt noch gut——Ap. 4, 34 vnd brachten das geld des verkaufften guts.

Grauen MHG. *grûwe* m. is in *K* m. 1 x 2 Mk. 1, 27; n. 3 x Ps. 55, 6. The transition to the neuter is caused by the numerous infinitives used as substantives. See *schrecken* (p. 468).

Hausrat MHG. *hûsrat* m. (likewise NHG.) is in *K* m. 3 x Matth. 12, 29; n. 3 x 1 Mos. 31, 37. The neuter forms are evidently due to *das gerät.*

Lob MHG. *lop* mn. is in *K* n. throughout Jos. 7, 19. In Ps. 145, 1 *lob* seems to have the same meaning as *das lied.* One association is present: *gebet* 1 Kön. 8, 28 auff das du hörest das lob vnd gebet.

Los MHG. *lôz* mn. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Chron. 17, 18. Compare *das geschick, das recht* and *das teil* (p. 473) (*erbteil*). *Das schicksal* can hardly exert influence, as the stem is only a comparatively recent one (Kluge, *Wb.*). May not the names of the objects used in casting lots have some influence? Associations are at time present: *erbteil* 4 Mos. 36, 3 also wird das los vnsers erbteils geringert——1 Chron. 17, 18 das los ewers erbteils; *erbe* Ps. 105, 11 das los ewers erbes.

Maul MHG. *mûl* nm. is in *K* n. throughout 2 Sam. 13, 29. Compare *das pferd, das rind, das ross,* and *das schaf.* Associations with *ross* are found in 1 Kön. 10, 25 vnd bracht jm—rosse, meuler, jerlich——Ps. 32, 9 seid nicht wie ross vnd meuler.

Kamel MHG. *kembel,* etc., m. is in 3 Mos. 11, 4 n. See *das maul* associations occur with domestic animal names: *schaf* 2 Chron. 14, 15 vnd brachten schafe—vnd kamel; *ross* Jud. 3, 4 rosse vnd kamel.

Messing MHG. *messinc* m. is found only in doubtful cases.

Rumor MHG. *rumôr(e)* mnf. is in *K* only n. 1 Sam. 5, 11. After apocope has taken place the feminine gender is easily lost (see p. 473) due to *der arm, der aufstand,* etc. In *K* the stem is neuter on account of *das lärmen* and *das schrecken.*

Schild MHG. *schilt* m. does not show the NHG. division in *K.*

Schilf MHG. *schilf* nm. (?) remains in *K* m. except in Hiob. 8, 11 where it is f.

Teil MHG. *teil* nm. (likewise NHG.) is in *K* n. *circa* 100 x 2 Mos. 16, 36; m. 30 x Hes. 48, 2. The predominance of the neuter forms is undoubtedly brought about by similar stems: *das heil, das beil* and *das seil.* The compounds with *-teil* as second part show also the neuter tendency: *erbteil* is n.

throughout Jos. 15, 20; *urteil* (see p. 481) likewise 5 Mos. 17, 9; *vorteil* is neuter in Sir. 20, 23; m. in Röm. 3, 9.

Tocht (*docht*) MHG. *tâht* mn. is in *K das tocht* 2 x Matth. 12, 20. Hempl's inference that the stem should be *der docht* and *das tocht* is carried out in *K*.

Volk MHG. *volc* nm. is in *K* entirely n. 1 Mos. 15, 14.

The above stems show with few exceptions the transition to the neuter gender. The influence of the neuter *jo*- stems is particularly noticeable.

Stems ending in -er.

A few stems ending in -*er* become neuter notwithstanding the influence of the numerous masculine stems having the same ending.

Gatter MHG. *gater* mn. is n. in Hes. 19, 9. Compare *das gitter*.

Polster MHG. *polster* nm. is used only in doubtful cases.

Pulver MHG. *pulver* nm. likewise.

Scepter MHG. *scëpter* nm. (likewise NHG.) is in *K*. n. 10 x 1 Mos. 49, 10; m. 5 x Esth. 4, 11.

Stems ending in -el.

Büschel MHG. *büschel* m. (likewise NHG.) is n. in 2 Mos. 12, 22.

Segel MHG. *sëgel* m. is used only in doubtful cases.

Even in this chapter Luther shows an advanced stage in the gender development. Nearly all the stems which become neuter in NHG. are in *K* already neuter. Particular associations are present which explain the transition in stems. The fact that a few stems still retain the MHG. gender is caused in part by the large number of stems which become masculine.[1]

[1] Stems ending in -*tum*. *Reichtum* MHG. *rîchtuom* m. is in *K* m. 20 x Esth. 1, 4; n. 6 x Spr. 22, 1. The neuter forms are due in part to associations: Spr. 22, 1 denn gross reichthum——denn silber vnd gold———1 Mk. 6, 1

Neuter Stems Become Feminine.

A large number of stems which are neuter in MHG., or fluctuate between neuter and feminine become in NHG. feminine. A glance at the stems which undergo gender change will show that the most are declined as feminine according to the *â-*, as neuters according to the *jo-* class. The paradigms being:

	Neu.	Fem.		Neu.	Fem.
Sg. N.	*künne*	*gëbe*	Pl.	*künne*	*gëbe*
G.	*künnes*	*gëbe*		*künne*	*gëbe*
D.	*künne*	*gëbe*		*künnen*	*gëben*
A.	*künne*	*gëbe*		*künne*	*gëbe.*

The only difference in the declension is in the genitive singular and plural. No obstacles are to be overcome in the declension before gender change can take place. The general causes which bring about the transitions to the feminine gender are the large number of feminines ending in *-e* and the plural usage. It is to be noticed that the same forces are at work as in the group of masculine stems ending in *-e* which become feminine.

Ecke MHG. *ecke* fn. is in *K* f. except Hes. 46, 19. Compare stems similar in form: *die decke* and *die zecke.* See also *die hecke.* Associations are present in *K: grentze* Jos. 15, 1 war die grentze an der wüsten, die gegen mittag stösst an der ecken der mittags lender——see also verse 2: *seite* Jos. 15, 8. In the meaning of *seite, ecke* is found 2 x 1 Kön. 7, 39; in the meaning of *grentze* 4 x 4 Mos. 35, 5.

das viel gold vnd silber vnd gros reichthum da war. The other stems with *-tum,* although showing but little change, are cited here for reference: *irrtum* MHG. *irretuom* m. remains m. Matth. 24, 24; *eigentum* MHG. *eigentuom* n. remains n. Joh. 1, 11; *heiligtum* MHG. *heiltuom* n. remains n. 2 Mos. 25, 8—the plural *heiligthüme* occurs 3 x Hes. 21, 2; *priestertum* MHG.—is in n. 2 Mos. 29, 9; *kaisertum* MHG. *keisertuom* and *magdtum* MHG. *magetuom* mnf. are used only in doubtful cases: *fürstentum* MHG. *fürstuom* nm. is in n. 1 Chron. 6, 2—the plural *fürstentüme,* however, occurs 4 x Spr. 28, 2.

Grütze MHG. *grütze* nf. is used only in doubtful cases.

Hecke MHG. *hecke* fn. is in *K* f. 4 x 1 Mos. 22, 13. In Mich. 7, 4 *ein hecke* is found, undoubtedly due to *ein dorne,* which immediately precedes it. Compare words similar in meaning quoted under *ecke.* The stem is used predominately in the plural.

Rippe MHG. *rippe* nf. is in *K* f. 1 Mos. 2, 22. The transition is caused in part by *die lunge.* Compare also the list of names denoting members of the body which pass from the masculine to the feminine gender due to plural usage: *hode, lippe, niere* and *wade* (p. 446). Compare likewise *wange* (p. 479). Stems similar in sound may exert influence: *die hippe, die kippe, die sippe,* and *die wippe.*

Tenne MGH. *tenne* mnf. is in *K* f. throughout 5 Mos. 16, 13. Compare *die scheune, die scheure* and a list of stems similar in sound: *die fenne, die henne, die penne* and *die senne.* Associations occur repeatedly: *scheune* Matth. 3, 12 er wird seine tenne fegen, vnd den weitzen in seine schewnen samlen; *scheure* Luk. 3, 17 er wird seine tennen fegen, vnd wird den weitzen in seine schewren samlen; *kelter* 5 Mos. 16, 13 von deiner tennen vnd von deiner kelter——2 Kön. 6, 27 von der tennen vnd von der kelter——Hos. 9, 2 darumb so sollen dich die tennen vnd kelter nicht neeren.

Spinnewebe MHG. *spinne-wëppe* n. is f. 1 x Hiob 8, 14; n. 1 x Jes. 59, 6. The feminine form in this case may be due to associations with *seine* in the same sentence: denn seine zuuersicht vergehet, vnd seine hoffnung ist eine spinneweb. The neuter form is also explained by association: jr spinneweb taug nicht zu kleidern, vnd jr gewircke taug nicht zur decke.

Wette MHG. *wette* nf. is in Wsh. 15, 9 feminine.

Antwort MHG. *antwürte-wurt* nf. is in *K* 11 x n. Spr. 24, 26; 11 x f. Esra 4, 17. Compare *die frage, die rede* and *die stimme,* also *das wort.* Associations are present which explain both genders in *K: rede* 1 Mk. 14, 23 vnd jre rede in vnser stadbuch schreiben lassen—diese antwort schrieben sie

dem Hohenpriester; *stimme* 1 Kön. 18, 26 aber es war da keine stimme noch antwort; *wort* Esra 5, 11 solche wort zu antwort——Spr. 15. 1 ein linde antwort stillet den zorn, aber ein hart wort richtet grim an.

Armut MHG. *armuote* nf. is in *K* 11 x Spr. 6, 11; f. 4 x Off. 2, 9. Numerous associations explain the retention of the neuter gender: *reichthum* (p. 474) Spr. 20, 8 armut vnd reichthum gib mir nicht——Tob 5, 27 wir weren wohl zufrieden gewest mit vnserem armut, das were ein gros reichthumb——Sir. 11, 14 glück vnd vnglück, leben vnd tod, armut vnd reichthum——Sir. 13, 20 reichthum ist wol gut—aber armut des gottlosen leret jn viel böses reden; *gut* Spr. 13, 7 mancher ist arm bey grossem gut, vnd mancher ist reich bey seim armut; *übel* Sir. 20, 23 manchem wehret sein armut, das er nichts vbels thut; *ein* Spr. 24, 34 dein armut—wie ein wanderer, vnd dein mangel, wie ein gewapneter man.

Geschichte MHG. *geschiht*(*e*) fn. is n. 7 x 1 Mos. 39, 7; f. 5 x Esra 6, 2.

Heimat MHG. *heimuote* nf. is 1 Mos. 24, 7 f. Compare *die wohnung.*

The neuter *jo-* stems, which become feminine in NHG., are accordingly divided into two groups. The first group consisting of dissyllabic stems is in *K* regularly feminine, owing to the large number of dissyllabic feminine stems, to the plural usage and to particular associations. The second group consisting MHG. of trisyllabic stems is not so regular in the transition to the feminine gender on account of the large number of trisyllabic neuter *jo-* stems and particular associations.

When the stems do not end in *-e* the paradigms are:

		Neu.	Fem.		Neu.	Fem.
Sg.	N.	*wort*	*zal*	Pl.	*wort*	*zal*
	G.	*wortes*	*zal*		*worte*	*zaln*
	D.	*wort*(*e*)	*zal*		*worten*	*zaln*
	A.	*wort*	*zal*		*wort*	*zal.*

Again the declensions are alike except in the genitive of the singular and plural. The general causes are the same as in the preceding category.

Ähre MHG. *eher, äher* n. is used only in the weak plural 1 Mos. 41, 5. The transition is brought about partly by *die sange* (*büschel von ähren*). Compare also *die traube, die dolde* and the feminine fruit and plant names, including those which change from the masculine to the feminine gender.

Beere MHG. *ber* nf. is used only in the strong plural: *beer* 4 x 1 Mos. 40, 11; *beere* 1 x 5 Mos. 32, 32. The stem seems to retain the neuter plural.

Gebühr MHG. *gebür* n. remains n. Esra 6, 9.

Jagd MHG. *jaget* nf. is in *K* f. 1 Mos. 27, 30. Compare the numerous feminine stems ending in *-e*, including those which become feminine from the masculine. See particularly *die fahrt, die fährte* and other feminine stems connected with traveling.

Mass MHG. *mâz* n.; *mâze* f. fluctuates in *K* on account of the confusing of the two stems: *das mas* 27 x 1 Kön. 7, 15; *die mas* 16 x 5 Mos. 25, 2; *die masse(n)* 21 x Eph. 4, 16. In later editions several cases of *die mas* are changed to *das mass* 2 Mos. 36, 9. Frommann gives also other changes.

Spreu MHG. *spriu* n. is in *K* f. throughout Jes. 29, 5. Compare *die hülse* (*getreidehülse*) and *die stoppel*.

Spur MHG. *spur, spür* is n Wsh. 5, 10, 11 f. Compare feminines ending in *-ur*, also *die fährte* and *die stapffe*.

Waffe MHG. *wâfen* n. is in *K* n. 8 x 1 Sam. 17, 54; f. 3 x Neh. 4, 17. The retention of the neuter is explained by the similarity in form with the infinitives used as substantives.

Wolke MHG. *wolken* n., *wolke* fm. is in *K* predominately f. Circa 75 x 2 Mos. 14, 24. A few forms seem to show the retention of the neuter: *wolcken* 5 x 2 Mos. 16, 10. Associations tend to confirm this statement: 2 Mos. 19, 16 da hub sich ein donnern vnd blitzen, vnd ein dicke wolcken——— Ps. 97, 2 wolcken vnd tunckel. The form *ein wolcke* occurs 4 x Hes. 38, 9. This form may easily be a remnant of the

weak masculine declension, as the weak masculines have not as yet taken on *-n* in the nominative.

Zugehör MHG. *zuogehoer(e)* n. is in *K* f. throughout Richt. 1, 18 (3 x).

Trübsal MHG. *trüebesal* mnf. (NHG. nf.) is in *K* f. 17 x 2 Cor. 2, 4; n. 2 x Matth. 24, 21; m. (?) 2 x Ap. 7, 11; nm. (?) 25 x 1 Kön. 22, 27. The neuter is retained, due to *das elend* and *das unglück;* the feminine is due to *die angst, die finsternis* and *die sorge.* Associations are present: *unglück* 1 Sam. 10, 19 aus alle ewrem vnglück vnd trübsal; *angst* Jes. 30, 6 im lande der trübsal vnd angst——Röm. 2, 9 trübsal vnd angst——Röm. 8, 35 trübsal oder angst; *finsternis* Jes. 8, 22 denn trübsal vnd finsternis.

Rätsel MHG. *raetsel* n. (likewise NHG.) is in *K* n except Richt. 14, 16, where f.: evidently a misprint.

The stems in this category show the general transition. The development however is not entirely complete. A few stems retain the neuter gender.

One weak neuter stem becomes feminine.

Wange MHG. *wange* n. is used only in the plural Jes. 50, 6.

Taking the entire chapter into consideration it is evident that the majority of the stems which become feminine in NHG. are in *K* feminine. Many associations are present which help explain the transition. The transition to the feminine has been prevented in several cases by various associations.

Feminine Stems Become Neuter.

A few stems which in MHG. are feminine, or fluctuate between feminine and neuter, become in NHG. neuter. The possibility of the change is the same as seen in the preceding chapter. Here again, as in the transition from feminine to masculine, the general tendency toward feminization must be overcome.

Begehr MHG. *begër* fn. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Kön. 5, 8. Compare *das begehren* and *das verlangen.*

Fasten MHG. *vasten* n., *vaste* f. is in *K* n. 25 x Jes. 58, 6; f. 8 x (*fasten* 7 x 1 Kön. 21, 9; *faste* 1 x Jes. 58, 5). A discrimination in gender is made according to the meaning of the stem: *das fasten* means *die handlung; die faste*(*n*) means *die zeit der enthaltung* (Frommann).

Gelübde MHG. *gelübde* fn. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Sam. 1, 11. Compare the numerous neuter *jo-* stems with the prefix *ge-*. Associations with *das opffer* occur frequently: 3 Mos. 7, 16 es sey ein gelübd oder freiwillig opffer———3 Mos. 22, 21 vnd wer ein danckopffer—thun wil, ein sonderlich gelübd—4 Mos. 15, 3 vnd wolt dem Herrn opffer thun, es sey ein brandopffer oder ein opffer zum besondern gelübd, oder ein freiwillig opffer oder ewer festeopffer———5 Mos. 12, 6 vnd ewre brandopffer, vnd ewr ander opffer—vnd ewr gelübde, vnd ewr freywillige opffer———Jona 1, 16 vnd theten dem Herrn opffer vnd gelübde. Two weak forms occur: in 3 Mos. 23, 38 the form *gelübden* is caused by *gaben* in the same verse: vnd ewre gaben, vnd gelübden vnd freiwillige gaben sind. In 5 Mos. 12, 17 *gelübden* is found in the genitive plural. The *-n* in the genitive plural of the neuter stems occurs in other stems: Ebr. 9, 23; Nah. 2, 10.

Gemahl MHG. *gemahel*(*e*) fn. is in *K* n. 3 x Matth. 1, 20; f. 1 x St. Esth. 6, 9. Compare *das weib.*

Geschöpf MHG. *geschöpfe,* etc., fn. is in *K* n. throughout Röm. 1, 25. Compare neuter *jo-* stems with the prefix *ge-*.

Gesicht MHG. *gesiht*(*e*) fn. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Mos. 29, 17. See *geschöpf. Angesicht* is likewise n. throughout 1 Mos. 31, 2.

Gespenst MHG. *gespenst*(*e*) nf. is in *K* only n. Spr. 23, 7. See *gesicht.*

Gewissen MHG. *gewizzen* f. is in *K* entirely n. Jos. 14, 7. Compare the infinitives used as substantives, especially *das wissen* and *das bedenken.*

Gift MHG. *gift* f. remains f. Hos. 13, 14.

Hülle MHG. *hülle* is n. Jes. 25, 7 *das hüllen.*

Kleinod MHG. *kleinôt*, etc., nf. is in *K* n. throughout. Various associations help determine the gender: *kleid* 1 Mos. 24, 53 kleinod vnd kleider——2 Sam. 1, 24 mit kleinoten an ewern kleidern; *gold* and *silber* 2 Chron. 21, 3 von silber, gold vnd kleinod——Dan. 11, 38 mit gold, silber edelstein vnd kleinoten——Joel 3, 10 die jr mein silber vnd gold, vnd meine schöne kleinote, genomen——1 Mk. 11, 24 vnd nam viel köstlicher kleinot mit sich, von gold, silber vnd kleider.

Panier MHG. *banier(e)* fn. is in *K* n. throughout 4 Mos. 1, 52.

Urteil MHG. *urteil(e)* nf. is in *K* only n. 1 Mos. 43, 18. Compare *-teil* and compounds (p. 473).

Weh MHG. *wê* f. is in *K* n. 5 x Mich. 4, 9, 10; f. 1 x *wehe* 1 Sam. 4, 19. The form *wehe* occurs in the plural 4 x Jes. 66, 8. In later editions *wehen* has been substituted. The neuter usage is derived from the interjection (Kluge, *Wb.*).

Wiesel MHG. *wisel(e)* f. remains f. in 3 Mos. 11, 29: die wiesel, die maus, die kröte.

A few stems which are in MHG. and NHG. feminine show in *K* neuter forms.

Begierde MHG. *begirde* f. is in *K* n. 2 x Ps. 140, 9.

Gebärde MHG. *gebaerde* f. is in *K* n. throughout 1 Mos. 4, 5.

Leinwand MHG. *lînwât* f. is in *K* f. 4 x Hes. 9, 3; m. 1 x Mark 14, 52; n. 1 x Matth. 27, 59; nm. (?) 6 x Hes. 10, 2. The masculine form is evidently caused by *der zeug* (p. 469), *der stoff;* the neuter by *das gewand*—it is to be noticed that the neuter form is *linwand.*

Willkür MHG. *wilkür* f. is in *K* n. 2 Cor. 9, 7.

The feminine stems which become in NHG. neuter are with but few exceptions in *K* already neuter. The change is due principally to the *jo-* stems with the prefix *ge-*. The influence of these stems has already been seen in preventing a number of neuter stems from becoming regularly feminine. Particular associations are evident in a few cases.

Stems ending in -nis.[1]

The stems ending NHG. in *-nis* show even in OHG. and MHG. a varied condition of gender change, made possible by the similarity in the declension which exists even after apocope takes place, the stems being declined either according to the neuter *jo-* or the feminine *â-* classes. Even as late as MHG. the feminine gender seems to prevail. In *K* one feature of the declension is striking, namely: the formation of the neuter genitive without the ending *-es*. The plural is always strong sometimes with, sometimes without *-e*.

Ärgernis[2] MHG. —— is in *K* n. 17 x 2 Mos. 23, 33; f. 4 x 1 Cor. 1, 23. Here the association with *torheit* may have influence: den Juden eine ergernis, vnd den Griechen eine torheit. The predominate usage of the neuter is evidently due to the fact that the stem is wanting in MHG. and accordingly takes the prevailing gender of the time when introduced into the written language. Associations also occur which explain the neuter gender: *das anstossen* Jes. 8, 14 aber ein stein des anstossens, vnd ein fels des ergernis; *stoss* 1 Sam. 25, 31 nicht ein stoss noch ergernis sein. In 2 Mos. 23, 33 *ergernis* means *fallstrick*, and it is often used in the meaning of *anstoss* or *verdruss*. The associations with the masculine stems help indirectly to determine the gender.

Begängnis MHG. *begancnisse* n. is used only in one doubtful case. Bar. 6, 31.

Begräbnis (*erb-*) MHG. *begrebnisse* fn. is in *K* n. 15 x Neh. 2, 3; f. 1 x Joh. 12, 7. Compare *das grab* and *das begraben*.

Behältnis MHG. *behaltnisse* f. is in *K* n. 2 x Off. 18, 2. This stem is used in the meaning of *das gefängnis*.

Bekenntnis MHG. *bekenntnisse* fn. is in *K* n. 4 x Ebr. 4, 14; f. 1 x Ebr. 10, 23. Compare *das bekennen*.

[1] On account of the number of stems ending in *-nis*, and also on account of the various shiftings within the history of these stems, it seems best to treat them together.

[2] The form *-nüsse* is found MHG. in nearly all the stems, however I will not cite this form.

Bekümmernis MHG. *kümbernisse* fn. is in *K* f. 1 x Ap. 12, 18. Compare *die pein, die qual, die sorge,* also *die aufregung* and *die gemütsbewegung.*

Betrübnis MHG. *betrüebenisse* is in *K* n. 5 x Jer. 31, 13; f. 1 x Jes. 38, 15. Compare *das elend* and *das unglück.*

Bildnis MHG. *bildnisse* n. remains n. 2 Mos. 20, 4. Compare *das bild* (*ab-, eben-, götzen-*), also *das gemälde.* See *gleichnis,* p. 484.

Bündnis occurs only 1 Mk. 12, 16, and there doubtful.

Erkenntnis MHG. *erkantnisse* fn. is in *K* f. 24 x Spr. 14, 6; n. 17 x Jes. 28, 9. The feminine usage is due primarily to *die kenntnis.* In Röm. 11, 33 it occurs in association with *die weisheit:* beide der weisheit vnd erkentnis. A strict line in gender according to the different meanings is not made in *K.*

Finsternis MHG. *vinsternisse* fn. is in *K* circa 55 x n. Hes. 32, 8; 40 x f. Hiob 23, 17. The neuter forms are explained by numerous associations: *licht* 1 Mos. 1, 4 da scheidet Gott das liecht vom finsternis——Ps. 112, 4 gehet das liecht auf im finsternis——Ps. 139, 12 finsternis ist wie das liecht——Jes. 5, 20 die aus finsternis liecht vnd aus liecht finsternis machen——Matth. 4, 16 das volck das im finsternis sass, hat ein grosses liecht gesehen——Luk. 11, 35 das nicht das liecht in dir finsternis sey—see also 36——1 Joh. 2, 9 er sey im liecht—der ist noch im finsternis——Jak. 1, 17 noch wechsel des liechts vnd finsternis; *dunkel* 5 Mos. 4, 11 vnd war da finsternis, wolcken vnd tunckel——Ps. 107, 14 vnd sie aus dem finsternis vnd tunckel fürete——Ebr. 12, 18 noch zu dem tunckel vnd finsternis vnd vngewitter. The feminine forms are also explained by a few associations: *nacht* 1 Mos. 1, 5 vnd die finsternis, nacht——Ps. 104, 20 du machst finsternis, das nacht wird; *morgenröte* Amos 4, 13 er macht die morgenröte vnd die finsternis. Compare also *die dämmerung.*

Gedächtnis MHG. *gedaehtnisse* nf. is in *K* n. 50 x 2 Mos. 30, 16; f. 3 x Ps. 109, 15. Compare *das memorial, das andenken, das gedenken* and *das opfer.*

Gefängnis MHG. *gevancnisse* fn. is in *K* n. circa 125 x Jer. 15, 2; f. 14 x Matth. 1, 12. The feminine forms are only used in the sense of *gefangenschaft*, however many neuter forms have this same meaning. Compare *das loch* and *das gebäude.*

Geheimnis MHG. —— is in *K* regularly n. 31 x Ps. 25, 14 according to the prevailing gender.

Gleichnis MHG. *gelîchnisse* fn. is in *K* n. 24 x 5 Mos. 4, 12; f. 18 x Matth. 13, 18. The predominance of the neuter is due partially to *das bild* and compounds. See also *das bildnis.* A few associations are present: *bildnis* 2 Mos. 20, 4 du solt dir kein bildnis noch jrgend ein gleichnis machen; *ebenbild*, 2 Kön. 16, 10 sandte der könig desselben altars ebenbild, vnd gleichnis; *wort* 4 Mos. 12, 8 nicht durch tunkel wort oder gleichnis. The feminine forms are found mostly in the New Testament where the word is used principally in the meaning of *die parabel* or *die rede.*

Hindernis MHG. *hindernisse* n. is found only 3 x, however f. 1 Kön. 5, 4. Compare *die hinderung*, *die abhaltung* and *die verhinderung.*

Schrecknis (*er-*) MHG. *erchrecknis* is used only in the plural. The gender is seen in Wsh. 17, 9, where it is n.: keins solcher schrecknis.

Verbündnis MHG. *verbintnisse* fn. occurs in 4 Mos. 30 7 x and there n. in association with *das gelübde:* 4 Mos. 30, 5 vnd jr gelübde vnd verbündnis——6 kein gelübd noch verbündnis——8 so gilt jr gelübd vnd verbündnis—— 15 sein gelübd vnd verbündnis.

Verdammnis MHG. *verdamnisse* fn. is in *K* n. 12 x Luk. 24, 20; f. 10 x Röm. 5, 16. Various associations explain the retention of the neuter: *fluch* Sir. 41, 13 aus dem fluch zum verdamnis; *ende* Phil. 3, 19 welcher ende ist das verdamnis; *verderben* 1 Tim. 6, 9 ins verderben vnd verdamnis; *urteil* 2 Pet. 2, 3 von welchem das vrteil—nicht seumig ist, vnd jr verdamnis schlefft nicht. On the other hand associations are also present which help determine the final transition: *sünde*

Röm. 5, 16 aus einer sünde zur verdamnis———Röm. 5, 18 wie nu durch eines sünde die verdamnis—komen ist. In contrast with certain feminine stems: *gerechtigkeit* 2 Cor. 3, 9 das die verdamnis,—das die gerechtigkeit; *seligkeit* Phil. 1, 28 welchs ist ein anzeigen jnen der verdamnis, euch aber der seligkeit. Compare also *die hölle, die strafe, die verdammung* and *die vernichtung.*

Verständnis MHG. *verstentnisse* fn. is in *K* only n. 4 x Luk. 24, 45. Compare *das gedächtnis.*

Wildnis MHG. *wiltnisse* fn. is in *K* only f. 5 x 3 Mos. 16, 22. The transition is due to *die einöde, die höhle* and *die wüste.* Associations occur which confirm this influence: *einöde* Hiob 38, 27 das er füllet die einöden vnd wildnis; *höhle* 2 Mk. 10, 6 in der wildnis vnd in der hülen.

Wüstnis MHG. —— occurs Ze. 2, 9 as f. Compare *die wildnis.*

Zeugnis MHG. *ziugnüsse* fn. is in *K* n. throughout circa 90 x 2 Mos. 25, 16. Various associations explain the gender: *gebot* Neh. 9, 34 nicht acht gehabt auf deine gebot vnd zeugnis———Ps. 99, 7 sie hielten seine zeugnis vnd gebot; *recht* 5 Mos. 6, 17 seine zeugnis vnd seine rechte; *recht* and *gebot* 5 Mos. 4, 45 das ist das zeugnis vnd gebot vnd rechte———1 Kön. 2, 3 vnd haltest seine sitten, gebot, rechte, zeugnisse———2 Kön. 23, 3 vnd halten seine gebot, zeugnis vnd rechte———1 Chron. 30, 19 das er halte deine gebot, zeugnis vnd rechte. Very often *recht* and *gebot* are found in the same connection, if not in the same verse, as in Ps. 119, 6. 7; *gesetz* Jes. 8, 16 binde zu das zeugnis, versiegele das gesetz———Jes. 8, 20 ja nach dem gesetz vnd zeugnis; *zeichen* Jes. 19, 20 welcher wird ein zeichen vnd zeugnis sein; *gesetz* and *recht* Jer. 44, 23 in seinem gesetze, rechten vnd zeugnis—.

The following tables will make clear the stage of the development in *K:* I. Stems which in NHG. are neuter; II. Stems which in NHG. are feminine; III. Stems showing both neuter and feminine in NHG.

I.

Ärgernis, ...	n. 17 x;	f. 4 x.
Begräbnis, ...	n. 15 x;	f. 1 x.
Behältnis, ...	n. 1 x;	f. ——.
Bekenntnis, ...	n. 4 x;	f. 1 x.
Bildnis, ...	n. 5 x;	f. ——.
Gedächtnis, ...	n. 49 x;	f. 3 x.
Gefängnis, ...	n. 125 x;	f. 14 x.
Geheimnis, ...	n. 31 x;	f. ——.
Gleichnis, ...	n. 24 x;	f. 18 x.
Hindernis, ...	n. ——;	f. 2 x.
Schrecknis, ...	(used only in plural).	
Verbündnis, . . .	n. 7 x;	f. ——.
Verständnis, . . .	n. 4 x;	f. ——.
Zeugnis, ...	n. 90 x;	f. ——.

II.

Bekümmernis, . .	f. 1 x;	n. ——.
Erkenntnis, ...	f. 24 x;	n. 17 x.
Finsternis, ...	f. 40 x;	n. 55 x.
Verdammnis, . . .	f. 10 x;	n. 12 x.
Wildnis, ...	f. 4 x;	n. ——.
Wüstnis, ...	f. 1 x;	n. ——.

III.

Betrübnis, ...	n. 5 x;	f. 1 x.

From the above tables it is evident that the stems which in NHG. are neuter are with few exceptions neuter in *K.* Furthermore, that the neuter tendency is present also in three stems which are feminine in NHG. This stage of development is brought about by various associations cited under each stem. Even in the case of the stems which become feminine the neuter forms are explained by associations.

Conclusion.

The preceding pages show that the conditions in the chapter of the Gender of Substantives are not so irregular in the bible edition of 1545, as one might infer from the treatises on the subject. On a whole a striking uniformity with the New High German written language exists. And when one compares the language of the edition of 1545 with the language of the Middle High German Literature, a stage of language growth, even in the chapter of the gender of substantives, is found sufficiently uniform to be the important factor in determining the gender of the New High German written language. And this uniformity exists notwithstanding the various types of literature found in the bible, and notwithstanding the fact that certain chapters and even entire books of the bible did not appeal to Luther as equally important with the other books, and consequently did not receive such careful linguistic revision.

It is further evident that the general uniformity which exists in the gender of substantives was brought about by established linguistic principles: the predominate plural usage, especially in the weak masculine stems; similarity in form, in meaning, and in function; the influence of the abstract stems, as in the case of the *ti*- abstract stems, and in the neuter abstract stems which become masculine; the influence of Low German, particularly in the case of the masculine stems which become feminine; the influence of prefixes, as in the case of the feminines which become neuter, due to the influence of the numerous neuter *jo*- stems with the prefix *ge*-; the influence at times of the articles and pronouns; the usage of stems in the meaning of other stems, and especially the influence of particular associations[1] which occur in the same sentence.

Furthermore, the existing uniformity of gender within such a work as the bible translation tends to prove a careful correction either by Luther himself or by others working under his immediate direction.

[1] Many of the irregularities are caused by associations.

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[1] The following abbreviations are used: Fr. = Franke; Fro. = Frommann; Boj. = Bojunga; Mich. = Michels, and refer to the books mentioned in the introduction. A word of explanation as to the system of references used may be in place. I have employed the usual German abbreviations of the biblical books. Further, I deem it necessary to cite only one example, unless particular associations occur. As in the expression, "*aufruhr* is in *K* f. 10 x Luk. 23, 19," the x refers to the number of times the stem is f. in *K*, and Luk. 23, 19 is only a single reference. When the stem is regular I simply state the fact and do not cite the x. Again, it will be noticed that at times a stem is cited out of place, when the NHG. usage is strictly followed, but this is merely to avoid unnecessary repetition. In citing MHG. I give generally only one form of the stem.

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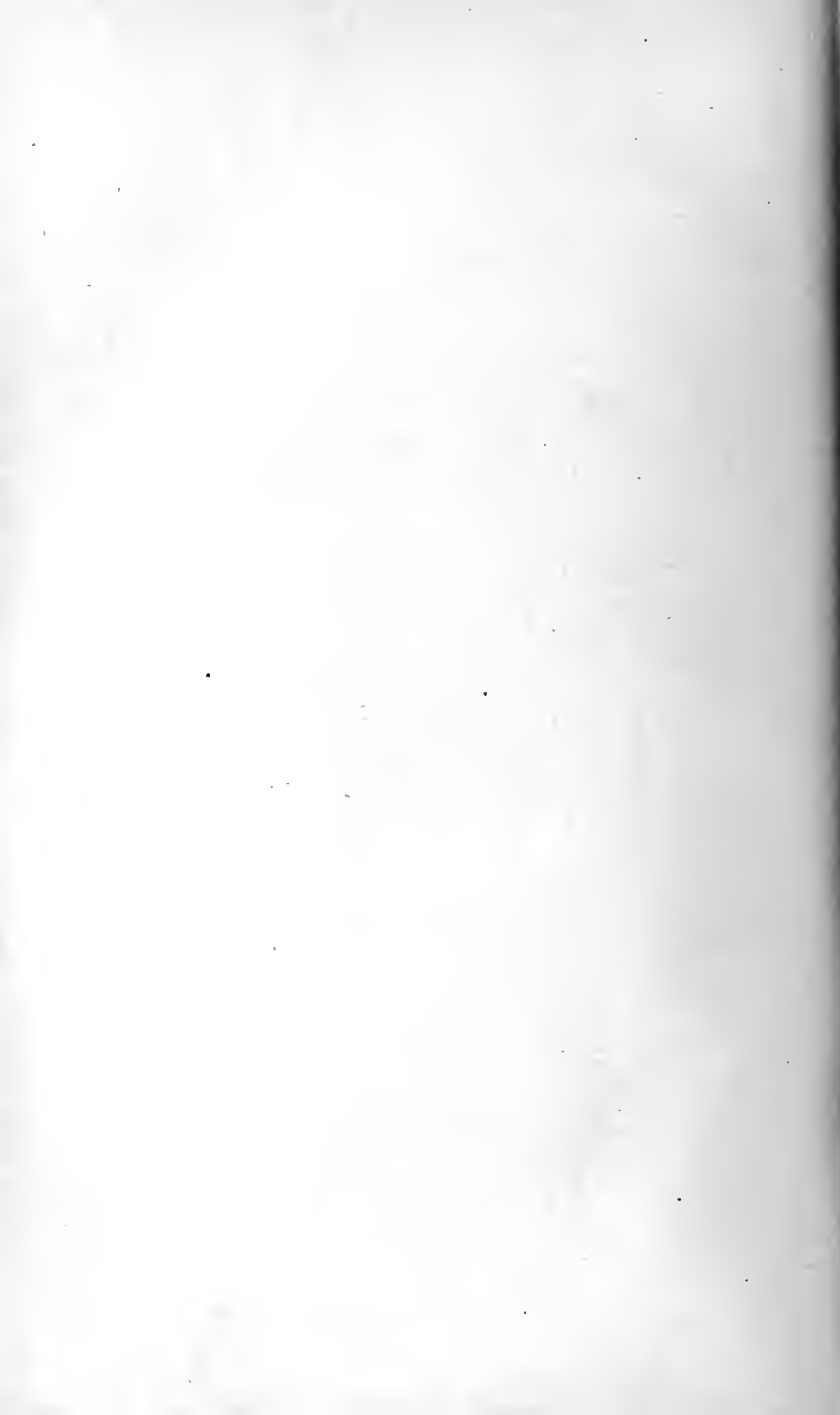
APPENDIX I.

Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Columbia University, New York, N. Y., December 27, 28, 29, 1899.



THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Columbia University, New York, N. Y., December 27, 28, 29, 1899. All the sessions of the meeting were held in Schermerhorn Hall, Room 305.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27.

President Seth Low, at whose invitation the Association met at Columbia University, opened the session by an address of welcome.

The Secretary of the Association, James W. Bright, submitted as his report the fourteenth volume of the *Publications* of the Association. This volume is dedicated to the memory of Mr. David Lewis Bartlett, of Baltimore, in recognition of his contribution of five hundred dollars to the cost of publishing the volume, and of his interest from the beginning in the work of the Association.

On motion of the Secretary the Association passed a vote to put upon record a unanimous expression of deep regret at the recent death of Mr. David Lewis Bartlett.

The Treasurer of the Association, Herbert E. Greene, submitted the following report:

Receipts.

Balance on hand, December 26, 1898, ...		$ 708 65
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:—		
For the year 1893, . . .	$ 1 58	
" " " 1894, . . .	4 58	

For the year 1895, ...	4 58	
" " " 1896, ...	6 00	
" " " 1897, ...	30 00	
" " " 1898, ...	112 70	
" " " 1899, ...	1,320 90	
" " " 1900, ...	83 00	
		$1,563 34
Contribution of David L. Bartlett, ...		500 00
Sale of *Publications*, ...		49 25
For partial cost of publication of articles and for reprints of the same:—		
Killis Campbell, ...	150 00	
J. D. M. Ford, ...	4 50	
C. Alphonso Smith, . . .	6 00	
James M. Hart, ...	8 00	
Mary A. Scott, ...	58 10	
		$ 226 60
Advertisements, ...	90 00	
Interest on deposits, ...	22 43	
		$ 112 43
Total receipts for the year, ...		$3,160 27

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XIV, No. 1, and Reprints,	$ 371 56	
" " " " " 2, " "	248 62	
" " " " " 3, " "	325 81	
" " " " " 4, " "	429 95	
Public Printer, Washington, D. C., for the Report of the Committee of Twelve, .	47 90	
		$1,423 84
Expenses of the Committee of Twelve, .	68 73	
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, postage, mailing *Publications*, etc., . .	68 38	
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, postage, etc., ...	26 22	
Clerical services, ...	6 50	
The Secretary, ...	200 00	
Job printing, ...	27 50	
Bank discount, ...	4 52	
The Central Division, ...	38 82	
		$ 440 67
Total expenditures for the year, ...		$1,864 51
Balance on hand, December 26, 1899, ...		1,295 76
		$3,160 27

Balance on hand, December 26, 1899, . . $1,295 76

The President of the Association, H. C. G. von Jagemann, appointed the following committees:

(1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors James M. Garnett and F. N. Scott.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors J. B. Henneman, Gustav Gruener, Morgan Callaway, W. E. Mead, and O. F. Emerson.

(3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors M. D. Learned, C. H. Grandgent, T. R. Price, H. E. Greene, and J. M. Hart.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The first Paralipomenon of Goethe's *Faust*, when written? By Professor Eugene W. Manning, of Delaware College.

Among Goethe's papers an unfolded sheet, or perhaps better a torn-out leaf, about eight and a half by nine inches (my fac-simile is so framed that I cannot measure it exactly, and my measurements are not at hand) was found on which a short plan to his *Faust* was written, and which is now known as the First Paralipomenon. Several efforts have been made to determine the time at which the plan was written by Goethe, and the following is my second attempt to throw light on the subject—my first effort having been made in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1896, pp. 209–214. Others have suggested or contended for the years 1788, 1799, or even 1795, no one of which seems to me at all probable; my contention is for an earlier date. The following arguments can be fully understood only by having before one a fac-simile of the plan written by Goethe to represent *Faust*, Part II., as it was in his mind in 1775. A fac-simile of the plan (with the transliterated text and an English translation), together with a summary English version of the Faust plan, Part Second, of 1775, is herewith submitted. It will be noted that Second Part is twice mentioned in the plan of 1775. Incidentally may I ask if it is probable that Goethe would have used the words Second Part in an attempt to give an idea of the latter part of *Faust* as it was in his mind in 1775, if in 1775 he had not determined or expected to divide his drama into two parts?

Let me call attention to the relative length of the First Paralipomenon and the plan of 1775, and especially to the fact that while all of the longer plan refers to the Second Part of *Faust*, only the words of the shorter plan following the expression First Part refer to the Second Part of *Faust*.

If the longer plan belongs to 1775, the shorter one does not belong to a later period.

While the Second Part was once regarded as loosely joined to, and far inferior to, the First Part, such is not now the opinion of Faust scholars. Abundant evidence is at hand to show that Goethe did not look upon Part Second as an afterthought. With the mass of material indicated in the plan of 1775 floating even indefinitely before him it is not surprising that Goethe saw it would be wise to divide his poem. Furthermore, the *Faust* is essentially a life drama, beginning with the passion, ambition, struggle, restiveness of youth, continued in the saner, serener, if not contented, experiences of useful toil and development, and ending with the joy of beneficent old age. On the one hand, book-learning and passion; on the other, real culture and beneficence, that is Part First and Part Second.

The evident haste in writing, the apparent clearness of thought down to the scratched-out words *Lebens Thaten Wesen*, and the confusion and groping after that would seem to point to a time when, down to the word *Schueler*, Goethe's mind was clear; but after the Schueler scene there was a lack of clearness. To find a time when the Schueler scene was the last cleared up Faust scene in Goethe's mind, we must go back of 1775 when the *Urfaust* was taken to Weimar. Goethe wrote in 1773 "a beautiful, new plan to a great drama," which I believe was the First Paralipomenon.

The fact that Wagner and Schueler are mentioned in the First Paralipomenon, but Mephistopheles and Gretchen and Helen are not mentioned, is significant. If the Wagner and Schueler scenes were then written out or even thought out, but not the Gretchen episode (the critics agree that the Gretchen episode must be left out, for the references do not fit it), and surely if the part of Mephistopheles was not sharply outlined we must go back to the early seventies to date the plan.

It has been thought that the phrase "on the way to hell" pointed to a late origin for the First Paralipomenon and that Goethe got this suggestion in the nineties from Milton. Since, however, it is known that Goethe published a poem in 1766 on "Christ's descent to Hell," the phrase would seem to point to an early date, especially in view of the fact that the idea itself was less appropriate to the mature poet and was in fact abandoned.

The strongest argument against an early date for the First Paralipomenon has heretofore been found in the abstract character of the plan and the abstract words ('form,' 'formless,' 'content') used. Elsewhere I have shown that the same abstract subject was treated by Goethe with the same abstract words, and with a disgust that would seem to preclude his return to it. Goethe had a copy of Spinoza in 1773; he later called himself a disciple and worshiper of Spinoza. With these facts before one, can one fail to see that the abstract character and terms are arguments for an early date? It is the young man, the tyro in philosophy, who uses abstract words about abstract subjects.

Ideales Streben nach Einwürken u. Einfühlen in die ganze Natur.

Erscheinung des Geists als Welt u. Thaten Genius.

Streit zwischen Form u. Formlosen

Vorzug dem formlosen Gehalt

Vor der leeren Form.

Gehalt bringt die Form mit

Form ist nie ohne Gehalt.

Diese Widersprüche statt sie zu vereinigen disparater zu machen.

Helles kaltes wissenschaftliches Streben Wagner

Dumpfes warmes —— —— Schüler.

~~Leben. Thaten Wesen.~~

Lebens Genuss der Person von aussen gesehn 1. Theil in der Dumpfheit Leidenschaft.

Thaten Genuss nach aussen zweyter und Genuss mit Bewusstseyn. Schönheit.

Schöpfungs Genuss von innen. Epilog im Chaos auf dem Weg zur Hölle —

Transliterated Text.

Ideales Streben nach Einwircken und Einfuehlen in die ganze Natur. Erscheinung des Geists als Welt und Thaten Genius. Streit zwischen Form und Formlosem. Vorzug dem formlosem Gehalt vor der leeren Form. Gehalt bringt die Form mit. Form ist nie ohne Gehalt. Diese Widersprueche statt sie zu vereinigen disparater zu machen. Helles kaltes wissensch. Streben Wagner. Dumpfes warmes wissensch. Streben Schueler. Lebens Thaten Wesen. Lebens Genuss der Persen von aussen gesehen. In der Dumpfheit Leidenschaft. Erster Theil. Thaten Genuss nach aussen und Genuss mit Bewusstseyn Schoenheit zweyter Theil. Schoepfungs Genuss von innen Epilog im Chaos auf dem Weg zur Hoelle.

'Ideal striving for influence over and sympathetic communion with the whole of Nature. Appearance of the Spirit as genius of the word and of deeds. Conflict between form and the formless. Preference for formless content over empty form. Content brings form with it. Form is never without content. These antitheses, instead of reconciling them, to be made more disparate. Clear, cold, scientific endeavor, Wager. Vague, warm, scientific endeavor, Student. Personal enjoyment of life seen from without. In vagueness (Dumpfheit) passion. First part. Enjoyment of deeds looking without and enjoyment with consciousness. Beauty. Second Part. Enjoyment of deeds from within. Epilogue in chaos on the way to hell.'

English Version of the Plan of 1775.

At the beginning of the Second Part Faust is seen asleep. Spirits sing to him alluring songs of glory and power, and he wakens, cured of his sensuality and in an exalted mood. Mephistopheles comes and tells him that his presence is desired at the court of Emperor Maximilian in Augsburg. The pair go to Augsburg and are well received by the Emperor. The talk turns on magic, and his Majesty calls for spirit-manifestations. Faust goes out to get ready and Mephistopheles prescribes as court-doctor. In the evening a magic theater builds itself. The shades of Helena and Paris appear and are commented on by the spectators. Confusion arises, the spirits vanish suddenly and Faust is left in a swoon. When he comes to himself he is madly in love with Helena and insists on following her. Mephistopheles tells of great difficulties in the way: she belongs to Orcus, can be conjured up but not retained, etc. Faust insists and Mephistopheles finally consents. A castle on the Rhine is chosen as the future home of Helena and Faust. The owner is a crusader absent in Palestine, the castellan a magician. Helena appears with a corporeal being given her by means of a magic ring which she wears on her finger. She thinks she is just coming home from Troy to Sparta, feels lonely and pines for society, especially for that of men. Faust appears as a medieval German knight.

At first she does not like him, but presently yields to his suit and becomes queen of his castle. The pair have a son who, from the moment of his birth, sings, dances, and beats the air. The boy is petted and given full liberty, save that he is forbidden to cross a certain line which bounds the magic precinct of the castle. But one day he hears music and sees soldiers; crosses the line out of curiosity, gets into a quarrel with the soldiers and is killed. The mother wrings her hands in grief, and in so doing pulls off her ring. She falls back into the arms of Faust, who finds that he has only her dress in his embrace. Mephistopheles, who has seen all this in the capacity of an old stewardess, tries to comfort Faust by directing his attention to the charms of wealth and power. The owner of the castle had been killed in Palestine and greedy monks try to get possession of the place. Faust fights with them, aided by three mighty men, whom Mephistopheles gives him as allies, comes off victorious, avenges the death of his son and wins a great estate. Meanwhile he grows old, and what happens to him later will appear when we gather together at some future time the fragments, or rather sporadic passages, of the Second Part which have been already worked out, and thus rescue some things that will be of interest to the reader.

2. "On the historical development of the types of the first person plural imperative in German." By Professor W. Kurrelmeyer, of Franklin and Marshall College. [Published by Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg, 1900.]

The results of this paper were discussed by Professor B. J. Vos.

3. "The episodes in Shakespeare's *I. Henry VI.*" By Professor John B. Henneman, of the University of Tennessee. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 290 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professors W. H. Hulme and J. M. Garnett.

4. "The first centenary of the birth of Leopardi." By Professor L. E. Menger, of Bryn Mawr College.

Leopardi will always hold a warm place in the hearts of his countrymen on account of his ardent patriotism, if for nothing else. Especially is he cherished in the affections of the young, thoughtful men of Italy, who see in his absolute independence of tradition, in his bold free thought, perilous in his day, the promise of that advancement of Italy which is her due. We find, therefore, that the movement in honor of his birth was not left to

seek expression in the formality of senatorial resolutions alone; the representative student body of Italy organized to extol him, and for some qualities, too, which the more conservative government representatives deemed it politic to ignore. We may, then, consider the celebrations under these two headings: Those of the students and those of the Government.

The former were perhaps the more interesting. A committee of students of the University at Rome, decided upon the character which the celebrations were to assume. This was, in brief, the following: In the first place a series of lectures on the various sides of Leopardi's activity were delivered by men prominent in the investigation of similar subjects. In the second place, a sum was raised for the erection of a monument expressive of the appreciation of Italian youth for the poet. Again, a prize was offered for the best essay on Leopardi's literary influence. Finally, the publication of a memorial containing detailed accounts of all celebrations was undertaken. The controlling idea throughout the students' resolutions and actions seemed to be the apotheosis of Leopardi as a "Free Thinker." This attitude caused some friction between students and the university authorities, and may explain the non-participation in their meetings of some eminent Italian literary figures.

The Parliament avoided reference to any peculiar beliefs or theories of Leopardi; all its acts in his honor were of the dignity befitting a literary figure considered by the senate as national, and not to be narrowed down to become the boast of any one set of thinkers. By the initiative of the Government the publication of unedited manuscripts of Leopardi was inaugurated, his tomb in Naples was declared a national monument, a bust of him was placed in the Senate House, and streets, parks, and buildings in his native province had their names changed so as to commemorate the illustrious poet.

In addition to these two organized movements there were many individual celebrations: books, articles, busts, medallions, monuments, and inscriptions were dedicated to him throughout the nation.

In discussing this paper Mr. J. E. Shaw had special reference to Sergi's recent theory of the origin of Leopardi's pessimism (*Nuova Antologia*, vol. 74, p. 577).

Mr. Shaw said:—

The peculiar nature of the pessimism of Leopardi has always been a subject for comment by literary critics. The explanations of its cause, hitherto accepted, have taken the form of one or the other of the two following theories:

1. Leopardi's state of mind was due to an infirmity of the nerves, which he inherited.

2. This pessimism was the result of the sceptical views of life, held by the poet, based on his scientific beliefs.

The new theory advanced by Sergi is, to put it briefly:

Leopardi suffered from a weakness of his perceptive faculties, resulting from the inability of his sense-organs, to give clear impressions of the outside world, whether material or ideal. In fact, the poet's perceptive faculties were stunted in their growth, and remained, throughout his life, in the state in which they are naturally in childhood. As, for instance, in children, an appreciation of the beauties of nature, a keen distinction of sounds in music, and a real appreciation of the love that others have for them, are rare, so Leopardi never attained to these, and the reason he could never attain to them, was that his sense-organs were defective.

As evidence of the feebleness of the sense-organs, Sergi says that Leopardi was unable to appreciate the beauty of color, since the references to colors, in his poems, are few and vague. As to his hearing, that he could not distinguish sounds properly is shown by his saying, in a letter to Antonietta Tommasini, that although he himself spoke French fluently, he was unable to understand others when they spoke in French. And the fact that he enjoyed hearing music, does not injure the conclusion, since a vague sense of pleasure from music, has nothing to do with a real appreciation of it. Leopardi's cutaneous sensations, again, offer still better evidence, for they seem to have consisted in a remarkable irritation, a sensation of pain, without any clear knowledge being conveyed of the nature of the stimulus.

The result of all this was that the poet was unable to perceive the true nature of things, and consequently was unable to believe in it. He therefore withdrew within himself, denying everything, and nature was to him a mere emptiness into which he himself was uselessly cast, to receive only the most torturing sensations whenever he attempted to grasp at the alleged reality of things.

Another result was that he was forced into an absolute subjectivity of thought. All he thought of was himself and his loathsome condition, and this was all he wrote about. Whenever he seems to be speaking of larger things, it is only his use of general terms, says Sergi, which leads us to think so. In evidence of this, Sergi cites many lines from the poet's works.

The only part played by the studies of Leopardi, in bringing about this state of things, consists in this: since his studies were almost exclusively classical, they tended to estrange his mind from all practical matters, by causing him to reflect continually on a dead civilization, a state of things which was past and dead.

The general criticism to be made on the article is that it contains more assertion than evidence, and the latter is of a somewhat flimsy nature. The author, too, is too dogmatic and extreme in his statements. His theory is, nevertheless, worthy of consideration. For a detailed criticism, see the reply to the article, by Graf in *Nuova Antologia*, 1° Giugno, 1898, vol. 75, p. 504.

5. "Contributions to English literary criticism culled from eighteenth century letter-writers." By Professor W. H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University. [Read by title.]

6. "The Spanish poet, Luis Barahona de Soto." By Professor H. A. Rennert, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

Luis Barahona de Soto owes his reputation as a poet mainly to the extravagant praise with which Cervantes mentions his works—especially his *Angelica*, a poem suggested by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. He was born at Lucena, in the southern part of the Kingdom of Granada, about 1520. He attended the University of Osuna, and was graduated a Bachelor in Arts in 1568. He then studied medicine in the same university, and afterwards at Seville, becoming a licentiate—probably at Alcala—after 1573. In his early years he seems to have led a rather adventurous life, having served in the Morisco wars in Granada. In addition to the *Angelica*, of which only the first part was printed (Granada, 1586), de Soto wrote four Satires, and an Eclogue, that have been published, and a number of poems that are still in MS.

EXTRA SESSION.

The Association convened in an extra session December 27, at 8.30 p. m., when the President of the Association, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, of Harvard University, delivered an address entitled "Philology and Purism." [Printed in *Publications*, XV, 74 f.]

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The President opened the second session at 9.45 o'clock on Thursday morning.

The reading of papers was resumed.

7. "Fatalism in Hauptmann's dramas." By Dr. M. Schuetze, of the University of Pennsylvania.

8. "The Round Table before Wace." By Dr. Arthur C. L. Brown, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Studies and*

Notes in Philology and Literature (Harvard University), VII, 183 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professor J. W. Bright.

9. "The Nature Poetry of Shelley and his contemporaries." By Professor Pelham Edgar, of Victoria University, Toronto.

The poets are first compared from the point of view of their relative susceptibility to sense impressions. Keats' method of regarding Nature is frankly sensuous and pagan. Shelley's poetry, while not by any means lacking in the sensuous quality, is penetrated by a spirit of mysticism that was alien to the genius of the younger poet. Again, the sensuous appeal in Keats passes in many instances through the channels of our grosser senses of touch and taste. Sensuousness in Shelley is almost entirely of the eye and ear, although exquisite odors are responsible too for several memorable passages (*Alast*, l. 451 f.; *Epipsychidion*, l. 446 f.).

A comparison of the sound and color effects in either poet exhibits the superior capacity of Shelley as regards both scope and intensity.

To exhibit the methods of each poet in detail an examination of their forest descriptions is undertaken. The paper concludes with a discussion of the figurative and color elements in the work of these poets.

10. "Rime-parallelism in Old High German verse." By Professor B. J. Vos, of Johns Hopkins University.

By rime-parallelism is meant the joining in rime of words that are from the point of view of inflectional endings parallel forms. This is naturally the easiest and simplest sort of rime, the identity of the endings in question in each case necessitating a rime. Of the five monuments considered, rime-parallelism is a characteristic feature in three: Otfried, *Ludwigslied*, and *Georgslied*. Not so in *Christus und die Samariterin* and *Psalm 138*. This result agrees exactly with the order of time in which it is supposed these poems were written. The difference is brought out still more clearly by comparing the episode of Christ and the Samaritan woman as related by Otfried with the treatment of the later poet, Otfried using 35 per cent. of parallel rimes, where the later poet uses only 13 per cent. The investigation perhaps also throws some light on the question of the origin of rime in German and of the length of suffix-syllables in Otfried.

11. "*A'n't* and *ha'n't*." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

Discussion was contributed by Professors H. A. Todd, H. C. G. von Jagemann, F. N. Scott, and D. K. Dodge.

12. "The latest researches concerning Arras in the thirteenth century, and Adan de la Hale." By Professor A. Rambeau, of the Mass. Inst. of Technology. [Read by title.]

Professor Rambeau continues and brings up to date the statements contained in his short history of the critical study of Adan de le Hale's dramas since the year 1779, the second part of a paper read by him before the University Philological Association, Baltimore, May 15, 1896, upon *Maître Adam d'Arras and the Beginnings of French Comedy.* An abstract of this paper has been published in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, vol. xv, No. 126. The last works mentioned there, in the history of the critical study of Adan de le Hale's plays, are Ernest Langlois' *Interpolations du jeu de Robin et Marion*, in *Romania* (July, 1895), and his popular edition of *Le jeu de Robin et Marion par Adam le Bossu* (1895). They contain valuable results, many, or rather most, of which have been, and could be, easily derived, as the author himself, no doubt, admits, from the very arrangement of texts in Professor Rambeau's palaeographic edition of *Li jus du pelerin, Li gieus de Robin et de Marion*, and *Li jus Adan* (1886).

In the meantime the following important works have been published in France:

(1) Alfred Jeanroy et Henri Guy, *Chansons et dits artésiens du XIIIe siècle* (Bordeaux, 1898), to be compared with Gaston Paris's *compte rendu* in *Romania* (July, 1898); (2) Henry Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de le Hale* (Paris, 1898).

Both these works, and principally the second and larger one, throw much light upon the history of Arras, a centre of wealth, culture, and literary achievements in Northern France in the thirteenth century, and upon the history of French poetry, and especially the drama. Mr. Guy's essay owes a great deal—much more, indeed, than he seems to be willing to admit—to Leopold Bahlsen's excellent dissertation, *Adam de la Hale's Dramen und das "Jus du pelerin"* (1884, 1885). It arrives, however, at more extensive and, as it would seem, better and safer results, since its author has been enabled by favorable circumstances to make use of a great many thirteenth century documents hidden in French archives and libraries which refer to Arras, contemporary poets and friends or protectors of poets, and to persons and events mentioned or alluded to in Adan de la Hale's works.

It is likely that several of those results would be modified and rectified in a great measure, if some other competent scholar would study all these questions "an ort und stelle," and examine carefully the sources themselves from which Mr. Guy has derived his statements and opinions, and perhaps also some other pertinent documents that might be discovered in the medieval records of Northern France and Belgium.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The third session of the meeting was opened by the President on Thursday at 2.30 p. m.

The Auditing Committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts were found to be correct.

The Committee on Place of Meeting reported in favor of accepting the invitation extended by the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. C. C. Harrison, to hold the next meeting of the Association in Philadelphia. This report was accepted as indicating the Association's preference of place for the holding of the proposed Philological Congress (see *Proceedings for 1898*, p. xv f.). The Secretary was authorized to act on behalf of the Association in the final determination of the matter by correspondence with the societies taking part in the Congress.

The committee also reported an invitation extended by President Charles W. Eliot to hold a meeting of the Association at Harvard University. The Association thereupon voted to accept President Eliot's invitation for the Annual Meeting of the year 1901.

Professor Edward H. Magill, as chairman of the committee on "International Correspondence" (see *Proceedings for 1898*, p. xxii), read the following report:

The subject of a correspondence between students of different nations who are pursuing the study of the modern languages having been brought to the attention of this Association last year by a paper presented at the annual meeting at Charlottesville, Va., and afterwards published in *Modern Language Notes* for February, a committee was appointed to report upon this subject at the next annual meeting of the Association. In pursuance of this appointment, your committee have exchanged views by correspondence and held one meeting for final consideration of the subject before presenting their report.

A full report upon the origin, progress, and general condition of this correspondence was prepared by Professor Gaston Mouchet, of the École Colbert, Paris, Vice-President of the Franco-English Department, early in the present year, which has been translated and published in the June number of *Education* (Boston), and circulated widely among the teachers of modern languages of this country. It will be seen by this report that a correspondence between professors and teachers of different countries, called the *Correspondance Pédagogique Internationale*, has now become an important part of this work, and is under special charge of the large French committee, of which Professor Buisson, of the Sorbonne, is President.

The two points especially emphasized in the discussion last year were: first, an investigation of the whole subject of the international correspondence with a view of determining its usefulness as an aid in modern language instruction; and, secondly, the consideration of the desirability of appointing a standing committee to make the subject further known in America, and, if found desirable, to act as an intermediary agent with foreign committees in obtaining correspondents. Toward these two points the attention of your committee has been especially directed.

The idea of this international correspondence in its present form was first introduced by Professor P. Mieille, now of the Lycée de Tarbes, France, and first applied to France and England, he being a professor of English in that Lycée. It has now been a little more than three years since this introduction, and aided by the *Review of Reviews*, London, Editor W. T. Stead; the *Revue Universitaire*, Paris, Eds., Armand Colin et Cie.; the *Manuel Général de l'Instruction Primaire*, Paris, Eds., Hachette et Cie.; and the *Concordia*, Paris, Ed., M. Lombard; it has made much progress in the two countries where first introduced, and has also extended to Germany, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Canada. From a letter of the inventor of the system, Professor Mieille, under date of September 27, we extract the following: "Everywhere where the professors have taken the subject to heart, the correspondence has succeeded well. In France alone more than 200 institutions for secondary instruction, and nearly 300, including the free colleges and the normal schools, have adopted the correspondence. But there are still a certain number, especially in the free schools, which remain behind." Professor Mieille has recently addressed a letter to the Directors of these schools throughout France, which will, he thinks, be the means of bringing into the work most of the schools not already engaged in it. In this letter he refers to the various journals and individuals who have promoted the correspondence, including, besides those already named in this report, Miss E. Williams, Professeur aux Écoles de Sèvres et de Fontenay aux Roses, and in charge of the Women's Section of the Franco-English correspondence, whose address is No. 6 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris; and Dr. K. A. Martin Hartmann, of Leipsic, who has established a bureau there for the correspondence of German students,

with students of other nations who are pursuing the study of the modern languages. From this letter of Professor Mieille to the Directors of Public Instruction, we quote as follows: "After three years of existence it may be said that the Correspondance Scolaire Internationale has proved a success. Without having yet realized the marvellous results which have been predicted for it, it has modestly made its way, and the few critics which it excited in the beginning have not resisted the logic of facts nor the eloquence of figures. More than 10,000 correspondents, at the lowest estimate, exchange 20,000 letters per month, and more than 200,000 per year, which is an unanswerable proof that the correspondence has definitely taken its place in our system of instruction in modern languages. The majority of our professors have quickly appreciated its practical advantages, and have definitely adopted the method in their regular instruction."

With reference to the desirability of a general introduction of this correspondence in our own literary institutions, the following considerations are presented: experience shows that, with ordinary oversight, the international correspondence stimulates interest in the work in two ways:

First. By bringing students into some degree of intimate contact with contemporary foreign life, thus contributing to their general culture and broadening their ideas and sympathies.

Secondly. By furnishing an obvious motive to correct composition in the foreign tongue.

Other incidental advantages also arise:

First. The benefit derived from comparisons of the mother tongue and foreign idiom involved in the correction of errors in foreign correspondents' letters.

Secondly. As the vocabulary employed by the foreigner will almost always be that of ordinary intercourse, the foreign letters furnish an abundance of those genuine colloquial phrases, the memorizing and repetition of which are so valuable and so highly recommended in the report of the Committee of Twelve (Section VII, 2).

In dwelling upon these advantages the committee does not wish to make extravagant claims, nor forget that the solid usefulness of the plan lies within certain limits. For example, it is not to be expected that, in a given class, a majority, or perhaps even a third, should voluntarily take up the work, and prosecute it faithfully for a satisfactory length of time. Moreover there will always be some who undertake it from curiosity, and who will soon find the real labor irksome. These are they that have no depth of earth. But because some fail to profit by an opportunity is no reason from withholding it from others, and experience shows that in an earnest class, with a wide-awake instructor, a good proportion will conscientiously undertake at least one correspondent.

This committee is, therefore, united in believing that the international correspondence can, with average students, be made a valuable adjunct to foreign language study, especially in the earlier years, and that it certainly

deserves a full and impartial trial by interested teachers. After all, it is only one more means toward creating something of the foreign atmosphere in the class room, and that this is an advantage does not, we believe, require argument.

The amount of attention that can be given to this work in the class room will depend upon circumstances, and will vary in different institutions. In class work time is a very important element, and surely but little if any time can be given for the correspondence in class in large institutions, where French and German are taught by instructors to blocks of 125, as is sometimes the case. In smaller classes some reading of letters received, and comments upon them, will be found interesting and profitable. But even where no time can be given in class, the correspondence carried on by the students themselves can be made very profitable, and the advantages of it are soon seen by the more rapid and satisfactory class work of those who are thus engaged.

We therefore conclude that in view of the various considerations presented in this report, the subject is one which may well claim the serious attention of the representative body of professors and instructors of modern languages, and we would respectfully recommend that this committee be continued (with some names added), and that its duties shall be to propagate this system of correspondence throughout our own country, and coöperate, as way may open, with foreign committees to secure correspondents, to impart more of system and coherence to the work, and make a report of their labors to this association at the annual meeting next year.

We may mention in closing that high schools are making inquiries as to the introduction of the correspondence into their classes, and it seems to us that such correspondence should be encouraged in any of our schools among students who have pursued the study of the foreign languages under competent instructors for even a single year.

We add further as encouragement in this work that on the 29th of May, 1897, the Modern Language Association of Saxony, Germany, issued a circular letter drawing attention to their central bureau for establishing the international correspondence between German students and those of other nations pursuing the study of the modern languages. This movement is largely promoted by Dr. R. A. Martin Hartmann, whose address is Koenigliches Gymnasium, Leipsic, Germany. Dr. Hartmann states in a recent circular that their central bureau has enrolled the names of about 6,000 students in the past two years, and that 475 institutions for the higher education in England, France, Germany, and the United States are engaged in this correspondence. He further states that twenty-nine of these institutions are in the United States, and that nearly all of these have entered upon this work since January last. You will therefore perceive that the attention drawn to the subject at the Charlottesville meeting last Christmas, the report of Committee of Twelve on Modern Languages, since issued, and the labors of this committee have not been without important practical results.

2

This report was accepted, the committee was continued, and enlarged by the additional appointment of Professors James W. Bright, C. H. Grandgent, T. Atkinson Jenkins, W. S. Currell, and L. E. Menger.

The Secretary then read the following communication relating to the Thousandth Anniversary of King Alfred the Great:

To the Modern Language Association of America:—

The Thousandth Anniversary of the death of King Alfred the Great will be observed as an International Commemoration of the King in the summer of the year 1901. All English-speaking men, without distinction of creed, nation, or party, will unite in doing honor to the memory of the King under whose administration the first great impulse was given to those forces which have produced English, or more broadly Anglo-Saxon, nationality, character, and culture.

The Celebration will consist chiefly in (1) the erection of a statue of the King in the City of Winchester. The site for the statue has been granted by the Corporation of Winchester, and the execution of the statue (which will be in bronze) has been committed to Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, the eminent English sculptor.

(2) A Public Hall will perhaps be erected in the City of Winchester to serve as a Museum of Early English History and English Antiquities. The Committee hope to acquire a portion of the grounds of Wolvesey Palace as an adjunct to the site for the museum, and with a view to preserve forever the beautiful ruins of Wolvesey Castle.

(3) At the time of the Commemoration a meeting of scholars representing the Learned Societies of the English-speaking world will be held in the City of Winchester. The programme of this meeting will embrace papers and addresses of high scientific character on subjects relating to Alfred and his period, and to Anglo-Saxon national development dating from his time.

The Honorary Secretary of the Committee for America, on behalf of the Committee and of the Royal Societies of England, hereby respectfully invites the coöperation of The Modern Language Association of America in suggesting subjects appropriate to the programme of this meeting, and by appointing three or more of its members to prepare papers on the selected subjects, and as delegates to represent the Association at the meeting. The time for this meeting will probably be fixed in the first week of July, 1901.

It is also hoped that The Modern Language Association of America will give further token of coöperation by contributing in money to the funds of the memorial. Private contributions from the members of the Association

are also earnestly requested. A complete list of all the contributors will finally be published.

All communications should be directed to the American Honorary Secretary of the Memorial.

Very respectfully,

JAMES W. BRIGHT,
American Honorary Secretary.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, Md., 15 Dec., 1899.

As one of the Honorary Secretaries for America of the Early English Text Society, the Secretary also invited the attention of the Association to the proposed commemoration of Dr. F. J. Furnivall's seventy-fifth birthday.

The President appointed the following committee to consider the Association's literary contributions to the King Alfred memorial programme: Professors J. W. Bright, Albert S. Cook, George Hempl, G. L. Kittredge, J. B. Henneman, W. E. Mead, and J. M. Manly.

On motion of Professor Calvin Thomas the contribution in money to be made by the Association to the King Alfred Memorial and to Dr. Furnivall's celebration was left to be determined by the Executive Council of the Association.

By a unanimous vote Dr. F. J. Furnivall, of London, was elected an Honorary Member of the Association.

On motion of Professor Fonger De Haan, which was seconded by Professor C. C. Marden, the Association elected to honorary membership Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, of Madrid, Spain.

In accordance with resolutions offered by Professors George Hempl, J. B. Henneman, and James W. Bright, the Association passed a vote of deep regret at the death, during the year 1899, of the following members of the Association:

W. M. Baskerville, Vanderbilt University.
Daniel G. Brinton, University of Pennsylvania.
Susan R. Cutler, Chicago, Ill.
A. N. van Daell, Mass. Inst. of Technology.
George A. Hench, University of Michigan.
Eugene Kölbing, Breslau, Germany.
J. Luquiens, Yale University.

The reading of papers was resumed.

13. "A study of Pope's *Imitations of Horace.*" By Professor James W. Tupper, of Western University, London, Ont. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 181 f.]

14. "Germanic elements in *King Horn.*" By Professor George H. McKnight, of Ohio State University. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 221 f.]

15. "The present status of Rhetorical theory." By Dr. Gertrude Buck, of Vassar College. [Printed in *Modern Language Notes*, March, 1900.]

16. "An incident in the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez.*" By Professor C. C. Marden, of the Johns Hopkins University. [Printed in *Revue Hispanique*, vii (1900), p. 22 f.]

The primary object of the paper was to establish the relation between certain portions of the Spanish epic poem and the corresponding chapters of the *Prose Chronicle* of Alfonso the Wise, both of which were written in the thirteenth century. The Count of Castille, Fernan Gonzalez, is one of the most interesting figures in old Spanish literature, and the poem written in his honor contains the earliest known version of many legends of Christian Spain. One of these legends relates how the maiden La Cava was wronged by the Gothic King Roderick, and how her father, Count Julian, avenged his daughter's disgrace by bringing the Arabs into Spain and overthrowing the Gothic monarchy. In another portion of the poem we are told how the vassal, Count Fernan Gonzalez, sold to King Sancho a horse and a hawk; by an ingenious trick, however, the price was made so exorbitant that the king was glad to settle the account by granting independence to Castille. A third legend tells how the same count killed King Sancho of Navarre in battle, and how a French relative of the dead king came into Spain with a large army in order to avenge his kinsman's

death. The invader was slain, however, and his body was sent back to France together with sufficient money to pay the funeral accessories.

Now, this last mentioned story was copied, almost word for word, by Alfonso the Wise when he composed his *Prose Chronicle of the World*, and the same story is preserved, likewise, in a fifteenth-century copy of the original *Poem of Fernan Gonzalez*, though the copyist did not hesitate to alter and expand the original legend. Professor Marden then proceeded to discuss these three versions of the story, showed how the many divergencies had crept in, and, finally, established the date of the original poem.

17. "The curse-idea in Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*." By Dr. C. A. Eggert, of Chicago, Ill.

18. "Problematical characters in German fiction." By Professor A. B. Faust, of Wesleyan University.

Goethe has defined *problematical natures* as such "who can never master the situation into which they are placed, yet to whom no situation in life is adequate" (for the exercise of their talents). They are persons of great endowments, yet they fail to seize the opportunities that present themselves, and grow resentful because the great opportunity commensurate with their abilities has never arrived. Though generally they have themselves to blame, nevertheless their failure is pathetic, for the ornamental gifts that nature has bestowed upon them are but a weak defense against a cruel fate, or a useless weapon for the performance of a solemn duty. Gifted fools of fortune, elegant misfits, titans (as Jean Paul expresses it) "that would make a cross-bow of the milky-way, yet lack the bow-string to span the distance," they consume their lives in a hopeless struggle against opposing forces. Examples of the problematical character are abundant in all literatures, the one of which Goethe has given such a masterly exposition is Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, "the oak planted in a flower-pot," the scholar called upon to avenge a monstrous crime. An instance in recent literature is furnished by the works of Henrik Ibsen, whose dramas teem with problematical personages. It is the purpose of this paper to show that, beginning with the wavering heroes of Goethe's works and extending to the present time, the problematical character has never been absent from German fiction. It has exerted a baneful influence on the works of Jean Paul, Spielhagen, Keller (der grüne Heinrich), Sudermann, and though the type has sometimes been skillfully wrought, the defect lies in its moral deformity, and its proximity to falseness and unreality.

President and Mrs. Seth Low received the members of the Association at their residence, corner of 64th Street and Madison Avenue, on Thursday evening at 9 o'clock.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The fourth session began at 9.30 a. m. Friday, December 29.

19. "The appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon." By Professor Morgan Callaway, Jr., of the University of Texas.

This paper was discussed by Professor J. W. Bright.

20. "The Lambeth version of *Havelok*." By Mr. E. K. Putnam, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 1 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professors W. E. Mead and J. W. Bright.

21. "On Modern English Dictionaries." By Miss Julia Pauline Leavens, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

This paper was discussed by Professors H. E. Greene, J. M. Hart, H. A. Todd, O. F. Emerson, J. W. Bright, and F. H. Stoddard.

22. "Figurative elements in the terminology of English Grammar." By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

The paper called attention to the singular futility of most teaching of English grammar in the primary and secondary schools, and attempted to account for it, in part, on the ground that the figurative or imaginative influence of grammatical terminology has not been sufficiently taken into account by the teacher. Children cannot think abstractly. It is impossible for them at the start to grasp the abstract meaning of highly general terms like 'case,' 'object,' 'government,' and the like. Consequently, when these terms are first presented, unless there is some counteracting influence, children attach to them all sorts of absurd and incongruous images. Investigations show that 'case,' for example, is commonly interpreted by the child as a box, or chest of drawers; it has even been connected with the covering of sausages. 'Government' suggests the relation of a king and his subject. 'Parts of speech' is often taken to mean the lips, the tongue and the palate. An 'irregular verb' is conceived of as 'naughty.' These images being often extremely vivid and persistent, give a false color to the entire subject of grammar, confuse and dishearten the beginner, and nullify the efforts of the conscientious teacher.

As a remedy for the evil the author of the paper proposed not a new terminology, but a different conception of grammar. He would establish a more intimate connection between grammar and living speech. Language should be regarded as a vital bond between man and his fellow-men. Grammar should be a study of the structure and function of this bond. It is not difficult for the teacher to connect the terminology of grammar, thus conceived, with the concrete interests of the pupils, and to guide the figurative suggestions of the terms into the proper channels.

This paper was discussed by Professors F. H. Stoddard, H. E. Greene, J. W. Bright, A. Gudeman, H. A. Todd, and Charles Harris.

23. "*Vita Meriadoci:* an Arthurian romance now first edited from the Cottonian MS. Faustina B. VI. of the British Museum." By Professor J. Douglas Bruce, of Bryn Mawr College. [Read by title.] [Printed in *Publications*, XV, 326 f.]

[The American Dialect Society held its Annual Meeting at 12 o'clock.]

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The fifth and closing session of the meeting was called to order at 2.30 p. m., Friday, December 29.

24. "The influence of Court Masques on the drama, 1605–15." By Dr. Ashley H. Thorndike, of Western Reserve University. [Printed in *Publications*, XV, 114 f.]

After accepting the report of the Nominating Committee, the following officers were elected for the year 1900:

President: Thomas R. Price, Columbia University.
Secretary: James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.
Treasurer: Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

Hugo A. Rennert, University of Pennsylvania.
Gustav Gruener, Yale University.
Pelham Edgar, Victoria University.
R. E. Blackwell, Randolph Macon College.
E. S. Joynes, South Carolina College.
T. Atkinson Jenkins, Vanderbilt University.
Ewald Fluegel, Leland Stanford Jr. University.
Starr W. Cutting, University of Chicago.
Benj. P. Bourland, University of Michigan.

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.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

25. "On the date of the *Rimed Chronicle* of the Cid." By Dr. B. P. Bourland, of the University of Michigan.

The so-called *Rimed Chronicle* of the Cid is written on leaves 188-204 of manuscript Espagnol 12 in the National Library of Paris. The manuscript also contains the fourth part of the Estoria General de España. The *Rimed Chronicle* was first described by Octor, in his catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts of the National Library, and was first printed, from a copy by Francisque Michel, by Ferdinand Wolf, in the *Wiener Jahrbuch für Literatur*, for 1846. This copy was reprinted by Duran, in his *Romancero General*, and various portions have appeared elsewhere. The manuscript, which is of the beginning of the fifteenth century, is in good preservation, and offers few palæographical difficulties.

The *Rimed Chronicle* of the Cid is a fragment, consisting in prose and verse, of about 1200 lines. Its contents include a condensed chronicle of the affairs of Castile from Pelayo to Ferdinand I, with accounts of the genealogy of the Kings of Castile—and of Rodrigo of Bivar, the Cid, and a more detailed account of deeds and adventures done by Rodrigo in the service of the King Ferdinand. The relation is most fanciful—and the story ends abruptly in the midst of the account of Rodrigo's fabled war upon the Pope and the King of France.

The determination of the date of the fragment rests on various internal considerations, which are, in general, of a text-critical and exegetical nature. (1.) The text is very corrupt. It abounds in glosses and lacunae and offers every sign of an extensive remanipulation. (2.) Though the language is in the main that of the end of the XIV century, it presents very numerous traces of a much earlier Spanish. (3.) The metre is extremely rough and irregular, and is occasionally entirely lost. (4.) In design it was a fourteen syllabled verse, with long, irregular divisions of á-o, é-o and ó assonances.

The foregoing considerations lead to the conclusion that the monument itself is much older than the manuscript; the various historical or quasi-historical references of the text all point to the first half of the thirteenth century as the probable date.

26. "Dictation and Composition in Modern Language teaching." By Professor Edward S. Joynes, of South Carolina College.

[For want of time read by title.]

The Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association on the subject of Preparatory Requirements in French and German marks a new epoch in modern language study in this country—or perhaps I may say, the close or consummation of an epoch dating from the organization of the Modern Language Association itself in December 1883. The latter event signalized the formal admission, into the broadening circle of liberal education, of a new discipline which till then, with increasing but unorganized force, had been struggling for recognition. It was the first organized expression in this country of professional consciousness and co-operation—the first corporate self-assertion on the part of modern language teachers as co-laborers and colleagues in a common work. As such its influence has been wide and profound. The Modern Language Association has given direction, inspiration, purpose, and expression to the wonderful progress which has since ensued; and, for its actual results as well as for the profound foresight of its conception and its admirable management, it will stand—long after his own noble work shall have ceased—as a monument of honor to its father and founder, Professor A. Marshall Elliott. It

is the Modern Language Association that not only created, but made possible, the Committee of Twelve, whose Report, as I have said, marks a new and higher stage of professional progress, and of promise for the future. As I read that document, with its wealth of learning and professional skill, as I note the names of the able men,—many of them young men, representing the foremost institutions of the country,—who constitute the Committee, as I see the wealth of the material on which they have been able to draw, in their recommendations and suggestions, as I mark the confident yet modest tone in which they set forth the now-assured claims of our department in education, and as I contrast all this with the conditions of my own earlier professional life, I feel that I may be pardoned for expressing the personal sentiment of thankfulness that I have lived to see this day. As I recall the beginning of my own work, in 1866, when I was one of the very few titular professors of modern language in the country whose work was yet recognized in any degree of liberal arts; as I remember my own timid pleas,—first in the *Educational Journal of Virginia*, in 1869, and later in 1876 before the National Educational Association, for the recognition of Modern Languages in the scheme of higher education; as I think of the meagre and inadequate materials on which we could draw for our teaching at that day, and especially of my own imperfect efforts to enlarge these, I feel that the key-note of this paper should be that of gratitude and congratulation,—and such, indeed, it is intended to be. I think no one could rejoice more heartily than I do—for few can so keenly realize the facts—in all the progress and promise to which this Report bears testimony; and most heartily do I congratulate my younger colleagues upon the improved conditions and opportunities under which it is now their privilege to work. What has been done is only the prophecy of what they shall do.

It would be superfluous—even impertinent—for me to say that the Report of such a Committee is admirable and most valuable. As an embodiment, and even an anticipation, of the best thought and practice in modern language teaching, it will long stand as an epoch-making document, for guidance and for inspiration. Especially it seems to me to be masterly in its exposition of *method*, both in its analysis of the several methods and in its estimate of the nature and value of method itself. It conveys, without offense, a warning against that domination of mere method, or of contending methods, with which we have been threatened. It recognizes that method is, after all, only a means—a medium or instrument for the expression of personality;—that no single method can be essentially or altogether the best, nor any method equally good for all teaching; and that the best method, indeed, is made of all that is best in each and best adapted to the actual character and condition of each teacher or class. Yet not the less is the analysis of the various methods, as presented in the Report, most instructive and helpful. There are also other passages which might be selected for special commendation. But this is needless. The Report, as a whole, will speak for itself to all thoughtful teachers.

If on a single point I venture upon criticism, it is only because I feel that I have something to say on a topic of importance which I think has not been duly considered by the Committee. In criticising the work of a Committee composed of gentlemen so far superior to myself in the opportunities and advantages of scholarship, I can appeal only to personal experience; for this is the sole ground on which I could possibly add anything to their store. In the 40 years—since 1858—that I have been teaching modern language, there is hardly anything in the way of method that I have not tried, in the constant effort to do better. At any rate, this personal experience is all I have to offer. Tested as it has been by long and constant effort, it is possibly worthy of consideration. At least this must be my apology for the personal tone of the following remarks. By compensation I promise they shall be brief, and though other topics, closely connected with my main thought, tempt to occasional criticism, I shall confine myself strictly to the subject indicated in the title of this paper.

My thesis is: 1. That writing by dictation should have a much larger place in modern language teaching than is accorded to it by the Committee of Twelve.

2. That this larger place should be found, in part, by substituting such writing by dictation, largely if not wholly, for composition, or written translation into the foreign language, during the earlier stages of instruction.

Only small importance is accorded to dictation in the Report of the Committee. Under German it is merely mentioned as "helpful in learning to spell" (p. 1413), and discontinued after the first year. Under French it is mentioned as the last item of "the work to be done" in the elementary and the intermediate courses; but in no case are its results included in "the aim of the instruction." Nowhere is its importance stressed, or the value of its discipline expounded, or even suggested. Indeed, by implication, it is even discredited. On p. 1422, in what seems to me a rather extreme concession to "the demand for more spoken French in the class-room" the Report says: "In reproducing French sentences, several can be spoken in the time needed to write one." This truism, if taken seriously, discredits of course all written exercises; but it is hardly meant to be taken seriously. Indeed it is stated by the Committee only as a part of the claims of the special advocates of colloquial work in the class-room—whom I take to be mainly the natural methodists and their disciples. Such colloquial exercises, as it seems to me, unless under exceptionally favorable conditions, must be either very meagre or very superficial, and hence have but little educating value. So far at least as I have had opportunity to observe results, they do not correspond to the claims here made; still less is it clear that "the rapidity of speech" is favorable, as is claimed, to either the "exact perception" or the "vivid conception" of literary form. The case in favor of such oral exercises, however strong in itself, cannot be made out by contrast with the worst features of slovenly and inexact translation, as here seems to be attempted.

But the same context fortunately supplies the antidote to the erroneous view here suggested. It is true that "tongue and ear are most efficient aids to memory," and that it is false "to depend on the eye alone." But it is equally false to exclude or to depreciate the value of the eye, which under our conditions has largely—perhaps too largely—become our chief medium of contact with language and literature. It is precisely here that we find the strongest argument in favor of dictation as a philosophical process. In dictation we have the most perfect combination of faculties and functions. There is the accurate tongue, speaking to the listening and discriminating ear; there is the reproductive hand, bringing back to the intelligent and critical eye that which the mind has heard by the ear:—all the faculties of perception, conception, and expression are alert and in harmonious coöperation. I can imagine no method that could appeal more strongly to the attention or to the intelligence: I think I can say from experience that none more powerfully arouses the interest, the zeal or the pride of the student. (I may add that, even in teaching English, I think no method is more stimulating or helpful to young pupils.) Its value includes not spelling only—tho' this is no small matter—nor word form only, whether orthographical or grammatical; but all that belongs to grammar, phrase, or sentence, from the closest transliteration for beginners, through progressively freer paraphrase to original expression. All that is possible in composition or retranslation—whether in grammatical sentences or by paraphrase—is equally possible in dictation;—to which must be added that as an aid to accurate pronunciation, as a stimulus to alert attention, and as conducive to that *sprachgefühl* which rests so largely upon the quick apprehension of the significance of the spoken language, it presents distinct advantages which no form of written composition can possibly secure. It is my earnest hope that this statement, which rests upon very large experience, may induce some of my colleagues to test the question for themselves—not only in French but in German—at least through the earlier stages of work.

This brings me to the second point of my thesis:—that dictation should be substituted for composition, largely if not wholly, during the earlier stages of instruction.

This proposition rests not only upon the alleged advantages of dictation as above indicated, but also, distinctly, upon the disadvantages and difficulties of composition, for beginners. Whatever form of composition may be adopted, whether by grammar sentences illustrating form or idiom, or by text paraphrases (and it seems to be conceded that, while either method may be abused, both are useful), its progress must needs be slow. The work of seeking for forms of expression in an unfamiliar language is essentially difficult; for it is a reversal of the natural order of thought, which is to express the unknown in terms of the known:—even the brightest students find this work difficult and burdensome at first. Now the slow and laborious progress thus enforced comes to the beginner at the very time when sound teaching requires that his progress should be most rapid. Whatever

general method may be preferred, it seems to me that all teachers would agree that the student should be brought, as quickly as possible, to feel the foreign language *as language*—to feel, as a pupil of mine once said, "that it means something." For this purpose the essential elements of grammatical form should be learned at first—not thoroughly indeed—but as rapidly as possible. To a great extent this should be done not even by systematic and progressive lessons, but by anticipation of most essential topics, in a cursory view. As little time as possible should be given, at first, to the recitation or classification of paradigms. All that is now necessary is that the pupil shall recognize the forms when he sees them. Just as soon as possible, he should be brought into contact with the language *en masse*, in the form of actual, significant, interesting discourse, whether in a graduated Reader or in other easy text. Till this is done all is dreary work of memory which no skill can illuminate:—the only remedy is to shorten it. Now it is right here that the requirement of composition in any form from the beginner becomes, in my opinion, a positive disadvantage, from its necessarily slow and laborious progress. It has been, I believe, the traditional custom,—derived perhaps from traditional methods in Latin and Greek, which I think as bad there as in the modern languages,—to require a composition exercise, from the first, *pari passu* with each lesson of translation into English. Such method seems to be indicated in most of our grammars. For myself I confess that, following what seemed to be the prescribed authority, I followed it for many years, yet under gradually stronger protest. Now, for many years, I have discarded composition entirely from early study; and I find from experience that the preliminary work, introductory to connected reading, can thereby be greatly accelerated and shortened. Such a preliminary view of grammatical form may be accomplishod, for French or German, in from twelve to twenty lessons, according to the grade of the class;—but not so if the successive steps in the early study of the grammar must be accompanied by composition exercises. In this view I should have the sympathy of my friends, the natural methodists. "Nature" does not require that any process shall be learned exhaustively before another step is taken. I certainly have the authority of our great and immortal master, Prof. W. D. Whitney, whose preface to his *German Grammar* (1869) is a document not less epochal and monumental than the report of the Committee of Twelve. He says: "After enough reading to give some familiarity with forms and constructions, I would have the writing of exercises begun." Now it is during this early period of rapid grammar study and of easy reading that I find dictation so helpful, in lieu of composition. This period will be longer or shorter for different classes. At least, however, it should be prolonged until the first view of grammatical forms and facts is completed, and the student is prepared to begin a systematic and formal review of the grammar; and still further, in my opinion, until by actual reading and by writing from dictation he has gained some familiarity with the form and meaning of words and of sentences in the foreign language. Then,

when composition is begun, it will be an intelligent handling of living forms,—not the laborious piecing together of dead fragments of speech. During all this period the work of writing from dictation is full of interest and of instruction. Employing both the ear and the eye in harmonious coöperation, and exhibiting grammatical forms in connected sentences instead of mere paradigms, it both quickens the power of comprehension and is also an effective aid to the memory.

Perhaps I may be pardoned for a word as to my own practice in dictation. I begin it with the very earliest reading in the grammar. At first from each lesson I select a few sentences for exact transliteration. A section of the class goes to the blackboard—the others write at their seats. I then correct, and grade, the exercises on the blackboard, while the others correct their own exercises from these models. Next time another section goes to the blackboard, and so on. Ten minutes at the close of each lesson suffices for this work; and there are no papers to be corrected. Soon I introduce slight paraphrase: a sentence in the singular will be dictated in the plural; or past will be changed to present tenses, and *vice versa;* or direct to indirect speech, etc.; and so on progressively, until finally very free paraphrase, or original matter, can be introduced. My testimony is that no exercise that I have ever tried—and I have tried almost everything—has been found to be so stimulating and so helpful for the beginner;—and further, that the postponement of the work of composition until the beginner's course of grammar, reading and dictation has been accomplished, is not a loss, but a gain rather, to the composition itself. This does not imply that dictation should be discontinued after the early stages. Rather I think it should still be continued, along with composition, throughout.

I trust that the Modern Language Association, and the still wider circle of my colleagues who may read this paper, will pardon this effort to contribute of my own experience to the success of our common work. Some, I hope, may be induced to try for themselves the experiment that is here suggested. These views are offered not in derogation of the Report of the Committee, nor in opposition to any method, but only as an additional contribution to our helps in teaching. It is truly said by the Committee that our department awaits only better teaching, and better teachers, for its fullest recognition as the peer—not the rival—of classical study in liberal education. To contribute anything to this result would be felt by me as a great privilege and a great reward at the close of a long life of teaching under many discouragements. In conclusion, I again congratulate my younger colleagues upon the more hopeful conditions which surround their work, and I wish for the Modern Language Association increased zeal, influence, and usefulness.

The remaining hour of the session had been reserved for the final discussion of the Report of the Committee of Twelve (see *Proceedings for 1898*, p. xxiii); but it was found that the

Association was prepared to adopt the Report without further discussion, and without changes in the printed text. It was briefly argued by Professors Calvin Thomas, W. T. Hewitt, and H. C. G. von Jagemann, that the Report in its present form was admirably adapted to suggest experimentation, and that its revision into more definite expression on several subjects should await the experience of the next five or more years. The motion, therefore, offered by Professor Calvin Thomas, to accept the Report as printed (see *Proceedings for 1898*, p. xxiv), and to discharge the Committee was passed by a unanimous vote of the Association.

The Secretary presented the following letter, from the Secretary of the Irish Historical Society of Maryland. Time could not be allowed for the reading of the entire letter; it was therefore decided to defer the consideration of the letter.

The Revival of the Gaelic Language.

The President and Members of the Modern Language Association of America,

Gentlemen:—Through the kindness of your courteous Secretary, Professor James W. Bright, I am permitted to call your attention to the efforts being made for the preservation of the Gaelic language (the native language of the Irish Celts) as a spoken language.

Owing to circumstances which I will not enlarge upon, the language has been slowly dying since the 16th century, being gradually superseded by English as the spoken language of the Irish race.

Notwithstanding the fact that the most rigorous laws were enforced against the use of the Irish language, and that it was forbidden to be taught, the Irish race clung to their language with wonderful tenacity (when circumstances are considered), and it was not until this century that the Irish became, as it were, alienated from their language.

Slowly but surely the dominant influence of the English people over Ireland, resulted in the discontinuance of Irish as a spoken tongue; English became the language of everyday life, was taught to Irish children in the so-called National Schools (corresponding to our Public Schools), was the medium of printed matter, and finally the Irish language became a curiosity in many parts of Ireland. The class which held to it most tenaciously was the agricultural population of the west of Ireland which had least come in contact with English-speaking people.

There were always in the dark days of the last three centuries, scholars who loved the old language and studied it reverently; and there was never

a time, even in the most cruel times of persecution, that there was not a certain amount of native literature in the Gaelic, produced and circulated among the people.

About 50 years ago some of the great Irish scholars of the period called attention to the necessity of some vigorous action being taken to preserve the language from extinction; and Thomas Davis (who more truly deserves to be called the national poet of Ireland than Thomas Moore) showed the necessity of the Irish keeping alive their language, if they wished to be regarded as a race separate and distinct from the people who are generally but erroneously called Anglo-Saxons.

However, little was done. It is true there were scholarly Irishmen who clung to the old tongue, and took pleasure in perusing the old manuscripts, but their interest was largely of the antiquarian or pedantic nature, and was content to find an outlet in clearing up some obscure passage, or searching for some rare form of idiomatic expression.

The popular indifference went on until 1877, when the first really important step was taken to place the Irish language in the position it should hold,—as the vernacular of the Irish race.

The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in Dublin in the year 1877. This society issued three little books for the teaching of the Irish language, viz.: the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Irish Books*, specimens of which I have the pleasure to present to your society. Of these text-books, up to 1897, 128,521 copies had been sold. This was exclusive of the copies which had been sold in America by publishers who issued reprints of the text-books here.

Associated with this society, and interested in the furtherance of its object, were the following named learned gentlemen, who were not Irishmen:

Professor Roehrig, Cornell University; John Rhys, M. A., Professor of Celtic Languages, University of Oxford; de Jubanville D'Arbois, Collège de France, Paris; Mons. Emile Ernault, Paris; Mir Aulad Ali, Professor of Oriental Languages; Professor Hugo Schuchardt, University of Gratz; Dr. Max Nettlau, Vienna; Professor H. Pederson, University of Copenhagen; Dr. Heinrich Zimmer, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Greifswald, Prussia.

Although these elementary books were comparatively simple, they did not give a very definite idea of the pronunciation of Irish words; for it must be confessed that Irish orthography is not nearly phonetic, and offers a wide field for the labors of the gentlemen who are interested in the Phonetic Section of your Association.

The difficulties a person had in learning to speak Irish from these books were:

(1) Irish orthography was largely unphonetic.

(2) The sounds of a number of the consonants, and of consonantal combinations, could not be acquired from these books, and had to be acquired from a Gaelic speaker.

(3) Gaelic speakers were rare, and when found were too shy or too ignorant to be of much service; few of them could read or write the Gaelic language,—many of them could not read or write English.

However, this society performed a noble work in interesting many students in the language, and in arresting the decay of the language.

In 1893 the Gaelic League of Ireland was formed. The gentlemen who formed this league believed that hitherto the efforts to interest the Irish people in what should be their native language, had been on too scholarly a basis, and that an effort should be made to meet the requirements of the case; that the acquisition of the language should be made as easy as human ingenuity could devise, and that an effort should be made to remove or explain away every difficulty.

The result was the eventual publication by the League of the *Simple Lessons in Irish*, in 4 parts, by the Rev. Eugene O'Growney.

I have sent specimens of the 4 parts of *Simple Lessons in Irish*, to your Secretary.

Eugene O'Growney was born in 1863. Neither of his parents spoke Irish, and there were no Irish speakers in the district in which he lived. Indeed, young O'Growney did not know there was an Irish language until his 16th year, when he went to college. As soon as the young student learned there was an native tongue he at once set about acquiring it.

In 1882 he entered Maynooth College, a training school for Roman Catholic priests. During his six years as a student, all his spare time was devoted to the study of his beloved language. Among the students at Maynooth there were a number who spoke the Irish language, from whom he acquired the pronunciation. Once fairly started on the way, O'Growney's enthusiasm compelled him to supplement his studies by vacations spent among Irish-speaking people, from whom he picked up idioms and colloquialisms with marvelous facility.

After his ordination as a priest in 1889, he became co-editor of the *Gaelic Journal*. He next applied himself to the adaptation into modern Irish of some of the old Irish masterpieces, which were sold at nominal prices.

In 1891 he was appointed sole editor of the *Gaelic Journal*, and later on, Professor of the newly instituted Chair of Gaelic at Maynooth College. Undaunted by the vast field of work before him, he entered on his new duties with the same ardor which marked his whole career. He published an Irish Grammar, an Irish text-book, and began a handbook of Irish Composition.

In 1893, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Dublin, he began the series of *Simple Lessons in Irish*, now the favorite text-books for beginners of Irish. They were first published in the *Dublin Weekly Freeman*, and in the *Gaelic Journal*, and later in book form.

Father O'Growney steadily refused all remuneration for his work.

> "Disdaining all earth can give,
> He would have taught men from wisdom's pages."

In 1894 his health broke down as a result of his arduous labors in the Irish Language Revival; he was compelled to come to America, and seek rest and relief in the mild climate of Arizona.

Although his life was overshadowed by the certainty of an early death, during all his illness his interest and enthusiasm in the Language Movement never flagged.

He died in Los Angeles, California, in October of this year, a martyr for the Irish Language.

He was Vice-President of the Gaelic League of Ireland from its organization. He was a member of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, of the Royal Irish Academy, and an associate member of other learned societies.

Although Dr. O'Growney had to study the language as a foreigner, he was regarded as the greatest living authority on the spoken language.

Dr. O'Growney's little books are wonderful examples of the wide use which can be made of phonetics in the teaching of foreign languages. The books clearly convey nearly every sound and combination of sounds in the Irish language. I feel justified in making this assertion because I have verified his teaching through several native Gaelic speakers. Words are introduced and grouped according to their sound-relation, each word so introduced is respelled phonetically, every paragraph is indexed by numbers, making reference easy, and the whole series is a carefully arranged system of graduated lessons.

Two years after the issuance of O'Growney's *Simple Lessons in Irish*, it was estimated that the number of real students of Gaelic had increased ten times what it was before.

Armed with the new text book, the Gaelic League was spurred to fresh efforts. Realizing that the preservation of the national language was necessary, of the highest utility, and practicable, they immediately began a vigorous effort to extend the organization, and to have the movement placed on a truly national basis.

They realized that one of the greatest possessions of Ireland is her literature, but even greater than this inheritance is the language which enshrines it. That language, despite the proscription of the Penal Laws, and the worse proscription of the erroneous system of teaching pursued during the past one hundred years, and despite its being ignored in every department of public life, still lives in Ireland, being spoken by nearly three-quarters of a million of the race, and it lives not as a *patois*, but as a vigorous, expressive, flexible speech, capable of being wrought into the highest literary form.

In the fact that the Irish Language so lives lies one of the best hopes for the future of the Irish race; for the decay of a language is the measure of the decay of a nation, and no country altogether losing its language can hope to preserve its historic individuality. On the other hand, history shows that the revival of the language of a people precedes any permanent

national re-awakening. This is shown clearly in the case of Greece, of Belgium, of Hungary, of Bohemia, and of Finland.

In Ireland, fortunately, unlike those countries, there is no question of the revival of the language, only of its rehabilitation, of its obtaining fair play side by side with English, especially in the Irish-speaking districts, where at present the system of education condemns thousands to practical illiteracy, who, taught in a rational manner, would be bi-linguists, with a fair chance of the material prosperity which bi-lingual races certainly succeed in obtaining.

With these preliminary remarks, I will explain briefly the methods and agencies by which the Gaelic League is carrying on the work of restoring to vigorous health, a language which scholars have long since classed as a dead language.

The Gaelic League, which has its central body in Dublin, recognizes that language is the essential factor that makes and distinguishes a nation; it is willing and anxious to apply the principle to Ireland. Hence the League wishes to spread the use of the Irish language as the ordinary spoken medium in Ireland. It has devoted itself to this task. The success of its labors stand out beyond all cavil, and the growth of the movement has been rapid and far-reaching beyond all expectation.

At the central body there are regularly five weekly classes, in Irish, of graduated difficulty; and there is a class for learning songs in Irish. Weekly public meetings are held conducted entirely in Irish. Interesting papers are read, and debates held. Irish songs, readings, recitations, and speeches are delivered. Occasional lectures in English are given for propagandist purposes, such as "The influence exercised by Ireland in the civilization of Europe," by Dr. Michael F. Cox, and, "The True National Idea," by the Rev. Dr. Hickey, Prof. of Irish in Maynooth College.

The League publishes a weekly, *An Claidheam Soluis* (the Sword of Light), a copy of which I have sent you. This paper which is bi-lingual, is solely devoted to the advancement of the language, by the publication of news and articles in Irish on all topics, and in English upon all subjects affecting the Irish language. The League publishes also, *The Gaelic Journal*, a monthly, which publishes interesting and scholarly articles in Irish. The League publishes books and pamphlets suitable for the general public which it wishes to influence, and sells the books at cost. They also act as a distributing agency for such Irish books as those by the Rev. E. Hogan, S. J.—*Phrase Book; Irish Idioms;* Lowe's *Principles of Irish Reading; Mion Chaint* (bits of talk), by Rev. Peter O'Leary; *History of Irish Literature*, by Dr. Douglas Hyde, &c. The League endeavors to get the Irish newspapers (which are printed in English), to give space to reports of events touching the promotion of the language; and latterly they have succeeded in persuading some of the Irish weekly papers to devote a part of their space to news and articles in the Irish language.

The League believed that one of the most important things to accomplish was to awaken a feeling of pride for the old tongue; for many of those who did speak Irish, did so, as it were, stealthily, as tho' the language were a thing to be ashamed of.

In 1898 the League employed an organizer to go about the country to stir up strong public opinion in favor of the language. He travelled in the Irish-speaking districts, started new branches, and taught young and old Gaelic talkers to read Irish. The inaugural meetings of many of the new branches were conducted entirely in Irish.

This organizer, Mr. Concannon, is a fluent orator, and a man well educated in English, Irish, and Spanish. He was for a while engaged in business in Mexico and the United States, and he has carried into the language extension some of the energy of American business methods.

In 1897, the League revived the Irish literary festival—the Oireachtas—which had been in abeyance for 850 years. This festival is of the same nature as the Eisteddfod of Wales, which has been of immense value in keeping the Welsh language alive.

The national Oireachtas is held annually in Dublin, and prizes are offered for competitions in Irish reading, recitations, poetry, folk-lore, etc.

The League holds another annual national reunion, a "Feis Ceoil," or Festival of Music, at which all the songs are in the Irish language, and thus endeavor, by music, to familiarize and popularize the language.

Local meetings are held in various Irish-speaking districts, which are conducted upon the plan of the national Oireachtas.

These branches have classes studying the tongue, and the branches do their utmost to influence opinion in its favor.

At present the system of primary education in Ireland is exclusively English. The League, realizing that this is the real root of the matter, is making an energetic effort to introduce bi-lingual education.

(This is somewhat in line with the action of the Germans in some American cities inducing the public school authorities to teach German along with English, from the beginning of the child's school career.)

Meanwhile, as the Government has not adopted the teaching of Irish in the National Schools, the League offers small sums to National School teachers who will teach Irish to their pupils outside of their regular school courses, and some progress is made in this way.

The League, wishing to be considered a truly national movement, wisely decided to be strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian. It includes among its members persons of all creeds and politics. One of its best supporters in the north of Ireland was the late Dr. Kane, who was the leader of the Orange party there. The League keeps politics out of its affairs, but it does not keep aloof from politics altogether. Thus, the new Irish political movement, called the "United Irish League," has, as one of the planks in its platform, a pledge to do its utmost to restore the old language to its rightful place, and the Gaelic League compels this new party to have

speeches in Irish delivered in Irish-speaking places. The League has succeeded in getting a number of the new County Councils to put Irish mottoes on their seals.

Cardinal Logue and many of the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church are earnest supporters of the League, and do all they can to help it. In some country districts branches of the League are formed after Mass on Sundays, and frequently the parish priest is the instructor in the language class.

The use of Irish in the churches has increased considerably, and frequently the Rosary, An Paidir (Our Father), Failte an Aingil (Salutation of the Angel), agus an Beannact (and the Blessing), are said in Irish instead of English; sermons in Irish are also much more frequent.

Gaelic League workers, at various times, take advantage of "patterns" (feast days of patron saints), which are held on week days, to hold open-air public meetings, with speeehes and songs in Irish.

In daily life Irish speakers are losing the false shame that for a time prevented them from using their native language publicly, and are now anxious to preserve and extend it.

This change of feeling is noticeable in some small things, unimportant, perhaps, in themselves, but which distinctly indicate the trend of public opinion. In several towns the names of streets have been posted up in Irish, railroads have put up the names of the stations in Irish, carts and vans and shop fronts bear their owners' names in Irish. Irish letters and post-cards are conveyed daily through the mail, Irish mottoes are printed on public notices of sports and other amusements, and songs in Irish are sung at concerts and bazars.

Many of the monuments raised during 1898 to the memory of the patriots of 1798 were inscribed either wholly in Irish or with English merely added as a translation.

The work of the League has been a truly patriotic one, and one which called for much self-denial upon the part of the active supporters.

The money required to conduct the work is furnished by branches, by members, subscriptions, and by donations from sympathizers. Mr. Patrick Mullen, of Ireland, bequeathed $10,000 for the promotion and preservation of the Irish language.

The Gaelic race throughout the world has been appealed to, to support the work of preserving the language of Ireland. Irish-Americans have subscribed a very good sum for the purpose of paying the expenses of the travelling organizer.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians (of America), an organization of very poor men, subscribed $50,000 to endow the Chair of Gaelic in the Catholic University of America. The Chair was further endowed by $10,000 bequeathed in the spring of 1899 by Miss Mary Moran of Baltimore, who left the money "to help perpetuate the language of her mother," who had been a Gaelic speaker.

There are numerous branches of the League in the United States; there is a branch in Paris; a flourishing one in Buenos Ayres,—and in other countries wherever Irishmen are found.

The Gaelic League of America (composed of the branches in the United States), has been established to further the cause of the preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland, and by spreading a knowledge of Irish language and history, to give Irishmen in America a just appreciation of their own race traditions, and to stimulate a proper pride of race.

Truth compels me to say that I do not wish to convey the impression that this language movement is carrying everything before it in Ireland. Many who should be the friends of the movement scoff at it and deride it; many cannot recognize the high patriotic character of the movement, and regard the entire matter from a utilitarian standpoint, deriding it because there is no material benefit to be attained by studying the language. One of the notable enemies of the movement is Prof. Mahaffy, of Trinity College, Dublin, who has opposed its introduction into the National school curriculum, and has written an article against the language, entitled: "The Fuss about the Irish Language."

I trust your Association will feel sufficient interest in the matter to appoint a Committee to make some inquiry into the Irish language. A study of the language would probably furnish some interesting information about other languages. As your Association is well aware the Irish were at one time called the schoolmasters of Europe; Ireland was the training place of scholars, the University country of Europe, and Irish monks carried intellectual culture to various countries on the continent. Unquestionably they must have left their impress on the languages of those countries.

The Gaelic societies of Greater New York, or of Boston, will gladly welcome any visitor with a "Ceud mile failte roath!" (100,000 welcomes before you!), supply any information desired, and give a cheery "Beannacht leat!" (a blessing with you!) at parting. Rev. Dr. Richard Henebry, of the Catholic University of America, is the President of the Gaelic League of America.

In asking your active interest in this matter, I wish to say that some of the greatest scholars of Europe, devoted to the scientific study of languages are also in favor of this movement, notably Dr. Zimmer, of the University of Greifswald. Indeed I might say that it was the interest displayed by the great German scholars which stirred the Irish from their apathetic attitude towards the language.

Famous French and German scholars find in our despised tongue priceless intimations as to the early history of languages and races.

The greatest magazine of Gaelic studies is written in French, and there are others carried on in German and Italian.

These foreigners go yearly to Ireland to learn the soft rich pronunciation of the old tongue from Irish peasants, and then they go to Dublin to burrow among the great old manuscripts for which the Irish seem to care so little.

The Irish Gaelic is now regularly taught at Oxford, Edinburgh, and Paris; and among the thoughtful students of the German Fatherland at Leipsic and Goettingen.

One of the best approaches to an Irish dictionary is a translation from the German. The discovery of the most ancient form of the Irish language was by another German.

It is worthy of note that when Rev. Dr. Henebry was fitting himself for the chair of Gaelic of the Catholic University, he repaired to Germany for the higher study of Gaelic, and placed himself under the direction of Dr. Heinrich Zimmer. Dr. Zimmer is the author of *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture*, a book which furnishes conclusive evidence, by an impartial witness, of the high civilization and culture of the early Irish—a civilization and culture which they imparted to the continental races.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES P. MONAGHAN,
Secretary, Irish Historical Society of Maryland.

1847 *W. Lexington Street, Baltimore, Md.*

The Association then passed the following resolution of thanks:

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America, at the close of its Seventeenth Annual Meeting, held at Columbia University, hereby expresses and records its thanks for hospitable entertainment to President and Mrs. Seth Low, to the Officers and the Faculty of Columbia University, to the Century Club and to the University Club of the City of New York, and to the gentlemen who have served as a "Local Committee."

The Association adjourned at 5 o'clock.

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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, Prof. Ernest J., University of Texas, Austin, Texas.
Vogel, Prof. Frank, Mass. Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [120 Pembroke St.]
Vos, Prof. Bert John, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Voss, Prof. Ernst, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. [1039 University Ave.]

Wager, Prof. C. H. A., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
Wahl, Prof. G. M., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Warren, Prof. F. M., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.
Wauchope, Prof. Geo. A., College of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.
Weaver, Prof. G. E. H., 203 DeKalb Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
Weber, Prof. W. L., Emory College, Oxford, Georgia.
Weeks, Mr. L. T., Southwestern Kansas College, Winfield, Kansas.
Weeks, Prof. Raymond, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
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, Prof. Henry S., Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md.
West, Prof. Henry T., Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.
Weygandt, Mr. Cornelius, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wharey, Prof. J. B., Southwestern Presbyterian Univ., Clarksville, Tenn.
Whitaker, Prof. L., Northeast Manual Training School, Howard St., below Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

White, Prof. H. S., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
White, Miss Jane Hutchins, High School, Evanston, Ill. [1414 Hinman Ave.]
Whiteford, Dr. Robert N., High School, Peoria, Ill.
Whitelock, Mr. George, Room 708, Fidelity Building, Baltimore, Md.
Whitney, Miss Marian P., Hillhouse High School (227 Church St.), New Haven, Conn.
von Wien, Mr. Daniel, 418 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Wiener, Mr. Leo, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [15 Hilliard St.]
Wightman, Prof. J. R., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.
Wilkens, Dr. Fr. H., 142 East 18th Street, New York, N. Y.
Wilkin, Prof. (Mrs.) M. J. C., University of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.
Willner, Rev. W., Meridian, Miss.
Wilson, Prof. Charles Bundy, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.
Wilson, Prof. R. H., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
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, Mount Vernon, Iowa.
Wood, Prof. Henry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Woods, Dr. Charles F., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Woodward, Dr. B. D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Wright, Prof. Arthur S., Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio.
Wright, Prof. Charles B., Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
Wright, Mr. C. H. C., 7 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass.
Wylie, Dr. Laura J., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Young, Miss Mary V., Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [78 Round Hill.]

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Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Library.
Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Library.
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Providence, R. I.: Providence Public Library. [32 Snow St.]
Rochester, N. Y.: Library of the University of Rochester. [Prince St.]
Rock Hill, S. C.: Winthrop Normal and Industrial College Library.
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.
F. J. Furnivall, London.
Gustav Gröber, University of Strassburg.
B. P. Hasdeu, University of Bucharest.
Richard Heinzel, University of Vienna.
Fr. Kluge, University of Freiburg.
Paul Meyer, Collège de France.
W. Meyer-Lübke, University of Vienna.
Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid.
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.]
D. L. Bartlett, Baltimore, Md. [1899.]
W. M. Baskervill, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899.]
Daniel G. Brinton, Media, Pa. [1899.]
Henry Cohn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900.]
William Cook, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888.]
Susan R. Cutler, Chicago, Ill. [1899.]
A. N. van Daell, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899.]
Edward Graham Daves, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
W. Deutsch, St. Louis, Mo. [1898.]
Francis R. Fava, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
L. Habel, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
George A. Hench, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899.]
Rudolph Hildebrand, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
J. Kargé, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892.]
F. L. Kendall, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893.]
Eugene Kölbing, Breslau, Germany. [1899.]
J. Lévy, Lexington, Mass.
Jules Loiseau, New York, N. Y.
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge, Mass. [1891.]
J. Luquiens, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899.]
Thomas McCabe, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891.]
J. G. R. McElroy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1891.]
Edward T. McLaughlin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893.]
Samuel P. Molenaer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1900.]
C. K. Nelson, Brookville, Md.
W. M. Nevin, Lancaster, Pa.
Conrad H. Nordby, College of the City of New York. [1900.]
C. P. Otis, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
W. H. Perkinson, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
Réne de Poyen-Bellisle, University of Chicago, Chicago. [1900.]
Charles H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala. [1900.]

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. [1894.]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
MISS HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898.]
R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900.]
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 FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, DECEMBER 27, 28 AND 29, 1899.

THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The fifth annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, December 27, 28, and 29, 1899.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 27.

On Wednesday evening, December 27, the first session was called to order in the University Hall of Vanderbilt University by the President of the Central Division, Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Louisiana. An address of welcome was delivered by Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University. The President, in his response, spoke of the bereavement which the Association had sustained in the death of Professor W. M. Baskervill, of Vanderbilt University. He then gave the annual address, on the subject of "Interpretative Syntax." [Printed in *Publications,* xv, 97 f.]

At the conclusion of the literary programme of the evening an informal reception was held in the University library.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 28.

The meeting was convened at 9.30 a. m., in the Dialectic Society Hall, with President C. Alphonso Smith in the chair. In the absence of the Secretary, who had left for New York,

that morning, to confer with the officers of the Modern Language Association of America previous to his sailing for Europe, Professor F. A. Blackburn, of the University of Chicago, was elected Secretary pro tem. Dr. C. W. Eastman, of the University of Iowa, was requested by vote of the meeting to prepare a report of the proceedings for publication in the *Modern Language Notes*.

The report of the Secretary, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago, was then read.

The Secretary begs to submit the printed Proceedings of the previous Annual Meeting, published in Vol. xiv of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, pp. xlix–lxxi.

During the past year the following members have been elected:

Professor C. C. Ayer, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Professor Edgar E. Brandon, Oxford, Ohio.
Professor P. A. Claassen, Southwest Kansas College, Winfield, Kansas.
Mr. Lindsay T. Damon, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Clarence W. Eastman, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
Professor A. H. Edgren, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Professor George C. Howland, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Elizabeth Kearville, Cedar Valley Seminary, Osage, Ia.
Professor Eugenie Galloo, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

A matter of extreme importance was not disposed of at the fourth Annual Meeting: the participation of the Central Division in the proposed Philological Congress (cf. the Secretary's Report). The Modern Language Association, in reply to the invitation for a joint meeting to be held at Indianapolis, called attention to this proposed meeting of all language associations, expressing the hope that the Central Division would choose this opportunity for a joint meeting of the Modern Language Association. In view of this proposition the Secretary has considered it his duty to continue the negotiations with the Philological Association—which in the meantime had renewed its invitation—and in accordance with the arrangements made by the other societies, has cast his vote for a place of meeting to be held during the Christmas holidays in the year 1900. As there was no reason for deciding at once in favor of a place, the acting Secretary of the Philological Association proposed that the preliminary result of the ballot be laid before the members of the Associations.

The Central Division is therefore requested to act with regard to the following points: (1) a consideration of the invitation extended by the Philological Association and the Modern Language Association; (2) the

recommendation of a place of meeting; (3) the appointment of one representative with power to arrange all the details, as well as finally to determine the place of the meeting in coöperation with those appointed for that purpose by the other societies.

It has been urged repeatedly by many members that the time of our meetings be changed to a convenient date in the summer. Perhaps it will be well to discuss the desirability of such a change at this meeting in order to get an expression from those who may be prevented from attending the next convention, when the question might be submitted for a final vote.

The following report of the Treasurer for the year 1899 was read, and on motion was referred to the Auditing Committee.

Report of the Treasurer of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America:

RECEIPTS.

Twelve membership fees,	$36 00
From the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	38 82
Total receipts for the year,	$74 82

EXPENDITURES.

Printing of Programmes,	$19 00
Stationery,	5 12
Telegrams,	1 30
Express,	40
Clerical help,	3 00
Stamps,	10 00
Paid to the Treasurer of the M. L. A.,	
January 7th,	3 00
December 17th,	33 00
Total expenditures for the year,	$74 82

Respectfully submitted,

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,

Treasurer.

The President gave notice that he would appoint the committees later. There being no other business, the reading and discussion of papers was begun.

1. "Are there two king Arthurs in the *Idylls of the King*?" By Professor Richard Jones, of Vanderbilt University.

The facts cited above respecting the origin and the composition of the *Idylls of the King* justify, perhaps, the following reflections:

(1). The poet did at the age of twenty-four have it in mind to write a poem on the Arthurian theme, but he had not at this time any definite plan for the course of the action in his purposed poem. The variety in the published sketches dating from this period preclude the possibility of such a supposition. Indeed, considering the sketch given above, in which Arthur is made to represent the relations of religious faith to various religions and in which the course of the action is to be determined by a conflict between religion and science, it may be questioned whether the young poet had at the age of twenty-four altogether caught the spirit of the Arthurian legend or its meaning.

(2). It is not clear that when the poet wrote the first four Idylls, he had any plan for joining these with the *Morte d'Arthur* written some twenty-two years earlier. I do not forget the note appended to *The Passing of Arthur* in 1869, viz.: "This last, the earliest written of the poems, is here connected with the rest in accordance with an early project of the author's." I simply recall the 'two objections' he made in February 1862 to the suggestion of the Duke of Argyll that the *Morte d'Arthur* should be joined with the Idylls already published.

(3). The Arthur of the 1859 Idylls was not intended to be taken allegorically.

(4). The Arthur of the 1869 Idylls was intended to be so taken, though not to the extent to which the allegorical interpretations were soon carried. The history of the interpretation of Goethe's *Faust* as well as of the *Idylls of the King* compel the reflection that, given an allegory to interpret and a literary critic with a gift for interpretation, there will soon be found hidden 'inner meanings', the subtlety and profundity of which are a revelation and a marvel to the author himself. And so, as Hallam has written, in later years Tennyson often said, "they have taken my hobby, and ridden it too hard, and have explained some things too allegorically, although there is an allegorical or perhaps rather a parabolic drift in the poem."

(5). Arthur, the brave, generous, human-hearted man of the Idylls published in 1859 should still be thought of as a man when one is reading those early Idylls—notwithstanding some changes made after 1869 in these first Idylls, changes made with the purpose of minimizing the human attributes of him who is now, in 1869, become a type of the conscience, of the higher soul of man. But the poet attempted in later life to minimize the importance of the allegory—as does Hallam also in the *Memoir* by emphasizing the humanity of "the pure, generous, tender, brave, human-hearted Arthur."

(6). The introduction of allegory into the *Idylls* was an afterthought, and possibly, a mistake. It is indeed true, as the poet has said, that "there is no single fact or incident in the *Idylls*, however seemingly mystical, which cannot be explained as without any mystery or allegory whatever." And it may well be that to some readers no explanation is needed, that it does not occur to them that any allegory was intended. But the important consideration to us is not whether some may or may not be able to read the poem throughout (the new Idylls as well as the old) without a thought of allegory anywhere. The important fact to us, engaged in a study of poetic workmanship, is that the poet himself had in mind an allegory when writing the later Idylls and did not have in mind an allegory when writing the first; that in the first he was portraying his ideal knight as God's highest creature *here*, as a pure, generous, tender, brave, human-hearted *man*, and that in the second it was in his mind's eye to give as he himself said, "not the history of one man or of one generation but of a whole cycle of generations." The king of the completed poem is thus a composite of two conceptions. The change in the point of view must inevitably have blurred the outlines of the picture. It is impossible that the portrait of our king should now stand out from the canvass so clearly and vividly, so graphic and plastic, as it would have done, had it been painted under the stimulus of a single, uninterrupted creative impulse. And by investigating the origin of the poem and the poet's method of procedure we are able to point out the place where and the time when the poet's point of view was shifted.

2. "The Elizabethan Sonnet." By Professor C. F. McClumpha, of the University of Minnesota.

In answer to a question by Professor J. T. Hatfield, the writer stated that the sonnet sequence was not usually a conscious one.

3. "Qualities of style as a test of authorship; a criticism of Wolff's *Zwei Jugendspiele von Heinrich von Kleist.*" By Professor J. S. Nollen, of Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

The paper opened with a criticism of Wolff's argument from style in his attempt to fix upon Kleist the authorship of two anonymous comedies. Wolff makes a fundamental error in constantly assuming as "spezifisch Kleistisch" or "ganz eigentümlich Kleistisch" what is not at all individually characteristic of Kleist. Taking Kotzebue as an average representative of the style of the period, it was proved by a series of parallels that the very qualities of style which Wolff counts to be peculiar to Kleist are found in Kotzebue even more abundantly, and that in essential qualities the style of the anonymous comedies approximates much more nearly to Kotzebue's than to Kleist's. The same fact appears from a com-

parison with Bretzner. It follows that the coincidences Wolff establishes between Kleist's style and that of the two comedies represent simply qualities common to the average drama of the period, and that these coincidences offer not the least presumption in favor of Kleistian authorship. On the other hand, many essential Kleistian qualities of style are not found in the two comedies.

From Wolff's error, which is a typical error in studies of style, the writer proceeded to deduce some general remarks on style as a test of authorship. The study of style, if it is to be scientific, must be exhaustive, and must take account of all the facts. Neither a comparison of selected qualities, nor a comparison between two authors or an anonymous work and one author, has any value as evidence. A critic who is trying to discover the authorship of an anonymous work must know thoroughly the common qualities of style of the period or literary group of which the work evidently is a product. The author who is suspected of responsibility for the work in question must be seen against the background of his period and his school, possibly also of a temporary model, and it will require the most delicate discrimination to distinguish the personal shading he gives to the color of the *Zeitgeist* that shines through him; it is just this *nuance* that has value as a test. The critic must also appreciate the relative value of the tests applied. Thus the mere classification of figures of speech under subject-matter (Wolff's test) is almost worthless. More essential are such questions as these: Whether the figures, of whatever content, are original, or commonplace; imaginative and essential, or intellectual, mechanical, external; whether they have emotional significance and are used dramatically, or not. So in the study of vocabulary, little is accomplished by noting (as Wolff does) the quantitative value of the foreign element. It is far more important to note the various sources of the foreign element, its unconscious, conscious, or dramatic use, the agreement or disagreement in selection. Finally, the critic must be more than a scientific investigator. There are emotional and aesthetic values that elude even the most delicate intellectual tests, and that can be determined only by the reaction of sympathetic appreciation, by what Goethe calls "Anempfindung." These remarks, of course, apply not only to the solution of problems of authorship, but to the far more important study of individuality of style in general.

This paper was discussed by Professors A. R. Hohlfeld and F. A. Blackburn.

4. "The *Geste de Guillaume* at the end of the eleventh century." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri.

This paper, which will form one section of a series of articles shortly to appear in the *Romania*, began with an enumeration of the datable passages

mentioning poems belonging to the *Geste de Guillaume*, such as the poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, and the *Liber de miraculis Sancti Jacobi*. An attempt was made to show that the *geste* had reached a considerable development by the middle of the eleventh century, a development, in fact, much more complete than has generally been supposed. In the opinion of the reader, the *geste* possessed at the close of the eleventh century a more harmoniously rounded *ensemble* than at any subsequent period. It may perhaps be said that the *geste* bent and broke under its own weight. In the ruin of its fall, many poems, some of them doubtless of no small merit, were lost. In general, however, the finest passages of the lost epics were preserved in one form or another. This point was insisted on as of importance, and as likely to decrease our regret over the loss of so many poems.

The author instead of reading his paper in full, gave an oral synopsis of its leading points.

On the announcement of the next paper, a motion was made and carried that for the purpose of giving more time for discussion, papers contributed by members not present should not be read *in extenso*, but that only an outline of them should be given.

5. "The Germanic suffix *-ar-ja*." By Professor Julius Goebel, of Leland Stanford Jr. University. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 321 f.]

This paper was presented, in the author's absence, by Dr. H. B. Almstedt, of the University of Chicago.

The Association then adjourned for luncheon which was served in the Library.

THIRD SESSION, DECEMBER 28.

The Association reassembled at 2.30 p. m.

The President appointed the following committees:

To audit the Treasurer's account: Professors H. A. Vance and C. C. Ferrell.

To nominate officers for the coming year: Professors Charles Bundy Wilson, C. W. Pearson, J. S. Nollen, A. R. Hohlfeld, and W. L. Weber.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

6. "Notes on the Alfredian version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.*" By Professor Frederick Klaeber, of the University of Minnesota.

For nearly one hundred and seventy years the Old English *Bede* had been suffered to remain buried in Smith's unwieldly folio edition of 1722. Even now, when by the new editions of Miller and Schipper the material for research has been placed at the service of students with gratifying completeness, this uncommonly interesting prose text is still far from being adequately investigated. How much uncertainty yet prevails regarding the mere textual interpretation, is evidenced by nearly all text books which contain specimens from the *Bede.* We need above all a more thorough examination of lingnistic details.

It is no longer necessary to prove the existence of Anglian features in the text. But the nature and the extent of the dialectal element should be ascertained more precisely. A careful comparison of the MSS. confirms in general Dr. Miller's conclusions as to the Anglian original. Especially instructive are those cases in which the discrepancies between the different MSS., notably obvious scribal blunders, enable us to settle the archetypal reading beyond the possibility of doubt. Numerous Anglian forms and Anglian words are thus established as unquestionably original.

The lexical study sheds further light on the peculiar position of the *Bede* and on the stratification of the Old English vocabulary in general. Of words demanding our primary attention the following main groups are to be noted: (1) ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, some of them of a suspiciously problematical character. (2) Distinctly Anglian vocables, inclusive of such as are found only in poetical texts. The list produced by Miller and added to, incidentally, by some other scholars is to be greatly enlarged. (3) Non-West Saxon words—to use a general name—among which many terms occurring in "mixed" texts are to be classed. (4) Words employed with unusual meanings.—We may add, (5) Nouns having different genders or declensions in the different MSS., e. g., *ēðel*, *bend*, *gif*(*u*). Also (6) Remarkable phrases, in particular some suggestive of Old English poetry.

On the other hand, our text abounds with "unnatural words" (Sweet), mostly derivatives and compounds modeled closely after Latin patterns. A number of them can scarcely be said to form a genuine part of the Old English vocabulary. Still, we must beware of condemning these coinages indiscriminately as illegitimate. The necessity of finding equivalents for certain Latin terms heavily taxed the inventiveness of the Anglo-Saxon scholar. At the same time, the vehicle of Old English prose was still in its formative stage, and the genius of the language imposed hardly any limits on the inherited principle of forming compounds. We admit, however, that the inordinate use, e. g., of the derivative suffix *-nis*, marks, in fact, a

weakness; and furthermore, the forcing of a specific Latin (or Greek) meaning on a formation reproducing the foreign word with accuracy just so far as its etymology is concerned, e. g., *untodǣled* (= *individuus*), *rihtwuldriende* (= *orthodoxus*).

In connection with the analysis of the language, and with reference to Dr. Pearce's paper on the subject (see *Public. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. viii, *Proceedings for 1892*, pp. vi ff.), the question of the authorship is briefly touched. Though all of Dr. Pearce's arguments cannot be endorsed, the theory of joint authorship appears indeed the only one that explains the undeniable inequalities of workmanship, of style, of spirit. But in order to reconcile the latter with the very noteworthy fact of surprising agreement, as to minor matters, in portions widely separated and of a widely different character, we have to assume that there was a guiding spirit, perhaps a correcting hand and a model which was emulated with varying degrees of success. Whether the royal author himself had any immediate share in the task of translating or not, we may properly continue to call the *Bede* an Alfredian work. It was through the great King's active initiative and helpful inspiration that the great and beautiful work of the Father of English learning was placed within the reach of his English people.

The need of closer textual study is illustrated by an emendation in the Caedmon Story (IV, 24).

This paper was read in synopsis by Professor C. F. McClumpha.

7. "The grammatical gender of English loanwords in German." By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the University of Iowa. [To appear in *Americana Germanica*, Vol. III.]

This paper was discussed by Professors C. W. Pearson, J. T. Hatfield, A. R. Hohlfeld, Raymond Weeks, and Drs. W. W. Florer and E. E. Severy.

8. "The dramatic function of the confidante in the tragedies of Corneille and Racine." By Dr. Herman S. Piatt, of the University of Illinois.

Remarks were offered by Professors C. F. McClumpha, T. A. Jenkins, Raymond Weeks, C. C. Ferrell, J. S. Nollen, F. A. Blackburn, E. E. Brandon, Dr. W. H. Kirk, and the author.

Professor T. A. Jenkins read the report of a committee of the Modern Language Association on the subject of international correspondence, which at the desire of the committee was brought to the attention of the members of the Central Division.

In the evening a reception was tendered to the members and others in attendance by the Faculty of Vanderbilt University in the parlors of Wesley Hall.

FOURTH SESSION, DECEMBER 29.

The Association met at 9.45 a. m. In the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents, Professor J. S. Nollen took the chair. The reports of committees, according to the regular order was postponed, and the reading of papers resumed.

9. "The direct influence of the American Revolution upon German poetry." By Professor J. T. Hatfield, and Miss Elfrieda Hochbaum, of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

At the time of the American Revolution a spirit was abroad in Germany which manifested itself in literature by attacks upon tyrants and by a general enthusiasm for freedom. Thus a way was prepared for American ideals, which were eagerly greeted and loudly praised by the poets of the time. For some time America, as a country, had been well known to the Germans. The American movement was looked up to as the highest expression of the general desire for liberty, and as largely the cause of this desire, as testified to by Goethe.

It is evident from the journals of the time that the entire progress of the war was watched with sympathetic and intelligent attention, both for its own sake and still more because of its probable effect in regenerating European politics.

The sale of German mercenaries to England was felt to be a degradation, and was frequently assailed in poetry.

The American Revolution found its warmest sympathizers among the poets of Germany. Especially enthusiastic were the members of the Göttingen group. F. L. Stolberg, in his fragmentary poem *Die Zukunft*, gave fullest expression of his sympathy for the American cause. Klopstock, Schubart, Klinger, Voss, and many other poets praise the cause of American

liberty, and mention it with enthusiasm. Not only the cause but its leaders, such as Franklin and Washington, received high tributes. American ideals and institutions were contrasted with those prevalent in France, to the great advantage of the former.

10. "The Italian Sonnet in English." By Dr. E. E. Severy, of the Bowen Academic School, Nashville, Tenn.

Remarks upon this paper were offered by Professor C. F. McClumpha.

11. "Some points of similarity between Hauff's *Lichtenstein* and Scott's *Ivanhoe*." By Dr. Clarence W. Eastman, of the University of Iowa. [To be published in *Americana Germanica.*]

The paper was discussed by Professors J. T. Hatfield and F. A. Blackburn.

12. "The English Gerund." By Professor W. L. Weber, of Emory College, Oxford, Ga.

The student of Modern English syntax meets with not fewer than three distinct functions performed by the verbal forms in *-ing*. These uses are known as the participle, the verbal noun, and (as in the sentence, 'In rolling stones he lost his balance') what is variously known as infinitive, infinitive in *-ing*, verbal noun, and gerund.

The name gerund to describe one of the parts of the English verb has been used by grammarians from Aelfric to Sweet. In this paper the word gerund is used specifically to mean the verbal derivative in *-ing* having functions both of noun and of verb in that it may be qualified by an adverb and have an object in the case which a verb would require. The fact that the distinctive characteristic of the gerund is, as Schöll tells us in Wöllflin's *Archiv*, II, 203, its active nature (gerundium being nothing else than a synonym for aktivum) should make us hesitate to apply the name to such constructions as *bread to eat, hard to bear*, etc. To the gerundial infinitive or, as Sweet prefers to say, to the supine, are given over gerundial constructions of forms not in *-ing*.

As the gerund appears before the day of Wiclif and of Chaucer only in translator's English, examination of the English that came from the translator's pen may serve to solve the problem of gerund-origin.

In the Vulgate, the translator found the last clause of Ps. 119, 9, in custodiendo sermones tuos; the *Vespasian Psalter* has it *in haldinge word ðin*. The *Canterbury Psalter* makes use of the infinitive to gloss the Latin gerund: *on to gehaeldenne word þine.* The first translation—the Earliest

English Prose Psalter: *in keping þy wordes;* Rolle of Hampale: *in kepand þi wordis;* Wiclif: *in keping thi wordis.* It may be of interest to cite passages from translations in a sister tongue: *Trebnitzer Psalmen: in hutunge di rede din; Trevirian Psalter: in behudinde gechose dine; Windberg Psalter: ane behuotenne rede dine.* There are five other passages in the Ps. where the Vulgate gives preposition + gerund + object: Ps. 9, 3; 55, 20; 102, 22; 126, 1; 142, 3. In these the Latin gerund is reproduced in 17 cases by a nounal form; 10 cases by a participle; 2 cases by an infinitive. The Gospels have little to teach: only one Latin gerund in the ablative has an object; this construction is paraphrased. The one abl. Latin gerund with object in Aelfric's *Colloquies* is reproduced by the participle. In the only passage of the *Orosius* containing a gerund, where attempt seems to have been made at a literal translation, *euertendo* is reproduced by *on wendende*; Aelfric's *Mary of Egypt* has *faestenes þe eallum cristenum mannum geset is to maersigenne and hi selfe to claensunga.* The Latin of Paulus Diaconus is inaccessible to me.

In Aelfric's *Grammar* the gerundial infinitive is used for all constructions of the Latin gerund except the abl. case which is reproduced by the present pt. The same is true of Aelfred's *Pastoral Care.*

The remarkably accurate interlinear version of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum* affords the following paradigm:

amandum	*lufigenne*
amandi	*lufigenne*
amando	*lufigende*—

often with a prep.; e. g., *dormiendo* = *in slaepende.*

(1) The gerundial construction has never entered into colloquial speech, but to the linguistic consciousness of most of us has a formal cast. (2) The gerund was not firmly established in English before the middle of the fourteenth century. (3) In comparatively few cases, even in A.-S., was the noun form used as gerund. The nounal element abides in the fact of government by a prep. and in admitting the definite article. (4) In many instances the pres. pt. is used as gerund. The verbal element abides in the government of nouns and the qualification by adverbs. (5) Even to the time of Wiclif *-ing* and *-end* forms were interchangeable for gerundial uses. This interchange is observable in E. E. P. Ps. where E. E. T. S. text gives in two cases *-and* gerund forms, while the Dublin MS. variant is in *-ing.*

Remarks on the topic of this paper were offered by Professors C. Alphonso Smith, F. A. Blackburn, C. F. McClumpha, and W. H. Kirk.

13. "The dialectical provenience of Scandinavian loanwords in English, with special reference to Lowland Scotch." By Dr. George T. Flom, of Vanderbilt University.

It is a known fact that Norsemen and Danes both participated in the extensive Scandinavian settlements that took place in England in the 9th and 10th centuries. The exact share that belongs to each still remains an open question, nor has anything like satisfactory results been arrived at with regard to where the one race was predominant and where the other. When this Dano-Norse population merged into the native English it brought with it a host of Norse and Danish words that have in a large measure persisted down to the present time. By a study of the form and meaning of these words we can determine the dialectal provenience of a large number of them, and by a further study of their distribution much can be done toward localizing the two races in England. In Old English there are about 180 Scandinavian words that seem to have come in during Dano-Norse occupancy. The character of these is mixed. In Middle English Scandinavian elements are very prominent, especially in Midland and Northern works. Brate found that the *Ormulum* contains about 190 such loanwords, the general character of which is Danish. This would testify to predominantly Danish settlements in East Midland. Scandinavian elements in other Middle English works are at present being studied by Eric Björkman, and his results will be an important contribution to the study of the linguistic relations of English and Scandinavian. In Standard English there are about 725 Scandinavian loanwords, the character of which is mixed. In an article entitled "Scandinavian Elements in English Dialects," *Anglia*, xx, Arnold Wall discusses very fully the form and distribution of the loan-words, he does not, however, enter into the question of Norse or Danish provenience. In this list of 500 loanwords however, those that are specifically Northwestern English bear a Norse stamp, while those that belong particularly to the Eastern and the Central counties are as a rule Danish. A study of the 1400 Scandinavian place-names in England reveals the fact that the typically Norse names are found most abundantly in Northwestern England, while such distinctively Danish names as "Thorpe," and "Toft," are confined to the East and Central counties. The general conclusion is that the Danes settled predominantly in the Eastern and the Central counties while the Norsemen settled in the West and the North. The heart of the Norse settlement was in Cumberland and Westmoreland. The heart of the Danish settlement was in Lincolnshire. The Yorkshire settlement was mixed. North of the Tweed and the Cheviot Hills Scandinavian loan-elements are almost exclusively Norse.

14. "The beginning of Thackeray's *Pendennis.*" By Miss Katharine Merrill, of Austin, Ill. [Printed in *Publications*, xv, 233 f.]

This paper was read in outline by Professor F. A. Blackburn.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account reported that they found the same correct in all particulars.

The Committee to nominate officers for the coming year offered the following report:

Report of the Committee appointed to nominate officers of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America.

For President, Charles Bundy Wilson, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

For Secretary and Treasurer, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

For First Vice-President, T. Atkinson Jenkins, Vanderbilt University, Tenn.

For Second Vice-President, F. A. Blackburn, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

For Third Vice-President, C. F. McClumpha, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

FOR MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
C. C. Ferrell, University of Mississippi.
Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal.
Martin W. Sampson, University of Indiana, Bloomington.

On behalf of the Nominating Committee,

C. W. PEARSON, *Secretary.*

Professor Wilson being a member of the Nominating Committee, urgently protested against his name being presented for the Presidency of the Central Division, but the remainder of the Committee, after having consulted with a large number of the prominent members of the Association were unanimous in the presentation of the above report.

On motion the report of the Committee on nomination was adopted, and the persons named were declared elected officers of the Central Division for the coming year.

The Secretary read two letters from Professor Harold N. Fowler, Acting Secretary of the Philological Association, inviting the Central Division to join in a meeting in the year 1900. Action on this proposal was postponed.

Professor C. C. Ferrell offered the following resolution in regard to the death of Professor Baskervill, prefacing it with a warm tribute to his character and abilities:

Whereas, Death has recently robbed us of William Malone Baskervill, one of the organizers of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America and an officer during the first year, be it

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America has lost in Professor Baskervill one of its most zealous supporters and worthiest members, one who both as inspiring teacher and as successful author has done much to further the study of the English language and literature not only in the South but throughout the whole country.

Dr. W. W. Florer paid a similar tribute to the memory of Professor Hench, and offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, Since the last annual meeting of the Association untimely death has taken away Professor George Allison Hench, an active member, and at various times an officer of this Association, and an esteemed personal friend of the majority of its members, be it

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association hereby expresses and records its appreciation of Professor George Allison Hench's services to German scholarship, and deeply laments the great loss that in his death the cause of Germanic Philology and particularly the cause of Germanic studies in the United States have sustained.

Both resolutions were unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

FIFTH SESSION, DECEMBER 29.

The meeting was called to order at 3 p. m.

The reading of papers was continued.

15. "New facts concerning Udall's life and works." By Professor Ewald Fluegel, of Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. In the absence of the author a synopsis of the paper was given by Professor F. A. Blackburn.

16. "Sherwood Bonner, story writer and novelist." By Professor Alexander L. Bondurant, of the University of Mississippi.

Remarks were offered by Drs. B. M. Drake and W. H. Kirk.

17. "Dictation and Composition in Modern Language teaching." By Professor Edward E. Joynes, of South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. [Printed above, p. xxv f.]

The paper was read by Professor A. R. Hohlfeld. As it dealt chiefly with questions considered in the report of the Committee of Twelve it was voted to postpone the discussion and to take up Professor Hatfield's paper also—announced as No. 20 in the programme—in connection with it after the reading of the other papers.

18. "The legend of St. George." By Professor John E. Matzke, of Leland Stanford Jr. University. [Read by title.]

19. "The change of gender from Middle High German to Luther, as shown in the Bible of 1545." By Dr. W. W. Florer, of the University of Michigan. [Printed in *Publications,* xv, p. 442 f.]

20. "On the syntax of the verb in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 787–1001 A. D." By Professor Hugh M. Blain, of the Speers-Langford Military Institute, Searcy, Ark.

Owing to the lateness of the hour these last two papers were read only in part, and the discussion was omitted.

21. "Discussion of some questions raised by the report of the Committee of Twelve." Discussion to be opened by Prof. J. T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Instead of a discussion Professor Hatfield offered the following resolutions which were adopted:

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America endorses the report submitted by the Committee of Twelve upon the subject of preparatory requirements in French and German.

Resolved, That not less than the full elementary course should be accepted as an item for college entrance.

Resolved, That students offering less than the full elementary course as entrance-item should make up the deficiency in a secondary school.

The joint meeting proposed by the Philological Association was then considered. It was voted to accept the invitation. The Division, by repeated votes, expressed its preference for the following cities as a place of meeting, in the order named, viz.: Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore; and authorized the Secretary to make the necessary arrangements.

Professor Charles Bundy Wilson offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America unanimously and heartily unite in extending to the citizens of Nashville, to the Faculty of Vanderbilt University, and, in particular, to the Local Committee, most sincere thanks for their very warm hospitality.

The meeting then adjourned.

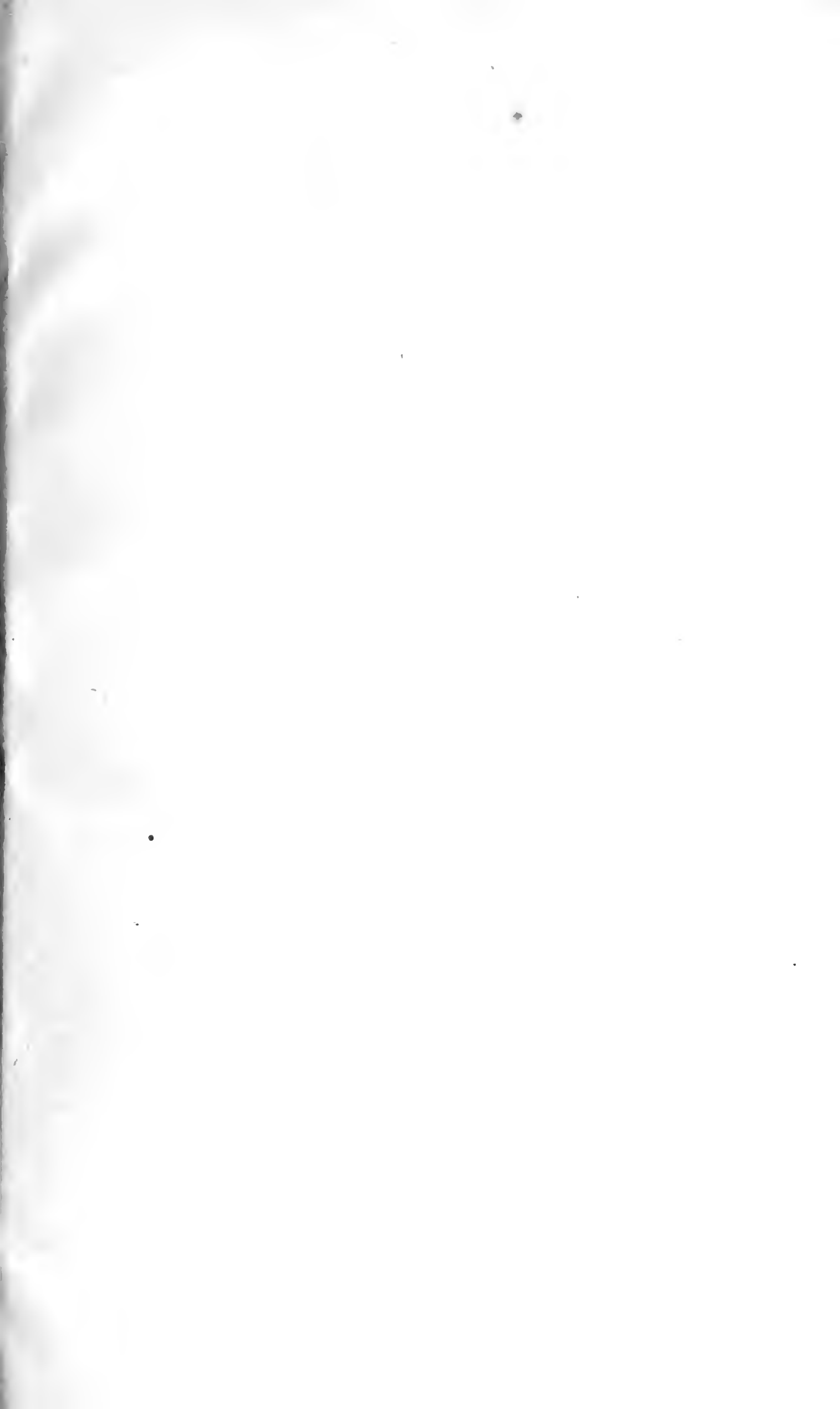
Resolved, That [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] whose communication should [illegible] the [illegible] Sunday-school.

The joint meeting [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. It was [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] reported [illegible] [illegible] following [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Washington [illegible] [illegible] authorized the [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the members [illegible] Modern Language Association [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] University, and [illegible] [illegible] hospitality.

The meeting then adjourned.



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